

**Merciless
Aesthetic**

GREGORY SHOLETTE

**Nemilosrdna
estetika**

Merciless Aesthetic brings together two key texts by activist, theoretician and artist Gregory Sholette: *Dark Matter, Activist Art and the Counter-Public Sphere* [2003] and *Merciless Aesthetic: Activist Art as the Return of Institutional Critique* [2016]. These essays deal with the relationship between art and activism under global capitalism. Sholette engages with activist and socially engaged practices from the perspective of a protagonist and active participant whose position combines practice and theory and is simultaneously deeply rooted in the activities he is writing about, but also considers and contextualizes them within a wider historical and problem framework.

The essay *Dark Matter, Activist Art and the Counter-Public Sphere* presents a pioneer mapping of recent socially engaged practices in contemporary art, and since 2003 the metaphor of dark matter has become one of the basic views on the importance and status of artistic and activist practices which

Nemilosrdna estetika donosi dva ključna eseja aktivista, teoretičara i umjetnika Gregoryja Sholetta: *Tamna tvar, aktivistička umjetnost i protu-javna sfera* (2003.) i *Nemilosrdna estetika: aktivistička umjetnost kao povratak institucionalne kritike* [2016.]. Ti eseji bave se odnosima umjetnosti i aktivizma u uvjetima globalnog kapitalizma. Sholette aktivističke i društveno angažirane prakse razmatra iz perspektive protagonista i aktivnog sudionika čija pozicija spaja praksu i teoriju te je istodobno duboko ukorijenjena u aktivnosti o kojima piše, ali ih i sagledava i kontekstualizira u širem problematskom i povijesnom okviru.

Esej *Tamna tvar, aktivistička umjetnost i protu-javna sfera* predstavlja jedno od pionirskih mapiranja recentnih aktivističkih i društveno angažiranih praksi u suvremenoj umjetnosti, a od 2003. do danas metafora tamne tvari postala je jedan od temeljnih pogleda na važnost i status umjetničkih i aktivističkih praksi koje (još) nisu u intstitucionalnom za-

are (still) not shielded by the institutional art world. *Merciless Aesthetic: Activist Art as the Return of Institutional Critique* looks into the same phenomena from the more recent perspective of economics and the migrant crisis and tries to find an answer to the ever increasing losses of common goods and rights as well as the growing fascistization of society. Imbued with the experiences of undermining and continuations, unquestionable processes of institutionalisation, the blunting of blades and taming, but also with new forms of engagement, the essay is precious, not only because it is polemically positioned towards a series of key texts that have appeared in the past few years, but also because it takes on anew the demanding task of contextualizing the current moment in which it takes part. In this sense, Sholette remains involved, continuously attempting to produce and regain the space which has been, according to his words in *Dark Matter*, “gathered from in-between other struc-

klonu svijeta umjetnosti. *Nemilosrdna estetika: aktivistička umjetnost kao povratak institucionalne kritike* razmatra iste fenomene iz recentne perspektive tzv. ekonomske i migrant-ske krize te pokušava naći odgovor na galopirajuće gubitke zajedničkih dobara i prava kao i na rastuću fašizaciju društva. Prožet iskustvima iscrpljivanja i nastavaka, neumitnih procesa institucionalizacije, tupljenja oštrica i pripitomljavanja ali i novih oblika angažmana, tekst je dragocjen, ne samo stoga što se polemički pozicionira prema nizu ključnih tekstova nastalih posljednjih godina, već i zato što se iznova poduhvaća zahtjevnog zadatka kontekstualizacije aktualnog trenutka u kojem sudjeluje. U tom smislu Sholette ostaje involviran, kontinuirano pokušavajući proizvesti ili povratiti prostor koji je prema njegovim riječima u *Tamnoj stvari* “sastavljen od međuprostora drugih struktura i metoda, prostor u kojem se može artikulirati kontra-narativ”.

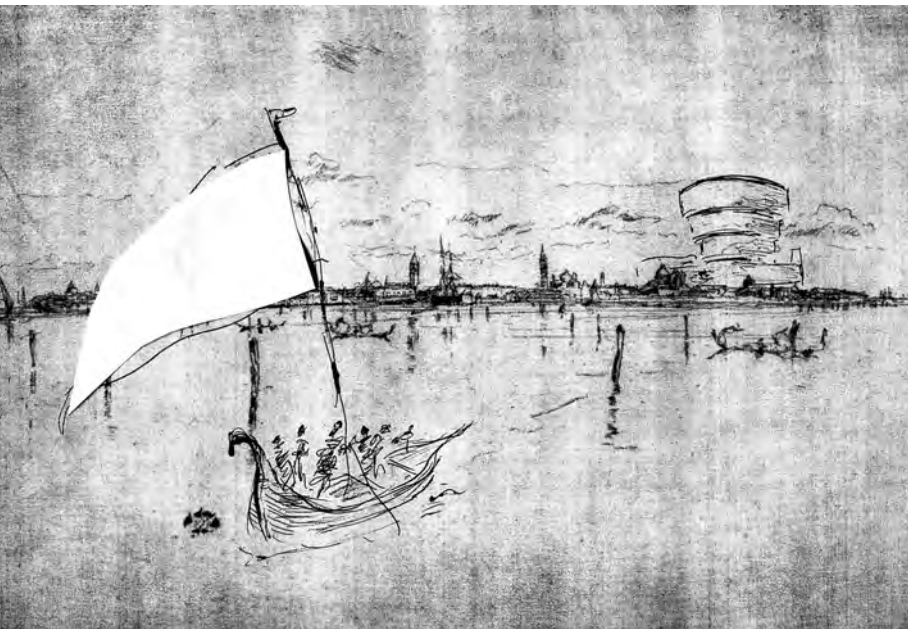
tures and methods and in which a counter-narrative about the mostly unseen, and sometimes oppositional creative practices already present in the shadows of the culture industry can be articulated”.

The two texts in this publication are written 13 years apart. Throughout this period many parallel stories have been intertwined. The one about the resilience of artistic resistance and its paradoxical newness dominates. It is precisely in the contradictions and paradoxes of practices that Sholette is writing about, that their strength and vitality lies. But there is also the story about the re-politicization of the field of art and attempts at repositioning the potential of collectivity outside of narrow fields of nation, and within the permanent grip of capital, which is why we, as a collective, keep returning to Sholette’s texts as one of the key references for rethinking in our own work. ✘

— WHW

Dva teksta objavljena u ovoj publikaciji razdvaja trinaest godina. U tom su se periodu ispreplele mnoge paralelne priče među kojima dominira ona o izdržljivosti umjetničkog otpora i njegovoj paradoksalnoj novini. Upravo se u kontradikcijama i paradoksima praksi o kojima Sholette piše nalazi njihova snaga i vitalnost. No tu je dakako i priča o repolitizaciji polja umjetnosti i pokušajima izmještanja potencijala kolektivnosti izvan uskih područja nacije i unutar permanentnog stiska kapitala, zbog kojih se kao kolektiv iznova vraćamo Sholetteovim tekstovima kao jednoj od ključnih točaka promišljanja vlastitoga rada. ✘

— WHW



After Whistler's
1879 Venice etchings series,
Karl Lorac, 2015

Prema seriji Whistlerovih
bakropisa Venecije iz 1879.,
Karl Lorac, 2015.



HUNGRIGER,
GREIF NACH DEM BUCH:
ES IST EINE WAFFE!

IZDAVAČ / PUBLISHER

Što, kako i za koga • What, How & for Whom / WHW

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Merciless Aesthetic

GREGORY SHOLETTE

Nemilosrdna estetika

Zagreb • RUJAN / SEPTEMBER 2016



Activist participants with the *Boycott of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi* immediately following their occupation of the *Peggy Guggenheim Collection* in Venice, May 8th, 2015

Aktivisti koji su podržavali bojkot Guggenheima u Abu Dhabiju nakon uspješne okupacije *Zbirke Peggy Guggenheim* u Veneciji, 8. svibnja 2015.



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O AUTORU

“The emphasis on the passive element in experience certainly does not claim to be a theory of knowledge... But it is certainly the preliminary condition of any theory of knowledge which is not content with verbalistic and illusory solutions.”

—SEBASTIANO TIMPANARO⁰¹

“There is perhaps no current problem of greater importance to astrophysics and cosmology than that of ‘dark matter’.”

—THE CENTER FOR PARTICLE ASTROPHYSICS.⁰²

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“Naglasak na pasivnom elementu u nekom iskustvu neće, sasvim sigurno, tvrditi za sebe da je teorija znanja... Ali on sasvim sigurno jest preliminarni uvjet za bilo koju teoriju znanja koja se ne zadovoljava verbalističkim i iluzornim rješenjima.”

—SEBASTIANO TIMPANARO⁰¹

“Za astrofiziku i kozmologiju danas vjerovatno ne postoji važniji problem od ‘tamne tvari’.”⁰²

—THE CENTER FOR PARTICLE ASTROPHYSICS

(CENTAR ZA ASTROFIZIKU ČESTICA)

- 01** Sebastiano Timpanaro, *On Materialism*, translated by Lawrence Garner, Verso, London, 1975, p. 34
- 02** The Center for Particle Astrophysics at Berkeley California:
<http://aether.lbl.gov/www/science/DarkMatter.html>

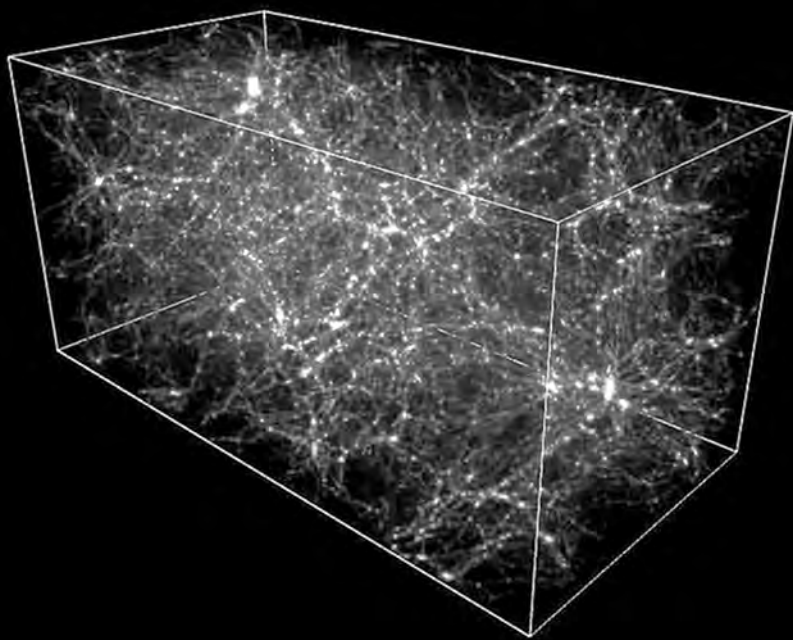
- 01** Sebastiano Timpanaro, *On Materialism*, preveo Lawrence Garner, Verso, London, 1975., str. 34
- 02** The Center for Particle Astrophysics, Berkeley, California,
<http://aether.lbl.gov/www/science/DarkMatter.html>

*Dark Matter,
Activist Art
& the
Counter-Public Sphere*

MARCH 4, 2003

*Tamna tvar,
aktivistička
umjetnost i
protu-javna sfera*

4. OŽUJKA 2003.



The supposed distribution of dark matter throughout the universe is represented in this computer model.

Ovaj kompjuterski model pokazuje pretpostavljenu distribuciju tamne tvari u svemiru.

I MAVN CONFERENCE, AND THE BATTLES LOST

What does one make of a conference entitled *Marxism and Visual Arts Now* in which examples of contemporary, visual art were all but absent and the few speakers who did address recent artistic practices hardly strayed from citing works and practices not already ensconced within the institutional art world?⁰³ One possible explanation for this conspicuous absence is the understandable resignation that the progressive scholar or artist experiences when confronting a world dominated, almost without exception, by images of a triumphant, global capitalism. This gloom is unintentionally compounded by the MAVN conference itself in so far as it concentrates knowledge about the numerous, failed efforts at oppositional artistic practice during the last one hundred years. To quote historian O. K. Werckmeister, himself a participant at MAVN,

I KONFERENCIJA MVUD I IZGUBLJENE BITKE

Što da čovjek počne s konferencijom kojoj je naslov *Marksizam i vizualne umjetnosti danas* [Marxism and Visual Arts Now] na kojoj potpuno izostaju primjeri suvremene vizualne umjetnosti, a malobrojni sudionici koji su govorili o aktualnim umjetničkim praksama jedva da su se makli od navođenja radova i praksi koje već nisu u zaklonu svijeta institucionalne umjetnosti?⁰³ Jedno od mogućih objašnjenja za taj sumnjivi izostanak jest razumljiva rezignacija koju progresivni znanstvenik ili umjetnik osjeća suočavajući se sa svijetom kojim, gotovo bez iznimke, dominiraju trijumfalni prizori globalnog kapitalizma. To malodušje nenamjerno je pogoršala i sama konferencija MVUD utoliko što se tu skoncentriralo znanje o brojnim propalim naporima opozicijskih umjetničkih praksi u posljednjih stotinu godina. Citiram povjesničara O. K. Werckmeistera koji je i sam bio sudionik konferencije:

03 This essay expands upon a paper given at the conference *Marxism and Visual Art Now* (MAVN), organized by Andrew F. Hemingway, Esther Leslie and John Roberts and hosted by the University College London on April 8–10, 2002. Note that the conference offered many significant papers on a variety of important topics relevant to radically inclined scholars and artists. Nevertheless, at least during the sessions that I attended, only Rasheed Araeen and myself discussed recent, politically engaged art. Meanwhile, several speakers apparently felt compelled to mention the art *wunderkind* Damian Hirst as if his work established the clearest benchmark for artistic practice today.

03 Ovaj esej prošireno je izlaganje s konferencije *Marxism and Visual Art Now* (MAVN) održane na University College u Londonu od 8. do 10. travnja 2002. Konferenciju su organizirali Andrew F. Hemingway, Esther Leslie i John Roberts. Primijetimo da je konferencija ponudila mnoge značajne radove o cijelom nizu važnih tema relevantnih za radikalno nastrojene znanstvenike i umjetnike. Ipak, barem na sesijama na kojima sam prisustvovao, samo smo Rasheed Araeen i ja raspravljali o aktualnoj politički angažiranoj umjetnosti. Nekoliko je govornika, međutim, očito imalo poriv spomenuti umjetnika *wunderkinda* Damiana Hirsta kao da njegov rad predstavlja najjasnije mjerilo za umjetničke prakse danas.

“After over a half of century of progressive abstraction from politics to ideology, from history to utopia, these images are dimming into irrelevancy before our own historical predicament.”⁰⁴

“Nakon više od pola stoljeća sve većeg svodenja politike na ideologiju i povijesti na utopiju, ti prizori tonu u beznačajnost pred nedaćama naše vlastite povijesti.”⁰⁴

- 04** Otto Karl Werckmeister, *Icons of the Left: Benjamin, Eisenstein, Picasso and Kafka after the Fall of Communism*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1999, p. 153.

For more on the issue of post, avant-garde art and politics see my essay, "Some Call It Art From Imaginary Autonomy to Autonomous Collectivity", available on the website of The European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies at:

http://www.eipcp.net/diskurs/do7/text/sholette_en.html

In addition, see my essay "News from Nowhere: Activist Art & After, Report from New York City," in the journal *Third Text* #45, (Winter, 1999), pp 45–56; and in the book *Metropolenkultur: Kunst, Kultur und Politik in den Großstädten der 90er Jahre in den Zentren der Welt*, ed. Jutta Held, Schriften Der Guernica-Gesellschaft: Weimer, Germany, 2000, pp 227–249

- 04** Otto Karl Werckmeister, *Icons of the Left: Benjamin, Eisenstein, Picasso and Kafka after the Fall of Communism* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago i London, 1999., str. 153).

Za više o pitanjima post- i avangardne umjetnosti i politike vidi moj esej "Some Call it Art: From Imaginary Autonomy to Autonomous Collectivity", dostupan na web stranici The European Institute for Progressive Cultural Politics, na:

http://www.eipcp.net/diskurs/do7/text/sholette_en.html

Uz to, vidi i moj esej "News from Nowhere: Activist Art & After, Report from New York City" u časopisu *Third Text* br. 45, (zima, 1999., str. 45–56) i u knjizi *Metropolenkultur: Kunst, Kultur und Politik in den Großstädten der 90er Jahre in den Zentren der Welt*, ur. Jutta Held (Schriften Der Guernica – Gesellschaft, Weimer, 2000., str. 227–249).

Such resistant strains of art, if not openly suppressed by state power, either implode from the force of internal contradictions, or do so through a process of institutionalization as they come to resemble the very thing they once opposed. Meanwhile, within the United States today an unfolding spectacle of patriotism and militarism rises amidst the subservient and seamless mixture of high fashion and post-modernist irony that assumes the title avant-garde art.⁰⁵ This aesthetic of delirium infiltrates galleries and museums but also public spaces, retail stores, advertising campaigns and even the language of management theory. It is a state of affairs that places a new spin on the classical avant-garde call to transform art into life. Yet if art and life have finally fused, then the life that art has merged with is as corrupt as it is appalling.⁰⁶

Ako te rezistentne crte umjetnosti otvoreno ne tlači državna moć, one ili implodiraju zbog snage unutarnjih kontradikcija, ili se to dogodi procesom institucionalizacije jer počnu nalikovati upravo onome čemu su se nekad opirale. U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama danas je na djelu jačanje spektakla patriotizma i militarizma i to usred sluganske i savršeno sklopljene mješavine visoke mode i postmodernističke ironije koja sebe naziva avangardnom umjetnošću.⁰⁵ Ta estetika delirija infiltrirala se u galerije i muzeje, ali i u javni prostor, u trgovine, oglašavačke kampanje pa čak i u jezik teorije menadžmenta. Takvo stanje stvari stavlja novi spin na klasični avangardni poziv da se umjetnost transformira u život. No ako su se umjetnost i život napokon fuzionirali, onda je život s kojim se umjetnost spojila jednako pokvaren i odbojan.⁰⁶

Čini se da je u ovom trenutku završena bitka koja se vodila oko simboličke moći umjetničke prakse. Kao u sceni iz ruskog

- 05** Unlike compromised “high” art practices however, the almost instantaneous transmission via Internet of world-wide mass rallies against war in Iraq on February 15th, 2003 offers a clear indication that engaged, visual symbolism is opening up on other front.
- 06** The full measure of this defeat is poignantly, yet hilariously manifest in the spectacular retail store Rem Koolhaas designed for the high-end clothing designer *Prada* in Lower Manhattan. The celebrated architect of delirium has effortlessly assembled a stew of Russian constructivist, shopping arcade and theme park citations into a flamboyantly orchestrated visual display that, had he lived to see it, would have instantly annihilated any lingering hope Adorno harbored about the critical potential of avant-garde art. Koolhaas’s fashion franchise also offers a post-modern, insiders joke since it overtakes the downtown

- 05** Za razliku od kompromitiranih “visokih” umjetničkih praksi, međutim, gotovo trenutani internetski prijenos masovnih prosvjeda u cijelom svijetu protiv rata u Iraku 15. veljače 2003. daje jasnu indikaciju da se na drugoj fronti otvara angažirani, vizualni simbolizam.
- 06** Puna mjera tog poraza intenzivno se, i zabavno, manifestira u spektakularnoj trgovini koju je Rem Koolhaas dizajnirao za kuću visoke mode *Prada* na Lower Manhattnu. Slavni arhitekt složio je bez imalo muke gulaš od ruskog konstruktivizma, trgovačkog centra i elemenata tematskog parka u kičeno orkestriran vizualni postav koji bi, da je poživio da ga vidi, istog trenutka poništio svaki tračak nade koji je Adorno gajio u kritički potencijal avantgardne umjetnosti. Koolhaasova modna franšiza također je i postmoderni, insajderski vic zato što je preuzela donjogradsku podružnicu Muzeja Guggenheim koja je prethodno bila smještena

At this moment therefore, the battle waged over the symbolic power of artistic practice appears to be finished. Like a scene out of a Russian novel the battlefield is heaped with the remnants of an astonishing array of artistic models, many once aligned with the Left and other progressive forces. The defeated in fact fill the museums of Twentieth Century art. Among the fallen are those who sought to represent working class life with compassion and candor as well as more cerebrally oriented practitioners who endeavored to reveal and subvert the ideological tropes of mass culture. Here and there are card-carrying modernist nobility and inscrutable formalists whose challenge to the decaying structures of bourgeois society were championed as an immanent critique by T. W. Adorno. Self-segregated in practice, mutual defeat conjoins this *mélange* of artistic modes and helps explain the missing “Now” witnessed at the MAVN conference. And

romana, bojno polje prepuno je ostataka zapanjujućeg arsenala umjetničkih modela od kojih su mnogi nekad bili povezani s ljevicom i drugim progresivnim snagama. Poraženi zapravo popunjavaju muzeje dvadesetostoljetne umjetnosti. Među palima su oni koji su iskreno i suosjećajno željeli prikazati život radničke klase kao i cerebralnije orijentirani praktičari koji su nastojali otkriti i potkopati ideološke trope masovne kulture. Tu i tamo nailazimo na gorljive članove modernističkog plemstva i nedokučive formaliste čiji je otpor prema propadajućim strukturama buržoaskog društva T. W. Adorno slavio kao imanentnu kritiku. Samo-segregiran u praksi, uzajamni poraz pridružuje se toj mješavini umjetničkih modusa i pomaže objasniti izostanak ovoga “danas” kojem se moglo svjedočiti na konferenciji MVUD. I dok je gubitak jake, sveprožimajuće, protu-hegemonijske vizualne kulture onoliko dubok koliko je golem uspjeh industrije svjesnosti, taj trop propasti

branch of the Guggenheim Museum previously located at the same prestigious SoHo address and that was itself dedicated to the promotion of contemporary art as an intersection of high end couture, new technology and corporate patronage.

na istoj prestižnoj adresi u SoHou i bila posvećena promoviranju suvremene umjetnosti kao raskrižja visoke mode, nove tehnologije i korporacijskog pokroviteljstva.

while the loss of a strong, pervasive counter-hegemonic visual culture is as deep as the success of the consciousness industry is mountainous, this trope of failure should never become the sole determination of historical and theoretical reflection. Therefore, should you seek still another opportunity to grieve over the prosperity of bourgeois culture, please read no further. All of the lamentations and descriptions of defeat this paper contains are in the preceding paragraphs. Nor will satisfaction be offered to those who seek another redemptive tract about the critical potential of avant-garde art. Instead, what this paper attempts is the production of, or perhaps the recovery of space. A space gathered from in-between other structures and methods and in which a counter-narrative about the mostly unseen, and sometimes oppositional creative practices already present in the shadows of the culture industry can be articulated. Some will call this activity art and others will



nikada ne bi trebao postati jedinom odrednicom povijesne i teorijske refleksije. Stoga, tražite li još jednu mogućnost za žalovanje nad prosperitetom buržoaske kulture, molim vas ne čitajte dalje. Sve lamentacije i opisi poraza sadržani su u prethodnim odlomcima ovoga rada. A neće dobiti satisfakciju ni oni koji traže još jedan otkupiteljski traktat o kritičkom potencijalu avangardne umjetnosti. Umjesto toga, ovaj rad pokušava proizvesti, ili možda povratiti, prostor. Prostor sastavljen od međuprostora drugih struktura i metoda, prostor u kojem se može artikulirati kontra-narativ o uglavnom nevidljivim i ponekad opozicijskim kreativnim praksama koje već postoje u sjeni kulturne industrije. Neki će tu aktivnost nazvati umjetnošću, a drugi će odbiti takvu klasifikaciju, no za ono čemu ovdje težim, važniji su artikulacija i mapiranje postojećih koordinata, nego koji je ispravan naziv za ovo što radim.⁰⁷



PAD/D Protest,
NYC, Circa 1983

RIGHT: PADD, First
Issue, February
1981

Protest PAD/D-a,
New York City,
oko 1983.

DESNO: PAD/D, prvi
broj, veljača 1981.

1st ISSUE POLITICAL ART DOCUMENTATION /DISTRIBUTION

February 1981

PAD: Waking Up In NYC

PAD (Political Art Documentation/Distribution) is an artists collective and networking organization coming out of and into New York City. Our main goal is to provide artists with an organized methodology to socially use city space and buildings. We do this by building a collection of documentation of international socially-oriented art. PAD defines "social content" in the broadest sense, as any work that deals with issues ranging from worker and labor to ecological damage or other forms of human oppression. The structure of words of work from movement posters to the most personal of individual experiences. And comes from all as well as from life. Anything that raises us up to learn more about the production, distribution and impact of socially-oriented art works in the context of our culture and society. (Although) distributed in social-change artists have been denied mainstream coverage and our intention has been limited. They need to know what we are doing in New York, in the US, in Canada and Latin America, in Europe, in Asia and Africa. The development of an effective organizational culture depends on communication.

UN CERTAIN ART ANGLAIS!



