

**TKH**

SELF-ORGANIZATION ISSUE

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Self-organization: Facts on international conference within 40<sup>th</sup> BITEF

Date:	September 16–17, 2006
Place of the venue:	Goethe Institute, Belgrade
Editor:	Ana Vujanović
Coordinator:	Jelena Knežević
Moderators:	Ana Vujanović, Vlatko Ilić
Producer:	Bitef theatre, Belgrade
Structure:	1. Public presentations 2. Session for local students and postgraduates 3. Working session
Languages:	English (1, 3), Serbian (2)
Schedule:	16 <sup>th</sup> September 16:00-19:00 – 1. Public presentation of initiatives: PAF (PerformingArtsForum), Druga Scena / Other Scene, Clubture’s Regional Initiative  17 <sup>th</sup> September 11:00-14:00 – 2. Session for local students and postgraduates (papers/exposures and discussion) 15:00-19:00 – 3. Working session (discussion and debate)
Participants:	1. in Other Scene presentation: Dragana Alfirević (Druga scena; Stanica; Balkan Dance Network (Belgrade)), Bojan Djordjev (Druga scena; TkH (Belgrade)), and Dušan Grlja (Druga scena; Prelom kolektiv (Belgrade)); in Clubture’s Regional Initiative presentation: Emina Višnjić (Clubture’s RI (Zagreb)) and Iskra Gešoska (Clubture’s RI, Točka (Skopje)); in PAF presentation: Jan Ritsema (PAF (St. Erme, France)), Berno Polzer (PAF (Vienna)), Alice Chauchat (PAF (Paris)), and Nicolas Siepen (PAF; b_books (Berlin)); and Ana Vujanović (Druga scena; Clubture’s RI; PAF; TkH (Belgrade)) as moderator

2. exposures by: Ana Vilenica (FF, UA), Miljana Perić (FM, UA), Ana Marković (FFL, FM), Iva Nenić (FM, BOS), Marta Popivoda (FDA), Jelena Knežević (FDA), and Vlatko Ilić (FDA) – also as moderator
  3. in discussion (in alphabetical order): Dalija Aćin (Druga scena; Stanica; Balkan Dance Network (Belgrade)), Dragana Alfirević, Alice Chauchat, prof. Milena Dragičević-Šešić (management and production of art and culture – FDA, UA (Belgrade)), Bojan Djordjev, Iskra Gešoska, Dušan Grlja, Vlatko Ilić, Vladimir Jerić Vlidi (slobodnakultura.org (Belgrade)), Emil Jurcan (TEMP (Ljubljana)), Jelena Knežević, Ana Marković, Ulrike Melzwig (PAF; Ausland (Berlin)), Iva Nenić, Miljana Perić, Berno Polzer, Marta Popivoda, Jan Ritsema, Nicolas Siepen, Željka Sančanin (EkS-scene, Balkan Dance Network (Zagreb)), prof. Miško Šuvaković (art theory and aesthetics – FM, UA (Belgrade)), Ana Vilenica, Emina Višnić, and Ana Vujanović – the session was self-organized/moderated

#### Self-organization: Facts on the publication

Before the conference was announced, we had decided to publish (jointly, TkH and Bitef) an issue of *TkH journal* that would be not only a document of the conference, but also inform about invited self-organizations, and cover wider range of related theoretical and pro-theoretical discourses.

During the discussion within the conference we decided not to publish “presentations” of the organizations that would present them in promotional way, but to make a “facts finding” or “reality-check” questionnaire through which we would create a data base with precise material and conceptual facts and aspects of different self-organizations in their specific contexts and conditions.

The first chapter of the issue (*Self-organization: Data Base*) is made in this way, and the questionnaire is written by Alice Chauchat and Ana Vujanović in collaboration with Ulrike Melzwig, and was open for suggestions and comments by all participants.

The second chapter (*Self-organization: Producing the Discourse(s)*) brings several discursive (more or less theoretical) shapings, framings, and problematizations of the self-organizations in which the participants of the conference take part.

And in the third chapter (*Papers and Discussions from Sessions for Local Students and Post-graduates*) we publish exposures and transcripts of discussions from the sessions for local (Belgrade) students and post-graduates on the topics of *Self-organization* (2006) and *aRtivism now* (2005). This chapter is exceptionally in Serbian language, as all the participants are local; but there are abstracts in English, written for potentially interested readers from outside of the context.

By the end of the year TkH-centre will also publish on-line edition of the publication ([www.tkh-generator.net](http://www.tkh-generator.net) > TkH journal > Self-organization issue), under the same CC license. The version will bring, beside all the material published in the hard copy, MP3 audio files of the discussion held within the conference and a list of the international links we find important for the topic.

**Self-organization:  
Data Base**



Name/title of organization:  
PAF (Performing Arts Forum)

Legal status

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

The building is privately owned; there is no official organization for the participants; we are setting up a legal association to arrange money and setting the house to security standards. We will thus make separate answers for the next questions, on the one hand about PAF the non-formal organization, and on the other hand about the legal association.

The association is a non-profit association (French law 1901) involving 6-8 people that take care of the financial maintenance of the house and are responsible for PAF remaining an open structure available to everybody for self-motivated artistic residencies.

Geo-political territory

*Where is your organization based?*

Saint-Erme, France

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

International

Organizational structure

*What are the rules off/in your organization?*

– Anybody can use the house for artistic processes on the condition of paying a participation to the costs (rental costs).

– Everyone is responsible for their own activities.

– Everyone makes things possible for others.

*How do you produce these rules?*

These rules are the fundament of the whole PAF project, and entail that no other rule should be made

*Do you aim at creating a non or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

Yes; in order to organize as little as possible, we follow the principle: the one who does decides.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

The users who engage on a more regular basis take more responsibilities than others; this group is not set though, and varies depending on each person's availability and decision.

The legal association (6-8 persons) is responsible for financial matters; these members are renewed every 3 years.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

PAF was founded with the idea to be an organization that includes change in its basic structure.

Jan Ritsema started with inviting 30 people, then 100 came in the next 8 months and out of these different individuals and organizations engage on different levels, taking different responsibilities. This expanding process implies that different people can take over the responsibility of maintaining PAF, as long as its principles remain unchanged.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

Yes; in opposition to the pragmatic model of representative democracy in which some persons are entitled to represent others, PAF relies on participative democracy as the promise of a structure based on desire rather than contracts

*How is the decision-making process organized? How do you produce these rules?*

- Everybody's informed about decisions to be made via the mailing list.
- Anyone can make decisions, power is distributed by commitment.
- Ultimately, those who involve decide.

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

Openness is important for people to be able to exchange with others.

Transparency is important so that power stays fluid and responsibilities can be shared.

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

In order to maintain the building:

- rents paid by users (7 nights– 70 euros, 5 nights– 75, 10 nights– 100 euros. One month 250 euro. Persons benefiting from a grant pay the double amount)
- with donations (friends of paf: association collecting donations)
- with subsidies (private and public)

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

At the moment there is no reliable or sufficient funding for the project.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

Applications are written by those who commit. Money is used to ensure that PAF can continue, by renovating the house, setting it up to security standards and equipping it with more work facilities.

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Contemporary art and theory

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

It is a platform for individuals and groups to carry out projects.

Content

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

We produce conditions for both relationships and products as there can be no products without relationships.

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

We assume that art is not personal and is a potentially changing force in society. We are developing a social model that also questions our relationship to art and to each other, so that art can change.

Outside relationships/  
representation

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

People decide for themselves.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

There is no membership.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

The model and organization of PAF is spread mainly through word-of-mouth by people that have been there, e-mail PDF files and also through the web-site.

*Who represents your organization?*

PAF is represented by the people who decide to do so and organize contexts for doing it.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No; it is based on participation and interest.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes

Contacts

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*Web site*

www.pa-f.net

Name/title of organization:  
Clubture's Regional Initiative

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

Clubture's Regional Initiative is non-formal project/program based cooperation platform that gathers cultural civil society organizations. The platform was initiated by Clubture, Croatia, which is formal network (association) of cultural civil society organizations.

Legal status

*Where is your organization based? >*

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Clubture's Regional Initiative operates regionally. At the moment it gathers organizations from: Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. The Clubture network, that initiated regional platform and that administrates it, is based in Zagreb, Croatia (offices in Zagreb), but it gathers organizations from all over Croatia and operates as national organization.

Geo-political  
territory

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

Since the regional initiative is still in developing process, our rules and procedures are still in building-up process. We have a test-model of rules that define cooperation and partnership and decision-making procedures and criteria.

*How do you produce these rules?*

These rules and procedures were produced by Work Group that gathers 10 people from different organizations from different countries and were presented to all organizations that were included in program cooperation and initiative for platform in general. These rules are still in developing and checking-in-practice phase and are re-designed by the Work Group. In December 2006 there will be General Meeting organized where all organizations will discuss and define the final rules and procedures.

Organizational structure

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do? Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

Our aim is to produce basic structure that will enable permanent self-organization principle, that is: organizations gathered in platform are creating and organizing cooperation projects independently by them selves. The role of the platform is to secure that project and program cooperation in the region become more stable,

sustainable and permanent and to create context that will encourage cooperation between organizations from different countries in the region and to create model that will secure genuine, full partnerships.

The platform is not member-based or closed group. On the other hand, there is no “open call” or anything similar for any organization to become formal member. Any organization can join the platform, but through program cooperation with other organizations. It needs to join a partnership project of other organizations, or it can suggest a new partnership project. This makes the group very flexible, but stable in the same time.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

Since the general goal is to establish independent poly-centric network, that won't be dependent on Clubture's initiative and administration, the organizational and structural form is going to be changed.

Since there is no real “core“ considering involved organization, the number and diversity of organizations in not only desirable, but also inherent to the platform.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*  
No.

*How is the decision-making process organized? >*

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

The basic idea of decision-making process is to enable participation of all involved organizations and to assure efficiency in decision-making.

The procedures details are still developing, and should be agreed by involved organization in General Meeting in December. At the moment, decision-making process has three instances/levels:

- coordination and management level – practical and operational decisions; project coordinator, program coordinator, financial administrative (Clubture's staff)
- structural and strategic decisions proposition level – the Work Group is discussing and proposing key strategic and structural elements; the propositions are always given to other organizations to comment and discuss;
- final decision making level – all structural and strategic decisions shall be discussed and agreed by all involved organization (if consensus it's not possible, than the majority principle);

Beside that, there is specific procedure for cooperation programs:

- organizations are creating partnership projects/programs that they want to do through the platform;
- coordination and Work Group are checking if proposed programs are in accordance with the program cooperation model;
- the platform approaches the donors;
- if and when the funds are approved, all organizations that proposed programs are deciding together which of the programs and with which amount will be financed of platform's resources. This shall be done through specific system of propositions rating, where each organizations is rating the projects according to three criteria. The sum of these evaluations shall give the final rate list which defines (a) which projects shall be financed and (b) with which amount.

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

- a) organizations involved in program collaboration are participating with financial or in-kind resources (around 50%)
- b) for the other part (“platform budget”) we are approaching to different donors (international and Croatian for now)

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

The applications are written by management.

Part of the budget (around 10 – 15%) goes for administration, organization, management, offices, communication, etc. The rest (90 – 85%) goes for programs and meetings. The program money (which is the most) is distributed as it was described above.

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

The platform gathers organizations of an independent cultural scene. It is the scene of independent, non-profit, grassroots clubs, initiatives and organizations (civil society actors) that operate on the specific ground of cultural production and socially engaged action, marked with elements of hybridization and of creative linking of several different fields: youth culture, so called urban culture and alternative culture, diverse forms of development oriented action, programs influenced by new media and technologies, socially engaged programs, policy actions, etc. It is characterized by diversity, dynamicity, interdisciplinary and high level of social awareness and activism.

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

Both: platform of projects and of organizations

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Relationships that produces cultural cooperation projects/programs/products

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

To support independent cultural organizations in the region in their program production and exchange, to have effect in their visibility and recognition, but also to change conditions and context of cultural cooperation in the region

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out? >*

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

It is described above.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

The models are developing and are not widely publicly presented. The current development phases are communicated with around 40 different organizations, which are also transferring information to other organizations in their countries.

*Who represents your organization?*

There is no formal representative of the platform itself. Since it is still functioning as Clubture’s regional initiative, it is represented by Clubture.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*  
Yes.

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*Website*

www.clubture.org (Croatian only)

\* Contact persons:

Emina Višnić (overall coordination); Nives Fabečić (program coordination)

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Name/title of organization:

Druga Scena / Other Scene

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

It is informal network of 8 independent cultural and artistic organizations or groups as yet, due to change/expand in the near future.

Partners in Other Scene project are:

- TkH – Centre for Performing Arts Theory and Practice [www.tkh-generator.net](http://www.tkh-generator.net)
- Station – Service for Contemporary Dance [www.dancestation.org](http://www.dancestation.org)
- Prelom Collective [www.prelomkolektiv.org](http://www.prelomkolektiv.org)
- The HyperMedia Institute – Techne [www.fluid-project.org](http://www.fluid-project.org)
- Queer Belgrade Collective [www.queerbeograd.org](http://www.queerbeograd.org)
- Stanipanikolektiv [www.stanipanikolektiv.com](http://www.stanipanikolektiv.com)
- SFW – Nova Drama [www.nova-drama.org](http://www.nova-drama.org)  
[dez.org](http://dez.org) [www.dez.org.yu](http://www.dez.org.yu)

Legal status

*Where is your organization based?*

In Belgrade

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

It only covers Belgrade (at the moment).

Geo-political  
territory

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

- All member organizations are equal, at all possible levels.
- Every member of the network has a representative in the board. (All strategic and practical decisions are made by the board, where representatives discuss their statements, thoughts, conclusions previously made in their groups and organizations.)
- There are also two independent coordinators – they have executive function.
- Rules for the member organizations: based in Belgrade, independent, formal or informal, not having a space/place and stable organizational infrastructure, have active tendency toward cultural policy issues, not supporting racist, national, religious, sexual, and gender discriminations, dealing with the fields of contemporary art (any discipline), art theory, and cultural activism.

Organizational structure

*How do you produce these rules?*

At the meetings of the board, through discussions

## Organizational structure

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*  
We rather aim at creating a hybrid organization with polycentric structure. In fact, we work with a weak and temporary model; the real (concrete) organization structure will be decided upon when/if the network expands.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*  
Not for now

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*  
Since the network is still informal, we will decide on this later.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*  
Yes, not because of its conception, but because it clashes with the real world. Perhaps, it means that it is not project realistically.

## Decision making

*How is the decision-making process organized?*  
Through the principle of "consensus minus one" of the members of the board

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*  
We use a mailing list.

## Economic situation

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*  
It is still a non-budget project.

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*  
We are still not funded.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*  
The applications are written by 2 managers/coordinators of the network and then proof-read and corrected by all the members through the mailing list.  
As no grant is provided as yet, there was no re-distribution of money.

## Content

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*  
Other Scene was conceived as a network that will mainly deal with cultural policy and promotion of the independent artistic and cultural scene in Belgrade. More concretely, the fields are: contemporary arts (performing, visual, music, digital...), theory of art, and cultural activism.

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*  
It is a network of organizations and informal groups.

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*  
Hopefully both.

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*  
In case of the other scene the intervention in the cultural scene of Belgrade is primary, and support to the art/culture/activities of each member follows as a result.

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

We are still working on the criteria...

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

We will send a broad invitation to a large scale meeting of the independent scene, and hopefully at that meeting we will decide on the membership issue.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

Yes: on presentations, but mainly in meetings with local funders or potential partners.

*Who represents your organization?*

Any member of the network or organizations within the network.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes

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*E-mail and/or postal address*

E-mail list: druga\_scena\_bgd@yahoogroups.com

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Name/title of organization:  
STATION service for contemporary dance

Legal  
status

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*  
Non-governmental organization

Geo-political  
territory

*Where is your organization based?*  
Belgrade  
  
*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*  
Local, with regional and international activities

Organizational structure

*What are the rules of your organization?*  
Station is ideally a horizontally organized structure, with boards and teams and each active member operating on the same level, although we are aware that we have to invest a lot of work to achieve this.

*How do you produce these rules?*  
They derive from equal participation of all members in producing, organizing and implementing Station's programs.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*  
At the moment, we aim to create a polycentric organization, with almost every project of Station having a responsible person and its own organization.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*  
The organization is working in concentric circles:  
a) inside circle of people responsible for thinking, organizing and implementing projects,  
b) Board of Station's founders  
c) temporary staff for different tasks and projects  
At the moment four persons working in the production/administrative work, and this number for the moment doesn't have a luxury of being flexible.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*  
Founders are at the same time core team.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

The ideal structure of Station is an utopian model, in the sense that it should remain horizontally structured. In the same time, it is an organization working for the benefit of the whole contemporary dance scene, so ideally, all members of the scene should be able to create decision making processes and working procedures, at meetings etc. It is a constant process, as for this a greater initiative and self discipline is required...

Organizational  
structure

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

All active members of Station are involved in decision-making processes. This practically means that all ideas are discussed with everyone during meetings, and often the situation is so obvious that there is no need yet in creating mechanisms for decision-making.

Decision making

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

All activities of Station are public, and therefore accessible to public and open to evaluation, suggestions and comments. At the meetings of board or internal staff, we aim to make the work of the core team very obvious and open to influence.

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Through public state funds and international funds

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

This question was not clear for me, so I will say: yes, we write applications for Station's programs, and we also send out our own applications to accept projects of other people.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Our main area of work is contemporary dance, and its wider context so that the activities go towards the fields of cultural policy, education and multidisciplinary areas.

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

It is a service for all organizations and individuals working in/concerned with contemporary dance: dancers, choreographers, managers, theoreticians, dance companies, projects, etc.

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

We provide conditions for educational, information-exchange, artistic dialogues and cultural policy– dialogue processes, and by doing this we believe we can create new models for /or influence existing/ relations.

Content

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

We are influencing existing models of collaboration and artistic production in Serbia, in accord with different value systems, which inevitably is a change of society on a micro plan. Continuous activity in this direction can generate changes on a wider plan, society as a whole.

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Station is at the moment completely non-selective, its services and projects are open to everyone, and we don't have yet mechanisms that would decide who is in and who is out.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

We will from this autumn introduce membership. Anyone who can benefit from our programs or who can support work of STATION is welcome.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

We are constantly visiting different meetings and communicate with people from similar platforms, getting knowledge about how they work and sending information about our work. Also, we are trying to communicate our ideas to the city and state authorities, so that they can become active partner.

*Who represents your organization?*

Managing board (four individuals from the core team) that represents STATION.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

It is not based on principles of representation, but we work to get secured more visibility in our surrounding.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*  
Yes.

*E-mail and/or postal address*

alfirevic@dancestation.org (Dragana Alfirević, Station program coordinator)

*Phone and/or fax and /or mobile*

Mobile: +38641790676

*Web site*

www.dancestation.org

Name/title of organization:

TkH-centre for performing arts theory and practice  
(Teorija koja Hoda / Walking Theory)

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

Non-governmental organization

Legal  
status

*Where is your organization based?*

Belgrade, Serbia

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Local, with some regional and also international activities

Geo-political  
territory

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

TkH is an independent organization based on conceptual platform: critical theories + contemporary performing arts + discursive interventions into local context. It is horizontally organized structure, where all collaborators are independent in creating and realizing the projects, together with previous collaborators, alone, or with new collaborators. The rule is that no one has right to reject, to demand changes, or to disturb the project carried by other collaborator(s). If she/he disagrees in many aspects, she/he probably will not be interested in working within this platform in future and vice versa. Besides, there is one chief producer and organizers. There are three persons in charge for TkH, and their role is administrative.

*How do you produce these rules?*

They derive from the working process, there is no a treaty.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

Yes, by activating collaborators to take responsibility and to work as project leaders. In this way, TkH recently became a platform that comprises more or less independent projects – having person in charge, organizational logic, participants, and program.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

At the moment of establishing as a group (in 2000), there was clear core with 8 members. In the meantime, TkH became an NGO open for new and temporary collaborators. Today, there is no a core in this sense, but a group of the most active collaborators (5-6 persons) and also a wide range of various collaborators engaged from project to project.

Organizational structure

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

It is possible. It is not desirable or non-desirable; it happened and perhaps will happen also in future. People change their interests, internal relationships, conceptual platform, or decide to find a more stable job... Thus there is only actual core where the most active collaborators are engaged.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

I think it was utopian model, being based on all abstract categories: enthusiasm, similar political positions, and personal relationship. It was like that because there was no clear situation with projects, producer, and project leaders, neither in the group nor in the social context. But the new situation of open calls for public funds in Serbia (since 2001/02) taught us that this kind of self-organization could survive through per definition decentralized project management – which is totally non-utopian structure.

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

All active collaborators are involved in the decision-making processes. We discuss forthcoming or running projects, if their leaders/participants need some improvements or have problems. There is no much global decisions, they all more or less address particular projects. Even some strategic decisions, such as participation in Documenta 12 or building Other Scene, are considered as projects, and the persons in charge make related decisions, sometimes consulting other collaborators, sometimes not. We decide about the project leaders in this way: if someone wants to make a performance, workshop, etc. she/he is free to do it, taking responsibility and leading the project from the beginning to the end. If we receive global or strategic call, the one who finds it important and interesting for her/him, leads it as her/his own project. I'm not sure whether this logic is the best possible, but it works and provides functionality.

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

All global and many specific working activities of TkH go through e-mail address tkh\_centar@yahoo.com, and all permanent and temporary collaborators get its user name and password. In this way they are accessible to others and open to evaluation, comments etc. It is up to the leader of a project to decide how to communicate with others, except with the producer who is fully informed about all projects. Openness and transparency are desirable, but there is no rule or procedure that makes them obligatory.

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Through public state and city funds and also international funds, or we make non-budget projects

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

The one who would like to realize certain project writes applications for the project, asking for others' help or not – depending on her/his need, ability, and time we have. The producer always participates in writing applications.

Regarding money re-distribution it is up to project leader and team.

There are also some common expenses, such as accounting office, taxes... – they are paid by the money that remains in the budget of certain project or taking smaller amounts from all projects. The producer invites us to decide about it.

It also sometimes happens that certain project has not enough money, and some other has more than needed, and then we talk about re-distribution among the projects. For example, *TkH journal* is led by two of us, but as it is one of the most important projects for all of us it often provides some money from smaller projects that get bigger grants.

Economic  
situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Performing arts and related theories

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

It is first of all conceptual platform, where certain number of individuals work and make projects. Seen from the outside, it is perhaps a network of projects.

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Rather products

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

Both, in the case of TkH it is inextricable. When we were younger no one was willing to give us opportunity to work what we wanted, and we decided to work and learn as self-organized group. Later, we reflected our position and structure, and discovered its social potential. So now it is really both.

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

The one who makes certain project decides to include or exclude someone. No one has legal or habitual right to be included in projects, and no collaborator has right to protest if someone is included in other's project.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

No. If you are invited to take part in certain project you are in.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

We all travel much, work sometimes abroad, visit conferences and meetings, write, expose, and communicate directly with people from similar organizations in local and international contexts, and also with local authorities.

*Who represents your organization?*

Many collaborators, depending on the purpose and context, on personal interests to represent it, and also who has time to prepare (re-)presentation in certain circumstances...

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes

Outside relationships/  
representation

*E-mail and/or postal address*

No office at a stable postal address

e-mail: tkh\_centar@yahoo.com; tkh.centar@sezampro.yu

*Phone and/or fax and/or mobile*

F: +381113061524 (accountancy); M: +381642357814 (Ana Vujanović), +381644200611 (Bojan Djordjev)

*Web site*

www.tkh-generator.net

Contacts

Name/title of organization:

Prelom kolektiv

Legal status	<p><i>What is the format/legal status of your organization?</i> NGO</p>
Geo-political territory	<p><i>Where is your organization based?</i> The “official” address required by the law is in Belgrade, but some members are permanently or temporarily located abroad.</p> <p><i>Is it local, regional, or international organization?</i> It is international, in the Marxist sense, therefore: all the above.</p>
Organizational structure	<p><i>What are the rules off/in your organization?</i> Decisions on any matter through discussion (e-mailing list)</p> <p><i>How do you produce these rules?</i> Through the process of argumentation. E-mailing list is the only technical possibility of permanent discussion.</p> <p><i>Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?</i> Our efforts are towards better and more efficient organization.</p> <p><i>Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?</i> We are the collective of members – the editorial committee. We also have permanent contributors that are included in discussions on particular matters.</p> <p><i>Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?</i> The actual founders from the outset were just permanent contributors and participants in certain discussions. Our plan is to gradually enable the “next generation” to take over, and they should become permanent contributors.</p> <p><i>Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?</i> No. It is just practical, and came out of contingent circumstances.</p>
Decision making	<p><i>How is the decision-making process organized?</i> Discussion <i>via</i> mailing list</p> <p><i>What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?</i> All actions of all members concerning the collective are reported to all other members.</p>

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Fund-raising

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

We write applications with more or less elaborated actual content of tendency of Prelom. We allocate the money raised in order to expand own production.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Our field of activity could be classified as social theory and political philosophy, contemporary art and curatorial practice, film theory and political essays, activism and cultural policies ... We perceive “culture” as the stake in the ongoing ideological – therefore material – class struggle.

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

It is a collective.

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

We strive to produce political effects in the sphere of “cultural production” by various means. They include: journal, conferences, discussions, and different other actions. We also expand our contributors’ community.

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

The latter, but also *via* practice of art

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Sometimes members “take a leave”.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

Yes. Anybody recommended by any member.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

Not before. Just doing it for the first time by filling out this questionnaire.

*Who represents your organization?*

Any member can represent the collective, if the occasion is not of “official” nature when the presence of Prelom kolektiv president is legally required, but even than any other member can attend.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

Only in judicial matters, otherwise we are – as the “multitudists” would say – a “non-representational” group.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes. Actually, we have collaborations with groups and individuals from Leipzig, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Istanbul, and Helsinki.

Outside relationships/ representation

*E-mail and/or postal address*

kolektiv@prelomkolektiv.org

*Web site*

www.prelomkolektiv.org

Contact

Name/title of organization:

Balkan Dance Network / partners in Nomad Dance Academy Project

Legal  
status

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

Informal group / network

Geo-political  
territory

*Where is your organization based?*

Balkan Region

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

It is a network of local organizations, with regional activities.

Organizational structure

*What are the rules off/in your organization?*

Speaking of organization, we can focus on Nomad Dance Academy, an educational program of the Network, which consists of:

- Artistic Board
- Local Coordinators Board
- Team of managers
- Advisory Board
- Coordinator

*How do you produce these rules?*

They come from specific tasks in the course of realization of the Project.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

We are so far successfully avoiding geographical centralization of the Network.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

The core team consists of Artistic Board, Local Managers Board and Coordinator

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

Members of the Network are its founders.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

No

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

Decision-making process is developed in a quite democratic atmosphere.

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

Various internet tools to provide open and shared inside communication  
Common e-mailing list to provide info-circulation among interested users of Network's activities and visits to festivals, conferences, meetings to present the work of the Network publicly

Decision making

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Through public state funds and international funds

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

We make common projects and fundraise together.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Contemporary dance and related arts (theory and practice) with the aim to influence education and cultural policy in these art fields

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

It is a flexible group of consisting of organizations and individuals.

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Both – projects/products and at the same time new models of organization and communication.

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

We want to share our knowledge and experience and influence the mechanisms in society.

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Member of the Network can be anyone who feels that can have some benefit / contribute to its development. Partnership in the Nomad Dance Academy Project is the result of years-long individual encounters and exchange, and the Boards decide on eventual new partners.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

Anyone with the interest toward contemporary dance and Balkans is welcome.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

Through mailing lists, presentations, discussions, application forms, conferences.

*Who represents your organization?*

All its members equally represent it.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Very much so

Outside relationships / representation

*E-mail and/or postal address?*

dalfirevic@gmail.com (Dragana Alfirević, coordinator of Nomad Dance Academy)

*Phone and/or fax and/or mobile*

Mobile: +38641790676

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Name/title of organization:  
EkSperimental Free Scene – EkS-Scene

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*  
Nonprofit NGO organization

Legal  
status

*Where is your organization based?*  
Zagreb, Croatia

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Local (Zagreb) and also regional (activities/network in Rijeka, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo (BiH), Beograd (RS))

Geo-political  
territory

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

- Open organizational model that involves horizontal decision-making and sharing responsibility
- The set up of Coordination team run by artists (4 to 7 persons)
- EkS Scene is used as a service that everybody can use for their own autonomous artistic work
- Coordination team has no authority in creating the policy, nor esthetic parameters through which artists use services of EkS-Scene. Coordination team is responsible for creating conditions (space, time, technique, media publicity) for artistic work and also for sharing and giving artists information and sources about relevant topics/events/education etc. in dance/performance media

*How do you produce these rules?*

- By internal meetings of Coordination team and all dance artists – locally / and regionally – through mailing lists
- By constant practice of the rules during 5 years of existence

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

No. Our opinion is that self-organization as a procedure under which we “do” EkS-Scene is a term that involves high level of organizational skills.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

The core group is mainly established by artists who use EkS-Scene service more often. After 5 years of circulating through EkS-Scene they are today one of the most influential and established young Croatian Choreographers. All 5 coordinators of EkS could also be defined as another core group.

Organizational structure

EkS-Scene is in local context perceived in much wider sense, and is often used as a short term for freelance dance sector in Zagreb. So the term “core group“ is sometimes flexible.

Core groups are also flexible: in planning and decision making

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

The idea of Coordination team was established as a nonpermanent and flexible model. Our wish is that old and new coordinators circulate each year through the platform and establish new teams/groups. From 2001 till 2005 Coordination team stayed pretty much the same. The founders of the organization in 2001 were also core of the whole platform.

This is not desirable but we didn't want to force other people to join in the core, although we invited some new artists to help us with the organization. In 2005 Coordination team was formed by 7 female coordinators. In 2006 two coordinators left the organization and now our plan is to propose public invitation for new artists to enter the team.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

No! Never! – EkS-Scene does not think nor act through reflection on utopia, progress or similar. We are aware that the old system is here because of us and our responsibility to create and think art by rethinking the system. We are suspicious about radical changes and against the idea of global self-organized world. Every new change always slips its territorialization and becomes another new thing to change.

So I would not use the word “to change”. It is more matter about constant willingness to see and act by the given moment – and to always recycle our knowledge.

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

- Meetings of Coordination team (1 per month)
- Meetings of program coordinators (1 per week)
- Mailing list of Coordinators (eks-komitet@lists.mi2.hr; through which we daily discuss problems) used only by coordinators
- Public questionnaire for users of EkS through mailing list eks-scena@lists.mi2.hr

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

It goes without saying. They are understood as primal conditions of every communication among Coordination team as well as dancers and choreographers who daily pass through EkS-Scene services.

Openness and transparency are realized through constant information service and individual solidarity, under which we share with others (organizations, networks, companies, individual professionals): information and knowledge, equipment, techniques, dance floors, set materials, dance cloths, and shoes and other...

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Every year we apply for our projects and programs on Zagreb City Council for Culture and Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia. The money from them covers 70% of our budget. Other sources that we look for are occasionally given by Goethe Institute, French Institute, or Foreign Embassies.

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

We are funded permanently each year for our projects that we applied for.

In 2004 and 2005 we were not funded by Ministry of Culture RH for the main program of education.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

Applications for specific programs and projects are written by program coordinators of each program/project. Before writing all coordinators gather to discuss plans and projects.

Distribution of money: 80 % goes to project development and realization and 20 % goes to artistic fees. Coordinators are paid by project and not permanently.

Financial stuff is run by one coordinator and one professional financial administrator. She keeps bills and papers clean, and we manage to save in 2004 and 2005 about 30.000 Kn (about 4.000 EUR) which we then used for office equipment and office rent. So we are very rational in distribution of money.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Contemporary dance / performing art

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

Platform of individuals and projects

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Relationships

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

To support our art

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Everyone is in.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

There is no membership.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

– web, mailing list

– government and City Council by letters, mails and private meetings

– local or international symposiums / international scene

*Who represents your organization?*

Minimum of 2 persons / coordinators

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes

Outside relationships / representation

*E-mail and/or postal address*

EkSperimentalna slobodna scena / EkSperimental Free Scene, Vukovarska 68 (dance space); Laginjina 9/IV (office), 10 000 Zagreb, Croatia  
mail-to-eks@mi2.hr; E-mail list: eks-scena@lists.mi2.hr

*Phone and/or fax and /or mobile*

GSM: +385913572362; T/F: +38514617127

*Web site*

www.eks-scena.hr

Contacts

Name/title of organization:

TEMP

Legal  
status

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

Informal group

Geo-political  
territory

*Where is your organization based?*

Ljubljana, Slovenia

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Local

Organizational structure

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

None

*How do you produce these rules?*

We don't.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

No

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

There is no core group.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organisation? Is this desirable?*

No founders

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

No, because it has place.

Decision making

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

Through direct participation

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

Group functioned as collective being, work is initiated by individuals and present-collective.

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

By our own money and benefits

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

We are not funded.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

We don't.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Politics, space, action

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

No

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Products

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

We use self-organization as a technique of group work.

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

With level of engagement

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

There is no formal membership.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

We inform similar initiatives by different media approaches (publication, web, radio, graffiti, discussion).

*Who represents your organization?*

Our products

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

Base is production which is also used in re-presentation.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

No

Outside relationships/ representation

Contact

Name-/title of organization:

Kontrapunkt

Legal  
status*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

NGO – Association of citizens, according to the Macedonian law

Geo-political  
territory*Where is your organization based?*

Skopje, Republic of Macedonia

*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Local – Republic of Macedonia

Organizational structure

*What are the rules of/in your organization? >**How do you produce these rules?*

Kontrapunkt is registered as Association of citizens. It means that its structure consists of General Assembly (19 members), Managing board (six persons, three members of staff), Monitoring board (Assembly members), and 7-person staff. The function of these bodies is in concordance with law.

The rules are produced on the general assembly.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do? >**Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible? >**Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

People gathered around NGO Kontrapunkt are mainly highly productive artists and individuals, leaning more on informal style and creativity than on formal communication. Although the NGO is formally structured, and the staff job descriptions are formally agreed, the organizational structure of Kontrapunkt is highly enthusiastic, based more on respect of the organizational code of ethics than to the elaborated formal documents. Since almost all members of Kontrapunkt are more or less connected with Kontrapunkt activities their visits to Cultural Center Točka are almost on daily basis. This allows very frequent and informal information flow in both directions. Often members give their proposals to the management team. Since the operation of the Cultural center Točka is very frequent, besides the oral and daily information, Kontrapunkt uses other channels: press releases, direct mails on mailing list, webpage announcements, web portals information, blogs presence, media channels, telephone conversations.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

The founders, as initial and ideological matrix of the organization, should remain at the core of the organization. But if dynamics of development requires changes of the mission, goals, etc., and the founders are not able to accept new and necessary streams of development, they should leave the decision making process. It is in interest of the organization to create dynamic structure and procedures of work, decision making, and development.

Organizational  
structure

*How is the decision-making process organized? >*

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

Managing Board approves and leads the staff actions. Monitoring Board revises the work of the Executive Board. Both bodies are responsible before the General Assembly for their work. On annual sessions General Assembly approves the financial and narrative reports and annual plans prepared by the Managing Board as well as the Monitoring Board Report. Currently, seven persons work full and part time for the organization. Additional staff is hired for specific tasks when needed. Kontrapunkt can also count on more than 25 volunteers that occasionally support activities. Since staff members are also members of Assembly, and since the managerial team is having the highest position in the NGO also, the decision making process is carried on a daily basis mainly among the staff, but with frequent consultancy with the rest of board members, who are highly connected with Kontrapunkt work, and follow its activities at least twice a week.

So the ad hoc consultancy is the main form of decision making, while the most of the decisions are brought within the staff on daily basis and frequent meetings.

Decision making

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

Application to different donating bodies, on a project basis

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

From project to project. However, we are at this moment developing self-sustainable elements in our cultural center that would enable us to cover our office costs and minimum wages on a permanent basis.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you re-distribute money?*

Applications are written in a regular way, and sent by e-mail or post, with additional lobbying and contact-making efforts.

The money is distributed according to the budget lines only for costs that are written in the budget.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Culture as a resource for development, development of alternative urban cultural policy, performing arts, literature, theory

Main programs:

1. ALTERNATIVE URBAN POLICIES (critical thinking, debates, public spaces, net art, public art, creative handicrafts...)
2. CHANGING THE REGION (international initiatives, intercultural cooperation, networking, and exchange)
3. DISSEMINATED CULTURE/MUTUAL ACQUAINTANCES (local action, diversity agenda, trainings, capacity building support...)

Content

#### 4. MINORITY REPORT (marginalized cultures, culture of dialogue, human rights, subaltern voices...)

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

Platform of individuals

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Productions and relationships

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

These two lines of acting do not exclude each other. However, through our activities, which are connected to art practices, we are trying to change the scenery of the retrograde principles of the society.

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Only members who are too passive, and do not come on election assembly are out. Or two cases when they go by their own will. No forced out. Everyone can come in through the election assembly and through invitation after being actively involved in organization matters and projects.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

No direct membership.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

Only members, partners, donors, and those who are interested. We work as classical NGO, and this model is familiar to the common audience.

*Who represents your organization?*

President, Board, executive director and staff

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

No

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes

*E-mail and/or postal address*

Cultural Center Tochka (NGO Kontrapunkt), Kliment Ohridski 15, 1000 Skopje, Republic of Macedonia

*Phone and/or fax and/or mobile*

T: 389 (2) 3225 825; M: 389 75 441 761

*Web site*

[www.kontrapunkt-mk.org](http://www.kontrapunkt-mk.org)

Name/title of organization:

Ausland

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*

Ausland is part of the non-profit association projekt archiv e.V.

*(What is Ausland?)*

Ausland is a venue for music and performance and related public and non-public events. Ausland is a workspace for local, national and international artists and projects. Ausland holds on the average three shows a week.

Legal status

*Where is your organization based?*

Ausland is based in Berlin, Germany.

Geo-political territory

*What are the rules of/in your organization?*

Ausland is run by a group of up to twelve people. Each "Ausländer" (member of Ausland) has a high degree of autonomy in deciding how to use the space, which includes hosting any event he or she wishes. Most constraints come from the limited amount of money, the limited space and the limited number of people available to realize individual projects.

*How do you produce these rules?*

Most decisions that affect all Ausländer are made on a consensus basis. Nonetheless, there are two different groups of Ausländer: the maintainers and the programmers. All Ausländer are programmers but only those people who are able to take responsibility for the venue as a whole are maintainers as well. Accordingly, maintainers decide on all questions regarding the infrastructure while – ideally – all Ausländer decide on questions regarding the content/program together. But in fact – and going along with the high autonomy of each member – questions of content have not been discussed much lately.

Among the maintainers each person is responsible for a certain task, like upkeep of equipment, finances, public relations, etc.

The rules within Ausland have been decided upon by the group and have proven themselves effective over time. We keep a document called "the bible" that consists of rules and how-to's regarding the operation of Ausland.

Organizational structure

Organizational  
structure

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

The group of members has changed considerably since Ausland was founded, but core members have remained largely the same.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes, how?*

We think that the organizational structure of Ausland is a pragmatic solution to the utopian idea of an artist-run venue.

Economic situation

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

As a rule of thumb, the money made from selling beverages finances the infrastructure of Ausland. The door money goes to the performing artists. Public money – when available – goes into financing projects and, through this, to the Ausländer. Apart from these occasions Ausländer do not get paid.

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

For the last two years Ausland has been receiving public money to cover operational costs, however, it could still work without these rather small amounts.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you redistribute money?*

Ausländer have been writing applications to realize specific projects. How these funds are distributed falls largely under the autonomy of the person(s) who applied.

Content

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

Since its opening in December 2002 Ausland has gained profile as a venue for concerts, performances, readings, sound installations, film screenings, workshops and sociopolitical discussions. Furthermore Ausland hosts thematic events or series, such as *Salon acousmatique*, *Not on Air*, *Festival of Exiles*, *Berlin Cobra #4*, and *Erase & Reset*, formats that combine the different genres.

The regular program of Ausland is structured through series. Among others there is the *Fernwärme – The Making of Performing Arts* series, which includes guest performances, co-productions and educational projects in the field of the performing arts. *Biegungen* is a series for experimental music.

Outside relationships/  
representation

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

Ausland is open to anybody who we like. In other words, anybody can become an Ausländer or a maintainer as long as the current Ausländer enjoy working with that person.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

While Ausland is open to anybody it is not a transparent structure when seen from the outside. This is partly due to the fact that we handle money. We also haven't put lots of effort into communicating internal discussions to the outside.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

Ausland is probably not based on principles of representation, however, we don't know what that means exactly.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Ausland is interested in networking with other artist-run initiatives/venues in Europe. Such networking could undermine the way established institutions and venues organize the music and performing arts markets.

*E-mail and/or postal address*

Ausland, Lychener Str. 60, 10437 Berlin, Germany  
ausland@ausland-berlin.de

*Phone and/or fax and/or mobile*

Phone +49 / 30 / 4477008

*Website*

<http://www.ausland-berlin.de/>

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Name/title of organization:  
b\_books and bbooks\_av (audio visual)

Legal  
status

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*  
It's an enterprise: bookstore, publishing house, film production and location.

Geo-political  
territory

*Where is your organization based?*  
In Berlin  
*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*  
It's based in Berlin and operates local (store) and international (publishing).

Organizational structure

*What are the rules off/in your organization?*  
There are not fixed rules. All the "rules" are defined by the daily needs of the work.  
Buying, selling and producing books, magazines (A.N.Y.P. + Assembly International) and films. Running a store and organizing events every Monday in b\_books (montagsPRAXIS), and making exhibitions from time to time in other art institutions.

*How do you produce these rules?*  
By doing and talking

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*  
Yes we aim to create a well organized organization and optimize it more and more. We try to reduce the chaos of "ten people working together".

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*  
There is flexible core group and an assembly around it.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*  
Yes

*Do you consider the structure of your organization utopian model? If yes how?*  
No, it's not a utopian model but a functional model which combines social, financial, political, theoretical, and aesthetical aspects and elements.

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

The decision-making is informal and comes also out of the every day work and from time to time we have big meetings where we discuss the issues but not very often.

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

Yes, they are important but not a fetish!

Decision making

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project?*

By selling and producing books and films and sometimes we get funding for our projects.

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently?*

We are funded from project to project.

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you redistribute money?*

We reinvest and redistribute the earned money in the store in our production and projects. We write the applications together or solo it depends on the project.

Economic situation

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work?*

In the critical art field, political activism, queer scene, film scene, and bookmarked

*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*

Projects, organizations/groups, and individuals...

*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

Relationships and products...

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

Both!

Content

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out?*

When someone what's to join b\_books we decide together if it works or we ask people if they like to collaborate.

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

We don't have formal memberships but friends of b\_books.

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

We inform the people via internet, projects or by contact.

*Who represents your organization?*

It depends on the project. In this moment it's me who represents b\_books.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

Yes and No. We try to undermine the patterns and expectations of representation but we use also the label b\_books to represent our production or make it visible.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

Yes, pretty much!

Outside relationships/ representation

*E-mail and/or postal address*

b\_books, Lübbenerstr. 14, 10997 Berlin, Germany  
nicomat@bbooksz.de

*Phone and/or fax and/or mobile*

T: 0049 +30 4455302; M: 0162 2097890

*Web site*

[www.bbooks.de](http://www.bbooks.de)  
[www.assembly-international.net](http://www.assembly-international.net)

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Name/title of organization:  
slobodnakultura.org

*What is the format/legal status of your organization?*  
Legally, we do not exist.

Legal  
Status

*In which field of art/culture/society do you work? >*  
*Is your organization platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?*  
We do act within any social sphere on demand of a certain member or a project. The members could be individuals or groups, already organized before, or not.

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): We consider that what we have established so far can be articulated as a *meta-organization*, since we consist of different NGO's, groups and individuals. What we are is more of a consulting and decision-making joint platform rather than the organization in traditional sense. We are not formally registered, and I think this position has more advantages in this initial phase. In “tactical” sense, the one of advantages is to apply for particular project through the most “convenient” of our member organizations. Also, at this stage of existing social relationships in our environment, I feel that some conditions characteristic for more mature generation of transitional society are not being met yet – “branding” and “positioning”, especially in the public sphere, and that there is a social atmosphere of mandatory “mapping” and adjusting to a “convenient” coordinant system and ranking mechanisms. As diverse with the issues it theoretically can deal with, from free software through different activism and free knowledge all the way to “free culture”, however perceived or defined, slobodnakultura.org would hardly avoid being “classified” according to the field/topic of its first or most prominent action. There is a general feeling around that we don't want yet to “position” ourselves within the “map”. We are yet to explore and articulate where the premises of “openness” and “freedom” we are trying to base our organization upon are placed in social, cultural or political aspects of our society, what those terms mean today and how the role of those premises could be transformed in the future. So, the tactic of slobodnakultura.org, addressing the particular project/action we agree upon, would be “ASAP”, while the strategy, addressing the building of the protocols and experience necessary and, well, the “brand” of the organization, that would be “step-by-step”. This approach may easily be changed at any given moment :-)

Content 1

*Where is your organization based? >*  
*Is it local, regional, or international organization?*

Currently, our meetings and most of the projects are happening in Belgrade. We find it very important where we live, work and act, and not really important if it is labeled as local or international – see comment for more.

Geo-political  
territory

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): This question appears like it is coming from the background of “mapping” and “identitary” approach, as perceived in recent “identity re-counts” imposed by the official European “diversities” discourse. In the light of recent attempts to define politics as “the art of identity” rather than the real-world “material” action discourse there is also a view on the issues of “identity” as a supplement or re-articulation of what is defined as a “class”, and the same goes for derivative terms such are “cultural differences”, “creative industries” and the notion of “cultural translation”.

I don’t think that it matters if the organization is declared as local or international – what is of importance is it’s material practice. Most of our members live and/or work in Belgrade. So we can say that, at the moment, we are a Belgrade-based network. We have members from Niš, Novi Sad and other cities/towns in Serbia and we have active participants on our mailing list(s) from Croatia. This can “earn us the title” of regional organization. But, some of our members have years of experience and collaboration with different actors from the region, Europe and beyond, some people are living abroad but originally are from this society, some members maintain and plan to include different forms of international collaboration, so this may put us in “international” category. Since the technology allows us to communicate, coordinate and even in some cases act from wherever we are to wherever we want, this geographical categorization should not be considered crucial anymore. Since we are dealing a lot, as the most organizations here, with the practice of networking, with an accent on the digital networks, the “correct” question may be “where is your server based”, as well...

*What are the rules off/in your organization?*

We don’t have much rules yet, but we do introduce and change them over time.

*How do you produce these rules?*

Most of the rules we create from the experience of working on certain projects and “problems” we encountered in practice.

*Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do?*

Please see comment.

*Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?*

At the moment, yes, and yes. More in the comment.

*Do you consider the structure of your organization as an utopian model? If yes, how?*

It is hard to say. Lets use this quote by Arthur C. Clarke as the answer: “*If we have learned one thing from the history of invention and discovery, it is that, in the long run – and often in the short one – the most daring prophecies seem laughably conservative.*”

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): “First it was a crowd” (group psychology and political theory by C.F. Alford)– says that liberal sociology and philosophy is traditionally putting the accent on the relations between the state and the individual. No groups were “desired”, or allowed to be considered as the “serious” actors. That, actually, is not happening in the real world – this discussion and the exchange we have is the very proof of that.

What we may mention as important here, considering the discussion we had @Goethe Institute, is that it needs to be clear that self-organization does not underestimate non-organization in any way. It is rather the most sophisticated form of organization, where the models and protocols are being articulated and

tested in practice and changed accordingly, and the understanding that this process may be infinite is a precondition to accept it. There is a common experience that the better the rules are, the less you need them in quantitative terms, but it is applicable to mature phases of self-organized forms. The initiation often needs to be articulated through the process of making rules, changing rules, having certain protocols “built-in” at one point, and that’s where we can begin to think about making rules less visible. Those rules and protocols can hardly be inherent to a particular organization or group – the evolution of the rules is synchronized with the general protocols of immediate social and “material” surroundings and what is being adopted from what is being accessible and filtered from “global” experiences and practices. Also characteristic for the initiation phase is that a “center of gravity” is necessary – we do have a sort of “core” of our meta-organization at the moment. If this core will sustain acting like a small power plant we can hope that a critical mass will at one point form an entity which will become self-sustainable organism, in a way that it is not easily vulnerable by the lack of one particular cell, and that it can develop itself in a more diverse ways. I believe that traditionally this process graphically looks like a mild curve at the beginning, that building of a “system” requires undefined period of patience and efforts, and that it is the most decisive period of “shaping” the structure. I also suspect that quantum physics and social networking may share a lot of “rules”. After that initial period/process, the “quantum leap” in the evolution of the organization happens, the graph shows a sudden peak, a “cardiac arrest”-like image, and the “entity” needs no permanent “pace-maker” from the small number of people in it’s core anymore. They can be safely replaced or removed now :-)

If we already said that the mechanism of building “rules“ derives from the practice rather than from theory or history (although is quite desirable to play and have all sorts of fun and experiments with traditional rules), and that we are “patching the holes” as we discover them, how we should consider traditional functions or titles within the organization, marking “value“ and “power“ between individuals?

Now, this reminded me of a story I read somewhere, but can’t even google it anymore, so I will try to retell it. It is about (if I remember well) a Japanese business person, a small manager in the big company, obsessed with his status within the organization and the pace of his climbing up the ladder. He was so under the burden of thinking about his formal position that he was contemplating all the time about how his business card looks like comparing to the cards of other managers and executives – there is this thing, allegedly, about business cards – the less it tells about you, the more important you are. His card was saying a lot – *manager of this department for that in charge of developing this*, with all sorts of contacts there. Senior executives had less and less data exposed as they are in the higher positions, and the President Of The Board had a card with just his name on it. And, finally, the story ends one night, when our businessman wakes up in sweat, after dreaming of meeting God, who handed him over *his* business card – a blank piece of paper.

I like this story – I think it has a lot to say not just about how “system“ is using titles and functions as automatically executed “self-control“ and “self-reference“ system, and not just about how people are unquestionably accepting and actually grasping this imposed system of values, not only how the power is actually in it’s *secrecy* and *non-transparency* (I believe professor Miško Šuvakovic spoke about that at the discussion) but about how vertical, “chain of command“ and top-down organization may produce a mechanism which can deliver real-world results in the short term and in specific situations. It is creating what is perceived as a personality-depriving machine, and in the long run it all may work on the system’s inevitable and possibly ludistic end. The same applies not just to military or business circles, but to the world of academics, as well (soon I expect a post-mortem PhD studies and complementary titles to be introduced :-). This is not to criticize

the process of education, quite the contrary – there is this statement by Jiang Zemin, describing the process of building a society: “A learning society in which all people will learn or even pursue life-long education will emerge to boost their all-round development” – it could be achieved by re-defining of vertical structures, decision and policy-making mechanisms, “permanent” positions and the aggregation of power, which do restrain faster development in the educational systems worldwide for quite some time.

„Horizontal“ way of organizational structures hypothetically does not suffer from such a danger, but only if the two conditions are met: the protocols already underestimated, embedded in the social structure of individuals (where the issues of social values and education arise) and constant communication, which, among other roles, serves as the support for the different system of reference. If those conditions are not fulfilled, top-down system wins hands-down :-)

Just remember all those movies where a few of the robocaps from some special forces or the group of trained terrorists crush into a building or a plane, and take over the control of hundreds of people...

The privilege of being in the tactical (as opposed to “strategical”) position is that it allows any weapon at hand to be used, and whatever happens does not go under “Geneva Convention” rules. There are attempts to explore if some of the heritage of neo-liberalism can be recycled, appropriated and temporarily used to build transitional or evolutionary theories and practices.

I would not bring any opinion on if this could be considered as taking part in existing rather than introducing new practices. An excerpt from “A Democracy of Groups” by Beth Simone Noveck:

*In groups people can accomplish what they cannot do alone. Now new visual and social technologies are making it possible for people to make decisions and solve complex problems collectively. These technologies are enabling groups not only to create community but also to wield power and create rules to govern their own affairs. Electronic democracy theorists have either focused on the individual and the state, disregarding the collaborative nature of public life, or they remain wedded to outdated and unrealistic conceptions of deliberation. This article makes two central claims. First, technology will enable more effective forms of collective action. This is particularly so of the emerging tools for “collective visualization“ which will profoundly reshape the ability of people to make decisions, own and dispose of assets, organize, protest, deliberate, dissent and resolve disputes together. From this argument derives a second, normative claim. We should explore ways to structure the law to defer political and legal decision-making downward to decentralized group-based decision-making. This argument about groups expands upon previous theories of law that recognize a center of power independent of central government: namely, the corporation. If we take seriously the potential impact of technology on collective action, we ought to think about what it means to give groups body as well as soul — to “incorporate“ them.*

It appears that original term of *democracy* made it’s way to 21<sup>st</sup> century as an distorted (liberal) idea of permanent tolerance, and this “artificial consensus“ needs to be re-examined. There is the thesis of “agonistic pluralism” ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agonistic\\_pluralism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agonistic_pluralism)) by Chantal Mouffe, freely interpreted as the possible model of democracy as a society of permanent confrontation rather than the restrained and “time bomb“ society of permanent tolerance (the latter is the model especially well developed within European official cultural policies). That hypothesis is in practice also preconditioned by the same two social platforms we mentioned before – social protocols embedded and constant and uninterrupted communication.

*How is the decision-making process organized?*

It's easy. First there is the initiative from a certain member. Then it gets the network support. Or not.

*What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?*

The practices mentioned are the core elements of our organization. Please see comment for more.

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): Anarchists would say “if voting and elections could change anything, it would be illegal” :-). But, we do vote on some issues using mailing lists and in the meetings... In the organization as diverse as this one, it is not possible (I would say even not desirable) to reach consensus on a particular topic. Often there is an idea or activity and certain group forms around it, acting more or less independently.

The essential communication and organization tool of our group is mailing list. We did various experiments with having completely open discussion and announcement lists, having “invitation only” organization list, sub-lists for specific projects/tasks, and we are still in the process of developing the most functional approach.

Our web site, on the address [http://slobodnakultura.org/index.php/Glavna\\_strana](http://slobodnakultura.org/index.php/Glavna_strana), was based on media wiki platform, but for various reasons we are in the process of switching to CMS (content management system), and the one we are building a new site is based upon Drupal (<http://drupal.org/>) – we expect to replace the wiki one with a new system and fresh content in the following weeks, on the permanent address <http://slobodnakultura.org>.

We also managed to deploy, up to a certain success, a collaborative writing on the documents such are definition of the aims and activities of our organization and project proposals for funders using web-based platforms like [www.writely.com](http://www.writely.com), but of course there are people whose interests, skills and abilities will be manifested in some specific and complementary situations and on some dedicated tasks. We try not to “guide” that kind of positioning, but to rather leave it to the process of “natural” selection through interest expressed and the evaluation of difference between minimal or desired and actually accomplished results in certain situation.

Communicating and collaborating through web-based platforms and mailing lists should not be in any way a replacement for real-world – in this phase of development and utilization of technology still it may be a simulation, supplement or the extension of it. Remember, for example, old movies where we follow the progress of a murder case? Remember that one can appoint the meeting with the “executor” by phone or through mediators, but have to actually meet in order to say who will be the victim, and when? Still, it seems that some important decisions have to be “verified” by one’s “bodily presence”, as a sort of guarantee that you as such stand aware and responsible for what you do and stand for. Hm, I think I might have borrowed this from Marko Košnik :-). So we try, as often as possible, to have meetings where we plan, discuss or just talk and exchange and have fun with each other. We try to maintain the pace of meetings to at least once a week, but they may split into smaller group meetings dedicated to a particular idea or project, and because of having some people in different cities or abroad, it may mean that we never actually meet in person some of our members. And it would be almost scary to think of the situation where a joint photo of everybody involved in slobodnakultura.org could be taken :-).

“Practices of openness, transparency, sharing” are actually the only condition we have for somebody to be around our group. This is where I remembered a conversation we had around PAF’s decision to call it’s cultural production center/plat-

form and its web site “open source”, and it sounds like an interesting concept. I think we can all agree that a majority of theories and practices we all incline to and explore today comes from the world of software and networking, both in the technical and social way. But it is not just from using the software and networks we draw upon, it is the whole political history of decades of struggle software and net-art community have the experience with, regarding content licensing. Not to enter here into what appears to be the essential difference between “free software” and “open source” approaches, although anybody interested in networking should be aware of those differences ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free\\_software](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_software)), let’s consider using the “brand” of “open source” now. If we accept the existing definitions surrounding the term ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open\\_source](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_source)), then there should be clear that it is not a good idea to interpret it “at will”. There are things that are open source, and things that are not; it does not mean that all things open source are necessarily good, and that all “closed” source things have to be all bad. But there is just one thing that makes the difference between the two, and by which you can tell that difference – open source comes with the *license* which assures that it stays open source, therefore actually being *open source*. Without that kind of mutual agreement presented in the form of license, it can be called collective, participatory, collaborative, however – but should *not* be called open source. Without that kind of license, there is the possibility that you actually have an unfair exchange – somebody can use your platform for training, research or practice, and then to copyright/patent and close the output. If you achieve anything remotely significant and don’t license it (or the documentation of it) in the way that assures it can be freely used by others, you can be almost sure that business will take it over from there and make it proprietary. Of course, there is always an option to copyright the output in traditional way, but then we went as far as possible from the term of “open source”. Additional “sensitivity” comes from the recent practice of business defense mechanisms of appropriation triggered – these days PR vocabularies of biggest companies are full of “open this, open that, networking, participatory...” It is clear where it is supposed to lead – to a further inflation and appropriation of those hard-coined terms, and our, already at this point a bit “lost” traditional media-victim citizen, will completely lose any references. We should NOT contribute to that process under any excuse. This process Philip K. Dick explained in beautifully simple way: *“The basic tool for the manipulation of reality is the manipulation of words. If you can control the meaning of words, you can control the people who must use the words.”*

The policy of open content licensing is the premise of [slobodnakultura.org](http://slobodnakultura.org) and is one of the things we will not reconsider or change when it comes to our common output. One of the most important projects we are conducting at the moment is “porting” – translating and adjusting to the national law the Creative Commons set of licenses (<http://creativecommons.org>). Although more and more surrounded by criticism that it does recognize and relies upon the traditional copyright laws, which do crave to be annihilated and re-written without any doubt and are completely overruled by practice, it is still the most efficient and “deployable” way to continue with the practice of collaboration, sharing, self-education and preserving the content, without being annoyed by the constant “legal” obstructions coming from those who influence or actually write laws, and the “instruments” used to enforce those laws....

*How do you ensure sustainability for your project? >*

*Are you funded from project to project or permanently? >*

*How do you deal with money: how do you write the applications; how do you redistribute money?*

The financial situation of meta-organization is complex, because it should reflect the sum or the average of all of its constituents. Please see next comment.

*Is it possible that the founders don't remain at the core of your organization? Is this desirable?*

We expect that this is possible. If this is desired or not, that can be concluded from some future development within our organization, at this moment we do not know.

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): I don't think we are very concerned about the sustainability of slobodnakultura.org. The general feeling is that it grows and advances pretty well, and that we would like to resemble UN one day, but even in the case that at one point we decide that it is not working anymore, well, nothing, then... A very valuable experience for everybody involved and some interesting common projects realized, at least. All the groups and individuals presumably will have, as they already have, their own ways, histories and futures. We always apply for funding through our member organizations, and this position we explained at the beginning, we also already mentioned our "experiment" of trying to collaboratively write applications and other documents. At the time being, our practice is based mainly around the terms of enthusiasm, generosity, hospitality, mutual aid (maybe I was too critical about the 4<sup>th</sup> sector theory, after all :-)

Money in the system is inevitable and necessary – as we discussed on the symposium about the example on the extremely interesting netznetz.net net-art community from Vienna and user-distributed public funding experiment, money brings in its own set of phenomena "attached". Those issues prove to be very redundant and pretty much follow the money in always the same pattern, manifesting through lobbying, delegation or trading of votes or power, making temporary coalitions not based on the common ideological or programmatic similarities – actually, remarkably representing the ways of traditional stock exchange or the board of the business company. It is still a lab, a game, a test site – we need money to conduct real world impact, we would like to spend ridiculous amounts of money on our projects, but we would also like to document and discuss the process and to learn more about how it works and what it does – aside of the mathematics of business and economy...

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*What do you produce: relationships or products?*

The question of "relationships or products" may be interpreted as the question of "the economy of production or the economy of services", but let's observe a "product" as the object with the attributes of art-work, and "relationship" as the social platform. In that sense, we "produce" both but we put an accent on "relationships" at the moment. See comment for more.

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): I don't think those two "products" can be discussed completely independent from each other. It is the balance of this two "sides" of an output in the certain context that should be examined and evaluated. The good example may be the cultural policy of our society, the official "post 5<sup>th</sup> of October" discourse (where I will not even discuss the inaugural policy of the Ministry of Culture, saying that "an accent will be put on national and orthodox" – it is beyond any comment), which orientation translates into the "less is more" approach. How I read it, the strategy is that less projects should be funded with more money, in order to "compete" better in the international "market of projects". Let us skip and not comment the idea that art or cultural output in general is supposed to "compete" as we may reach some very dark and off-topic destinations, and let us not examine in detail the concepts of *creative industries* or the issues of *cognitive capitalism* now – but it is important to understand the context and the history of a particular society or region, to do our own "mapping", in order to decide on the tactics to be applied and to discuss "goals" of our initiatives.

So, let's stay on this particular case study. The concept of "less is more" also underestimates the production of experts of a high profile, specialized to pinpoint and "solve problems" in very narrow and specific parts of the "industry". If (arguably) potentially functional approach in super-developed society which accepts aforementioned concepts, in the frame of Serbia today I think that it is not a promising strategy, if not a dangerous one. It may, in the society already heavily damaged from the media-programmed change of values and perception of culture in general, continue and finish the process of re-articulating what we think when we say "culture". It could definitely establish it as the "other", "imposed", "non-native", "non-comprehensive", "non-accessible", or just plainly a sort of niche for academics and those who can not "adjust" to new "realities of life". It will successfully finish the process of establishing the "new and real culture" as a commodified market oriented entertainment lifestyle media industry, the only value denominator being it's gross income or contribution to tourist industry. This process is finite, as it eats out the very substance it is made of, the base of future generations of "cultural workers" who will shrink in percentage as the consequence of the social process as a whole. Finally, it may bring even sharper divisions within the society, refining the artificial discourse of "other Serbia" introduced in 90's, where a few "enlightened" will continue to advance in aggregating knowledge, power and the "right" to presentation, while the rest of society will sink deeper into the position of "abandoned" and unarticulated mob, influenced and controlled by half-information, scandals, conspiracy theories and "yellow press" introducing consumeristic values. So, in this particular situation, "less is more" approach might easily mean the cultural "suicide", although it is possible that under some other circumstances it might produce the "results" desired. Our particular social context is demanding a wider approach, nurturing bottom-up processes and building of the protocols – in this "phase" protocols are incomparably more important than the production of master-pieces. Policy makers should not introduce the competition among artists and content-providers to "take a bigger piece of the pie" – they should "make the pie bigger". This is not to say that the society in this position does not require significant and advanced cultural output – but allocation of priorities at certain moment of time may prove to be a dangerous game, if taken without awareness of what the society at present looks like, and what perspectives may follow after certain strategy is applied. So, [slobodnakultura.org](http://slobodnakultura.org) is oriented at the moment to production and introduction of protocols and policies, and the "quality" of output in the terms of content is desired to be "high", but is not the crucial element of evaluation. There is another thing about the output we think is always important – this is diversity (not to be understood like "diversities" discourse of official EU policies, but more like "allowing contingency"). I think we all should be aware that artificially representing the society in the "international cultural shopping mall" by investing in few projects crafted to succeed in the "competition" never brought anything to anybody (except for a few "stars" and mediators being created) in the long run, and that we should build protocols we lack today in order to freely use and enjoy them as the platform of tomorrow.

The whole "super-expert" hype is in it's very conception a bit "outdated" in collision with (now not so) recent reality of culture and art as post-interdisciplinary fields. "Expert" solutions often tend to take over and lock-out the whole system, and then we can start to count for how long time this self-eating mechanism will last, until being (in the lack of "better solution") replaced by the new "school" of experts. Again, this does not imply that this particular example of the society does not need experts in cultural production and cultural policies – quite the contrary, we perceive the lack of them. But there was always this irrational tendency to switch from one extreme to another. So, products or relations – it is all in the balance and timing. The paradox is, we do need experts deciding on it:-)

I would like to finish this section quoting the text from the great performance on this year's BELEF festival (thanks to Zorica Kojić and Dragan Ambrozić), played and spoken by Laurie Anderson, who used to say "I am not an expert, I am an artist". This part is called "Only An Expert":

*"Only an expert can deal with the problem.  
And seeing the problem is only half the problem  
So if there is no expert dealing with the problem  
it's really actually twice the problem..."*

*...Because only an expert can see that there's a problem.  
So if there's no actual problem it doesn't mean  
that there is no problem...*

*Because only an expert can see that there's a problem  
and only an expert can deal with the problem.*

*...An important role of the father is to give the son a sense of permission. A sense of what might be done. This still works, but since no adult is supported by the voice of the culture, which is now a childish voice, it does not work well.*

*...Because in the absence of adults, people came to put their trust in experts to solve the problems. Cause expert can be part of the problem. Only an expert can deal with the problem.*

*...Television is dangerous because it operates according to an attention span that is childish, but is cold.  
Which is a problem. Because the expert has taken courses.  
He's the expert. He knows a crisis. He knows crisis intervention.  
He knows how to solve the problem.  
Even if he's part of the problem.  
Because only an expert can deal with the problem.*

*...The expert doesn't know about daily life, because daily life isn't coherent. So why should he know about it? Who can understand something that's not coherent? Not him.  
That's why the expert sticks to the problem..."*

*Do you want self-organization to support your art or do you want it to change society?*

We don't see a real distinction between the two. More in the comment.

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): We heard on the symposium about the interesting theory of the 4<sup>th</sup> sector (the three "recognized" sectors so far being the governmental, business and the NGO one), introduced by Dr Milena Dragičević-Šešić, saying that there could be another form of organized collective entities, the one below the radar of public or official institutions. The one not being formalized, registered, articulated in public or showing any interest in doing so, but also the one not asking for any external funding or participation in official institutions or official policy-making, acting like a mutual aid-driven self-sufficient organism. I found it quite interesting – one of my favourite statements is from DJ Marshall Jefferson, when asked about his own policy of life and work – he said, on one of Serbian national TV stations, looking quite stoned: "Fly low and beat the radar..." But, I also failed to understand the possible utilization of such theory in the context of the group discussing and exchanging experiences on self-organization, in the social environment with a very, very poor history of self-organization (although we can discuss a lot about unique Yugoslav modernistic project of self-management, which was of a declarative nature and failed in practice, but is still underexposed in contemporary theory). Yes, I also believe in the solutions which are not coming from the traditional "sources". But I had the perception that the

aim of most of the actors gathered around the discussion is to ultimately reach the point where they could use funding resources, and equally or more important, contribute and take part in policy-making, on the level of official institutions. “*My game plan is systematic, thorough and long-term introduction of TkH’s discourse into the local institution of performing arts as an indispensable discourse.*” said Ana Vujanović from TkH/Druga scena in interview for *Frakcija* magazine (no. 30/31, Zagreb, 2004). (I am fully aware that this is not addressing just brick-and-mortar and official institutions and that it has a much wider scope and meaning).

So it doesn’t matter which sector we are emerging from (one of the nice descriptions of 4<sup>th</sup> sector I found says “*socially responsible, financially sound, sustainable, effective, flexible, small & inspiring organizations*”), it matters what we want to achieve – our artistic practices or theoretical positions may be different, but I think we share the common interest to act in the fields of institutional transformation and cultural and funding policies. If the 4<sup>th</sup> sector theory implies that self-organizations should not contribute to institutional transformation and should accept or neglect rather than affect existing social relations, then I don’t find it applicable – if we found that existing institutions were fulfilling our needs, we wouldn’t come to the point to self-organize at the first place. In this context, it may sound like “go and experiment, play in the sand, and leave the power to the experts on how to use it”.

Even more interesting in this context was the sort of the “extension” of the theory of sectors proposed by Dr Miško Šuvaković, and I will freely interpret it as a sort of a utopian model, where we exchange the existing reality for an imaginary future. As an hypothesis that reality can be ignored, it is definitely an indispensable tool for anticipation and introduction of uncanny and unexpected – Bernard Shaw said “*Some men see things as they are and ask why. Others dream things that never were and ask why not...*” But, again I am afraid that the necessary preconditions for this approach are not even near to be met, and that applying that kind of practice (in the present moment and on the self-organized forms and entities emerging) may lead to the Matrix-like situation. It is because we don’t see any kind of willingness yet from where the power sits to “share” the power and decision and policy-making and to join the game, quite the opposite – the trend to aggregate the power is following the pattern of aggregating money – the victim just can not stop. So, if self-organization is defined through *the sectors theory* like “playing in the sand”, and this extension says “while there, stick your heads in that sand – where you are is only limited by your imagination, then” – what is the purpose of all our initiatives? We could attend to our imagination privately, we do not need to self-organize in order to do it. But, once we start to share this “imaginary” possibilities, we enter a different perspective, a different coordinant system. I think whatever sector we are coming from we have to be aware that there are no records of the society, for sure not of the one within our “western” cultural history, for which we can say that official policies and the distribution of resources did not matter. I believe that however abstract or “parallel world” an organization wants to be or however “out-of-this-world” issues it wants to deal with, it still operates within “the desert of the realm” and has, in a way, the necessity to articulate itself and to act on the level of “material” using the common protocols. This does underestimate real-world actions, and it inherently has to require the shift of power, however defined the power may be. This does underestimate also the right to do any other “parallel world” or “imaginary” future” activity or non-activity.

Getting out of the sandy playground is the possibility of and for *slobodna-kultura.org* and other self-organized forms – yes we do debate in cafes and represent our activities on the streets, and we feel “@home” there, but we would not feel out of place in decision-making and policy-making bodies, as well. Living art or total art is an interesting concept, and it even may comply with anarchistic *everybody is an artist = there is no art* (as in *everybody got the power = there is*

*no power*) concept. Actually, we should see the traditional institutions as potential transitional institutions, and we should incline to collaborate with them and use them and question them – they have to be recognized as the important constituent of the general perception of what the society is at present, and their traditional influence should be used as one powerful tool to propose and introduce changes. Institutions should be “programmed” to use the same protocols, to collaborate and exchange and re-define themselves together with “the rest of the world outside”, even if it may lead to transformation of those institutions beyond recognition or into the extinction.

*How do you decide on who is in / who is out? >*

*Do you accept memberships? Who can apply?*

Our present practice on those issues is under development, and is explained in the comment.

*Who represents your organization?*

Any member interested or in the situation to do so. It is recommended that we discuss the situation through the mailing list or another communication platform – this questionnaire was offered to anybody interested to take part or comment on our shared Writely account (now called Google Docs & Spreadsheets).

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): How we decide who is in or who is out? Actually, yet we don't decide on it, in traditional way, which underestimates having certain criteria met, application submitted and decision being brought. At the beginning we set up a [wiki@slobodnakultura.org](mailto:wiki@slobodnakultura.org) where anybody interested could enter the data about one's organization or oneself and declare the membership. We even haven't had any set of “rules” or policies displayed at the time, and we are still in the process of articulating and defining those. During the months of practice, organizing the First Festival of Free Culture, different public actions, panels and presentations, or just meeting and working together, some “entities” proved to be more active and interested than some other “entities”, but this is something which is changing during time, and we feel no urge to re-count members or to bring judgments on who's “working” and who's “passive”. It may change if some hypothetical situation would demand it, but I doubt it will happen, as we perceive slobodnakultura.org as free platform rather than some sort of formal membership-based organization – platforms are for people to use when they have the need for it. Of course, platform has to be established, maintained and improved, and that's where the issues of “activity/passivity” and “contribution” may arise, but as we “*build the plane while flying*” (A. L. Findeisen), we will attend to it when it actually pose the demand to be resolved, and will not try to anticipate it and solve it in advance. Some who “wondered around” and ended up in slobodnakultura.org may feel not really at home and leave, while some may discover that it is the way to share resources and experiences and to conduct actions they were looking for. And that's why I felt it was important to hear more about Clulture's experience and practices – it's one BIG network, which may already have some of the questions we will be faced with examined. Also, within slobodnakultura.org we have a lot of groups and individuals dealing with different issues – the dominant course at the moment is free&open source software and “hardware” networking (e.g. Linux User Group(s), Free Software Network, BGWireless), free knowledge (Wikimedia), gender activism (Women at Work), art and other activism (dez.org, Bureau for Culture and Communication Belgrade) – and please excuse me everybody for not listing all the individuals and organizations involved, as this is just an example... I feel the lack of theory and performing arts “angles” – that's why we initiated the discussion about closer collaboration with Druga scena, as it seems

that the two platforms may be complementary. Yet it remains to be discussed, in and about all the organizations involved, about criteria which should be applied and common and particular interests and goals. So how big can all those organizations grow, independently or together? We don't know. Only the practice can tell. Here, I would like to quote excerpt from Dr Geert Lovink's text "The Principles of Networking – Concepts in Critical Internet Culture":

*Let's end with the perhaps least investigated aspect of scalability. Why is it so difficult for networks to scale up? There seems to be an immanent tendency to split up in a thousand micro conversations. This also counts for the 'social software' blogs like Orkut, Friendster and LinkIn, in which millions from all over the globe participate. For the time being it is only the geeky Slashdot that manages to centralize conversations amongst the tens of thousands of its online users. Electronic mailing lists do not seem to get above a few thousand before the conversation actually slows down, heavily moderated as it is. The ideal size for an in-depth, open discussion still seems to be somewhere between 50 and 500 participants. What does this mean for the networked multitudes? The question would be: to what extent is this all a software issue? Could the necessary protocols being written up by women? Can we image very large-scale conversations that do not only make sense but also have an impact? What network cultures can transform large institutions?*

<http://www.hva.nl/lectoraten/ol09-050224-lovink.pdf>

*Do you inform people about your organization models? If yes, whom and how?*

We haven't had the time to reflect upon or articulate in more details our practice yet – we are an emerging network – and we certainly haven't had the opportunity to discuss it with traditional and "official" policy-makers. I am confident that in the near future both the articulation and discussion will emerge as a necessity for all the actors involved, and will benefit existing and future societies, at least as a research material – but, we hope, much more as a real-world practice. Please see comment for more on the issue.

*Is your organization based on principles of representation?*

We are afraid that we do not understand this question.

*Are you interested in networking/exchange with other self-organizations in Europe?*

That is what slobodnakultura.org is about – we are curious about any possible collaboration or exchange proposed...

*Comment* (slobodnakultura.org – vlidi): Media situation and articulation we haven't had the time to discuss on the symposium, but communicating what we do with wide audience I see as one of the most important parts of activities of anybody involved in self-organization – it is a universe of it's own, and I would like to propose it as the topic of one of the future discussions, otherwise this thread would unexpectedly reach the size of the average Yellow pages :-). It was also examined at Paraflows 06 symposium in Vienna (<http://paraflows.at>) this September, and there I had the opportunity to witness the sheer volume of the issue, and the importance this topic has within the discussion about self-organized forms.

I would like to finish with one proposition and one last quote (the last one, I promise :-). The proposition would be that anybody interested take a look at the lecture/performance given by Marko Košnik in Vienna last year, under the title OPERABIL. The video can be previewed at <http://homepage.mac.com/marchegon/archive/operabilMov.html>

If we all incline to explore network practices and to resemble software and hardware models we are growing more and more influenced by, this is by no means an “easy” situation, a few of us could be “ready” for this kind of future emerging, and there is not much from the history records or heritage known we can resort to in order to find examples, keys to interpret or the experiences we can use on how to “handle” the multitude of questions unfolding every day. After all, it is not by chance that the full name of one of the oldest institutions exploring new media and digital network practices, V2 from Rotterdam, is “*Institute For The Unstable Media*”. And, now, the quote:

*„The whole modern (or post-modern) world seems incomprehensible, and therefore sinister, to millions of our citizens.”*

It is happening right now. We have a lot of problems to think about, a lot of things to re-define. To finish in more positive way, another quote says:

*„But, once again, out of the chaos I see us emerging to another (temporary) stability, in which more advances in knowledge and art will occur than at any previous time in history because we now process more information per week than most earlier societies processed in a generation.“*

Both quotes are from Robert Anton Wilson and his 1992 work *Reality is What You Can Get Away With*. (this great author needs help now: <http://www.rawilson.com/main.shtml>)

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NOTES



NOTES

**Self-organization:  
Producing the  
Discourse(s)**



*Self-organization* is a precise bureaucratic and yet, in point of fact, a very open term which I have chosen for the title of the international symposium that takes place within the framework of 40<sup>th</sup> BITEF.

The focus of the conference is on the performing arts (theater, dance, opera, performance...) but other fields of art (video, music, graphic arts, film, digital art, architecture...), critical and activist cultural practices, educational models, students' organization, and free software procedures are also present.

In terms of the disciplines, the conference covers the theory (of arts and culture), organization (of arts and culture), the artistic practice and the cultural-artistic activism.

The conference addresses the presentation, consideration and articulation of self-organization as an alternative organizational form of artistic and cultural initiatives within the current local, regional, and European social contexts. The idea is to make it perform a triple function: to acquaint the public with the emergence of relevant current self-organized initiatives in art and culture; promote a discussion and a debate about this notion/practice; and encourage the articulation of a model or models of self-organization. So the self-organization is here taken to mean not only a production-management model but also a theoretical problem and an artistic-poetic position, and the programme of the conference covers all these aspects, through reflection on: *procedures of work* and *cultural policy issue*.

The self-organization emerges as an expanding method and also as the practice of creation of

artistic scenes and cultural policies "from below". Its potential rests with the establishment of flexible networks in the Artworld at a time when the official cultural policies ("from above") and the existing institutional protocols no longer satisfy a large number of art and culture protagonists. The chief "asset" of the self-organization is that it emerges from below, from the need of the art and culture protagonists themselves who would rather not be included in projects, networks, and institutions meting out the rules of work, participation and needs from above (from ministries and secretariats of culture, funds, programmers of large institutions and the like). Self-organized initiatives (networks, platforms, movements, communities, groups, associations...) are an optimistic attempt to rethink the place, the status, and the functions of art and culture in the public sphere of this restructured "global" society. Needless to say, the context is not homogeneous, it is not "one"; quite the reverse, I insist precisely on the multiplicity of forms arising from that 'common place', on the differences ranging from the neo-liberal capitalist First World to the transitional societies of the post-socialist Europe to their specific micro-contexts. In these contexts self-organizations pursue different tactics and partly different objectives, but their starting intent within all these contexts is to – somehow and to a certain degree – preserves the art from the direct interference of either the market or the state.

In the light of that point of departure, the self-organization supports the art's transforming potential to intervene in social relations. I hope

that it is clear that by focusing on the self-organization I do not mean support to art's autonomy from the social reality such as the modernist imperatively requested. Quite the contrary: the emphasis is on the fact that art itself is a form of the social practice and it thus must be thoroughly and seriously considered, explored, and changed. On the one hand, numerous procedures constituting the society in which art is created make very brutal incursions in the province of art, but on the other, art is that relatively privileged space of the public sphere in which one can explore how far one can go in the analysis, creation, and projection of a new society. That is why I assert that art is ultimately a political activity.

However, it is a far cry from thinking to creating; and it is this that is the critical aspect discussed at the conference in the case of existing and invited self-organizations. By announcing this conference I want to avoid making an unduly big promise that this long-awaited key to the general restructuring of art today has finally been found. Even more than that: it could be that the self-organization is just one more artistic r/e-volution, like those we know from that "other" history of art which maps the practices from historical avant-gardes to late-post-modern critical art in the age of culture. That question – and whether these r/e-revolutionary projects remain unaccomplished or keep opening new spaces – I leave open for the conference's discussions and debates.



*Participants in the conference / Discussion (CW):  
Ana Marković, Emina Višnić, Miško Šuvaković, Dalija Aćin, Emil Jurcan, Milena Dragičević-Šešić*

## The Bazaar in the Cathedral<sup>1</sup>

Ulrike Melzig and Conrad Noack

Between the 26th and the 31st of December, 2005, around 40 artists, theorists and art practitioners took part in a meeting in the small village of St. Erme in northern France. By invitation of Jan Ritsema, who has bought an old convent building in St. Erme through his own private initiative, this group of people assembled to discuss how to develop this location into an artist-run work, research and education facility. The house itself has enormous potential for such an interest: up to 100 people can live and work there at the same time, and the current condition and infrastructure of the building is sufficient for immediate usage. What it needs is 1. users and 2. a procedure of usage that supports the creation of an open and user-created institution on a long-term basis.

The name of the facility is PAF (Performing Arts Forum)<sup>2</sup>, although the institution shall be open to artists and practitioners from other areas as well.

As participants in this meeting we share a great interest in the creation of such a resource and facility.

Being based in Berlin, we are involved in different groups and projects situated somehow in

the performing arts. Within these mostly self-organized environments we each practice multiple professions such as producer, performer, software programmer, technician, curator or administrator. We adapt to these different practices and competencies according to the needs of each specific project.

Our economic and social situation is marked by conditions typical of freelance cultural producers in Berlin. We continuously switch between paid (funded) and unpaid projects. Our yearly income is between 8.000 E – 12.000 E with very little social-security to fall back on.

We feel a strong necessity to reflect on our work conditions and gain resources and power in order to play a more active role in the shaping of those conditions according to our needs.

During the last one or two years we have taken part in various discussions between artists and cultural producers that aimed at rethinking the working conditions in the field of the performing arts. (Involved in Performance Berlin<sup>3</sup>, Fernwärme at Ausland Berlin<sup>4</sup>, PAF Performing Arts Forum)

Starting off from an analysis of the current institutional system for performing arts in (Western) Europe (including production, pres-

<sup>1</sup> We here refer to the text by Eric S. Raymond: "The Cathedral and the Bazaar", in: *first Monday, peer reviewed Journal on the Internet*, [http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue3\\_3/raymond/](http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue3_3/raymond/). In this article Raymond anatomizes a successful open-source project, fetchmail, that was run as a deliberate test of some surprising theories about software engineering suggested by the history of Linux. He discusses these theories in terms of two fundamentally different development styles, the "cathedral" model of most of the commercial world versus the "bazaar" model of the Linux world.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.pa-f.net/>

<sup>3</sup> A loose and open initiative of a number of Berlin-based freelance artists and cultural producers who share a profound concern for the current situation of Performing Arts in Berlin, particularly in respect to a general recognition of their work and working conditions.

<sup>4</sup> A group of performing artists and producers that organize platforms and peer-to-peer education on different topics related to performing arts, as well as organize the "Fernwärme – The Making of Performing Arts" series at Ausland Berlin (<http://www.ausland-berlin.de>).

entation and education facilities), desires have been articulated in relation to

- the creation of work, production and education spaces / environments / resources that are run by artists and practitioners in a self-organized way
- the possibility for continuous networking, exchanging and communicating between artists and practitioners across national borders
- the practicing of collective education as shared research and knowledge production, continuous exchange of knowledge, ideas and information.

The introduction to certain Internet technologies and especially to the concept and ethics of open source software development and *information commons* has, in many ways, inspired the way we think of different ways of exchanging, learning and self-organizing in accordance with the desires mentioned above.

#### Commons Based Peer Production

It has often been claimed that art production is an avant-garde mode of production. In a nutshell, the argument goes that the typical artist has for generations been exposed to market driven working conditions (self-employed, little or no social-security, both worker and agent of one's work products). The argument continues that this mode of production is becoming much more prevalent in society. If this is the case, then there is a good argument for art production having lost its avant-garde status.

Instead, outside the arts other forms of knowledge production have developed, which are much more explicitly based on cooperation and networking. Yochai Benkler calls these forms "Commons based peer production"<sup>5</sup>, the mode of production for many free / open source software projects.

Examining this method in terms of its potentials to create other organizational or institutional architectures for artists and theoreticians, we are looking for resources that oppose the mechanisms of the performing arts market (creation of authorships, competition, representational products). Furthermore, we sup-

pose that reshaping organizations and institutions of research, production and education according to a non-market-driven production model will prepare the foundation for different knowledge and practices in the field of performing arts and theory.

Content: Copyleft, Commons, etc.

The Information Commons we intend to build upon consists of every cultural artefact that is not classified under 'all rights reserved'. Every ancient text and many modern source codes, all the classical musical scores, in fact most of what could be considered culture, and more, specifically art, is part of the information commons. Taking a commons-based approach for an artist's institution means to actively enlarge the Information Commons with our works.

There are a number of reasons to do so.

> Copyright fuels the art industry while doing very little for the individual artist himself. The art industry is built on copyright and has, among other things, created the star system where a few artists are given VIP treatment while effectively blocking any attempt for art to be meaningful.

> Authorship. Art relies on exchange, referencing and remixing – but the economic reality of the arts market remains tied to specific authors.

> If we propose an organizational architecture for artistic production and research that supports free access and sharing of information, we must rethink how to maintain the growing economic value being produced by its users.

The open source movement used the GNU General Public License (Copyleft)<sup>6</sup> as a tool to ensure that any work created by members of the movement remains accessible to all its members.

We propose to use a similar mechanism e.g. the Creative Commons share-alike license<sup>7</sup> that has not been designed for software but for other kinds of creative work such as websites, scholarship, text, video, etc. Such license sets creative works free for certain uses, on certain conditions ("some rights reserved").

<sup>5</sup> Yochai Benkler: "Coase's Penguin, or, Linux and The Nature of the Firm", *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 112 (<http://www.benkler.org/CoasesPenguin.html>).

<sup>6</sup> GNU Public License: <http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/gpl.html>, Copyleft: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Copyleft>.

<sup>7</sup> <http://creativecommons.org/>

Both the GPL license, as well as the Creative Commons license are of a viral nature: Once a work has been published under such a license, all works derived from it will have to be published under the same license as well.

Such a mode of copyright as a trademark of commons-based peer production demands seeing authorship as a continuum in which many people work together to create. Neither the ingenious invention, nor the artistic intuition is the basis for authorship. Rather, being part of a functioning communication and knowledge production network creates the basis.

### Procedure

Commons based peer production promises an efficient solution to a communication problem that we are facing: people working on the same thing from different places.

Just as there are various kinds of software in the information commons, commons-based peer production in the arts will enable a wide variety of artistic production.

Commons-based peer production functions as a meritocracy: not everybody involved has the same influence on the development of the project, while those who are involved more will decide more.

Of course, the literal application of a software production model to an artist's institution might create some significant translation problems, some of which might be productive, others not.

A possible area of conflict involves the usage of advanced Internet communication tools. This entails not only a certain expertise in using these tools (thus effectively creating a threshold preventing some from participating), but also a certain 'culture of usage' where building a common text and a common discussion is more highly regarded than branching into private texts.

The Internet culture of usage is a culture of short texts, of multiple but small contributions, of patience when waiting for an answer through a non-synchronized communication, and of constant initiative.

### PAF open source institute

If we propose to organize PAF according to methods used in the production of open source

software, we first need to find roles within that institution that correspond to the following major roles within software development: the maintainers, the developers and the users.

A user of an arts institution can be anybody who wants to use this institution for his or her own purposes but who does not take an overly active role in furthering its development.

A developer makes an effort to improve (or "debug") the institution, adding new features or proposing to change others.

The task of the maintainers is to keep the project's development on a healthy course, to prevent features better implemented in a different project from being included, or to help lay standards of coding, and to do a substantial part of the development. The maintainer is usually somebody who is willing to put an exceptional amount of effort into the project and who volunteers (or is chosen) to oversee all or a specific part of the development of the project.

#### a) System requirements

The creation of PAF involves a lot of work that needs to be shared with as many people as possible. This group of people can be spread around the globe, but each member needs to have a personal interest in PAF. Each member needs to be willing to spend some time organizing PAF. Each member needs to have sufficient access to the Internet. Each member of this group needs to have some experience with the Internet communication tools used to organize PAF. These tools will include mailing lists, blogs, wikis, etc., and all these tools aim to help creating a *common text*. In the case of PAF this common text will consist of rules, funding applications, project proposals, project documentations, schedules, etc.

#### b) Installation

The biggest challenge PAF is facing now is to name maintainers for a number of tasks that are needed to create PAF. These tasks should be as self-contained as possible as not to interfere too much with each other. Some of these tasks could be:

- internal communication (communication between maintainers)
- external communication (communication with users, press, etc.)

- documentation/archive (techniques and methods of documentation)
- accommodation (housing, food)
- finance (participation fees, expenses, subsidies, etc.)
- technical support (web, house, stage)

How each task group communicates internally is up to its members. However, traces of all communications should be available online.

In addition, we need to build a mechanism that enables everybody (users, developers, maintainers) to give constructive critique and feedback in order to “debug” the architecture of PAF. This means we need a method for “bug-tracking”, i.e. a transparent method for keeping a record of how critique was dealt with.

#### c) User guide

PAF needs written documentation, rules, guidelines, how-to’s. Prominent among those should be a “how to co-develop PAF” that introduces the ethics of PAF and explains the usage of the communication tools in simple non-technical terms. The rules around PAF should be as lean and simple as possible and continuously invite new people to participate in its creation.

We need to explain to everybody using PAF that by providing valid and constructive feedback, everybody gains. We need to explain that by providing valid proposals to remedy a problem within PAF, everybody gains even more. And we need to communicate that PAF is not a place where ‘everything goes’ but where every feedback and proposal is considered, talked about. It will only be implemented if it is promising, but the documentation of discussion about its merits will be open for anybody who cares to look.

In a distributed organization all the functions one individual has within the organization should be clearly identifiable as belonging to this individual. Anybody who agrees to a task as part of his or her responsibilities to PAF should at least see this task to its end or declare failure to do so. All tasks should be configured in such a way that they can be completed without having to wait for somebody else to complete theirs, and the documentation needs to be kept

up to a minimum level so that if something unexpected happens, PAF would still be able to go ahead by looking through the compiled documentation.

#### d) Success/Failure

Finally, it seems necessary to describe measurements with which we can evaluate whether the institution/organization that we create will be a success or a failure.

Here are some proposals:

PAF fails when it excludes, becomes exclusive, excludes co-development.

PAF fails when it does not attract enough co-developers.

PAF fails when its organization is not reproducible (but instead seems to depend on charisma).

PAF fails when its set-up does not foster free sharing of information, discourse and critique.

On the other hand, PAF will be a success if its architecture becomes useful for much more than art production and education.

#### PAF extended

The potential that we assume from such an attempt of organizing an artist’s institution is far bigger than providing a particular functioning workspace in the specific location of PAF. Quite the contrary, we assume that the realization of such a working structure that enlists a range of co-organizers all over Europe will need and will bring forth a networked structure of different European artists’ initiatives and local forces.

And we should be aware that such a proposal means to take sides in a political struggle, that its formation and implementation poses a threat to the arts market and arts industry as we know it. This struggle is marked by the debate around peer-to-peer networks, software patents, extension of copyright and the building of a genuine public domain of information. To apply such a mode of production to the context of performance arts and artists’ institutions means to enlarge the potential of this movement in society.

a) region?

How shall we understand the region as geographical sphere of cooperation? What are the instruments that will help us to put the boundaries? Shall we follow political and administrative definitions of the region of so called West Balkan (ex Yugoslavia, minus Slovenia, plus Albania) or South East Europe (West Balkan plus Bulgaria and Romania)? Are those at all relevant for cultural cooperation? And then how to start a regional project if you have suspicions about these divisions? What is the principle you should follow?

When we started the initiative for program exchange and collaboration in the region (that was back in 2004), we decided to follow the same principles we had when we were creating national independent cultural organizations' network Clubture. That is, to follow the "real life". That means, to start from something that already exists. So, simply, Croatian organizations that were joined in Clubture network invited organizations that they knew: their partners or associates in different activities or just those with which they share information. So the "region" was defined by existing cultural and social connections, that (which isn't surprising) are following previous ones. In the end, our initiative operates in the region we can describe as: West Balkan plus Slovenia minus Albania.

b) common cultural framework

Besides the memories of common art and cultural space, and – extremely important –

shared languages, one can recognize similarities in development of cultural sector in all of these former socialistic countries.

Public cultural sector, as opposite to powerful, rapid and deep changes in, primary, political and economical sphere but also in everyday life and general lifestyle, still basically functions on grounds of old principles. During the transition those old principles were more or less "conserved". On the one hand, that has some positive aspects. One of the most important is preservation of cultural infrastructure. It means that the most of cultural buildings haven't changed their purpose (cultural purpose); they weren't swallowed by rapid capitalism and transformed into shopping malls or similar. No matter how unsatisfied we can be with functioning and programming of those institutions (cultural centers, museums, theaters, etc.), it is extremely important that they still exist as such.

On the other hand, this preservation policy resulted with institutional framework (both on national and local levels) that is not able to go on the second step and to execute structural transformations towards proactive policies and strategies that would encourage diversity, dynamicity and cultural development, instead of representation and preservation. As one of the results today we still have most (80-90%) of the public funding invested in keeping the huge system of cultural institution alive and functional in basic sense. It means that the most of the investments go to infrastructure maintenance and salaries of great number of administrative, technical and artistic staff. Only small amount

goes for programs, and mostly for so called regular programs of those institutions. So, in general, cultural policy is more or less functioning with just one goal: keep the system alive, keep the social peace, keep the status quo.

c) network information environment

While culture here was kept under the ice, the world around has been (as it still is) in rapid changes. From the perspective of all social spheres, which includes culture and art, “networked information environment” (Yochai Benkler in his book *The Wealth of Network*), enabled by rapid development of technology, have made a huge impact not just on how we live our lives, but also how we produce, present and communicate art and culture and how we create new social (and cultural) forms that are out of the art market or representative cultural flows. The greater availability of production and communication means (resources) and removal of physical constrains have three effects important for society as whole: non-proprietary strategies, non-market production and “rise of effective, large-scale cooperative efforts – peer production of information, knowledge, and culture“. As this notions are extremely interesting to be taken into consideration when we are discussing the nature of today’s art and culture production, we would just like to stress the importance of new context brought by new technologies in development of independent culture.

First of all, the basic (even banal) fact that Internet enabled us to communicate in faster, simpler and cheaper way with billions of people around the globe had direct influence in enabling grater mobility of information, people and, of course, art and culture products. On the other hand, networked and peer communication and production on the Internet (at least indirectly) influenced creation of new models of cultural communication – cooperation and sharing through platforms and networks.

d) network structure – Clulture as an example

Clulture, as national network, but also through the way we are building our regional network/platform, makes an example of structure developed on similar principles.

Network structure enables that individual nodes (members) are not in hierarchical and

inter-dependent relations. Possible exit or passivity of one of the members have no direct effect on others or on network functioning as whole. They don’t have to *sacrifice* their identities and individuality by joining the group (or, more correctly, making the group with others). They are not forced by any central or umbrella position to change the way they are working and the content they are producing. They are not forced or obligated to be part of the group. The decision is left to their willingness, motivation and interest to join and to organize and perform direct (*peer to peer*) cooperation with others in the system.

The network is created ‘bottom-up’, it emerges as an effect of association of diverse actors who are by themselves developing their rules and procedures on the basis of goals and values around which they connected. Network itself defines its program and organizational focuses, fields of operation, crucial goals and interests (hence boundaries), that by necessity have to include also individual interests.

e) organizational form

If the network includes *physical* cooperation, in further development – that follows the emergence, which is the long period of sustaining long-term functioning – it needs organizational structures that are able to perform at least three functions: (1) coordination, (2) fundraising, and (3) administration.

These two, on the first glance opposite characteristics and functions (openness and bound-*endness*), the network can find in organizational form of association, civil organization. It provides the network with legal entity that enables it to function in given social and economic system, and in the same time, because of the basic non-profit characteristics and orientation, it is not forced to operate only according to market principles of offer and demand. This organizational form enables individuals but also different organizations to connect and cooperate.

f) emergence of independent culture parallel to hierarchical system

In countries in the region in dominant (official) culture we exclusively have highly hierarchical systems based on central state decision making and pool of inert mostly non-efficient cultural institutions.

But with other social changes in 1990s, things started to move on the other side of the system. In the sphere of not official, not institutionalized culture and art production. As a counter-reaction to this situation, an independent cultural scene, organized by civil society organizations, was established. It is the scene of independent, non-profit, grassroots clubs, initiatives and organizations (civil society actors) that operate on the specific ground of cultural production and socially engaged action, marked with elements of hybridization and of creative linking of several different fields: youth culture, so called 'urban culture' and alternative culture, diverse forms of development oriented action, programs influenced by new media and technologies, socially engaged programs, policy actions, etc. That new, independent, non-representative culture is characterized by diversity, dynamicity, interdisciplinary and high level of social awareness and activism. Moreover, this form of social and cultural activity develops new forms of collaboration and brings together different personal, local, national and other identities.

These initiatives and organizations are not emerging as consequence of *willingness* coming from the system, but from individual actions. The system isn't able to evaluate culture and its products on basis of their development potentiality and impacts, because it functions as maintaining service of huge infrastructure. Everything else that is outside of public cultural institutions cluster stays out of the system. However, in some countries in the region, there are some *holes* in the system, through which independent cultural efforts are recognized and partly financed for programs. But even in the *best* cases (as Croatia or Slovenia are in comparison to others), independent culture is far from the position of equal (or at least more equal) opportunities. So we are developing our own systems. We are self-organized.

#### g) the Clubture network

In Croatia that happened (beside other initiatives) through the *Clubture* network, which was initiated in 2001 and in the following year started with first activities. The network was primarily established with one very specific goal: to improve development, sustainability and public visibility of independent culture and non-for-profit club scene in Croatia by intensive program cooperation that is implemented

through specific model of program exchange and project collaboration. Here are some statistics that are showing not only cooperation value as it is, but also efficiency of program and result-oriented networking.

During the **four years** of activities (till the end of 2005) more than **80 organizations and initiatives** from all over Croatia took part; within **92 programs 1.030 events** were realized; more than **50 cities and towns** were included – one half of the events were held in the 5 biggest cities (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, Osijek, Pula) and the other half was held in smaller towns; **80% of events were held outside the capital city**. Consequently, a stable platform for mutual cooperation was established which enabled the groups from various fields such as social activism, dance, performing arts, new media and technology, visual culture, music, contemporary art, theory, comics, urban youth culture, etc., to have links.

#### f) regional initiative

After the three years of permanent program activity and some efforts considering visibility and public policies in culture, the network has spread the scope of its activities towards advocacy and monitoring relevant public policies, educational activities, information dissemination, and media and internationalization.

From the basic need of Croatian organizations to spread the *cultural territory* they can use to share their programs and to cooperate in different art and cultural projects, Clubture started the initiative of regional cooperation. The similar needs and interests were recognized by organizations from other countries. After the initial meeting in the end of 2004 that gathered around 50 representatives of different organizations from the region, and the preparation and long fundraising period, in the beginning of 2006, 8 pilot collaboration and program exchange projects started. There are different types of program. From contemporary music concerts exchange to production and educational workshops, from exhibitions and discussions to film festivals. Even on the level of coordination, administration and communication the regional platform is functional.

It is important to stress that the key goal of Clubture's regional initiative wasn't to spread the Clubture network to regional level, but also, in cooperation with other organizations

from the region, to inaugurate an independent poly-centric platform. So, the basic idea of the project is to establish a regional collaborative program platform within which independent cultural organizations will collaborate on joint programs. The project was initiated and defined jointly by all involved organizations which forms the foundations for its long-term sustainability and efficiency.

Regarding the fact that in this area there are no other forms of organized long-term cultural cooperation, independent cultural scene has the opportunity to take the pioneer role in establishing a solid, sustainable and long-term model of cultural exchange in the region. This cooperation is not based on already obsolete and inefficient representative models of bilateral cooperation, but it introduces new, more dynamic, more cost-effective and more efficient model of program based networking.

The most important in this is to have a model that defines program collaboration and decision-making participation, and which guarantees a principal and practical differentiation from:

1. **any form of member based network** (membership in the network is dynamic; new organizations are included into the network on the basis of their direct involvement and participation in the program);
2. **any form of distributing agency** (there is no central coordination which would agency-

like distribute offered programs to the interested organizations; on the contrary, each organization creates its own separate collaborative networks, which means that this organization in direct communication with its partners creates the contents and its distribution, respecting the principles which are inherent to the model);

3. **any form of foundation** (funds are raised by joint efforts; there is no council or committee which decides which programs will be financed and to what extent, or which program is better and acceptable, but all the involved organizations decide upon it together).