A Social Body Art Affiliation, February 1981

PAD celebrated its first birthday with a gathering & evening of entertainment and discussion around a slide show of political art followed by discussion, but not in the streets—well. We began in February 1980 as an amorphous group of concerned busy workers of a mutual need to organize around issues, but without much notion of how to do it. We met at Printed Matter once a month and agreed to start collecting documentation to see what we had a physical core from which to start out. For a while we looked at each other's work, discussed it, and brought about a loose idea and network possibilities for cultural without. Then in late Spring we were offered a room in a former high school by the Lower East Side under the aegis of Seven Loaves—an umbrella group for community arts organizations. Suddenly we excited physically. We had to be in the work and had led to the present structure, still in process.

We have three kinds of meetings now: 1) The relatively flexible core or work group of 15-20 people gets together as those Sunday afternoons a month at the Seven Loaves space (after not too long). Here we deal with logistical and handling of the project materials, how to connect with other cultural organizations in NYC with similar purposes or theories, re-investigating and duplication of work. (For instance we are working with Chicago Working, which has an historical resource center on the community mural movement and editor Martin St. John of Gallery 344, and has a collection of original political art.) We are also beginning to connect with and inform each other about the political events and struggles taking place in the city, understanding the ways these relate to national and international situations. Finally, we are thinking about collectively created non-commercial exhibitions in public spaces, such as windows, subway, streets, etc.

2) The open meetings with which we began. They take place on the second Sunday of every month at a flat at Printed Matter (7 Leonard St., NYC 10013, 252-0232). Here reports are made from the work and a brief visual or verbal presentation is given by a PAD member or guest as a sort of substitute to address discussion, discussion, consciousness raising and action.

3) We are just beginning a series of public events centered around specific social issues seen in their historical perspective, focusing on how they work opposed or supported by the socially concerned art of the time. For instance in May we did an installation in the loft we use the Veterans and today discussed by people from WPA, the War Resisters League, CAGI, Civilian Control, and Organization for the Deaf and artists who have done work with anti-militarist content. We want to understand how the dynamic between institutional art and socially engaged art takes different forms as different moments. These public programs will be published, and we look up to our Autumn conference, at which we hope to bring together a wide coalition of cultural groups and individuals to share information on events, like the "Culture" section of PAD.)

PAD's theory is going to develop out of our experience and will be the result of our collective work and of a

refuse that classification, but for my purposes such proper labeling is less the issue than the process of articulating and mapping present coordinates.⁰⁷

To that end, this paper has three, more or less explicit aims. The first of these is as stated to provide a map of a dimly lit, creative realm largely excluded from the economic and discursive structures of the institutionalized art world.⁰⁸ Speculating on exactly why this shadow zone has not attracted serious, critical attention, and not even from many radical scholars, is the second goal of the paper.⁰⁹ Thirdly, by linking specific aspects of informal creative practice with forms of emerging and residual politicized art, my text calls on progressive scholars and artists to initiate their own critique of what I somewhat mischievously call the artistic “Dark Matter” of the art world.¹⁰

U tom pogledu, ovaj članak ima tri manje ili više eksplisitne namjere. Prva od njih je, kako je navedeno, ponuditi mapu slabo rasvjetljenog kreativnog područja koje je u velikoj mjeri isključeno iz ekonomskih i diskurzivnih struktura institucionaliziranoga svijeta umjetnosti.⁰⁸ Nagadanje zašto ta zona u sjeni nije privukla ozbiljnu kritičku pažnju, pa čak ni malobrojnih radikalnih znanstvenika, druga je namjera ovog članka.⁰⁹ Treće, povezujući specifične aspekte neformalne kreativne prakse s oblicima nove politizirane umjetnosti, kao i s onim što je od nje preostalo, moj tekst poziva progresivne znanstvenike i umjetnike da pokrenu vlastitu kritiku onoga što malčice zločesto nazivam umjetničkom “tamnom tvari” svijeta umjetnosti.¹⁰

- 07** Sholette, *Some Call It Art...*, op cit
- 08** By the term *art world* I mean the integrated, trans-national economy of auction houses, dealers, collectors, international biennials and trade publications that, together with curators, artists and critics, reproduce the market, as well as the discourse that influences the appreciation and demand for highly valuable artworks.
- 09** At the time of this essay the handful of art writers who have systematically addressed this work include most notably Lucy R. Lippard but also Nina Felshin, Suzanne Lacy, Julie Ault, Carol Becker, Grant Kester, Patricia Phillips, Arlene Raven, Brian Holmes, Alan Moore, Yasmine Ramirez, Beverly Naidus, Suzi Gablik, Richard Meyer and David Trend. I am indebted to their contributions. Furthermore, it is heartening to see that a new generation of scholars is already beginning to take activist, collective and public art seriously. They will no doubt significantly alter many

- 08** Pod pojmom *svijet umjetnosti* podrazumijevam integriranu, transnacionalnu ekonomiju aukcijskih kuća, trgovaca, kolekcionara, međunarodnih bijenala i stručnih publikacija koje zajedno s kustosima, umjetnicima i kritičarima reproduciraju tržište kao i diskurs koji utječe na ugled i potražnju za izuzetno vrijednim umjetničkim djelima.
- 09** U vrijeme pisanja ovog eseja šaćicu onih koji pišu o umjetnosti i koji su se sustavno time pozabavili predvodi Lucy R. Lippard, ali tu su i Nina Felshin, Suzanne Lacy, Julie Ault, Carol Becker, Grant Kester, Patricia Phillips, Arlene Raven, Brian Holmes, Alan Moore, Yasmine Ramirez, Beverly Naidus, Suzi Gablik, Richard Meyer i David Trend. Zahvalan sam im na njihovom doprinosu. K tome, ohrabrujuće je vidjeti da nova generacija znanstvenika počinje ozbiljno shvaćati aktivističku, kolektivnu i javnu umjetnost. Nema sumnje da će ta generacija bitno izmijeniti općeprihvaćene percepcije i pogrešna shvaćanja ovih praksi.

II DARK MATTERS

Who built Thebes of the seven gates?
In the books you will read the names of kings.
Did the kings haul up the lumps of rock?
And Babylon, many times demolished,
Who raised it up so many times?

...

Every page a victory.
Who cooked the feast for the victors?
Every 10 years a great man.
Who paid the bill?

So many reports.
So many questions.

— *Question From A Worker Who Reads*, Bertolt Brecht¹¹

II TAMNE TVARI

Tko je sagradio sedmovratu Tebu?
U knjigama stoje imena kraljeva.
Jesu li kraljevi dovlačili kamene blokove?
A više puta razarani Vavilon –
Ko ga je toliko puta podizao?

...

Svaka stranica po jedna pobjeda.
Ko je zgotovio pobjedničku gozbu?
Svaki deset godina po jedan velikan
Ko je snosio troškove?

Toliko izveštaja.
Toliko pitanja.

— *Pitanja radnika koji čita*, Bertolt Brecht¹¹

commonly held perceptions and misunderstanding about these practices.

- 10 See my essay, "Heart of Darkness: A Journey into the Dark Matter of the Art World", in the book *Visual Worlds*, edited by Blake Stimson and John R. Hall, Routledge, London and New York, 2005)

- 11 Also translated more suitably as "A Worker Reads History," in Bertolt Brecht: *Selected Poems*, translated by H.R. Hays, Grove Press, New York, 1959, p. 108

- 10 Vidi moj esej, "Heart of Darkness: A Journey into the Dark Matter of the Art World" u knjizi *Visual Worlds*, uredili Blake Stimson i John R. Hall, Routledge, London i New York, 2005.

- 11 Preveo Slobodan Glumac, u *Izabrane pesme*, Nolit, Beograd, 1979. Na engleskom također, prikladnije prevedeno kao "Radnik čita povijest" u Bertolt Brecht: *Selected Poems*, preveo H.R. Hays, Grove Press, New York, 1959., str. 108

I begin with a riddle: What is invisible but has such great mass and its effects are everywhere visible? Consider Brecht's frequently cited poem about a worker who questions the dominant portrayal of history as a string of accomplishments by a few remarkable men. The poet's fictive narrator reveals what Brecht knew from experience: any large-scale project, be it artistic, political or military is decidedly *collaborative* in nature.¹² At the same time, collective experience as well as the intimation of worker autonomy poses a potential threat to capitalist management. Collectivism's imprint therefore on commodities and services, along with its trace of political and symbolic power, are attributes that must be managed through the imposition of clearly discerned, administrative hierarchies first during production and then through the pseudo-collective imprint of a corporate identity or brand following production. Any additional residue of collectivism is shuttled towards

Počet ću sa zagonetkom: što je to što se ne može vidjeti, ali ima ogromnu masu i posvuda vidljive efekte? Razmotrimo Brechtovu često citiranu pjesmu o radniku koji preispituje dominantan prikaz povijesti kao niza postignuća nekolicine slavних muškaraca. Pjesnikov fiktivni pripovjedač otkriva ono što je Brecht iz iskustva znao: svaki veliki projekt, bio on umjetnički, politički ili vojni, po prirodi je nužno *suradnički*.¹² U isto vrijeme, kolektivno iskustvo i nagovještaj radničke autonomije postaju potencijalna prijatnija kapitalističkom upravljanju. Otisak kolektivizma na robama i uslugama, zajedno s tračcima njegove političke i simboličke moći, postaje svojstvo kojim se treba pozabaviti nametanjem jasno određenih upravljačkih hijerarhija, najprije za vrijeme proizvodnje, a potom pseudo-kolektivnim otiskom korporativnog identiteta ili marke nakon proizvodnje. Ako od kolektivizma još išta ostane, to se prebacuje u naoko autonomno područje buržoaske

- 12** Brecht's practice of appropriating the ideas of others and claiming these for his own, while a deplorable, if all too typical form of intellectual theft, merely serves here to underscore my point.

- 12** Iako je Brechtova praksa prisvajanja tuđih ideja tipičan i žaljenja vrijedan oblik intelektualne krađe, ovdje služi samo tome da potkrijepim vlastitu tezu.

the seemingly autonomous realm of the bourgeois public sphere where it is re-configured within concepts such as *community* and *nation* or most notably today, *patriotism*.¹³ Yet it is precisely the contour of labor's UN-represented collective experience that Brecht's literate worker begins to trace for himself. At the same time the poem is itself a didactic lesson in so far as Brecht uses it to forge a necessary link between a materialist analysis of ideology and that which is *not* visible.¹⁴ He as much as insists that before any dialectical or materialist analysis of ideology is initiated one must first perform a radical reversal of normative, authorial categories. Carrying this methodological inversion over to the realm of the arts, it would seem that any practice claiming to be radical must also take seriously the materiality and structural complexity of unseen creative labor. This includes collective and informal work largely relegated to the shadows of art history but also

javne sfere u kojoj se preoblikuje unutar koncepata kakvi su *zajednica* ili *nacija* ili, osobito danas, *patriotizam*.¹³ Ali, upravo je kontura kolektivnog iskustva rada kako ga predstavlja UN ono što Brechtov pismeni radnik počinje pronalaziti sam za sebe. Pjesma je istovremeno i poučna lekcija utoliko što je Brecht koristi da stvori neophodnu poveznicu između materijalističke analize ideologije i onoga što *nije* vidljivo.¹⁴ On gotovo inzistira na tome da prije nego što otpočne bilo kakva dijalektička ili materijalistička analiza ideologije, treba najprije provesti radikalni obrat normativnih, autorskih kategorija. Ako tu metodološku inverziju prenesemo u područje umjetnosti, činit će se da svaka praksa koja tvrdi da je radikalna mora također uzeti u obzir materijalnost i strukturalnu složenost nevidljivog kreativnog rada. U to se ubraja i kolektivni, neformalni rad koji se u velikoj mjeri smješta u sjenu povijesti umjetnosti, ali i neprofesionalnih kulturnih praksi. Učiniti išta manje

- 13** For more on the problem of representing positive forms of collectivism in the art world as well as in popular culture see my essay "Counting On Your Collective Silence: Notes on Activist Art as Collaborative Practice", *Afterimage, The Journal of Media and Cultural Criticism*, Rochester NY, Nov., 1999, p. 18–20
- 14** This insight is made possible because of the worker's proximity to the forces of production, as well as thanks to his literacy. The volatile mixture of critical thinking applied to actual working conditions is taken up in part IV on the counter-public sphere.

- 13** Više o problemu predstavljanja pozitivnih oblika kolektivizma u svijetu umjetnosti, kao i u popularnoj kulturi, vidi u mom eseju "Counting on Your Collective Silence: Notes on Activist Art as Collaborative Practice", *Afterimage, The Journal of Media and Cultural Criticism*, Rochester, New York, studeni 1999., str. 18–20
- 14** Taj je uvid moguć zato što se radnik nalazi blizu proizvodnih snaga te zahvaljujući tome što je pismen. O nepostojećoj mješavini kritičkog mišljenja primjenjenog na stvarne radne uvjete govori se u IV. dijelu koji se bavi protu-javnom sferom.

non-professional, cultural practices. To do anything less means reducing materialist art history to a mere social history of art that, as Andrew Hemingway asserts,

“takes the bourgeois category of art too much for granted, and turns itself into an appendage of that it supposedly seeks to critique.”¹⁵

Imagine we were to re-cast the protagonist of Brecht’s poem as a class-conscious, radical art historian? What sort of questions might she ask of the art historical cannon and its succession of male geniuses? Was the painting of the *Demoiselles d’Avignon* truly the result of one man’s virile talents? Did Picasso, Matisse or even Bertolt Brecht not draw ideas and material support from an invisible entourage of mistresses, amateur actors and non-western artists? What percentage of their historic importance owes itself to the skills as well

od toga znači svoditi materijalističku povijest umjetnosti na samo socijalnu povijest umjetnosti koja, kako tvrdi Andrew Hemingway,

“buržoasku kategoriju umjetnosti previše uzima zdravo za gotovo i dovodi se do toga da postaje privjesak onome što navodno želi kritizirati.”¹⁵

Zamislimo da se spremamo ponovno postaviti na scenu protagonista Brechtove pjesme, ovaj put kao klasno osviještenu, radikalnu povjesničarku umjetnosti. Kakva bi pitanja ona mogla postaviti o kanonu povijesti umjetnosti i njegovom slijedu muških genija? Je li slika *Gospođice iz Avignona* doista rezultat muževnih talenta jednog muškarca? Nisu li Picasso, Matisse pa čak i Bertolt Brecht crpili ideje iz nevidljive pratnje ljubavnica, glumica amaterki i umjetnika koji nisu sa Zapada? Koji postotak njihova povijesna važnost duguje vještini i

- 15** Andrew Hemingway, *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist Movement, 1926–1956*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2002, p. 2

- 15** Andrew Hemingway, *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist Movement, 1926–1956*, Yale University Press, New Haven i London, 2002., str. 2

as *the creativity* of artisans who prepared pigments, brushes, engravings or props, sets and stage lighting? Did these other men and women not have talent and ambition of their own? So few great artists: who paid the bills?

Nonetheless, we must go even further than this initial line of questioning because it is not sufficient for a radical scholarship to simply provide conventional art history with a more complete "background" to creative labor and then leave it at that. Instead, a class-conscious and materialist approach to art scholarship and theory must by necessity seek to radically revise the very notion of artistic value as it is defined by bourgeois ideology. Besides finding new ways to account for collective artistic authorship it must also theorize the many occasions in which no object is produced or where the artistic practice is a form of creative engagement focused on the process of organization itself. And it needs to theorize concepts of

kreativnosti zanatlija koji su pripremali pigmente, četke, ploče s otiscima ili rekvizite, scenu ili osvjetljenje pozornice? Nisu li ti ostali muškarci i žene imali vlastite talente i ambicije? Tako malo velikih umjetnika: tko je plaćao račune?

Ipak, moramo krenuti dalje od ove prve linije propitivanja zato što za radikalnu znanost nije dovoljno ponuditi samo konvencionalnu povijest umjetnosti s nešto razrađenijom "pozadinom" o kreativnom radu i tu stati. Umjesto toga, klasno osviješteni i materijalistički pristup znanju i teoriji umjetnosti nužno mora nastojati da radikalno revidira sam pojam umjetničke vrijednosti kako ga definira buržoaska ideologija. Osim što mora iznaći nove načine da uračuna kolektivno umjetničko autorstvo, mora također teorijski obraditi brojne situacije kada se ne proizvodi nikakav objekt ili one kada je umjetnička praksa oblik kreativnog angažmana koji se fokusira na sam proces organiziranja. On mora teorijski obraditi i koncepte potrošnje

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expenditure including the notion of artistic gift giving as well as the shadowy forms of production and distribution while simultaneously challenging the emerging rhetoric of artistic administration as evinced by the de-politicized use of the term cultural capital.¹⁶ This amounts to a radical re-zoning of art world real estate. This re-mapping also requires the placing of brackets around concepts such as taste or connoisseurship art that means art world property values can be expected to fall hard and fast. Nevertheless, it is the centralized art world itself, with its continuous striving to incorporate prudent examples of the very things that most oppose it, that ironically now opens a door onto a far more radical redistribution of creative value. It is an opening away from high culture and towards the dark matter beyond.

Cosmologists describe *dark matter*, and more recently *dark energy*, as large, invisible entities predicted by the Big

u koje se ubraja pojam umjetničkog darivanja kao i nerazaznatljivi oblici proizvodnje i distribucije te se istovremeno suprotstaviti pojavi retorike umjetničke administracije kojoj je svojstvena depolitizirana upotreba pojma kulturni kapital.¹⁶ To dovodi do radikalne preraspodjele terena umjetničkog svijeta. A ponovno mapiranje također zahtjeva da se koncepti poput ukusa ili umjetnosti za znalce stave u zagrade što znači da se može očekivati kako će se strmoglavo srušiti vrijednost imovine umjetničkog svijeta. Ipak, upravo centralizirani svijet umjetnosti, sa svojim neprestanim težnjama da inkorporira promišljene primjere onoga čemu se najviše opire, sada sam, donekle ironično, otvara vrata puno radikalnijoj preraspodjeli kreativne vrijednosti. To otvaranje odmak je od visoke kulture i primicanje tamnoj tvari smještenoj iza nje.

Kozmolozi opisuju *tamnu tvar*, a u posljednje vrijeme i *tamnu energiju*, kao ogroman, nevidljivi entitet kojeg je

- 16** First used by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the term Cultural Capital can now be widely found in the literature of cultural policy think tanks and even economists albeit stripped of its original, class conscious social critique.

- 16** Pojam kulturni kapital prvi je upotrijebio francuski sociolog Pierre Bourdieu i sada se može naći na brojnim mjestima u literaturi *think tank*-ova koji se bave kulturnom politikom, pa čak i u literaturi ekonomista, iako mu je oduzeta izvorna, klasno osviještena socijalna kritika.

Bang theory. So far, dark matter has been perceived only indirectly, by observing the motions of visible, astronomical objects such as stars and galaxies. Despite its invisibility and unknown constitution however, most of the universe, perhaps as much as ninety six percent of it consists of dark matter. This is a phenomenon sometimes called the “missing mass problem”.¹⁷ Like its astronomical cousin, *creative dark matter* also makes up the bulk of the artistic activity produced in our post-industrial society. However, this type of Dark matter is invisible primarily to those who lay claim to the management and interpretation of culture – the critics, art historians, collectors, dealers, curators and arts administrators. It includes informal practices such as home-crafts, makeshift memorials, Internet art galleries, amateur photography and pornography, Sunday-painters, self-published newsletters and fan-zines. Yet, just as the physical universe is dependent on its dark matter

predvidjela teorija Velikog praska. Tamna tvar dosad se mogla promatrati samo neizravno, tako što su se promatrala kretanja vidljivih, astronomskih tijela poput zvijezda i galaksija. Uprkos tome što je nevidljiva i što se ne zna od čega je, ona čini većinu svemira, možda čak i njegovih devedeset i šest posto. Taj se fenomen ponekad naziva “problem nedostajuće mase”.¹⁷ Kao i njegov astronomski rođak, *kreativna tamna tvar* također čini većinu ukupne umjetničke aktivnosti u našem postindustrijskom društvu. Ta vrsta Tamne tvari, međutim, nije vidljiva prvenstveno onima koji si uzimaju pravo na upravljanje kulturom i njezino tumačenje – kritičarima, povjesničarima umjetnosti, kolekcionarima, trgovcima, kustosima i umjetničkoj administraciji. U to su uključene i neformalne prakse poput rukotvorina, suvenira, internetskih umjetničkih galerija, amaterske fotografije i pornografije, vikend-slikara, samizdatskih biltena i fanzina. No baš kao što fizikalni svemir

- 17** Pioneering female scientist Vera Rubin has an excellent introduction to dark matter available here: <http://www2.lbl.gov/Science-Articles/Archive/sabl/2006/Jan/Rubin-Dark-Matter.pdf>

- 17** Znanstvenica i pionirka u ovome području Vera Rubin ima izvrstan uvod u tamnu tvar dostupan na: <http://www2.lbl.gov/Science-Articles/Archive/sabl/2006/Jan/Rubin-Dark-Matter.pdf>

and energy, so too is the art world dependent on its shadow creativity. It needs this shadow activity in much the same way certain developing countries secretly depend on their dark or informal economies.¹⁸

Contemplate for a moment the destabilizing effect on professional artists if hobbyists and amateurs were to stop purchasing art supplies. Consider also the structural “darkness” within which most professionally trained artists actually exist. In the United States alone, several million MFA graduates have been produced since the initiation of the MFA degree in 1944.¹⁹ Assuming even a graduation rate of only sixty percent at the time of this writing the total number of academically trained professional artists holding Master of Fine Arts degrees must hover around twenty four thousand individuals. If trained artists from non-degree programs and those who stopped their education at the BFA level are added to the pool this number

ovisi o svojoj tamnoj stvari i energiji, tako i umjetnički svijet ovisi o svojoj kreativnosti iz sjene. Ta mu je aktivnost iz sjene potrebna na vrlo sličan način na koji neke zemlje u razvoju potajno ovise o svojim tamnim ili neslužbenim ekonomijama.¹⁸

Razmislimo na trenutak o tome kakav bi destabilizirajući efekt na profesionalne umjetnike proizvelo to da hobisti i amateri prestanu kupovati umjetničke potrepštine. Uzmimo u obzir i strukturalnu “tamu” unutar koje većina profesionalno obrazovanih umjetnika zapravo egzistira. Samo u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama proizvedeno je nekoliko milijuna magistara likovnih umjetnosti otkad je ustanovljena diploma magistra likovnih umjetnosti 1944.¹⁹ Uzmimo da je u vrijeme pisanja ovog teksta postotak diplomiranja samo šezdeset posto, ukupan broj akademski obrazovanih profesionalnih umjetnika koji imaju magisterij iz likovnih umjetnosti mora se kretati oko dvadeset i četiri tisuće. Ako se toj populaciji dodaju umjet-

- 18** According to the International Labor Organization, eighty per cent of new jobs created between 1990–94 in Latin America were in the informal sector. Furthermore as many as half of all jobs in Italy are also part of an informal economy that is defined as economic activity taking place outside of government accounting and also goes by the name shadow, informal, hidden, black, underground, gray, clandestine, illegal and parallel economy. *The Shadow Economy*, by Matthew H. Fleming, John Roman & Graham Farrell in *The Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2000, 53, no. 2
- 19** An estimated ten thousand students entered graduate level art programs within the US in 1998 alone. SEE: Andrew Hultkrans & Jef Burton's report, "Surf & Turf", *Artforum* (Summer 1998), p. 106–9

- 18** Prema International Labor Organization, osamdeset posto novih radnih mjesta koja su nastala u Latinskoj Americi od 1990. do 1994. bilo je u neslužbenom sektoru. Dalje, čak polovina svih radnih mjesta u Italiji također je dio neslužbene ekonomije koja se definira kao ekonomska aktivnost izvan fiskalnog sustava državne vlasti, a naziva se još i ekonomija "u sjeni", neslužbena, skrivena, crna, podzemna, siva, tajna, nelegalna i paralelna ekonomija. Matthew H. Fleming, John Roman i Graham Farrell, "The Shadow Economy" u: *The Journal of International Affairs*, proljeće 2000., 53, br.2.
- 19** Procjenjuje se da je samo u 1998. deset tisuća sudenata u SAD upisalo umjetničke programe na diplomskoj razini. VID: Andrew Hultkrans i Jef Burton, "Surf & Turf", *Artforum*, ljeto 1998., str. 106–109

spikes considerably upwards. Yet, given the proportionally few individuals who achieve visibility within the formalized institutions of the art world, are there really any significant structural differences between an earnest amateur and a professional artist made invisible by her “failure” within the art market? Except that perhaps against all real odds she still hopes to be discovered? Nonetheless, these shadow-practitioners are essential for the functioning of the institutional and elite art world. For one thing, this dark army makes up the education providers of the next generation of artists. They also work as arts administrators and art fabricators: two increasingly valuable resources given the complexity of producing and managing contemporary, global art. By purchasing journals and books, visiting museums and belonging to professional organizations these “invisibles” are an essential component of the elite art world whose pyramidal structure looms over

nici koji su se obrazovali putem izvandiplomskih programa i oni koji su obrazovanje završili na preddiplomskoj razini, taj broj postaje bitno veći. Ipak, uzme li se proporcionalno mali broj pojedinaca koji postižu vidljivost u formaliziranim institucijama svijeta umjetnosti, ima li doista ikakve važnije strukturalne razlike između ozbiljnog amatera i profesionalne umjetnice koja je svojom “greškom” postala nevidljiva na umjetničkom tržištu? Osim te da se profesionalna umjetnica i dalje nada da će biti otkrivena iako zato ne postoje nikakvi realni izgledi? U svakom slučaju, ti praktičari iz sjene ključni su za funkcioniranje institucionalnog i elitnog svijeta umjetnosti. Ako ni zbog čega drugog, iz te tamne armije dolaze oni koji će educirati sljedeću generaciju umjetnika. Oni također rade u umjetničkoj administraciji i u proizvodnji umjetničkih djela: u dva sve vrijednija resursa uzme li se u obzir složenost proizvodnje i upravljanja suvremenom, globalnom umjetnošću.