For the regional projects that should be implemented in 2007, platform gather 27 partner organizations from Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia. Through 11 programs there will be 70 different cultural events organized in 15 cities throughout region.

It is still in *wanna-be* condition; i.e. we're again in fundraising activities, but, anyhow, there are 27 organizations applying together as partners. They decided not to apply their projects separately, but in joint platform. What could be the main drive that puts these organizations together? Why do we actually need it in the region? Iskra (Gešoska) can give us some suggestions...



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The creation of a platform, procedure, common code as an elemental effort to connect the ideas, the diverse and the similar ones, the simulated and hyper-real ones, but also the strictly applicative once, based on the rules of protection, is our ordinary, almost instinctive reaction of opening an umbrella which protects us (guards us) from the chaos. The fight against the chaos which Deleuze and Guattari identify as that painful and worrisome situation where the thought emerges from within itself, and the ideas are escaping, disappearing barely shaped, is the impetus which makes us develop the dialectics of solidarity, of associating. Asked where and how the new political creativity could be found, we associate (join) in order to find the paradigms that could help us elaborate the new schemes of expression and of the cultural performativeness.

In this brief presentation I will try to relate several ideas about the potentials inherent to the solidarity as a fundamental principle of joining/association; how solidarity creates a new subjectivity, a different identity, and all this inspired by the possible developmental path of the regional platform which the Clubture has initiated.

We live within a context of political fictions which, rather than for consisted, structured, allow schizophrenic motion through the pseudo-systems of the society. We are illuminated by the disorder of our societies which take more than they give. We face unclear border of activity/action which lack clearly marked transitions from one zone to another. In such political phantasmagoric conditions, the associa-

tion, auto-reflexive initiativeness are the only way out of the political and intellectual entropy. The self-organizing, networking which have a clear and firm concept, which surpasses the sub-standard models offered by the institutions of power, are the options through which the traditional societal and symbolic structures transcend from ultimately dysfunctional into acceptably efficient and functional ones.

At a first glance, the regional platform Clubture is just one of the many initiatives of associating, which tries to get out of the tight hide of the retrograde institutional Balkan systems, an initiative alike to many other ones in the region, larger or smaller. But, still, Clubture differs from the rest: it is a phenomenon which seems to be on the best way to offer a truly efficient structure and procedure which unite the visions, wishes and efforts of all of us who are in the same boat. In that way, the regional platform Clubture becomes a paradigm for a constructive response to the incidental, chaotic and non-systemic attempts that we see at all societal planes in the recent past. Especially when it comes to the topic of associating, of solidarity. After we have learned the lesson of disassociating, and we learned how not to be together, now we are trying to construct and to deconstruct the existing, and the potentially new models of networking and solidarity. Clubture as an regional initiative possesses the energy and the potential to create functional systems which detect, channel and utilize those independent initiatives and actions which are related to the broader urban usefulness, which promote hybrid, dynamic, urban principles, and

that have an impetus to change the general trends in the atmosphere of the cultural policy. I recognize this notably in the regional initiative of Clubture, especially since I myself come from a country where the melancholic and defensively apathetic conformity rule. A country which is renowned for its incredible hospitality, openness, etc., but which is inherently deeply destructive and powerless to implement any progressive initiative which would confirm the myth of the solidarity. The transition in the Eastern-European countries in the reference literature is described as a process taking place at three levels: a) *organizational* – the old organizational ways are replaced by those which presuppose greater individual autonomy, free initiative and feeling of the market laws; b) *value* – on the one hand, the importance of the individualism in the society is on the rise, while on the other hand there is an increase in the new NEGATIVE collectivism (the most typical is the nationalism which replaces the communism); v) *symbolic* – the past and the cultural heritage serve as “decoration” for the programs of the new elites.

All of those aspects of cultural transition are typical for the Republic of Macedonia, as well, but, of course, within our cultural context there are specificities, too. One of them is the large centralization of the cultural policy exclusively in the Ministry of Culture.

In our country (Macedonia) the culture is still understood as a luxury of thought, a decoration for the society, an escape, a cult per se, an area reserved for the privileged ones, a monopoly where the state is both a judge/jury and an actor. It is still the reflection of the state of the ethnic awareness or is reduced to trivial consumer goods. The culture, unfortunately, is prone to yielding, obeying and being humiliated, to being bribed and dishonored. It largely belongs to the clans, to the public authorities and, more recently, to the merchants. And, which is the most discouraging, the culture in the Republic of Macedonia still does not know how to fight for its own independence from the power of the state and the money, and to be largely oriented towards the citizens and the broader community. Unfortunately, the representatives of the central and the local power still support the ceremonial culture which enjoys no real *feedback* in the developmental processes. The principles of *democratization*, *decentralization*, *de-monopolization* are almost

completely denied. The problem of the centralization of the state became so serious that it was necessary to amend the Constitution.

The entire Macedonian context, naturally, could not be viewed in isolation from the general developments in the region as well as on the European and global level. Therefore, neither local nor global should be fetishised as some sort of a strategic priority, but instead links and networks should be created on both the local and the global level. As Hardt and Negri say, even the local affiliation is “produced/ manufactured”; the local differences are not inherent and natural, but are a consequence of certain societal machinery which creates and enlivens identities and differences. And between the local and the global is the regional, which is of particular importance precisely for the part of Europe where we live. After the dissolution of the common state SFRY, the nationalism is still the main societal energy, and the need of regional connectivity still takes the second place – the perspective/outlook is either to the “big” Europe or to the powerful America. The regional connections would calm down the local and the global identity tensions.

What might be the most problematic are the silence and the powerlessness of the independent cultural scene in Macedonia to be mobilized and to fully understand the importance of a joint stance and more vigorous fight to change this context. We faced a complete absence of the principle of solidarity and political imagination which will change the image of sleepiness and which will, through action, provide for dynamic and changing landscape.

It is precisely because of this perspective I hold that I will allow myself to interpret the regional initiative of Clubture as a reference point in this area, with regards to the political imagination and the new political creativity. Why? It risks, it challenges, it stimulates, it initiates, motivates, asks, redefines, opens, deconstructs, changes, and it does all of the above with a creative uniqueness, playfulness and courage. The regional initiative of Clubture is another step further in the story of solidarity.

The “Revolution“, associating, solidarity do not consist just of odes and proclamations and manifestos. The task is not only to carry out the evolution, but also to correct, upgrade, construct and deconstruct its course. The principles that regional initiative of Clubture tries to

establish might become the way, the opportunity which leaves the framework of closed intellectual systems and establishes a fine balance between the public, mass-scale, socially necessary, individual, academically imposed. Through this, the regional initiative of Clubture proves that the solidarity dialectically unites the opposite poles, it confronts the differences. The sustainable diversity, heterogeneity, fragmentation of the desired whole and of the centre are the measure of the solidarity. The example of the regional platform Clubture indicates that the solidarity is both a right and a duty. Certainly not mercy. We are together not to protect ourselves, but to participate. The weakness, insecurity, and the institutional rejection that we face, each of us within our own remit, create the need of protection mechanisms. Still the participation is the outlet offering the way out, organizing the multiple identities into creative political resistance. And, since the revolutionary concepts of solidarity are related to the modern merger of freedom and politics, we could conclude that the solidarity is needed, if for nothing else, then for the democratic achieving of the individual freedom. The solidarity is, by its nature, individually illuminated and colored. We are together in order to stimulate and strengthen our individual principles, which the transitional, criminally colored state mercilessly swallows and suffocates, neglecting the long-term consequences. Within the framework of the principles of the self-identity we are building the relational freedom, supplementing and changing oneself in the mirror of the Other, the different ones.

Clubture is a political, civil friendship for public benefit. Through the regional initiative of Clubture the unbreakable link between the idea, political, and personal responsibility is expressed. The basic principles which could be positioned as reference, for those who are not direct creators of the initiative, and are later involved as a part of its story are: constructiveness, transformativeness, critical attitude, political sensibility. The political responsibility which is achieved through this initiative promotes the recognition of joint obligations, which is the foundation for the solidarity and coalitioning. And I would say that it could be given the aura of the principle of “longing for”, of which Rosi Braidotti speaks in her book *Nomadic Subjectivities*. That principle, combined with a complex self-organization, creates a situation of self-identifying and inspiring and

challenging splitting of the personality into two: a transcendental chief supervisor and an empirical burst/cluster of wishes and passions which need to be disciplined and structured.

The associations like this one I would like to treat not only as facts which importantly change the social cartography, but also as an opportunity for a developmental process of figurative images, exceptionally important for the sensibilization of the public and of the political factors. When I say figurative images, I refer to these actions, initiatives which have factual/substantive, but also symbolic political significances, and which are an alternative to the fossilized models of action and of creating urbanity, culture, and cultural policy.

But still, this does not mean that there are no perils and traps which the solidarity has as inherent, and which, I suppose, Clubture feels and experiences, as well. Solidarity, apart from being a paradigm for toughness, solidity, is also burdened by its robustness. It feeds on the most vital intellectual urges of the humans, but it is also realized through the media of systemic organization, through the bureaucracy and the law. And thus the initiatives often lose the battle: they are either bureaucraticized, completely losing the initial impetus for their establishment, or they are liquefied through escapist, politically unjustified, self-contained paths. And the dilemma will always be left lingering: escapist groups or systemic, structural, clear and visionary built networks which act simultaneously from the margins to the centre and vice versa.

When one neglects the initial principles of association, which always put first the supreme notional, ideological and political principles because of which the association happened, the civil principle is ruined and we become mutual friends rather than citizens. Creating such closed system we become rather enemies than friends of the fundamental pledge.

The friendship, the togetherness is a story of identity. If there is no recognition, exchange, if we connect, solidarize, intertwine only because of existentially-motivated success (as it often happens), then we have a pseudo-identity story of associating and self-organizing. Sometimes it would be good to understand the associating as a “romantic friendship”. But, unfortunately, such type of friendship is “DEPRIVED OF THE WORLD”. Equally as the romantic love is. So, the question of how much of the world we need and what kind of a world we need in

the system of simulated laws, virtual documents which never have a point of junction with the societal circle. Do we need a model of which Derrida speaks, a model of virtuoso skills of “a few citizens”, the military friendship of whom will save the fatherland, or do we need Bonnie and Clyde, a love couple of villains who face the challenge of the entire community, at the same time deconstructing it and changing it ... posthumously, but still ...

The free friendship among the citizens is a public affair and an elemental form of collective harmony of a civil community. There is no perfect friendship with “many”. But, there are many networks, so that the individual friendships, through dense networking, make the link of the harmony of all citizens stronger.

The regional dimension of Clulture can be considered as provocative impulse to question the metaphysical, fixed, permanent identities. Here we are all together, everyone with their burden, everyone with their own cultural background. The platform which Clulture initiates together with the other representatives of the independent cultural scene of the region places us face to face with the possible velocity of the fluidity and the change of identities. In the network, no subjectivity is monolithically defined once and for all. What is important is that prevailing and exchanged is the multiple, complex and potentially contradictory complex of experiences emerging as the Other from the Same, born from within different, but still identical contexts.

When Yugoslavia broke apart, our identities remained firm, fixed by the strap of the problematically established state, political and

national(istic) poetics. The re-association has freed them and made them flexible. It is exactly what the regional initiative of Clulture is promoting: a concept of decentralization of functional nomadic entities, important for the issue of exchange, of flexibility towards the Otherness, about the investigation of the difference within oneself. And the key model for the understanding of the multiple identities is the desire for good organization. The self-organizing is a result of different dynamics, velocities, intensities and variations which require harmonization (approximations).

Unfortunately, the transition-stage capitalism creates an insecure political and societal ground which is specialized in existential, economic quakes and which provides a suitable ground for manipulation with the principles of association and solidarity. In such circumstances, the culture ceases to be a developmental factor.

At the end, I would conclude by a quote by Giorgio Agamben which might render this, possibly a bit confusing presentation of mine sublimated – or even more confusing: “It is important to live in the intimacy of the other’s being, and not only to come closer to the other, to get to know them better, but to get to know ourselves (...) and from one day into another to be nothing else but an open space, a light that never goes out, in which the Otherness remains always exhibited (...)”

The Archaeology of the Other always opens the door to the transparency of the Self.

The Archaeology of Solidarity



*Participants in the conference / Discussion (CW): Berno Polzer, Jan Ritsema, Nicolas Siepen*

## Other Scene; From local self-organized initiative towards a national cultural policy platform

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Project Other Scene (Druga scena) is a joint initiative of eight (up to now) independent artistic and cultural organizations and informal groups in Belgrade, active in the fields of contemporary performing and visual arts, theory of art and culture, gender and queer activism, and artistic and cultural policy issues in the context of post-socialist transition. The project emerged as self-organized initiative in 2005, independently from agendas (expectations and requirements) put out by Belgrade City Council for Culture, Ministry of Culture or international foundations.

Partners in OTHER SCENE project are:

- TkH – Centre for Performing Arts Theory and Practice (Walking Theory / Teorija koja Hoda)
- STATION (Stanica) Service for Contemporary Dance Belgrade
- PRELOM Collective
- The HyperMedia Institute – TECHNE
- QUEER Beograd Collective
- Stanipanikolektiv
- SFW – NOVA DRAMA (New Drama)
- dez.org

Due to the slow and difficult dynamics of institutional reforms and still predominant traditional structures of cultural institutions, independent organizations like many others in the transitional contexts, are facing problems regarding lack of stable infrastructure for autonomous artistic/cultural work and research outside of the existing (mainstream) institutions. Also, the independent organizations are

completely ignored by the government structures, who while from time to time give funding to singular projects (especially within the last few years, since 2000, when the competitions became more transparent but still late, inadequate or sometimes even cancelled due to the miscalculation of the state budget or because of the change of parties in power), have no clear and transparent, formulated cultural policy in Serbia regarding even state institutions, let alone acknowledgment of the importance and place of the independent scene in cultural and artistic map of the country. Because of this state of things it is almost impossible to systematically establish independent strategies for creation and development of the innovative cultural policy and cultural practices in Serbia.

Taking into account these contextual conditions, main goal of Other Scene at the moment is to investigate, create, and realize an efficient model of cultural lobbying, in the specific political and cultural conditions. We are aiming towards the model that would be alive and dynamic, and that could as well be transferable to other situations, in similar contexts.

Practically, our intention is to set up a ground for the establishment of the basic physical and more important – organizational infrastructure for the independent artistic and cultural scene in the city of Belgrade, which will empower it, beyond the actual collaborators of Other Scene project, in future.

In co-relation with other independent organizations we would facilitate information exchange (and potential collaboration) with the similar initiatives and projects, particularly in the region

(such as Clubture and Clubture regional initiative, Platform 9,84, Zagreb Cultural Capital, EkS-Scene, ATTACK!, Zagreb, Croatia; Metelkova, Maska, Bunker, TEMP, Mesto žensk, Ljubljana, Slovenia; Multimedia centre, Lokomotiva, Tačka, Skopje, Macedonia; Fondacija CURE, Sarajevo, BiH; Per.art, Novi Sad, Serbia; as well as National Center for Choreography, Bucharest, Romania; Theorem network, Balkan Express and Balkan Dance Network, etc.). It is crucial in this moment to organize consultations, trainings lectures with similar initiatives from the region, coming from similar contexts, but more advanced or simply older.

With the Other Scene project, we wish to develop a relatively consistent platform which is competent to participate in regulatory processes of cultural policy design, development, and implementation in Serbia.

It is our goal to involve a wide range of independent artistic and cultural organizations, in the city of Belgrade and later in Serbia. We already made a research, so called “mapping of Belgrade independent scene”, which involved

more than 20 independent groups, organizations, and initiatives. The research was conducted through a poll – distribution of fill out forms from which we gathered all the necessary data. Our plan is to organize a large scale initial meeting that will take place with all the groups in October 2006. The purpose of this meeting would be to detect and address in great detail the problems that independent scene in Belgrade is facing. The goals of this meeting could range from establishment of regular meetings and consultations in order to coordinate actions all the way to forming a strong formal front of independent organizations (some sort of union or assembly) that will become a relevant partner in negotiations with funders for the arts (state, municipal, private, foreign...), an inevitable consulting partner in every decision making in matters regarding and pushing forward new and flexible cultural policies, and becoming a relevant, visible flexible organization representing independent cultural workers, initiatives, formal and informal groups.

We believe that this would initiate formation of the new artistic and cultural practices which



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promote hybrid: interdisciplinary, cooperative, rhizomatic, and non-representational models of organization and procedures of work in art and culture.

As a network of artists, theoreticians, and cultural practitioners, we are dedicated to modify and introduce developed models into different contexts of other Serbian cities.

We are currently working towards:

- More fruitful and two-sided collaborating with local authorities, instead of complying with the requests and already established protocols of the collaboration, as well as of fighting against the collaborations where the authorities are “enemies”;
- Influencing cultural policy regulation on the local and national level, which we assume as a legal competence of independent scene and NGO sector in general;
- Better visibility and recognition of contemporary arts (practice and theory) on the local level, as a relevant, competent, and influential social practice whose critical insights intervene into actual social relations;
- Providing or lobbying for, a physical space (new, hybrid venue/s) that would remain open to young artists and new practices, which will ensure infrastructural continuation of independent scene’s activities, and whose organizational protocols and proce-

dures of work will be structured in the way of full participation of self-organized cluster of involved groups;

- Re-thinking existing and creating new forms of collaboration and networking, where we are interesting in promoting and empowering those forms that emerge from below (as a real need of contemporary art workers), rather than the forms pre-scribed by neo-liberal agents who promote non-problematizing and empty flexibility, nomadism, plurality, trans-... connections, etc.

This is current “state of things” in/of Other Scene, dated September 2006.

As it is an alive entity in its initial phase, and something new for all of us used to work in small-scale self-organizations (NGOs or informal groups), many of the things are supposed to be changed in near future. So this description/explanation is provisional, and through it (as well as through the questionnaire from the first chapter) we also try to articulate to ourselves many aspects of Other Scene we discussed, proposed, suggested, problematized, or even missed at the meetings and brain-storms we made in the last couple of months. So how we conceive Other Scene as self-organization at the moment is a processual learning and working toward a future self-organization of Belgrade independent scene.

DagegenDabei / TherebyAgainst; Fight for Relevance or the Relation between self-organisation, institutionalization and Power (Berlin)\*

Nicolas Siepen

*If the basic assumption about the pair is that they meet together for purposes of sex, what is the basic assumption in a group about people who meet together in a group?*

(Wilfred R. Bion)

It is not easy to define “self-organisation”. Apparently, it is a relatively new notion, which specifies a concept that is both theoretical and political/practical, a concept that consists of a number of components. It is a hybrid with implications and possibilities inherited, crystallised, and transformed out of the existentialist decisions of the 60s and 70s. As for the art scene of Berlin, the term began to circulate there increasingly in the early 90s and then experienced further development. After the market-assertive 80s, the yuppie decade, many people apparently considered it high time to start re-politicising the art field.

The great A-components, such as: autonomy, auto-poiesis, anti-sociality, anti-authoritarian, anti-oedipal, or activism, seem to mark the field or the programme of its evolution possibilities. Even though the term has an everyday sound, it is a neologism, kept in tension by mutually opposed forces. As all neologisms, it is a “dirty” concept, giving a specific meaning to a general term of collectiveness. The prefixes “anti-”, “auto-”, and “a-” cut the “self-organisation” in practice in half and their logic of movement consists, among other things, in

coming to terms with that very cut or break. It is precisely why this term comes from the leftist arsenal. The “rightist” terms and concepts have always been identical or at peace with themselves in terms of political affinities, since they transport the conflict and the cut to the outside. They are domineering and tolerate no problems or conflicts within that might be visible on the outside. In other words, they presuppose a static “we” set against “the other” construed as hostile and meant to be fought against. The point with a concept such as that of self-organisation is to presuppose a flexible “we, the others” set against a static “we”, whereby the line of conflict run equally along the antagonisms, but these are carried out on the inside. One can observe this difference between leftist and rightist collectiveness in its rudimentary form at all levels, down to the scene of political parties. As for the German parliament, the “Greens” were in charge of the conflict par excellence before they became a centre party in the government, since they had come from the street as an opposition consisting of parliamentary outsiders and reinstated themselves as a parliamentary opposition, engaging in an eternal struggle with their dualist split into “Fundis” and “Realos”. The “Fundis” wanted to retain the “radical” legacy of the street and to introduce it as such into the parliamentary operation, while the “Realos” endorsed a pragmatic adjustment to the system, with all its coercions and rules of the game. Eventually, the outcome of the struggle was

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necessarily decided in favour of the “Realos”, since resistance against the institutional oppression of an ideological machinery can hardly be sustained on the long run if one is at the same time a part of it formally and perpetrates its mechanisms. Certainly, the rightist parties have also known conflicts between fractions, but they have amalgamated, so to say, with the apparatus as such. It is not only easier for them to keep themselves closed in – which sometimes significantly adds to their efficiency and force – but it is also their actual political goal. To represent the state power monolithically makes them simply and obviously hot. The fact that the Greens have basically evolved in the same direction with time can be easily observed in personalities such as Joschka Fischer, Otto Schily, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit. The one has mutated from a battered street fighter to a foreign minister with a statesman’s flair, the other from a Green RAF-attorney to the “Official Hooligan” of the SPD’s ministry of inner affairs. The APO’s slogan about the “long march through the institutions” has reached an idiotically reformist end: Under the beach lies the asphalt! Briefly, the revolutionary sponty “Dany le Rouge” has turned into the realist politician “Dany le Vert”. Each in his own way, the leftist “alpha-animals” have distanced themselves from their political past and begun to hallow the parliamentary/democratic framework. It would take us too far if we analysed here the political implications of these processes. However, it does not mean that structural shifts within a democratic apparatus of power cannot have, from the leftist perspective, a positive impact on the formation of social hegemony, but rather that the matrix of social institutions and its ideological frame cannot be radically questioned, changed, or even abolished from the inside. From 1968 onwards, the “long march through the institutions” actually meant the “long way to the centre”, which process was concluded in the late 90s. The result was a considerable expansion of manoeuvre space for the bourgeoisie, which could now set its capitalist interests on a global economic basis. The Iron Lady in England and the senile ex-actor Ronald Reagan in the USA developed a neo-liberal agenda in the 80s, which has meanwhile reached its full fruition and made us all fight with its consequences – briefly: before the liberal market everyone stands alone, but together.

However, this general political rollback did not follow a homogeneous and linear logic, carried out in the same form in all social fields and at all levels. The beginning of this development – if one can identify any exact beginning at all – was rather a social drift. After what was designated as the May of 1968 began to sway, namely the genuine illusion of a deeper and fundamental transformation of social conditions on the level of states and their institutions, as well as in workers’ organisations, all that with a view to the international context, some satisfied themselves with what had been achieved and returned to the “reformed” factories, universities, and offices, whereas others tried to “take off”.

Collectives such as rural communes, bookshops, artists’ associations, psychiatry, universities, kindergartens, patchwork families: a whole procession of hippie-like, self-organised “micro-states” within the state, attempting to realize the social sectors of love, work, and living, formerly classified as private or public, in an extremely small space, autonomously, and against the social consensus; and above all, they tried to realize themselves: “L’etat est mois”.

To speak here of “micro-states” borders on sarcasm and criticism that has stuck to these “collectives” in the course of their development and is regularly quoted even today to account for their bankruptcy. The supposedly spontaneous manifestation of desires for the sake of individualistic self-realization, coupled with a tendency towards the restoration of authoritarian structures within, has made these groups and self-organised institutions the target of reproach from both Marxist leftists and liberal rightists. Conservative rightists throw accusations of anarchism even today, while Marxists accuse others of anarchism and bourgeois individualism. Neo-liberal capitalists likewise warn of anarchism and danger, but it has not prevented them from developing their own ideology of self-realization at work or from retargeting into flexible pop-management a whole arsenal of experiences and codes that were developed in self-organisation. That was again taken as an opportunity to directly accuse those who allegedly endorsed desire liberation and non-governmental collectiveness of this ideological capital adjustment. This may be true of the old 1968-ists such as Schily, Fischer, and Cohn-Bendit, but their double function of hate objects and success models expresses the contradictory development of the “New Left” after 1968 only

at the level of state institutions. One would approach these biographies and all that they represent in a rather absurd way if one made them the measure of an entire social reality. For example, if this process is observed on the level of sub-cultural milieus, a more complex picture comes to the foreground, which must be viewed in a discriminate way. In Germany, even before the fall of the Wall, the leftists introduced a distinction that split the “New Left”, which had been built in the process of breaking away from the doctrine of the Communist Party, the workers’ movement, and the Marxist topography of base and superstructure, into the cultural or pop-Left and the political Left. Whereas the political Left basically adhered to a purely political vocabulary and code of behaviour in all its varieties, the cultural Left developed a sophisticated approach to cultural codes and forms of organisation, detaching itself from the factory fixation. Possibilities of political interventions and analyses expanded chiefly around products and technologies from the complex of cultural industry, which was no longer interpreted merely negatively as an ideological expression of capitalism, as it had still been the case before the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, but had mutated into a critical-affirmative frame of reference, which could be adjusted and restructured. Among the preferred forms of action, the journalist article and the pop magazine such as *Spex* became the keyword setters for leftist self-perception. Later, they were joined by art journals and texts, or political magazines such as *Die Beute*, and intensified a socio-cultural movement that was developing within the field of culture and manifesting itself in productions of institutional criticism, political identity, and music. In the Berlin of the 90s – though not



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only there – these activities obtained a new impetus after the fall of the Wall. Facilitated by the special position of East Berlin – the fall of the iron curtain, the massive presence of empty buildings, cheap rents, etc. – some sort of gold-digging mentality developed in Berlin-Mitte in terms of self-organisation possibilities, especially in the Scheunenviertel (the Jewish quarter of Berlin before World War II, whose “emptiness” had above all something sinister about it with respect to the Nazi and GDR past). Galleries, clubs, bars, theatres, and action spaces became for several years the crystallisation points of a new social world, in which the most varied cultural activities demonstrated at least some points of contact and overlapping, in a density and intensity that were virtually unknown to me from other cities. However, it was from the outset a very contradictory process, abounding in conflicts, at the end of which the very concept of the cultural left was exhausted. It would lead us too far to reconstruct this development here; instead, I would like to illustrate briefly the concept of self-organisation on the basis of an example from my own experience. After I had lived in Paris for a while, Berlin seemed to me completely undefined in comparison. The idea to rent one of the numerous empty shops and install a studio there, which could be constituted as public space, imposed itself through the very presence of such unused spaces, but also through the already existing examples of *Zwischennutzung*, common throughout the city. *Zwischennutzung* meant that rooms and buildings that were formerly owned by private enterprises or functionalised as public spaces could be “legally” used for other purposes for a certain period of time, until someone would be willing to re-establish their regular trade. There was an old hairdresser’s shop near Potsdamer Platz, which was turned into a club, but retained its old hairdresser’s sign and was also called that way. Around the corner, there was the Elektro bar, located in an old shop with electric supplies, the Tresor in an old bank building, and the WMF, all of them techno clubs named after their former owner or the place that they now exemplified. With time, these profane inscriptions and illuminated signs were transformed into cultural labels, which have partly surpassed their origins and survived until today or even moved on. For *Zwischennutzung* also meant that one had to move quite often. Potsdamer Platz, the heart of the city, was still wasteland at the time, which

turned into a huge flea market on the weekends. The interesting aspect of those places was that they did not simply have a function, but were tied each of them to its own social texture, which remained accessible during daytime, though perhaps in different contexts. Those places had their singular existence and specificity, but were at the same time parts of an informal network, which nobody had planned or organised. At first, I rented the rooms of the former GDR garbage disposal company, together with a group of people who called themselves Klasse Zwei, and later on a shop in Schröderstraße. We had met at the art school and held some joint exhibitions, so after graduation we decided we would continue working in a self-organised manner. Even though the rent of such rooms was very low, we naturally had to find some money in order to be able to work. In our case, it meant applying for cultural funds and running an “illegal” bar once a week. Such bars were numerous, one for each day of the week, and our one was on Tuesdays. There was no need to advertise it because it soon became popular and was usually fuller than we would have liked it. With the income from the drinks we were able to finance our activities and our rooms. However, it soon became clear that running a bar was not simply an economically necessary side occupation, but itself a decisive part of the entire social construct and also a burden. I am enumerating such banalities here because they cease to be banal when it comes to self-organisation. As soon as one steps out of an institutional and clarified financial framework, the economic, social, and functional levels merge automatically into some sort of a subject group, to borrow the term from Félix Guattari. These levels, areas, and functions are normally separate in institutions and subject to a hierarchical division of labour. The separation creates a sort of abstraction and regulates the processes. Each function carrier within the collective of an institution is paid according to his activity. In a subject group as defined by Guattari, borders tend to dissolve; or rather, they must be always defined and negotiated anew. Individual members of the group are not simply function carriers, but overlapping existences building something like group subjectivity, which is in many ways linked to the environment. They invent an artificial common territory, give themselves a name, consequentially often use the word “we” and thus create a visibility and public image that define

the fragile borders of the group. Even if these borders are permeable, such self-organised collective places have a mobile identity, which differs from other places and establishes a rivalry between them. As for Klasse Zwei, there was a number of reasons to call it into life: our wish to achieve certain autonomy with respect to the art mechanism and its institutional coercions, the feeling of necessity to fuse critical/theoretical practice and art production and bring it out into the public space as political intervention, our desire to have our own place and work together. What interested us was political art practice that did not exist only for the sake of free market and the Oedipal triangle of curator/collector/artist, but could still be functional in the field of art. But although such a group possesses an “identity”, it is also determined by powerful centrifugal forces, which tend to tear it apart. Moreover, the art field personnel is always on the outlook for new material for their institutions and therefore interested in finding some form of utilization and in appropriating parts of collective labour. In order to define this relationship of tension and its paradoxes, we invented at one point, self-ironically, the term *DagegenDabei* (*TherebyAgainst*). Another keyword was gentrification, which was used to designate the capitalist appropriation of a derelict urban quarter, where cultural producers like us, attracted by its morbid charm and low rents, would generate new “attraction” with their initiatives and thus bring the enemy into their own house, since they would eventually have to leave the quarter themselves for the lack of money. There are similar developments in all large cities of the world, but they occur with a time lag. In the Berlin of the 90s, gentrification and reactionary concepts such as Zero Tolerance – in those circles, which had adopted an emancipatory perspective – brought along a critical urban dialogue with artistic and economic practice and materialized as collectiveness. Apart from running a bar, an office, and an archive, we organised exhibitions, founded a band (Zigaretten Rauchen) and cooperated with political groups from other fields (anti-racism, architecture, sociology, etc.). Besides the official art field, which took care of its own business as usual, there were numerous well-established and internationally scattered artists at the time, which practiced their institutionally critical art by means of exhibitions in galleries and museums. Between this area of art market and the parallel universe of self-organ-

ized spaces, there was sometimes overlapping and cooperation, which resulted in certain transparency and attracted attention. Since art production always depends on constant input and does not want to lag behind certain processes, a new type of curator has developed, constantly searching for connections and ways of utilizing those forms of production, which are rather undefined in terms of authorship, division of labour, and creation of profit because of their collective and chaotic structure, as well as their political orientation, therefore being barely accessible to such appropriation. It happened rather frequently that such curators had been artists themselves and used the circumstance of having necessary social contacts and a specific insider's perspective at their disposal, while still being able to get hold of the desired resources. It is, however, too simplified to speak here of an "evil" process of appropriation. First of all, each social interaction occurs between at least two agents and it is precisely the friendly closeness, which is rather commonplace (one frequents the same bars, watches the same films, and has studied at the same academy), that renders the evaluation of processes rather difficult, since they are complex and multileveled. However, one could still isolate a certain "personality" from this bunch of references, which was not only specific for the self-organisation of the 90s, but also touches the core of the thing in terms of power theory. If one presupposes, as I have described above, that self-organisation is characterised by a singular we-construction (we are doing the thing in a different way!), which tries to detach itself from a certain pre-established "we", but without lingering in a simple opposition, then the group construction tends to develop conflicts and forces of suctions that gradually or suddenly spread and turn that "we" into something fragile. Social groups consist of exchange processes. The hegemonic exchange in capitalism is that of labour force for money. The hegemonic place of that exchange in the art field is its institutions and it is there that the capital circulates and accumulates. That exchange is organised by a hierarchical and labour-divisive power structure. In self-organised "institutions" and projects, money is scarce and the exchange extends through all areas of life. In this respect, it remains an exchange, but a rather diffuse and incalculable one. However one defines and shapes the "we" of the group and its goals, the interactions are always influenced by these dif-

fuse and incalculable exchange processes, generating irritations and problems that cannot be pinned down and solved through money transactions, since there is simply no money to invest. As a rule, the added capital is just enough for the reproduction of circumstances and possibilities and is therefore actually no capital at all. With the weekly profit from the bar, we could maintain the rooms and the infrastructure and partly finance our actions. But without subsidies there was no income and without income there was only collective work, which produced no personalized artefacts (goods), but was sold as double burden for each one of us. The idea that circulated here was and is that of "self-exploitation". I could say a lot about that notion, but I am interested here only in the vulnerable point that it creates for undermining the relative autonomy and the peculiar constitution of self-organised places from "outside" and for forcing certain topics upon them. All that is needed is a curator, who sends off an assistant to Group X, who offers the group to participate in an exhibition. Group X will debate on the Yes or No question (the first quarrel); if it reaches a positive decision, it will debate what it should do there (the second quarrel); and if it informs the curator on its conditions, he will say that he needs a NAME and is actually interested only in one or several persons from Group X (the third quarrel). The whole thing will eventually result in a group action, but rivalry is already there. After the exhibition is over, some members of Group X will probably leave it and bring the collectively produced cultural capital to the market under their own name. Certainly, it does not have to be that way and perhaps it also sounds far too mechanical and moral, but still, there was a certain moment in which the cooperation of Klasse Zwei was a thing of the past and gone with the wind, and processes that I have just described had certainly played a role in it. The Zero Point did not affect our group alone, but was an expression of erosion in the entire "Berlin formation" and coincided, interestingly, with the turn of the decade and of the millennium. The much predicted millennium bug was missing, but the iron law saying that the shifts in socio-cultural and political hegemonies occur in ten-year periods was confirmed.

The 90s were – at least in Berlin – from this perspective something like a brief intermezzo in terms of re-politicisation of a cultural pro-

duction that was completely governed by capital markets. Today, in 2006, the boom of the art market is long gone and the centre of capitalist way of production is gradually shifting from the USA and Europe to China, i.e. adapting to the new, mixed circumstances. If one takes a closer look at this mixture, both on the macro and on the micro level, two things are especially striking: the capitalism is not a single thing or a single logic, which simply asserts itself as if pushed by some ghostly hand, but a specific way of production, which must constantly branch off, re-establish itself, and adapt in order to find a footing and eventually assert itself in completely different social formations. In other words, one can never see capitalism in its pure form and the word is therefore only conditionally suitable as a term in political struggle, its use being necessarily implicated in antinomies and performative contradictions, which ultimately cannot be solved within the “system”. In a certain way, it is precisely the “free” markets and the global macro-structures of the capitalist way of production that even provoke micro-structural rebellions, strikes, and resistances – that is, forms of self-organisation – on the social, technological, and cultural levels; and once they are put into motion, they can be rather dangerous for particular areas of the “system”. At the same time, these “deviations” materialize and articulate themselves on the very matrix of capitalism and draw their entire material, which they are trying to turn against “the System”, from this world. Only this can explain why such “small escapes” mostly reach their miserable end so soon, either pinned down and suppressed or turned into merchandize themselves. To become the progressive merchandize of the



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world, a slogan that one should be very cautious about – not only because of the fact that it is used by anti-Semites of all hues – clearly shows that, between the macro-level of existing powers and hegemonies on one side and the micro-physics of subversion, there is a constant exchange of means of production and investments, which do not have the same origin, but are still intertwined so closely as to have become indistinguishable. This makes all retrospective political reference so difficult and eventually turns it into a complicated archaeological and genealogical task of reading semiotic and material traces, which again lead to other traces – ad infinitum. The deconstruction method of Jacques Derrida makes it possible, among other things, to investigate how this “search” and “subversion” is always in danger of not moving from the spot or to get lost in the thicket of references. For even if it is true that both texts and worlds originate in the shifts and self-splitting movements of the *différance* and therefore cannot be natural essences, in reality they operate as if they were essences and that constitutes their potential of action. Certainly, racism is a construct that pretends to be naturally given. But even a very careful deconstruction of its discourse and practice cannot prevent it from functioning and from causing damage; and that is valid for all social constructs and the whole society as a construct. Certainly, all societies, even the most reactionary ones, are hybrid bastards, but still, even the most liberal ones behave as if they were virtually natural communities, which knew their borders and their outside. Without these settings, there would be no societies, cultures, or peoples, but rather a single population scattered over the globe, a “people” in its pure form. However, this logic does not stop at the macro-level of large units, but is valid also for the convolutions, subsystems, and micro-vacuoles that self-organized groups and spaces are made of. Here also borders are drawn and “we” created, identities and essences are generated for a while and subject to a specific division of transparency and opaqueness, while in their interior power relationships are created that not only mark and structure the way they function, but also lead to the immediate vicinity of structures to be fought, which are often repeated. Each difference is tied to a specific form of repetition. In order to be able to dissolve oneself from traditional forms, conventions, or normality, one need not only see

through or deconstruct their fetishist structure, but also prevent it permanently from functioning further, on a more abstract level. It happens rather often that the “art of reason” is beaten to the bone by the arts of power. Observed from this angle, the 90s’ quotations of the 60s and 70s proved to be very rudimentary and partly rather naïve. As a matter of fact, it was various agents trying from various directions, in a sort of archaeological investigation, to reconstruct carefully the splitters of a political practice that had suffered painful defeats even at the time of its boom, since it was not capable or willing – and that is not meant deprecatingly, but only shows the size of the problem – to allow political and social realities to come close to it in their entire complexity and insisting stubbornness. With the Marxists, one called it a lateral contradiction if they were able to postpone the emancipation of women or homosexuals to the time after the revolution, but then only suppressed them harshly on first occasion as examples of counter-revolutionary, bourgeois decadence. The same is valid for racism and anti-Semitism and eventually points to the repetition machine that Derrida has termed phallogocentrism and to the absolutely endless diagram of its traces – briefly, the patriarchal system.

If one wants to get any further in retrospective or actual analysis of what self-organisation consists of, one must direct one’s attention to the fact that problems of power, which have been presumed to stand “outside”, reappear also here in a manifold way. However, this should never be done for its own sake, firstly because criticism of particular forms of power can turn itself into an instrument of power, secondly because there can be no “outside” with respect to power, and thirdly because political radicalism could be left behind: the adversary likes nothing better than to see small leftist groups being hopelessly caught in their sectarianism or tear each other apart. That belongs to the numerous lessons learned from the experiences and conflicts of the 60s and 70s.

How closely these worlds are intertwined could be perhaps reconstructed on the example of Andy Warhol and the history of his Factory. Warhol’s singularity lies in the fact that he realized better than any other artist of his time what lay ahead of us all and was even able to get the best out of it in a highly ambivalent way. But the latter could perhaps be counted among his weaknesses.

So let us take a brief detour into the Velvet Underground in New York in order to discover the flexions and tricks of structural power and ideological reference with respect to cultural self-organization.

### Warhol *l’entrepreneur*

In one of his laconic statements (that would add some spice to any Daily Talk), Andy Warhol told about the following experience:

“I like to be the right person in the wrong place and the wrong person in the right place. But when you succeed in either of these, people turn their backs on you, they spit on you, or write bad reviews about you, they beat you up or mug you, or they say that you are a social climber. Still, usually it pays to be the right person in the wrong place and the wrong person in the right place, because something funny always happens. You can well believe me, for I have been the right person in the wrong place and the wrong person in the right place and made my career out of it. That is something I really know about”.

Warhol has aptly aestheticized here the cross of “post-modern” subjectivity in relation to production: how to make it useful for oneself without becoming slave to its fatal gravity. Although visibly present, the word “work” remains concealed in this coquettish success-myth. This may indicate why other members of the Factory did not manage that act of balance and fell out of its orbit.

At first sight and against the background of Warhol’s self-stylisation and stylisation through others, his statement sounds like a deflection manoeuvre. Has he not made a vow that he would commit himself to capitalism *à la* New York in word and image and have no other God than the star? Has he not expressed and lived to the utmost the wish of Henry Ford to produce on the assembly line like a factory machine? Wouldn’t one expect that success and career of someone like Warhol be based precisely on the subjective quality of being able to adapt to the capitalist circumstances and become acquainted with its laws, the fact that he has always done the right thing at the right time, in the right place? In this movement of adjustment, the subject itself would vanish for the sake of a relationship and become a sort of structure-mimicry that would render obsolete all individual expression in production and only leave behind its negative traces. The “I” as oil in the mechanism of social production machineries, as the

tilt in the apparently accidentally tilted print of Marilyn Monroe. But that again was done by someone else... a worker... playful negotiations of payment in the Factory:

Malanga: Would you like to see human effort substituted and why?

Warhol: Yes! Because human efforts are too tedious!

Malanga: "Silk print" with minimal divergences requires particularly experienced technicians. What would happen if you, for example, had a chance to acquire a machine programmed by a magnet tape with digital signals that would regulate the difficult silk prints, what I am normally doing?

Warhol: Everything could be done with more precision.

Malanga: Would you say that I have a right to keep my job? I mean: do I own my job for a lifetime?

Warhol: No!

Malanga: If my job goes down in a technological explosion, will I be offered another one in this "Factory"?

Warhol: Maybe. It all depends on doing something else.

Malanga: Will I do more?

Warhol: Yes.

Malanga: How will you counter the challenge of automation?

Warhol: By becoming a part of it.

Malanga: Will you devote yourself to hobbies that make life more beautiful?

Warhol: No!

Factory in inverted commas, shifts in the work frame: it all depends on doing something else. Except the fact that both the division of labour and the hierarchy between the capitalist and the worker are highlighted, there are two strikingly divergent points in this face-to-face conversation – in which trade unions were excluded. Firstly, it seems that, according to the boss, the employee cannot be simply rationalized away. The capitalist himself claims that he is ready to jump in and prevent free time – produced by the automation of production – from turning into unemployment, preferably guiding it towards the production of other subjectivity. It almost seems as if the capitalist sacrificed himself for his worker in order to close the dangerous gap that has been produced, and he does that by disappearing in that gap himself. However, this sacrifice is far from selfless, since the possible disappearance assures two things. On the one hand, it delivers the subject

from the tediousness of human effort by denying it its right to individuality, its I, while on the other hand it produces a mysterious profit: an apparent de-subjectivization, which results in an enormous surge in image. The anecdotes saying that Warhol allegedly did not pay his 'workers' with money, but with 'subjectivity' (sometimes adding 10-25 dollar per day) by offering them a possibility to become lesser or greater stars if they participate, illustrates that profit coming from permanent image transfer.

### Sabotage: Cut Up 1

Are the shots of the 'ex-worker' Valerie Solanas not a radical attempt to force Warhol to reveal himself as subject: to lure 'it' forcibly out of its camouflage and to demand of it at least a grimace of pain before the eyes of the world? To oblige him to account for his deeds: a production process that has not been predicted, since it turns the tables, but is still legitimate, since it is paid in 'subjectivity' – she wanted 'star' and 'money' for her production, because she experienced it as work and because she wanted her *S.C.U.M.-manifesto* to go public. Her "1-woman-enterprise consisting of four letters: I'm shooting ergo S(C)UM" (Klaus Theweleit) was paid by scrounge and prostitution. And her texts were supposed to make her a star with Warhol's help. In the Factory, such direct business relations were unwanted, unless they served the purpose of bringing Warhol's art to the market. Everything was running through the complicated bypasses of a group situation, with opaque hierarchies and delays. But in order to assert her right to a trivially unambiguous exchange, which would have made her financially independent, Solanas had to transform that liquid space, in which labour and the "I" were abolished, since all had turned into the production of subjectivity, into a shock; she had to make a cut. This old-fashioned way of articulating oneself politically proved ineffective. It resembled an armed bank robbery, in which is not supposed to grab as much money as possible, but try to force the manager in vain to make a statement in front of the monitoring camera that he does not enjoy it to be a star at the moment. The aim of the shots was to hit the heart of the very production as a whole, its most sensitive organ. Warhol wondered: "I will probably never know why it was precisely me, of all people that must have known Valerie, that she wanted to shoot

down. I think, I was simply at the right time in the wrong place”.

According to Malanga, Bob Dylan managed to find a non-spectacular, but surprisingly efficient way of shaking the “Factory” system out of its rhythm:

“He is there, at the Factory, and lets himself be filmed... contact shooting with the Warhol Underground... but the chemistry of the future kings does not work... they cannot stand each other... ‘I think, I will take this here as payment’, Dylan finally said, grabbed one of the Elvis portraits that were standing around, and left. Warhol remained mute, petrified, with a face as if he had just fallen from the ceiling, end of the relationship for fifteen years”.

Klaus Theweleit, who has reconstructed this episode in his book of kings, was primarily interested in the meeting between the three kings: Elvis, Warhol, and Dylan; in the chemistry between the ‘high energists’. Dylan was already a star in coming, he had enough money, but he had to be paid, at least in naturals. Solanas was no star, she had no money and was already trading with naturals; she had no basis on which she could afford to mix work and power games. The whole thing reminded her too acutely on the social role of woman, which she hated. She did not want to represent respect. Let me quote Theweleit again:

“One can hear it in Solanas’ statement, namely that she had to shoot in order to end the total control that Warhol had over her as a man. Warhol’s ‘control’ consisted of the fact that he did not want to work with her; that a screenplay of hers was lying around in the Factory, unused; he had ‘controlled’ her into emptiness”.

Warhol’s laconic comment after his recovery, that he was sorry nobody had filmed the scene of bullets tearing his flesh, is a concrete expression of his wish to control even that part of production and thus deliver himself from his fear of returning where he had come from, to the sphere of pure exploitation, of the consume-machine. It was a “just-in-time” production, in which nothing escaped exploitation and aestheticization. The headless portrait photo, showing the scarred and deformed body of Andy Warhol, is like an echo of the lost moment, in which one could see how the subject had to emerge once again from the production of himself at the cost of others in order to disappear forever. In other words: it represents

Warhol’s attempt to erase this last trace, this unpredictable event, to draw everything into the whirl of production in order to make people forget that this universe would collapse without being sustained by the work of others. Solanas had to do her ‘work’ of sitting-in-jail (three years plus psychiatric treatment) in order that Warhol should be able to prove retroactively that he was indeed an immortal shell, a medial machine that could be repaired any time. The centre reacted extremely idiosyncratically to foreign elements:

“The shots that Valerie Solanas fired at Warhol in 1986 can be interpreted as an attempt to fill the Warholian shell, his undefined emptiness, the place of that wandering ‘incorporeity’, with precisely those means that Warhol had never granted to anyone. Nobody had the right to ‘put something into him’, to demand something of him as a person (more partaking in his life, playing more and greater roles in it, possibly an unambiguous sexual identity). I will go for the similarity: Warhol was quite Solanesque about sexuality. Even ‘working’ with him, the permanent Warholian rotation, shows certain traits of a deflection manoeuvre with respect to the traditional male bragging. The ‘Cutting Up’ of Solanas’ *Manifesto* need not be taken at face value in the physical sense, (but rather in the literary one, as a Cut-Up). Solanas’ text can be interpreted quite well as a radical introduction to the cutting down of ‘the male’ into a less destructive being, compared with one that will normally turn the earth into a wasteland”.

At least that is Theweleit’s version, since he observes the scene through the spectacles of the ‘kings’. Yet Solanas wanted to use maximum force in order to run the hegemonic power edifice of men (she makes no difference between gay and straight) through her textual meat chopper, single-handedly, in the hope of bringing the world into the hands of “civic-minded, responsible, thrill-seeking females” (S.C.U.M.). Her cowboy-attitude is actually very far from what Warhol held at the time, even if both of them treated sexuality as a social artefact rather than God-given. Warhol wanted to reconcile passivity and production, and for that he needed Many. Unlike him, Solanas refused to accept that sort of ‘passive’ production relationship, which not only included his rejection of working with her, but also presupposed it in a way. The world of the Factory probably came nearest to her conception of an alternative way of life, away from employment, family with children, “reproduc-

tive hetero-sex”, complex driven “ultra-males” obsessed with power, and their oppression-enjoying females, precisely because almost everything else could become a part of ‘work’ there: trance and production, collectiveness and the self, life and art, all seemed to materialize around that strange attractor Warhol like a living utopia. At the same time, such a world, where work is transformed into production of alternative living conditions, caused suction and vacuum inside such group constructions. The promise of escaping, the alienation of social wage labour and realize oneself in the production of new ways of life, led to the permanent necessity of representation: a 24-hour performance, meant to prove that its participants remained exciting and avoided the adjustment. If one was no longer or not at all in the position to pay accordingly with ‘subjectivity’ in order to keep the production going, then suddenly one was standing there with nothing in his or her hands, alone before the free market. The permanently changing relations of power and social hierarchies in the Factory, which controlled the ‘currencies’ and the ‘exchange rates’ (gossip), were exposed to aesthetizations/medializations that were reflected, refracted, lost, and charged in Warhol’s personality. All criticism, resistance, or sabotage in these relationships would become a self-destructive enterprise; after all, everybody was there of his or her own free will and it seemed absurd to demand security that surpassed mere presence and productivity. If one was bored, one could leave, if one met with no acknowledgement, one could seek it elsewhere. To say it psychoanalytically, using the words of Slavoj Žižek: “My desire is mediated through the desire of others, that is, the fundamental riddle that preoccupies me: ‘What sort of desire object am I for the other?’... What does the other see in me that makes me (un)worthy of his/her desire?” It is clear that this fundamental insecurity in social constructs such as the Factory opens up space for subtle controls.

“Someone must be ‘sober’, abstinent, concentrated, in control – even command – otherwise he is not an artist, but an addict and there is not product, but rather a heap of inebriate men and women, whose bodies will turn the next day into a painful vacuum, a large aching void. (...) The reproach of mutual exploitation (vampirism) is pre-programmed in the constellation for the moment in which the balances will tilt; the moment in which it will all ‘break’” (Theweleit).

‘Drella’ is working?

The lovingly ironic nickname that the Factory has given to Warhol at some point, a mixture between Dracula and Cinderella that produced Drella, can also function as a designation of these ‘other working contexts’ as such.