*Decolonize
This Place, at
the Brooklyn
Museum of Art,
New York, May
7, 2016*

*Dekoloniziraj
ovo mjesto,
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Museum, New
York, 7. svibnja
2016.*

them despite the fact that its upper levels remain eternally out of reach.²⁰ Finally, without an army of allegedly lesser talents to serve as ballast, the privileged treatment of a small number of highly successful artists would be impossible to justify. A class conscious and materialist analysis begins by turning this equation on its head. New question: what becomes of the economic and ideological foundations of the bourgeois art world if this larger mass of excluded practices were to be given equal consideration as art? This question is now largely in the domain of sociologists and anthropologists. But radical scholars and artists must take that inversion as a starting point and move to the next stage of analysis: the linking of dark matter to those artists who *self-consciously* work outside and/or against the parameters of the mainstream art world for reasons of political and social critique.

Ti “nevidljivi” kupuju časopise i knjige, posjećuju muzeje i pripadaju profesionalnim organizacijama te tako postaju ključna komponenta elitnog svijeta umjetnosti čija se piramidalna struktura nadvija nad njima uprkos činjenici da im njene gornje razine zauvijek ostaju izvan dosega.²⁰ Na koncu, bez te armije navodno manje talentiranih koji služe kao balast, bilo bi nemoguće opravdati privilegirani tretman malog broja vrlo uspješnih umjetnika. Klasno svjesna, materijalistička analiza počinje od toga da okrene naopako tu jednadžbu. Novo pitanje glasi: što se događa s ekonomskim i ideološkim temeljima buržoaskog umjetničkog svijeta ako se toj većoj masi isključenih praksi da jednako pravo da se smatra umjetnošću? To pitanje u velikoj mjeri pripada domeni sociologa i antropologa. No radikalni znanstvenici i umjetnici moraju tu inverziju uzeti kao polaznu točku i nastaviti analizu čiji je sljedeći korak povezivanje tamne tvari i umjetnika koji *svjesno* i *namjerno* rade

20 According to the Nationwide Craft & Hobby Consumer Usage and Purchase Study, 2000, seventy percent of US households reports that at least one member participates in a craft or hobby. Meanwhile, the total sales hobby supplies was twenty three billion dollars in 2000. Hobby Industry Association: www.hobby.org. And for an enlightening report detailing the massive “cultural capital” of amateur arts in the US see: Research Report to the Chicago Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College entitled, *Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity and other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places* by Alaka Wali, Rebecca Severson, and Mario Tongoni (June, 2002)

20 Prema Nationwide Craft & Hobby Consumer Usage and Purchase Study, 2000 sedamdeset posto američkih domaćinstava prijavljuje da najmanje jedan član izrađuje rukotvorine ili ima hobi. Istovremeno ukupna prodaja hobističkih potrepština u 2000. iznosi dvadest i tri milijarde dolara. Hobby Industry Association: www.hobby.org A za prosvjetljujući izvještaj s detaljima o golemom “kulturnom kapitalu” amaterske umjetnosti u SAD-u, vidi izvještaj o istraživanju: Research Report to the Chicago Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College naslovljen *Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity and other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places*, Alaka Wali, Rebecca Severson i Mario Tongoni (lipanj 2002.).

These informal, politicized micro-institutions are proliferating today.²¹ They create work that infiltrates high schools, flea markets, public squares, corporate Web Sites, city streets, housing projects, and local political machines in ways that do not set out to recover a specific meaning or use-value for art world discourse or private interests. This is due to the fact that many of these activities operate through economies based on pleasure, generosity and the free dispersal of goods and services, rather than the construction of a false scarcity required by the value structure of art world institutions. What can be said of dark matter in general is that either by choice or circumstance it displays a degree of autonomy from the critical and economic structures of the art world and moves instead within, or in-between, the meshes of the consciousness industry.²² But this independence is not risk free. Increasingly inexpensive technologies of communication, replication,

izvan i/ili protiv parametara *mainstreama* svijeta umjetnosti radi političke i socijalne kritike.

Danas je sve veći broj takvih neformalnih, politiziranih mikro-institucija.²¹ Njihovi radovi dolaze do srednjih škola, buvljaka, javnih trgova, korporativnih web stranica, gradskih ulica, socijalnih stanova i lokalnih političkih mašinerija na načine kojima nije cilj izvući određeno značenje ili upotrebnu vrijednost za diskurs svijeta umjetnosti ili privatne interese. To se događa zato što mnoge od tih aktivnosti funkcioniraju kroz ekonomije koje se temelje na ugodi, velikodušnosti i slobodnom širenju dobara i usluga, a ne na konstrukciji lažne oskudice kakvu nalaže struktura vrijednosti institucija svijeta umjetnosti. O tamnoj tvari načelno se može reći da, namjerno ili zbog okolnosti, pokazuje određenu autonomiju u odnosu prema kritičkim i ekonomskim strukturama svijeta umjetnosti i da se umjesto toga kreće unutar, ili između, mreža

- 21** In separate papers and published essays cited above, I have addressed this subject by discussing the work of such past and present artists' collectives as: Temporary Services, REPOhistory, Group Material, Colab, Guerilla Girls, RTMark, Critical Art Ensemble, Ultra Red and Political Art Documentation and Distribution among others. SEE ALSO: "Doing Their Own Thing, Making Art Together," by Holland Cotter, *New York Times, Sunday Arts & Leisure*, January 19, 2003, p.1
- 22** The digital thievery of mash-ups and the fan cuts are perfect examples of this tendency. Mash-ups are made by pop music fans who illegally copy the vocal track of one pop song and graft it onto the instrumental track of another. The fan cut is similar to the mash-up, but involves a digitally re-edited version of a Hollywood film that is re-cut to please a specific group of fans. An example of the latter is the *Phantom Edit*, a reconstructed,

- 21** U zasebnim tekstovima i objavljenim esejima koje prethodno citiram bavio sam se ovom temom raspravljajući o radu umjetničkih kolektiva koji su djelovali nekad i koji djeluju danas, a među kojima su: Temporary Services, REPOhistory, Group Material, Colab, Guerilla Girls, RTmark, Critical Art Ensemble, Ultra Red i Political Art Documentation and Distribution. VIDI TAKOĐER: Holland Cotter, "Doing Their Own Thing, Making Art Together", *New York Times, Sunday Arts & Leisure*, 19. siječanj 2003., str.1

display and transmission that allow informal and activist artists to network with each other have also made the denizens of this shadowy world ever more conspicuous to the very institutions that once sought to exclude them. In short, dark matter is no longer as *dark* as it once was. Yet, neither the art world, nor global capital, can do little more than immobilize specific, often superficial aspects of this shadow activity by converting it into a fixed consumable or brand. However, even this cultural taxidermy comes at a cost to the elite, contemporary art world because it forces into view the latter's arbitrary value structure. In terms of combat therefore, the double-edged hazards brought on by increasing and decreasing visibility are essential to comprehend.

industrije svjesnosti.²² No ta neovisnost nije lišena rizika. Sve jeftinije tehnologije komuniciranja, umnažanja, izlaganja i emitiranja koje neformalnim umjetnicima i umjetnicima aktivistima omogućavaju međusobno umrežavanje proizvele su i to da stanovnici ovog sjenovitog svijeta postaju sve vidljiviji upravo onim institucijama koje su nekad išle za tim da ih isključe. Ukratko, tamna tvar nije više onoliko *tamna* koliko je nekad bila. Ali ni svijet umjetnosti ni globalni kapital ne mogu tu puno učiniti osim imobilizirati neke, često površne, aspekte tog djelovanja u sjeni pretvarajući ih u potrošnu robu ili brend. Čak i to kulturno prepariranje, međutim, nosi sa sobom cijenu za elitni, suvremeni svijet umjetnosti zato što izbacuje na vidjelo njegovu arbitrarnu strukturu vrijednosti. Što se borbe tiče, važno je razumjeti da je i povećanje i smanjenje vidljivosti mač s dvije oštrice.

fan-friendly version of *The Empire Strikes Back*, a George Lucas *Star Wars* episode. Ignoring issues of copyright infringement, the anonymous editor of this fan cut initially made the *Phantom Edit* available as a free Internet download. On Mash-Ups see Norris writing in the *NY Times Magazine Year in Ideas* issue, December 15, 2002. p.102. Not all this work revolves around computer technology however. The Church of Craft for example is an informally organized, national, "religion" that aims to create "an environment where any and all acts of making have value to our humanness. When we find moments of creation in our everyday activities, we also find simple satisfaction."

SEE: <http://www.churchofcraft.org/>

Meanwhile, Elfwood is a massive, online art gallery featuring the "worlds biggest" amateur fantasy and Science Fiction art gallery.

SEE: <http://www.elfwood.com/>

- 22 Digitalne krađe *mash-up* i *fan cuts* savršeni su primjeri ove tendencije. *Mash-up* rade fanovi pop glazbe koji ilegalno kopiraju snimku vokala neke pop pjesme i kaleme je na instrumental druge. *Fan cut* je sličan *mash-upu* ali uključuje i digitalno uređenu verziju holivudskog filma koja se preinačuje tako da udovolji određenoj grupi fanova. Primjer za *fan cut* je *Phantom Edit*, rekonstruirana, fanovska verzija epizode *Star Wars* Georgea Lucasa *Empire Strikes Back* [Imperija uzvraća udarac]. Anonimni montažer ovog *fan cut-a* zanemario je problem povrede autorskih prava i *Phantom Edit* učinio dostupnim kao besplatan download s interneta. O *mash-upovima* vidi Norrisov tekst u: *Year in Ideas* poseban broj časopisa *NY Times*, 15. prosinac 2002., str.102. Sav taj rad, međutim, ne vrti se uvijek oko kompjuterske tehnologije. The Church of Craft primjerice neformalno je organizirana, nacionalna "religija" koja ide prema stvaranju "okruženja u kojem su svi činovi stvaranja vrijedni za našu ljudskost. Kad u svakodnevnim aktiv-

III THE AMATEURIZATION OF CONTEMPORARY ART

“Not only does the amateur status of hobby art dispel the need for costly art lessons, but it subverts the intimidation process that takes place when the male domain of ‘high’ art is approached. As it stands, women—and especially women—can make hobby art in a relaxed manner, isolated from the ‘real’ world of commerce and the pressures of professional aestheticism.”²³

Evidence that dark matter has affected the world of high art is easy to locate. I will focus on just three examples starting with the 2002 Whitney Biennial. As curator Larry Rinder explained in the exhibition catalog the goal of this Biennial was to feature those “creative practices” operating “without concern for the art market or art world accolades.” Rinder’s

III AMATERIZACIJA SUVREMENE UMJETNOSTI

“Ne samo da amaterski status hobističke umjetnosti ukida potrebu za skupom umjetničkom podukom, nego i staje na kraj strahu koji nastaje kada se uđe u mušku domenu ‘visoke’ umjetnosti. Kako stvari stoje, žene—osobito žene—mogu opušteno stvarati hobističku umjetnost, izolirane od ‘stvarnog’ svijeta trgovine i pritiska profesionalnog estetizma.”²³

Lako je naći dokaze da je tamna tvar utjecala na svijet visoke umjetnosti. Usredotočit ću se na samo tri primjera počevši s Whitney Biennial 2002. Kako je kustos Larry Rinder objasnio u katalogu izložbe, cilj ovoga bijenala bio je prikazati one “kreativne prakse” koje djeluju “bez obaziranja na tržište umjetnosti i pohvale svijeta umjetnosti.” Rinderove tvrdnje sardonično je komentirala likovna kritičarka *New York Timesa* Roberta

- 23 Lucy R. Lippard, "Making Something from Nothing (Toward a Definition of Women's 'Hobby Art')," first published in *Heresies* #4, Winter 1978, and cited here from Lippard's book, *Get The Message: A Decade of Art for Social Change*, (E.P. Dutton Inc., NY, 1984), pp 97–105

nostima nađemo trenutke stvaranja, nalazimo i to jednostavno zadovoljstvo." VIDI: <http://www.churchofcraft.org/>. Elfwood je pak ogromna, online umjetnička galerija, "najveća galerija na svijetu" amaterske umjetnosti *fantasyja* i znanstvene fantastike VIDI: <http://www.elfwood.com/>

- 23 Lucy R. Lippard, "Making Something from Nothing (Toward a Definition of Women's 'Hobby Art')," prvotno objavljeno u *Heresies* #4, zima 1978., a ovdje citirano iz autoričine knjige *Get The Message: A Decade of Art for Social Change*, E.P.Dutton Inc., New York, 1984., str. 97–105

claims were sardonically commented upon by *New York Times* art reporter Roberta Smith, who suggested that if this exhibition “signals a new openness, [then] the outskirts look very much like the center of town.”²⁴ Among the alleged art world *outsiders* included in the Whitney’s high profile, art roundup was *Forcefield*: a Rhode Island based art group whose installation of hyper-colorful, hand knit costumes and wigs came with its own reverberating, industrial soundtrack. Yet this ubiquitous, outsider aesthetic Smith alludes to is perhaps more aptly labeled “slack art,” by historian Brandon Taylor.²⁵ Self-consciously amateurish and informal and at the same time the product of a bona-fide MFA degree, this slacker aesthetic was perfectly expressed in a second, very slackly entitled exhibition called *K48-3: Teenage Rebel – The Bedroom Show*. Organized by Scott Hug for a commercial gallery in the Chelsea district of Manhattan, it boasted work by fifty artists, fashion designers,

Smith koja je sugerirala da ako ova izložba “signalizira novu otvorenost, (tada) predgrada izgledaju gotovo isto kao i centar grada.”²⁴ Među navodnim *autsajderima* svijeta umjetnosti koji su bili uključeni u uglednu grupu izlagača na bijenalu bio je i *Forcefield*: umjetnička grupa s Rhode Islanda čija se instalacija sastojala od vrlo šarenih, ručno pletenih kostima i perika i odzvanjanja njihovog vlastitog industrijskog soundtracka. Tu posvemašnju, autsajdersku estetiku na koju Smith aludira vjerovatno je prikladnije nazvati “aljkava umjetnost” kako je to učinio povjesničar Brandon Taylor.²⁵ Samosvjesno amaterska i neformalna, a istovremeno i proizvod pravovaljanog magisterija iz umjetnosti, ta se estetika opuštenosti savršeno izrazila na drugoj izložbi, vrlo aljkavo naslovljenoj *K-48-3: Teenage Rebel – The Bedroom Show* [K-48-3: Pobunjeni tinejdžer – show iz spavaće sobe]. Organizirao ju je Scott Hug za komercijalnu galeriju u četvrti Chelsea na Manhattanu. Izložba se može po-

- 24** Roberta Smith, "Bad News for Art However You Define It", *New York Times*, March 31, 2002, p.33
- 25** Brandon Taylor, *Avant-garde and After: Rethinking Art Now*, (H. N. Abrams, New York, 1995), p.153

- 24** Roberta Smith, "Bad News for Art However You Define It", *New York Times*, 31. ožujak 2002., str.33
- 25** Brandon Taylor, *Avant-garde and After: Rethinking Art Now*, H. N. Abrams, New York, 1995., str.153

musicians and graphic designers all haphazardly displayed on and around an automobile-shaped bed parked on a lime-green shag rug. Snapshots of gun-toting teens, hand-painted sneakers, scrappy pages of doodles, black-light posters, Ken dolls and distressed T-shirts were crammed into every corner of this fictional domestic space. And no less than three of the art writers for the city's major weekly publications deemed *Rebel Teen Bedroom...* as essential viewing during the first few weeks of 2003.²⁶

My final example of institutionally secure high art influenced by the informality of what I call dark matter is the work of Sarah Lucas; a young, British artist featured in the controversial *Sensation Show* several years ago. The Tate Modern dedicates a room to Lucas's art that consists of objects and installations made from such off-hand materials as stockings and soiled mattresses. Lucas Tate room also includes work

hvaliti s pedesetero umjetnika, modnih dizajnera, muzičara i grafičkih dizajnera čiji su radovi bili izloženi na krevetu u obliku automobila parkiranog na čupavom tepihu boje limete i oko njega. Snimke tinejdžera naoružanih puškama, ručno obojane tenisice, komadi papira s črčkarijama, posteru koji svijetle u mraku, Kenovi i majice s rupama bili su natrpani u svakom uglu tog zamišljenog stambenog prostora. I ništa manje nego troje novinara koji pokrivaju umjetnost u najvećim gradskim tjednicima, proglasilo je u prvih nekoliko tjedana 2003. *Rebel Teen Bedroom...* izložbom koja se svakako mora pogledati.²⁶

Moj posljednji primjer institucionalno osigurane visoke umjetnosti na koju je utjecala neformalnost onoga što nazivam tamnom tvari je rad Sarah Lucas, mlade britanske umjetnice koja se prije nekoliko godina pojavila u kontroverznom *Sensation Show*. Tate Modern posvetio je jednu prostoriju njezinoj umjetnosti koja se sastoji od predmeta i instalacija napravlje-

- 26** Art writers who endorsed this exhibition include F. Paul Laster in *Time Out New York* (1-9, 03 2003 p.59), Kim Levin in the *Village Voice* (Voice Choice for 1-7-03 p.60) and ironically Roberta Smith in the *New York Times* (1-31-03 p.36)

- 26** Među autorima koji pišu o umjetnosti i koji su preporučili ovu izložbu bili su F. Paul Laster u *Time Out New York* (9. siječanj, 2003., str.59), Kim Levin u *Village Voice* (*Voice Choice* 7. siječanj 2003., str.60) i, što je ironično, Roberta Smith koja piše za *New York Times* (31. siječanj 2003, str.36)

made from a ripe melon, a toilet bowl cast in yellow resin and a cluster of snap shots arranged with that careful indifference to formal, aesthetic schema now typical of slack, or *amateurized* high art. However it was the Lucas piece entitled *Nobby* that most clearly testified to the sway of dark matter over younger artists. *Nobby* consists of a meter high, plastic “gnome,” pushing a wheelbarrow. In all but one respect it is identical to the figures of dwarfs that suburban homeowners place on their lawns. The one difference is that both *Nobby* and his wheelbarrow are entirely covered in a “skin” of cigarettes.²⁷ Because contemporary artistic products are not required to be the work of the presenting artist we must consider the possibility that Lucas purchased this butt-covered dwarf at a flea market or perhaps on an Internet auction site such as ebay. In fact, *Nobby* might just as easily be the work of an anonymous and obsessive smoker or it might be the tedious output of

nih od improviziranih materijala kao što su najlonske čarape i prljavi madraci. Njena prostorija u Tateu također sadrži radove napravljene od zrele dinje, kalup zahodske školjke od žute smole i snop snimaka koji je složen s pažljivom ravnodušnošću prema formalnoj estetskoj šabloni što je sad tipično za aljkavu, ili amateriziranu, visoku umjetnost. No jedan rad Lucasove naslovljen *Nobby* najjasnije je posvjedočio o utjecaju tamne stvari na mlade umjetnike. *Nobby* je metar visok plastični “gnom” koji gura tačke. U svim aspektima osim jednog identičan je figurama patuljaka koje vlasnici kuća u predgrađima stavljaju na svoje travnjake. A razlika je u tome što su *Nobby* i njegove tačke potpuno obložene cigaretama.²⁷ Od suvremenih umjetničkih proizvoda ne traži se da budu djelo umjetnika koji ih predstavlja i zato možemo razmotriti mogućnost da je Lucas tog patuljka prekrivenog cigaretama kupila na buvljaku ili na nekoj internetskoj aukcijskoj stranici poput ebay-a. Zapravo,

27 *Nobby*, 2000, cast plastic garden gnome, cigarettes 70 × 34 × 68.5 cm / 27 1/2 × 13 3/8 × 27 in • SARA COLES HQ ART GALLERY, LONDON

27 *Nobby*, 2000, odljev plastičnog vrtnog patuljka, cigarete, 70 × 34 × 68.5 cm / 27 1/2 × 13 3/8 × 27 inča • SARA COLES HQ ART GALLERY, LONDON

the artist's assistant, or it may be her own handiwork. The answer is irrelevant. However, while this apathy regarding authorship sweeps away several previously valued artistic qualities, including personal expression and the uniqueness of a particular object, it also eliminates from the process of artistic valorization any measurement of the artist's technical capabilities. This raises an obvious question regarding dark matter and in particular the practice of amateur artists and "Sunday" painters. Just what is it that prevents this sort of non-professional creative activity from directly entering the value structure of the elite art world? Or, to ask this question in reverse, how is it that the products of art remain "high" or "elite," when cigarette covered lawn gnomes are scrupulously placed on display by leading, metropolitan art museums? The same question might be posed of artistic authorship. However, in order to answer these questions we first need a working



Nobby vrlo lako može biti djelo anonimnog, opsesivnog pušača ili rezultat napornog rada umjetničinog asistenta ili je možda njenih ruku djelo. Odgovor je irelevantan. Međutim, dok ta apatija koja se tiče autorstva briše nekoliko umjetničkih kvaliteta koje su prethodno bile na cijeni, a u koje se ubrajaju osobnost izraza i jedinstvenost određenog predmeta, ona također eliminira iz procesa umjetničke valorizacije svaku mjeru tehničkih sposobnosti umjetnika. I tu se postavlja logično pitanje koje se odnosi na tamnu tvar te osobito na prakse umjetnika amatera i vikend-slikara. Što točno stvara prepreku toj vrsti neprofesionalne kreativne aktivnosti da direktno uđe u vrijednosnu strukturu elitnog svijeta umjetnosti? Ili, postavimo to pitanje u obrnutom obliku: što to čini umjetničke proizvode "visokima" ili "elitnima" kada se patuljci prekriveni cigaretama s velikom pažnjom izlažu u vodećim umjetničkim muzejima svjetskih metropola? Isto se pitanje može postaviti



Etcétera..., *Gente Armada*
installation view *Collective
Creativity*, Kassel, 2005 •
PHOTOGRAPHY: NILS KLINGER

Etcétera..., *Gente Armada*,
fotografija postava u sklopu
izložbe *Collective Creativity*,
Kassel, 2005. • FOTOGRAFIJA:
NILS KLINGER

model of the way artistic value is normally produced within the contemporary art world, one that can explain why not just any tobacco encrusted dwarf gets to enter such an elite domain.

One way to explain why it is that a few artistic producers are rewarded, often quite handsomely, by the art world, while others loose absolutely, is to compare the way value is produced in that arena with value production in competitive sports. The economic anthropologist Stuart Plattner does this by employing a *Tournament Model* in which the winning athlete may be a mere fraction of a second faster than one or more of her rivals, yet she is designated the sole winner regardless of the outstanding athletic ability of her competition. According to Plattner, “this model is relevant to the art market because it describes a situation of workers receiving payments that don’t seem related to their input of effort.”²⁸ In a close, art world competition however, it is not physical

o umjetničkom autorstvu. Međutim, da bismo odgovorili na ta pitanja potreban nam je najprije radni model načina kojim se obično proizvodi umjetnička vrijednost u suvremenom svijetu umjetnosti, onaj koji će nam objasniti zašto svaki duhanom obložen patuljak ne može ući u tu elitnu domenu.