Warhol: “I was afraid that I couldn’t work without all those flashy junkies that were hanging around the Factory and did their kinky numbers... Afraid that I would lose my creativity. They had been a perfect inspiration for me since 1964... I was not sure that I would make it without them...”

It is clear that, in this perspective, the category of work acquires an existential drive that surpasses the mere sphere of production and reproduction:

“I think that I interpret the word ‘work’ really very loosely, since I believe that the very fact that one lives means working on something so hard that one is not always ready to do it. When you’re born, that is like being abducted. And then sold into slavery. People work every minute of their lives. The machinery is always active. Even while you are sleeping... One is really infected with the disease of the society if one believes that all games should be turned into work. One plays seriously only in order to work seriously, and not vice versa, as most people believe”.

Warhol is not even trying to conceal that he uses and abuses his surrounding in order to keep his own productivity going and that the production goal of the Factory is to produce Warhol. Besides, he is demonstrating a keen feeling for the fact that, in order to achieve this, he must give work a precarious status so as to increase dependence and commitment. The “exploitation” must be free-willing, it must be fun to work for him, one must want to make part of the enterprise, i.e. want to become a star or be one already. Warhol is, however, the only one that is displaced in this game, since on another level he is the only one who really works ‘soberly’ and thus comprises the real support of this universe. Like a character from a fairy story (*Cinderella*), he is moving with an apparently somnambulist confidence through a complicated world of addictions, reasserting them instead of taking them as obstacles or trying to liberate himself from them. “Tell me what I should do!” – that is his formula. He finds it rather easy to earn a bunch of money at once or dedicate himself to a

money job for years; be it beautiful advertisements or ugly celebrity portraits, such a universe cannot be sustained without market contacts! The fact that his mother Julia Warhola lent him a well-trained hand and supplied his advertisements with zestful inscriptions, signing them with his name, reveals elements of a family enterprise in an otherwise internationally operating, medium-size company: Warhol kept the “Andy Warhol Enterprises, Inc.” founded in 1957, as his form of business until his death in 1987. At one point, the company had as many as 18 employees: president, vice president, treasurer, art director, business manager, studio manager, advertising department, film editor, art assistant, photographic advisor, diarist, and receptionist. After his great success as designer of fashion advertisements, Warhol proclaimed it in all imaginable ways: “Good business is the best art.” It is not enough to sell or produce the artefacts with success; the organisation of production must also be treated as an artefact that can be manipulated with respect to efficient work.

The social aspect itself becomes the goal of production; it is no longer a means to the end of the production of goods as exploitation, but rather a part of the medial/technological arrangement. Warhol always pushed a technological object between himself and his opposite: a Polaroid, a tape recorder, or a film camera as a self-protecting device. “He records hours of tape each day, archives them, and never listens to them”. This is an explanation for the apparent paradox of the art of breaking the devil’s circle of labour by creating profit out of malfunctioning. When the one threatens to tilt into the other, a transitional delay is built in (e.g. the eternal Yes/No answers in Warhol’s interviews, which still never get cancelled). He treats both spheres as a sort of industrialised ‘Muse’, which is deprived of the ‘real circumstances of production’ through aestheticization. Their mirror image should not be spoiled, but doubled instead, otherwise it cannot tinge him: it is becoming a superstar as an image transfer from one mirror into another – in a never-ending series. The achievement that Warhol presents in the introductory quotation to this text marks precisely the complicated line that separates these two spheres, between which he is constantly gliding. Without this ‘dark’ background, the mirror image would produce no career. Certainly, today virtually anyone can be famous for 15 minutes and enter the world of the TV-Factory – a telephone call is enough –

but under such ugly conditions! In this way, one cannot make a career, because the talk masters have occupied Warhol’s place in a completely conventional way and established it as a norm to flirt, like some sort of overpaid wage workers, with the fact that they actually cannot do anything except for asking questions and dragging the allegedly “authentic” lives into public. It seems that today’s boom of intermediaries and representatives in the ‘post-modern cultural factories’, which trade with ‘subjectivities’ under their own names, has something to do with Warhol’s career. Even with him one can observe something similar from the 70s onwards, but more complex. As the world of the 60s broke down and the aesthetic speculation of the Factory of “Freaks” fell to pieces, Warhol abandoned the sinking ship in the right moment – with the lifeboat Studio 54. Expressed in market categories: he entered into fusions with other large companies. He let things be produced elsewhere, where the conditions were more favourable. The “Freak-Factory” with Warhol as its production goal was transformed into the production art that was the “glamorous and chic High Society of contemporary New York.” If the old Factory was built in such a way that it protected the Underground and formed a symbiosis with it instead of swallowing it, the jet set enabled Warhol to continue producing himself under his own label even when the membership was almost completely exchanged. From the silver loft on the East 47<sup>th</sup> Street, the Factory was transformed into a neat, but boring office.

What was needed was to escape the force “against which gravity is the puff of a snowflake, with the force of those ‘I’s’ hanging around, which tried to flee their collapse, their transformation into the ‘matter’ of the process, their self-consummation”. The fact that Warhol ceased to be the Underground was primarily the result of the circumstance that in the early 70s, Underground itself had ceased to exist. Having appropriated the necessary relationships of production and readjusted the centre of production on the edge of the dance floor, Warhol countered it with a fantasy of release/relief: “When I reflect what sort of employees I’d like to have, then I would say – a boss. A boss that would tell me what to do – then it’s much easier to work. – And the boss must behave himself, otherwise the employee will fire him”.

The Factory and Warhol are not one and the same, precisely because they cannot be separat-

ed from each other. Their true invention is a collective production form of subjectivity as 'cancelled work' that helps the already 'cancelled subject' to subjectify himself. This invention has become a firm constituent of the sphere of production and supplies capitalism with new and manifold resources. Apparently frivolously asserted and superficial styles and forms, all of which stem from capitalist sedimentations, turn under favourable circumstances into 'ambivalent scenarios', in which the capitalist world of labour and clear dualities is blurred into 'another place', which can no longer be reduced to sheer labour conditions, reproduction, and exploitation.

The fact that, since the 80s, labour has been conceived, shrouded, and exploited in big style in the categories of production and subjectivity, image and lifestyle, is not the fault of the "Factories" of the past thirty years, but points to a disquieting closeness. However, the example of Warhol's Factory also demonstrates what has radically changed since those times in terms of the conditions of self-organisation and how this change has been, as always, intertwined with profound social transformations.

What is so special about Warhol's personality and the Factory is, from the psychoanalytical point of view, the fact that, in terms of the collective, his androgynous productivity made it possible to fill the functions of both mother and father; thus, the Factory remained caught in an Oedipal state, even if brought to the very limits of its capacities. Similar could be said

about Fassbinder and his "Family". What is common to these forms of production is the fact that precisely on the basis of this conflict of power, which is excessively expressed rather than suppressed; they reach very far into the reality that surrounds them on the level of social and aesthetic artefacts. Things do not stop at the reflexive or theoretical/critical relationship, but reach the level of complex incorporation and collective performance, which inscribes itself directly into the field of politics and makes an impact there.

It is obvious that today one can no longer act that way, since it is precisely the excessive reference to theory, which has become common in the art field since the 90s, that has overtly questioned certain forms of power and made them suspect.

What we today understand as the politics of identity is only a possible name for this idiosyncrasy, which lives on the fantasy that one could realize and socially establish a true equality of particular interests and identities. But it soon becomes evident that this programme generates new problems of power and may cause, on the level of self-organisation, marginalization, harmlessness and a loss of social relevance.

Valerie Solanas, *S.C.U.M Manifesto*

Klaus Theweleit, *Buch der Könige 2y, recording angels mysteries*

Slavoj Žižek, *Liebe Deinen Nächsten? Nein, Danke.*

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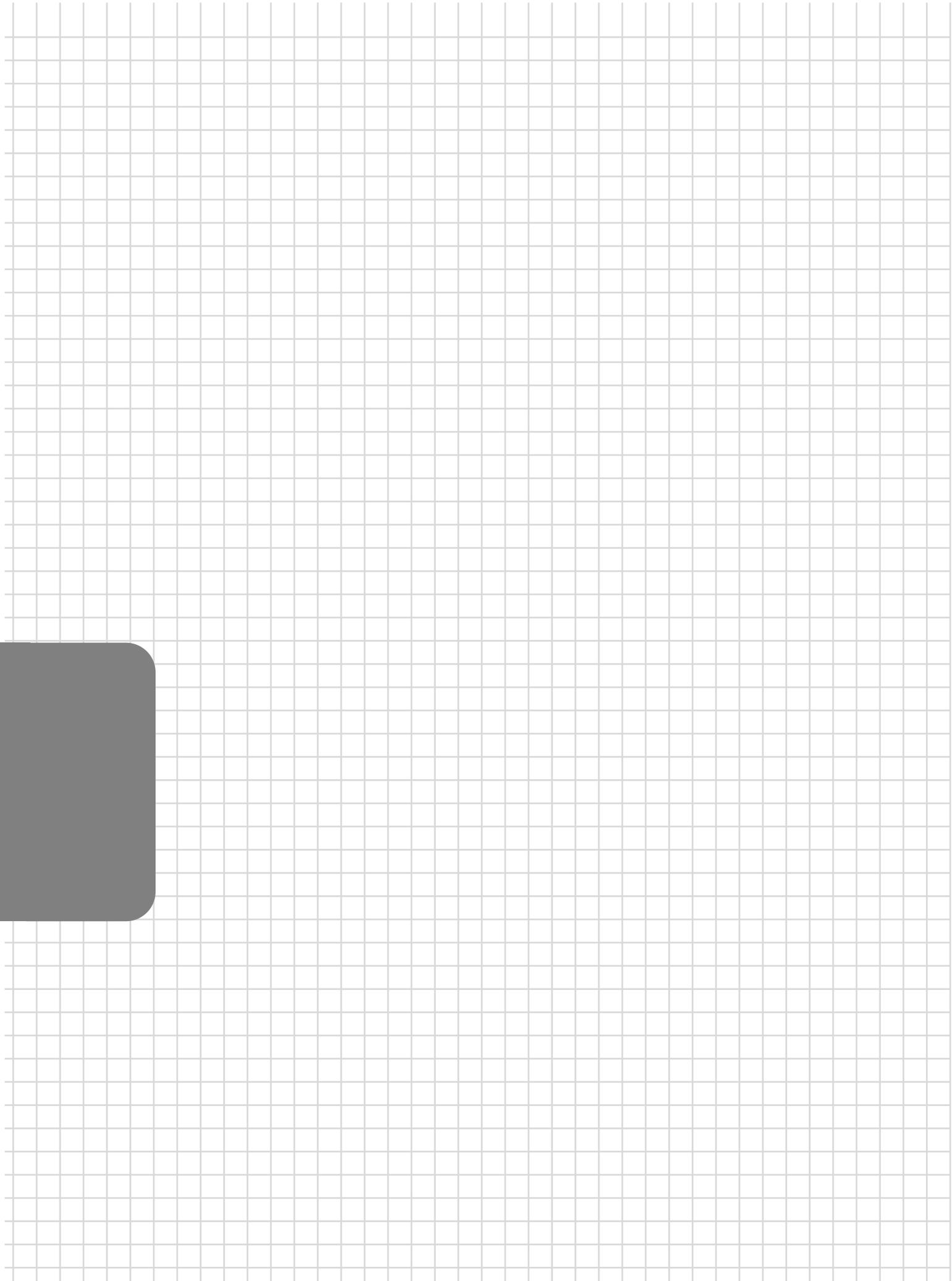


NOTES

Tekstovi i diskusije sa sesija za lokalne studente i postdiplomce

Papers and Discussions from Sessions for Local Students and Post-graduates

**Samoorganizacija:  
studentska sesija**



Blok koji se nalazi pred vama sastavljen je od tekstova i transkribovanih delova diskusija sa sesije za studente/studentkinje postdiplomskih i osnovnih studija, održane u sklopu internacionalnog simpozijuma na temu samoorganizacije. Simpozijum je održan 16. i 17. septembra 2006. godine kao jedan od pratećih programa 40. BITEFa.

Sesija se sastojala od pet izlaganja: *Samoorganizacija* Ane Vilenice, *Prva decenija digitalnog Zapatizma: fiktionalni rezime ili faksionalni apstrakt* Miljane Perić i Ane Marković, *Preko/unutar granica idološkog: popularna kultura između alternativnih i zvaničnih modela organizacije* Ive Nenić, *Strategije studenata/kinja u cilju njihovog repozicioniranja unutar procesa kreiranja polja visokog obrazovanja* Vlatka Ilić, a *Samoupravno Obrazovni Sistem u umetnosti; pokušaj crackovanja kodova rada* Marte Popivode i Jelene Knežević; i diskusija koje su sledile nakon svakog od izlaganja. Usled rasporeda i dogovorenog vremenskog ograničenja, poslednja dva izlaganja koja su i nastupila nakon pauze, gotovo kao zaseban deo (pošto su oba na sebi specifične načine obrađivale teme obrazovanja i samoorganizacije), imala su zajedničku diskusiju. Ovakva intervencija bila je moguća jer su izlaganja takođe izvedena tako da najviše prostora ostave upravo diskusiji, to jest dijalogu. Sesija je bila kompaktna, dinamična, svi izlagači/izgagačice bili su prisutni tokom čitavog programa, u kojem su i aktivno učestvovali. Pokušaj je da tako sesija bude predstavljena i u bloku.

Ispred vas je pet tekstova. Delovi diskusija koji slede tekstove izlaganja, ili koji su njihov integralni deo (u slučaju poslednja dva), birani su tako da istaknu ključne delove diskusija ili da na izvestan način ukažu na pitanja, komentare publike, kao i njihova razmišljanja pokrenuta izlaganjima. Transkribovanje je naporan i problematičan proces, koji neizbežno nosi zavodljivu zamku označavanja zapisa kao 'dokumentarnog'. Ovo svakako treba izbeći jer transkript neodložno nameće ulogu onoga/one koji/koja 'kreira' tekst, pravi izbor i 'prevodi' govorni jezik. Uvek je

stvar prevoda. Ovom prilikom, moja namera je da svoju ulogu nametnem kao vidljivu (nasuprot mogućem tvrđenju objektivnog oka, u ovom slučaju uha), i tako delovima diskusija dajem i podnaslove kao indikatore 'autorstva' pri njihovom oblikovanju. Ipak, pri prekucavanju, trudim se da originalni zvučni zapis u što manjoj meri modifikujem, i tako se delovi teksta mogu učiniti teže razumljivim. Namera je da upravo te osobite tragove svačijeg govora, ili govora uopšte (ponekad konfuzne, duge rečenice, ponavljanja, itd.) u najvećoj mogućoj meri sačuvam. Ne zato što verujem da tako čuvamo autentičnost, već upravo zato što smatram da ovim potezom održavam dinamiku 'teksta' (o) sesije(i).

Pored izlagačica/izlagača, u diskusiji učestvovali/učestvovale (po redu 'pojavljivanja'): Dragana Alfirević, Ana Vujanović, Emina Višnić, Bojan Đorđev.

Trajanje: 3 sata i 15 minuta

Samoorganizacija  
*U lavirintu između umetničke prakse i teorije*

Self-organisation  
In a labyrinth between artistic practice and theory

Ana Vilenica

Uvod

Pitanje samoorganizacije zauzima važno mesto u odnosu na savremenu umetničku praksu u zemljama bivšeg *istočnog bloka*. Nakon pada berlinskog zida ove zemlje ulaze u prostor delovanja globalnih sila moći. Autonomne prostore više ne stvara država i tako dolazi do izražene potrebe za njihovom proizvodnjom.

Osnovne pretpostavke koje iznosim na ovom mestu utemeljene su u ličnoj umetničkoj praksi i iskustvu rada na nezavisnoj umetničkoj sceni u Srbiji i Bugarskoj, kao samostalne izvođačice i kao članice grupa *Via Pontica* i neformalne performans grupe *SubHuman theatre*.

U ovom tekstu razmatraću samoorganizaciju kao metod koji otvara mogućnost za stvaranje potencijalno autonomnog prostora za umetnički rad. U isto vreme pokušaću da ukažem na opasnosti i neke od mehanizama delovanja globalnih sila koje realizovanje samoorganizovanih inicijativa može dovesti u opasnost.

Samoorganizacija kao moguća alternativa

Nakon pada berlinskog zida koji je simbolički trebalo da predstavlja kraj hladnog rata i blokovske podele, na prostoru bivše *istočne Evrope* dolazi do velikih društvenih, socijalnih i ekonomskih promena.

Odricanje ideje socijalizma i proces *tranzicije* nisu doveli do pojave novog, boljeg društva. Ovo su predvideli još teoretičari *frankfurtske škole* koji su pisali da principijalna razlika između socijalizma i kapitalizma kao modifikacija industrijskog društva gotovo da ne postoji. Ono što se dogodilo, po njima, dovelo je do zamene sistema *državnog kapitalizma* tzv. *tržišnim kapitalizmom*.

Ova promena se nije dogodila preko noći, i u većini zemalja bivšeg „istočnog bloka“ još uvek traje. No, bez obzira na ovu činjenicu, ove zemlje su ušle u područje delovanja globalnih sila.

Neoliberalni sistem doneo je nove načine društvene proizvodnje i kontrole, koji su neminovno doneli i promene na polju umetnosti.

U novonastaloj situaciji, u kojoj kulturna politika države više ne učestvuje u stvaranju autonomnih prostora za delovanje umetnika, dolazi do pojave potrebe za stvaranjem nezavisnih samoorganizovanih inicijativa.

Samoorganizaciju ovde razumem kao metod i kao skup mogućnosti za stvaranje umetničke scene koja nije inicirana sistemom i koja ne predstavlja deo kulturne industrije.

Za mene, samoorganizovana inicijativa predstavlja potencijalno monstruirajuće telo koje se podsmeva i prkosi pravilima zvanične kulture i koje nasuprot dominantnom imperativu insistira na subverzivnoj alternativi.

Razlika između ovog monstruirajućeg samoorganizovanog tela i tela koje je proizvod dominantne kulture nije i ne želi da bude shvaćena kao razlika između Prvog kao konstitutivnog u odnosu na ono koje je Drugo.

Pojam Drugog Lawrence Cahoon objašnjava: „Ono što se pojavljuje kao kulturna jedinica – ljudsko biće, reči, značenja, ideje, filozofski sistemi, socijalna organizacija – zadržavaju svoje vidljivo jedinstvo jedino kroz aktivni proces isključivanja, otpor i hijerarhizaciju. Drugi fenomeni ili jedinice se moraju predstaviti kao strani ili „drugi“ kroz predstavljanje hijerarhiskog dualizma u kome je jedinica privilegovana ili favorizovana, dok je drugi na neki način potcenjen.“<sup>1</sup>

U ovom tekstu, samoorganizacija se odnosi na moguće pozicije umetnika koje mogu da ponude drugo rešenje koje bi moglo da dovede do transformacije polja delovanja Drugog u polje delovanje onoga koji je Dva.

Ovaj način povezivanja dva pola predlaže i Badiou. On piše/predlaže „da prestanemo da brojimo za Prvog, i umesto da mislimo o Drugom u odnosu na Prvog, da počnemo da operišemo sa Drugim kao sa Dva.“<sup>2</sup>

Ovo samoorganizovano Dva jeste mogućnost izbora.

### Mogući modeli samoorganizacije u umetničkoj praksi

Samoorganizacija se javlja, u odnosu na savremenu umetničku praksu u zemljama bivšeg *istočnog bloka*, kao mogući metod stvaranja autonomnih prostora u okviru koga bi umetniku bilo omogućeno kritičko delovanje, kao potreba za obezbeđivanjem pozicije vidljivosti, ali i kao metod koji bi umetniku u ovom prostoru omogućio obezbeđivanje egzistencije.

Iz perspektive lične umetničke prakse uočila sam nekoliko mogućih modela samoorganizacije:

1. samoorganizacija umetnika izvan pozicije vidljivosti
2. samoorganizacija umetnika na pozicijama vidljivosti
3. samoorganizacija umetnika kroz organizacije nevladinog sektora
4. samoorganizacija umetnika kroz utopijske modele

Sama pozicija vidljivosti nosi sa sobom niz opasnosti kako je primetila Peggy Phelan. „Vidljivost je zamka“, piše ona, „doziva nadziranje i zakon; provocira voajerizam, fetišizam, kolonijalističko/imperijalističke apetite za posedovanjem.“<sup>3</sup>

Umetnik koji izabere prvu poziciju ostaje nevidljiv i tako izvan prostora delovanja sila globalnih moći. On može da stvara svoju kritičku umetnost slobodno, ali ostaje gotovo potpuno nevidljiv u društvu i njegov uticaj u javnoj sferi je neznatan ili

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Cahoon, *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology*, Cambridge, 1996, citirano u: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Other>, 18. 09. 2006, 12 i 44

<sup>2</sup> Marina Grzinic, *Spectralization of History, Spectralization of the Image, Spectralization of Europe*, MACBA, Barcelona, 2001, str. 15, [www.macba.es/uploads/20060531/QP\\_01\\_Grzinic.pdf](http://www.macba.es/uploads/20060531/QP_01_Grzinic.pdf), 23. 08. 2006, 19:55

<sup>3</sup> Peggy Phelan, „Introduction“: *The Ends of Performance*, Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane (ed.), New York, 1998, citirano u: Jon Mckenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*, Routledge, London, 2001, str. 160

nikakav. On je odvojen od mehanizma i tako kao svaki gest te prirode, kako pišu Michael Hardt i Antonio Negri, potencijalna žrtva getoizacije.<sup>4</sup>

Umetnica/k sa prostora bivše *Istočne Evrope* koji se odluči za drugi model suočava se sa nizom teškoća. Njeno/njegovo delovanje otežano je nametanjem niza neumetničkih obaveza i različitih konteksta, koje proizvode politike različitih kuća koje organizuju festivale i izložbe, i organizacija i fondacija od kojih je finansijski zavistan. Ovaj model proizvodi novi fenomen nastao procesom hibridizacije između umetnice/ka i menadžerke/ra. Ovo hibridno biće nastaje kao odgovor ili kao posledica delovanja globalnih moći u sistemu u kome pitanje ekonomije zauzima ključno mesto. Treći model nastaje kao posledica novonastalog modela društvene organizacije u zemljama bivšeg *istočnog bloka* tokom 1990ih, i pojavom takozvanog III ili civilnog sektora. Ova promena donosi mogućnost novog načina samoorganizovanja u svetu umetnosti stvaranjem tzv. nevladinih organizacija.

Progonjeni imperativom samoorganizacije, kako bi se barem delimično sačuvali od direktnih interpelacija države ili tržišta, u želji da stvore alternativni prostor umetnici se često opredeljuju za udruživanje pokretanjem nezavisnih inicijativa koje se ujedno javljaju i kao dominantna opcija na ovom prostoru.

„Bez pravne strukture, računa u banci, memoranduma na pismu i adrese na kojoj se nalazi vaša kancelarija vi jednostavno ne postojite.“<sup>5</sup> ironično komentariše Geert Lovink.

U želji da aktivno učestvuje u kreiranju umetničke scene i kulturne politike umetnica/ik dolazi ovim načinom samoorganizacije u zonu visokog rizika u kojoj pretila stalna opasnost od upadanja u mreže neoliberalnog sistema kontrole i moći.

Organizacije nevladinog sektora „su kapilarni završeci savremenih mreža moći, ili [...] one su široka osnovica trougla globalne moći.“<sup>6</sup> kako pišu Michael Hardt i Antonio Negri. One su izvan i često u sukobu sa državnim moćima što nikako ne znači da su izvan moći globalnog kapitala.

Udruživanje umetnika u ovakav oblik organizacije gotovo uvek nastaje iz duboke lične potrebe ili iz života samog.

„Život je sada postao [...] objekt moći.“<sup>7</sup> – piše Foucault objašnjavajući prirodu nove paradigme moći. Ovu novu paradigmu moći on označava pojmom biomoć.<sup>8</sup>

„Biomoć je forma moći koja reguliše socijalni život iznutra, sledeći ga, interpretirajući ga, absorbujući ga, i reartikulišući ga.“<sup>9</sup>

Oblik samoorganizacije u NVO je dakle visoko rizična forma koja zahteva konstantnu opreznost i preispitivanje načina delovanja kako bi se zaobišle zamke delovanja biomoći i iskoristio prostor za delovanje koji se otvara kao pukotina u momentima maksimalnog pluraliteta koje sam sistem povremeno proizvodi.

Četvrti model koji podrazumeva samoorganizaciju umetnika kroz utopijske modele otvara veoma važan prostor za delovanje. Ovaj se model javlja u praksi u najrazličitijim oblicima od stvaranja mreža na internetu, do načina organizovanja celokupnog života.

Definisanju savremenog utopijskog modela, onako kako ga ja razumem, najviše se približio Hakim Bej kroz ideju Temporalna Autonomna Zona, koju stvaraju samoorganizovane i autonomne grupe. *Temporalna Autonomna Zona* je utopijska u smislu da predstavlja moguću intenzifikaciju svakodnevnog života, i u tom smislu ona je stvarna. Ona je nevidljiva i to je njeno najbolje oružje. Temporalna Autonomna Zona je „gerilska operacija koja oslobađa oblast (zemlje, vremena, imaginacije) i onda se rastače da bi se ponovo formirala negde/nekada drugde“.<sup>10</sup> Ako ostanu izvan domašaja spektakla ove zone mogu trajati i „čitav život“ (Permanentna Autonomna Zona-PAZ).

„... 'savršeni scenario' uključuje slobodni prostor koji se širi u slobodno vreme. Suština PAZ mora biti do krajnjih granica intenzivirana radost – i rizik – ono ga što je TAZ. A intenzifikacija PAZ biće... Utopija Sada.“<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ali svejedno ne bih potcenjivala ovu poziciju.

<sup>5</sup> Geert Lovink, *The Art of Being Independent*, [www.cfront.org/cf00book/en/geert-soros-en.html](http://www.cfront.org/cf00book/en/geert-soros-en.html), 01. 09. 2006, 15:45

<sup>6</sup> Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2000, str. 36, [www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/](http://www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/)

<sup>7</sup> Michel Foucault, „Les mailles du pouvoir“, in *Dits et écrits*, Paris, 1994, str. 194 citirano u: Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2000, str. 24, [www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/](http://www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/)

<sup>8</sup> Ne umanjujući značaj delovanja biopolitike i biomoći na druge oblike samoorganizovanosti, ovde samo želim da podvučem njihovo delovanje na primeru NVO-a.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2000, str. 23–24, [www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/](http://www.angelfire.com/cantina/negri/)

<sup>10</sup> Hakim Bej, *TAZ; Temporalna Autonomna Zona, Ontološka Anarhija, Poetski Terorizam*, Centar za savremenu umetnost-Beograd, Beograd, 2003, str. 107

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. str. 158

Ovi utopijski modeli mogu se razumeti i kao vrsta poklona umetnosti.<sup>12</sup> Poklon umetnosti se može shvatiti kao vid otpora robnoj razmeni kulturnih proizvoda koji ima potencijal da se suprotstavi kroz radikalizaciju ljubavi.

### Samoorganizacija umetnica/ika u doba globalnog izvođenja

Živimo u vremenu globalnog izvođenja, piše J. Mckenzie. Svakodnevno smo izloženi različitim izazovima, koje ovaj teoretičar definiše kroz tri osnovne paradigme. Pored izazova efikasnosti, koji nameće paradigma kulturološkog izvođenja, on uvodi i dve „nove“ paradigme: organizaciono izvođenje i tehnološko izvođenje.

Ove dve paradigme nisu nove u bukvalnom smislu reči. Tehnološko i organizaciono izvođenje pojavljuje se nakon završetka drugog svetskog rata u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, da bi nakon završetka hladnog rata postali globalna pojava. Mckenzie ovim dvema paradigmama proširuje opseg studija izvođenja, ukazujući na pojavu polja globalnog izvođenja kao novog polja moći.

U odnosu na tri paradigme izvođenja on definiše tri distinktivna izazova moći izvođenja:

1. „izazov efikasnosti, sposobnost kulturalnog performansa da očuva ili transformiše socijalne strukture
2. izazov efikasnosti, maksimalizacija organizacionog inputa i outputa; i
1. izazov efektivnosti, optimizacija tehnoloških funkcija“<sup>13</sup>

U ovako globalno shvaćenom stratumu performativnih moći nalazi se i samoorganizacija. Ona se nalazi na paradoksalnom mestu izazova koji nalaže transformaciju dominantnim normama i socijalnoj kontroli, i izazova koji nalažu potencijalno visoko normativno organizaciono ili birokratsko izvođenje i tehnološko izvođenje.

Samoorganizacija je u konstantnoj opasnosti od strane brojnih mutacionih normativnih sila, ali u isto vreme ona ima potencijale da stvori druge modele. Ti modeli su ustvari ono Dva o kome sam pisala na početku teksta.

Samoorganizacija je potencijalni *queer* element, kritička magla prostora izvođenja, koja monstuiru i destratifikuje stratum moći izvođenja.

Kako piše Mckenzie, krah je možda neizbežan za oslobađanje inovativnih procesa, ali ne treba odlaziti sa mesta nesreće već ući i proći kroz njega. Na ovaj način on relativizuje kriterijume uspešnosti delovanja samoorganizacije, hrabreći nove i nove pokušaje koji bez obzira na ishod gotovo nikada, ako postoji upornost, ne ostaju bez krajnjeg „pozitivnog“ efekta.

Iako se samoorganizacija ne odnosi samo na potencijalno subverzivne modele organizovanja ona, u odnosu na polje delovanja umetničke prakse u savremenom trenutku u zemljama bivšeg *istočnog bloka*, nosi takav potencijal. Moglo bi se spekulirati da se javlja kao imperativ *Samoorganizuj se ili...!*

Moguće je zamisliti različite varijante kojima bi se ova rečenica mogla završiti. Za kraj teksta završicu je u duhu Hakima Beja:

**Samoorganizuj se ili „budi žrtva velike prevare“!**

**Ali... OPREZ!**

<sup>12</sup> Geoff Cox, Joasia Krysa & Anya Lewin, Cox, Geoff (ed.), Introduction to „The (digital) Culture Industry“, *Economising Culture: On the (Digital) Culture Industry*, Autonomedia, 2005, [www.databrowser.net/01/DB01introduction.pdf](http://www.databrowser.net/01/DB01introduction.pdf), 19. 09. 2006, 01:39

<sup>13</sup> Jon Mckenzie, *Hacktivism and Machinic Performance*, [www.performance-paradigm.net/issue1/PDF/McKenzie.pdf](http://www.performance-paradigm.net/issue1/PDF/McKenzie.pdf), 12. 09. 2006, 11:58

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## Abstract

As a base for thinking through the theme of symposium a *Self-organisation* I will use the name and the main ideas of performance group *Subhuman*. To explain the relationship between ideology of liberal capitalism and ideas of globalization towards countries of *the second world* I will use the examples of personal artistic practices in Serbia and Bulgaria from the end of 1990s. Two main models I will use in this work a model of self-organization of artist as an individual in Serbia and self-organization of artists with similar needs in non-government sector in Bulgaria.

[www.subhumantheatre.com](http://www.subhumantheatre.com)

*Subhuman*: hibridna tvorevina umetnik/ica-menadžer/ka  
 Transkript delova diskusije nakon izlaganja Ane Vilenice

**Dragana Alfirević:** Mislim da je veoma važno biti danas jako svestan gde se nalaziš, biti svestan konteksta. Sve te silne aplikacije, i svi ti procesi selekcije nekad deluju vrlo surovo, ali nekad, na neki način, mislim da su važni zato što te teraju da se pitaš gde sam ja sada. Da sam svoj rad smeštaš u kontekst, i da imaš neku vrstu odgovornosti prema svom radu. Da ne kažem socijalne odgovornosti, pošto to meni samoj zvuci glupo, ali prosto odgovornosti. Da povežeš svoj umetnički rad sa okolinom i sa tim gde živiš i gde stvaraš. To je nekada jako surovo i nekada je veliki pritisak, ja to isto osećam, ali je to stvarno dobra prilika da se upoznaš sa svim što stvarno sa te druge strane postoji. Šta stvarno postoji, kakva je ta druga strana koja nam omogućava ili ne omogućava uslove za rad. I na toj drugoj strani je neko, to pokušavam da kažem.

**Ana Vujanović:** Meni to nije mnogo uzbudljivo. Taj spoj umetnika menadžera. Nije mi baš posebno zanimljivo da se pozicioniram kroz aplikacije, što je neminovnost jer je inače stvarno nemoguće nešto raditi. Ali mi je na neki način izazovno to što u nekom smislu onda ti ne samo da imaš odgovornost nego imaš mogućnost da interveniš. Ako ti imaš menadžera odvojeno od tebe znači da on sam kreira sistem. I onda ti u okviru njega stvaraš, po protokolima i procedurama koje ti je sistem propisao. A ti ovako, bar potencijalno, bar utopijski, imaš mogućnost da interveniš. Ipak se neki umetnici uključuju i u procese kreiranja grantova. Ili možda imaš mogućnost da pregovaraš sa fanderima, ako imaš kompetencije da se baviš menadžmentom. Sada govorim na nekoj najopštijoj razini, ne kažem da sam ja baš često u takvoj poziciji da to mogu, ali mislim da to otvara mogućnost da to možeš. A bez te mogućnosti, dok je podela rada tako čista, postoji menadžer i postoji umetnik, i onda umetnik nikada neće doseći mogućnost da može da menja i interveniš, i da se nešto pita.

**Emina Višnić:** Umjetnost zapravo danas ima važnu socijalnu ulogu, i tako se i vidi. Smješno je danas gledati umjetnost izvan apsolutno svih socijalnih kretanja. Međutim, problem je možda baš to što zapravo nema dovoljno umjetnika koji su tamo da utiču kako se grant sheme kreiraju. Od umjetnosti se očekuje ona direktna promjena, i ono direktno djelovanje u smislu direktne politične, doslovne akcije. Onda kažu: radite sa djecom, edukacija, a zapravo ne postoji prostor gdje ćeš ti, onu dugoročnu socijalnu promjenu koja funkcionira najprije na razini simboličnog, moći provesti. U principu kada dođe do kriterija tu postoji veliki problem, jer se teško mogu uzimati ovi unutar umjetnički kriteriji, već ovi socijalni, zapravo bazični, banalni, radićeš sa djecom a popodne ćeš u istoj toj dvorani raditi svoju predstavu za koju zapravo nisi dobio novac.

**Vlatko Ilić (Ani Vilenici):** Pomenula si u jednom trenutku da samoorganizacija znači uklapanje, i samoorganizacija može biti u cilju preživljavanja, ali mislim da je važnije da samoorganizaciju posmatramo kao otvaranje prostora a ne samo kao stvaranje mogućnosti da se uklopi, i da neko deluje uprkos domaninatnim institucijama. Možda samoorganizacija stvarno otvara jedan drugi prostor, prostor koji ima mogućnost da deluje i opstaje uporedno sa dominantnim institucijama kulture. Mislim da je to pogotovu važno za lokalni kontekst gde su te institucije kulture jedine koje postoje na tržištu, i kroz koje prolazi novac.

**Iva Nenić:** Samo bih htela da dodam da ne treba u tom celom procesu prevideti jedan tihi glas koji diriguje celu priču. A to je državni ideološki školski aparat, koji izuzima zapravo celu priču o samoorganizaciji, i koji na tradicionalni način postavlja, čini mi se, odnos umetnika – menadžera, i uopšte institucije i tržišta, i umetničke produkcije.

**Ana Vilenica:** Generalno se slažem, ali ima i drugih primera. Studiram na grupi za Scenski dizajn na interdisciplinarnim studijama Univerziteta umetnosti. U odnosu na semestralni projekat koji smo radili ove godine, ispostavilo se da je umetnička ideja bila ta koja je bila zapostavljena. U centru pažnje našle su se: produkcijski plan, swot analize, ciljne grupe, i sve drugo što je neophodno uraditi da bi se napisao jedan projekat. Meni je ta mera problematična.

**Vlatko Ilić:** Ali kada govorimo da li postoji mogućnost rada u institucijama i mogućnost samoorganizacije, mislim da mogućnost samoorganizacije još uvek u lokalnom kontekstu ne postoji, kao izbor, već da se ta mogućnost tek sada, u zadnjih nekoliko godina, kreira. Da je možda to neki uhodaniji model, onda bi mogao više da se problematizuje.

**Dragana Alfirević:** Živimo u doba neke vrste *shared knowledgea*. Meni se lično veoma sviđa rad u grupi, u kojoj postoje jasne pozicije i zaduženja, međutim u kojoj je moguće deliti stvari. Ja, koja se bavim plesom ili pokretom ili pozorištem, ja želim da znam kako funkcioniše *live* prenos kada se kamera uključi, šta to svetli, ja želim mnoge stvari da saznam. Ja to ne mogu da odvojim od svog umetničkog rada, ja takođe ne mogu da odvojim pisanje aplikacija od umetničkog rada više.

**Ana Vilenica:** U pravu si, ni ja to više ne mogu da to zamislim.

Prva decenija Digitalnog Zapatizma: fiktionalni rezime ili facksonalni apstrakt?

The First Decade of the Digital Zapatismo: Fictional Summary or Factual Abstract?

Miljana Perić feat. Ana Marković

– Kada je prvog januara 1994. u Meksiku počeo da se sprovodi Severno-američki sporazum o slobodnom tržištu (*North American Free Trade Agreement*, NAFTA), u meksičkoj javnosti se pojavljuje pokret koji će imati najznačajniji uticaj na anti-globalističku borbu. Zašto danas govorimo o „prvoj deceniji“ digitalnog Zapatizma kada je prošlo više od dvanaest godina od tog čuvenog datuma?

– Dok je tadašnja vlada Sjedinjenih Meksičkih Država veličala ovaj dan, smatrajući ga trenutkom u kome je stvorena mogućnost za ulazak u Prvi svet, stanovništvo ruralnih oblasti iz najsiromašnije meksičke države pokazalo je svoje neslaganje sa takvim stavom. Iako je izgledalo da se bore protiv vlade Meksika, Zapatistička vojska nacionalnog oslobođenja (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, EZLN) se borila protiv velikih finansijskih moćnika. U znak protesta, misteriozna vojska zauzela je sedam gradova meksičke oblasti Čiapas. Zahvaljujući toj pobuni, ova provincija Meksika našla se u naslovima najvažnijih vesti širom sveta i, na par dana, usmerila je pažnju svetske javnosti ka problemima siromašnih ljudi iz „nerazvijenih“ oblasti koji su nastajali usled, za njih, pogubnih efekata nadolazeće globalizacije. Od tog trenutka Internet postaje najznačajnije sredstvo za širenje informacija i organizovanje podrške Zapatistima na internacionalnom nivou.<sup>1</sup> Kada je posle šest godina borbe smenjen predsednik Ernesto Zedillo (2000), na njegovo mesto dolazi Vicente Fox Quesada (2001), što je bila prva pobeda opozicionog kandidata u Meksiku nakon sedamdeset godina diktatorskih vladavina. Nakon osvajanja ove „pobede“, Zapatisti se retko pojavljuju u medijima. To dvogodišnje ćutanje Zapatističkog pokreta okončano je tokom 2003, kada je Subcomandante Marcos, govoreći u ime ponovo nezadovoljnog naroda, izneo brojne zamerke u vezi sa političkom situacijom ruralne populacije, izveštavajući o radu grupa otpora u raznim oblastima, o stanju u Čiapasu i promenama u organizaciji Zapatista.<sup>2</sup> Od tada je Vojska Zapatističkog nacionalnog oslobođenja nastavila sa svojim ne-nasilnim akcijama, koje sprovode i danas. Dakle, u pitanju je period 1994-2001/2003-2006,

<sup>1</sup> Oliver Froehling, „*The Cyberspace „War of Ink And Internet“ in Chiapas, Mexico*“, <http://www.stolaf.edu/people/booth/TheNew/Chiapas.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.whywar.com/encyclopedia/people/zatista/>

što je ukupno deset godina. Ako ne bismo posmatrali stvari sa ovakvom preciznošću, onda bismo mogli da govorimo i o sto godina Zapatizma, budući da je Emiliano Zapata vodio pobunjenike Meksika od 1910, itd. Samo što se u tom slučaju ne bi radilo o elektronskom vidu Zapatizma, ali izgleda da to mnogima nije ni važno. Ne kažem da je deset i sto godina isto, ali... mit o Zapati živi. A tu je glavno pitanje: da li se držimo istorijskih činjenica ili pričamo priče. Za šta si ti?

– Za priče!/Za istoriju!

– „Nova laž nam je servirana kao istorija. Laž o potpunom porazu nade, laž o nestanku dostojanstva, laž o izumiranju humanosti“<sup>3</sup> – rekao je Subcomandante Marcos.

– Super! Znači – ipak smo za priču. Dosta je bilo istorije. *iYa Basta!* A ko je Subcomandante Marcos?

– Uloga generisanja predstava o Zapatistima i njihovom vođi, odnosno o njihovom karakterističnom identitetu bila je ključna od samog početka njihove reVolucije. S jedne strane, cirkulisanje slika i poruka na Internetu, osim što vodi ka popularizaciji, predstavlja i borbu za reprezentaciju i prisustvo u sajberprostoru. S druge strane, Zapatistima je bio potreban vođa koji bi ih zastupao, čiji bi izgled bio prepoznatljiv kako bi se lako doveo u vezu sa pokretom. Subcomandante Marcos je od početka pokazivao šarm koji je privlačio medije, Net-surfere i publiku širom sveta.<sup>4</sup> Odnosno, ne on, jer se ni do danas ne zna ko je on zapravo, već njegov „lik“, odeven u gerilsku uniformu, uz crnu ski-masku koju uvek nosi preko lica. Njegov civilni identitet je nepoznat, ali baš zbog toga bilo ko može preuzeti njegovu uniformu, izgled ili ulogu vođe. Ne samo za Marcosa, već za sve Zapatiste nošenje maske simbolizuje *glas koji se zaklanja da bi se čuo, lice koje se krije da bi bilo videno*. Inače, potenciranje određenih „identiteta“ značajno je za društvene pokrete uopšte, dok u slučaju Zapatističkog pokreta ovakvo pozivanje na poistovećivanje sa ne-identitetom predstavlja i poziv za svakoga da postane Zapatista. Međutim, upravo zahvaljujući biranju specifičnih elemenata pri kreiranju lika Subcomandante Marcosa, kao i taktičkom režiranju press-konferencija, intervju a i fotografskih materijala, pojedinim teoretičarima izgledalo je da se rat Zapatista odigrava kao nekakva predstava.<sup>5</sup> Tome je doprinelo i mnoštveno ispoljavanje podrške ovoj borbi od strane haktivista i umetnika raznih profila. Među prvima, to su činili Guillermo Gómez-Peña kroz svoje performanse i teatralizacije Zapatističkih akcija i pravljenje maski, kao i pripadnici meksičke grupa *X-Ploit* koji su upali na sajt ministra finansija i zamenili njegovu fotografiju sa likom Emiliana Zapate. *Web*-sajtovi predsednika Meksika, Grupe finansijera bankara ili Meksičke banke, bili su puno puta napadani od strane brojnih krakera i haktivista, među kojima je najpoznatija (h)aktivnost njujorške umetničko-haktivističke grupe Elektronski teatar uzne-miravanja (*Electronic Disturbance Theater*).

– Fikcionalni identitet, elektronski identitet, ne-identitet... Sve je to veoma uznemiravajuće.

– Smatra se da je Zapatistička vojska nacionalnog oslobođenja (*EZLN*) Čiapasa zaslužna za katalizaciju otpora u slobodno-tržišnoj eri globalizacije. Njihov model destabilizovanja države „odozdo“ inspirisao je društvene pokrete širom sveta. Stvarajući autonomni politički prostor, slali su svoje borbene poruke širom Meksika i istovremeno pozivali ceo svet i *svakoga* u njemu da postane Zapatista, nagoveštavajući buduću „post-identitetsku politiku“.<sup>6</sup> Ali, upravo ovakvo odbijanje da definišu svoja načela, što bi bilo u skladu sa načinom determinisanja istoriji poznatih ideoloških modela, privuklo je brojne pristalice i/ili znatno širu publiku nego što je to bilo koji ideološki model do tada uspeo. Zapatisti, svesni ove činjenice, odlagali su predstavljanje bilo kakvog manifesta što duže je to bilo moguće, ironično izjavljujući da su, zapravo, „potpuno neorganizovani“, uvek kada bi neko od njih zahtevao da definišu svoju politiku.<sup>7</sup> Naravno, anarhistički stavovi nisu nešto što im je strano. To će postati očigledno, na primer, u slučaju artivističke prakse po-

<sup>3</sup> Subcomandante Marcos u pozivnici za Interkontinentalno okupljanje protiv neoliberalizma 30. 01. 1996. (Jen Couch, „Why we love the Zapatistas“, <http://www.milkbar.com.au/globalhistory/zapatistas.htm>)

<sup>4</sup> Rino G. Avellaneda, *It's the Image! It's the Image!: Subcomandante Marcos and the Internet*, <http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/mpi/workshop98/papers/avellana-da.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Isto

<sup>6</sup> Amory Starr, *Global Revolt: A guide to the movements against globalization*, Zed Books, London – New York, 2005, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Y. Le Bot, *Subcomandante Marcos: El sueño zapatista*, Plaza and Janes, Mexico City, 1997 (prema O. Froehling, *The Cyberspace „War of Ink And Internet in Chiapas, Mexico“*, <http://www.stolaf.edu/people/booth/TheNew/Chiapas.html>)

menute grupe nazvane Elektronski teatar uznemiravanja, koja je svoje Internet-performanse zasnovala na konceptu Toroove *građanske neposlušnosti*, ali u skladu sa savremenim kontekstom, sada kroz formu *elektronske građanske neposlušnosti*.

– Osim korišćenja elektronskih tehničkih pomagala, novo je bilo i to da je centralizovano uređenje gerilske vojske bilo transformisano u decentralizovane aktivnosti. Internacionalni Zapatisti Interneta podražavali su organizacione forme rizomatično povezanih zajednica u Čiapasu, ili je istorijski redosled obrnut, s obzirom da je Internet već sam po sebi anti-centralizovana struktura?

– Sajber-Zapatisti su svuda, ali njih ne kontrolišu Zapatisti iz Čiapasa, niti obrnuto. S druge strane, „dokazi o direktnom prisustvu Zapatističke vojske nacionalnog oslobođenja na Internetu ne postoje“.<sup>8</sup> Internet samo(-)služi njihovim istomišljenicima koji tu generišu i koordinišu svoje akcije, šire informacije, preusmeravaju komunikaciju, uz puno e-mailova. Većina teorijskih tekstova o upotrebi Interneta ne govori samo o analizama i mogućim interpretacijama Zapatističkih akcija, već o promociji Interneta kroz očiglednu poruku, da ako „čak i gerila urođenika iz Lakandonskih šuma koristi Internet, zar ne bi trebalo i ti?“<sup>9</sup>

– S jedne strane, pokazano je u kolikoj meri Internet može uticati na živote ljudi koji su u fizičkom prostoru prilično udaljeni i koji se u njemu, verovatno, nikada neće sresti. S druge strane, ne smemo zaboraviti da je tamo gde se sajberprostor sreće sa drugim tokovima realnosti ono u čemu leži njegov potencijal za ostvarenje društvene promene.

– Moć Interneta nalazi se u njegovom mnoštvu mogućnosti za ostvarivanje povezivanja i cirkulisanja. Virtualno organizovanje je i pre 1994. bilo korišćeno u haktivističkoj Severno-Američkoj borbi protiv NAFTA-e, na mrežama kao što su *Peacenet*, *Labornet*, *Econet*. I upravo su te mreže pronosile prve vesti o Zapatističkoj pobuni i njihove prve poruke. Ono što je bilo novo je ukazivanje na podjednak značaj i lokalne i globalne borbe. Zapatisti podržavaju mogućnost koegzistencije jedinstva i raznolikosti, jednog i mnoštva, zalažu se za tzv. specifizam i politike različitosti.

– *Gradimo nevidljive mostove između prošlosti i budućnosti, Juga i Severa, memorije i identiteta, nerazvijenog i hi-tech sveta, umetnosti i politike*. I tako dolazi do interakcija između velikih sila i lokalnih zajednica koje pokušavaju da izjednače „globalno“ sa ekonomskom globalizacijom i „lokalno“ sa manje-više reaktivnim formacijama. Guillermo Gómez-Peña će u svojim knjigama označiti ovu situaciju kao „Etno-tehno“ koncept „Novog svetskog dovratka“.<sup>10</sup>

– Kad već pominješ knjige, samo-da-napomenem da, kao što to često biva slučaj, fikcija i činjenice nisu baš u najboljoj korelaciji. Odnosno, možda bi, ipak, trebalo da navedemo i samo-organizacijske pristupe u Zapatističkoj praksi, s obzirom da je to tema simpozijuma na kome pričamo ovu priču?!

– Za mene je pojam Zapatizma sinonim za samo-organizaciju. Ali, evo, nabrojaću nekoliko odličnih metoda:

- slobodno udruživanje i uzajamno pomaganje kao solidarnost, a ne zato-što-se-mora,
- anti-hijerarhijska, decentralizovana, rizomatična strukturiranost,
- „uradi sam/a“ kao pristup i mišljenju i delanju,
- samo-(ne-)determinisanje, tj. ne usvajati instant-identitete, već uzimati prazan, nulti, *ne-identitet* pa onda sa njim raditi,
- boriti se za autonomne zone (u slučaju realnih Zapatista, to je postignuto kroz uspostavljanje kontrole nad lečenjem, obrazovanjem, ekonomijom, politikom, kroz očuvanje lokalnih jezika i mikro-kulturalnih tradicija, i omogućavanje slobodnog protoka informacija; naravno, to je moguće, za sada, samo-u-okviru samih-autonomnih zona),

<sup>8</sup> O. Froehling, „The Cyberspace „War of Ink And Internet“ in Chiapas, Mexico, 1997, <http://www.stolaf.edu/people/booth/TheNew/Chiapas.html>

<sup>9</sup> Isto

<sup>10</sup> Originalni naslovi ove dve knjige su *Ethno-Techno* i *The New World Border*.