Jedan od načina na koji možemo objasniti zašto malo umjetnika koji proizvode umjetnost dobiva za to nagrade od svijeta umjetnosti, često prilično značajne, dok drugi apsolutno gube, jest usporedbom načina proizvodnje umjetničke vrijednosti s načinom na koji se vrijednost proizvodi u natjecateljskim sportovima. Ekonomski antropolog Stuart Plattner to radi primjenjujući *model turnira* gdje sportašica koja je pobjedila može biti za djelić sekunde brža od jedne ili više rivalke, ali se unatoč izvanrednim atletskim sposobnostima ostalih natjecateljica proglašava jedinom pobjednicom. Prema Plattneru taj je model “relevantan za umjetničko tržište zato

28 Stuart Plattner, *High Art Down Home: An Economic Ethnography of a Local Art Market*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996), pp 12, 13



Sticker Intervention by
Decolonize This Place
on Maurizio Cattelan's
18-karat golden toilet in the
Guggenheim Museum New
York, 2015

Intervencija naljepnicom
inicijative *Decolonize This
Place* na 18-karatnom zlatnom
toaletu Maurizia Cattelana u
Muzeju Guggenheim u New
Yorku, 2015.

prowess that differentiates the winners from losers, but the quality of *consumption capital* available to the judges. This includes knowing which artist is highly sought after by a prestigious museum or private collector or what influential critic or curator will soon feature her work in a review or exhibition.²⁹ Therefore, what stabilizes the borders of the elite art market is *the routine production of relatively minor differences*. These differences may have to do with the context surrounding a particular artwork or the authorship of a given piece, but what is important, and *Nobby* offers concrete evidence of this fact, is that art world valuation has little to do with the formal characteristics of the artwork in itself. Instead, it has everything to do with the way *consumption capital* — accumulated knowledge about art — is produced, circulated and accumulated. This also helps to explain how seemingly identical art products generate artistic value in

što opisuje situaciju radnika čije plaće izgleda nisu povezane s trudom koji su uložili.”²⁸ U tijesnoj kompeticiji svijeta umjetnosti, međutim, pobjednike od gubitnika ne razdvaja fizička spremnost nego kvaliteta *konzumacijskog kapitala* koji suci imaju na raspolaganju. U to se ubraja znanje o tome koji je umjetnik vrlo tražen od strane prestižnih muzeja ili privatnih kolekcionara ili o tome koji će utjecajni kritičar uskoro napisati recenziju ili koji će utjecajni kustos umjetniku uskoro postaviti izložbu.²⁹ I zato je ono što učvršćuje granice tržišta elitne umjetnosti *rutinska proizvodnja relativno malih razlika*. Te razlike mogu se odnositi na kontekst koji okružuje određeno umjetničko djelo ili autorstvo određenog djela, no ono što je važno, a *Nobby* daje konkretan dokaz za tu činjenicu, jest to da procjene svijeta umjetnosti imaju malo veze s formalnim obilježjima samog umjetničkog djela. Ali zato imaju puno veze s načinom na koji se *konzumacijski kapital* – akumulirano zanje

- 29** The significance of such consumption capital is made clear when one considers the odds of an artist without dealer representation ever being chosen for a major art biennial or even getting reviewed in a contemporary art publication.
- 30** Not surprisingly, the non-art world observer views this phenomenon as entirely arbitrary. Take for example a gestural painting by Yves Kline displayed in a major art museum compared with a well painted, but generic version of abstract expressionism hanging above a sofa in the window of a department store. The viewer with enough accumulated, cultural capital to know which painting is the more valuable will succeed in stabilizing a potentially confusing state of affairs, even if the actual, visual differences between the two paintings are negligible.
- 31** First published in Frankfurt, Germany in 1972, my citations are from the English translation of Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge's

- 28** Stuart Plattner, *High Art Down Home: An Economic Ethnography of a Local Art Market*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996., str. 12 i 13
- 29** Važnost tog konzumacijskog kapitala postaje jasna kada se uzme u obzir kolike su šanse da umjetnik kojeg ne predstavlja trgovac umjetninama ikad bude izabran za veliko umjetničko bijenale ili da u suvremenim umjetničkim publikacijama izađe recenzija njegova rada.

radically unequal ways.³⁰ Our re-mapping and ultimate deconstruction of artistic value hinges on this insight.

Look again at the art world and the dark matter it occludes. The lines separating dark and “light” creativity appear almost arbitrary even from the standpoint of qualities such as talent, vision and other, similar, mystifying attributes typically assigned to “high art.” If indeed the struggle over representational power is reduced to skirmishes and fleeting advancements and retreats, then the reality of this new combat requires a turning away from the realm of the exclusively visual and towards creative practices focused on organizational structures, communicative networks and economies of giving and dissemination. It is an activity that necessarily points to the articulation of what theorists Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge call the proletarian or counter-public sphere.³¹

o umjetnosti – proizvodi, cirkulira i akumulira. I to također pomaže objasniti kako naoko identični umjetnički proizvodi stvaraju umjetničku vrijednost na radikalno različite načine.³⁰ Naše ponovno mapiranje i konačna dekonstrukcija umjetničke vrijednosti ovisi o tom uvidu.

Pogledajmo ponovno svijet umjetnosti i tamnu tvar koja ga obavlja. Linije koje dijele tamnu i “svijetlu” kreativnost čine se gotovo arbitrarnima sa stajališta osobina kao što su talent, vizija i drugi slični mistificirajući atributi koji se obično dodjeljuju “visokoj umjetnosti”. Ako je doista borba za reprezentacijsku moć svedena na čarke i nepostojana napredovanja i uzmake, tada realnost te nove borbe traži odmak od područja isključivo vizualnih praksi prema kreativnima, onima koje se usredotočuju na organizacijske strukture, komunikacijske mreže te na ekonomije davanja i diseminacije. Ta aktivnost nužno ukazuje na artikulaciju onoga što teoretičari Oskar

book *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1993.) The English volume was translated by P. Labanyi, J.O. Daniel and A. Oksiloff and contains a forward by Miriam Hansen. Note that the authors use the term plebian or proletarian public sphere to differentiate it from that of the bourgeois public sphere. In later writings Kluge came to substitute the terms oppositional or counter-public sphere for this formulation. I prefer the latter term because it privileges a broader, more heterogeneous conception of resistance that includes not only manual and service oriented workers, but also artistic and mental labourers. I would also include sub-proletariat and sub-cultural identity positions. For more on Negt and Kluge's definition however, see Miriam Hansen's introduction, especially page xxxv

- 30** Ne iznenađuje uopće što promatrač koji nije iz svijeta umjetnosti taj fenomen vidi kao potpuno arbitaran. Uzmimo za primjer sliku Yvesa Kleina, iz faze njegovog akcijskog slikarstva, koja se izlaže u velikom muzeju umjetnosti u usporedbi s dobro naslikanom, ali generičkom verzijom, apstraktnog ekspresionizma koja visi iznad sofe u izlogu trgovine. Promatrač s dovoljno akumuliranog kulturnog kapitala, koji mu omogućuje da zna koja slika više vrijedi, uspjeh će se snaći u potencijalno zbunjujućoj situaciji čak i ako su stvarne, vizualne razlike između dva platna zanemarive.

IV THE COUNTER-PUBLIC SPHERE

“Federal elections, Olympic ceremonies, the actions of a commando unit, a theater premiere—all are considered public events. Other events of overwhelming public significance, such as childbearing, factory work, and watching television within one’s own four walls, are considered private. The real experiences of human beings, produced in everyday life and work, cut across such divisions...the weakness characteristic of virtually all forms of the bourgeois public sphere derives from this contradiction: namely, that [it]... excludes substantial life interests and nevertheless claims to represent society as a whole.”³²

It is beyond the scope of this paper to present the full complexity of Negt and Kluge’s theories regarding the inherently conflicted constitution of contemporary public spheres, except

Negt i Alexander Kluge nazivaju proleterskom ili protu-javnom sferom.³¹

IV PROTU-JAVNA SFERA

“Federalni izbori, olimpijske ceremonije, akcije komandoskih jedinica, kazališna premijera – sve se to smatra javnim događajem. Drugi događaji od sveopćeg javnog značaja poput podizanja djece, rada u tvornici i gledanja televizije unutar vlastita četiri zida smatraju se privatnima. Stvarno iskustvo ljudskih bića, koje se proizvodi svakodnevnim životom i radom, presijeca te podjele... slabost karakteristična za zapravo sve oblike buržoaske javne sfere proizlazi iz te kontradikcije: točnije, to što (ona)... isključuje osnovne životne interese, ali unatoč tome tvrdi da predstavlja društvo kao cjelinu.”³²

32 Negt & Kluge, p. XLIII & XLVI

Curiously, T.W. Adorno also comments on the necessary link between work and fantasy but strictly with regard to artistic labour stating, "That labour and fantasy are entwined in each other—their divergence is always an index of failure—is evidenced by the sense artists have of fantasy being subject to their command. What they feel sets them off from the dilettantes is the ability deliberately to set in motion the spontaneous, i.e. fantasy... Works of art are placed in relation to a set of problems. This gives rise to a possible definition of fantasy as being an aptitude which invents approaches and solutions to the work of art, carving out a sphere of freedom in the midst of determination." Yet, Adorno appears to hold little hope that the working class person trapped within the determining coils of production could ever experience this "sphere of freedom." p. 249 T.W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, translated by C. Lenhardt,

- 31** Knjiga je prvotno objavljena u Frankfurtu 1972., moji citati su iz engleskog prijevoda: Oskar Negt i Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1993., preveli P. Labanyi, J.O. Daniel i A. Oksiloff, predgovor napisala Miriam Hansen. Primijetite kako autori koriste pojam plebejska ili proleterska javna sfera da bi je razlikovali od buržoaske javne sfere. U kasnijim tekstovima Kluge je tom formulacijom zamijenio pojam opozicijske ili protu-javne sfere. Ja biram drugi pojam zato što daje prednost široj, heterogenijoj koncepciji otpora koja uključuje ne samo fizičke radnike i radnike u uslužnim poslovima nego i one koji se bave umjetničkim i mentalnim radom. Tu bih također uvrstio pozicije sub-proleterijata kao i sub-kulturnih identiteta. Za više o definiciji Negta i Klugea vidi uvod Miriam Hansen, osobito stranicu xxxv.

to say that their polemical displacement of Jürgen Habermas's concept pivots on the actual, life experience of workers and others wholly or partially excluded from that idealized realm of citizenship and public opinion. It also seeks to account for the influence that relatively new modes of communication and deception, famously termed the *Culture Industry* by Adorno and Horkheimer, continue to have on both worker acquiescence and resistance to capitalist totality. What I will attempt however is introduce two key aspects of their work that are especially relevant to my arguments about dark matter. These include:

- 1.) The subversive potential of working class fantasy as a counter-productive activity hidden within the capitalist labor process, and
- 2.) Negt and Kluge's insistence that it is politically and theoretically necessary to weave together the fragmented

Izvan je opsega ovoga rada dati cjelovit pregled kompleksnosti teorija Negta i Klugea koje se odnose na inherentno sukobljen ustroj suvremenih javnih sfera, osim što se može napomenuti da se njihovo polemično izmještanje u odnosu na koncepte Jürgena Habermasa vrti oko stvarnog životnog iskustva radnika i onih koji su u cjelini, ili djelomično, isključeni iz idealiziranog carstva građanskih prava i javnog mnijenja. One također nastoje uračunati utjecaj koji relativno novi načini komunikacije i prevara, za što su Adorno i Horkheimer našli čuveni pojam *kulturna industrija*, i dalje imaju na podložnost i otpor radnika kapitalističkim totalitetu. Pokušat ću, međutim, predstaviti dva ključna aspekta njihova rada koja su posebno važna za moje argumente o tamnoj tvari. Oni su:

- 1.) subverzivni potencijal fantazije radničke klase kao kontraproduktivne djelatnosti skrivene unutar kapitalističkih radnih procesa i,

Edited by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Boston, 1984. First published in German in 1970.

- 32 Negt i Kluge, str. XLIII i XLVI. Zanimljivo je da i T.W. Adorno komentira neophodnu poveznicu između rada i fantazije ali samo u odnosu na umjetnički rad i tvrdi “da su rad i fantazija prepleteni jedno s drugim — njihova razdvojenost uvijek ukazuje na pogrešku — dokazuju osjećaji umjetnika da je fantazija podložna njihovim zapovjedima. Osjećaju da je ono što ih razdvaja od diletanata sposobnost da namjerno pokrenu spontanost, to jest fantaziju... Umjetnička djela smještaju se u odnos prema grupi problema. I tu nastaje jedna od mogućih definicija fantazije kao sposobnosti za iznalaženje pristupa i rješenja za umjetničko djelo, kao onoga što usred determiniranosti dubi sferu slobode.” Ipak, čini se da Adorno gaji malo nade da će osoba iz radničke klase ulovljena u zamku spirale proizvodnje ikada moći doživjeti tu “sferu slobode”. T.W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, prijevod C. Lenhardt, urednici Gretel Adorno i Rolf Tiedemann, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London i Boston 1984., str. 249; prvotno objavljeno u Njemačkoj 1970.

history of resistance to capital into a larger whole or a counter-public sphere. Much like dark matter that is itself often composed of fantastic and libidinous forms of expression, working class fantasy is never fully absorbed by the antagonistic structures of capitalism.

As Negt and Kluge assert,

“Throughout history, living labor has, along with the surplus value extracted from it, carried on its own production—within fantasy.”³³

The authors further define fantasy as a multilayered defense mechanism providing, “necessary compensation for the experience of alienated labor process.”³⁴ This does not mean that fantasy, any more than dark matter, represents an inherently progressive force. Instead,

“In its unsublated form, as a mere libidinal counterweight

2.) inzistiranje Negta i Klugea da je politički i teorijski neophodno uplesti rascjepkanu povijest otpora kapitalu u veću cjelinu ili protu-javnu sferu. Slično tamnoj tvari koja je i sama često sastavljena od fantastičnih i libidinalnih formi izražavanja, antagonističke strukture kapitalizma nisu nikada dokraja apsorbirale fantaziju radničke klase.

Kako tvrde Negt i Kluge:

“Tijekom povijesti, živi je rad, zajedno s viškom vrijednosti koji se iz njega izvlačio, nosio sa sobom i vlastitu proizvodnju – u fantaziji.”³³

Autori dalje definiraju fantaziju kao višeslojni mehanizam obrane koji pruža “neophodnu kompenzaciju za iskustvo otuđenog radnog procesa.”³⁴ To ne znači da fantazija išta više od tamne tvari predstavlja inherentno progresivnu snagu. Za razliku od toga:

33 Negt & Kluge, p. 32

34 Ibid, p. 33

33 Negt i Kluge, str. 32

34 Ibid, str. 33

to unbearable, alienated relations, fantasy is itself merely an expression of this alienation. Its contents are therefore inverted consciousness. Yet by virtue of its mode of production, fantasy constitutes an unconscious practical critique of alienation”³⁵

Working class fantasy therefore appears to offer a twofold, critical function. At its most *basic* level it is a counter-productive surplus that constitutes a de-facto mode of resistance to alienation. This is not merely a metaphysical limit, but a material force generated by the “residue of unfulfilled wishes, ideas, of the brain’s own laws of movement...”³⁶ However, at the same time, the content of fantasy does occasionally represent specific instances of anti-capitalist or at least anti-authoritarian sentiment. Negt and Kluge approach this repressed content as “...promises of meaning and totality—promises that reproduce,

“U svojoj neponištenoj formi, i kao puka libidinalna protuteža nepodnošljivim, otuđenim odnosima, i sama je fantazija tek izraz tog otuđenja. Njen je sadržaj zato obrnuta svjesnost. Ali zbog načina na koji se proizvodi, fantazija stvara nesvjesnu, praktičnu kritiku otuđenja.”³⁵

Fantazija radničke klase zato, izgleda, ima dvojaku kritičku funkciju. Na svojoj najopćenitijoj razini, ona je kontraproduktivni višak koji *de facto* stvara način otpora otuđenju. Nije naprosto u pitanju metafizički limit, nego materijalna sila koja nastaje iz “ostataka neispunjenih želja, ideja, od zakona kretanja kojima mozak sebe pokreće...”³⁶

Međutim, sadržaj fantazije ponekad predstavlja određene primjere antikapitalističkih, ili barem antiautoritarnih, osjećaja. Negt i Kluge tom potisnutom sadržaju pristupaju kao “...obećanjima značenja i totaliteta—obećanjima koja

35 Ibid, p. 33

36 Ibid, p. 37. This position regarding the materiality of mental functions is similar to that Sebastiano Timpanaro raises in his book, *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*, Verso, London, 2004. SEE ALSO Timpanaro *On Materialism*, op cit.

35 Ibid, str. 33

36 Ibid, str. 37. To stajalište o materijalnosti mentalnih funkcija slično je onome koje Sebastiano Timpanaro iznosi u knjizi *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*, Verso, London, 2003. Vidi također njegovu knjigu *On Materialism*, op. cit.

in a highly sensitive manner, actual wishes, some of which remain uncensored be the ruling interest...”³⁷

Examples of work place fantasies that were turned into action include the convenience store clerk who adjusted his pricing gun to create spontaneous discounts for customers; the model maker who added fantastic machinery to elaborately fabricated coal and nuclear power plant models; the assembly line date pitter who inserted her own messages into the fruit proclaiming such things as, “Hi, I’m your pitter” or simply “stuff it” and “Aaagghh!!!”; the Heritage Foundation mailroom attendant who shredded fundraising letters meant to raise cash for her employer’s conservative agenda; the low paid, white collar stock broker who used his access to a Wall Street phone system to create actual fluctuations in market shares; and the professional muralist who rendered Nazi storm troopers in the background of a painting made for a Walt

krajnje osjetljivo reproduciraju stvarne želje od kojih neke nisu cenzurirali vladajući interesi...”³⁷

U primjere fantazija s radnog mjesta koje su se pretvorile u djelo ubrajaju se radnik u samoposluzi koji je svoj čitač cijena prilagodio tako da radi spontane popuste za kupce; maketar koji je dodao fantastičnu mašineriju detaljno izrađenim modelima nuklearnih i termo elektrana; radnica na traci na kojoj se vade koštice iz datulja koja je ubacila vlastite poruke u voće s natpisima poput “Zdravo, ja sam izvadila koštice iz vaših datulja” ili “Napunite ih” ili “Aaaagghh!!!”; pomoćnica na razvrstavanju pošte u Heritage Foundation koja je rasperala pisma sa zahtjevima za novčane donacije konzervativnim projektima njenog poslodavca; slabo plaćeni burzovni mešetar iz srednje klase koji je iskoristio pristup telefonskom sustavu Wall Streeta da proizvede fluktuacije dionica; profesionalni slikar murala koji je naslikao nacističke vojnike u pozadini

Disney hotel and worked images of severed heads into another mural for a restaurant in Las Vegas.³⁸ However, in so far as these fragmented acts suggest the need for some greater “meaning and totality” yet nevertheless remain unarticulated as such, they are little more than isolated and ultimately impotent moments of a distorted wish fulfillment. Nevertheless both dark matter and working class fantasy do occasionally resist bourgeois ideology. First because they interrupt its normative structures of production and appropriation, and second they present a partial opposition at the level of content even if in an undeveloped form. What must take place before this fragmented experience can be transformed into something more political?

According to Negt and Kluge this requires that the “political left must first of all reorganize fantasies in order to make them capable of self-organization.”³⁹

murala napravljenog za hotel Walt Disney te ukomponirao nekoliko odrubljenih glava na drugom muralu za restoran u Las Vegasu.³⁸ Sve su te raštrkane akcije dosad upućivale na potrebu za nekim većim “značenjem i totalitetom” ali ipak su ostale neartikulirane, tek nešto više od izoliranih i krajnje nemoćnih trenutaka izobličjenog ispunjenja želja. I tamna tvar i fantazija radničke klase povremeno se ipak opiru buržoaskoj ideologiji. Najprije zato što prekidaju njene normativne strukture proizvodnje i prisvajanja, a potom zato što na razini sadržaja, čak i u nerazvijenom obliku, predstavljaju djelomičnu opoziciju. Što se mora dogoditi da se to rascjepkano iskustvo pretvori u nešto političnije?

Prema Negtu i Klugeu, to zahtijeva “da politička ljevica najprije prizna da postoje fantazije, kako bi ih mogla osposobiti da se same organiziraju.”³⁹

To me dovodi do drugog aspekta rada Negta i Klugea koji se

- 38** These examples are taken from the book, *Sabotage in the American Workplace: Anecdotes of Dissatisfaction, Mischief and Revenge*, edited by Martin Sprouse and illustrated by Tracy Cox, (Pressure Drop Press, San Francisco & Ak Press, Edinburgh, 1992), pp 5, 86, 21, 92, 137, and 30–31
- 39** Negt & Kluge, op cit. p.176. See also page 296 in which the authors describe the leisure and cultural interests of workers including hobbies, ideals as “linked with one another only in a naturally rooted, random way, at a lower level of production.” The introduction of apparent hierarchies between types of resistant actions suggests either a standard of efficacy on one hand, or taste on the other. Yet it is also possible to apply the idea of practice to this problem, that is, practice as the work one does to improve an idea, activity or craft. Curiously, while this drive for self-betterment is found among both professionals and amateurs, the emergence of slack art leaves the amateur artist defending older notions of artistic craft.

- 38** Ovi primjeri uzeti su iz knjige *Sabotage in the American Workplace: Anecdotes of Dissatisfaction, Mischief and Revenge*, uredio Martin Sprouse, ilustrirala Tracy Cox, Pressure Drop Press, San Francisco & Ak Press, Edinburgh, 1992., str. 5, 86, 21, 92, 137 i 30–31
- 39** Negt i Kluge, op.cit., str. 176. Vidi također str. 296 gdje autori opisuju interese radnika vezane uz slobodno vrijeme i kulturu u što se ubrajaju hobiji i ideali poput “povezanosti jednog s drugim na prirodan, nasumičan način, na nižim razinama proizvodnje.” Uvođenje vidljivih hijerarhija između vrsta činova otpora ukazuje ili na standard efikasnosti s jedne strane, ili na ukus s druge. Ali moguće je i primijeniti ideju prakse na ovaj problem, to jest prakse kao rada koji netko obavlja da bi poboljšao ideju, aktivnost ili umijeće. Zanimljivo, dok se taj poriv za samopoboljšanjem može naći i među profesionalcima i među amaterima, pojavom aljkave umjetnosti obrana starijih shvaćanja umjetničkog umijeća ostaje na amaterima.

This brings me to the second aspect of Negt and Kluge's work that directly concerns my argument: the importance of connecting these "unblocked" moments of working class fantasy with the history, or histories of actual resistance to capital, patriarchy, racism and nationalism. Rather than a smooth, linear narrative however, this process is one of assembling a montage of, "Historical fissures — crises, war, capitulation, revolution, counterrevolution." This is because the proletarian public sphere, "...has no existences as a ruling public sphere, it has to be reconstructed from such rifts, marginal cases, isolated initiatives."⁴⁰ Not unlike the historical re-mapping suggested in Brecht's poem, this reconstruction is built upon acts of interruption, stoppage and skepticism. At the same time this process also seeks to block capital from appropriating these *other* histories and desires for its own interests. This is an essential point for Negt and Kluge who believe that with

direktno tiče mog argumenta: važnost povezivanja tih trenutaka "nezablokiranosti" mašte radničke klase s poviješću, ili povijestima, stvarnog otpora kapitalu, patrijarhatu, rasizmu i nacionalizmu. Taj proces je prije prikupljanje, montaža "povijesnih pukotina – krize, rata, kapitulacije, revolucije, kontrarevolucije" nego glatka, linearna naracija. A to je potrebno zato što proleTERSka javna sfera "ne postoji kao vladajuća javna sfera, treba je rekonstruirati od takvih pukotina, marginalnih slučajeva, izoliranih inicijativa."⁴⁰ I slično ponovljenom historijskom mapiranju koje sugerira Brechtova pjesma, ova rekonstrukcija izgrađena je na činovima prekida, zastoja i skepticizma. Taj proces također želi zaustaviti kapital u prisvajanju tih *drugih* povijesti i želja u korist vlastitih interesa. Za Negta i Klugea, koji vjeruju da nastankom industrije svjesnosti kapital dobiva sredstva kojima može još dublje i sofisticiranije posegnuti u sjenu mašte radničke klase, ta je točka ključna. Ista

40 Ibid, p XLIII

See also the work of the artists' collective REPOhistory (of which I was a founding member,) at: www.repohistory.org

40 Ibid, str. XLIII

Vidi također rad umjetničkog kolektiva REPOhistory (u kojem sam bio jedan od članova osnivača) na: www.reapohistory.org

the emergence of the consciousness industry, capital gains the means to reach ever deeper into the shadows of working class fantasy and with greater sophistication. The same danger of appropriation holds true for dark matter. At the moment these shadows become capable of collectively focused activity, as the margins link up and become visible to themselves, in and for themselves, they simultaneously become discernible to the voracious gaze of capital with its siren call of “life style” and the joy of consuming.⁴¹ Significantly, activist artists have devised strategies that recognize this dilemma borrowing dark matter forms such as zines and a do-it-yourself approach to creativity. The final section begins with a description of zine aesthetics before sketching the varied activities of the activist art group known as *Las Agencias*.

opasnost od prisvajanja važi i za tamnu tvar. U trenutku kada te sjene postanu sposobne za kolektivno fokusiranu aktivnost, kad se margine povežu i postanu same sebi vidljive, one istovremeno same od sebe postaju nerazaznatljive proždrljivom pogledu kapitala i njegovom sirenskom zovu *life stylea* i užitka u konzumiranju.⁴¹ Umjetnici aktivisti iznašli su strategije koje prepoznaju tu dilemu posuđujući forme tamne tvari kao što su zinovi i uradi-sam pristupi kreativnosti. Posljednji dio počinje opisom estetike zinova nakon čega slijedi skica raznovrsnih aktivnosti aktivističke grupe poznate kao *Las Agencias*.

41 This new “visibility” also risks attracting the attention of the newly constituted state surveillance institutions in the US. At the same time the fashion industry already understands the cash potential of dark matter. Worn out blue jeans and threadbare hooded sweaters with faded screen printed designs hint at the swap-shop aesthetic of anti-global demonstrators. Ironically, this ersatz “street” aesthetic is produced in volume by sweat shop labour. Indeed, even *Nike* advertisements for high-end running shoes have mimicked the hand-made style of the fanzine and the street stencil graffiti.