- korišćenje postojećih taktičkih medija i osmišljavanje novih,
  - isticanje značaja dugačkih i opsežnih dijaloga, polemika i diskusija u kojima uvek treba da učestvuje mnoštvo Zapatista, kako bi došli do novih metoda za što uspešnije delovanje njihove/naše samo-organizacije.
- Uz to, (elektronski) Zapatizam nam je pokazao da nije dovoljno boriti se samo protiv nečega, već i za ono za šta jesmo. Na to je ukazano kroz mnogobrojne prakse savremenih kontra-kultura, obeležavanje i konstruisanje novih zona, bilo da se to odnosi na sticanje virtuelnih prostora ili nezavisnih medija, istovremeno uz nastavljajanje političke borbe na način na koji to Zapatisti čine, suprotstavljajući se većinskoj kulturi, a razvijajući svoju. Ovakvo razvijanje mnoštva mogućnosti za pružanje otpora, težnja za alternativama i izražavanje kreativnosti i optimizma, samo su neki od razloga zbog kojih bi trebalo da razmislimo o onome što svi Zapatisti poručuju svetu: „Naša borba je tvoja“.<sup>11</sup>
- Dakle, „ovo je bilo ukratko i samo u osnovnim crtama zbog toga što sve to treba da prevedemo na još mnogo jezika.“<sup>12</sup> Da li imaš neku poruku za kraj prvog dela ove taktički koordinisane diskusije?
- Da, imam. Viva Zapata!

#### Abstract

By using technological possibilities of the Internet for finding new forms of social protest, Digital Zapatistic practice of the mid 1990s has produced a very influential model for realization of contemporary cultural-artistic [h]activism. In the official history, Zapatistas are considered to be the first movement of information guerrilla, and their struggle represents the first historical example of the *net war*. For the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) mass media ceased to be just strategic mediators for information manipulations from ruling central power, but they have become tactical weapons for wired aggressive-progressive „struggle from bellow“. Although their rEvolution started at the local community of Chiapas (Mexico), and although its primary aim was to realize concrete local goals, Zapatistic movement has become transnational in short time and the medium of Internet has become the most important mean of the global struggle against globalization. As a particular example of this kind of cultural struggle stands out the artistic practice of the Electronic Disturbance Theatre (EDT). The basic aim of the electronic performances by EDT is to draw attention as much as possible and to direct it toward a particular situation, causing a discussion about possible ways for resolving the actual problems. Through realization of their electronic-theatrical-disturbing actions, it has been showed how a wide public support can provide a transformation of sudden acts of (until that moment) „terrorism“ into an active presentation of „presence“. For that reason, one of the basic tactics of the EDT and Zapatistic self-organization in general is generating, taking-over and realization of particular identities, through which [h]actors are able to protest against the impersonality that has been imposed on us by the ruling globalistic order. Hence, it is not necessary/enough for us to know whether an individual identity is real or abstract, or whether a particular text is fictional, factual or fictional-factual any more. It is important to be tactical.

<sup>11</sup> J. Couch, *Why we love the Zapatistas*, <http://www.milkbar.com.au/globalhistory/zapatistas.htm>

<sup>12</sup> A. Starr, *Global Revolt: A guide to the movements against globalization*, Zed Books, London – New York, 2005, 44.

## Obični i/ili virtuelni Zapatisti?

Transkript delova diskusije nakon izlaganja Miljane Perić i Ane Marković

**Ana Vujanović:** Da li znate konkretno kako se organizuje potapanje *web siteova*? Zato što sam videla, valjda, da je baš u okviru izbora za predsednika učestvovalo osam hiljada ljudi na atakovanju *sitea* koji je bio blokiran jedno dva-tri dana, ili čak pet dana. Zanima me kako je konkretno bilo organizovano i koordinirano osam hiljada ljudi ako su samoorganizovani, u odnosu na moje iskustvo ... dajte mi recepte. (*svi: smeh*)

**Miljana Perić:** Ne znam tačne cifre, ali znam otprilike kako je to na početku urađeno. S tim što smo u ovom radu mi nekako izbacile *FloodNet* i Elektronski teatar uznemiravanja, samo smo ih pomenule ali im nismo dale poseban značaj. Možda zato što ne smatramo da je to baš „pravi“ model samoorganizacije nismo to ovde uošte ni obrađivale, jer ne znači da je svako ko uzme ime Zapatista jedan od njih. Ali mogu da odgovorim na pitanje. Da li svi ovde znaju ko su ljudi koji su generisali *FloodNet*? Elektronski teatar uznemiravanja je grupa od 4–5 članova, umetnika, programera, haktivista koji su vezani za New York, od kojih su neki renomirani umetnici, tj. imaju određen status u svetu umetnosti, nisu anonimci, imaju svoju dugačku biografiju nastupanja, izvođenja, performansa, teorijskih radova – ne svi članovi podjednako ali manje-više svi. Oni su se u jednom periodu bavili time, ili se možda bave time i dan-danas, odnosno, sa ovim „možda“ hoću da kažem da stalno viđam njihova imena na Internetu, čitam njihove izveštaje o novim akcijama na Internetu, i ponekad se zapitam da li su to baš „oni“ ili neko ko se služi „njima“ – na Internetu (a ovo se, zapravo, odnosi i na samu umetničku grupu i na *e-Zapatiste* uopšte). Dakle, ta grupa je 1998. osmislila *FloodNet*, tako što je generisala malu *Java*-aplikaciju koja se postavlja na određeni sajt, ali samo da bi svi oni koji žele da učestvuju mogli da je *downloaduju*. Zatim se pošalje obaveštenje kada (npr. po istočno evropskom vremenu od 5 do 6, tog i tog datuma), gde (data je adresa sajta koji se napada) i kako će se vršiti akcija, i to putem slanja *e-mailova* ljudima koji možda imaju veze s tim, koji dalje šalju te poruke, kroz *mail*-liste, blogove,

indymedijske mreže, i kada se prvi put takva akcija sprovodi verovatno bude 20 ljudi uključeno, pa drugi put bude 50, treći put 60, četvrti 100, i tako se to polako širi. Kada je prvi put realizovana jedna takva akcija nije odjednom ceo svet bio na nogama, i nisu svi radili potapanje ciljanih sajtova. A funkcionise vrlo jednostavno. Pre Elektronskog teatra uznemiravanja i njihovog *FloodNeta*, akcije su se bazirale na tome da svi koji žele da učestvuju prate link (iz obaveštenja) do ciljanog sajta i zatim pritiskaju *refresh* koliko puta hoće, najbolje što više, da bi se ponovo učitala zadata stranica. Time se onda, naravno, kada pristupi 100 ljudi a kamoli toliko hiljada, usporava odziv sajta i „sistem pada“ (bar trenutno). Ono što je realizovanje *FloodNeta* omogućilo jeste automatizovanje te radnje: dovoljno je da svaki učesnik jednom pristupi ciljanom sajtu prateći uputstva iz obaveštenja i da, zatim, ostane nekoliko sati ili ceo dan priključen na Internet, a dalje *reloadovanje* vrši virtuelna mašina. S tim što taj *software* ima „*feedback*“ koji omogućava da se vama koji se tako priključite, učitava stranica sve brže i brže srazmerno porastu broja novih učesnika, ali je onima koji ne učestvuju u toj akciji, nego, ne znajući ništa o njoj, pokušavaju da pristupe iz normalnog, nepromenjenog pretraživača, njima je totalno zablokiran pristup. Oni ne mogu uopšte da pristupe stranici, kao kada se bilo koji „pad sistema“ desi. Takav je prosto rezultat. S tim što ovo haktivistička akcija nije *crackovanje*, sajt se ne uništava. U većini slučajeva kada je akcija vezana za ovu grupu umetnika, samo se uspori rad sajta, i ciljana stranica nije dostupna recimo par sati, ili dan-dva. I to je sve. S tim što smo u radu, s obzirom na ovu temu samoorganizacije, prebacile težište na obične ljude, tj. ne sve ljude nego obične Zapatiste, koji možda nemaju kompjutere, a možda nemaju ni struju, na one, možda, „prave“ Zapatiste što žive po selima i koji se bore, i od kojih je potekla i ta borba i potreba za tom borbom. To je i bila poruka, da su oni ti koji nemaju kompjutere i nemaju skoro ništa sa tim i da ne znamo, barem ja, da li stvarno Subcomandante Marcos kreira te poruke i šalje ih, ili to neko u njegovo ime sedi u svojoj fotelji, ima svoj laptop, ili dva, ili tri, i piše i kreira i distribuira po Internetu svašta. Ali zapravo, prava, to jest, ne „prava“ borba nego efekti te borbe bi trebalo da se malo po malo odražavaju na one ljude koji su je izvorno započeli. A ovi umetnici koji to „kao“ rade i koji mogu da napišu posle u svom CV-iju: „Da, mi smo organizovali performans tog i tog datuma 1998. ili 2006. godine, i bilo je osam ili osamdeset hiljada ljudi...“ ili ne znam već koliko, nekako mi oni nisu baš „pravi“ primer, već se čini kao da koriste sve to za svoje napredovanje u već obezbeđenim umetničko-društvenim, dakle, javnim pozicijama. Jedan od glavnih organizatora *FloodNet* akcija je profesor Njujorškog univerziteta, koji putuje svuda po svetu, učestvuje na simpozijumima, i ima odlične radove, i umetničke i teorijske, i sve je to lepo, ali nije on taj koji je u prvom redu onih koji sprovode tu samoorganizaciju kako smo je nas dve ovde označile, odnosno poistovetile je sa Zapatizmom, kao sinonim: Zapatizam = samoorganizacija.

**Ana Vujanović:** Da li je to onda vaša podteza, ili nastavak vašeg razmišljanja, ili mojih razmišljanja, da li sve to onda govori o tome da na tom razvijenom, (za sada zapadnom a verovatno će uskoro biti globalno) zapadnom tržištu kulture ustvari samoorganizacija lako, ili manje lako, može da postane još jedan umetnički stil? Ili roba koja može da se prodaje, nešto što će se učiti u školama, deo pozitivnog znanja, ili pozitivna vrednost na tržištu. Ako *Electronic disturbance theatre* na taj način koristi Zapatiste kao što ste sad otprilike rekle. Ili je to moja interpretacija? Da li je to neka vrsta opasnosti, je li vaša misao u tome, ili?

**Miljana Perić:** Ne, ne, to je jedan deo, ustvari jedan delić misli, koja nije ni crna ni bela. Naravno da ako mi imamo mogućnost da ovde, u Goethe institutu, pričamo o tome, ili u Beogradu uopšte, da je to daleko od nekakve borbe za goli život. Ali stvar jeste u tome što su Zapatisti spremni na određeni kompromis, znači da im je borba bitna, i lokalna i globalna, bitan je i taj gest jednog profesora Njujorškog univerziteta, koji će dati podršku. Iako posle ide dalje za svojim poslovima, prihvata

razne silne stipendije (npr. od Rockefeller fondacije). To je samo jedan deo koji malo po malo pomaže i jednoj i drugoj „strani“ da ostvari neke svoje ciljeve. Naravno, možda više ide njemu u ovom slučaju. Ali taj mali delić, da se oni opet pominju, može da pruži radost, nekakav optimizam. Poenta i samog ovog termina, pošto stalno govorimo o rEvoluciji, jeste da nije, opet, sve ili crno ili belo. Nije opet samo u pitanju: idemo brzo revolucijom, ili samo polako, progresivno, razvijanjem anti-samoorganizacije nekakvom evolucijom, nego daj-šta-daš. I jedno i drugo, da se koristi sve što izgleda moguće.

**Marta Popivoda:** Ja sam htela da te pitam da li si pronašla neke podatke koliko realno Zapatisti imaju svest o tome šta se dešava na Internetu, i da li znaju za taj globalni digitalni pokret? Da li se to ustvari ikako odražava na njihov život?

**Miljana Perić:** Odražava se, evo, konkretno: od 2003. godine su se izdvojili kao autonomna oblast, u okviru Sjedinjenih Meksičkih Država. Država Chiapas je najsiromašnija, većinsko je ruralno stanovništvo, ali oni su osnovali nekakve institucije, imaju svoju autonomnu vladu. To možda nije legitimno za Mexico City, koji neće reći: „Da, to je nova republika, evo im papira sa pečatom!“, ali oni imaju konkretne rezultate. Oni sada žele da ostanu u svojim selima, da žive tu, da razvijaju svoju kulturu, da pričaju na svom jeziku (Meksiko zvanično ima 62 jezika koji se govore, koji su živi). I deca koja su 1994. godine, tokom prve elektronske Zapatističke rEvolucije, imala 6 i 10 godina danas imaju 18 i 22 godine. Neko od 22 godine, ko je tada bio dečak sada postaje, govori kao Subcomandante Marcos. Oni podižu decu i pričaju im o tome, to je odgovor.

Preko/unutar granica ideološkog: popularna muzička kultura između alternativnih  
i zvaničnih modela organizacije

Beyond/within the limits of ideological: popular musical culture between  
alternative and official modes of organization

Iva Nenić

*Brali smo ih pre nego što bi sazrele. Ubrzavanjem razvoja i po-  
oštravanjem marketinga i mehanizama prilagođavanja bilo je  
izgubljeno određeno razdoblje rasta. Autentične potkulture tra-  
že stagnaciju i vreme, a stagnacija više ne postoji. Doživele su  
geografsku sudbinu stajaćih voda. Autonomne zone zaista nude  
određenu izdvojenost od monokulture, ali istovremeno ne pose-  
duju sposobnost prilagođavanja, bar ne na isti način. Ne znamo  
zašto je tako.*

(Vilijem Gibson: *Sve zabave sutrašnjice*)

Usvajanje *samoorganizacije* kao referentnog okvira za čitanje popularne kulture je neizvestan teorijski čin: koji subkulturni pokreti *zaista* nastupaju subverzivno u odnosu na dominantnu ideologiju, kako tumačiti one prakse koje su se iz inicijalnih alternativnih oblika umrežavanja utopile u globalni medijski kontekst, „izneverivši“ prvobitni simbolički inventar pristajanjem na učešće u državnim ideološkim aparatima? Naposletku, da li je u globalizovanom i ideološki heterogenom polju popularne kulture danas uopšte moguće realizovati subverzivni zalog nekadašnjih subkulturnih umetničkih pravaca i žanrova, u trenutku kada su njihove paradigme decentrirane u različitim lokalnim varijantama, i istovremeno ugrožene inflacijom komodifikovanih formi koje preuzimaju „ljušturu“ alternativnih modela u igri praznih označitelja industrije zabave?

Postavljena pitanja za cilj imaju da pozovu na jedno pažljivo tumačenje savremenih modela popularne kulture, utoliko što su oznake „alternativno“, „progresivno“, „nezavisno/indi“ (*indie* – žargonska skraćenica od „independent“) danas najčešće tržišne i marketinške kategorije, koje služe da se sakrije delatna krilatica ideologije – komodifikovani muzički proizvod obilato opremljen zvučnim, vizuelnim i tek-

stualnim referencama na idealtipsku sliku subkulture. U kontekstu postindustrijskog tehnološkog društva, „hladnog univerzuma digitalnog“ koji dijagnostifikuje Bodrijar, predstave o transformativnom potencijalu kontrakultura mladih zvuče sentimentalno, dok muzike sa „etničkim“ prefiksom lako pronalaze svoje mesto u masovnoj industriji zvuka ili opstaju tek kao reziduum prošlosti. Opiranje hegemoniji u popularnoj kulturi danas se odvija u svetu pluralnih, rasutih ideologija koji iziskuje specifične taktike pozivanja na neposlušnost i intervencije u društvenu realnost. Za tekst popularne kulture više nije dovoljno da glasno izriče osudu dogmi i stereotipija dominantne ideologije, za koju je diskurs razlike *imaginarna predstava* kojom se skrivaju stvarni društveni odnosi, retoričko sredstvo koje prikriva istinu komodifikacije i nejednake distribucije moći između centra i margine društva.

### Samoorganizacija – popularne muzičke prakse

Razmena kulturnih formi između subkulturnih konteksta samoorganizacije i institucionalnog okvira medija, produkcijskih kuća i drugih specijalizovanih ustanova nije jednoznačna, iako je pretežno usmerena ka komercijalizaciji određenih žanrova i njihovoj resemantizaciji u smeru popularnih ljubavnih i zabavnih sadržaja. Ova dijalektika često rađa neočekivane efekte na same subkulturne mreže koje zauzvrat iznova intervenišu u postojeće ideološke matrice. Samoorganizaciju stoga treba potražiti u popularnim muzičkim kulturama ili njihovim segmentima koji, mimo unapred pripremljenih institucionalnih rešenja, aktivno učestvuju u dijalogu o značenjima i identitetima savremenog društva. U jednom sasvim specifičnom smislu, to su oni muzički žanrovi i njima svojstveni oblici neposrednog udruživanja koji se suprotstavljaju homogenizaciji i *sui generis* suočavaju sa izazovom ideologije, bilo da je reč o ispitivanju mogućnosti muzike da se suprotstavi industriji masovne kulture, ili bavljenju traumatičnim „skrivenim“ mestima društvene realnosti.

Muzičke prakse<sup>1</sup> ove vrste najčešće se okupljaju oko pojma razlike. Muzika kao „tehnologija izvođenja subjekta“<sup>2</sup> može zastupati marginalizovane subjekte uzimajući u obzir rasne, etničke, rodne i druge identitete koje dominantna ideologija čini nevidljivim. Ova tri moguća modela ukratko ću predstaviti na primerima afroameričkog hip hop-a, riot grrrls muzičkog pokreta i globalnog muzičkog polizanja i kulture world music.

Popularna muzika afroameričkih crnih manjina donela je niz odgovora na prikrivenu nejednakost socijalnih hijerarhija koje počivaju na rasnim podelama. Crnački hip-hop je u početku kultura geta, okupljanja po lokalnim klubovima i neformalnih „bitki MC-jeva“, određena afirmacijom sopstvenog rasnog identiteta i opiranjem represiji beličke kulture. Ubrzo je hip-hop sredstvima muzičke industrije preplavio globalno tržište na kojem dominiraju komercijalne forme ovog žanra, ali je njegovo prisustvo u transnacionalnom muzičkom prostoru takođe omogućilo nastanak zasebnih etničkih i lokalnih scena sa snažnim kritičkim potencijalom. Sociološkinja Antonjina Kloskowska ističe kako je afroamerička popularna muzika „prolazila kroz ogromne mehanizme komercijalizovanog sistema zabavne umetnosti, ali dopirući do omladinskih grupa koje su se spontano i stihijski stvarale na osnovu zajedničkih muzičkih interesovanja i doživljaja, vraćala se u izvesnom smislu svom izvoru.“<sup>3</sup> Početkom devedesetih, u istom periodu kada hip-hop prodiere u globalne medije, nastaju *Riot grrrl* zajednice u kojima je muzika centralno mesto borbe za značenje i umnožavanje ženskih identiteta. U samom zvuku, vizuelnom predstavljanju i elementima scenskog nastupa, riot grrrls grupe pomalo paradoksalno internalizuju simboličke slike „muške“ rok i pank kulture poput nesputane agresivnosti i odbacivanja etabliranih vrednosti mainstream kulture kojima je zasut svet popularne muzike, i koje su deo prijemčivog komunikacijskog koda za mladu urbanu publiku. Sa druge strane, funkcionisanje feminističkih riot grrrl grupa se u velikoj meri zasniva na „zine“ časopisima i Internetu, neformalnim mesti-

<sup>1</sup> Izraz „praksa“ koristim u značenju koje je ovom terminu pripisao Luj Altiser: „materijalne delatnosti koje su uređene materijalnim ritualima, a koji su, sa svoje strane, određeni materijalnim ideološkim aparatom“. Louis Althusser, „Ideologija i državni ideološki aparati“, *Marksizam u svetu* (časopis prevođa iz strane periodike i knjiga) br. 7–8, NIRO „Komunist“, Beograd, 1979, 77–119, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Miško Šuvaković, „Višak vrednosti: muzikologija i etnomuzikologija u polju diskursa o *world music*“, *Novi zvuk* br. 24, SOKOJ – MIC, Beograd, 2004, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Antonjina Kloskowska, *Sociologija kulture*, Čigoja štampa, Beograd, 2001, 235.

ma na kojima je „osećaj procesa i interakcije, pre nego krajnji produkt, najvažniji za razumevanje značenja *riot grrrl*“<sup>4</sup>. Sredinom 1990ih, ovaj subkulturni pokret je potisnut delovanjem ideoloških mehanizama koji su pitanje ženskog identiteta preokrenuli u šarenilo ženskih tinejdžerskih časopisa i all-girl pop sastava: „mnoge (članice) pokreta su smatrale da su mediji u potpunosti marginalizovali njihovu poruku, i da su politički radikalni aspekti *riot grrrl* prisvojile Spice girls i njima slične, forsirajući ne-političku 'girl power' poruku“<sup>5</sup>. Osvajanje popularnog modela ženskog identiteta danas se odvija između invazivnih medijskih predstava „all-girl“ udruživanja i agresivnih, jakih glasova *riot grrrl* kulture koji svoj prostor pronalaze u alternativnim glasilima, u okviru specijalizovanih dešavanja poput festivala, tematskih skupova i konferencija. U oba diskursa – medijski favorizovanom all girl i subkulturnom *riot grrrls*, centralno je pitanje *poželjnih shvatanja ženske moći*, i njihov sukob se, barem deklarativno, tiče postmodernih, jakih ženskih subjekata. Nudeći različite odgovore obavijene oko iste obrtne tačke, obe kulturne prakse – jedna sa „vrha“ a druga „odozdo“ – uspostavljaju aktuelan i *jedinstven* diskurs poimanja ženskosti (*femininity*), koji u žižekovskom ključu predstavlja „teren na kojem se odvija borba za hegemoniju“<sup>6</sup>.

Naposletku, žanr i globalna kultura zvuka *world music* koji okuplja van-evropske, etničke i tradicionalne muzike, u relativno kratkom periodu postojanja (od kraja 1980ih) uspostavio je živu razmenu između neformalnih subkulturnih mreža i institucija globalne industrije. Iako se nastanak *world music-a* vezuje za konkretan datum i povod – 1987. godinu, kada je u Londonu na sastanku jedanaest produkcijskih kuća usvojen ovaj termin kao marketinška odrednica za ne-zapadnu tradicionalnu i popularnu muziku, sam žanr je i danas u velikom delu određen dinamičkom malih lokalnih scena, kao i transkulturnim i transžanrovskim migracijama samih muzičara. Danas se *world music* mreže protežu od gigantskih međunarodnih događaja kakav je festival WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance, nastao 1982. godine) do brojnih malih lokalnih festivala i asocijacija koje slede sasvim različite ideologije, u rasponu od multikulturalnosti do očuvanja etničkih tradicija i muzičkog purizma. Ukoliko je zapadna muzička industrija prvobitno neštedimice prisvajala i trošila egzotičnu muzičku Drugost, u poslednjih deset godina procesi akulturacije teku u više smerova između vanevropskih kultura i Zapada, i vrši se stalna razmena među odeljenim etničkim tradicijama, popularnom, umetničkom i narodnom muzikom. Isprepletenost marginalnog i dominantnog najčešće je prekrivena retorikom multikulturalizma koju u njenom trivijalnom vidu preuzima masovna industrija kulture, ili je pak reč o inicijativama pojedinaca/grupa da ponude model popularne kulture osetljiv za pitanje razlike. *World music* je kulturalna praksa koja pruža mnoštvo mogućih odgovora na izazov savremenosti, jer nastaje u „očiglednoj praksi izvođenja politički determinisane globalizujuće realnosti“<sup>7</sup>. Ulažak *world music-a* u kulture izvan anglosaksonskog i zapadnoevropskog područja obeležila je tenzija između tržišnih zahteva i rada pojedinaca i grupa koji su varijante ovog žanra oblikovali prema potrebama i mogućnostima lokalnih konteksta. Posledice ovih lokalnih izvedbi raspravljaću na primeru srpskog *world music-a*, žanra formiranog na prelasku iz postsocijalističkog u tranzicijsko društvo u kojem se nasleđeno i problematično pitanje etniciteta sučeljava sa neoliberalnom ideologijom multikulturalnosti.

### Problematične lokalizacije globalnog: srpski *world music*

Prve naznake o *world music-u* u Srbiji javljaju se u poslednjoj deceniji 20. veka, kroz nastanak pravca etno-džeza, ali i rad grupa koje se priklanjaju ideologiji *new age-a* poput *Hazara* čiji je kredo „izgradnja 'nove balkanske muzike' koja može da se izjednači sa *world music* kulturom“<sup>8</sup>. Krajem devedesetih otpočinje novi talas interesovanja za *world music* ili „etno“, i u to vreme nastaju danas poznati i medij-

<sup>4</sup> Sheila Whiteley, *Women and popular music*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, 209.

<sup>5</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riot\\_grrrl#Zines\\_and\\_Self\\_Publishing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riot_grrrl#Zines_and_Self_Publishing)

<sup>6</sup> Slavoj Žižek, „Introduction – The Spectre of Ideology“, *Mapping Ideology* (ed. by S. Žižek), Verso, London and New York, 1994, 1–33, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Op.cit.3, 39.

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.autentik.net/ja/godina/world\\_music\\_asocijacija\\_srbije/education.html](http://www.autentik.net/ja/godina/world_music_asocijacija_srbije/education.html)

ski promovisani sastavi i izvođači poput *Balkanike*, Biljane Krstić i *Bistrik orkestra* i drugih. Neću ulaziti u raspravu o oblicima žanrovskih fuzija i adekvatnosti kompoziciono-aranžerskih postupaka, niti u pojmovne razlike između etno pop-a, etna i *world music*-a; umesto toga, zadržaću se na analizi i raspravi ideoloških dispariteta uspostavljenih između malih subkulturnih mreža i tretmana *world music*-a u medijima koji su za ovaj žanr spremno ocenili da je ideološki podoban novoj kulturnoj i političkoj klimi Srbije.

Za razliku od globalnog *world music*-a okrenutog očuvanju i prezentaciji regionalnih, malo poznatih i za Zapad egzotičnih muzičkih idioma, razvoj *world music*-a na tlu Srbije obeležen je ponovnim pronalaženjem „zaboravljenog“ nasleđa, srpskog muzičkog folklora i muzike Balkana. Jedna od prvih lokalnih inicijativa za promociju *world music* žanra je festival *Etnomus project*, čiji je nastanak 1997. godine inicirao i osnivanje nevladine organizacije *World music* asocijacija Srbije. Poput uzora iz zapadnih kultura, programska orijentacija *Etnomus project* festivala okrenuta je tradicionalnoj muzici, etno džezu, rekonstrukcijama muzičke prošlosti i raznovrsnim oblicima žanrovskih ukrštanja.

„*Etnomus project* nije veštačka tvorevina kao kulturne manifestacije koje su nastale na inicijativu različitih državnih ili opštinskih organa vlasti. Takve manifestacije po pravilu dosta koštaju, često su opterećene najrazličitijim interesima ljudi na vlasti (od prijateljskih poziva umetnika do korupcije), i što je najvažnije nemaju ljude u organizaciji sa entuzijazmom i velikom ljubavlju za ono što rade. Zato su takva kulturna dešavanja u razvijenom svetu odavno osuđena na neuspeh. Nasuprot tome, kulturne inicijative koje pokreću nevladine organizacije, entuzijasti pa čak i sami umetnici, opstaju, prosperiraju i snažno afirmišu kulturne segmente koje predstavljaju“.<sup>9</sup>

Programska politika festivala je nakon 1997. godine uvrstila značajan broj stranih izvođača kao i medijski marginalizovanih lokalnih sastava. *World music* asocijacija Srbije je realizovala niz predavanja, tribina i publikacija, koje nisu zainteresovale stručnu javnost i akademske institucije. Zapravo, šire zanimanje za *world music* potiču muzička izdanja etno pop sastava koji koketiraju sa tradicionalnom muzikom, poput *Balkan 2000* (Sanja Ilić i *Balkanika*), ili kompilacije pod nazivom *Serbia Sounds Global* medijske kuće B92 koje namenski grade mozaičnu, poližanrovsku i multikulturalnu sliku *world music* scene Srbije. Prodor *world music*-a u javnu medijsku sferu i naučni i teorijski diskurs institucija<sup>10</sup> preusmerio je fokus sa mikro-kulturne dinamike srastanja malih, izolovanih muzičkih scena Srbije ka komercijalnim obradama tradicionalne muzike i pop muzici koja evocira tradicionalan zvuk. Subkulturne inicijative poput *Etnomus project* i beogradskog festivala nove muzike *Ring Ring* odolevaju mainstream zahtevima popularne muzičke kulture, koja je termin *world music* iskoristila za ideološki podobnu i pitku savremenu verziju „nacionalnog muzičkog bića“. Popularnost etno žanrova koju plasiraju izdavačke kuće i mediji poput RTS-a nije samo odgovor tržišta na potrebe domaće publike, u kojima se srećno spajaju savremene tendencije ka etničkom zvuku i povratak muzičkoj baštini Balkana. Kao „instrumenti konstruisanja društva“<sup>11</sup> termini *etno* i *world music* se u Srbiji koriste na fundamentalno različite načine: akteri „odozdo“ prepoznaju i zastupaju interese izvođača i grupa srodnih fleksibilnoj ideologiji globalnog *world music*-a, dok državni ideološki aparati muziku-kao-robu podređuju zahtevima vladajuće ideologije. Ipak, zavodljivi medijski „etno-šik“ proizvodi različite interpelacijske efekte na subjekte, koji se nužno ne moraju povinovati zahtevima dominantne ideologije za banalnom rekonstrukcijom muzičke prošlosti i njenom kontekstualizacijom u „etno“, izum diskursa „novog etniciteta“. Rad mladih grupa okrenutih tradicionalnoj muzici ili eksperimentalnim vidovima žanrovskih fuzija sliva se ka alternativnim kontekstima u kojima *world music* može konačno da zaživi ne kao *obećanje* već kao dinamična muzička scena i kultura. Institucionalno-medijska ideologija tranzicijskog perioda kao brižno i politički korektno ba-

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Prvo stručno izdanje čiji je deo posvećen *world music-u* u Srbiji je časopis *Novi zvuk* broj 24, objavljen 2004. godine u Beogradu. Temat od četiri rada u ovoj publikaciji usledio je nakon tribine sa temom *Balkan: od tradicionalne narodne muzike do World music-a*, koju je 2003. godine inicirao rektorat Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu. *Novi zvuk* broj 24, SOKOJ – MIC, Beograd, 2004.

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit. 3, 39.

vljenje nacionalnim identitetom za samoorganizujuće platforme i događaje *world music* scene ne mora biti prepreka već startna prednost, jer previđa nužnost stvarne implementacije multikulturalne politike u javnu sferu. Koristeći „protivrečnosti državnih ideoloških aparata“ i idući ka daljem i čvršćem integrisanju postojećih inicijativa i izolovanih pojava, *world music* može da se artikuliše kao relativno nezavistan i pluralan prostor za supstancijalan rad na kulturnom identitetu kroz muziku. Ovaj rad je subverzivan u toj meri u kojoj uspeva da sprovede svoj predmet – tradicionalnu muziku i muziku zasnovanu na tradiciji – između plitke nacionalne retorike i pogona industrije popularne muzike. Iz ideologije ništa, pa ni muzika, ne može *izaći*, ali je moguće i neophodno namreškati njenu glatku, naizgled neproblematičnu površinu decentriranjem logike centra moći, postupcima kontrahegemonijskog grupisanja, oneobičavanja i kontekstualizacije postojećih i nastupajućih ideoloških modela. Bejtsonov (Gregory Bateson) pojam *šizmogeneze* kao kumulativne interakcije suštinski različitih ali i komplementarnih radnji čije rastuće suprotnosti mogu dovesti do „dostizanja novih oblika samosvesti o sopstvenom položaju“ Steven Feld (Steven Feld) uvodi u interpretaciju kontrasta između tradicije/autentičnosti i hibridizacije u svetskom *world music-u*.<sup>12</sup> Slično tome, *šizmogeneza* se teorijski može izvesti kao stanje novonastajućih praksi srpskog *world music* žanra, u kojem se parovi poput lokalnog/globalnog, hegemonog/potlačenog, etničkog/univerzalnog, tržišnog/umetničkog i drugih, stalno repositioniraju u dijalektici državnih institucija i marginalnih zona kulture, i gde i za jedne i za druge poprište ideološke bitke ostaje otvoreno i neizvesno u trenutku kada je još uvek obeleženo predominantno lokalnim predznacima.

#### Abstract

I propose a concept of self-organization in popular culture as a body of phenomena that operates outside of top-bottom institutional context and actively pursue alternative spots of ideological discourse. After initial period of establishment, subcultural practices are usually caught up in institutional networks of some kind, and hence are transformed, commercialized or simply weakened in terms of original aims and values. Media, governmental and cultural institutions strive to take control of alternative forms of popular culture whose aspects at the time can be exploited for the purpose of contemporary societal ideology. In that way, institutions are althusserian 'ideological state apparatuses' that „function by ideology“ and provide a rich space for ideological clashes. Althusser considers that the first step in revolutionary change ('freedom' of society) is to be gained by overruling of state apparatuses, „either by the utilization of their contradictions or by conquering combat positions in them in struggle“. In Althusser's view, self-organization is just the means to gain necessary institutional power, an element that is vital but also finite in the course of history. Opposed stance holds that entering of alternative cultural practices in institutional context produces/aggravates collapse of their critical potential. Instead of judging which position is true, I'll try to demonstrate how splitting of a popular artistic practice between institutional and sub-cultural ('self-organizational') context actually might sharpen and enrich the number of ideological positions at stake. For that purpose, I'll draw on example of recent *world music* genre in Serbia whose non-institutional aspects, at the very beginning ideologically divided between „global“ and „national“ issues, afterwards were taken and further contested by major media institutions resulting in new microcultural dynamics at both sides.

<sup>12</sup> Steven Feld, „Od šizofonije do šizmogeneze: *world music* i *world beat* kao diskursi i prakse komodifikacije“, *Reč* br. 65/II, B92, Beograd, 2002, 361–390, 368.

*World music sounds?*

Transkript delova diskusije nakon izlaganja Ive Nenić

**Jelena Knežević:** Pominjala si odnos između vladajuće ideologije i muzike. Mene zanima, u našem lokalnom kontekstu, da li misliš da zaista postoji neko ko ozbiljno promišlja o tome, o pozicioniranju muzike u vladajućem režimu?

**Iva Nenić:** Kulturna politika nije nepostojeća, postoje institucije koje se time bave. One se više bave formalnim aspektima, organizaciono-tehnološko-ekonomskim, ali se njima zapravo prikriva realnost ideologije koja je na delu, o kojoj se uopšte ne govori, a koja upravlja svim tim. I ne vidim neki veliki pomak u poslednjih pet godina, osim u koketiranju sa prilično slabim kontekstom multikulturalnosti.

**Ana Vujanović:** Ako govorimo o periodu od poslednjih pet, šest godina, kako se onda tebi čini: da li je takva integracija takozvane (ili ne-takozvane) etno muzike u ovdašnji novi žanr *world musica*, da li je to deo nacionalne kulturne politike ili je to u stvari strategija menadžera koji su prepoznali način da se muzika proda, pošto je to ionako marketinški brend?

**Iva Nenić:** Da, mislim da je reč o nacionalnoj kulturnoj politici koja je latentno vođena ideološkim zahtevima preoblikovanja sopstvenog etniciteta, što onda menadžeri samo prepoznaju i implementiraju. Jeste, reč je definitivno o *top bottom* strategiji samo se ona ne prikazuje kao takva. Mislim da bi bilo naivno sve pripisati logici tržišta i brendiranju *world musica* kao globalnog žanra u lokalnom kontekstu, već je na delu baš zanimljiv proces u kojem se nešto što je globalno i što ima vrlo pluralnu i heterogenu ideologiju onda drugačije pozicionira u lokalnom kontekstu, a odlično se nakalemilo na naše traumatično mesto – naš etnicitet, našu borbu sa prošlošću.

**Bojan Đorđev:** Gde je u stvari ta granica slavljenja manjinskih identiteta i diverziteta kroz muziku i nekog nacionalnog nastupa, vrlo etnički osvešćenog, nacionalističkog, itd.?

**Iva Nenić:** Ne znam koliko sam to istakla u radu, sam *world music* je dosta nezgodan termin. To je „kišobran žanr“ pod kojim se marketinški okupljaju i tradicionalne muzike i etno-pop. Vrlo različite stvari. Kao što je rekla Miljana – nije ni crno ni belo. Trenutno se u globalnoj stručnoj javnosti vodi velika debata oko toga na koji način *world music* zapravo pomaže komodifikaciju i na koji način izvodi te marginalne jezike, i tu nema jednog odgovora. To zavisi od prakse do prakse. U celom procesu užasno je važna upravo pozicija kritike i teorijskog diskura, jer on može zaista da potpomogne ili omalovaži određeni muzički oblik, te ljude od kojih je muzika otrgnuta u jednom trenutku kao roba i otišla dalje. To je stalna neizvesna borba, a u lokalnim predznacima dobija sasvim različitu dinamiku i u tom smislu Srbija nije usamljen slučaj.

**Bojan Đorđev:** Da, svi ti pojedinačni žanrovi, odnosno sve te pojedinačne, partikularne pojave u svetu imaju u svojoj lokalnoj sredini možda sasvim dijametralno različite ideološke potpore, i potpuno različit značaj. Dok su negde izrazito emancipatorske i progresivne negde su nešto sasvim suprotno, i tako dalje. To je zanimljivo, kada se sve to skupi zajedno da li je to samo zvuk 'egzotike' ili tu ima još i nekog razmišljanja o tome šta ta muzika ustvari u svom lokalnom kontekstu iz kojeg je istrgnuta znači?

**Iva Nenić:** Sama muzika može da proizvede višak značenja, i Steven Feld to naziva korakom od šizofonije do šizmogeneze: šizofonija kao prvobitno okupljanje a šizmogeneza kao situacija jukstapunktiranja svih tih krajnje oprečnih ideoloških trvenja koja onda imaju različite efekte. Upravo te efekte moramo pratiti. Nije dovoljno da se zadovoljimo time što možemo čuti muziku iz Afrike i razumeti je, upravo se moramo baviti efektima koji iz toga proizilaze. Onim vrlo aktivnim značenjima, vrlo lepljivim i negde važnim modelima identiteta koja muzika nudi, koji jesu snažni, koji jesu artukulacioni u odnosu na stvarnost, koji jesu instrument, koji jesu simptom društva.

**Emina Višnić:** Ja sam zapravo malo zbunjena. Ti si krenula iz hip hop kao jednog primera pop kulture koji kreće iz neke samoorganizirane vrlo lokalne kvartovske američke sredine, preko *riot grrrl*, sa celom povjesti kako se to dogodilo, a onda si došla do *world musica*. Ja razumijem priču oko samoorganizacije prve dvije stvari, ali zapravo mi negdje izmiče baš taj vid samoorganiziranja *world music*-a. Ja ne poznajem dovoljno taj žanr, i nije mi jasno koliko je on bitan ili egzemplaran za ovu temu samoorganiziranja jer ga ja prvenstveno vidim kao nešto tržišno i odozgora, ali to je možda samo zato što ja nemam dovoljno informacija.

**Iva Nenić:** On jeste i to. On jeste nešto što je tržišno i odozgora, ali taj drugi deo, za mene važniji, jesu male lokalne scene gde *world music* nastaje. O njegovom značenju se tu pregovara, upravo danas. Mimo imperativa industrije koji ide odozgo. Ono što je mene konkretno zanimalo jeste dijalektika institucije i malih scena, baš ovde u Srbiji. Zato što u tome učestvujem i kao teoretičarka i kao izvođačica, i imam uvid u to. Uzela sam upravo primer tog festivala koji je jasno istakao svoju programsku politiku kao samoorganizovanu, i tako funkcioniše, i institucija koje opet svojim interpelacijama, svojim ideološkim pozivima privlače mlade grupe koje onda ponovo ulaze u alternativne kontekste. Time sam zapravo htela da kažem da stvar nije jednoznačna, da institucija nije mesto koje se nužno mora zaobići već se mogu vršiti gerilski upadi u strukture institucije. To je ono što Althusser daje kao imperativ borbe za osvajanje vlasti, korišćenje antagonizama institucije ili osvajanje mesta u njima. Ne mislim da je to jedini mogući model, ali mislim da je u nekom smislu i dobar. Nadam se da je sad jasnije.

SPUU 2005/2006.

Strategije studenata/kinja u cilju njihovog repositioniranja unutar procesa kreiranja polja visokog obrazovanja

SPUU 2005/2006

Students' strategies for their re-positioning within the processes constitutive for the field of higher education

Vlatko Ilić

Na primeru Studentskog parlamenta Univerziteta umetnosti, i njegovih aktivnosti u periodu nakon donošenja novog Zakona o visokom obrazovanju (školska 2005/2006 godina) samoorganizovanje posmatram ne kao model, već kao strategiju u cilju reartikulacije dominantnih procedura rada u mikrokontekstu jedne obrazovno umetničke institucije. Problematizujući dvojnju poziciju novo formiranog organa univerziteta, organa kojem zakon (*odozgo*) otvara prostor, ali koji nastaje i deluje kao rezultat studentske inicijative (*odozdo*) razmatram mogućnosti samoorganizacije, kao i njenu izvodljivost. Izlaganje nije prezentacija/promocija rada Studentskog parlamenta već ponovno mišljenje mogućnosti rada u/sa hijerarhizovanim institucijama u cilju repositioniranja centara moći unutar nje.

Članovi i članice Studentskog parlamenta: Vojislav Klačar, Vlatko Ilić, Milena Živadinović, Lazar Dimitrijević, Anđela Grabež, Boris Bogdanović, Davor Tatić, Biljana Srećković, Jelena Arnautović, Ana Nedeljković, Jadranko Barišić, Snježana Torbica, Marijana Anđelić, Biljana Đokanović, Ivana Stojadinović, Jelena Knežević, Marko Grubač, Vojislav Bećir, Ana Simanić.

Transkript izlaganja

**Vlatko Ilić:** Ovim izlaganjem želeo sam da razmotrim mišljenje samoorganizacije ne kao mišljenje određenog modela, već kao prakse, ili, kako Ana Marković i Miljana Perić to nazivaju u svom apstraktu, taktike, ili kako ću ja pokušati da razvijem dalje – mišljenje strategije, intervenisanja u dominantne modele, u ovom slučaju obrazovnih procesa. Ukratko ću vam ispričati nešto o ovogodišnjem Studentskom parlamentu, a zatim ću se konkretnije usmeriti na određene poteze, odluke, i način rada u toku ove godine. Prošlog septembra, 2005. godine, donešen je nov Zakon o visokom obrazovanju u Srbiji, i tada je i zvanično, po zakonu, konstitui-

san Studentski parlament Univerziteta umetnosti. Ta inicijativa na univerzitetu pokrenuta je i ranije, ali je prošlog septembra njoj zakonski dat prostor. Zato i uzimam za primer i razmatram pojavu i delovanje Studentskog parlamenta, jer on ima tu zanimljivu poziciju nečega što se pojavljuje i odozgo, samim tim što mu zakon otvara prostor, ali ustvari 'realno' nastaje i deluje pre svega kao studentska inicijativa, to jest odozdo. Specifičnost pozicije i delovanja Studentskog parlamenta ovde koristim za mišljenje samoorganizacije kao strategije. Ono što novi zakon donosi, poznat i kao bolonjski zakon, su mnoge nove odrednice, ali za polje studentskog organizovanja najznačajnije je upravo restrukturiranje univerziteta, u okviru čega je studentski parlament jedan od njegova četiri ravnopravna organa. Studentski parlament biran je od strane studenata i studentkinja, i jedna od njegovih osnovnih uloga je da bira i razrešava predstavnike odnosno predstavnice studenata i studentkinja u drugim telima, kako na nivou univerziteta tako i na nivou četiri fakulteta. Tako novi zakon otvara prostor studentskom parlamentu, ali je njegovo dalje uređenje ostavljeno statutima, koji su tada tek u pripremi, ili možda Zakonu o studentskom organizovanju, koji još uvek nije donešen. Usled realnih prilika na univerzitetima u Srbiji, studentskih parlamenata još uvek nema, i Studentski parlament Univerziteta umetnosti jeste prvi univerzitetski parlament konstituisan, još uvek, od donošenja novog zakona. Na univerzitetu je ova inicijativa postojala i ranije (postoji student prorektor/studentkinja prorektorka i studenti prodekani/studentkinje prodekanke na univerzitetu i na fakultetima), iako ne postoji strogo protivljenje njegovom stvaranju, ipak značajno je da organizovanje parlamenta nije pokrenuto od strane nastavnog osoblja. Grupa studenata i studentkinja koja je i ranije delovala, proširila se, i konstituisala parlament, i već od novembra prošle godine počela aktivno da ga dalje razvija.

Ono što je sada važno je da proteklu školsku godinu posmatramo pre svega u kontekstu, to je godina kada su donošeni najviši akti univerziteta, statut univerziteta i statuti četiri fakulteta unutar njega. Tako da prošla školska godina jeste obeležena pre svega procesom reformisanja visokog obrazovanja, i jedan od ciljeva koji smo odmah postavili nakon konstituisanja bio je da što aktivnije uključimo studente/studentkinje u te procese, u toj vakuum godini. Znalo se da će nakon donošenja statuta studenti i studentkinje biti uključeni, jer u Savetu jednu šestinu članova/članica čine predstavnici/predstavnice studenata i studentkinja, u Senatu je to do 20 posto, kako je već to zakon propisao. Znali smo da će to tako i biti kada se doneše statut, ali u ovoj godini kada su se statuti pisali, naš cilj bio je da već u same procese reformisanja uključimo studente i studentkinje, to jest da već u same procese reformisanja studente i studentkinje učinimo vidljivim, i da interвениšemo u najvećoj mogućoj meri. U našim aktivnostima tokom godine koristile smo određene prakse samoorganizovanja u cilju aktiviranja studenata i studentkinja, radi njihovog uključivanja i što efektivnijeg delovanja.

Prva od njih bila je podela nadležnosti i dužnosti. Studentski parlament broji 21 člana to jest članicu, a jedna od odredbi koju smo doneli našim Pravilnikom o radu jeste da postoje još 3 mesta otvorena za predstavnike odnosno predstavnice manjinskih grupa na univerzitetu, i ove godine imali smo i jednu predstavnicu Udruženja studenata sa hendikepom. To je 22 ljudi, i prva stvar koju smo uradili bila je upravo podela obaveza i stalno simultano delovanje na/u što više polja. Tako među članovima i članicama Studentskog parlamenta bili su: student prorektor, koji je zatim osnovao svoj tim saradnika i saradnica, zatim predsednik studentskog parlamenta, zamenica predsednika, studenti prodekani i studentkinja prodekanke, a osnovali smo i osam Resora sa posebnim nadležnostima, tako da su svi koordinatori odnosno koordinatorke Resora članovi odnosno članice parlamenta. Ideja je bila da se delovanje parlamenta što više decentralizuje, i da se nadležnosti i dužnosti što više podele unutar parlamenta. Druga strategija bila je, a one su sve nekako povezane, da ta struktura operiše kao mreža, i samim tim da se širi. Studenti i studentkinje, koji nisu članovi/članice parlamenta, pozvani su da se uključe u rad Sa-

veta i veća, u rad statutarnih komisija, kao i rad Resora. Cilj je bio da se ideja studentskog organizovanja i aktiviranja studenata i studentkinja, od pasivnih primalaca znanja do aktivnih učesnika kreiranja obrazovnog polja, što više proširi. Sledeći potez, koji nam je sve to omogućavao i koji je materijalizovao čitavu zamišljenu strukturu i njeno delovanje, bio je osnivanje i korišćenje yahoo mailing lista. Ona nam je omogućavala, kako smo mi to neformalno nazivali, međusobnu kontrolu. Ustvari, ideja je bila da svi članovi i članice konstantno šalju izveštaje jedni drugima. To nije bilo pitanje kontrole, ali jeste bilo pitanje transparentnosti delovanja, kao i protoka i dostupnosti različitim informacijama, i održavanja kontinuiranog rada i aktivnosti. Sledeća važna aktivnost parlamenta bila je samo-edukacija članova i članica Studentskog parlamenta, u okviru koje su organizovani treninzi o Zakonu o visokom obrazovanju i Prednactru zakona o studentskom organizovanju, a kasnije i treninzi na fakultetima za ostale studente i studentkinje. Kroz prakse samoorganizacije pokušali smo da aktiviramo studente i studentkinje, da ih uključimo u rad svih tela univerziteta i fakulteta, i tako repositioniramo centre moći.

Moj interes je bio da kroz ovo izlaganje posmatram samoorganizovanje kao moguću prasku u jednom mikrokontekstu u jednom određenom vremenskom periodu i sa određenim ciljem, i da postavim pitanje da li samoorganizaciju treba misliti kao model, ili da li je treba koristiti kao taktiku. Nisam želeo da razmatram uspešnost ili neuspešnost toga, jer uvek i treba posmatrati oba aspekta. Naravno da je dolazilo do različitih problema, jer nisu svi članovi i članice bili podjednako aktivni, pa je često manja grupa bila ta koja je pokretala, inicirala događaje, i koja je pokrivala više obaveza nego što joj je po prvobitnoj zamisli određeno. Ali mislim da naša namera uključivanja što većeg broja studenata i studentkinja, kao i njihovo izjednačavanje sa nastavnim osobljem u procesu reformisanja, jeste postigla dobre rezultate.

## Abstract

Using the example of Students' Parliament at the University of Arts, and its activities during the period after the new Law on High Education was brought (2005/2006 school year) I am analyzing the self-organization, not as a model, but as a strategy for re-articulating dominant work procedures in a micro-context of one educational and art institution. Through questioning a double-side position of this newly formed university body, the body for which the space was created by law (*from above*) but which was actually created and acted as a result of students' initiative (*from below*), I am dealing with possible application of self-organization, as well as with its sustainability. This lecture is not a presentation/promotion of the Students' Parliament but it is rather re-thinking of work with(in) hierarchical institutions and the possible re-positioning of power-centers within them.