41 Ta nova “vidljivost” riskira također privlačenje pažnje novoosnovanih državnih institucija za nadzor u SAD-u. A modna industrija već shvaća gotovinski potencijal tamne tvari. Iznošene traperice i izlizani džemperi s kapuljačama i izbljedjelim natpisima aludiraju na esetetiku buvljaka razmjene tipičnu za prosvjednike protiv globalizacije. Ironično je što se ta patvorena “ulična” estetika proizvodi na veliko radom u *sweat shopovima*. Čak i oglasi *Nike*-a za skupe tenisice imitiraju stil ručne izrade fanzina i uličnih šablonskih grafita.

V LAS AGENCIAS

“We need to make ourselves visible without using the mainstream media...”

—Riot Grrrl Press.⁴²

Least available for appropriation by the culture industry is not the slack look of dark matter, but its semi-autonomous and do-it-yourself mode of production and exchange. Zines for example are frequently belligerent, self-published newsletters that as cultural historian Stephen Duncombe argues do not offer,

“... just a message to be received, but a model of participatory cultural production and organization to be acted upon. The message you get from zines is that you should not just be getting messages, you should be producing them as well. This is not to say that the content of zines — whether

V LAS AGENCIAS

“Moramo postati vidljivi bez korištenja *mainstream* medija...” —Riot Grrrl Press⁴²

Ono što je kulturnoj industriji najmanje dostupno za prisvajanje nije aljkav izgled tamne tvari nego njezin poluautonoman i uradi-sam način proizvodnje i razmjene. Zinovi su naprimjer često ratoborni bilteni u vlastitom izdanju koji, kako tvrdi povjesničar kulture Stephen Duncombe, ne nude:

“... samo poruku koja se želi poslati nego i model participatorne kulturne proizvodnje i organizacije prema kojem treba djelovati. Poruka koja vam stiže iz zinova glasi da ih ne smijete samo primati, nego i proizvoditi. To ne znači da sadržaj zinova – bilo da je u pitanju antikapitalistička polemika ili individualni izraz – nije važan. Ono što je u politici zinova i underground kulture jedinstveno, i ima

- 42** From a 1994 issue of the zine *Riot Grrrl*, cited in the book by Stephen Duncombe, *Notes From Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*, (Verso, London, NY, 1997 & 2001), p. 123

- 42** Iz fanzina *Riot Grrrl* iz 1994. godine, prema citatu u knjizi Stephena Duncombea, *Notes From Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*, Verso, London i New York, 1997. i 2001., str. 123

anti-capitalist polemics or individual expression — is not important. But what is unique, and uniquely valuable, about the politics of zines and underground culture is their emphasis on the practice of doing it yourself.”⁴³

Duncombe draws an explicit connection between this reflexivity of the zinester and Walter Benjamin’s concept of the author as a producer.

“Applying Benjamin’s analysis to the case of zines, it is exactly their position within the conditions of production of culture that constitutes an essential component of their politics. In an increasingly professionalized culture world, zine producers are decidedly amateur. In producing cheap, multiple-copy objects, they operate against the fetishistic archiving and exhibiting of the high art world and the for-profit spirit of the commercial world. And by

80

jedinstvenu vrijednost, jest njihov naglasak na uradi-sam praksi.”⁴³

Duncomb izvodi eksplicitnu vezu između refleksivnosti zinaša i koncepta autora kao proizvođača Waltera Benjamina:

“Ako se Benjaminova analiza primijeni na zinove, upravo njihov položaj u sklopu uvjeta proizvodnje kulture tvori ključnu komponentu njihove politike. U sve više profesionaliziranom svijetu kulture, proizvođači zinova bez iznimke su amateri. Proizvođači jeftine objekte u više primjeraka oni djeluju protiv fetišističkog arhivarstva i pokazivanja svijeta visoke umjetnosti te profitnog duha komercijalnog svijeta. A praksama nagrizanja granica između proizvođača i potrošača suprotstavljaju se dihotomiji aktivnog stvaratelja i pasivnog promatrača koja obilježava našu kulturu i društvo.”⁴⁴

43 Duncombe, p. 129

43 Duncombe, str. 129

44 Ibid., str. 127

their practice of eroding the lines between producer and consumer they challenge the dichotomy between active creator and passive spectator that characterizes our culture and society.”⁴⁴

Indeed, with satiric titles such as *Temp Slave*; *Dishwasher*; *Welcome to the World of Insurance*; and simply *Work*, zines produced by service workers offer an instance of what Negt and Kluge term the “contradictory nature of the public horizon,” at least in so far as they represent a sporadic moment of resistance, rather than a means of sustained opposition.⁴⁵

The zine aesthetic and its tactics of recycling and satire bear a certain resemblance to far more self consciously politicized art-related collectives including: *Temporary Services*, *Las Agencias*, *WochenKlausur*, *Collectivo Cambalache*, *The Center for Land Use Interpretation*, *The Stockyard Institute*, *Ne Pas Plier*, *Take Back*

Doista, satiričnim naslovima poput *Temp Slave* [Privremeni rob]; *Dishwasher* [Perilica suda]; *Welcome to the World of Insurance* [Dobro došli u svijet osiguranja] ili jednostavno *Work* [Rad] zinovi koje proizvode uslužni radnici nude primjer za ono što su Negt i Kluge nazvali “kontradiktornom prirodom javnog horizonta” barem utoliko što predstavljaju sporadične trenutke otpora, a ne sredstva suzdržane opozicije.⁴⁵

Estetika zinova i njihove taktike recikliranja i satire imaju izvjesnu sličnost s puno samosvjesnije politiziranim umjetničkim kolektivima među kojima su: *Temporary Services*, *Las Agencias*, *WochenKlausur*, *Collectivo Cambalache*, *The Center for Land Use Interpretation*, *The Stockyard Institute*, *Ne Pas Plier*, *Take Back the Streets*, *Mejor Vida*, [®]*RTMark*, *The Critical Art Ensemble*, *Ultra Red*, *The Surveillance Camera Players*, *The Center for Tactical Magic*, *Radical Software Group* i *The Institute for Applied Autonomy*. Svi oni djeluju unutar nekog aspekta javnog prostora,

44 Ibid, p. 127

45 Negt & Kluge, op cit., 171

45 Negt & Kluge, op.cit. str.171

the Streets, Mejor Vida, RTMark, the Critical Art Ensemble, Ultra Red, The Surveillance Camera Players, The Center for Tactical Magic, Radical Software Group and the *Institute for Applied Autonomy*. All work within some aspect of public space, and many ascribe their approach as that of tactical media, an activist deployment of new media technology. Yet, the groups mentioned here are difficult to categorize within most definitions of art because their engagement extends well into the public sphere and involves issues of fair housing; the treatment of unemployed people, guest labourers and prisoners as well as global politics; biotechnology and even access to public space itself.⁴⁶ Groups such as *Temporary Services, Las Agencias, Wolkenclausure, Take Back the Street, Ne Pas Plier, The Surveillance Camera Players, The Stockyard Institute* and *Mejor Vida* design participatory projects in which objects and services are made to be given away or used up in public settings or street actions. Other groups, including

a mnogi pripisuju svoj pristup taktičkim medijima, aktivističkom korištenju novih medijskih tehnologija. Ipak, grupe koje ovdje spominjem teško je kategorizirati unutar većine definicija umjetnosti zato što njihov angažman dobroano zadire u javnu sferu i uključuje bavljenje pitanjima poput pravednog stambenog smještaja, tretmana nezaposlenih ljudi, gastarbajtera i zatvorenika, a onda i globalne politike, biotehnologije pa čak i pristupa javnoj sferi kao takvoj.⁴⁶ Grupe poput *Temporary Services, Las Agencias, Wolkenclausure, Take Back the Street, Ne Pas Pliers, The Surveillance Camera Players, The Stockyard Institute* i *Mejor Vida* kreiraju participatorne projekte u kojima predmeti i usluge nastaju zato da bi se podijelili ili iskoristili na javnim mjestima ili u uličnim akcijama. Druge grupe, među kojima se ističe @RTMark koriste tehnologiju da ohrabre “inteligentnu sabotažu masovno proizvedenih predmeta...”.⁴⁷ Grupa RTMark egzistira isključivo on-line i njezina web stranica

- 46** "Tactical media are what happens when the cheap 'do it yourself media' made possible by the revolution in consumer electronics and the expanded forms of distribution (cable, satellite and internet) are exploited by groups and individuals who feel aggrieved or excluded by the wider culture," David Garcia, activist artist, 03/2002. SEE: http://www.nyu.edu/fas/projects/vcb/definingTM_list.html

- 46** "Taktički mediji su ono što se događa kada jeftine 'uradi-sam medije', koje su omogućili revolucija u potrošačkoj elektronici i oblici proširene distribucije (kablovi, sateliti i internet), iskorištavaju grupe i pojedinci koji se osjećaju ojađeno ili isključeno iz šire kulture.", David Garcia, umjetnik aktivist, 03/2002. VIDI: http://www.nyu.edu/fas/projects/vcb/definingTM_list.html
- 47** RTMark web stranica, ožujak 1997.; VIDI: <http://rtmark.com/> Za razliku od njih, projektima Temporary Services distribuiraju se besplatna odjeća i informativni materijali u zatvorima, školama pa čak i na komercijalnim avionskim letovima. VIDI: <http://temporaryservices.org/> Austrijska grupa WochenKlausur također se bavi društvenim intervencijama koristeći pritom resurse svijeta umjetnosti, a u njima sudjeluju gradska vijeća, prostitutke i gajdarbajteri. VIDI: <http://www.wochenklausur.at/>

most notably *RTMark*, use technology to encourage, "...the intelligent sabotage of mass-produced items.." ⁴⁷ *RTMark* exists entirely on-line and its web site invites workers, students and other disenfranchised individuals to collaborate with them by purchasing "shares" of *RTMark* stock. Because the group is a legally registered corporation it has successfully used limited liability rules to shield its members from personal lawsuits. The list of those who have sought to censor the group because of its "intelligent sabotage" includes major record companies, toy manufacturers and even the *World Trade Organization*. ⁴⁸ And unlike the lone, disaffected rebel worker *RTMark*'s collective approach raises sabotage to the level of ideological critique, much in the manner proposed by Negt and Kluge. ⁴⁹

This same typically humorous re-appropriation and do-it-yourself, zine aesthetic is also evident in the work of *Las Agencias*, an informally structured collective of artists and activists

poziva radnike, studente i druge obespravljene pojedince da s njom surađuju tako što će kupiti "udjele" *RTMark*-ovih dionica. Zato što je grupa legalno registrirana korporacija, uspješno je koristila pravila ograničene odgovornosti da svoje članove zaštiti od osobnih tužbi. Popis onih koji su pokušali cenzurirati grupu zbog njene "inteligentne sabotaže" uključuje velike muzičke kompanije, proizvođače igračaka pa čak i *World Trade Organization*. ⁴⁸ I za razliku od usamljenog, nezadovoljnog, pobunjenog radnika, *RTMark*-ov kolektivni pristup podiže sabotažu na razinu ideološke kritike, velikim dijelom onako kako predlažu Negt and Kluge. ⁴⁹

Ista, tipično duhovita, reappropriacija i uradi-sam estetika zinaša očita je i u radu *Las Agencias*, neformalno okupljenog kolektiva umjetnika i aktivista koji trenutno najviše djeluju u Barceloni, ali su surađivali i u projektima koji su se odvijali u Madridu, Tarifi, Bostonu i Milanu. ⁵⁰ Slično *RTMarku*, *Las*

- 47** RTMark website, March, 1997. SEE: <http://www.rtmark.com/> By contrast, Temporary Services projects have dispersed free clothes and informational materials at prisons, schools and even on commercial airplanes. SEE: <http://www.temporaryservices.org/> The Austrian based group WochenKlausur also creates social interventions with city councils, prostitutes and guest workers using art world resources. SEE: <http://www.wochenklausur.at/>
- 48** The WTO even attempted to prosecute the group over a website the group created parodying the global juridical agency that not only sowed confusion, but spread detailed information about the WTO's neo-liberal brand of global profiteering. SEE: <http://archive.rhizome.org/artbase/1693/gattpr.html>
- 49** For a keen analysis of activist public art using the theories of Negt and Kluge see: Philip Glahn's essay, "Public Art: Avant-Garde Practice & the Possibilities of Critical Articulation", *Afterimage*, Dec. 2000

- 48** WTO je čak pokušao tužiti grupu zbog web stranice koju je napravila i na kojoj je parodirala taj globalni pravni subjekt što ne samo da je stvorilo konfuziju nego je i proširilo detaljne informacije o WTO-u kao neoliberalnom brandu globalnog profiterstva. VIDI: <http://archive.rhizome.org/artbase/1693/gattpr.html>
- 49** Za pronicljivu analizu aktivističke javne umjetnosti koja se koristi teorijama Negta i Klugea vidi esej Philipa Glahna "Public Art: Avant-Garde Practice & the Possibilities of Critical Articulation", *Afterimage*, prosinac 2000.
- 50** Više o Las Agencias može se naći na: <http://www.sindominio.net/fiambrera/web-agencias/>

now primarily based in Barcelona but who have collaborated on projects in Madrid, Tarifa, Boston and Milan.”⁵⁰ Similarly to *RTMark*, *Las Agencias* appropriates both the technology and appearance of the consciousness industry, but it also works directly in the streets and barrios to unsettle normative ideological structures and reveal the contradictions and false tranquility of the bourgeois public sphere. Carefully planned group actions have supported local squatters and migratory “guest” workers as well as designed campaigns against gentrification and militarism. But perhaps the work most crucial to my argument is *Las Agencias* creative subversion of the riot police during street demonstrations and the groups tactical assault upon *lifestyle* marketing by global corporations. Take for example the group’s *Las Agencias* line of apparel designed for use in demonstrations and street actions. These colorful, “ready to revolt” designs contain hidden pockets that allow

Agencias prisvaja i tehnologiju i obličje industrije svjesnosti, ali djeluje i izravno na ulicama i u hispanskim četvrtima ne bi li poremetila normativne ideološke strukture i razotkrila kontradikcije i lažni mir buržoaske javne sfere. Njihove brižljivo planirane grupne akcije podupirale su lokalne skvotere i “gostujuće” radnike useljenike, dok su kampanje osmislili kao otpor gentrifkaciji i militarizmu. No možda je za moje argumente najvažnija njihova kreativna subverzija policijskih nereda za vrijeme uličnih prosvjeda i taktički napad grupe na *lifestyle* marketing globalnih korporacija. Uzmimo za primjer modnu liniju koju je grupa kreirala, a namijenjena je nošenju na prosvjedima i uličnim akcijama. Taj šaroliki, “spreman na pobunu” dizajn sadrži skrivene džepove što nositelju omogućuje da skrije materijal za ublažavanje udara policijskih palica ili za skrivanje kamera koje dokumentiraju zlostavljanja od strane redarstvenika.⁵¹ Nedavni projekt kojim grupa širi in-

50 More about Las Agencias can be found at:
<http://www.sindominio.net/fiambrera/web-agencias/>

51 Vrijedi usporediti demonstrantsku kolekciju *Ready to Revolt* Las Agencias s pristupom grupe Forcefield koji je više zainteresiran sam za sebe i čija se linija odjeće koristi za izradu videa i performansa namijenjenih tome da ih konzumira svijet umjetnosti.

the wearer to conceal materials for buffering the blows of police batons or to conceal cameras for documenting abuse by the constabulary.⁵¹ Expanding upon the group's intervention into the couture industry is a more recent project entitled *Yomango*: a word that is slang for shoplifting. Mockingly playing off of the retailing strategy of the *Mango* clothing label that markets itself to young, European professionals, *Las Agencias* has developed its own "lifestyle" campaign that integrates a range of "anti-consumer" products and services with everyday acts of customer sabotage. Specially adapted clothing and shopping bags are available on the *Las Agencias* label designed for "disappearing" products out of the retail outlets of global emporiums. *Las Agencias* also provides workshops on how to defeat security systems through orchestrated teamwork that on one occasion, to mark the Argentinian riots of December 2001, took the form of a choreographed dance. For *Las Agencias*

tervenciju u modnu industriju naslovljen je *Yomango*: riječju koja je u slengu sinonim za krađe u trgovinama. Izrugujući se maloprodajnoj strategiji marke odjeće *Mango* koja sebe reklamira mladim evropskim profesionalcima, *Las Agencias* je napravila vlastitu "lifestyle" kampanju koja spaja cijeli niz "anti-potrošačkih" proizvoda i usluga sa svakodnevnim akcijama potrošačke sabotaže. Posebno prilagođena odjeća i torbe za kupovinu dostupne su u okviru linije *Las Agencias* a dizajnirane su za "nestajanje" proizvoda iz maloprodajnih lanaca globalnih robnih kuća. *Las Agencias* također nudi radionice o tome kako poraziti sigurnosne sustave orkestriranim timskim radom, a jednom je prilikom, u znak obilježavanja argentinskih nereda u prosincu 2004., taj rad poprimio oblik koreografiranog plesa. Krađe u trgovinama za *Las Agencias* predstavljaju oblik građanskog neposluha u kojem je promišljena kleptomanija usmjerena protiv homogenizirajućeg i



- 51 It is worth comparing Las Agencias *Ready to Revolt* demonstration attire to the more self-interested approach taken by the group Forcefield whose clothing designs are used to make videos and performances for art world consumption.



Street art action in Spain designed by Leónidas Martín to protest recently enacted gag laws that harken back to the days of Franco's fascist regime and allow for fines up to €600,000 for organizing an "unauthorized protest, as well as fines against tweeting demonstrations or taking photos of police."

Umjetnička ulična akcija u Španjolskoj koju je osmislio Leónidas Martin kao protest protiv nedavno uvedenih zakona kojima se ušutkuju građanski prigovori protiv policije i koji prizivaju vrijeme Francova fašističkog režima. Taj zakon propisuje kazne koje se penju i do 600.000 eura za organiziranje "neprijavljenih protesta, kao i kazne protiv tweetova o demonstracijama ili fotografiranja policije."

shoplifting is a type of civil disobedience in which reflexive kleptomaniya is directed against the homogenizing and instrumentalization effect of global capital.⁵²

For a time, all of *Las Agencias* tactics including counter-couture, anti-war graphics, strategy lessons, street actions and communication systems came together in the *Show Bus*: a brightly painted, motor coach equipped with display and networking technologies and topped off by a rooftop platform for public speaking and live performances. With its windows refitted for rear-view projecting of live Internet feed, the *Show Bus* was a combination of mobile organizing space and self-contained, agitation apparatus. It also made for a conspicuous target to reactionary forces. *Show Bus* was demolished and set alight one night by unknown forces thus forcing the group to reconsider the conspicuity of this approach. Nevertheless, *Show Bus* was a concrete manifestation of counter-public

instrumentalizacijskog djelovanja globalnog kapitala.⁵²

Jedno vrijeme sve su taktike *Las Agencias*, u što se ubrajaju kontra-moda, proturatni crteži, strateška poduka, ulične akcije i komunikacijski sustavi, bile okupljene u jedno u *Show Bus*-u: svjetlo obojenom autobusu opremljenom displejem i mrežnim tehnologijama te s krovnom platformom na vrhu za javne govore i performanse uživo. S prozorima na kojima se mogao projicirati internetski sadržaj, *Show Bus* je bio kombinacija mobilno organiziranog prostora i samodostatnog agitacijskog aparata. Bio je i prikladna meta za reakcionarne snage. Nepoznati počinitelji jedne su ga noći zapalili i uništili što je grupu prisililo da razmotri upadljivost takvog pristupa. Bez obzira na sve, *Show Bus* je bio konkretna manifestacija protu-javnog prostora utoliko što je okupio brojne oblike otpora, koji su se inače pojavljivali samo u fragmentima, ostajući umrežen s uličnom kulturom i donekle autonoman u odnosu na svijet

52 Information on *Yomango* can be found at:
<http://www.yomango.net>

52 Informacije o kampanji *Yomango* mogu se naći na
<http://www.yomango.net>

space in so far it brought together numerous, otherwise fragmented forms of resistance while remaining networked to street culture and yet relatively autonomous with regard to the high art world. And it is important to add a final note about the cunning of *Las Agencias* in relationship to the art industry. By 2002 the group had gained enough notoriety for a liberal minded curator to solicit their participation in the *Torino Art Biennial*. The members met and agreed to bring their *Yomango* campaign into the “white box” of the institutional art museum. But they elected to do so in the form of an “installation” that replicated an actual retail franchise. Within this simulated storefront the audience would be invited to practice shoplifting as well as attend workshops on civil disobedience and activism. Furthermore, all of the shopliftable practice products were themselves to be procured from nearby retail chains prior to the exhibition’s opening. The

visoke umjetnosti. Važno je dodati i konačnu napomenu o lukavstvima *Las Agencias* kad se radi o umjetničkoj industriji. Godine 2002. grupa je postala dovoljno na zlu glasu da je jedan liberalno nastrojen kustos pozove da sudjeluje na Torinskom umjetničkom bijenalu. Članovi su se sastali i dogovorili da kampanju *Yomango* dovedu u “bijelu kocku” institucionalnog muzeja umjetnosti. Ali odlučili su to učiniti u obliku “instalacije” koja je kopirala stvarnu maloprodajnu franšizu. U toj simulaciji trgovine publiku se pozivalo da vježba krađe i da prisustvuje radionicama o građanskom neposluhu i aktivizmu. K tome, sve je proizvode s kojima će se vježbati krađa trebalo nabaviti iz obližnjih trgovina prije otvaranja izložbe. Nakon što su čuli kako *Las Agencias* zapravo planira “skvotirati” njihovu izložbu, organizatori bijenala poduzeli su korake da grupu izbace. Drugom prilikom, međutim, grupa je uspjela “kapitalizirati” sredstva svijeta umjetnosti i iskoristiti novac koji





*Precarious Workers Pageant,
Venice, 2015*

*Povorka prekarnih radnika,
Venecija, 2015.*

organizers of the Biennial, upon hearing about *Las Agencias* plans to essentially “squat” their exhibition, acted to evict the group. However, on other occasions, the group has managed to “leverage” art world funds provided by a museum and use this money to carry out political actions in non-art related public spaces. Nevertheless, this catty interplay between art activists and art institutions underscores the opportunities as well as potential risks of moving this type of dark matter into greater visibility within the public sphere. And to the extent that *Las Agencias* focuses on the process and organization of creative work itself, rather than the production of objects, its “art” is difficult for the art world to appropriate. With group activity divided between theorizing, creating posters, designing clothes, organizing and carrying out actions and giving workshops as well as networking with other activists and artists, it is simply not possible for the formal institu-

su dobili od muzeja za provođenje političke akcije u javnom prostoru koji nije povezan s umjetnošću. Pa ipak, to zlobno nadigravanje između umjetničkog aktivizma i umjetničkih institucija ističe prilike, kao i potencijalne rizike, za premještanje takvih vrsta tamne tvari u prostor veće vidljivosti u javnoj sferi. Razmjeri u kojima se *Las Agencias* fokusira na proces i organizaciju samog kreativnog rada, umjesto na proizvodnju predmeta, čine njihovu “umjetnost” prezahtjevnom da je usvoji svijet umjetnosti. I dok je ono čime se grupa bavi podijeljeno između teoretiziranja, izrade plakata, dizajniranja odjeće, organiziranja i provođenja akcija i radionica kao i umrežavanja s drugim aktivistima i umjetnicima, formalne umjetničke institucije naprosto ne mogu predstaviti puni opseg njihova “rada”. Ne postoje umjetnički predmeti koji bi mogli sumirati identitet grupe, a za razliku od umjetnika pojedinaca poput Josepha Beuysa, grupa je dosad izbjegavala proizvodnju fosila



Precarious Workers Pageant, Venice Italy, performed August 7, 2015 with NYC construction workers and Social Practice Queens students “deconstructing” the deconstructivist architecture of Frank Gehry’s proposed Guggenheim Abu Dhabi Museum, UAE. Clockwise: One of my sketches for the project, constructing props in Venice, pageant heading to the Peggy Guggenheim Collection for a performance of “our commons.”

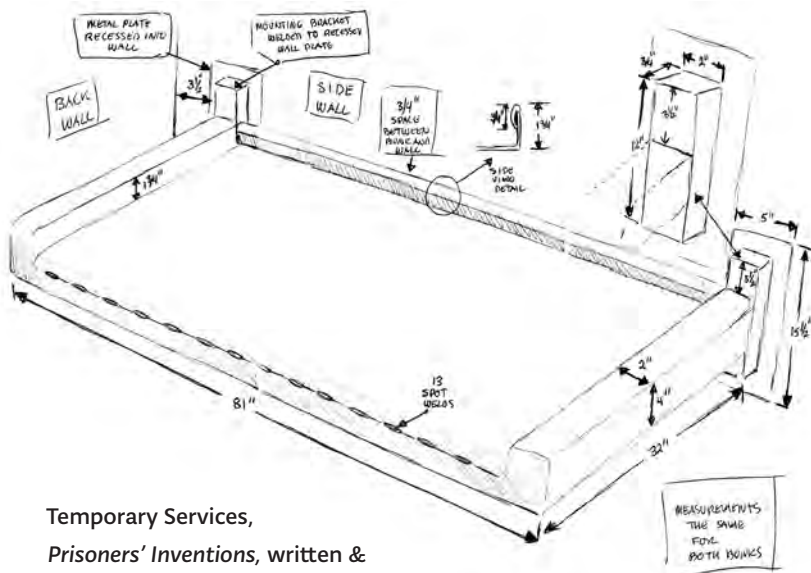


*Precarious Workers Pageant,
Venice, 2015*

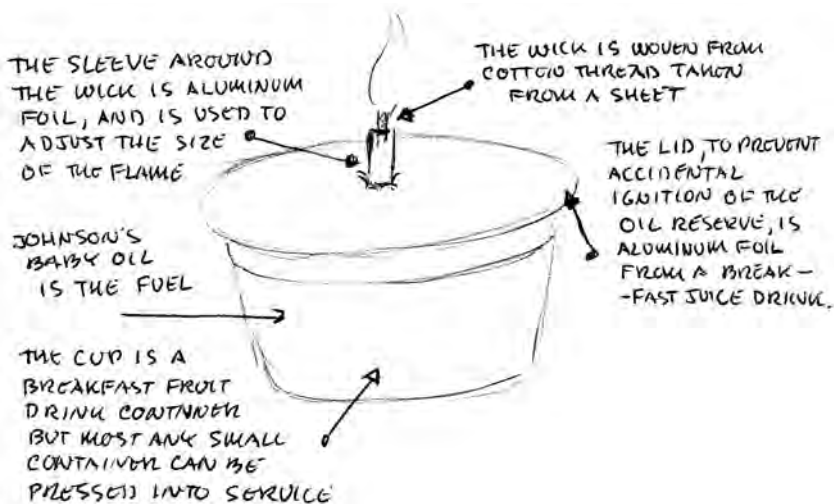
*Povorka prekarnih radnika,
Venecija, 2015.*

tions of the art to represent the full extent of *Las Agencias* “work.” No art objects exist that could summarize group identity and unlike individuals artists such as Joseph Beuys, the group has so far avoided making fossils and souvenirs of their work for museums and collectors. In addition, because *Las Agencias* audience participates in the making of the work and its meaning, it is difficult to imagine what aspect of the group’s work would appeal to conventional art collectors. At least to date, the legitimization of collective authorship has been avoided by the culture industry most likely because it undermines artistic values as defined by collectors who expect art works to be the product of one individual with one clearly articulated artistic vision. Finally, and most important to my argument, groups such as *Las Agencias*, *Temporary Services*, and *®RTMark* have adopted forms of creative expenditure and gift giving more typically found within the informal arts that

i suvenira s prikazima njihova rada namijenjenih muzejima i kolekcionarima. I zato što publika *Las Agencias* sudjeluje u nastanku rada i njegovog značenja, teško je zamisliti koji bi se aspekt rada grupe svidio klasičnim kolekcionarima umjetnosti. Kulturna industrija sve je dosad izbjegavala legitimizirati kolektivno autorstvo vjerojatno zato što to potkopava način na koji umjetničke vrijednosti definiraju kolekcionari koji očekuju da je umjetničko djelo proizvod jedne osobe s jasno artikuliranom umjetničkom vizijom. Konačno, i najvažnije za moj argument, grupe poput *Las Agencias*, *Temporary Services* i *®RTMark* usvojile su oblike kreativne potrošnje i poklanjanja koji se češće mogu naći u neformalnim umjetnostima a one su fundamentalno neprijateljski raspoložene prema funkcioniranju ekonomije formalne umjetničke industrije. Moje je uvjerenje da takvi činovi davanja bez očekivanja određenog povratka uložениh sredstava idu prije prema izgradnji egali-



Temporary Services,
Prisoners' Inventions, written &
illustrated by Angelo



Ilustracije iz publikacije *Prisoners' Inventions*,
Temporary Services, napisao i ilustrirao Angelo

are fundamentally hostile to the functioning of the formal art industry economy. It is my contention that such acts of expenditure without the expectation of a specific return on investment is aimed at building egalitarian social relations rather than optimizing one's position within a market. And it is this adaptation, rather than any formal resemblance to dark matter, that draw these oppositional practices into dark matter's gravitational field and away from the hegemony of the elite art world.⁵³

tarnih društvenih odnosa nego optimizaciji nečijeg položaja na tržištu. I upravo ta prilagodba, prije nego ikakva formalna sličnost s tamnom tvari, vuče te opozicijske prakse u njezino gravitacijsko polje, a udaljava od hegemonije elitnog svijeta umjetnosti.⁵³

53 Georges Bataille, "The Notion of Expenditure", in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927–1939*, (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1985.) See also Bruce Barber and Jeff Dayton-Johnson, "Marking the Limit: Re-Framing a Micro-Economy for the Arts", in the journal *Parachute*, no. 106, April, May, June 2002, pp 27, 39 as well as the writings of Charles Esche. Several, recent art exhibitions have also taken up the concept of exchange and gift giving as artistic practice, if however in a politically limited fashion. SEE: *The Gift: Generous Offerings, Threatening Hospitality*, at the Bronx Museum from Nov. 27–March 2, 02/03 organized by Independent Curators International in collaboration with the Centro Arte Contemporanea Palazzo delle Papesse, Siena, Italy, (catalog by Charta, Siena, Italy, 2002); and *Mexico City: An Exhibition about the Exchange Rate of Bodies and Values*, June 30–Sept 2, 2002 at P.S.1 Contemporary Art Center, Lone Island City. Catalog by Distributed Art Publishers, NYC.

53 Georges Bataille, "The Notion of Expenditure", u: *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927–1939*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1985. Vidi također Bruce Barber i Jeff Dayton-Johnson, "Marking the Limit: Re-Framing a Micro-Economy for the Arts" u časopisu *Parachute*, br. 106, travanj–svibanj–lipanj 2002., str. 27 i 39 kao i tekstove Charlesa Eschea. Nekoliko nedavnih umjetničkih izložbi također se bavilo konceptom razmjene i darivanja kao umjetničkom praksom premda na politički ograničen način. VIDI: *The Gift: Generous Offerings, Threatening Hospitality* u Bronx Museum od 27.11.2002. do 2.3.2003. u organizaciji Independent Curators International i u suradnji s Centro Arte Contemporanea Palazzo delle Papesse iz Siene u Italiji (katalog je objavila Charta [Siena, Italija, 2002.]); te *Mexico City: An Exhibition about the Exchange Rate of Bodies and Values*, od 30.06. do 02.09.2002. u P.S.1. Contemporary Art Center, Lone Island City. Distribucija kataloga Art Publishers, New York City.

VI CONCLUSIONS

Despite the ideologies of resignation, despite the dense reality of governmental structures in our “control societies,” nothing prevents the sophisticated forms of critical knowledge, elaborated in the peculiar temporality of the university, from connecting directly with the new and also complex, highly sophisticated forms of dissent appearing on the streets. This type of crossover is exactly what we have seen in the wide range of movements opposing the agenda of neoliberal globalization.⁵⁴

To paraphrase the cosmologists: there is perhaps no current problem of greater importance to cultural radicals than that of “dark matter.” Collectives that operate within the contradictions of the bourgeois public sphere, openly and playfully expose its imaginary fault-lines dividing private from public, individual from collective, and the light from the dark matter. But while such groups offer important models for cultural

VI ZAKLJUČCI

Uprkos ideologijama rezignacije, uprkos gustoći realiteta vladajućih struktura u našim “nadziranim društvima”, ništa ne spriječava sofisticirane oblike kritičkog znanja, razrađenog u specifičnoj temporalnosti sveučilišta, da se izravno povežu s novim i također kompleksnim, visoko sofisticiranim oblicima neslaganja koji se javljaju na ulicama. Ono što smo vidjeli u širokom spektru pokreta koji se suprotstavljaju planovima neoliberalne globalizacije upravo je takav oblik prijenosa i povezivanja.⁵⁴

Parafrazirajmo kozmologe: vjerojatno danas ne postoji važniji problem za kulturne radikale od problema “tamne tvari”. Kolektivi koji djeluju unutar kontradikcija buržoaske javne sfere otvoreno i zaigrano razotkrivaju njene izmišljene linije razgraničenja kojima se dijeli privatno od javnog, individualno od kolektivnog, svjetla od tamne tvari. No dok takve grupe

- 54** Brian Holmes, "The Flexible Personality: For a New Cultural Critique", at <http://eipcp.net/transversal/1106/holmes/en> and in an anthology by the author, *Hieroglyphs of the Future* (Zagreb, Arkzin Press, 2002)

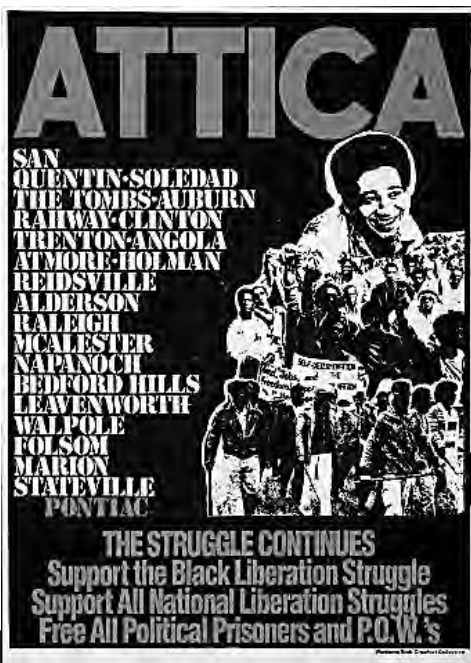
- 54** Brian Holmes, "The Flexible Personality: For a New Cultural Critique", tekst je objavljen u autorovoj zbirci tekstova *Hijeroglifi budućnosti*, Arkzin, Zagreb, 2002. a dostupan je i na: <http://eipcp.net/transversal/1106/holmes/en>

resistance, it would be disingenuous of me to suggest that the art collectives and dark activities touched upon in this paper provide a totally satisfactory solution to the radicalization of creativity now or in the future. Instead, these groups and practices are characterized by their overdetermined and discontinuous nature, by repetitions and instability. Their politics privilege spontaneity. Some favor anarchic forms of direct action over sustained organizational models. What is effective in the short term remains untested on a larger scale. And that is the point we appear to be approaching rapidly. Again, Duncombe neatly summarizes this problem in relation to zine production stating that,

“Tales of sabotage and theft are not just represented *in* zines, but often *by* them. Stealing the materials and ‘borrowing’ the technology necessary to produce zines is considered part and parcel of making zines... roommates copy zines on

često pružaju važan model za kulturni otpor, bilo bi zločesto od mene da sugeriram kako umjetnički kolektivi i tamne aktivnosti kojih sam se dotakao u ovom tekstu nude potpuno zadovoljavajuće rješenje za radikalizaciju kreativnosti danas ili u budućnosti. Umjesto toga, te grupe i prakse obilježavaju njihova odlučna, ali i kampanjska narav, njihova repetitivnost, ali i nestabilnost. Njihove politike na povlašteno mjesto stavljaju spontanost. Neke od njih daju prednost anarhističkim oblicima izravne akcije nad suzdržanim, organiziranim modelima. Ono što kratkoročno prizvodi neki učinak nije se još preispitalo na većem uzorku. A čini se da se strelovito približavamo upravo toj točki. I opet, Duncombe precizno rezimira taj problem u kontekstu proizvodnje zinova i navodi kako:

“Zinovi ne samo da donose priče o sabotazi i krađi, nego su često primjer za njih. Krađa materijala i ‘posudbe’ tehnologije potrebne da se zinovi proizvedu smatra se integralnim



Attica Poster,
circa 1978

Plakat Attica,
oko 1978.

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ArtLeaks Gazette
#3, August 2015

ArtLeaks Gazette
br.3, kolovoz
2015.

midnight shifts at Kinkos and others use postage meters on their jobs. ...[Yet] with no memories of pre-industrial labor patterns to sustain them, and little in the way of alternative models of labor organization to guide them, these individuals have little hope of taking control of the production process in their workplace, never mind society at large.”⁵⁵

Where then are the historians of darkness? What tools will they require to move beyond a mere description of these shadows and dark practices and towards the construction of a counter-public sphere? In this short text I have, as always, attempted too much. Clearly, more research is needed on how alternative or counter economic forms link up with collective patterns of engaged art making as well as how one measures the relative autonomy of critical art practices in relation to the

dijelom njihova stvaranja... cimeri ih kopiraju u noćnim smjenama u ‘printerajima’ dok ih drugi podvaljuju u službenu poštu na mjestima gdje rade... (Ipak) bez sjećanja na pred-industrijske obrasce rada koji bi ih održavali i s malo toga što bi ih vodilo u pogledu alternativnih modela organizacije rada, slabašna je nada da će ti pojedinci preuzeti kontrolu proizvodnih procesa na svojim radnim mjestima, o širem društvu da i ne govorimo.”⁵⁵

I gdje su onda povjesničari tame? I što će im trebati da odu korak dalje od pukih opisa tih sjena i tamnih praksi prema stvaranju protu-javne sfere? U ovom kratkom tekstu pokušao sam, kao i uvijek, previše toga. Jasno je da je potrebno više istražiti kako se alternativne ili kontra ekonomske forme povezuju s kolektivnim obrascima stvaranja angažirane umjetnosti te kako mjeriti relativnu autonomiju kritičkih

55 Duncombe, op cit., p.81

55 Duncombe, str.81

culture industry. One thing is clear however; the construction of a counter-public sphere will necessitate that we move away from the longstanding preoccupation with representation and towards an articulation of the invisible.⁵⁶ To be seen, seeable, embodied, to block something from another's view, to take as well as give away the very means of seeing, these are the new terms of battle. With it comes a new horizon filled with possibilities as well as risks. ✕

This text was first published in *Dark Matter, Activist Art and the Counter-Public Sphere, As Radical As Reality Itself*, eds. Hemingway, Leslie, & Beaumont. Peter Lang, Oxford, 2007.

umjetničkih praksi u odnosu prema kulturnoj industriji. Jedno je, međutim, jasno: stvaranje protu-javne sfere nalagat će odmak od dugotrajne zaokupljenosti reprezentacijom i pomak prema artikulaciji onoga što je nevidljivo.⁵⁶ Biti vidljiv i viđen, utjelovljen, zapriječiti drugome pogled na nešto, i oduzimati i davati sredstva gledanja, to su uvjeti novih bitaka. A s njima stiže i novi horizont pun mogućnosti, ali i rizika. ✕

Ovaj tekst objavljen je prvi put u *Dark Matter, Activist Art and the Counter-Public Sphere, As Radical As Reality Itself*, uredili Hemingway, Lesile & Beaumont, Peter Lang, Oxford, 2007.

- 56** The act of covering over the copy of Picasso's *Guernica* during Secretary of State Colin Powell's televised call for war against the nation of Iraq at the United Nations on February 5th, 2003 suggests that the forces of Empire fully comprehend the nature of this next, theater of cultural battle.

The author wishes to extend his appreciation to Paul Jaskot, Alan Moore, Janet Koeing, Brian Holmes, Brett Bloom, Philip Glahn and O.K Werkmeister for their insights and comments on early drafts of this paper.

- 56** Čin prekrivanja replike Picassove *Guernice* za vrijeme televizijskog poziva Colina Powella na rat protiv iračkog naroda u Ujedinjenim narodima, 5. veljače 2003. ukazuje na to da sile Imperija potpuno razumiju za što će se biti sljedeća bitka – za kulturu.

Autor se zahvaljuje Paulu Jaskotu, Alanu Mooreu, Janet Koeing, Brianu Holmesu, Brettu Bloomu, Philipu Glahnu i O.K. Werkmeisteru za uvide i komentare ranih verzija ovoga rada.





Liberate Tate London, 2014

Oslobodite Tate London, 2014.

***Merciless Aesthetic:
Activist Art
as the Return of
Institutional Critique.***

A RESPONSE TO BORIS GROYS.

***Nemilosrdna
estetika:
aktivistička umjetnost
kao povratak
institucionalne kritike***

ODGOVOR BORISU GROYSU





Guerrilla Girls: Kathe Kollwitz, Zubeida Agha & Frida Kahlo •
PHOTOGRAPHY/FOTOGRAFIJA: ANDREW HINDERAKER

“The phenomenon of art activism is central to our time because it is a new phenomenon.”

— BORIS GROYS: “On Art Activism”⁰¹

On the face of it, Groys is making an extraordinary claim. Doesn't he and everyone know by now that *art activism* has a solid backstory brimming with risks and minor victories, compromises and outright failures, just the same as any other cultural narrative, even if this one remains largely closeted within mainstream art history?⁰² Consider Jacques-Louis David's elaborate public floats designed by the painter for public *fêtes* to rally support for the French Revolution in the 1790s. Or less than a century later Gustave Courbet's decisive role in the dramatic toppling of the militaristic Vendôme Column during the Paris Commune, an action that also coincided with the development of mass-produced photographic

“Fenomen umjetničkog aktivizma ključan je za naše vrijeme zato što je nov.”

— BORIS GROYS: “O umjetničkom aktivizmu”⁰¹

Na prvi pogled, Groys iznosi neobičnu tvrdnju. Zar on ne zna, i svi drugi zajedno s njim, da *umjetnički aktivizam* ima solidnu pretpovijest punu rizika i sitnih pobjeda, kompromisa i potpunih promašaja, istu onakvu kakvu ima i svaki drugi kulturni narativ, premda je ovaj u velikoj mjeri ostavljen po strani unutar mainstreama povijesti umjetnosti?⁰² Podsjetimo se ukrašenih platformi koje je Jacques-Louis David pažljivo oslikavao za javne svečanosti na kojima se skupljala podrška Francuskoj građanskoj revoluciji u 1790-ima. Ili nešto manje od stoljeća kasnije presudnu ulogu koju je Gustave Courbet imao u dramatičnom rušenju Napoleonovog stupa na Trgu Vendôme u vrijeme Pariške komune, akcije koja je koincidirala s razvojem

01 Boris Groys, "On Art Activism", in *e-flux* n.56, 6/2014:

<http://www.e-flux.com/journal/on-art-activism/>.

NOTE: All references are to this online essay.

02 Recent books by, among others, John Roberts, Nato Thompson, Yates McKee, and Stephen Shukaitis all seek to address the relationship between art and activism in both theoretical and historical terms.

01 Boris Groys, On Art Activism, u *e-flux*, br.56, 6/2014; <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/on-art-activism/>. NAPOMENA: sve reference odnose se na ovaj esej.

02 U nedavno objavljenim knjigama autora među kojima su John Roberts, Nato Thompson, Yates McKee i Stephen Shukaitis odreda se traži način da se odnosu između umjetnosti i aktivizma pristupi i s povijesnog i s teorijskog stajališta.

images that transformed this spectacular event into widely circulated *cartes postales*. More recent examples include the pageant of black body bags carried by members of Art Workers' Coalition up Fifth Avenue to protest the Vietnam War in 1969, or members of Guerrilla Art Action Group (GAAG) with the same agenda staging a mock gunfight in front of Museum of Modern Art in May of 1970. Then there was a storm of satirical billboard alterations denouncing US intervention in Latin America in the early 1980s, and the rise of Tactical Media 'image correction' and 'digital civil disobedience' campaigns carried out by Electronic Disturbance Theater, Critical Art Ensemble, and ®RTMark in the 1990s, followed of course by The Yes Men, YOMANGO and The Illuminators among others. In each case activism and cultural production (and sometimes cultural destruction) shared a stage together, though in many instances these practices have avoided being labeled as art,



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masovno proizvedenih fotografskih slika što je taj spektakularni događaj pretvorilo u *cartes postales* s ogromnim opticajem. U skorije primjere ubraja se povorka crnih mrtvačkih vreća koje su 1969. godine njujorškom Petom avenijom nosili pripadnici Art Workers' Coalition u znak protesta protiv rata u Vijetnamu, ili članovi Guerrilla Art Action Group (GAAG) koji su iz istog razloga uprizorili lažnu pucnjavu ispred MoMe u svibnju 1970. Potom slijede masovne satirične preinake billboarda čime se osuđivala intervencija SAD-a u Latinskoj Americi ranih 1980-ih, potom uspon Taktičkih medija i kampanja "korekcija slika" i "digitalnog građanskog neposluha" koje su 1990-ih provodili Electronic Disturbance Theater, Critical Art Ensemble i ®RTMark, nakon čega slijede The Yes Men, YOMANGO, The Illuminators i drugi. U svim su ovim slučajevima aktivizam i kulturna produkcija (a ponekad kulturna destrukcija) dijelili pozornicu iako su te prakse često uspijevale izbjeći da ih se





An action for refugees organized by Marina Naprushkina: New Neighborhood Moabit Center, Berlin.

- COURTESY MARINA NAPRUSHKINA

Akcija koju je za izbjeglice organizirala Marina Napruškina u Novom susjedstvu Moabit Centra u Berlinu.

- FOTOGRAFIJU USTUPILA MARINA NAPRUSHKINA

sometimes rejecting this term outright, or identifying with it primarily in order to yield specific benefits. Even then, dallying with the world of museums and galleries remains a delicate, tactical operation. However, as Groys observes, this indifference towards the art establishment no longer applies to activist and socially engaged practices today. His species of art activism — for there is more than one — is designated by its familiarity with the art world, its willingness to court it or make use of its resources (while also sometimes loathing it).⁰³

Examples abound, though here I note three:

- Each and every evening of the week a popular social center in Berlin's Moabit neighborhood fills with Syrian refugees and immigrant families from across the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Children play and make art, people cook and eat together, some study German, others have their legal papers examined free of charge. The artist, Marina Naprushkina,

nazove umjetnošću, nekad su izravno odbijale taj pojam, ili su se s njim identificirale prvenstveno zato da izvuku određenu korist. Čak i tada, koketiranje sa svijetom muzeja i galerija ostaje vrlo delikatna, taktička operacija. Međutim, kako Groys primjećuje, ta ravnodušnost prema umjetničkom establišmentu ne vrijedi i za današnje aktivističke i društveno angažirane prakse. Njegov tip umjetničkog aktivizma – jer postoji više od jednog – određuje bliskost s umjetničkim svijetom i spremnost da mu se dodvori ili iskoristi njegove resurse (iako ga ponekad u isto vrijeme i prezire).⁰³

Primjera je obilje, a ja ću ovdje spomenuti tri.

- Baš svake večeri u tjednu popularni društveni centar u berlinskoj četvrti Moabit popunjen je sirijskim izbjeglicama i obiteljima useljenika iz zemalja Bliskog istoka i Istočne Evrope. Djeca se igraju i bave umjetnošću, ljudi kuhaju i zajedno jedu, neki uče njemački, drugima se besplatno pregledavaju službeni

03 And of course the entangled “relationship” flows in both directions as witnessed by the Guggenheim Museum’s newly announced launch of its own social practice art initiative involving one of the artists who founded the project *Conflict Kitchen* that is discussed below: <https://www.guggenheim.org/press-release/85742>

03 Taj zamršeni “odnos” teče, naravno, u oba smjera o čemu svjedoči netom najavljeno pokretanje vlastite umjetničke inicijative društvene prakse Muzeja Guggenheim u koju je uključen jedan od umjetnika osnivača projekta *Conflict Kitchen* o kojem se govori u nastavku teksta: <https://www.guggenheim.org/press-release/85742>

who founded the space describes her project as an “artificial institution,” one that is not part of the mainstream art world because “the art scene does not work... the public doesn’t understand what we [artists] are doing or talking about.” But what is this artificial institution? If nothing else it appears to be a cipher to German authorities whom, says the artist, see it as something they simply “cannot really understand.”

● Across the Atlantic in the post-industrial Northeast city of Pittsburgh Pennsylvania a popular fast-food takeout business specializes in serving cuisine from countries that are ideologically at odds with the United States, including Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, Afghanistan, North Korea, and Palestine. This restaurant is also an art project. At one point it shut its doors due to a death threat apparently incited by precisely one of the food programs it hosted about Palestinians. It soon reopened, as successful as ever. Being a work of art means certain free

dokumenti. Umjetnica Marina Napruškina, osnivačica centra, opisuje svoj projekt kao “umjetnu instituciju” koja nije dio mainstreama svijeta umjetnosti zato što “umjetnička scena ne funkcionira... javnost ne razumije što mi (umjetnici) radimo i o čemu govorimo.” No što ta umjetna institucija *jest*? Ako ništa drugo, izgleda da njemačkim vlastima predstavlja zagonetku, kaže umjetnica, jer je vide kao nešto što jednostavno “ne mogu razumjeti.”

● Preko Atlantika, u postindustrijskom gradu Sjeveroistoka, u Pittsburghu u Pennsylvaniji, popularni *fast-food* restoran s hranom “za van” specijalizirao se za kuhinje zemalja koje su ideološki u sukobu sa Sjedinjenim Državama, a u njih se ubrajaju Iran, Venezuela, Kuba, Afganistan, Sjeverna Koreja i Palestina. Taj restoran ujedno je i umjetnički projekt. U jednom trenutku morao je zatvoriti vrata zbog prijatnji smrću što ih je navodno izazvao upravo program o hrani iz Palestine koji su



An action for refugees
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Akcija koju je za izbjeglice
organizirala Marina
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susjedstvu Moabit Centra u
Berlinu.

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speech protections come “baked-in,” safeguards that would not extend to an actual business or even a traditional not-for-profit or NGO if it was thought they were taking sides in contested political matters. In fact, the artwork’s success in the real world has led its kitchen workers to unionize. They are seeking a fifteen-dollar an hour minimum wage.