Samoupravni Obrazovni Sistem u umetnosti; pokušaj *crackovanja* kodova rada  
Self-managed Educational System in Art; An attempt of *cracking* codes of work

Marta Popivoda, Jelena Knežević

Samoupravni Obrazovni Sistem u umetnosti je edukativni projekat TkH-centra koji ćemo razmatrati kao samoorganizovani sistem koji koristi procedure *open source*, i preispituje koncepte produkcije i menadžmenta znanja i njihova o/po/dupiranja savremenom kapitalističkom društvu iz kojeg su emergirali. Projekat obuhvata konceptualizaciju, a zatim i aktualizaciju novih procedura u (samo)edukaciji. Zasniva se na pokušaju sprovođenja reza između učenja za kasnije plaćeno radno vreme (obrazovne institucije) i *crackovanja* kodova takvog obrazovanja, odnosno slobodnog preuzimanja metodologija rada i njihovog implemetiranja u sopstvene procedure, nasuprot informaciji kao tržišnoj jedinici. Smatramo da je ovo ulaganje u prakse „generalnog intelekta“ i, upravo, u samu sposobnost učenja, kako Paolo Virno definiše generalni intelekt i time referira na potencijalnost mnoštva. Ponudićemo model za istraživanje i angažovanje znanja koji ide preko aktuelnih vlasničkih odnosa, znanja koje neće stati na mesto proizvoda i zatvoriti svoj kôd.

Realizacija projekta je započeta. U toku je istraživačka faza, i uskoro će početi da se objavljuju tekstovi na internet adresi [www.tkh-generator.net](http://www.tkh-generator.net) kao učešće časopisa *TkH* u Documenta 12 *publishing programu*. Tokom leta 2007. biće organizovana škola TkH Summer Re:public, kao programski i organizacioni model SOSa. U jesen 2007, biće objavljen broj časopisa *TkH* o ovoj temi, takođe u okviru Documenta platforme.

Key words: *open source* procedure (kao najefikasniji kritički režim upravljanja znanja), rizomska struktura, produkcija i menadžment znanja, samoorganizacija, postpedagogija.

Transkript izlaganja

**Marta Popivoda:** Ja ću izlagati o jednom projektu TkH-centra na kojem trenutno radimo. To je projekat *Samoupravni Obrazovni Sistem u umetnosti*, odnosno

S.O.S., a to su inicijali projekta u lokalnim jezičkim okvirima. Ovo izlaganje će biti usmereno pre svega na polaznu konceptualizaciju ovog edukativnog projekta.

Projekat će se realizovati kroz četiri faze: istraživanje, izdavanje publikacije/a i letnja škola, odnosno radionice. Trenutno je u toku istraživačka faza, i to je sam početak projekta. Grupa autora koji sarađuju u okviru TkH-centra okupila se oko ovog projekta i napravila osnovnu koncepciju – a to je da postoji jedan dugoročni istraživački projekat u okviru kojeg će se konceptualizovati, promisliti i, nadamo se, napraviti alati za neki novi samoorganizovani edukativni model, odnosno protokol za samoobrazovanje. Kasnije, nakon ove faze, planirano je da se objavi „udžbenik“, tj. knjiga sa odabranim tekstovima i koncepcijama koje će proizići iz istraživanja, zatim *online* izdanja teorijskih tekstova, organizacionih šema i algoritama, kao i transkripti rasprava i diskusija. Ovaj projekat je i organizacione prirode, pa je plan da se u završnoj fazi istraživanja oformi „eksperimentalno odeljenje“, odnosno da se okupi grupa ljudi sa umetničkih i humanističkih fakulteta i, na osnovu svojih interesovanja, radi dalje istraživanje, a pre svega testiranje osmišljenih protokola samoorganizacije u oblasti edukacije i umetnosti.

Izdavački segment će se realizovati kao učešće TkH-centra odnosno časopisa u izložbi *Dokumenta 12* u Kaselu, a segment radionica i javnih časova je planiran da se realizuje u okviru regionalne platforme za izvođačke umetnosti *The FaMa*, testiranje osmišljenog modela sprovedeće se u okviru letnje škole sa nazivom *TkH Summer Re: public*, sa podnaslovom *slavljenje i problematizacija 56 godina od autonomne zone Užice*. Odabrali smo Užice, kako bi se izbegao Beograd kao centar svih dešavanja u Srbiji, odnosno pokušali smo da sprovedemo proces decentralizacije i realizaciju radionica premestimo u mesto koje je u jednom trenutku, dva meseca tokom II svetskog rata bilo autonomna zona. To je plan, za sada.

Istraživačka faza je osmišljena kao duži period rada na razmatranju i proizvodnji mogućih koncepata samoedukacije, koji bi se kasnije u okviru projekta i realizovali u vidu praktičnog modela organizacione strukture rada. Projekat razmatramo kao samoorganizovani sistem u oblasti umetnosti i obrazovanja. Početna koncepcija se zasniva na distinkciji koju pravimo između obrazovanja i samoobrazovanja. Pokušaćemo da materijalizujemo konceptualni rez između obrazovanja unutar institucija, koje je pre svega usmereno tako da kasnije vodi ka realizaciji i iskorišćavanju u okviru plaćenog radnog vremena, i produkcije znanja van institucija, čiji je potencijal u tome što je (nastaje i koristi se) van tih vlasničkih odnosno ekonomskih odnosa. Ovakva procedura stvaranja alternativnog modela produkcije znanja bi bila ulaganje u „prakse generalnog intelekta“ i samu sposobnost učenja, kako Paolo Virno definiše generalni intelekt i time referira na potencijalnost mnoštva. Ponudićemo model za istraživanje i angažovanje znanja koje ide preko aktuelnih vlasničkih odnosa u vezi edukacija-proizvodnja. Zato je ta distinkcija bitna; jer je cilj znanje koje neće stati na mesto proizvoda na tržištu i zatvoriti svoj kôd. Kako stoji i u naslovu, pokušaj krekovanja kodova rada odnosno samoobrazovanja je pokušaj, mogućnost da se napravi i ponudi alternativa u oblasti edukacije analogna onome što je izvedeno u slučaju slobodnog *softwarea*.

Procedure *open sourcea*, odnosno uopšte kompjuterska i hakerska terminologija kao što su kôd, zatvaranje koda i krekovanje, koristimo baš zato što procedure *open sourcea* inicijalno pripadaju toj oblasti. A u poslednje vreme su kao strategije rada prepoznate i od strane umetnika i teoretičara, i implementiraju se u oblasti umetnosti i obrazovanja, a u slučaju S.O.S. projekta obrazovanja u umetnosti. To smo videli i juče, na jednoj od prezentacija (prezentacija PAFa, *Open source workshop*), gde se govorilo o pokušaju implementiranja *open source* procedura u izvođačke umetnosti. *Open source* procedure smatram najefikasnijim režimom menadžmenta znanja. On nam omogućava istraživačko oruđe za prepoznavanje, preuzimanje i doradu odnosno poboljšanje već postojećih metodologija rada. Te procedure su suprotne procedurama karakterističnim za društvene sisteme zasnovane

na pozitivnom znanju (po Christianu Fuchsu), gde se znanjem operiše kao robom (koja se prenosi, usvaja, akumulira, prodaje, naplaćuje, itd.), odnosno gde se znanje svodi na informaciju, umesto na koncepcije. Strategija *open sourcea* nam omogućava to da sama praksa rada, u ovom slučaju učenja, bude dostupna za redistribuciju, a ne da se redistribuira ono što je njen proizvod, finalni produkt obrazovanja. Smatram da se ovim može prekinuti lanac vlasničkih odnosa i tržišnih zakonitosti koje vladaju u savremenom informatičkom društvu, i pokušati da se nove koncepcije „rada“ znanja bar na trenutak i u izuzetnim (relativno autonomnim) okolnostima otrgnu od protoka kapitala.

Ono što bi trebalo da bude završna faza S.O.S. projekta je TkH *Summer Re:public*, kao privremeno autonomna zona u obrazovanom sistemu umetnosti. Naša koncepcija te faze je da ne postoji unapred predviđena programska agenda, niti hijerarhizovana struktura u obrazovnom sistemu, već saradnici koji se uključe u projekat i pohađaju i organizuju radionice, sami biraju predavače i teme koje bi hteli da proučavaju. Škola bi na taj način bila doslovno rizomski strukturirana, i sve odluke, kao i same mogućnosti izbora predavača, tema i rasporeda, bile bi inicirane „odozdo“, što znači od strane samih polaznika = organizatora radionica. Za sada smo došli do toga da napravimo i neku vrstu formule, odnosno algoritma, putem kojeg bi se saradnicama na ovom projektu ponudila baza podataka ključnih reči iz savremene kulture, teorije, umetnosti i humanističkih nauka. Oni bi dalje tom algoritamskom procedurom definisali konkretne teme, a kada se one definišu, razgovaralo bi se o tome koji bi predavači bili odgovarajući, a sa njima bi se dalje pregovaralo.

Veliko je pitanje kako će sve ovo praktično funkcionisati. Da li će takav model edukacije zaista zaživeti? Da li će se ljudi aktivirati, ako ne postoji praktična upotrebljivost/korist od takve vrste – nespecijalističkog – obrazovanja, ali ni hijerarhizovana struktura u kojoj „se zna“ svačije mesto i funkcija? Ja sam se zalagala za to da postoji algoritam kako polaznici ne bi funkcionisali samo u okviru koji već imaju i donose sa sobom. Možda nije loše da im se ponude neke nove (nadindividualne, strukturalne) opcije, da krenu dalje, preko tih okvira, a sa novim procedurama koje se implementiraju u proces edukacije.

**Jelena Knežević:** Ja ću se nadovezati na Martu, pa bih zajedno sa vama više učestvovala u diskusiji. Edukativni sistem uopšte ne prati promene, pa je zapravo cela edukacija, odnosno to što se nama prenosi, zasnovano na informaciji kao takvoj, a to uopšte više nije poenta jer je informacija izgubila svaki značaj, u smislu što možemo doći do bilo koje informacije u svakom trenutku. Sada, poenta je šta zapravo raditi sa tim informacijama. Samo treba odustati od načina predavanja kojim se serviraju informacije, i preći na predavanje koje će biti usmereno na to šta raditi sa gomilom informacija. Drugo pitanje je realizacija samoorganizacije, to jest organizacija samoorganizacije. To je vrlo problematično, kako organizovati samoorganizaciju. Kad neko nešto inicira, to ne znači da bi trebalo da ostavi drugoj osobi da se samoorganizuje, a da se ništa ne radi po tom pitanju. Mislim da ja onda treba da imam jedan viši stepen organizacije, da ja treba dublo, ili troduplo da se potrudim da bi neko mogao da se samoorganizuje. Ili, konkretno na ovom primeru letnje škole, najlakše je da se napravi letnja škola, da se daju teme, to je vrlo lako. Ali sa naše strane se zahteva jedan viši stepen organizacije, jedan užasno složen i mukotrpan proces. Samoorganizacija ne podrazumeva neorganizaciju nego organizaciju koja možda tek treba da se razvije. Treba predvideti, ispitati sve varijante, sve mogućnosti. Inače imamo jednu varijantu koju ponudimo, i onda imamo eventualno plan A i plan B, ukoliko se desi da nešto iz tehničkih razloga ne uspe. Ako pustimo ljude da se samoorganizuju moramo da predvidimo hiljadu i jednu varijantu, kako sve to povezati i kako sve uskladiti.

## Abstract

Self-managed Educational System in art is educational project of TkH center, which will be considered here as a self-organized system, which uses open source procedures and reinvestigate concepts of production and management of knowledge and their resistance to or support of contemporary capitalistic society from which they emerged. The project comprises conceptualization and actualization of new procedures within (self)education. It's based on the attempt of making the cut between learning for later paid labor-time (educational institutions) and cracking codes of such an education, i.e. freely taking over the methodologies of work and their implementation in our own procedures, against information as a market unit. We consider this as an investment in practices of „general intellect“ and just in the ability to learn, as Paolo Virno defines general intellect referring to potentiality of the multitude. We will propose a model for investigation and engagement of knowledge beyond actual proprietary relations, knowledge that will not stand on the position of the commodity and close its code.

Realization of the project already started. The researching phase is just running, and publishing of the texts will start soon on the following Internet address [www.tkh-generator.net](http://www.tkh-generator.net), as a participation of *TkH* journal in Documenta 12 publishing program. During the summer 2007, TkH will organize TkH summer Re: public school, as a programmatic and organizational model of SmES. Also, in the autumn 2007 one edition of *TkH* journal will be dedicated to this subject, within Documenta platform.

Key words: open source procedures (as the most efficient critical regime of knowledge management), rhizomatic structure, production/management of knowledge, self-organization, post-pedagogy.

Samoorganizovanje: DA, NE?

Transkript delova diskusije nakon izlaganja Vlatka Ilića i izlaganja Marte Popivode i Jelene Knežević

**Ana Vujanović:** Mislim da je jako važno to što je Jelena na kraju rekla, jer ustvari cela priča o samoorganizaciji u teoriji se vezuje za teorije kompleksnih sistema, što znači da uopšte nije u pitanju ni anarhija ni neorganizacija niti dezorganizacija, nego upravo organizacija veoma kompleksnih sistema. I to što govoriš da treba predvideti ovo ili ono, taj aspekt nepredvidljivosti je za samoorganizaciju užasno važan, i u teorijama samoorganizacije, iz raznih oblasti. Ustvari, poenta je da se samoorganizacija nužno, upravo zbog svoje kompleksne strukture, zasniva na kontigenciji. Ona ukida mogućnost potpune predvidljivosti. Neću da umaram sa svim tim relacijama unutar samoorganizacionih sistema koje se neprekidno usložnjavaju. Postoji neka vrsta hijerahije, u smislu generisanja informacija i usložnjavanja procesa organizacije na sve višem i višem nivou koji stalno uključuje sve one niže, upravo zato što ne postoji distribucijska logika rada. Samoorganizacioni sistemi su uvek generativni sistemi, i to jeste njihov najveći potencijal. To je vezano za predvidljivost i ovaj viši nivo organizacije, to se potpuno slažem. Zanima me, konkretno, vezano za Vlatkovo izlaganje, koliko je ovaj Zakon o visokom obrazovanju predvideo strukturu studentskog parlameta, a koliko je bila vaša zamisao kako to treba da izgleda?

**Vlatko Ilić:** Zakon o visokom obrazovanju predvideo je postojanje studentskog parlamenta, da on bira i razrešava predstavnike i da mandat članova i članica traje godinu dana, da u Senatu ima do 20%, a u Savetu jedna šestina studenata i studentkinja, ali pitanje samog uređenja ostavljeno je otvoreno.

**Marta Popivoda:** Kada kažete da ste vi ponudili određeni model, koliko ste se bavili time da ponudite model ili ste ga samo preuzeli. Pošto je studentski parlament vrlo hijerarhizovan organ unutar univerziteta, koliko ste razmišljali koji ćete model ponuditi. Zanima me, da li ste razgovarali o tome i da li ste imali više modela, pa ste se odlučili za ovaj ili se „samo po sebi“ desilo to što ste u velikoj meri preuzeli klasično državnu strukturu.

**Vlatko Ilić:** Studentski parlament kao organ univerziteta jeste preuzeo strukturu koju univerzitet ima, ali je upravo ovim stvaranjem novih funkcija, stvaranjem funkcija za čitav organ, kao i tom idejom simultanog i transparentnog delovanja, i tog stalnog protoka informacija, i stalnim izveštajima, napravljena takva struktura u kojoj svako svakog može da pozove na odgovornost, i hijerarhija je razvijena koliko je to bilo moguće. Nije važno ako neko ima veći legitimitet od nekog drugog, već da bude različit.

**Marta Popivoda:** Ali jeste, student prorektor/studentkinja prorektorka je predstavnik studenata, i ipak niste rekli mi ne želimo da imamo studenta prorektora/studentkinju prorektorku, mi želimo da imamo 21 člana to jest članicu koji ravnopravno odlučuju i u zavisnosti od kompetencije u određenim oblastima se pojavljuju na većima i učestvuju u odlučivanju.

**Vlatko Ilić:** Moja ideja nije ni bila da kažem kako studentski parlament predstavlja model samoorganizacije, već da se koristi praksama samoorganizovanja. I umesto da se stalno šalju isti ljudi u ista tela, to smo podelili na što veći broj studenata i studentkinja, kako bi što veći broj njih bio uključen, kako bi se minimalno ponavljali siti ljudi. Nije pitanje modela, jer je parlament već u okviru jedne takve institucije, već je pitanje delovanja.

**Bojan Đorđev:** Imam jedno kratko pitanje baš vezano za ovo, kakve veze ima student prorektor sa studentskim parlamentom, i da li predsednik studentskog parlamenta i student prorektor imaju istu težinu u odlučivanju, to jest da li su oni ravnopravni predstavnici studentskog tela, da li je to jedna osoba, kako to funkcionise?

**Vlatko Ilić:** To je dobar primer delovanja. Baš zato što je ova godina bila vakuum godina, i postajala je mogućnost da se različite prakse gotovo nametnu, ono što smo i uradili je sprečavanje mogućnosti da jedna osoba bude 'najviši' predstavnik studenata i studentkinja, mi smo tu ulogu ustvari podelili, i to podelili što više. Ideja je, da bar u startu postoji predsednik studentskog parlamenta, odnosno predsednica, i student prorektor ili studentkinja prorektorka. Ne postoji mogućnost da jedno od njih dvoje bude ovlašćeniji da zastupa interese studenata i studentkinja.

**Jelena Knežević:** Više smo se borili da Studentski parlament ojačamo, u odnosu na spoljašnju sredinu. Mislim da je sada ostavljeno da se Studentski parlament unutar sebe organizuje. Ove godine smo više nastojali da izborimo poziciju Studentskog parlamenta kao takvog, a sada mislim da je odličan trenutak da se menja struktura, da se pređe sa te piramidalne klasične hijerarhije na neku vrstu samoorganizacije. A o nekom ozbiljnijem promišljanju cele strukture, bile su tu odlične pojedinačne inicijative, ali to je bilo vrlo parcijalno. Moj utisak je da toga nije bilo.

**Emina Višnić:** Mislim da će to zapravo biti nemogući proces, menjati tu strukturu na način da ona ide više ka samoorganizaciji jer ona zapravo ponavlja ove klasične parlamentarne strukture, od političkog prema univerzitetima i javnim institucijama. Budući da se radi o predstavničkom tjelu prvenstveno, znači radi se o reprezentaciji. Kad govorimo o studentskom samoorganiziranju, ili bilo kojem drugom građanskom samoorganiziranju, zapravo govorimo o civilnom društvu i jedna od čisto teorijski, pa se sad to različito interpretira, karakteristika je da je ono nereprezentativno, nego da predstavlja neki udruženi interes koji je upravo u demokratskim društvima potreban radi sprečavanja dominacije volje većine, da bi mogla postojati volja manjine. To je neki sistem. Ja mislim da taj tipa tjela, kao što su studentski parlamenti, će zapravo uvijek morati ponavljati, jer institucija ne može drugi tip strukture naprosto probaviti. Međutim ono što je pitanje, meni zanimljivo, je kako će se ta praksa dalje naslijeđivati? Jer očito je model taj i tu se mogu raditi manje preinake al u biti on ostaje isti. Meni se čini ova vaša praksa međusobnog informiranja, mailing liste, da je to neko moguće jezgra koje to može nastaviti, mislim da će se sad stvoriti model koji će se poslije naslijeđivati. Mene zanima koja

je mogućnost naslijeđivanja, prenošenja daljeg transfera bilo u ovom istom vremenu pa na druge fakultete bilo naprosto generacijskog upravo tih praksi.

**Marta Popivoda:** Mislim da je dobro što je napravljena vidljivost studentskog parlamenta ove godine, između ostalog i ja sam prisustvovala jednom od treninga. Treba insistirati na tome da ukoliko je nemoguće uvoditi nove protokole, da se procedure unutar strukture menjaju.

**Ana Vujanović:** Mislim da smo u međuvremenu nekako skliznuli, da smo jednu stvar ispustili, odnosno da smo promenili fokus. Kao da je sad odjednom postalo užasno pozitivno da je nešto samoorganizacija pa se sad već pitamo, ovo nije ili ovo jeste. A ustvari samoorganizacija uopšte ne isključuje hijerarhiju, uopšte ne isključuje ponavljanje istog modela. S obzirom da je Vlatko konkretno odgovorio da zakon uopšte nije odredio strukturu tog parlamenta, taj parlament jeste samoorganizovan od studenata koji su se okupili. Ja čak mislim da je njima ostavljena velika mogućnost samoorganizacije i da su je oni iskoristili, a onda je pitanje kako je to unutra organizovano. Ne znam da li je sad to loše što radim, da taj termin „samoorganizacija“ ispraznim od tog utopističkog potencijala i kažem da to jeste način organizacije koja nam pruža mogućnost da delujemo drugačije, ali je uopšte ne podrazumeva.

**Emina Višnić:** Ne mislim da se radi o dobrim i lošim, ili crnim i bijelim pozicijama, ali mislim da negdje, barem koliko smo ovdje govorili, impliciramo da govorimo o samoorganizaciji kao tipu slobode ili bar nezavisnosti i nefunkcioniranja unutar onoga što je institucionalizirano u neke oblike organizacije koji definitivno nisu samoorganizacija.

**Ana Vujanović:** Možda je samoorganizacija dosta jasan simptom za to kako svi mi već živimo, tako što smo internalizovali protokole i procedure institucija u okviru kojih živimo, da onda čak i kada se samoorganizujemo ponavljamo taj model iako je onda to manje ili više naš slobodan izbor da tako uradimo.

**Dragana Alfirević:** Za mene samoorganizacija samo može da funkcioniše na tim zaista mikro nivoima, da se nas troje nađemo, da imamo ideju, da možda u tim nekim koncentričnim krugovima širimo delovanje. Ne možemo da očekujemo da sada svi studenti koji postoje, da se svi samoorganizuju, mislim da je to zaista mnogo idealistično očekivanje. Na neki način mislim da je to proces samoedukacije na vrlo bazičnom nivou, da je to udaranje glavom o zid milion puta dok ne shvatiš na kraju: aha, možda ja treba da ne učestvujem uopšte u ovome ili treba da se popnem na viši nivo svesti. To je jako *sexy, open source*, mi smo ga uvezli, i to zvuči *the best* ali to je na praktičnom nivou potpuno nemoguće, jer se ne zna gde moj zadatak počinje, gde tvoj prestaje, gde tvoj počinje, i kako taj lanac proizvodnje, modela, umetničkog dela, kako on uopšte funkcioniše. A drugo što sam htela da kažem jeste da to što zakon daje mogućnost da se neko samoorganizuje meni stvarno deluje kao da muškarac daje ženi pravo na jednakost, sad smo kao mi žene i treba da izborimo pravo na jednakost od muškaraca i muškarac kaže: aha, ok, danas sam odlučio da vam dam to pravo. To mi je problematično.

## BELEŠKE



## BELEŠKE

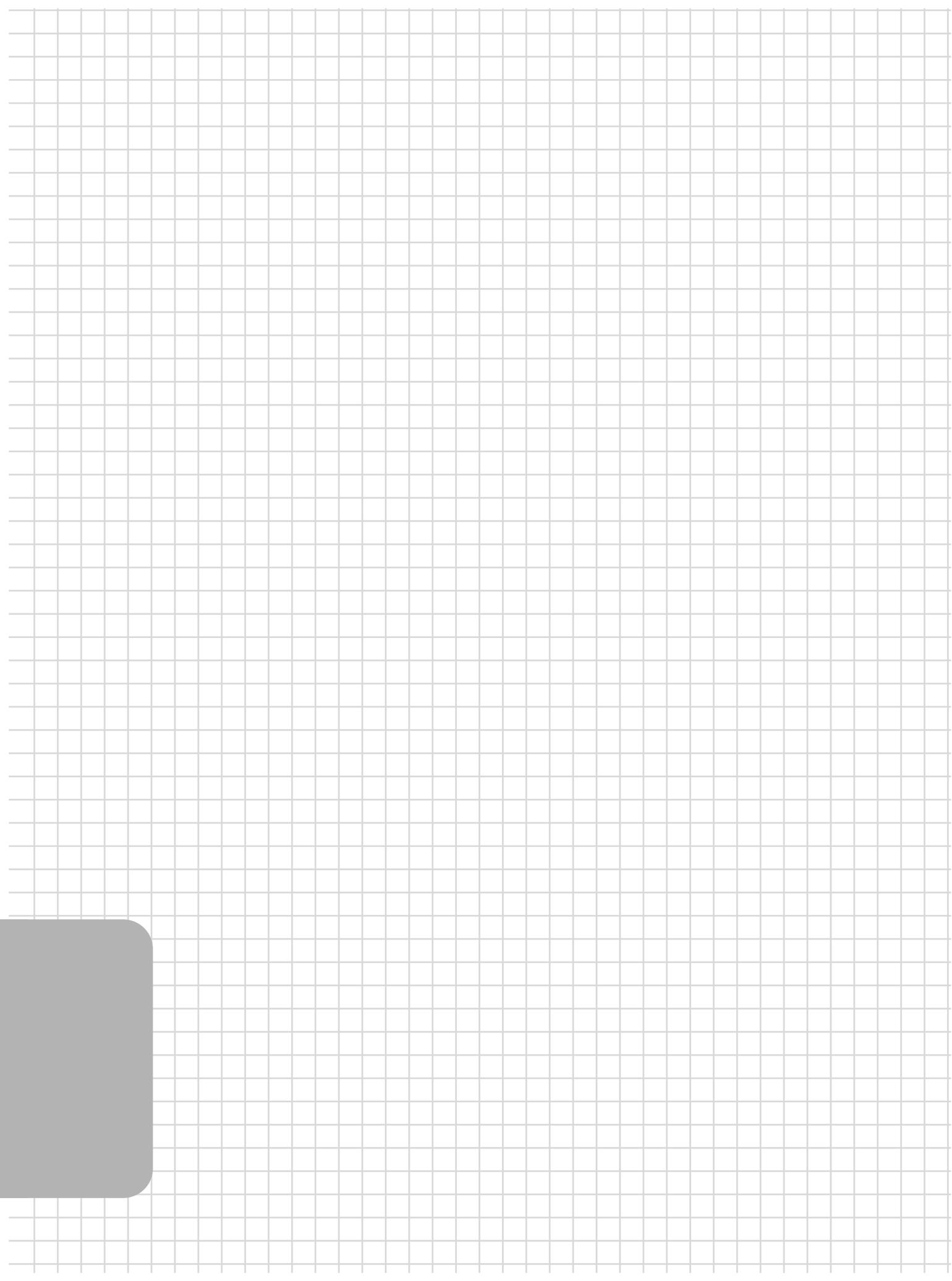


## BELEŠKE

Tekstovi sa sesija za lokalne studente i postdiplomce

Papers from Sessions for Local Students and Post-graduates

aRtivism sad:  
studentska sesija



Internacionalni teorijski simpozijum BITEF 39: *aRtivism sad*: sesija za studente postdiplomce

International Theoretical Symposium Bitef 39: *aRtivism now*: session for under- and post-graduate students

Marta Popivoda  
(moderatorka sesije)

Blok *aRtivism sad* sastavljen je od tekstova izlaganja sa sesije za studente i postdiplomce beogradskih fakulteta, koji su učestvovali u teorijskom simpozijumu u okviru 39. BITEFa. Sesija za studente i postdiplomce održana je u prostorijama Rektorata Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu, 26. septembra 2005. godine.

Tema simpozijuma postavljena je kao polazište i provokacija za promišljanje i problematizaciju umetničkih praksi u lokalnom ali i širem kontekstu umetnosti. Pitanje koje urednici simpozijuma priželjkuju i postavljaju /bez znaka pitanja/ temom *aRtivism sad: bajka ili stvarnost* referira na očekivanja (od) savremene umetnosti da direktno interveniše u „društvenu stvarnost“. Možda je ovo bio pokušaj da se u lokalnom kontekstu – pa makar to bio i strogo ograničen kontekst teatra, BITEF festivala, teorijskog simpozijuma i, na kraju, same sesije za studente i postdiplomce – pokrene pitanje na kojoj se tački sudaraju, spajaju i razilaze aktivistička i umetnička praksa, odnosno u kom kontekstu se one artikulišu i aktualizuju kao *aRtivism*. Upravo kontekst sesije za studente i postdiplomce smatram najsmislenijim za aktualizaciju ovog koncepta. Preko njega su u različitim izlaganjima i diskusiji počele refleksije i prepoznavanja postojećih *aRtivističkih* praksi, kao i projekcije mogućih praksi i njihovo prenošenje na teritoriju virtuelnog prostora i „gerilskih“ taktika elektronske građanske neposlušnosti. Možda će upravo učesnici i posmatrači ove sesije, bar slučajno, napraviti taj „gerilski“ čin, i izneti postojeće i/ili podstaći nove artikulacije i taktike *aRtivism* iz, po definiciji, hermetičnog konteksta teorijskih simpozijuma. Time bi se omogućila kontaminacija teritorije aktuelne politike i ekonomije, koja u postojećoj konstelaciji umetnosti u društvu, ipak, uvek izmiče.

Raspored i učesnici sesije:

Vlatko Ilić (student Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti / student of The Faculty of Dramatic Arts):

*Art(ivizam) sad: bajka ili stvarnost / Art(ivism) Now: Fiction or Reality*

Jovana Mihajlović (studentkinja Fakulteta političkih nauka / student of The Faculty of Political Sciences):

*Tanka granica između umetnosti i propagande / The Thin Borderline Between Art and Propaganda*

Marta Popivoda (studentkinja Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti / student of The Faculty of Dramatic Arts):

*Amazonka ILI život! – podmetnuta odluka (rasprava o ženskim aRtivističkim taktikama) / Amazon OR Life! – A Foist Decision (a discussion on female aRtivist tactics)*

Iva Nenić (studentkinja postdiplomskih studija Fakulteta muzičke umetnosti / postgraduate student at The Faculty of Music):

*Politika identiteta u srpskom hip-hopu / Politics of Identity in Serbian Hip-Hop*

Marko Stamenković (student postdiplomskih Interdisciplinarnih studija Univerziteta umetnosti / postgraduate student at The Interdisciplinary Studies of The University of Arts):

*Agenti promene: Profesionalna konfiguracija kuratora savremene umetnosti kao novog političkog subjekta / Agents of Change: Professional Configuration of a Contemporary Art Curator as a New Political Subject*

Miljana Perić feat. Marija Krtolica (studentkinja postdiplomskih Interdisciplinarnih studija Univerziteta umetnosti / postgraduate student at The Interdisciplinary Studies of The University of Arts):

*Jam session: Realna intervencija u beogradsku plesnu bajku 3 / Jam Session: Real Intervention into Belgrade's Dance Fiction 3*

Art(ivism) sad: bajka ili stvarnost

Art(ivism) Now: Fiction or Reality

Vlatko Ilić

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Tema simpozijuma predlaže *artivizam* kao već uspostavljen termin. Izlaganje ili diskusija o *artivizmu* na potezu/relaciji bajka-stvarnost pretpostavlja, bar načelno, slaganje/konsenzus o njegovoj mogućoj definiciji, jednoj ili više njih. Ipak, definicija *artivizma* izmiče. Na online dictionary siteovima je nema (<http://dictionary.reference.com/>, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>), a nastavimo li istraživanje nailazimo na kulturalno različite reference. Postavimo li početnu tezu tako da se termin *artivizam* tek upisuje (a ne da je već upisan) na umetničku/političku/društvenu je-

aRtivism sad:  
studentska sesija

zičku mapu, našu pažnju (pre)usmeravamo na sam čin konstruisanja ovog pojma, to jest konstruisanja njegovog označenog. Sama tema simpozijuma tako pre predlaže *artivizam* kao spremnog označitelja, a nama postavlja pitanje mogućih označiteljskih praksi. Kako, šta i kada nešto smatramo *artivizmom*?

Jedna definicija artivizma, dostupna preko interneta glasi: *noun. – activism through art, or the use of art as a tool for social commentary and political change. (imenica – aktivizam kroz umetnost, ili korišćenje umetnosti u svrhu društvenog komentara i političke promene).*

<http://www.vanderbiltorbis.com/vnews/display.v/ART/2005/04/20/4264c88b8b743>

Moja namera je da kroz izlaganje, koristeći gore navedenu definiciju artivizma (pre svega kao operativnu, problematičnu, moguću, a ne kao konačnu) (pre)ispitam tri primera pozorišne umetničke prakse u Srbiji u cilju problematizovanja procesa označavanja nekog umetničkog dela kao artivističkog ili ne. Pozorišni diskurs koristim, iako je izvesno da se isti princip može primeniti na različite umetničke discipline, zbog karakteristike medija koji zahteva publiku kao svoj konstitutivni element, što mogući *aktivizam*, *društveni komentar* i tendenciju ka *političkoj promeni* čini, verujem, transparentnijim. Dalje, probijanjem kroz analizu naredna tri različita rada želim da pokažem kako se *artivizam* može, ili bi trebalo, koristiti pre svega kao operativni termin, a ne kategoriju, u cilju kritičkog gledanja/čitanja svakog umetničkog dela.

#### Boalovo aktivističko pozorište

U drugoj polovini 20. veka, brazilski pozorišni stvaralac Augusto Boal na internacionalnu pozorišnu mapu (pre svega: Južna Amerika – Evropa – Severna Amerika) uvodi pojam i prakse „pozorišta potlačenih“ (*Theatre of the Oppressed*, ili *TO*). Pod ovim obuhvatajućim nazivom, Boal razvija i nudi nekoliko modela delovanja kroz/u pozorište/u (forum pozorište, nevidljivo pozorište, pozorište slika itd.), čiji je cilj društvena i politička promena. Ose ovih formi su intervencija u javni prostor, diskusije, kao i drugi mehanizmi u cilju aktiviranja publike (Boal umesto pasivnog/e posmatrača/ice *spectator* želi *spect-actors*, posmatrača/icu-izvođača/icu). Na primer: forum pozorište se zasniva na izvođenju scene u kojoj protagonist ne uspeva da postigne ono šta želi ili što mu je potrebno. Gledaoci su pozvani da prekinu scenu u bilo kom trenutku kada osećaju da su on ili ona pogrešno postupili, i pri tom nju ili njega zamenjuju na sceni, izvođeci ono što smatraju alternativnom mogućnošću. Tako, oni 'probaju' (*rehears*) društvenu promenu<sup>1</sup>.

Osovina Boalovog pozorišta je upravo potencijal čina izvođenja društvenih uloga i uspostavljenih odnosa, to jest mogućnost njihove reartikulacije. Tako je njegov rad, kao i rad njegovih sledbenika, ubrzo prihvaćen kao aktivistički, i u delovanju različitih nevladinih organizacija nailazi na široku i čestu primenu.<sup>2</sup>

2005. godine imao sam priliku da i sam učestvujem u osmišljavanju i izvođenju nevidljivog pozorišta u Beogradu, u okviru seminara *Uvod u društveni aktivizam* internacionalne asocijacije *Together on Need Grounded Actions* (lokalni partner: Međunarodni kulturni centar, Beograd). Nevidljivo pozorište se izvodi kao 'realan' događaj u javnom prostoru za slučajnu publiku koja ga nikako ne sme videti kao pozorišni. Grupa bira temu, čiji je osnov relacija tlačitelj/ka – potlačen/a (*oppressor – oppressed*), i izvodi je kao konfliktnu situaciju uz komentare ostalih učesnika/ica u cilju otvaranja žarišnih mesta u društvu i pokretanja javnih diskusija sa fokusom na problematiku takve/te relacije. Slično ovome:

[...] npr. dok u samoposluzi čekam u redu da platim račun, ulazi mlad muškarac koji glasno počinje da ispituje kupce koje su veroispovesti i da vređa sve koji nisu npr. pravoslavni; ostali kupci /pa među njima i ja/ i prodavci su isprovocirani i počinju da učestvuju u događaju [...]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Playing Boal; Theatre, Therapy, Activism*, Mady Schutzman, Jan Cohen-Cruz (eds.), Routledge, London, 1994.

<sup>2</sup> U prilog označavanja Boalove pozorišne prakse kao aktivističke ideje i njegovo delovanje pod represivnim političkim sistemima u Južnoj Americi u drugoj polovini 20. veka. 1971. godine, Boal je zatvoren i mučen, nakon čega emigrira u Argentinu. 1976. godine, proteran je u Evropu, gde živi i radi do 1986, kada se vraća u Brazil i osniva Centar za pozorište potlačenih u Rio de Ženeiru.

<sup>3</sup> Ana Vujanović, *Razarajući označiteljile performansa*, SKC, Beograd, 2004, str. 26.

U Beogradu je izvedena scena agresije muškarca nad ženom unutar heteroseksualnog para, drugi učesnici, 'posmatrači' zaduženi za pokretanje diskusije sa 'publikom', zauzeli su različite pozicije, od osuđivanja i intervencije do ismejavanja ili ignorisanja. Ipak, publiku je bilo gotovo nemoguće isprovocirati, što ostavlja dovoljno prostora za moguće zaključke, ali pre svega pokazuje da se ovakav oblik nasilja vezuje za privatnu sferu, i kao takav je nepodložan (javnoj, društvenoj) intervenciji. Boalove pozorišne tehnike pokreće upravo ideja mogućnosti društvene promene, i kao takve one su već okarakterisane i primenjuju se kao aktivističke, i to sa eksplicitno definisanim ciljem političkih promena. Tako, njegovo nevidljivo pozorište postaje gotovo školski primer aktivističke prakse. Ponovno promišljanje (*rethinking*) sledećih radova predstavlja veći zadatak.

#### ARTivizam hibridnog projekta<sup>4</sup>

Moguće označavanje projekta kakav je *OPERRRRRA* (*je ženskog roda*) zahteva temeljnije mišljenje pre svega konteksta u kojem ovaj rad nastaje/deluje. *OPERRRRRA*... je izvedena u nedovršenoj zgradi Biološkog fakulteta, Botanička bašta „Jevremovac“ u Beogradu, u okviru letnjeg beogradskog festivala BELEF 2005. godine. Autori okupljeni oko ovog projekta bili su Bojan Đorđev (konceptija i režija), Jennifer Walshe, Anja Đorđević, Goran Kapetanović (kompozitor/ke), Siniša Ilić (storibordovi, *live video* i prostorna intervencija), Ana Vujanović (dramaturgija), Marta Popivoda (režija video materijala), Jelena Novak i Ivana Stamatović (muzikološkinje projekta, prolozi), kao i brojni drugi izvođači (instrumentalisti/kinje, vokalisti/kinje, ekipa tehničke realizacije, organizatori/ke itd).

*OPERRRRRU*... čine prolozi i tri čina, to jest tri različite kompozicije različitih autora/ki. Tokom prologa, koji kontekstualizuju rad i najavljuju de/re/konstrukciju opere u Srbiji, publika se kreće kroz prostor nedovršene zgrade, dok izvođenje kompozicija prati iz auditorijuma. Sva tri čina/izvođenja odigravaju se iza 'scene', dok se za pogled publike 'izvode' tri simultane video projekcije. Vizuelni materijal je agresivno i naizgled haotično kolažiran od: živog prenosa muzičko-pevačkog izvođenja, uživo izvedenog vizuelnog rada, zatim od pripremljenih video materijala, fotografija, tekstova. Referišući na istoriju opere i umetnosti, savremenu teoriju umetnosti i medija, i pop kulturu, autorski tim ovog interdisciplinarnog projekta preispituje granice izabranog medija. *OPERRRRRA*... klizi u/po/na sopstvenim marginama; neuhvatljiva je.

Kako, i da li, ovakav teorijsko i umetničko autoreferentni rad čitamo kao aktivistički? Prvi korak je sagledavanje njene intervencije u lokalni teorijsko-umetnički diskurs. Odbacivanjem mimezisa, narativne strukture, autoriteta autorstva, *OPERRRRRA*... nudi ne samo drugačiji model izvođenja, već i gledanja, što jeste komentar na dominantu umetničku paradigmu (otvoreno umesto zatvorenog dela, aktivno umesto pasivnog gledanja). Kako je umetnost društvena institucija, jer u društvu nastaje i deluje, *komentar* svakako jeste *društveni*. Dalje, insistiranjem na ženskom subjektu (ženski glas) ugrožava se krutost pozicija i funkcija rodničkih uloga, a samim tim i izvesnost konstruktivnih identitetskih praksi. Pitanje stabilnosti identiteta, njegovo problematizovanje, narušavanje koncepta njegove nepromenljivosti (pre)ispituje npr. rodne, nacionalne, etničke identitete, i samim tim nosi potencijal *političke promene*. Na kraju, izvođenje ovog projekta primer je i vaninstitucionalnog umetničkog događanja, animiranje disfunkcionalnih 'izgubljenih' prostora, namenjenih edukaciji, post-ratnog tranzicijskog društva, a sa druge strane, on svojom realizacijom dokazuje da je u Srbiji danas moguće uspešno izvesti kompleksnu tehničku produkciju. I zbog svega toga, da, *OPERRRRRU*... možemo čitati kao aktivističku.

<sup>4</sup> Sam reditelj ovog dela, Bojan Đorđev, ga u tekstu programske knjižice naziva hibridnim projektom „koji nastaje na marginama opere, pozorišta, čak i televizije, u jednoj marginalnoj evropskoj kulturi kakva je srpska“.

## Političnost pozorišta institucija

Dva učestala problematična stava vezana su za lokalna institucionalna pozorišta, to jest za dominantnu mimetičku pozorišnu paradigmu.<sup>5</sup> Simptomatično delo, državnih i gradskih pozorišnih institucija, zasniva se na principima aristotelovskog pozorišta, pre svega mimezisu, i kao takvo upada u zamku čitanja da:

1. se njegova intervencija u društveno-kulturni kôd zasniva samo na eksplicitnoj poruci
2. je politično/političko samo ukoliko je u njegov narativ uključena (dnevno) politička tematika.

Ona [umetnost], prema Althusseru, pripada području poluautonomnih ideoloških aparatusa kojima društvo sprovodi i ostvaruje hegemoniju svojih paradigmatičkih ideoloških (a time i ekonomsko-političkih) matrica nad pojedincima.<sup>6</sup>

Svaka umetnost je društvena označiteljska praksa<sup>7</sup>, i kao takva ona, bez obzira na svoju formu, ili u slučaju pozorišta i na svoj narativ, interveniše u društvo. Tako se odgovornost mimetičkog pozorišta otkriva kao daleko veća, jer, naizgled neintencionalno, ono nudi mogući model uređene mikroceline, a samim tim mogućih identiteta, odnosa, situacija i ishoda.

Dalje, čak i sam izbor mimetičkog je političko pitanje.

U doba renesanse još su bili suprotstavljeni jedno novoplatonsko shvaćanje umjetnosti, orijentirano na pesničku mahovitost, i jedno aristotelovsko, orijentirano na ratio i pravila. Aristotelovska je linije pobijedila i dobila moć da definiše kazališne ideje novoga vijeka, pogotovu klasicizma. [...] Osnovne estetske i dramaturške koncepcije te tradicije mogu se dešifrirati kao definicije i ograđivanja recepcije, kao pokušaj struktuiranja načina fantaziranja, mišljenja i osjećanja u kazalištu.<sup>8</sup>

U svakom slučaju, možemo zaključiti da bavljenje mimetičkim pozorištem ne samo da nije 'bezbedno', već neizbežno (do)nosi potencijal *političke promene*.

Vodeći se ovim smernicama, kao primer ću iskoristiti predstavu *Zečiji nasip* (tekst i režija: Siniša Kovačević, Velika scena Narodnog pozorišta u Beogradu) u cilju označavanja i ovog dela kao aktivističkog. Po tradicionalnom dramskom jezičkom diskursu, ovu predstavu možemo opisati ako: priču o 'običnom' čoveku, koji ne sopstvenom krivicom, strada usled političkih sukoba lokalne leve i desne političke opcije u okupiranoj Srbiji tokom II svetskog rata. Ova predstava nije aktivistička (misli: *aktivistička, društveni komentar, politička promena*) isključivo preko svog narativa (mada bi se i njime moglo baviti), već i zato što (neki od mogućih primera):

1. prostoru javne diskusije (komunikacijska razmena na relaciji scena – publika) nudi temu sukoba rojalista i partizana kao referentnu/relevantnu danas i ovde
2. kroz protagonistu i njegovu ženu (koja nekako uvek nije protagonistkinja) nudi model rodni odnosa u porodičnim okvirima (npr. scena nasilja nad ženom skoro je žanr scena – 'scena iz života' patrijarhalne sredine, i kao takva nije centralna za priču, niti je problematizovana)
3. lik homoseksualca, nemačkog vojnika, označen je kao (a) stranac u lokalnom kontekstu, (b) pervertni (c) sadista.

Mimetičko pozorište (svojom ogranskom celovitošću, uzročno-posledičnom strukturuom, početkom, sredinom i krajem) kolektivno je iskustvo kreiranja mogućeg modela reda, u kojem je npr. nasilje muža nad ženom 'žanr scena', homoseksualac je strani pervertni sadista itd.

Možemo zaključiti da je i ova, kao i svaka (druga) predstava zasnovana na mimezisu takođe aktivističko delo.

<sup>5</sup> Izuzmemo li na početku stav da bi umetnost trebalo da bude lepa, to jest da je u funkciji ulepšavanja društvene 'realnosti', to jest da nastaje i deluje izvan te 'realnosti'. Ovakav stav je potpuno neodrživ/neodbranljiv, tako da ovom prilikom intencionalno odbacujem njegovo razmatranje.

<sup>6</sup> Ana Vujanović, *Razarajući označiteljske performansa*, str. 117.

<sup>7</sup> Za temeljnu argumentaciju ovog stava vidi Ana Vujanović, *Razarajući označiteljske performansa*, naročito poglavlje 3.3 *Umetnost, društvo/tekst*.

<sup>8</sup> Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramsko kazalište*, CDU, Zagreb – Tkh, Beograd, 2004, str. 261–262

## Apolitičnost umetničkog dela?

Ako nevidljivo pozorište Augusta Boala, zatim jednu festivalsku produkciju interdisciplinarnog, teorijskog i umetnički autoreferencijalnog dela, kao i simptomatičnu predstavu lokalnog beogradskog pozorišnog diskursa možemo nazvati artivističkom, jer sve one deluju u kontekstu u kojem nastaju, pitanje koje se postavlja je: postoji li delo koje to nije?

Ako problematizovanjem konteksta, forme ili prosto čitanjem dela na različite načine možemo svako označiti kao artivističko, na određeni način ili u određenom stupnju, da li bi artivizam trebalo da postane sinonim za umetničku praksu uopšte? Ili, da li označavanjem određenih dela kao artivističkih konstruišemo taj pojam, a samim tim i njegovu 'drugost' – neartivističku umetnost, onu koja je apolitična, koja *ne* deluje kao *društveni komentar*? Ili, koja *ne* nosi *političku promenu*? Možda je za ovo pitanje ključno javno izlaganje cilja dela, to jest najava dela kao aktivističkog, političnog? Ali, isto tako, zar svako delo ne krije nameru, to jest zar nije politično čak i ukoliko mu to nije namera? Verujem da je to najznačajnije pitanje na koje nas pojam artivizma upućuje.

I dalje, možda artivizam treba koristiti kao sredstvo (raz)otkrivanja ideoloških aparata koje svako delo sadrži, pre nego kao umetničku kategoriju.

## Results

artivism was not found in the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*

Did you spell it correctly? Here are some alternatives:

- aardvark
- aardvarks
- artefact
- artefacts
- artful
- artfully
- artfulness
- artifact
- artifact
- artifacts
- artifacts
- artifice
- artifices
- artificial
- artificial
- artificial
- artificiality artificially
- artyfarty

## Abstract

The theme of symposium suggests activism as an already clarified term. However, the definitions of activism cannot be found in online dictionaries (<http://dictionary.reference.com/>, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>), so, for a starting thesis we could say that the term activism has recently been enrolling into artistic/political/social language map, which (re)directs our attention to the act of constructing this term, or rather on constructing its signified. Therefore, the topic of symposium rather suggests activism as an all set signifier.

Definition of activism that can be found online is: *noun.* – *activism through art, or the use of art as a tool for social commentary and political change.*

<http://www.vanderbiltorbis.com/vnews/display.v/ART/2005/04/20/4264c88b8b743>

Using this definition as a working one, I will (re)question three cases from theatrical practice in Serbia in order to query the process of signifying an artistic piece as activist or not. I will use the theatrical discourse, although it is certain that this method could be applied in diverse artistic disciplines, because of its characteristic medium which needs an audience as its constitutive element, which possible *activism, social commentary* and tendency towards *political change* makes, I believe, more transparent.

Through analyzing Invisible Theatre of Augusto Boal, a festival production of one interdisciplinary, theoretical, and auto-referential artistic piece, and one standard production from local-Belgrade theatrical discourse, my aim is to show how each artistic practice, in various ways, operates within its context and therefore to each one could be refer to as the activist one. The question arising is – is there one that is not?

If, by (re)questioning, or just by (re)reading a piece in different ways, we could signify each piece as activist, in particular way or on a particular level, will the activism become a synonym for art in general? Or, do we by signifying some pieces as activist, construct this term together with its 'otherness' – non activist art, the one that is apolitical, that does not function as a social commentary? Maybe the key to this question lies in the public expression of an author's intention, or public expression of a piece as activist, political? But on the other hand, does not each piece consider intention, with its political potential? I believe that is the most significant question that activism brings out. Furthermore, maybe activism should be used as a tool to (re)discovering ideological mechanisms that each piece consists of, rather than as an artistic category.

## Tanka granica između umetnosti i propagande

### The Thin Borderline Between Art and Propaganda

Jovana Mihajlović

#### Šta je umetnost?

##### Teorijska premisa

Ovaj rad polazi od premise da je umetnost, kao artificijelna pojava kulture, u nužnoj korelaciji sa društvom u kojem se nalazi. Umetnost možemo posmatrati kao proizvod i kreatora kulture, a kulturu kao proizvod i kreatora društva.

Umetnost stvaraju ljudi radi sebe i radi drugih. Oni ne žive i ne mogu živeti izolovano u odnosu na društvo u kom obitavaju. Ono nužno utiče na njih, i svaka jedinka sebi svojstveno reaguje na njega. Tako i umetnik ne može stvarati umetnost izolovano u odnosu na društvo u kom se nalazi.

S druge strane, stvaralac ima legitimno pravo da ignoriše okruženje u kom se nalazi, ali i to je vid reakcije na okruženje.

##### Subjektivna premisa

Takođe, rad je zasnovan na ubeđenju autorke da svako umetničko delo, da bi bilo dostojno tog naziva, mora ispunjavati dva osnovna uslova. Da bude „umetničko“, odnosno da zadovoljava estetski kriterijum, koje god vrednovanje da se primeni. I da bude delo – da „dela“, odnosno proizvodi lični efekat na konzumenta. Dakle, da pojasnim sopstveni stav – Lepo nije dovoljno.

Naravno, lako se da pretpostaviti da ima onih koji bi ovaj stav doveli u pitanje argumentacijom da je umetnik ima pravo da stvara svoju umetnost, svoje delo, samo poradi sopstvenog užitka. Umesto ličnog odgovora više vredi citirati mišljenje Georga Orwella upravo na temu *l'art-pour-l'art* vs politički angažovane umetnosti. Stav koji se i dalje može smatrati vrlo aktuelnim, polazi od toga da živeći u

svetu u kom nam je ne samo život već celokupan sistem vrednosti stalno ugrožen, ne možemo (i ne smemo) se distancirati od takvog sveta. „Ne možete biti čisto estetski zainteresovani za bolest od koje umirete; ne možete misliti bez strasti o čoveku koji samo što vam nije prezeao grlo... Literatura (kao i celokupna umetnost – op. au.) je morala postati politička, jer bi bilo šta drugo iziskivalo misaonu neiskrenost.“<sup>1</sup>

Ovaj rad prvenstveno analizira umetnička dela koja proizvode društveno-politički efekat.

Međutim, svaki umetnički aktivizam, pa i odsustvo istog, nužno izražava mišljenje autora i promovise određeni stav, ideju, šalje poruku. Upravo pokušaj uticaja na publiku i širu javnost, čini dodirnu tačku umetnosti i propagande.

### Šta je propaganda?

Jedina od mogućih definicija kaže da je to sistematsko, planirano, svesno, oblikovanje i širenje poruka, sa ciljem da se izazove određeno ponašanje publike, posredstvom uticanja na uverenja, a u skladu sa ciljem propagandista<sup>2</sup>.

Jedan od prvih primera propagande shvaćenog u savremenom kontekstu, a zasigurno prvi primer propagandnog filma je čuvena trilogija Leni Riefenstahl: *Sieg des Glaubens (Pobeda volje)* 1933, *Triumph des Willens (Trijumf volje)* 1935, *Tag der Freiheit – Unsere Wehrmacht (Dan slobode – Naša vojska)* 1935. Ovi filmovi sadrže tipično dokumentarne sekvence (govori Hitlera i ostalih visokih partijskih lidera,



*Leni Reifenstahl tokom snimanja filma Triumph des Willens na sletu Nationalsocijalističke partije u Nirnbergu*



*Kadar iz filma / Stadion u okviru kompleksa projektovanog isključivo za proslavu Reichsparteitage (Dani partije) – arhitekta Albert Speer*

ulične procesije itd.), ali nas trenutno više interesuju njihovi kvazi dokumentarni i čisto artificalni delovi. Kroz dugi kadar sletanja kroz oblake aviona u kom se nalazi Hitler na polja u okolini Nürnberga, stvara se utisak dolaska spasioca sa neba. Ili kroz simulirano spontane parole koje kliču zdravi i jedri partijski omladinci promovise se nacistička estetika plodne lepote, ali i fetišizam hrabrosti, oslobađanja kroz pripadanje kolektivu i negacija intelektualizma.

Propaganda shvaćena kao širenje poruka pripada sferi komunikacije, a umetnost je upravo vid simboličke komunikacije, putem vizuelnih i auditivnih asocijacija. Zajednička tačka im je upotreba simbola radi ideja.

Treba istaći da propaganda ne mora nužno podrazumevati laž, naprotiv. Kontekst i koncept je jako bitan, jer kreira značenje.

<sup>1</sup> George Orwell, „The Frontiers of Art and Propaganda“; prvo izdanje: *Listener*, (emitovano na BBC Overseas Service 30. april 1941), London, May 29, 1941; ponovno objavljeno u: *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, London, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Snježana Milivojević, „Propaganda“, u *Enciklopedija političke kulture*, Beograd, 1933.

Tako da se ista intencija može sagledati i kao umetnički aktivizam (pozitivno) i kao propaganda (negativno). Pomenimo ponovo George Orwella i njegova najpoznatija dela 1984 i *Zivotinjska farma*. Prvi roman predstavlja fantastičnu projekciju na ivici realnosti (ili realističku projekciju na ivici fantastike), a drugi svojevrsnu „andersenovsku“ alegoriju, totalitarnog sistema kog se autor najviše pribojavao. Savremena kritika ova dela ocenjuje kao poziv za spas individualne slobode i liberalnih i demokratskih vrednosti, međutim Orwellovi radovi se, do određene mere legitimno, mogu razumevati i kao prvobitno antifašistički, a zatim antikomunistički propagandni pamfleti.<sup>3</sup>

Publika po pravilu donosi presudu o tome šta je pod a) umetnost pod b) propaganda (štiklirati po nahodanju), zavisno od svojih ličnih uverenja, zavisno da li se radi „protivničkom“ ili „našem“ taboru.

Da li je objektivna procena uopšte moguća?

Jedan od načina utvrđivanja granica je voditi se logikom novca. Ko je platio stvaranje nekog konkretnog dela? Ukoliko je to neki interesni centar, bila to država, međunarodna organizacija, institucija, partija, bogati tajkun/mecena (kako vam drago), možemo zaključiti da tako „naručeno“ delo mora služiti svrsi svog finansijera.

Primer koji se gotovo sam nameće je čitav muzej posleratnog slikarstva (sa prostora bivše SFRJ) posvećenog narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, komunističkoj revoluciji te njenom nosiocu Josipu Brozu Titu. Ova dela, naručivana za različite prigode i prostore, održavala su u profesionalnom i finansijskom životu čitave generacije slikara.

Ovako uspostavljenu dihotomiju narušava ona grupa autora koja svoje radove stvara anticipirajući ukus i namere političke elite.

Autorka smatra adekvatnijim razgraničenje koje se može postići odgovorom na sledeća pitanja: Da li umetničko delo postavlja kritičko pitanje pred društvo? I dalje, kakav odgovor daje na postavljeno pitanje.

Prepoznatljiva su suptilno propagandna dela koja direktno upućuju na određenu društvenu snagu bila to država, politička partija, revolucionarni pokret. Takva dela odlikuje duh didaktičnosti, gde stvaralac ima nameru da publiku „pouči“ i jasno podvuče „naravoučenije“ svog rada.

U posleratnoj Americi filmska industrija je postala jedno od glavnih sredstava antisovjetske propagande. Vlada je sprovodila značajan pritisak na uticajne pojedince i kompanije Hollywooda, zahtevajući od njih da dokažu svoju odanost demokratskim vrednostima i američkom načinu života, što je dovelo do ogromne proliferacije filmova na ovu temu.

Od filmova rađenih u produkciji samog Ministarstva odbrane (Department of Defense) (prvi poznatiji *Communist Blueprint for Conquest*, *The Communist Weapon of Allure* i *Communist Target Youth* iz 1955/6) do najuspešnijih proizvoda industrije zabave kao što je serijal o Jamesu Bondu, svi imaju zajednički didaktičku crtu. Ovakav pristup podrazumeva tipizirane društvene uloge, formalizovan zaplet koji prati zadate putanje, programski optimizam sa kojim se završava film, čak i kada prikazuje kataklizmični scenario pobede neprijatelja, kao svetla tačka ostaje „naša“ ideja vodilja.

Cilj ovakve suptilne propagande je dati gotova rešenja na problem koji se krajnje simplifikuje. Stvoriti prečicu do „sopstvenog“ mišljenja.

Umetničko poigravanje propagandom

Za potrebe sučeljavanja i upoređivanja umetnosti i propagande i njihovih odgovarajućih strategija, posebno bi bilo interesantno istaći jedan specifičan primer svoje-

<sup>3</sup> Ovakav stav dobija na značaju kada se tek posle Orwellove smrti otkrilo da je u posleratnom periodu radio kao doušnik MI6, britanske obaveštajne službe, i denuncirao svoje „sumnjive“ kolege.

*Das dritte Reich, Allegorie des Heldentums (1936), Richard Klein*



*Dan mladosti (1987), Novi kolektivizam*

Na kraju, vratimo se pitanju koje nam može pomoći da napravimo razliku između umetnosti i propagande, a to je da li umetničko delo postavlja kritičko pitanje pred društvo? Odnosno, da li tera konzumenta kulture, da promisli o tome što „konzumira“. Ukoliko umetnik ostavlja prostora publici da nad zapitanošću koju je izazvao i principima koje je pred nju izneo sama donese sud i mišljenje, možemo reći da smo na tragu aktivističke umetnosti.

Ipak, ta granica između postavljanja pitanja i (ne)davanja odgovora je čini se tankom, gotovo prozirnom.

vršne umetničke anti-propagande iliti umetničkog „forsiranja“ propagande u postupku umetničke grupe Neue Slowenische Kunst – NSK (Nova Slovenačka Umetnost) i posebno dizajnerske grupe u okviru nje Novi Kolektivizam – NK. Od svog nastanka 1984 umesto da otvoreno iznosi kritiku tada dominantne socijalističke ideologije u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, NSK je izgradio strategiju repetitive prepoznatljivih simbola ne samo socijalističke već i ostalih totalitarnih ideologija. Kroz postupak koji je Slavoj Žižek uspešno nazvao „over-identification“<sup>4</sup> NSK je uspeo da se na prvi pogled prikaže više totalitarnim od sistema koji je subverzivno podrivao.

Najbolji primer insistiranja na tipiziranoj propagandnoj komunikaciji kojim postiže efekat razobličavanja te ideologije je čuveni „poster skandal“ iz 1987. Tada je NK učestvovao na konkursu za dizajnersko rešenje plakata za Dan mladosti, glavni godišnji događaj proslavljanja vrednosti i simbola SFR Jugoslavije. Njihov rad je zapravo bio redizajnirani nacistički plakat Richarda Kleina iz 1936. Po merilima režima, prominentni žiri dodelivši prvu nagradu ocenio je da rad „izražava najviše ideale jugoslovenske države“<sup>5</sup>.

Paradoksalno, država koja je sama sebe smatrala antifašističkom je blago promenjene klasične fašističke simbole prepoznala kao sebi bliske. Ovo je jedan od, možda, retkih primera da je umetnost „zloupotrebila“ propagandu, a ne vice versa, što je obično slučaj.

<sup>4</sup> Slavoj Žižek, „Why are Laibach and NSK not Fascists?“, u *M'ARS* V/3.4, 1993, str. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Iz *The Economist*, London, 3/14/1987, str. 49, i *Profil*, Vienna, 4/13/1987, str. 56; citirano u: Pedro Ramet, „Yugoslavia 1987: Stirrings from Below“, *The South Slav Journal*, vol. 10, no. 3 (37), 1987, str. 25; prema: *Irwin: Retroprincip 1983-2003*, Inke Arns (ur.), 2003.

## Abstract

The underlying assumption of this paper is the premise that art, as artificial phenomenon of culture, inevitably correlates with the society in which it exists. Also, the paper is founded on the personal conviction of the author that every work of art, for being worth of that title, needs to fulfil two preconditions. To be “artistic”, that is to satisfy aesthetic criteria, whichever evaluation is applied. And to be a work – or to work, meaning to produce personal effect on the consumer. This paper primary analyses works of art that are producing socio-political effect.

However, every artistic activism, as well as lack of it, necessarily expresses opinion of the author and promotes significant standpoint, idea, sends a message. The very attempt to influence the public and wither publicity makes the spot of connection between art and propaganda.

Propaganda often finds in art, as a type of symbolic communication, a useful tool for achieving its goal – that is to influence on people’s convictions so one could produce wanted behaviour.

The same intention can be perceived as both artistic activism (positive) and propaganda (negative). The public often casts this distinction depending on its personal opinion, depending whether it is matter of “opponent’s” or “our” camp.

Is objective estimation possible at all? One of the ways for defining the border is setting a difference between the works of art that have been ordered and financed by state or some other authority, and the works that evolved from artist’s own conception and need. The dichotomy settled in this way is disturbed by the specific group of authors who create its works by anticipating taste and intentions of the political elite.

The author finds more appropriate the division, which can be achieved by answering following questions: Does the work of art set a critical question before society? Does that work give the answer, which directly refers to particular social force (state, political party, revolutionary movement)? Or does the artist leave to public to create its own judgment and opinion over the question he raised and the principles he promoted?

The border is still thin, almost see-through.

The paper is illustrated with examples: George Orwell, Leni Riefenstahl, portraits of Tito, American films from the beginning of the Cold War, Neue Slowenische Kunst (New Collectivism and Laibach)...

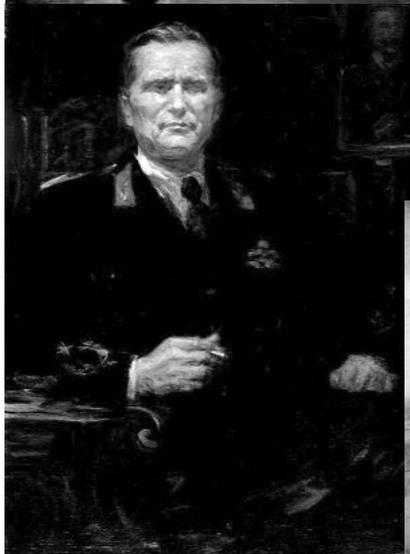
*Dorđe Andrejević Kun: J. B. Tito*



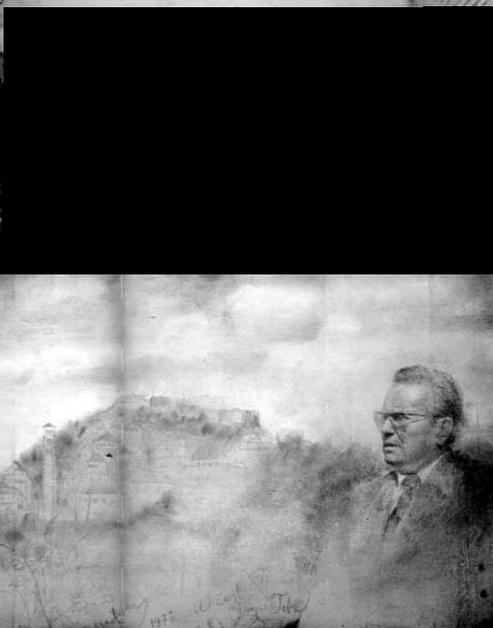
*Božidar Jakac: J. B. Tito*



*Marijan Detoni: J. B. Tito*



*Paja Jovanović: J. B. Tito*



*Mersad Berber: J. B. Tito*



*Milan Konjović: J. B. Tito*

Amazonka ILI Život! – podmetnuta odluka / rasprava o ženskim aRtivističkim taktikama

Amazon OR Life! – A Foist Decision / A discussion on female aRtivist tactics

Marta Popivoda

U okviru ovog izlaganja baviću se dvema mogućim aRtivističkim ili pro-aktivističkim taktikama ženskog subjekta u umetnosti na primeru iz savremenog lokalnog kulturnog konteksta. Kulturni centar Deve iz Beograda u maju 2005. godine organizuje „čisto žensku“ izložbu<sup>1</sup> na temu *Amazonke, rekonstrukcija mita* u Galeriji Studentskog kulturnog centra. Pozicija organizatora/kustosa je emancipatorska i proizilazi iz feminističkih i pro-feminističkih stavova o podršci i promociji ženskog subjekta, naročito autorskog subjekta u polju umetnosti. Upravo ova pozicija za mene predstavlja kritičnu tačku aRtivismu u lokalnom kontekstu umetnosti i postavlja pitanje da li je problematizacija ove pozicije u datom kontekstu dozvoljena, odnosno da li je ona i dalje aRtivism ili njegovo osporavanje? Kroz analizu teme izložbe (mit o ženama ratnicama – Amazonkama) kao aktivističke prakse u umetnosti, postaviću je kao simptom mehanizma sprovođenja žene kroz svet umetnosti ukoliko (pre)uzme i ostane u okvirima ove taktike, a ne problematizuje je kao poziciju ženskog subjekta umetnosti i sagleda njegove granice.

...Mit nastao u mračnoj prošlosti, kada su sukobi bili kobni i neizbežni, sigurno da je odigrao važnu ulogu. Međutim, kada više nije pretela svakodnevna opasnost od spoljašnjeg neprijatelja i kada su ljudi postali prosvetljeniji, priča o Amazonkama prestaje da bude zastrašujuća, ali nastavlja da živi: pesnici i umetnici sada nekim sablasnim detaljima daju neka nova značenja i prilagođavaju njen sadržaj ovim boljim vremenima. Zaboravljajući na svirepost Amazonki, oni pišu novi kraj i veličaju kult lepote zasnovan na savršenom ljudskom telu, ujedno snažnom i gracioznom, gde se nadmeću device i matrone koje izazivaju divljenje, ali i sažaljenje muškaraca.<sup>2</sup>

Ovaj citat iz knjige *Amazonke* napisane 1910. – sa temom mita o ženama ratnicama i pokušajem objektivne istorijske rekonstrukcije tog mita – poslužiće mi ovde kao polazište za raspravu sličnog mitotvorskog mehanizma koji deluje u savremenoj kulturi.

<sup>1</sup> Na izložbi su učestvovala samo žene – autorke/umetnice, njih 8.

<sup>2</sup> G.K. Roteri, *Amazonke*, Deve, Beograd, 2004, str. 22.

Radi toga, izvešću dve taktike: dve polazne pozicije i dve linije produkcije mita o Amazonkama. I, kao što napominje i gore navedeni citat, po mom mišljenju u tom mehanizmu postoji logički konsekventan, ali ugrožavajući sled *transfigurisanja* mita, na koji ću raspravom ukazati i upozoriti.

Prva pozicija i linija odnosi se na re-aktiviranje i korišćenje mita o Amazonkama kao modela emancipacije žena u savremenom društvu, u okviru feminističkih i rod-nih teorija i aktivizama. Druga pozicija i linija je re-produkovanje i korišćenje mita ili, preciznije, provlačenje ovog mita kroz popularnu kulturu.

Figura Amazonke, moglo bi se pretpostaviti, re-aktivira se i uvodi u savremeni društveni diskurs inicijalno da bi se podstakla emancipacija žene kao jedinstvenog, samostalnog subjekta, koji ne nastaje *u odnosu na* muški subjekt.

S jedne strane, smatram da takav gest nije bez značaja u lokalnoj kulturi, gde mnogi problemi odnosa polova i rodova još nisu rešeni ili čak ni ozbiljno razmotreni: mizoginija u javnom diskursu (masmediji, pop kultura, ali i akademski kontekst) i svakodnevnom govoru (frazе, psovke, uzrečice), mali broj žena – autorki/umetnica na domaćoj sceni, veliki procenat muškaraca na visokim političkim funkcijama (gotovo celo vođstvo srpske Vlade; liste poslaničkih kandidata) itd. Ipak, moj stav o ovakvom pristupu rešavanju tog problema kakav je ponudio Kulturni centar Deve je raspravljajući, jer samo jedan korak nakon tog emancipatorskog uvođenja figure Amazonke, nastaju brojni (često previđeni) problemi.

Zbog toga je rad koji sam u saradnji sa teoretičarkom umetnosti Anom Vujanović radila u okviru ove izložbe imao raspravljачku nameru. Video instalacija *Amazonka bez tela; slika i posledice* je rad smešten u kontekst emancipatorske izložbe na ovu temu, i u okviru takvog konteksta zauzima raspravljачku poziciju koja se realizuje preko dva nivoa (dve slike i dva ekrana) od kojih se sastoji instalacija:

1. simulacija tipičnog bioskopskog *trailer*a koji promovise figuru Amazonke (moćne žene koja 'preuzima stvar u svoje ruke') i konstruiše je kao medijsku protezu koja čeka/traži/projektuje svoje (realno, svakodnevno) telo – *trailer* se emituje, uz glasan



*Amazonka bez tela – slika i posledica, foto simulacija, 2005.*

- zvuk kojim je ozvučena cela izložba, preko video bima na velikom zidu ispred Galerije (tzv. Cirkus) i ta slika je ono što publika prvo uočava kada ulazi u Galeriju;
2. dokumentarni snimak portreta raznovrsnih žena, snimljenih na pijaci, na ulici, u stanu, radnom prostoru itd. – snimak je crno-beli, bez tona i emituje se preko televizora; u video instalaciji je televizijski ekran postavljen tačno naspram video bim projekcije, odnosno dokumentarni portreti žena se suočavaju sa atraktivnim masmedijski konstruisanim sadržajem (*trailerom*) koji im je namenjen.

Ovo 'hladno' suočavanje masmedijskih i svakodnevnih tela žene proizvodi uznemirujuće značenje koje problematizuje mit kao mehanizam istorijske i kulturološke rekonstrukcije.

Portreti žena kao recipijenti sadržaja *trailera* kao individue i kao grupa učestvuju u podmetnutom medijskom mitu. Identifikacija sa medijskom, ekranskom figurom Amazonke posredstvom pogleda<sup>3</sup>, stvara iluziju da je promena moguća. I upravo tom iluzijom da je i za NJU pojedinačno promena dostupna i na dohvat ruke, ONA gubi ono što nikada i nije imala<sup>4</sup> – mogućnost za promenu na taj način (identifikacijom sa figurom Amazonke). Jer, borba za promenu je zapravo ovim mehanizmom unapred izgubljena, jer Amazonka se ne može uspostaviti kao kritička, subverzivna ili opasna/preteća taktika savremenog ženskog subjekta, jer je kao takva ona već asimilovana kao roba na tržištu masmedijske kulture.

Naziv rada *Amazonka bez tela* je parafraza naslova Žižekove knjige *Organ without Body*<sup>5</sup> i direktno je povezan sa osnovnim konceptom video instalacije. Amazonka bez tela je Amazonka kao Falus (Falus je u Žižekovom naslovu taj 'organ', simbolički organ, koji ne pripada realnom telu, mada mu se podmeće). Ona je simbolička struktura moći koja nema realna tela u svakodnevicu, već je društvena proteza koja čeka da preuzme meso.

I upravo na taj način, Amazonka – iako iz konteksta feminističkog čitanja ima već pomenutu emancipatorsku moć – kao figura deluje i u širem društvenom kontekstu, a to je patrijarhalni sistem koji je prevazilazi i dvostruko upotrebljava. Ona kao figura emancipacije zadovoljava ženu koja želi da joj promena bude moguća ili barem ubedljivo simulirana. Ali istovremeno, ona kao figura moćnog, savršenog medijskog tela žene, zadovoljava muškarca – i izdizajnirana je tako da ga zadovolji i postane još jedan poželjan, konzumacijski proizvod na tržištu.

Pitanje koje mene pre svega zanima u ovom dvostrukom mehanizmu je: Kada Amazonka postaje konzumacijski proizvod? Odgovor koji mi se čini najpreciznijim je sledeći. U strukturi dvostrukog mehanizma delovanja figure Amazonke u savremenoj kulturi postoji jedan logički, pre nego hronološki, sled: emancipacija-transformacija u seksualni objekt. Dakle, tek posle procesa emancipacije i uvođenja 'uspešne žene' kao prihvatljivog i prihvaćenog kulturnog koda, Amazonka postaje pretinja za patrijarhalni poredak i on je zbog toga pokorava, pretvarajući je u poželjni seksualni objekt i reprodukujući je kao masmedijski proizvod za laku upotrebu. Tako, iako uvođenje figure Amazonke treba odmah kritikovati pre svega u razvijanim kulturama i društvima (recimo, zapadnoevropskim), gde je emancipacija ženskog subjekta donekle izvršena, sa domaćim kontekstom treba biti oprezniji – jer u njemu tek predstoji proces emancipacije. Ipak, smatram da je i kod nas neophodno izvesti ovu vrstu kritike figure Amazonke, kao „unapred rešavanje problema“ koji nas nužno očekuje. Jer, šta i ovde čeka Amazonku kada se uspostavi kao uočljiva i relevantna figura na umetničkoj, kulturnoj i društvenoj sceni? – Biće samlevena, razorena kao figura. Njena potencijalna subverzivnost će biti otupljena, pretvaranjem u robu na tržištu, kao još jedan pornografski sadržaj.

Kao dokaz da ovo upozorenje nije zasnovano na mojim predrasudama, evo rezultata WWW pretrage o sadržajima filmova na temu Amazonke:

- An epic from the dark ages about the legendary lost tribe of warrior women!
- The girls fly into danger...

<sup>3</sup> Laura Mulvey, „Vizuelno zadovoljstvo i narativni film“, *Ženske studije* br. 8/9, Beograd, 1997. U ovom tekstu Laura Mulvey preko Lacanove faze ogledala razrađuje sistem identifikacije putem pogleda u ekran/ogledalo. „Zrcalna faza se pojavljuje kada fizičke ambicije deteta premašuju njegove motorne sposobnosti, što za učinak ima njegovo prepoznavanje samog sebe koje je praćeno radošću zato što ono zamišlja da je zrcalna slika potpunija i savršenija od onoga što ono iskušava kao vlastito telo“. Upravo, ovaj trenutak ključan za konstituciju ega, kada je prepoznavanje pretovareno pogrešnim prepoznavanjem, prepoznata slika shvaćena je kao reflektovano vlastito telo (kao nadmoćnije) i omogućava buduće generiranje identifikacije sa drugima. Upravo ovaj trenutak (praćen radošću) prepoznavanja žene u medijskom telu Amazonke čini njenu pobunu nemogućom i nedejstvenom jer zapravo to je samo trenutak koji je za NJU već pripremljen/predviđen.

<sup>4</sup> Ana Vujanović, „Halo, Amazonko... pa... halo Amazonko...“, iz teksta za katalog izložbe *Amazonke*, Deve, Beograd, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Organ without Body – Deleuze and Consequences*, Routledge, New York, 2004.

- A secret cult of beautiful, large-breasted female warriors plots to take over the world by killing off important male politicians.
- A group of archaeologists asks Tarzan to help them find an ancient city in a hidden valley of women...
- Two musclemen come up against a tribe of Amazon women.
- Hell hath no fury like 10,000 women!
- A Thousand Tempting Beauties... They Fought Like Ten Thousand Unchained Tigers!
- Women Warriors as Sensuous as they are Savage. Women Rulers as Passionate as they are Powerful.
- Three sisters, all raised as boys, have trouble fitting into male-dominated society.
- A lady doctor and three nurses fight off a number of men attackers, in a confuse plot about pills who have strange effects on women's self-determination and sexual behaviour.
- This is the Lost Tribe of White Women Savages! Each a Beauty... Each a Deadly Trap for the Men They Make Their Love Slaves!
- A party of explorers in the Amazon jungle are captured by a tribe of women, and learn that they are to be used as the tribe's „love slaves.“
- Her power was more than any man could handle.
- A sailor escapes a mutiny on his ship and finds himself stranded on a jungle island-with a tribe of gorgeous Amazon women.

Zato bih na kraju htela da ponudim alternativu, jedan drugačiji model aktivističkog delovanja ženskog subjekta (u umetnosti) koji nije emancipatorski a, koji će, možda, izbeći ove zamke masmedijskog društva, odnosno neće biti tako očekivan element zadate društvene strukture sa već podeljenim ulogama i neće tako lako učestvovati na njegovom tržištu u okviru (muškog) sveta umetnosti. Smatram da se može krenuti od stava da je svaki kolektivan identitet (pa makar to bio i emancipujući identitet žene umetnice kao Amazonke) opresivan za individuu („U realnosti, Amazonka nije ništa drugo do „interpelacijski mamac“; naročito u singularu.“<sup>6</sup>). Odnosno, da glavni problem sa figurom Amazonke jeste taj da ne postoji Amazonka u jednini / da ne postoji žena umetnica u jednini, ona uvek podrazumeva ostatak plemena žena umetnica, postoji samo kao kolektivni društveni subjekt 'MI'. A to MI je jedna pripremljena uloga, koja traži telo 'samostalne, uspešne, emancipovane žene' ili „žene umetnice“ i redukuje ga na ulogu. Upravo zato, figura Amazonke i jeste nedejstvjuća za individualni subjekt, ne govori ništa o nje-mu/njoj, ne naoružava ga/je ničim do već pripremljenom ulogom kolektivnog identiteta, koja je uračunata u postojeću društvenu strukturu. Stoga predlažem neku vrstu taktike „post-identiteta“, taktike razaranja svakog subjekta čiji identitet redukuje i okamenjuje pojedinačno, partikularno, slučajno, nestabilno, dvosmisleno, *queer*, dakle neku vrstu taktike uspostavljanja ženskih subjekata umetnosti koji su prošli kroz teorije i prakse identiteta i idu preko njih – odnosno ostaju otvoreni za pojedinačnost individue, koja se ne može svesti ni na jednu (kolektivnu) društvenu ulogu<sup>7</sup>.

Zato predlažem taktiku preuzimanja svih kompetencija od (muškog) subjekta u svetu umetnosti, a jedna od ključnih kompetencija jeste problematizacija samog identiteta. U tom smislu, predlažem i zamenu identiteta „žene umetnice“ (pod ovim podrazumevam delovanje u okviru već-pretpostavljenog i kompetencija upravo tog malog sektora sveta umetnosti koji se naziva „žensko pismo“) „neutralnim“ subjektom umetnosti koji granice svog delovanja i kompetencije širi na čitav svet umetnosti.

<sup>6</sup> Ana Vujanović, „Halo, Amazonko... pa... halo Amazonko...“

<sup>7</sup> Erving Goffman, *Kako se predstavljamo u svakodnevnom životu*, Geopoetika, Beograd, 2000. *Društvena uloga* je, po Goffmanu, „sveukupna aktivnost datog učesnika u datoj prilici, koja na bilo koji način služi da bi se uticalo na bilo kog drugog učesnika“. Ovde je značajno napomenuti da su uloge pripremljene pre nego što ih pojedinci izvedu, što znači da je taj pokušaj promene unapred asimilovan.

## Abstract

What I am interested in – within the frame of aRtivism now – is a discussion of the myth-building mechanisms of Amazons figure as female gender role in contemporary culture.

The paper deals with a concrete example: exhibition *Amazons; Re-construction of the myth* that took place in Belgrade in 2005. In my opinion, the myth-mechanism of Amazon today consists of logically consequent but endangering order of *transfiguration* of the myth. First stream of the mechanism re-activates the myth as a model of emancipation of women in actual society, within feminist and gender theories and activism. The figure of Amazon is initially introduced in contemporary social discourse to urge emancipation of woman as an independent subject, which doesn't arise *in relation to* male subject. The second stream is re-production of the myth through popular culture. *She* as a figure of emancipation satisfies woman, which desires the transformation could be possible or at least well simulated for her. But, simultaneously, *she* as a figure of powerful and perfect media female body satisfies man, and she is designed to do so.

The question that interested me here is: When/How Amazon becomes market commodity? The answer or explanation that I find the most precise and critical is the following one. In the structure of activity mechanism of the Amazon figure in contemporary culture there is a logical rather than a chronological order:

emancipation → transformation in sexual object.

This means that just after the process of emancipation and introducing a powerful and independent “business woman” as an acceptable cultural code of gender roles, Amazon becomes an irritating threat for patriarchal social order and it conquers her, transforming her into a mass-media product for easy consuming.

In wider sense, what I find important here is the question of social functioning of aRtivistic practices that are realized through institutional system, which is the system of already-yet established social order and its pre-scribed protocols of realization. Thus, it is a kind of warning that asks for constant paying attention to the (media) materiality of aRtivistic procedures and activities.



*Amazonka bez tela – restlovi*

Politika identiteta u srpskom hip-hopu na primeru grupe *Beogradski sindikat*  
The Politics of Identity in Serbian Hip-Hop: the case of *Belgrade Syndicate*

Iva Nenić

Karakteristike hip-hop kulture i rep muzike

Hip-hop postaje globalni fenomen u devedesetim godinama 20. veka, kada se iz američke kulture posredstvom medija širi u druge kulture zvuka. Rep muzika je u tom periodu prošla kroz „intenzivan proces transformisanja, komodifikacije i globalizacije sredstvima muzičke industrije“<sup>1</sup>: glas razlike crne Amerike potisnuli su komercijalni projekti čija su muzička i tekstualna semantika bliske standardima pop muzike, i u duhu ljubavno-erotskih ili šaljivih tema, vizuelno potkrepljenih simbolima glamura i moći izvođača. Žanrovi kao što su pimp (podvođački) i parti (*party*) rep danas zauzimaju veći prostor na globalnoj sceni, dok kritičkih osvrta na društvene probleme kroz muziku ima znatno manje nego krajem osamdesetih godina 20. veka, kada je hip-hop kultura doživela svoju prvu ekspanziju. Iz metodoloških razloga, neophodno je razlikovati hip-hop kulturu i hip-hop muziku poznatu kao rep, gde prvi pojam pored muzike kao najvažnijeg elementa identiteta pripadnika kulture, uključuje i druge obrasce ponašanja – *breakdancing*, grafite, stil oblačenja i sl. S druge strane, muzički žanr rep-a takođe poseduje jasno utvrđene karakteristike, kao što su figura DJa i MCja, tehnike proizvodnje zvuka poznate kao *scratching* i *layering* i „borbe MCjeva“ (javna takmičenja u slobodnoj improvizaciji stihova ili *freestylingu*). Ono što, međutim, razlikuje hip-hop od drugih popularnih muzičkih kultura nisu samo formalni elementi identiteta njenih pripadnika, već sam *način formiranja identiteta*, koji je u većoj meri zasnovan na „samom zvuku muzike, nego što je to slučaj sa mnogim drugim (popularnim) kulturama zasnovanim na rok zvuku“.<sup>2</sup> Formalni i semantički elementi organizacije zvučnog toka i izvođenja – tekst, upotreba citata (muzičkih i tekstualnih), improvizacija, vokalni tembr izvođača, naslojavanje zvuka i sl. – obezbeđuju širi prostor za delovanje ideologije kroz specifično sadejstvo auditivnih i vizuelnih elemenata, u odnosu na druge fenomene popularne muzike koji se služe konvencionalnijim sredstvima.

<sup>1</sup> Adam Krims, *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, str. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., str. 3.

Većina nezapadnih hip-hop scena uglavnom u potpunosti preuzima *formalne* elemente hip-hopa i repa. Isto se odnosi i na generalne crte *poetike žanra*, koje uključuju kritički pogled na društvenu stvarnost i zastupanje kulturnog identiteta geta, za koje u hip-hop žargonu postoji termin *represent* – javno predstavljanje (oglašavanje) lokalnih vrednosti i značenja, u rasponu od propagiranja identiteta stanovnika predgrađa, do podela na šire oblasti<sup>3</sup>. Hip-hop i rep muzika su danas deo industrije *masovne kulture* i kao takvi se granaju u više žanrova, od kojih se samo neki – *reality* i *gangsta rap*, zasnivaju na kritici društva i političkom angažmanu. Nacionalne kulture koje se uključuju u široko polje hip-hopa uglavnom preuzimaju postojeću klasifikaciju žanrova rep muzike. U zavisnosti od konteksta, izvesni aspekti hip-hop kulture postaju dominantni, a neretko nastaju i nove forme muzičkog *crossovera*, u kojima se spajaju elementi rep muzike sa već postojećim muzičkim formama i žanrovima lokalne scene.

Način na koji se hip-hop kontekstualizuje u okviru jedne kulture određen je složenom mrežom značenja koja se formira u susretu poetike rep muzike sa lokalnom istorijom, ideologijama i društvenim sistemom vrednosti. Forme koje nastaju kao plod tog susreta su, u izvesnom smislu, hibridne: međutim, ne treba prevideti da „rep poseduje sopstvenu istorijsku lokaciju u nečemu što je, u vreme nastanka i prvobitnog širenja, obeležilo ovaj žanr određenim kulturnim identitetom, koji nikada nije u potpunosti izgubljen“<sup>4</sup>. *Topoi* kao što su geto, bunt i otpor sistemu, označitelji u globalnom hip-hopu, bivaju preznačeni u dijalektici lokalnog i globalnog. Ovaj proces je povratne prirode: kao što je muzikolog Adam Krims pokazao na primeru uticaja muzičke kulture Jamajke na američki rep, globalna poetika hip-hopa obeležena je stalnim tenzijama između lokalnog i globalnog. Simboličke predstave u hip-hopu prolaze kroz procese apropijacije i transformacije, u kojima se diskursi rase i etniciteta, originalno potekli iz afroameričke kulture koriste da pripovedaju nove istorije i artikulišu nova značenja.

### *Beogradski sindikat* kao paradigma lokalne hip-hop kulture

Raspad SFRJ i nastanak nacionalnih država na Balkanu snažno je uticao na razvoj muzičkih scena u 1990im godinama, i pružio pogodno tle za nastanak žanrova u kojima je ponovno pronalazjenje i propagiranje nacionalne kulture igralo važnu ulogu. U popularnom shvatanju, određeni žanrovi poput turbo folka predstavljali su paradigmu govora nacionalizma i desne retorike, dok su rokenrol i drugi žanrovi tzv. *underground* scene pružali otpor kulturnoj politici tada aktuelnog režima. Teoretičari koji su se bavili popularnom muzikom ovog perioda najčešće su neupitno preuzimali opisanu shemu, i svrstavali muzičke kulture na osi nacionalnog/globalnog i levog/desnog. Međutim, takva dijalektika nudi pojednostavljenu sliku interakcije između muzičkog i političkog: primeri koji pripadaju istim žanrovima zvuka često su ideološki suprotstavljeni, a elementi nacionalnog i globalnog su spregnuti u različite svrhe, i u okviru posebnih ideologija muzike. Hip-hop kultura i žanr rep muzike u Srbiji su primer ove specifične dijalektike između popularne muzičke kulture i ideologije, oblikovane u kontekstu poznog post-socijalizma i demokratizacije srpskog društva počev od 2000. godine.

Srpski hip-hop je u toku 1990ih, u kontekstu tadašnje kulturne politike i delovanja medija, zajedno sa drugim žanrovima popularne muzike deo tzv. *underground* scene. Statusu hip-hopa doprinela je i distribucija piratskih diskova koja je ugrozila prodaju legalnih izdanja, onemogućivši razvoj tada novog pravca rep muzike. Pored pojave izvođača bližih dance muzici, kao i onih čije pesme pripadaju žanru pimp repa, većina srpskih hip-hop grupa pripada kategoriji *reality rap*. Identitet pripadnika hip-hop kulture određen je predstavom geta, koja se u srpskom lokalnom kontekstu odnosi na dve stvari:

<sup>3</sup> U američkom hip-hopu, to je podela na „istočnu“ i „zapadnu“ Obalu.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit.1, 156.

1. geto kao gradska četvrt koju nastanjuju pripadnici srednje klase sa sveću o pripadnosti svom „kraju“ i
2. Srbija kao geto.

Prizor getoizirane Srbije je čest u hip-hopu, počev od karakterističnih grafita poput *Slobodane, hvala ti za geto*, sa potpisom *Reperi*, do stihova pesama<sup>5</sup> i vizuelnih elemenata (ikonografije spotova i filmova).

Grupa *Beogradski sindikat* nastala je 1999. godine, ujedinjenjem dva hip-hop sastava (*Red zmaja* i *Tumz*), kojima se docnije pridružio MC Flex. Trenutak nastanka grupe i objavljivanja singla *Govedina* koji je izazvao različite reakcije u kulturnoj i političkoj javnosti, vezani su za savremenu istoriju Srbije: *Sindikata* je formiran nekoliko dana uoči akcije NATOa na Jugoslaviju, a *Govedina* je emitovana neposredno pred predsedničke izbore 2002. Tekst ove pesme, koji eksplicitno i u prvom licu nabraja tada aktuelne ličnosti i događaje na srpskoj političkoj sceni, izazvao je različite reakcije u javnosti. Neki mediji su odmah emitovali spot (B92), dok su drugi (TV Pink) bojkotovali grupu. Zapadni mediji su takođe posvetili prostor komentaru pesme, uglavnom je tumačeći kao „slavljenje političkih sloboda, posebno slobode govora, u obliku grubog podsmevanja upućenog političarima glasom 'običnog čoveka'“<sup>6</sup>. Slični komentari pojavili su se i u srpskim medijima, gde su dominirali pokušaji da se odredi politička orijentacija grupe čiji su članovi izjavili da „nemaju ambiciju da se bave politikom“<sup>7</sup>.

Eksplicitne metafore i kritike društvenog trenutka koje je ponudio tekst *Govedine*, kao i prateći spot koji je snimljen bez karakteristične ikonografije hip-hop-a i u vidu pozadine na kojem se nižu reči pesme, ipak svedoče o tome da je namera grupe bila da usmeri pažnju na političku poruku. Sam naziv pesme – *Govedina*, metafora je političke i kulturne elite post-Miloševićvske Srbije čije ponašanje grupa kritikuje (*Sve te silne promene/svode se na obmane*). Tekstovi *Sindikata* preuzimaju političku retoriku, mešajući je sa žargonom hip-hop-a i beogradskih četvrti, čime zapravo apeluju na mnjenje i „zdrav razum“: njihova ambicija nije da „govore političarima šta treba da rade“, već da im stave do znanja kako „mi smatramo da su apsurdni i da se moraju uozbiljiti“. Većina komentara pesme je u želji da locira političku orijentaciju i namere grupe previdela da su ovakvi javni nastupi u kojima se bespogovorno kritikuje društvo pre svega deo globalne poetike hip-hop-a, i da kao takvi ne odstupaju od zakonitosti žanra, osim u konkretnim sadržajima i činjenicama koje su predmet kritike. *Differentia specifica* srpskog hip-hop-a, stoga, nije u *stepenu* i *vrsti* kritike koja se upućuje određenim društvenim diskursima, već u *načinu* na koji se povezuju teme getoizacije, istorije, nacije i tla, i kroz koje se artikuliraju subkulturni identitet karakterističan za srpski hip-hop.

Reprezentativne strategije hip-hop-a, u slučaju *Beogradskog sindikata*, polaze od paradigme političke retorike, ali i upotrebljavaju uzorke nacionalne istorije i mitova. Sam naziv grupe – *Sindikata*, kao i vizuelni simbol petokrake koji grupa koristi na omotima kompakt diskova, upućuju na rad sa nasleđem komunističkog perioda. Sa druge strane, alternativno ime koji grupa koristi – *Red zmaja*, konotira hip-hop predstavu *street-fightera* iz geta, ali je to i prevod imena *Societatis draconistrarum* – viteškog reda nastao u 14. veku sa ciljem odbrane od Turaka, kao i slika iz srpskog folklora u kojoj su najbolji junaci pripadnici *nebeske vojske zmajeva* koja štiti srpski narod. Na slici je prikazan logo *Sindikata*, načinjen po uzoru na grb nekadašnje SFRJ, sa datumom osnivanja grupe i mikrofonima umesto baklji. U kontekstu postsocijalizma i tekuće demokratizacije srpskog društva, recikliranje simbola komunističkog perioda u vizuelnim elementima identiteta *Beogradskog sindikata* predstavlja čin *korekture* i ponovnog iščitavanja lokalne istorije i tradicije. Tako *Sindikata*, nasuprot brojnim „sindikatom“ iz vremena komunizma, nudi „pravu alternativnu političku

<sup>5</sup> Npr. pesma repera Marčela sa refrenom „Srbija, kuća na promaji“, ili pesma *Sindikata* pod naslovom „Duga je ulica“, sa stihovima „Stiže razglednica iz Srbije / sa letovanja iz pakla“.

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.bostonphoenix.com/boston/news\\_features/other\\_stories/multi-page/documents/02537823.htm](http://www.bostonphoenix.com/boston/news_features/other_stories/multi-page/documents/02537823.htm)

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.balkanmedia.com/m2/doc/2600-1.shtml>



Logo Beogradskog sindikata

strategiju<sup>8</sup>, ali istovremeno apeluje na posedovanje istinskog znanja o savremenom nacionalnom identitetu. Primer koji rečito svedoči o odnosu prema nacionalnom je pesma „Na bojnopolju/Viteška II“, čiji završni stihovi glase: „Sveta zemlja se brani, bitka uvek dobija/Dvoglavi orač na štitu i brojanica oko vrata/Svetlost je u štitu, krst vredniji od zlata/Da vidimo decu situ, da im damo svetlost umesto mraka/Odlazimo u mitu Serbona, Boga rata!“<sup>9</sup> Ime Serbona u pesmi označava dvojako – na prvom mestu, figuru iz navodnog srpskog (slovenskog) panteona, a potom i predstavu o „odabranosti“ srpskog ratničkog naroda. Preznačenjem kroz simboličku maticu hip-hopa, „vitez“ postaje „reper“ Sindikata, a pripovedanje kosovskog boja – priča o svakodnevnoj borbi pripadnika „srpskog geta“ sa problemima savremenog društva. Da je u pitanju afirmativan odnos prema tradiciji, potvrđuje i intervju grupe, u kome njeni članovi pominju ovu pesmu braneći se od optužbi kako su „fašisti“.<sup>10</sup> Lokalna značenja se, uz to, susreću i sa globalnim u značenjskoj ravni slike: u popularnom shvatanju hip-hop kulture, mikrofon je „sredstvo borbe“, a nekadašnja „baklja bratstva i jedinstva“ postaje „baklja hip-hopa“<sup>11</sup>.

Metafora „sindikata“ koju je ponudila grupa načinila je prvi javni prodor u politički prostor preko pesme sa prvog albuma pod naslovom „Dolazi sindikat“, koju je Unija slobodnih sindikata iskoristila kao nezvaničnu himnu protesta održanog krajem 2001. u Beogradu (dakle, pre objavljivanja singla *Govedina*). Tekst refrena glasi „Znam da misliš – gotovi smo, nema nas, ipak/ dolazi sindikat sada jači nego ikad“. Pored toga što predstavlja muzičku grupu i alternativni prostor za okupljanje repera, *Sindikat* se odnosi na specifičnu – *gerilsku* zajednicu, čiji članovi polažu pravo na znanje o „nacionalnoj stvari“, i koji u formi muzike propagiraju tu stvar. Tu na snagu stupa globalna kulturna predispozicija hip-hopa da kroz generalne crte muzičke poetike *reality* žanrova otvori prostor za preuzimanje različitih diskursa moći: u kontekstu srpskog društva, tema rasnog se menja pričom o etničkom identitetu. Formula *nostra res agitur* se manifestno ispoljava kroz porugu upućenu političkom establišmentu: latentno, tu su prisutne kritike svih „pro-zapadnih“ elementa demokratskog društva koje se u kulturi nacionalizma i šovinizma doživljavaju kao strani faktori neprimereni čistom telu nacije – nevladinih organizacija, pripadnika gej populacije, stanovnika susednih država. Ovaj obrazac je prisutan i u narativnoj strukturi *Govedine*, koja otpočinje nabranjem konfliktnih momenata iz javnog života (spornih događaja, afera) i imenovanjem političara, da bi se treći, kulminatorni deo pesme završio stihovima u kojima se jukstaponiraju „autentično srpski“ i „tuđinski“ elementi: „Da se odrekneš Guče, kajmaka i radže / a tolerišes Hrvate, Borku, gej parade / Ma jebeš Levijeve dokumentarce / Nije me sramota što poreklom sam odavde“.

Singl *Govedina* je, u jednom delu javnosti, pomogao stvaranje slike o *Beogradskom sindikatu* kao progresivnoj i politički angažovanoj grupi koja nastupa sa pozicija nulte tačke ideologije. Kritika upućena „svima“ je interpretirana kao ekstremna instanca političke slobode, tekovina demokratskog društva u kojoj pojedinac bez stvarne političke moći osvaja javni prostor i govori upravo u „ime svih“. Pored ovog, za rep uobičajenog osvrta na aktuelnu društvenu politiku, na prvom albumu *Sindikata* nalaze se i pesme koje govore o „opasnim momcima“ i savremenim bogatašima (*Divljina*), ili odnosu sa ženama (*Slatke male maloletnice*). Ipak, pažljivo preslušavanje drugih pesama *Sindikata* otkriva više od hip-hop ekskursa u teme poput zabave, bogatstva i ženskog tela. Važna odrednica ove muzike je njeno pozitivno određenje prema nacionalnom, koje se uspostavlja kroz prisvajanje i reinterpretaciju simbola i prizora iz srpske istorije i folklor. Tako pesma *Na bojnopolju/Viteška II* preuzima model naracije karakterističan za srpsku epsku poeziju, i opisuje kosovsku bitku uz upotrebu audio citata iz kulturnog filma *Boj na Kosovu*. Pesma počinje seplom iz filma u kojem se nabrajaju članovi dinastije Nemanjića, a nakon toga sledi opis same bitke. Vitez koji je istovremeno i narator, metafora je čistokrvnog pripadnika srpske kulture, istog onog koji pripada „redu zmaja“ i „falangama Sindikata“: označitelj – figura buntovnika u globalnom hip-hopu, stiće

<sup>8</sup> Na takve konotacije upućuju i stihovi iz pesme „Dolazi Sindikat“ sa prvog albuma grupe: „Zato cela vasiona sada slavi ovo ime /i na prekom sudu sindikat pominju kao primer/ da samo je jedan smer postojao ikad/ postoji i danas – zove se Sindikat!“

<sup>9</sup> Bog „Serbon“ je navodna hipostaza semitskog božanstva Baala, ali i junak starogrčkog mita Herakle, Ahilov predak.

<sup>10</sup> „Ako iko zaista želi da posluša šta Beogradski sindikat ima da kaže na temu patriotizma i dubokog poštovanja prema bitkama naših predaka, neka slobodno natenane posluša pesmu Na bojnopolju (Viteška 2), koja se nalazi na našem debi albumu *Bsst...tišimčina!*“ Navedeno prema odgovoru *Beogradskog sindikata* na kritiku Nenada Čanka, objavljenom u kolumni „Kultura“ časopisa *Vreme*, br. 615, 17. 10. 2002. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=323823>, 11. 10. 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Ova semantika je prepletena i u tekstovima pesama: „Al’ na sceni smo ponovo da je branimo/ mikrofon u ruci i vičemo: Džeronimo!“, kao i „Jer putanja znanja je puna trnja puna granja/ mikrofon k’o skiptar svaku prepreku sklanja“.

novo označeno u vidu čuvanja krvi i tla. Ova lokalizacija globalnog se ne odvija podjednako na svim semantičkim nivoima pesme, već u najvećoj meri određuje tekstualnu komponentu, dok je muzička matrica, ukoliko se izuzme umetanje citata iz filma, u potpunosti saobrazna zvuku zapadne rep muzike.