● And last May Day 2015 some twenty or so artists and academics infiltrated the lobby of a major New York art museum and unfurled a previously hidden red parachute inscribed with bold white letters that read “Meet Workers Demands Now.” The circular banner was readable seven stories up at the top of the building’s interior atrium as small flyers tumbled down detailing the low pay of museum security workers and the exploitation of foreign laborers in the United Arab Emirates where the museum is developing a new branch. Within minutes, guards destroyed the parachute banner and swept up

ugostili. Ubrzo nakon toga ponovno je otvoren, i uspješniji je no ikad. Kad je nešto umjetničko djelo, to znači da određena zaštita slobode govora “dolazi u paketu”, određeno jamstvo koje se ne proteže na tvrtke, pa čak ni na tradicionalna neprofitna tijela ili nevladine organizacije ako se misli da su zauzimali strane u sukobljenim političkim pitanjima. Zapravo, uspjeh ovog umjetničkog djela u stvarnom svijetu doveo je do toga da se radnici iz kuhinje sindikaliziraju. Traže da ih se plaća najmanje petnaest dolara po satu.

● Na 1. maj 2015. dvadesetak umjetnika i znanstvenika infiltriralo se u predvorje velikog njujorškog muzeja umjetnosti Guggenheim i odmotalo prethodno skriven crveni padobran na kojem je debelim, bijelim slovima pisalo “Udovoljite radničkim zahtjevima. Odmah.”. Kružni natpis mogao se pročitati sedam katova uvis, do vrha unutarnjeg atrija zgrade s kojeg su poletjeli mali letci s podacima o niskoj plaći radnika muzejskog





Inside the kitchen,
Conflict Kitchen,
Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania.

• COURTESY CONFLICT
KITCHEN

U kuhinji *Conflict
Kitchen*, Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania.

• FOTOGRAFIJU
USTUPILA CONFLICT
KITCHEN

the flyers, and yet the protestors refused to leave, ultimately occupying the building's lobby until closing time. With no formal links to a political party, an ideology or an NGO, the May Day museum interventionists later posted an online dispatch tactically accepting their status as artists and cultural workers:

“We see our proximity to the system as an opportunity to strike it with precision, recognizing that the stakes far exceed the discourses and institutions of art as we know them.”⁰⁴

All three projects position themselves differently in relation to the field of art, though all three do so consciously, even programmatically. While the project in Berlin challenges the art world's opacity, it outmaneuvers government authorities thanks to the peculiar “license” of mimetic artifice that

osiguranja i o eksploataciji stranih radnika u Ujedinjenim Arapskim Emiratom u kojima muzej radi novu podružnicu. Čuvari su u nekoliko minuta uništili padobran i pokupili letke, no prosvjednici su odbili napustiti zgradu i zaposjeli predvorje sve do zatvaranja muzeja. Bez ikakve službene povezanosti s nekom političkom strankom, ideologijom ili NVO-om, muzejski prvomajski intervencionisti kasnije su *on-line* objavili očitovanje taktično prihvaćajući svoj status umjetnika i kulturnih radnika:

“To što smo blizu sustavu vidimo kao priliku da ga precizno napadnemo imajući u vidu da ulog daleko premašuje diskurse i umjetničke institucije kakve poznajemo.”⁰⁴

Sva tri projekta različito se pozicioniraju u odnosu na područje umjetnosti, i sva tri to rade svjesno, čak programatski. I premda se projekt u Berlinu suprotstavlja netransparentnosti svijeta

04 G.U.L.F. "On Direct Action: An Address to Cultural Workers", *e-flux*, 2015; <http://supercommunity.e-flux.com/texts/on-direct-action-an-address-to-cultural-workers/>

04 G.U.L.F., "On Direct Action: An Address to Cultural Workers", *e-flux*, 2015.; <http://supercommunity.e-flux.com/texts/on-direct-action-an-address-to-cultural-workers/>

only art affords. Meanwhile, in Pittsburgh, art's privileged autonomy is taken as a baseline even as the food project more and more collides with exogamous non-art social and juridical realities such as self-organizing workers and legal actions. In example number three it is art's institutional power that is judiciously leveraged in order to make a political statement, but the statement is not about the working conditions of artists, it is about precarious laborers in the Middle East. As Groys acknowledges:

“Art activists do not want to merely criticize the art system or the general political and social conditions under which this system functions. Rather, they want to change these conditions by means of art—not so much inside the art system but outside it, in reality itself.”

umjetnosti, uspijeva nadigrati službenu vlast zahvaljujući upravo toj posebnoj “dozvoli” za mimetičku dovrtljivost kakvu može dati samo umjetnost. Za to vrijeme u Pittsburghu se privilegirana autonomija umjetnosti uzima kao polazište čak i kad projekt prehrane sve više i više kolidira s egzognim, ne-umjetničkim, društvenim i pravnim realitetima poput samo-organiziranja radnika i pravnih postupaka. U trećem primjeru promišljeno se koristi institucionalna moć umjetnosti da se iznese politički stav, no taj se stav ne odnosi na uvjete u kojima rade umjetnici, nego prekarni radnici na Bliskom Istoku. Kako Groys priznaje:

“Umjetnici aktivisti ne žele samo kritizirati sustav umjetnosti ili načelne političke i društvene uvjete u kojima on funkcionira. Oni ih radije žele promijeniti koristeći se umjetnošću – ne toliko unutar samog sustava umjetnosti koliko izvan njega, u samoj stvarnosti.”





April 27, 2016, New York City, 10 PM, Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F) and the Illuminator projecting portraits of the museum's board of trustees onto the façade of the Guggenheim after the museum broke-off negotiations with Gulf Labor rejecting efforts to guarantee fair-labor practices in Abu Dhabi where a new Guggenheim is about to be constructed on Saadiyat Island. • PHOTOGRAPHY: G.U.L.F.

27. travanj 2016., New York City, 22 h, Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.) i The Illuminator projiciraju portrete članova upravnog odbora muzeja na fasadu Guggenheima nakon što je muzej prekinuo pregovore s G.U.L.F-om i odbacio njihove pokušaje da osiguraju pravedne prakse po pitanju rada u Abu Dhabiju gdje samo što nije počela gradnja novog Guggenheima na otoku Saadiyat. • FOTOGRAFIJA: G.U.L.F.

Perceptively he points out this recent wave of art activists “wants to be useful, to change the world, to make the world a better place—but at the same time, *they do not want to cease being artists.*” (My italics.) And therein lies the rub.

Nothing drives serious cultural scholars off the rails quite like artists asserting their essential categorical indeterminacy. Artists wish to be both a particle and a wave, just like light. How does it go? *I am an artist only when I must be, such as when I apply for grants or for a teaching job or when a museum shows my work.* Conceptual artists may have opened the door to this ontological evasiveness in the 1960s when they stated that they were going to serve as their own art critics and theorists, or when they presented mathematical equations as art, or performed music instead of having exhibitions, or just dropped out as Lee Lozano claimed to have done “in order to pursue investigations of total personal and public revolu-

On dobro zamjećuje i ukazuje na to da ti iz posljednjeg vala umjetnika aktivista “žele biti korisni, promijeniti svijet, napraviti od njega bolje mjesto – ali u isto vrijeme *ne žele prestati biti umjetnici.*” (Kurziv moj.) U tom grmu leži zec.

Ozbiljne kulturne znanstvenike ništa ne izbacuje iz takta tako jako kao umjetnici koji pokazuju svoju esencijalnu kategoričku neopredijeljenost. Umjetnici koji žele biti i čestica i val, baš poput svjetlosti. Kako to funkcionira? “Umjetnik sam samo onda kada to moram biti, kada se prijavljujem za potporu ili za posao predavača ili kada muzej pokazuje moj rad.” Možda su vrata za to ontološko izmicanje otvorili konceptualni umjetnici 1960-ih godina kada su izjavili da će biti kritičari i teoretičari umjetnosti sami sebi, ili kada su matematičku jednadžbu predstavili kao umjetnost, ili kada su izvodili muziku umjesto da izlažu, ili su jednostavno odustali, kao što je Lee Lozano tvrdila da je učinila, “kako bi nastavila





Greg Sholette phone
snapshot May 1 2015
Guggenheim Occupation.

Snimci napravljeni telefonom
Grega Sholetta, *Okupacija
Guggenheima*, 1. maj 2015.

tion.”⁰⁵ The mainstream took a very long time to accept any of this as “art,” and still today remains uncomfortable with artists who do science experiments instead of making paintings and sculpture, or who engage in political activism instead of *performing*, or god forbid artists who practice both activist art and science together as Critical Art Ensemble did and were punished for in the recent past.⁰⁶ It gets weirder. Contemporary art appears to freeze and liquefy, to freeze and liquefy again, undergoing phase changes that, as artist and theorist Melanie Gilligan suggests, resemble finance derivatives, infinitely re-moldable while nonetheless dependent “on the reorganization of something already existing.”⁰⁷ Or as Stephen Wright maintains, contemporary art has simply left the room altogether. In his book *Toward a Lexicon of Usership* the theorist informs us art is moving beyond the realm of representation into a 1:1 correspondence with the real world.⁰⁸ What to make

istraživanje totalne osobne i javne revolucije.”⁰⁵ *Mainstreamu* je dugo trebalo da bilo što od ovoga prihvati kao “umjetnost”, čak mu i danas izazivaju nelagodu umjetnici koji umjesto slika i skulptura rade znanstvene eksperimente, i oni koji se bave političkim aktivizmom umjesto *performansima* a sačuvaj ih bože umjetnika koji zajedno prakticiraju aktivističku umjetnost i znanost kao što to čini Critical Art Ensemble za što je nedavno kažnjen.⁰⁶ Stvari postaju još čudnije. Čini se da se suvremena umjetnost ledi i otapa, pa opet ledi i otapa prolazeći kroz faze promjena koje, kako umjetnica i teoretičarka Melanie Gilligan kaže, nalikuju financijskim derivatima koji se mogu beskonačno preoblikovati ali svejedno ovise o “reorganizaciji nečega što već postoji.”⁰⁷ Ili, kako Stephen Wright kaže, suvremena umjetnost naprosto je napustila teren. U knjizi *Toward a Lexicon of Usership* Wright nas obaviještava da se umjetnost iz područja reprezentacije seli u korespondenciju

- 05** Cited in Lucy R. Lippard, *Six Years the Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 78
- 06** See Sholette, *Disciplining the Avant-Garde*, 2005:
http://critical-art.net/defense/Kurtz_Sholette.pdf
- 07** Gilligan's examples include Richard Prince's endlessly recycled works, and Seth Price's reworking videos that bear "a striking similarity to financial derivatives in one particularly suggestive way: they derive their value from the value of something else." From Melanie Gilligan, "Derrivative Days", in Sholette and Ressler, *It's The Political Economy, Stupid*, Pluto Press, London, 2013, pp 73-81
- 08** Stephen Wright, *Toward a Lexicon of Usership*, was published on the occasion of the *Museum of Arte Útil* at the Van Abbemu-

- 05** Citirano u: Lucy R.Lippard, *Six Years. The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973., str.78
- 06** vidi: Sholette, *Disciplining the Avant-Garde*, 2005.,
http://critical-art.net/defense/Kurtz_Sholette.pdf
- 07** U primjere Melanie Gilligan ubrajaju se beskonačno reciklirani radovi Richarda Princea i prerade videa Setha Pricea koji su "zapanjujuće slični financijskim derivatima na osobito sugestivan način: vlastitu vrijednost izvode iz vrijednosti nečeg drugog." Iz knjige Melanie Gilligan *Derrivative Days*, u: Sholette i Ressler, *It's The Political Economy, Stupid*, Pluto Press, London, 2013., str. 73-81

of this? Recall the fourteen improbable classes of animals in Jorge Luis Borges' fictitious Chinese encyclopedia *The Celestial Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*: Stray Dogs, Embalmed ones, Fabulous ones, Et cetera, "Those that are included in this classification," and Suckling pigs, among other ill-matched categories.⁰⁹ Yet even this fantastical attempt at reconciling a multiverse of possibilities, definitions and contradictions are easier to accept than the reality of contemporary art.

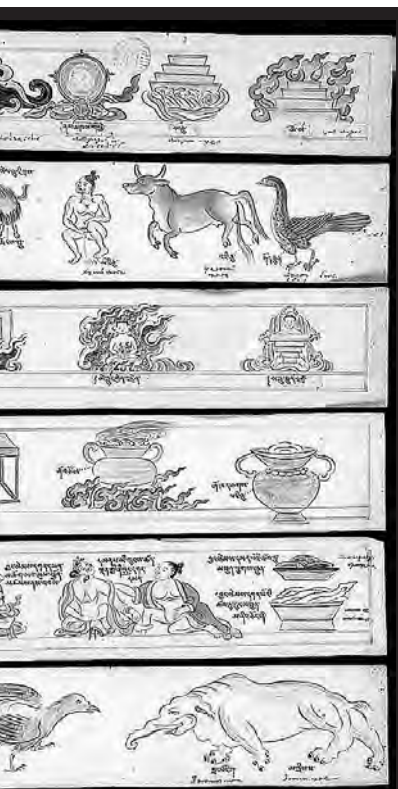
The same holds true for art as political action. "The inexplicable pleases us, and the incomprehensible is our friend," Nadya Tolokonnikova of Pussy Riot cites the dissident Russian poet Alexander Vvedensky.¹⁰ But couldn't we easily resolve this riddle if we say that this new wave of artistic activism simply does not wish to foreclose on the privileges provided by contemporary art in the 21st Century? It's all a matter of pragmatics. Certainly, we could explain it away like this,

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1:1 sa stvarnim svijetom.⁰⁸ Što sad s tim? Prisjetimo se četrnaest po svemu nevjerovatnih klasa životinja u fiktivnoj kineskoj enciklopediji Jorgea Luisa Borgesa *Nebesko carstvo dobrohotnog znanja*: Psi lutalice, Balzamirani psi, Bajkoviti psi, Et cetera., "Psi uključeni u ovu klasifikaciju", Svinje sisalice i druge loše sparene kategorije.⁰⁹ Lakše je prihvatiti čak i ovaj fantastični pokušaj mirenja multiverzuma mogućnosti, definicija i kontradikcija nego prihvatiti stvarnost suvremene umjetnosti.

Isto vrijedi i za umjetnost kao političko djelovanje. "Ne-razumljivo nam je drago, a neshvatljivo je naš drug", Nadia Tolokonnikova iz Pussy Riot citira disidentskog ruskog pjesnika Aleksandra Vvedenskog.¹⁰ No zar ne bismo mogli lako riješiti tu zagonetku ako kažemo da se ovaj novi val umjetničkog aktivizma jednostavno ne želi odreći privilegija koje suvremena umjetnost pruža u 21. stoljeću? Radi se o pragmatici. Naravno, možemo to tako objasniti, odbaciti kao samozavaravanje, osim





Tibetan medical
manuscript

Tibetski medicinski
rukopis

seum, Eindhoven, The Netherlands, 2013. It is also available as a PDF online at: <http://museumarteutil.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Toward-a-lexicon-of-usership.pdf>

- 09** <http://www.multicians.org/thvv/borges-animals.html>
- 10** From Masha Gessen, *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot*, Riverhead Books, NY, 2014, p. 214

- 08** Stephen Wright, *Toward a Lexicon of Usership*, objavljeno uz izložbu *Museum of Arte Útil* u Van Abbemuseum, u Eindhovenu u Nizozemskoj, 2013. Tekst je dostupan i kao on-line PDF: <http://museumarteutil.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Toward-a-lexicon-of-usership.pdf>
- 09** <http://www.multicians.org/thvv/borges-animals.html>
- 10** Iz knjige Mashe Gessen, *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot*, Riverhead Books, New York, 2014. str. 214

dismiss it as self-delusion, except that this is not what Groys is suggesting, and I find myself in agreement. As Pussy Riot member Tolokonnikova put it in her courtroom speech prior to being sentenced for the group's punk art intervention in the Church Christ The Savior: "What Pussy Riot does is oppositional art or politics that draws upon the forms art has established."¹¹ These are trained cultural practitioners who make art as politics, or vice versa. Not surprisingly, admonishments come down from many quarters.

There are of course well-rehearsed arguments previously proposed by theorists Walter Benjamin and Guy Debord warning us to stand vigilant against aestheticizing politics, as opposed to politicizing aesthetics or artistic production. Groys has a lot to say here and we will return to this shortly. But there is also an incredulous reprimand that comes from the opposite side of the "art and politics" spectrum, that is to say,

što to nije ono što Groys sugerira, i ja se s tim slažem. Kao što je članica Pussy Riot Tolokonnikova rekla u sudnici, prije nego što je osuđena zbog umjetničke intervencije punk grupe u Crkvi Krista Spasitelja: "Pussy Riot se bavi opozicijskom umjetnošću ili politikom koja koristi forme proistekle iz umjetnosti."¹¹ To su obučeni kulturni praktičari koji umjetnost stvaraju kao politiku, ili obrnuto. Upozorenja dolaze sa svih strana, što nimalo ne iznenađuje.

Postoje, naravno, i puno puta ponovljeni argumenti koje su prethodno iznijeli teoretičari Walter Benjamin i Guy Debord upozoravajući nas da budno pazimo na estetizaciju politike što je suprotnost politiziranju estetike ili umjetničkoj proizvodnji. Groys ima što o tome reći i na to ćemo se uskoro vratiti. No tu je i posve nevjerovatan prigovor koji dolazi sa suprotne strane spektra "umjetnosti i politike", odnosno ne dolazi iz svijeta visoke kulture nego od samih aktivista. I ma koliko se upravo

- 11 Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, *Closing Statement*, August 8th, 2012, Khamovnichesky Courthouse, Moscow. SEE: http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2012/08/10/pussy_riot_trial_closing_statement_certainly_makes_one.html

- 11 Završna riječ Nadežde Tolokonjikove 8. kolovoza 2012. na Hamovničeskom sudu u Moskvi. VID: http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2012/8/10/pussy_riot_trial_closing_statement_certainly_makes_one.html

not from the world of high culture, but from activists themselves. As much as these very activists often quietly admire artists for their singular claim to human freedom and self-directed labor, they also harbor more than a little skepticism about the privileged field of contemporary art. Too often the liberty of artists comes at the expense of those located even lower down in the social pecking order. This suspicion towards the art world also exists amongst activist image-makers and artists who consider themselves first and foremost an organic part of a given political struggle. Let me start here with the voluminous imaginative productivity of activists that Dara Greenwald and Josh MacPhee call *social movement culture*.¹²

Banner drops, giant puppets, street stencils, agitational graphics, protest posters, cardboard signs, demonstration flags and pendants, comic book zines, anti-capitalist graffiti and public performances: the world got a solid glimpse of

sami aktivisti često ispotiha dive umjetnicima zbog toga što na jedinstven način uzimaju svoju ljudsku slobodu i upravljaju vlastitim radom, toliko gaje nemali skepticizam prema privilegiranom području suvremene umjetnosti. Puno puta sloboda umjetnika dolazi na račun onih koji su na društvenoj ljestvici važnosti smješteni niže od njih. Ta sumnjičavost prema svijetu umjetnosti postoji također i među kreatorima aktivističkog imidža te među umjetnicima koji sebe prije svega smatraju organskim dijelom određene političke borbe. Krenuo bih od bogate imaginativne produktivnosti aktivista koje Dara Greenwald i Josh MacPhee nazivaju *kulturom društvenog pokreta*.¹²

Viseći transparenti, goleme lutke, ulične šablone, agitacijski crteži, protestni plakati, kartonski znakovi, protestne zastave i privjesci, strip-fanzini, antikapitalistički grafiti i javni performansi: svijet je stekao solidan uvid u kulturu društvenih pokreta za vrijeme medijskog pokrivanja tako-

- 12 Dara Greenwald and Josh MacPhee, *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures, 1960s to Now*, AK Press, 2010. Borrowing Greenwald and MacPhee's terminology Catherine Flood and Gavin Grindon go so far as to propose in their excellent introduction to the *Disobedient Objects* exhibition catalog, "social movements are one of the primary engines producing our culture and politics, and this is no less true when it comes to art and design... While the organizations that produce disobedient objects might have little cultural visibility to begin with, social movements are instituent – they aim to institute new ways of living, new laws and new social organizations." *Disobedient Objects*, V&A Publishing, 2014, pp. 9 & 13

- 12 Dara Greenwald i Josh MacPhee, *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures, 1960s to Now*, AK Press, 2010. Catherine Flood i Gavin Grindon posuđuju terminologiju od Greenwald & MacPhee i idu tako daleko da u odličnom uvodu kataloga izložbe *Disobedient Objects* kažu: "Ako krenemo od toga da organizacije koje proizvode neposlušne objekte mogu imati slabu kulturnu vidljivost, društveni pokreti su konstituentni—oni žele ustanoviti nove načine življenja, nove zakone i nove društvene organizacije."

social movement culture during mainstream media coverage of the so-called 1999 *Battle for Seattle* and subsequent anti-globalization demonstrations, and then again in 2003 during unprecedented world-wide anti-Iraq war demonstrations, which were followed of course by the 2011 *Occupy Movement*, the 2014 *People's Climate March*, and continues today with *Black Lives Matter*. Where do these practices fit into some newly emerging definition of contemporary art activism, if at all? For his part, Groys does not even mention such grass-roots creative production in relation to the allegedly new phenomenon of “art activism,” although he does admit that contemporary art has already abolished all categories of “taste,” meaning it would be very difficult to see how social movement culture could be excluded from serious consideration as art. Not that this is a new observation. As far back as 1980 Lucy R. Lippard raised a similar note in a far more indignant tone. Describing



zване *Bitke za Seattle* [Battle for Seattle] 1999. i demonstracija protiv globalizacije koje su uslijedile, a potom opet 2003. za vrijeme nezapamćenih demonstracija diljem svijeta protiv rata u Iraku nakon kojih je naravno uslijedio pokret *Occupy* 2011., *People's Climate March* 2014. a danas se nastavlja s *Black Lives Matter*. Gdje se te prakse uklapaju u neku definiciju u nastajanju suvremenog umjetničkog aktivizma, odnosno uklapaju li se uopće? Što se Groysa tiče, on tu bazičnu kreativnu produkciju u odnosu prema navodno novom fenomenu “umjetničkog aktivizma” čak i ne spominje iako priznaje da je suvremena umjetnost već odbacila sve kategorije “ukusa” što znači da bi bilo vrlo teško vidjeti kako se kultura društvenih pokreta može kao umjetnost isključiti iz ozbiljnih razmatranja. Ni to zapažanje nije novo. Već se 1980. Lucy R. Lippard dotakla iste teme puno ogorčenijim tonom. Opisujući odbacivanje feminističke umjetnosti kao “loše umjetnosti”, o čemu se





Interference Archive in Brooklyn NY was founded in 2011 by Greenwald and MacPhee (second from right) together with Kevin Caplicki and Molly Fair. • COURTESY INTERFERENCE ARCHIVE

Interference Archive u Brooklynu (New York) osnovali su 2011. Greenwald i MacPhee (drugi zdesna) zajedno s Kevinom Caplickim i Molly Fair. • FOTOGRAFIJE USTUPIO INTERFERENCE ARCHIVE



the oft-heard dismissal of feminist art as “bad art” she asked, “given the history of the avant-garde, what on earth does ‘bad art’ mean these days?”¹³ Since then art has become even more porous, informal, and DIY. In my book *Dark Matter* I ask why the majority of creative production generated by the population at large remains marginalized from serious analysis or dismissed as amateurish, or sometimes shrugged off as too political given the fact that “contemporary art appears indiscriminate in appetite; a maw perpetually opened in uninterrupted consumption as vats of chemicals, butchered animals, dirty mattresses, mass produced commodities, disposable packing tape, cast-off pieces of cardboard.”¹⁴ Why not include the heterogeneous practices of social movement culture as part of any definition of art activism? Wherein exactly does its difference lie?

često moglo čuti, ona pita: “Ako znamo da postoji povijest avangarde, što danas, zaboga, znači ‘loša umjetnost’?”¹³ Otad je umjetnost postala još poroznija, neformalnija i uradi-sam. U knjizi *Dark Matter* postavljam pitanje zašto većina kreativne produkcije koju stvara široka populacija ostaje na margini ozbiljnih analiza ili se odbacuje kao amaterska, ili se ponekad ne uvažava jer je previše politična, s obzirom na činjenicu da se “apetit suvremene umjetnosti ne čini izbirljiv; gubica je stalno otvorena za neometanu konzumaciju bačvi s kemikalijama, raskomadanih životinja, prljavih madraca, masovno proizvedenih artikala, jednokratnih traka za pakiranje, odbačenih komada kartona.”¹⁴ Zašto ne uključiti heterogene prakse kulture društvenih pokreta kao dio svake definicije umjetničkog aktivizma? U čemu se ona točno razlikuje?

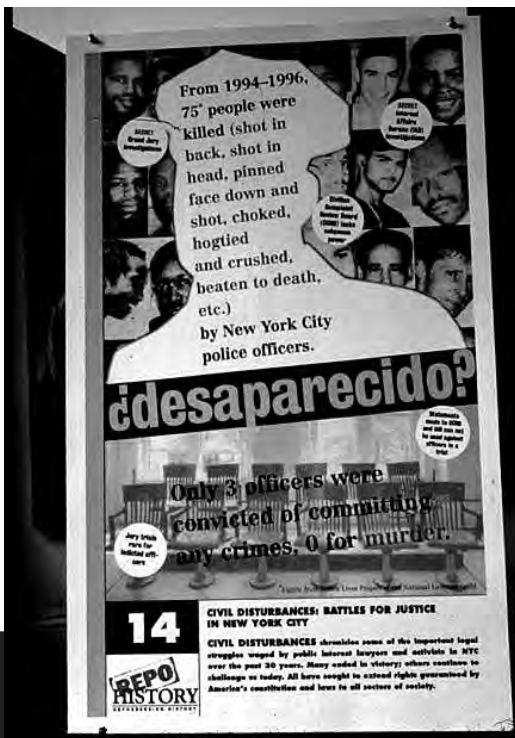
Kultura društvenih pokreta obično se proizvodi kolektivno i anonimno. Njeni autori često izbjegavaju naziv “umjetnik”.

- 13** Lucy R. Lippard, "Sweeping Exchanges: The Contribution of Feminism to the Art of the 1970s", *CAA Art Journal* 40, nos. 1–2 (Fall–Winter 1980) pp. 362–365
- 14** Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*, Pluto Press, 2010, p. 121

- 13** Lucy R. Lippard, "Sweeping Exchanges: The Contribution of Feminism to the Art of the 1970s", *CAA Art Journal* 40, br. 1–2 (jesen–zima 1980.), str. 362–365
- 14** Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*, Pluto Press, London, 2010., str. 121

Social movement culture is typically produced collectively and anonymously. Its authors often eschew the label 'artist.' Terms like artist and art are linked to a class divided society in which 'serious' culture is defined by expert elites. High culture is often, or in fact always, ironic. Social movement culture is straightforward, even when it employs ironic tropes. Groys recognizes this tension. Yet he sees only part of the picture. He writes that real activists abandon the field of art to avoid being infected by politically disabling "art viruses." There is some truth here, except that in my experience activists do not so much abandon art as an ideal realm of activity, rather they attempt to reframe creative work in more radical terms doing so in order to differentiate it from both popular culture and the mainstream art world. Think of the former Minister of Culture for the Black Panther Party, Emory Douglas, who is referred to as a "revolutionary artist." Or consider the way

Pojmovi poput umjetnik i umjetnost povezani su s klasno podijeljenim društvom u kojem "ozbiljnu" kulturu definiraju elitni stručnjaci. Visoka kultura je često, ili zapravo uvijek, ironična. Kultura društvenih pokreta je izravna, čak i kada koristi ironijske trope. Groys prepoznaje tu tenziju. Ali ipak vidi samo dio cjeline. On piše da istinski aktivisti napuštaju područje umjetnosti jer žele izbjeći inficiranje "umjetničkim virusima" koji sakate političnost. U tome ima nešto istine, osim što prema mom iskustvu nije slučaj da umjetnici toliko napuštaju umjetnost kao idealno područje aktivnosti, koliko pokušavaju radikalnije preoblikovati kreativni rad i to rade zato da bi se razlikovao od popularne kulture i od mainstreama svijeta umjetnosti. Sjetimo se bivšeg ministra kulture stranke Crnih pantera Emoryja Douglasa o kojem se govori kao o "revolucionarnom umjetniku". Ili razmislite o načinu na koji pridjevi poput *underground*, ili *ulični* ili *uradi-sam* ili *posvećen*



Jenny Polak and David Thorne's street-sign from REPOhistory's temporarily censored 1998-99 public project *Civil Disturbances: Battles for Justice in New York City*. • COURTESY OF TOM KLEM

Ulični znak Jenny Polak i Davida Thornea korišten 1998.-99. u javnom projektu skupine REPOhistory *Civil Disturbances: Battles for Justice in New York City* (Građansko uznemiravanje: Bitke za pravdu u New York Cityju) a koji je bio privremeno cenzuriran. • FOTOGRAFIJU USTUPIO TOM KLEM

adjectives such as *underground* or *street* or *DIY* or *committed* or *community-based* precede the word 'artist' within movement culture on the Left. It's as if attaching the right explicative to the word 'art' would liberate its practice from 'the man,' and once and for all return art to *the people*. This claim of art's true ownership and allegiance is one reason for the frequent self-marginalization of social movement culture. The other reason involves the somatic imaginary of social movement culture itself.

Unlike mainstream art whose canonical standards and criteria of judgment rest on centuries of institutional practices, social movement culture defines itself as emergent from *within the composition of political movements*.¹⁵ In other words, the posters and graphics and other frequently ephemeral and time-specific imagery generated by activists are like so many cells generated and then shed by a body in motion. This

ili *lokalni* prethode riječi "umjetnik" u kulturi pokreta ljevice. Kao da će dodavanje ispravnog eksplikativa riječi "umjetnost" njenu praksu osloboditi od "čovjek" i jednom zauvijek vratiti umjetnost *ljudima*. Pozivanje na to kome umjetnost *istinski* pripada i kome je odana razlog je za čestu automarginalizaciju kulture društvenog pokreta. Drugi razlog uključuje somatski imaginarij same kulture društvenog pokreta.

Za razliku od *mainstream* umjetnosti čiji kanonski standardi i kriteriji prosudbe počivaju na stoljećima institucionalnih praksi, kultura društvenih pokreta sebe definira kao kulturu koja je nastala unutar *samih političkih pokreta*.¹⁵ Drugim riječima, plakati i crteži te drugi često efemerni i trenutkom uvjetovani vizualni materijali koje su stvorili aktivisti nalikuju brojnim stanicama koje stvara a onda odbacuje tijelo u pokretu. To je upravo suprotno autonomnim umjetničkim formama koje prije svega utjelovljuju senzualnu ekspresivnost, formalno

- 15** In this essay I am setting aside more traditional Marxist and Communist party policies regarding art because so much of the movement culture generated in past decades from *Reclaim the Streets* to *Occupy Wall Street* is influenced by the anarchist Left.

- 15** U ovom eseju stavljam na stranu tradicionalnije marksističke i komunističke stranačke politike koje se tiču umjetnosti zato što je značajan dio kulture pokreta nastale u posljednjim desetljećima, od *Reclaim the Streets* do *Occupy Wall Street*, pod utjecajem anarhističke ljevice.

is quite the opposite of autonomous art forms that first and foremost embody sensual expressivity, formal investigations, or aim to stimulate reflexive contemplation.¹⁶ Not only does this definition of social movement culture suggest that the artifacts it produces resemble those auratic objects Benjamin famously predicted would vanish in an age of mechanical reproduction, but it also means that the more this movement culture is disconnected from its service in action, the more it begins to appear as, well, as just ‘art,’ and therefore less like social movement culture. This internalized fidelity to what Adorno would decry as a heteronomous agency and extra-cultural interests located *outside* of art’s proper boundaries has profound implications.

If we follow the above logic out to its conclusion then social movement culture is not accepted as art because its ontological status is that of productive labor willingly spent in the service

istraživanje, ili žele stimulirati refleksivnu kontemplaciju.¹⁶ Ova definicija kulture društvenih pokreta ne samo da sugerira da artefakti koje ona proizvodi nalikuju onim auralnim objektima za koje je Benjamin slavno predvidio kako će nestati u vrijeme mehaničke reprodukcije, nego to također znači da što je ta kultura više odvojena od svoje aktivne službe, to više počinje ličiti na, eto, samo “umjetnost” i stoga manje na kulturu društvenog pokreta. Ta interiorizirana vjernost onome što bi Adorno omalovažio kao heteronomno djelovanje i vankulturni interes koji se nalazi *izvan* istinskih granica umjetnosti ima duboke implikacije.

Ako do kraja slijedimo prethodno navedenu logiku, tada kultura društvenih pokreta nije prihvaćena kao umjetnost zato što njen ontološki status predstavlja produktivni rad koji se dobrovoljno koristi u svrhu oslobađanja čovjeka, a ne u svrhu produbljivanja estetskog znanja samog po sebi (da, to

- 16** There are many engaging texts debating contemporary art's autonomy or lack thereof, but perhaps most engaging are those that revolve around the Marxist concept of art's subsumption to capitalist forms of production as in recent writings by Leigh Claire La Berge, Nicholas Brown, Kerstin Stakemeier, Kim Charnley, Marc James Léger, Dave Beech and John Roberts a taste of which is found in this 2015 online exchange: <http://artanddebt.org/lets-talk-about-the-debt-do-for-responses/>

- 16** Postoje mnogi angažirani tekstovi u kojima se raspravlja o autonomiji, ili nedostatku autonomije, suvremene umjetnosti, ali možda su najangažiraniji oni koji se vrte oko marksističkog koncepta podređenosti umjetnosti kapitalističkim oblicima proizvodnje o čemu se više može naći u novijim tekstovima Leigh Claire La Berge, Nicholasa Browna, Kerstin Stakemeier, Kim Charnley, Marca Jamesa Légera, Davea Beecha i Johna Robertsa. Kako to otprilike izgleda, može se vidjeti u ovoj on-line razmjeni iz 2015.: <http://artanddebt.org/lets-talk-about-the-debt-do-for-responses/>

of human liberation and not used for the purpose of furthering aesthetic knowledge in or for itself (yes, arguably, some would say these two aims of liberation and artistic experience can not so easily be separated). Notably, this argument about some essential ontological creative organicity is the same exclusionary reasoning once employed by mainstream scholars and curators to prevent the art of so-called “primitives,” “outsiders,” “crafters,” “women,” “children,” “the insane,” and other marginalized people from serious study or display within high culture, (and is sometimes *still* used for this purpose today). When it comes to social movement culture however, there is one key difference: more often than not, social movement artists themselves refuse recognition from establishment institutions not solely because of a basic distrust of cultural snobbery and elitism, but also because any such normalization would tend to undermine the political integrity of their



je sporno, neki će reći da se ti ciljevi oslobađanja i umjetničkog iskustva ne mogu tako lako razdvojiti). Ovaj argument o nečem esencijalno, ontološki, kreativno organskom isto je ono rezoniranje kojim se isključuje i koje su nekad koristili mainstream znanstvenici i kustosi kako bi spriječili ozbiljno proučavanje ili izlaganje umjetnosti takozvanih “primitivaca”, “autsajdera”, “zanatlija”, “žena”, “djece”, “luđaka” i drugih marginaliziranih ljudi unutar visoke kulture (a isto se rezoniranje ponekad koristi i danas, u istu svrhu). Kada je, međutim, u pitanju kultura društvenih pokreta, postoji jedna ključna razlika: sami umjetnici kulture društvenih pokreta prilično često odbijaju priznanja institucija establišmenta, ne samo zbog bazičnog nepovjerenja u kulturni snobizam i elitizam, nego i zato što svaka takva normalizacija teži tome da potkopa politički integritet njihove vlastite prakse. A mainstream svijeta umjetnosti je presretan što tome može udovoljiti. Pa



Guggenheim Downtown, one location of PAD/D's 1984 anti-gentrification street art project *The Lower East Side is Not For Sale*, Avenue A and 10th Streets.

• COURTESY OF PAD/D

Guggenheim Downtown, jedna od lokacija PAD/D-ova projekta ulične umjetnosti protiv gentrifikacije iz 1984. pod nazivom *The Lower East Side is Not For Sale* [Lower East Side nije na prodaju], Avenija A i 10. ulica.

• FOTOGRAFIJU USTUPIO PAD/D

own practice. The mainstream art world is only too happy to oblige. Still, as with any exercise of imaginative human labor, social movement culture does indeed have its own repertoire of styles and techniques. Some of these modes are virtually unique to the realm of activism such as didactic street performances and message-laden banners dropped from rooftops or unfolded, guerilla-style from inside the atriums of corporate headquarters or major museums. Other forms overlap with the so-called fine arts including documentary photography and print-making, as well as practices associated with vanguard contemporary art like historical reenactment and unlicensed public interventions that the charismatic Cuban artist Tania Bruguera describes as “art without art-world permission.”¹⁷ In truth, of course, social movement culture has engaged in these sorts of actions as a matter of course, long before contemporary artists paid it any mind.¹⁸

ipak, kao i svaka primjena imaginativnog ljudskog rada, kultura društvenog pokreta doista ima vlastiti repertoar stilova i tehnika. Neki od tih modaliteta mogu se naći praktički samo u području aktivizma, a to su didaktični ulični performansi i transparenti s porukama koji se spuštaju s krovova ili gerilskim stilom odmotavaju u atrijima korporacijskih sjedišta i poznatih muzeja. Drugi oblici preklapaju se s takozvanim lijepim umjetnostima i u njih se ubrajaju dokumentarna fotografija i grafički otisci kao i prakse povezane sa suvremenom avangardnom umjetnošću kao što su uprizorenja povijesnih događanja i neovlaštene javne intervencije koje karizmatična kubanska umjetnica Tania Bruguera opisuje kao “umjetnost koja nema dozvolu svijeta umjetnosti”.¹⁷ Doista, kultura društvenih pokreta bavila se ovakvim akcijama, naravno, puno prije nego što su joj suvremeni umjetnici posvetili imalo pažnje.¹⁸

Pitanje koje Groys postavlja na početku ne da se tako lako.

- 17** Alex Greenberger, "Art Without Permission: Tania Bruguera and Dread Scott Discuss Art and Activism at the Brooklyn Museum", *ArtNews*, December 14, 2015: <http://www.artnews.com/2015/12/14/art-without-permission-tania-bruguera-and-dread-scott-discuss-activism-at-the-brooklyn-museum/>
- 18** I take up some of this in the essay "Not Cool Enough to Catalog: Social Movement Culture and Its Phantom Archives", http://www.gregorysholette.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/PEACEPRESS_FINAL_o80511-copy.pdf

- 17** Alex Greenberger, "Art Without Permission: Tania Bruguera and Dread Scott Discuss Art and Activism at the Brooklyn Museum", *ArtNews*, 14. prosinac 2015.; <http://www.artnews.com/2015/12/14/art-without-permission-tania-bruguera-and-dread-scott-discuss-activism-at-the-brooklyn-museum/>
- 18** Bavim se nekima od ovih tema u eseju "Not Cool Enough to Catalog: Social Movement Culture and its Phantom Archives", http://gregorysholette.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/PEACEPRESS_FINAL_o80511-copy.pdf

The opening question Groys raises will not go away so easily. How is activist art a “new phenomenon”? In fact, what does newness even mean here? Perhaps he is referring to the rebirth of the avant-garde (yet again)? Because at least since I arrived in New York from Philadelphia in the late 1970s this particular aspiration has been a recurring motif. It goes something like this: one day a politicized avant-garde similar to Berlin Dada or the Situationist International will rise-up and topple the moribund pseudo-avant-garde that is now in league with capitalism, patriarchy and the status-quo. As Group Material charged in their inaugural manifesto of 1980, “we invite everyone to question the entire culture we have taken for granted,” thus refusing to become part of some tired “pseudo avant-gardism.”¹⁹ Or a couple of years later when Lucy R. Lippard denounced what she labeled “avant-garde anarchism that holds out for the “freedom” of art to be caring,

Kako je aktivistička umjetnost “novi fenomen”? Zapravo, što to uopće znači da je nov? Možda misli na (još jedan) preporod avangarde? Ta aspiracija ponavlja se kao lajt-motiv barem otkad sam kasnih 1970-ih došao iz Philadelphije u New York. To ide otprilike ovako: jednog dana uzdignut će se politizirana avangarda slična berlinskoj Dadi ili situacionističkoj Internacionali i svrgnuti malaksalu pseudo avangardu koja je sada slizana s kapitalizmom, patrijarhatom i statusom quo. Kao što su Group Material naložili u svom inauguracijskom manifestu iz 1980.: “Sve vas pozivamo da preispitate cjelokupnu kulturu koju uzimamo zdravo za gotovo” odbivši biti dio nekog premorenog “pseudo avangardizma”.¹⁹ Ili koju godine kasnije, kada je Lucy R. Lippard javno prozvala ono što je nazvala “avangardnim anarhizmom koji očekuje da ‘sloboda’ umjetnosti pokazuje skrb, i da bude odsječena od svake strukture koja upire pogled prema promjenama”.²⁰ Pa sve do naših dana i umjetnika

- 19** Reprinted in Julie Ault, *Show and Tell: A Chronicle of Group Material*, Four Corner Books, London, 2010, pp. 22–23

- 19** Pretiskano u knjizi Julie Ault *Show and Tell: A Chronicle of Group Material*, Four Corner Books, London, 2010., str. 22–23
- 20** Lucy R. Lippard, "Visual Problematics", tekst je izvorno objavljen u *The Village Voice* 1982., a izmjenjena i dopunjena verzija u *Get the Message*, E. P. Dutton, Boston, 1984., str. 282

but disconnected from any structures formed with an eye to change.”²⁰ And on up to the present time with artist Krzysztof Wodiczko echoing these sentiments by stating “war veterans, people who are abused, those who are innocent victims, all those who have no choice but to sink in where they are, this is the avant-garde of the people and who we artists should be listening to.”²¹ Or more recently still as theorist Yates Mckee puts it in his decisive study of Occupy Wall Street’s liberatory aesthetic:

“Striking art means liberating art from itself, and in turn recognizing that collective liberation always has an aesthetic dimension, understood not as an ideal image of harmonious identity but rather as an activity of dissensus that never comes to an end.”²²

Then again, it might simply be the case that Groys’ declaration

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Krzysztofa Wodiczke koji odražava te osjećaje kada kaže “ratni veterani, zlostavljani ljudi, oni koji su nedužne žrtve, svi koji nemaju drugog izbora nego potonuti tamo gdje su se zatekli, oni su ljudska avangarda i ti koje bismo mi umjetnici morali slušati.”²¹ Ili još skoriji primjer, ono što teoretičar Yates McKee kaže u svojoj prelomnoj studiji o osloboditeljskoj estetici Occupy Wall Street:

“Borbena umjetnost podrazumijeva oslobađanje umjetnosti od nje same i zauzvrat prihvaćanje da kolektivno oslobađanje uvijek ima estetičku dimenziju koja se ne shvaća kao idealna slika harmoničnog identiteta nego kao neslaganje koje nikada ne prestaje.”²²

Je li možda jednostavno u pitanju to da Groysova izjava o aktivističkoj umjetnosti kao novini ukazuje na činjenicu da je ta umjetnost dosegla stupanj vidljivosti koji čak ni etablirani

- 20 Lucy R. Lippard, "Visual Problematics", originally published in *The Village Voice* 1982, edited and reprinted in the book *Get The Message*, E.P. Dutton, Boston, 1984, p. 282
- 21 Wodiczko & Sholette, "Liberate the Avant Garde?" in Marc James Legér's book *The Idea of the Avant Garde: and What It Means Today*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2014
- 22 Yates McKee, *Strike Art: Contemporary Art and the Post-Occupy Condition*, Verso, London, 2016, p. 242

- 21 Wodiczko & Sholette, "Liberate the Avant Garde?" u knjizi Marca Jamesa Legéra *The Idea of the Avant Garde: and What it Means Today*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2014.
- 22 Yates McKee, *Strike Art: Contemporary Art and the Post-Occupy Condition*, Verso, London, 2016., str. 242

of activist art's novelty signals the fact that it has reached a level of visibility not even established critics (such as Groys) can ignore any longer? But surprise: in the late 1980s and early 1990s politicized art became similarly conspicuous. The Dia Art Center, Museum of Modern Art and The Whitney Museum all mounted exhibitions about art and politics that appear in retrospect to have been a measured response to the far broader level of cultural activism taking place amongst primarily younger artists who made up such collectives as Group Material, Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PAD/D), Guerrilla Girls, and Gran Fury among others.²³

Still, I find myself again strangely agreeing with Groys, at least in so far as sharing his recognition that the phenomenon of artistic activism is indeed growing, is indeed more and more visible, and is indeed doing so in evidently unfamiliar ways. We are witnessing an international explosion of direct social art

kritičari (kakav je Groys) ne mogu više ignorirati? Ali, slijedi iznenađenje: kasnih 1980-ih i ranih 1990-ih politizirana je umjetnost bila jednako uočljiva. I Dia Art Center i Museum of Modern Art i The Whitney Museum pripremali su izložbe o umjetnosti i politici koje se u retrospektivi čine kao odmjeren odgovor puno širem krugu kulturnog aktivizma prisutnog najviše među mladim umjetnicima koji su oformili kolektive poput Group Material, Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PAD/D), Guerilla Girls i Gran Fury i druge.²³

Pa ipak, na neki se čudan način slažem s Groysom, barem utoliko što se slažem s njegovim priznanjem da umjetnički aktivizam doista jača, da je doista sve vidljiviji i da to doista čini na dosad nepoznate načine. Svjedočimo međunarodnoj eksploziji izravnih društvenih intervencija kojima se žele poboljšati materijalni uvjeti radnika, useljenika, ljudi bez državljanstva, zatvorenika, obojenih ljudi, beskućnika, sta-

23 SEE "The Grin of the Archive," in *Dark Matter*, op. cit.

23 VIDI "The Grin of the Archive" u *Dark Matter*, op. cit.

interventions seeking to improve the actual material conditions of laborers, migrants, stateless people, prisoners, people of color, the homeless, interns and unpaid art laborers, as well as efforts to protect the natural environment against ruin. Few of these concerns are directly relevant to high culture's own institutional problems (except significantly the question of artistic labor). Groys finds this noteworthy. So do I. For one thing, this new surge of art activism is different from a certain type of critical art that has, as he points out, "became familiar to us during recent decades." No doubt the reference is to the practice of institutional critique about which even Andrea Fraser admits has become today a "victim of its [own] success or failure, swallowed up by the institution it stood against."²⁴

But there is still another, deeper layer of suspicion that separates activists from artists. It is a discord that rests at the dead center of Groys' argument. And it is the means by which

žista i neplaćenih radnika u umjetnosti te naporima da se prirodni okoliš zaštititi od propasti. Neke od ovih poteškoća pogađaju bit problema koje imaju i same institucije visoke kulture (osim, što je prilično značajno, pitanja umjetničkog rada). Groys nalazi da je to vrijedno pažnje. Isto mislim i ja. Ako ništa drugo, taj novi val umjetničkog aktivizma razlikuje se od određenog tipa kritičke umjetnosti "s kojom smo se zbližili posljednjih desetljeća" kako kaže Groys. Nema sumnje da se to odnosi na praksu institucionalne kritike za koju čak i Andrea Fraser priznaje da je danas postala "žrtva (vlastitog) uspjeha ili neuspjeha, i da ju je progutala institucija kojoj se suprotstavljala."²⁴

Postoji još jedan, dublji sloj sumnje koji razdvaja aktiviste od umjetnika. To je neslaganje koje počiva u samom središtu Groysova argumenta. A to je način na koji on tvrdi da je umjetnički aktivizam "novi fenomen" iako, kao što ćemo vidjeti,

- 24** Andrea Fraser, "From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique", *Artforum*. New York: Sep 2005, VOL. 44, Iss.1: http://occupymuseums.org/press/Andrea-Fraser_From-the-Critique-of-Institutions-to-an-Institution-of-Critique.pdf

- 24** Andrea Fraser, "From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique", *Artforum*. New York, Sep 2005. VOL. 44, Iss.1: http://occupymuseums.org/press/Andrea-Fraser_From-the-Critique-of-Institutions-to-an-Institution-of-Critique.pdf

he claims art activism is a “new phenomenon,” although, as we shall see, it is ultimately nothing more than a return to the familiar form of critical art after all. “Art,” he insists,

“cannot be used as a medium of a genuine political protest—because the use of art for political action necessarily aestheticizes this action, turns this action into a spectacle and, thus, neutralizes the practical effect of this action.”

Casting Benjamin’s and Debord’s warnings aside, Groys maintains the total aestheticization of *everything* is already upon us, politics included. This too I admit is difficult to dispute. We seem to be addicted to the spectacularization of reality, and not only politics or traumatic events, but also even minor, everyday life situations. We are deluged by videos of American police shooting young, unarmed black men and Syrian resistance fighters at their moment of death, but also cat cams and

on na kraju nije ništa drugo nego povratak poznatom obliku kritične umjetnosti. “Umjetnost se ne može”, inzistira Groys, “koristiti kao sredstvo istinske političke pobune – zato što upotreba umjetnosti kao političkog čina taj čin nužno estetizira, pretvara ga u spektakl i tako neutralizira njegov praktični učinak.”

Stavljajući Benjaminova i Debordova upozorenja na stranu, Groys tvrdi da nas je već zadesila totalna estetizacija *svega*, pa tako i politike. Tome se također, priznajem, nema što prigovoriti. Izgleda da smo se navukli na spektakularizaciju stvarnosti, i to ne samo politike ili traumatičnih događaja, nego i sitnih, svakodnevnih životnih situacija. Preplavljeni smo videima američke policije koja puca u mlade, nenaoružane crne muškarce te snimkama pobunjenih boraca u Siriji u trenucima kada padaju mrtvi, kao i kamerama za praćenje mačaka i voa-

LE FILS
DU
PÈRE DUCHÈNE

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LE CITOYEN COURBET



Foutant en bas toutes les colonnes... de Paris.

Anonymous 1871 Caricature
of Communard Courbet
pushing over a newsstand