Prema etnomuzikološkinji Deborahi Wong, „rep je mesto gde telo i tlo (istorija, zajednica) mogu doći u konflikt“.<sup>12</sup> Poetika hip-hopa je u svom nastanku (u američkoj kulturi) određena rasnim, rodnim i klasnim podelama, gde je Telo označeno kao *crno* i *muško*, sa centralnom idejom o rasnoj segregaciji i buntu protiv dominantnog kulturnog obrasca. U srpskoj hip-hop kulturi, to je telo belog/muškarca/Srbina, koje se nalazi u ambivalentnoj poziciji između globalnog i nacionalnog, i gde glas i pokret formalno pripadaju globalnoj poetici hip-hopa, a zapravo materijalizuju identitet rasset između univerzalnih matrica pop kulture i reinvenije srpskog etniciteta. Moguće je govoriti i o performativnosti izvodačke prakse hip-hopa, posebno u slučaju *Beogradskog sindikata* koji predstavlja virtuelnu zajednicu uspostavljenju sredstvima muzike. Tu zamišljenu zajednicu čine članovi koji poseduju kompetenciju i odgovarajuće kulturno iskustvo (život u getu), sredstvo izraza i podučavanja (muziku) i poznavanje nacionalne stvari (istorije i lokalnih tradicija). Kao paradigmatički model srpske hip-hop kulture, identitet pripadnika *Sindikata* uspostavlja se sredstvima muzike i teksta, a onda i učešćem u javnim izvođenjima, koji skupa mogu biti tumačeni kao performativ, ili čin *izricanja* jednog identiteta u specifičnoj lokalnoj izvedbi koncepta *representinga*, karakterističnog za hip-hop. Istovremeno, ovo je i uspostavljanje hip-hop zajednice kao relevantnog aktera u procesima pregovaranja o kulturnom identitetu kroz mimikriju i (kvazi)ironizaciju političkog diskursa. Takav model identiteta, koji je istovremeno u stanju da pruži identifikaciju sa savremenom globalnom kulturom mladih i da se vešto poigrava topologijom nacionalizma, nije benigna izraslina popularne kulture zabave niti epifenomen bez direktnih posledica na društvenu stvarnost.<sup>13</sup> Muzika, stoga da zaključimo, nije puka refleksija „društvene stvarnosti“, već diskurs koji poseduje moć da „snažno artikuliše granice koje definišu kolektivne identitete ili antagonizme koje dele određene društvene grupe“.<sup>14</sup> Strategije ovog diskursa u muzičkoj kulturi hip-hopa biće raspravljane u poglavlju koje sledi.

### Mi smo patriote, nismo bolidi: identitet i ideologija u hip-hopu

Kao deo urbane popularne kulture i savremenih medija, hip-hop preuzima, preispituje i reciklira postojeće kulturne modele. Pojedini autori ističu da je rep muzika bitno drugačija od drugih popularnih muzičkih žanrova u tome da čin proizvodnje i preuzimanja simbola i predstava u hip-hop kulturi odlikuje pre svega *ironizacija i subverzija* hegemonih diskursa (rasnog, klasnog, polnog). Drugim rečima, hip-hop kultura i rep muzika se posmatraju kao emancipatorske prakse, koje kroz tehnike citata, kolažiranja i narativizacije političkih tema u duhu popularne kulture otvaraju prostor za alternativne identitete suprotstavljene modelima dominantnog kulturnog obrasca.

Iako je ova tvrdnja delimično tačna kada je reč o afroameričkom hip-hopu u kojem je tema rasnog konflikta i segregacije zastupljena u velikoj meri, kao i u slučaju određenih *reality* žanrova rep muzike, izvesna mesta globalne istorije hip-hopa često ukazuju na drugačije oblike delovanja ideologije. Kao što je Douglas Kellner pokazao kroz analizu filmova Spike Leeja i određenih primera američke rep muzike, otpor usmeren ka hegemonijama često upravo uključuje one elemente koji su predmet kritike, upravljajući ih prema Drugima (kulturne stereotipe o drugim rasama/nacijama, rodnu diskriminaciju itd). U okviru hip-hop kulture, identiteti se artikulišu kroz dijalog sa hegemonim diskursima i složene procese iščitavanja istorije i tradicije. Odnos koji alternativna kultura uspostavlja prema dominantnoj ideologiji ne može se poistovetiti sa modelom 'refleksija/negacija' niti sa kulturnim

<sup>12</sup> Deborah Wong, „The Asian American Body in Performance“, u *Music and the Racial Imagination*, Ronald Radano, Philip Bohlman eds., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2000, str. 57–94, ovo na str. 78.

<sup>13</sup> O tome svedoči i izjava bivšeg ministra unutrašnjih poslova Zorana Živkovića, koji je nakon objavljivanja Govedine izrazio nameru da poseti koncert grupe „da bi saznao o čemu se tu radi“.

<sup>14</sup> Georgina Born, „Music and Representation/Articulation of Sociocultural Identities“, u *Western Music and Its Others*, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2000, str. 31–37, ovo na str. 33.

matricama afroameričkog repa: danas je ovaj odnos određen kompleksnom dijalektikom u kojoj su dominantna i kontrakultura u stalnoj razmeni, i ispresecane različitim glasovima (ne samo „crnim“, već i „žutim“, etničkim, ženskim, gej/lezbajskim itd). Na to ukazuje i Deborah Wong kada, razmatrajući identitet i telo u kontekstu rep muzike Amerikanaca azijskog porekla, zaključuje da „hip-hop kultura prepoznaje koncept vlasništva, duguje rasnom autoritetu, ali ipak dozvoljava prisvajanje/prevazilaženje ovih termina“<sup>15</sup>. Kritika u hip-hopu predstavlja potenciju za nastanak alternativnih zajednica, ali i ne obezbeđuje *a priori* emancipaciju potlačenih subjekata, već često, kao što je već rečeno, opcrtava nove konflikte koji su, u krajnjoj instanci, uslovljeni diskursima patrijarhata i nacionalizma; centar moći opstaje, a emancipacija se menja kontrahegemonijom<sup>16</sup>. U svetlu te činjenice, moguće je prihvatiti tezu Douglasa Kellnera kako je hip-hop kulturna praksa „negde između modernizma i postmodernizma“, kao i da „koristi i modernističke i postmodernističke estetske strategije“<sup>17</sup>. Izvođači lokalnih rep scena iz globalnog modela hip-hopa preuzimaju pre svega *tehnološko-konstruktivne* elemente poetike žanra (elektroniku, semplovanje, citate, *scratching*), i u tome su bliski postmodernim tehnikama kolažiranja i određenim vidovima intertekstualnosti. Potencijali rep muzike za radikalizaciju i subverziju hegemonih diskursa su karakteristični za afroameričku hip-hop kulturu u trenutku njenog nastanka i širenja kroz medije krajem 1980ih i početkom 1990ih godina: globalizacija rep žanra, kao što je već rečeno, zadržava elemente kritike i kontrakulturnog identiteta (geto, sleng, formalne elemente muziciranja, odevanja i ponašanja) pre svega kao prazne označitelje koji, po potrebi, mogu pozitivno konotirati hegemonu sadržaje. *Jaki* subjekti koje hip-hop i rep uglavnom promovisu – figura Muškarca koji je rasno (i etnički) pozitivno određen, bliži su kategorijama modernosti, nasuprot fragmentiranom, „mekom“ postmodernom subjektu: umesto dekonstrukcije granica, identiteti se i dalje formiraju u odnosu na Centar, samo sa drugačijih ideoloških pozicija.

Poslednje je u velikoj meri karakteristično za srpski hip-hop/rep, kao i za *Beogradski sindikat* kao paradigmatski model te muzičke kulture/žanra. Svako iole ozbiljnije tumačenje ovog fenomena mora se suočiti sa njegovim bazičnim paradoksom – propagiranjem nacionalnog identiteta i „reafirmacije autentično srpskih vrednosti“ u spoju sa urbanim i savremenim *topoima* globalnog hip-hopa. Ova invencija specifičnog hip-hop identiteta koji jednim delom počiva u mitu nacionalnog, a drugim u savremenoj popularnoj kulturi, strukturno je simetrična istorijskom trenutku izbijanja „privrženosti etničkom cilju“ u post-socijalističkim državama Balkana, koji Slavoj Žižek tumači kao zahtev za „novim Gospodarem“. Žižekova teza da je društveni model kapitalizma proizveo nužnost „uspostavljanja stabilnog i jasno definisanog društvenog Tela, koje će ograničiti destruktivni potencijal kapitalizma isključivanjem elemenata 'neumerenosti'“, odnosno – opsesivnom privrženošću Nacionalnoj stvari, daje odgovor na „nemoguću“ činjenicu nastanka etničkih tenzija u kontekstu demokratizacije država Istočne Evrope<sup>18</sup>, ali i korisne smernice za interpretaciju srpske hip-hop kulture. Homologija je jasna: umesto da iskoristi produktivne kritičke potencijale globalne poetike hip-hopa, i time otvori prostor za nove identitete, srpski hip-hop ponovo priziva „avet nacionalnog“ prkoseći očekivanjima liberalnih intelektualaca i onih teoretičara kulture koji u savremenim popularnim žanrovima bez dodira sa etničkom (tradicionalnom, narodnom) muzikom vide isključivo pro-zapadne univerzalističke tendencije. Ova muzička kultura i žanr se mogu podvesti pod Žižekove formulacije kao pravi simptom „inherentne reakcije na univerzalizam Kapitala“<sup>19</sup>, odgovor na „uništavanje uživanja zatvorenih etničkih granica“<sup>20</sup> kojim je određeno post-kapitalističko tehnološko društvo. *Ad hoc* tumačenja koja praksi srpske rep muzike i *Beogradskog sindikata* pripisuju banalno perpetuiranje tvrdokornog nacionalizma iz 1990ih godina u Srbiji, ne uspevaju da na pravi način odrede *tip* ideologije koji je na delu, i koji se materijalizuje kroz muzičko-izvođačke prakse hip-hopa. Opčinjenost temama nacionalnog nije motivisana potrebom grupe da svesno propagira desničarske vrednosti ili „nasilne“

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit. str. 12, str. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Ovdje upotrebljavam Gramscijev koncept kontrahegemonije, koji se odnosi na nastanak alternativnih institucija i praksi kroz čije delovanje će potlačeni segmenti društva (radnička klasa) moći da ponude drugačije ideologije u borbi za društvenu prevlast. Ovaj koncept, premda sproveden kroz alternativne prakse i ideološke modele, i dalje zadržava okosnicu *hegemonije* (tj. opstajanje centra moći i represivne društvene strukture oličene u samom postojanju i delovanju institucija). Hip-hop upošljava „kontrahegemoniju“ kada predlaže grupisanje i osvajanje konkretnih oblika moći za rasne/etničke zajednice, ali i kada simulira institucionalne elemente dominantne kulture (tako, na primer, grupa *Public Enemy* na svojim nastupima koristi vojničke uniforme, ima svoje „ministre informisanja“, i svog „stručnjaka za napad“).

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Kelner, *Medijska kultura*, CLIO, Beograd, 2004, str. 319.

<sup>18</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Metastaze uživanja*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 1996, str. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., str. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., str. 31.

aspekte hip-hop kulture, već je logična posledica same *strukture* ideologije, u kojoj treba razlikovati „ideologiju kao diskurzivnu tvorevinu“ od „njene fantazmatske potpore“<sup>21</sup>. Potonje, koje Žižek još naziva „tvrđim jezgrom koje odoleva simboličnoj preradi“, jeste temeljni aspekt koji opstaje u svakoj transformaciji društva, i čiju refleksiju nalazimo u tekstovima, muzici i ikonografiji srpskog hip-hopa. To je odnos prema Drugom koji je uvek-već Kradljivac *našeg* uživanja. Kada članovi *Beogradskog sindikata* svoj komentar upravljen prema „tolerisanju gej parada“ tumače kao podrugivanje „lažnim merilima demokratičnosti društva u kome su funkcioneri partija na vlasti i dalje 'nedodirljivi'“<sup>22</sup>, oni simptomatski otelotvoruju transformaciju ideologije *same*. Fantazmatska krađa uživanja na kojoj se temelji nacionalna Stvar zaodeva se u novo ruho, kritiku (zlo)upotrebe aktuelnih tema prava manjina nauštrb „pravih“ problema društva koja preuzima retoriku savremenog liberalnog diskursa. O sličnom mehanizmu govori i Žižek, razlikujući savremeni postmoderni i tradicionalni oblik rasizma. Poslednji je direktan i sirov, dok postmoderni rasizam kao „rasizam podignut na kvadrat (...) lako može da preuzme oblik svoje suprotnosti, borbe *protiv* rasizma“.<sup>23</sup> Sledstveno tome, postmoderni nacionalizam okupira isti prostor, simulirajući liberalni diskurs, dok je zapravo i dalje temeljno određen Nacionalnom stvari. Dodamo li tome i simbolički repertoar hip-hopa, koji se zasniva na specifičnim *topoima* i diskurzivnim strategijama, kao rezultat nastaje hibridni identitet koji spaja „nemoguće“: elemente univerzalnog i nacionalnog, imaginarne zajednice (geto u Srbiji) sa tehnokulturnim predstavama „pravog“ srpskog patriotizma.

Ovaj hibridni identitet koji nudi srpska hip-hop kultura nosi odlike postmodernizma ne samo u smislu „estetskih strategija“ koje Douglas Kellner generalno sagledava u afroameričkom hip-hopu. Postmodernost ove kulturne prakse, uzrokovana sociokulturnim kontekstom u kojem je nastala, kao i diskursom globalne hip-hop kulture, određena je i specifičnim načinom oblikovanja identiteta. Georgina Born razlikuje više vrsta strukturalnih artikulacija identiteta u muzici: čisto *imaginarnu identifikaciju* bez konkretnih posledica na društvenu stvarnost, *reprodukciju* postojećih sociokulturnih identiteta, dok u treću vrstu ulaze muzičke reprezentacije koje su „reinterpretirane i diskurzivno raspravljane, i kroz taj proces nanovo umetnute u sociokulturne formacije koje se menjaju“.<sup>24</sup> Problematično pitanje ideologije nacionalizma u srpskoj rep muzici u svetlu ove klasifikacije u prvi mah nameće ideju da je u pitanju reprodukcija opsesivne privrženosti Nacionalnoj stvari: da hip-hop sebi svojstvenim jezikom obnavlja ksenofobične i nacionalistički obojene stereotipe koji su odjekivali u Srbiji 1990ih. Međutim, uzme li se u obzir Žižekovo stanovište prema kojem je taj „zaostatak“ zapravo *fantazam* na kojem se zasniva Realno Nacije, kao i to da se simbolička pripadnost srpskom etnicitetu gradi jezikom popularne kulture i sa novim konotacijama (u kontekstu globalnih simbola hip-hopa), tada srpski rep pripada *trećem* tipu artikulacije identiteta. Sociokulturni prostor srpskog hip-hopa, definisan sredstvima muzičke reprezentacije, predstavlja više od „politizacije muzike“ – potentno mesto rasprave *novih* značenja u kulturi kroz koji se proizvodi hibridni i antagonistički identitet „globalizovanog Srbina“ u 21. veku.

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<sup>22</sup> *Vreme*, br. 615, 17. 10. 2002. <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=323823>, 11. 10. 2005.

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#### Ostali onlajn izvori

<http://munje.dzaba.com/about.html> (sajt sa istorijatom domaćeg hip-hop-a)

<http://www.edesi.co.yu/> (sajt na srpskom jeziku sa diskusionim forumima o hip-hopu)

#### Abstract

Global hip-hop as subculture and musical genre is usually strongly rooted in western-based models in the formal aspects (visual culture, MCing, DJing, genre system). However, certain hip-hop concepts such as *representing* may play productive role in establishing of local hip-hop scenes, help propagate local identities and re-tell local histories. Important element of this process is *reality rap*, hip-hop's subgenre that harshly criticizes social reality. In the case of Serbian hip-hop, the leading exponent of this type of rap is group *Belgrade Syndicate* (BS) whose, MCs employ narratives that heavily attack current Serbian politics. On the other hand, BS's songs utilize popular myths of Serbian history (such as the Battle of Kosovo). I shall discuss two songs that mark these (opposite) poles of BS's musico-ideological narrative: *Govedina* (*Beef*), a song that mocks the leading political figures in the country, and *Na bojnom polju/viteška II* (*In the battlefield/Knight's II*) that mobilizes Kosovo myth to create the image of an 'initiated member' – in this case, a true member of Serbian nation *and* hip-hop riot culture. The interplay between elements of urban culture, nationalism and global popular culture gives this music a special role in re-stating and negotiating of cultural identity in the current socio-political context of Serbian society.

Keywords: Serbian hip-hop, national myth, ideology, popular culture

„Univerzitet ne čine samo  
naučne ideje  
nego i tela koja misle i dela-  
ju.“<sup>1</sup>

Martin Jay

## Prolog/preludij

*Jam session: Realna i*

Prilikom da učestvuju na naučnom simpozijumu BITEFa 39, Marija Krtolica i Miljana Perić su iskoristile za *Jam Session: Real Intervention into Belgra*

<sup>1</sup> Branislav Jakovljević, „Prostrelna rane diskursa: premetanje performativa Judith Butler“, u Džudit Butler, *Tela koja nešto znače*, Samizdat B92, Beograd, 2001, str. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Milan Marković, „Nasilno otvaranje (razbijanje) koda: Culture Jamming“, *Otvoravanje koda (ili borba za prostor)*, [http://www.freewebs.com/stanipaniko/lektiv/otvaranje%20koda.htm#\\_2.2\\_culture\\_jamming](http://www.freewebs.com/stanipaniko/lektiv/otvaranje%20koda.htm#_2.2_culture_jamming)

<sup>3</sup> Upozorenje: (a) svako ko čita ovaj tekst postaje impro-plesač/impro-plesačica, bilo da to radi glasno, tiho, pomerajući se, plešući, ležeći na kauču, ili na neki drugačiji način. Pri čitanju teksta potrebno je da neprestano zamišljate da ste upravo tada/sada na *jam sessionu*, kao i da učestvujete u njemu tako što ćete nekako reagovali na naznačena usputna uputstva i/ili dopisivati nova. Takođe, (b) možete pokušati da ignorirate prethodne zahteve, a u tome ćete uspeti jedino u slučaju da odmah prekinete sa čitanjem. Razmislite: (a) ili (b)? Ako je Vaš izbor (a), programirajte svoj plejer sa CDom „Meredith Monk: Atlas“ na numere br. 5, 7 sa CDa 2 i br. 4 sa CDa 1, ili se odlučite za muziku/tišinu po sopstvenom izboru. Zatim nastavite sa plesno-čitalačkom improvizacijom. Ako je Vaš izbor (b), ili promenite odluku i odlučite se za (a) ili ? [ne spada u tematsko-problemsko-izvođački okvir ovog rada].

Prilikom da učestvuju na naučnom simpozijumu BITEFa 39, Marija Krtolica i Miljana Perić su iskoristile za pokušaj suočavanja dva (ne)prilično udaljena segmenta beogradske kulturalne prakse: teorijske/univerzitetske i izvođačke/plesno-improvizatorske. suočavanju su bila podvrgnuta (nepostojeća, ali zamišljena) plesno-izvođačka edukativna delatnost institucije Univerziteta umetnosti i praksa plesnog *jam sessiona* u Beogradu. Budući da su preuzele individualnu odgovornost za sve svoje telesne pokrete koje su vršile u toku izvođenja rada „*Jam session: Realna intervencija u beogradsku plesnu bajku*“, umesto akcije kao „kolektivnog čina“, u prezentaciji rada su insistirale na ličnom aktu.<sup>2</sup> To znači da je po saopštavanju ove odluke svaka od njih dve svoje dalje izlaganje/improvizovanje ponudila zasebno, izražavajući se u prvom licu jednine. Takav izraz prisutan je i u ovom radu, koji ne predstavlja samo prikaz navedenog sučeljavanja, već i njegov nastavak.

Nastup na simpozijumu ostavlja razne imaginarne tragove. Čitajući ovaj tekst Vi pratite te tragove i postajete moj/a saučesnik/ca u njihovom daljem ostavljanju, učestvujući u realizaciji rada „*Jam session: Realna intervencija u beogradsku plesnu bajku 3*“.<sup>3</sup> Pri tome je dozvoljeno uspostavljanje realnih i/ili zamišljenih monologa, dijaloga, polemika, rasprava, kao i drugih vidova ispoljavanja međutekstualnih kontakata, tj. odnosa između Vaših i mojih impro-plesnih aktivnosti/razmišljanja. Takvim postupanjem želim da intenziviram svoju odluku koja se odnosi na propoziciju da tokom izvođenja serije ovakvih radova poseban značaj treba pridavati *'jamu-kao-ometanju*<sup>4</sup>.

## Improvizovani uvod

Priča o (pred)istoriji plesnog *jam sessiona*, kao grupnoj improvizaciji pokretom u užem smislu,<sup>5</sup> može se započeti referiranjem na improvizatorske radionice Ann Halprin u Kaliforniji od 1955. (u kojima su učestvovali Simone Forti, Yvonne Rainer, Trisha Brown, Steve Paxton, Robert Morris, La Monte Young), a zatim i na grupne izvedbe pripadnika *Judson Theatra* početkom 1960ih. Među učesnicima ovih grupa se u periodu 1960–1973. javljaju značajne kritičke reference prema plesnoj tradiciji, čiji je jedan od efekata bio zanemarivanje razlike između treniranog i netreniranog tela, tako da je ne samo bilo koji pokret ili bilo koje telo, već i svaki metod bio dopušten. Nova je bila i pojava korišćenja arhitektonskog dizajna prostora u plesu i odnošenje prema telu ne više kao instrumentu, već kao subjektu i objektu rada.<sup>6</sup>

Pri daljem praćenju istorijata razvoja plesnih improvizacija od posebnog značaja (za ovaj rad) bilo je osmišljavanje tehnika i pristupa plesu koje je ponudio Steve Paxton. Među njima je naročito važan trenutak uspostavljanja prakse tzv. kontakt-

ne improvizacije. Kao i u mnogim drugim umetničkim medijima u periodu oko/nakon 1968, pomak sa sadržaja umetničkog dela na njegov kontekst uslovio je i determinisanje područja tadašnjeg savremenog plesa kao otvorenog koncepta. Tako je vreme masovnih anti-ratnih i studentskih protesta u SAD doprinelo da se i *kontaktna improvizacija*, u trenutku svog uspostavljanja, kritički odnosila ne samo prema dotadašnjoj plesnoj umetnosti, već i prema polju aktuelne društveno-političke prakse. Nastala je 1972. iz zajedničkog eksperimenta studenata Oberlin koledža, koji su krenuli u potragu za idealom aktivne, refleksivne, harmonične, spontane i promenljive forme.<sup>7</sup>

Pri realizaciji kontaktnog improvizovanja, pokret i dodir su služili za uspostavljanje komunikacije, tj. ostvarivanje kontakta među telima improvizatora. Posle više od trideset godina, ova praksa je i dalje prisutna i veoma rasprostranjena kako u Severnoj Americi, gde je nastala, tako i širom celog sveta,<sup>8</sup> pa i kod nas. Prema dostupnim podacima, u Beogradu su plesne radionice na kojima su podučavane razne tehnike, pristupi, stilovi i žanrovi savremenog plesa, među kojima i kontaktna improvizacija, održavane najčešće u Rexu, počev od 1996,<sup>9</sup> ali i u drugim institucijama (kao što su DOB, SKC).<sup>10</sup> Međutim, iz ovakve prakse radionica, a „u nedostatku razrađenog obrazovnog sistema za savremeni ples“, u Beogradu „stasavaju generacije plesača i koreografa koji nose znanje kao telesno iskustvo stečeno privremenim (govorimo o 1–2 nedelje) izlaganjem disciplini nekog koreografa.“<sup>11</sup> Upravo zbog toga je od posebnog značaja podatak da je od decembra 2004. u beogradskom Rexu započeta praksa redovnog održavanja plesnih *jam sessiona* koja je inicirana radionicom plesača, koreografa i impro-izvođača Boba Eisena (SAD), a čiji organizator je beogradski plesač i koreograf Dušan Murić.<sup>12</sup> Na taj način je stvoren prostor u kome edukativna praksa pomenutih kratkotrajnih plesnih radionica može da „zaživi“ i nakon njihovog završetka, tako što bi iskustvo određenog broja njihovih polaznika bilo primenjivano i razvijano kako među njima, tako i u (improvizovanom) kontaktu sa telima i iskustvima drugih beogradskih (impro-)plesaća.

Studija nultog slučaja: tematizacija jam sessiona koji se održavaju u Rexu

Identifikovanje i opis *jam sessiona* koji su od decembra 2004. do sada održani u Rexu,<sup>13</sup> u ovom radu ću ograničiti na uočavanje načina artikulacije pokreta kroz tzv. oruđa/alate (*tools*) koje koriste impro-plesači i ukazivanje na moguće pristupe izboru muzičke pratnje.

U uopštenom vidu, može se reći da se beogradski plesni *jam session* sastoji od početnog zagrevanja, eksperimentisanja sa telesnim pokretom i rada sa izabranim tehnikama/alatima. Mogu se uočiti elementi *Graham* i *Limon* tehnika, elementi *parabaleta*, *contemporary release* tehnike, improvizacije, joge, *feldenkreis* metode, *butoh* ili nekih drugih pristupa. Ipak, među njima je najzastupljenija *kontaktna improvizacija*.

Praksa 'kontaktne improvizacije' je bazirana na improvizovanju pokreta dva ili više plesača, sa ili bez fizičkog kontakta. Pokreti mogu biti brzi i dinamični, mekani i suptilni, itd. Mesto postignutog fizičkog ili energetskog kontakta usmerava naredni pokret. Prepuštajući se fizičkom impulsu i osećaju, plesači razvijaju improvizovani ples sa elementima akrobatike, igranja sa ritmom, uvijanja tela, podizanja, padanja, lebdenja koje je ostvareno predavanjem i preuzimanjem telesne težine. „Cilj“ je uspostavljanje kontakta između improvizatora, improvizatora sa podlogom, predmetima u okruženju ili posmatračima. Pogodna je za sve one koji vole da se bave telesnim pokretom i da ga istražuju, a može biti podjednako pristupačna i izazovna kako za one bez prethodnog iskustva sa bilo kakvim plesnim kretnjama, tako i za profesionalne plesače.<sup>14</sup>

Izvođenje može biti sa i bez muzičke pratnje/podloge. Izbor muzike ili tišine je naj-

<sup>4</sup> Pojam 'jam(ming) kao ometanje' potiče iz prakse odašiljanja radio-signala radi ometanja emitovanja druge radio-stanice, bilo da bi se onemogućila čujnost njenog signala ili da bi bio „zamenjen“ drugim sadržajem.

<sup>5</sup> Širi okvir bi mogao da uključuje razne ljudske aktivnosti počev od segmenata plemenskih ritualnih radnji/izvođenja pa sve do pojedinih delova nekih sportskih treninga ili sličnih motivisanih pokreta grupe ljudi, a koji ne moraju biti determinisani kroz neku od 'institucija' plesa.

<sup>6</sup> Bojana Cvejić, „The Judson Movement in Dance/Choreography“ (rukopis)

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Radi potkrepljenja ovog podatka pogledati npr. web-stranicu <http://www.contactimprov.net/#Events>, na kojoj se mogu naći na stotine obaveštenja o održavanju različitih manifestacija na kojima se praktikuje kontaktna improvizacija. Među tim događanjima mnoga su označena i kao *jam sessioni*.

<sup>9</sup> Najranije datirani pronađeni podaci glase: „Dance workshop 7–11. septembar 1996, vodile Marija Krtolica i Kate Weare“ (<http://www.cyberrex.org/rexold/pozoriste96.htm>) ili „Radionica savremenog pokreta koju su vodile M. Krtolica i K. Weare, imala je za cilj upoznavanje polaznika sa novijim pravcima i tehnikama u modernoj igri – 'release' tehnika, korišćenje Hatha Yoge radi boljeg razumevanja tela, improvizacija i kontakt improvizacija; prikazivanje novih koreografskih radova i razmena ideja i informisanje u oblasti moderne igre.“ (jun 1997) (<http://www.cyberrex.org/rexold/marija.htm>)

<sup>10</sup> Npr: „Galerija SKC i Galerija Cirkus, jun 2003. „Otvorena škola savremenih scenskih pristupa: radionica savremenog plesa“

češće prepušten svim učesnicima, a u pojedinim slučajevima improvizovanje pokretom se odvijalo uz impro-nastupe grupe muzičara/DJa. Veoma je važno (za ovaj rad) ukazati i na „pravilo“ da se u toku plesnog *jam sessiona* koji se izvodi u Rexu ne sme glasno pričati.

Studija slučaja br. 1, 2, 3: problematizacija *jam sessiona*  
'Realna intervencija u beogradsku plesnu bajku 1, 2, 3'

„Ples je jedan od najinovativnijih savremenih izvođačkih oblika. Svojom hibridnošću i propustnošću, verovatno, predstavlja najadekvatniji umetnički oblik koji stalno zahteva odgovarajuću teorijsku i kritičku refleksiju.“<sup>15</sup>

Branka Fišer, Ana Perne

Ohrabrena navedenim rečima, a sa željom da zahvaljujući kritičkoj reartikulaciji impro-plesne prakse beogradskog *jam sessiona* ovaj tekst prevaziđe svoj (dosadašnji) programski karakter, odlučila sam da u njega uvedem i na njemu primenim odgovarajuće teorijske diskurse. Pored toga, želela sam da tokom/u radu ostvarim i svojevrsnu performativnost, kroz koju bi plesni *jam session* (napokon!) stupio u interaktivni odnos sa Teorijom. Time bi saznanje ovakve teorije-na-delu bilo zasnovano na neposrednom iskustvu impro-plesa, a na taj način bi bila uspostavljena i primerena impro-plesno-izvođačko-teorijska platforma.

Za (samo) potencijalno polazište sam uzela tekstove iz četvrtog broja časopisa *TkH*, zahvaljujući kojima je i na području Srbije uspostavljena *think-dance* teorijska platforma. Uprkos tome što „predstavlja platformu koju čine sopstvene nekoherentnosti, i koja se uspostavlja upravo otvorenošću za beskonačne izmene“<sup>16</sup>, paradoksalno, ali i sasvim realno, ona nije mogla da bude primenjena kroz/na beogradski plesni *jam session*. Kao pojava slična 'otporu prema teatralizaciji' o kome je pisao Marvin Carlson, javio se 'otpor prema teoriji impro-plesa'. Naime, ispostavilo se da je ispod samo „deklarativne“ priče većine beogradskih impro-plesača/ica o-njihovom-„savremenom“-plesu-i-praćenju-„svetskih-tokova“ retko ko od njih želeo/mogao da izađe iz začaurenosti u modernistički-nezavisani-autonomni... medij plesa kao umetničke discipline svedene na manipulaciju telesnim pokretom. Smatrajući da je teorija samo nešto „veštačko“, nepotrebno i strano „prirodi“ plesa, bez ikakve (iskazane) sumnje su zastupali stav koji se može svesti na Benjaminovu propoziciju: „Očigledno je da prevod, koliko god mogao biti dobar, ne znači nikada ništa originalu.“<sup>17</sup> Zbog toga mi nije ostalo ništa drugo osim (a) da pro-nađem bar jednog „pravog/u“ impro-plesača/icu sa drugačijim stavom, ili (b) da sama postanem impro-izvođačica, ili (c) da zamolim Vas da kao čitalac/teljka preuzmete tu ulogu, kako bi bili stvoreni uslovi za „uspostavljanje platforme za „misao o impro-plesu“ u samom polju beogradskog impro-plesnog izvođenja“<sup>18</sup>. U slučaju br. 1 izbor je bio (a), tako da je Marija Krtolica kroz svoje plesne improvizacije u toku izlaganja dela ovog rada na simpozijumu BITEF 39. izgradila jedno polje imaginarne teorije. Za slučaj br. 2 i 3 izabrana je opcija (c), a predviđeni prostor za impro-teoriju je mogao i još uvek može biti popunjen dopisivanjem, video-snimcima, fotografijama ili crtežima impro-teorije čitalaca:

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voditelji: Bojana Mladenović i Dušan Murić. Istraživanje i razvijanje plesnih/telesnih materijala kroz savremene plesne tehnike i kontakt-improvizacije. Kreativni materijali nastajali su kao posledica otkrivanja odnosa između sopstvenog tela i prostora, tela i vremena (tajming, ritam i dinamika) i tela u kontaktu sa telom/telima ostalih učesnika“. (<http://www.skc.org.yu/program.php>)

<sup>11</sup> Bojana Cvejić, „Status koreografije u savremenom plesu“ (predavanje), *Pro Tools: Festival savremene koreografije*, CZKD, Beograd, oktobar 2004.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.danas.co.yu/20041208/kultura1.html#1>

<sup>13</sup> <http://rex.b92.net/decembar04.html>

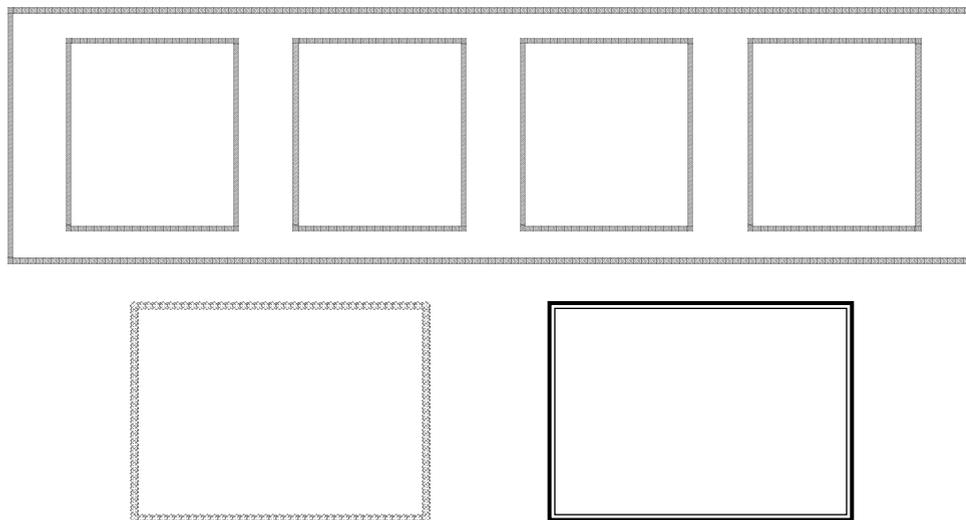
<sup>14</sup> <http://www.contact-improv.com/html/WhatIsCI.html>

<sup>15</sup> Branka Fišer, Ana Perne, „Svrhovitost deskriptivnog pristupa?“, *TkH* br. 4, Beograd, 2002, str. 132.

<sup>16</sup> Maja Mirković, „Pro Tools: Savremeni ples, danas, Evropa (vidi pod: koreografija)“, *TkH* br. 9, Beograd, 2005, str. 113.

S obzirom da je impro-plesno-teorijski element u 1, 2. i 3. *jam*-setu bio prepušten impro-plesačici i drugim učesnicima, iskoristila sam tu priliku da kroz pojašnjenje izbora muzičke podloge obrazložim svoje simuliranje *DJa* u ovom radu. Dakle, muzičke numere su odabrane zbog svog naziva. To su segmenti opere *Atlas* Meredith Monkove: *Istraživanje #5 – Predavanje – Procesija istraživača (Explorer #5 – Lesson – Explorers' Procession)* i *Šumska pitanja (Forest Questions)* [ponavljam napomenu iz fusnote 3: u slučaju da ste se umesto predloženih muzičkih numera odlučili za muziku/tišinu po sopstvenom izboru, ovo se može odnositi i na Vaš izbor, ukoliko ono što slušate/ne-slušate označite nazivima koji su prethodno navedeni]. Nakon izvođenja dela rada sa navedenom muzičkom pratnjom, sledio je segment koji je bio predviđen za postavljanje pitanja učesnika koja su upućivana inicijalnim autorkama *jam sessiona*, ali i obrnuto – pitanja su otplesale/postavljale autorke, a odgovore nudili/prećutali ostali izvođači. Taj segment rada je izvođen uz muzičku numeru: *Buduće istraživanje: Poziv (Future Quest: The Call)*. I za dovršavanje rada „*Jam session*: Realna intervencija u beogradsku plesnu bajku 3“ predviđen je *jam*-set za postavljanje pitanja i davanje odgovora, koji je poželjno izvoditi na podlozi isto označene muzike/tišine.

Kada se ima u vidu da smo impro-plesačica i ja na simpozijumu, a ostali učesnici u toku čitanja ovog teksta uspostavljali improvizovani kontakt i sa muzikom, odnosno njenim nazivima, može se smatrati da je na takav način održano impro – teorijsko – izvođačko predavanje i ispit u okviru (prostorijski) Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu.



Stop. A sada, *review* ili *fast forward*?

**Review:** Vraćanje u prošlost ovog rada sa ciljem uspostavljanja govora i pisma o beogradskom plesnom *jam sessionu* zahteva napuštanje hegemonosti uobičajeno-univerzalnog diskursa „novog rimskog vremena“ (improvizovani prevod eng. *times New Roman*) i prelazak u bezbrojne antiesencijalističke potencijalnosti na koje često ukazuje tekst štampan u *čikago-stilu* i njegovim karakterističnim oblikom slova (improvizovano čitanje eng. a-real /arial/). Nakon interpoliranja ovakvih i sličnih igara reči treba pronaći i odgovor na pitanje: ko je ili šta je autor/ka u ovom radu? Vi, ja ili neko drugi? Pokušaj da pronađe odgovor na slično pitanje, Foucault je (više puta, baš kao i ja!) započinjao uz napomenu da je odsutnost prvo mesto govora, ili se to odsustvo odnosilo na početak pisma? Zbog toga, tokom realizacije serije ovih radova bilo je neophodno da aktualizujem odsustvo i plesa i teorije. Naime, u toku izvođenja rada „*Jam session*: ...1“ odsustvo impro-plesačice obezbeđuje

<sup>17</sup> Guy Cools, „Ples: umetnost prevođenja. Telo kao 'prenosilac' identiteta“, *TkH* br. 3, Beograd, 2002, str. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Maja Mirković, *ibid*, str. 113.

no je njenim izlaskom sa javne scene u trenutku kada je trebalo da otpleše impro-teoriju, prepuštajući to prazno mesto na raspolaganje svim tada prisutnim učesnicima rada. Sličan postupak sproveden je i u radu „*Jam session: ...2 i 3*“, ali je sada osim plesačice odsutna i impro-teoretičarka, dok je prazan prostor koji je bio predviđen za uspostavljanje impro-teorije prepušten svim prisutnim čitaocima/teljicama. Pored toga, u prvi plan je postavljena praksa kontaktne improvizacije, pozicionirajući *jam session* kao mesto ostvarivanja kontakta sa bilo čim drugim, osim sa/između plesa i teorije. Međutim, izgleda da je pravi problem s improvizacijama (pa bile one i kontaktne) to što komunikacije (između plesa i govora i pisma) u ovim slučajevima – 1, 2, 3 – nema, zato što nema totalnog konteksta koji bi omogućio jedinstveno značenje. [Vujanović, 139]

*Fast forward:* Da bi se postigao totalni kontekst koji bi omogućio jedinstveno značenje potrebno je da zajedno sa odsustvom impro-plesačice i impro-teoretičarke „nestane“ i sam *jam session*. Zbog toga sledeći korak iz-plesa-ka-pismu treba da bude: „*Jam session: 'slepa tačka'* beogradske plesne bajke 4“. Jer, tek uz pomoć potpunog odsustva *jam sessiona* biće stvoreni i uslovi za govor o njemu, a zatim može doći i do uspostavljanja priželjkivane impro-teorije.

(Pošto je prošlost i budućnost ovog rada razjašnjena, vraćam se u beogradske plesne *areal-world*)

Improvizovani interludij: jedan obećan/ubačen komentar

Nemajući zasebnu institucionalnu utemeljenost, beogradske plesne *jam session*, slično *culture jammingu* o kome polemise Marković u *Otvaranju koda*, deluje unutar sistema usvajajući njegove brojne „spoljašnje“, tj. kontekstualizujuće karakteristike. Time, pre svega, referiram na sistem(at)sku ne-uspostavljenost institucije savremenog plesa u Beogradu, kao područja koje bi trebalo da obuhvata obrazovni sistem, plesne kuće i ostale ustanove koje podržavaju zasnivanje i razvoj plesa, i koje bi se bavile usvajanjem novih plesnih paradigmi, borbom za medijsku prisutnost i razvijanjem mreže plesnih festivala.<sup>19</sup> Međutim, pošto se istovremeno u *jamovima* prihvataju i razvijaju 'oruđa' (*tools*) različita od onih koja se koriste u državnim plesnim, tj. i dalje samo *baletskim* školama, „njegova praksa, ipak, ne doprinosi jačanju, već urušavanju sistema – ukidanjem njegovih kodova, uspostavljanjem dijaloga umesto monologa i pozivanjem na dalje ukidanje kodova“<sup>20</sup>. Na taj način, ne samo što tela impro-plesača/ica ukazuju na svet izvan sebe već se pokazalo da „to kretanje izvan njihovih granica, kretanje same granice, suštinski određuje ono što ta tela „jesu“.“<sup>21</sup> Zbog toga, tek uspostavljanjem govora i pisma o *jam sessionu*, njegova praksa može da postane realna intervencija u/za beogradske plesne „bajku“.

I sada, umesto da razreši zatečene probleme, ovaj rad je stvorio još jedan. Naime,

”  
*Jam session:*  
 REalna intervencija  
 u  
 beogradsku plesnu  
 bajku  
 2“  
 ISPIT  
 Da biste I Vi dobili status  
 'improvizatora/improvizatorke pokreta'  
 (setite se predstave Yvonne Rainer/ove  
 „Mozak je mišić“ ((*The Mind is a Muscle*)))  
 potrebNo Je samo da upitate sebe:  
 da li je pročitani tekst zaslužio da postanE  
 deo akademskog govora/pisma?  
 1) Da,  
 2) možda,  
 3) što da ne?  
 BITEF 39. i  
 Rektorat Univerziteta  
 UMETNOSTI U BEOGRADU

nije baš jasno na šta referira spominjana bajka? Da li se ta pomenuta plesna bajka priča po beogradskoj plesnoj sceni ili se kreće po mapi Univerziteta umetnosti ili, možda, živi kroz svet *jam sessiona*? Ili se, ipak, svo troje nâlaze u istoj bajci, zahvaljujući njihovom zajedničkom 'nemuštom jeziku' pokreta bez reči i reči bez pokreta?

Postludij/zaključak kao 'čin odluke'

Uspostavljanje kritičke prakse beogradskih plesnih *jam sessiona*, pre svega, iziskuje auto-refleksivno preispitivanje njegovih učesnika. Budući da ovaj rad želi da ponudi i karakteristične osobine performativne izvedbe, neophodno je da svojim činjenjem i Vi koji ste se opredelili za ulogu slušaoca/gledaoca/čitaoca u ovom trenutku aktivno učestvujete u konstituisanju i dovršavanju sadašnjeg *jama*. Da biste i Vi dobili status 'improvizatora/improvizatorke pokreta' (setite se predstave Yvonne Rainer/ove *Mozak je mišić (The Mind is a Muscle)*) potrebno je samo da upitate sebe: da li je pročitani tekst zaslužio da postane deo akademskog govora/pisma? U slučaju da je vaš odgovor potvrđan, možete smatrati da su plesne improvizacije u radu bile prisutne da bi ostvarile „aktualizacijski efekt“ (*foreground effect*), kao jednu od programskih referenci simpozijuma BITEF 39. na kojem je prvi, sada prikazivan rad izveden. Dakle, korišćenjem estetskih, odn. improvizatorsko-plesnih postupaka, određena tematika iz verbalnog teksta, kao i sama pojava *jam sessiona*, je „aktualizovana“, odnosno, stavljena u prvi plan.<sup>22</sup> Na taj način je realizovan i planirani prodor u aktuelnu politiku Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu, s obzirom da, osim toga što je koristio prostor ove institucije (i prvi i drugi rad je realizovan u prostorijama Rektorata UU), ovaj čin direktno utiče na, bar, jednu studentkinju UU. Time sam pokazala da je priželjkivana artistička praksa ne samo moguća, već i ostvarena!

Ukoliko je odgovor određen, i pored toga što ću snositi konsekvence-disciplinskog-postupka zbog ove (*ne*)*prilicne*<sup>23</sup> verbalne improvizacije, ipak ostaje podatak koji će biti pohranjen u arhivima, datotekama i ostaloj građi koja će referirati na istorijat univerzitetskog uspostavljanja institucije (savremenog) plesa kod nas: „U Rektoratu Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu, 24. septembra 2005. godine, otplesano je predavanje o *jam sessionima*. Uz ovo plesno-improvizovano predavanje, kao „prateći“, tzv. aktualizacijski efekat, povremeno se javljao i šum nekakvog verbalnog teksta. Na taj način, svi prisutni su imali priliku da prožive čudno iskustvo teorije koja hoda, trči, skače, igra, pleše, improvizuje...“ No, dosta! s međusobnim provokacijama između ova dva identiteta: improvizovanog tela teoretičarke u kontaktu sa plesnim telom improvizatorke. Ispred mene/nas je veliki zadatak: „Prevesti kulturni poduhvat sa područja gerile, događaja i utopije u nešto što ima razvoj i trajanje, tj. onoga što je ozbiljnoj državi neophodno da bi uspostavila kulturno polje. [... Jer, ] nisu (samo) ljudi ono što scenu čini na polju kulture, već pre svega sistem koji je zasniva i (p)održava.“<sup>24</sup> Stoga, (tekst o) *jam session(u)* ne završavam odlučnim odgovorom na pitanje: Drugi *jam session*? „Tek smo počeli!“<sup>25</sup>, već samo zaključujem sledećom konstatacijom:

#### Moguća/ne-iskorišćena literatura:

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„Nove teorije plesa“ (temat), *TkH* br. 4, Beograd, 2002, str. 9–135.

Miško Šuvaković, *Paragrami tela/figure*, CENPI, Beograd, 2001, naslovna strana

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Marvin Carlson, „Otpor prema teatralnosti“, *TkH* br. 5, Beograd, 2003, str. 135–142.

Guy Cools, „Ples: umetnost prevodenja. Telo kao 'prenosilac' identiteta“, *TkH* br. 3, Beograd, 2002, str. 118–121.

Bojana Cvejić, „How can we rationalize ritualism, collectivism, the everyday and other ghosts from the 60s?: works by Living Theatre, The Performance Group, Eugenio Barba, Judson and Grand Union“ (rukopis)

Bojana Cvejić, „The Judson Movement in Dance/Choreography“ (rukopis)

Milan Marković, „Nasilno otvaranje (razbijanje) koda: Culture Jamming“, *Otvaranje koda*, <http://www.freewebs.com/stanipanikolektiv/otvaranje%20koda.htm> [11. 09. 2005]

Maja Mirković, „*Pro Tools*: Savremeni ples, danas, Evropa (vidi pod: *koreografija*)“, *TkH* br. 9, Beograd, 2005, str. 112–113.

Xavier Le Roy, Bojana Cvejić, (...), „Research and Laboratory: To end with judgment by way of clarifi-

„JAM SESSION:

REALNA INTERVENCIJA U BEOGRADSKU PLESNU BAJKU 3“

ZAKLJUČAK

Da bi neko dobio status 'improvizatora/improvizatorke pokreta'  
NIJE dovoljno da samo odgovori na pitanje:

1) da,

2) možda,

3) ŠTO DA NE?

I zaboravite na predstavu „Mozak je mišić“.

Jer, ona tek treba da počne.

cation...“, panel within the conference *INVENTORY: Dance and Performance* (Congress / Live Act / Intervention / Publication), Tanzquartier Wien, 2006.

Jill Sigman, „Obični ljudi: Trio A i kako ples označava“, *TkH* br. 4, Beograd, 2002, str. 82–87.

Ana Vujanović, „Kritički dnevnik slovenačkog plesnog bijenala *Gibanica 05*“, *TkH* br. 9, Beograd, 2005, str. 139–143.

<sup>19</sup> Maja Mirković, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Milan Marković, „Nasilno otvaranje (razbijanje) koda“

<sup>21</sup> Džudit Batler, *Tela koja nešto znače*, str. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ana Vujanović, Miško Šuvaković, Aldo Milohnić, „Programska koncepcija (za međunarodni simpozijum „*Artvizam sad*: bajka ili stvarnost“), *BITEF 39* (katalog), Beograd, 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Videti početak ovog teksta da bi doživeli „pravi“, tj. željeni smisao ove odrednice u *novom* (ups, greška, izvinjavam se zbog neskromnih pretenzija)/starom kontekstu.

<sup>24</sup> Maja Mirković, „*Pro Tools*: Savremeni ples, danas, Evropa (vidi pod: *koreografija*)“, str. 113.

<sup>25</sup> Milena i Jelena Bogavac, „Manifestno protiv manifesta“, *TkH* br. 8: *Druga scena avangarde*, Beograd, 2004, str. 121.

## Abstract

The need for performing a jam session on a scientific symposium came out from a symptomatic choice of theorist's position, according to which experience of looking/listening is not enough for establishing a way of thinking, speaking and writing about the contemporary dance improvisations. So, the space in the main building of the University of Arts in Belgrade will become a territory only for a simulation, and not for a real gurrillas'-jump-into-the-area-of-current-dance-university-politics, because it is directed towards the (until now) non-existent dance-performing educational practice of this institution. Apart from the performance of the jam session parallel with the reading a text about it, realisation of attack-simulacrum will be organised also through offering a possibility to interested persons that in written and spoken way, i.e. with moving their hands, lips and other parts of the body try to pass exams which do not exist (for now). The aim of this activism is to make a contact and have a dialog with the University of Arts institution. This action will demonstrate the praxis of 'contact improvisation', which is one of the basic tools that are applied in Belgrade's jam sessions. Next to that tool, there will be shown a wide dance technical base, which gets improvisationally development, through some elements that are characteristic for technicality of Merce Cunningham ('60s), minimalistic dance, 'postmodern parabollet', Cunningham ('70s), conceptual dance, etc. Following a situation in which the borders of this dance technics/tools do not limit the world of jam session, it will be mentioned that in this improvisational hybrid performing area is allowed using of video-technology, playing by DJ, drawing and children's play. The performance of this work represents one more step in the realisation of the wish that praxis like this in Real intervention on/for Belgrade's (university) dance scene becomes real.



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Izdavači:



Izdanje pomogli:



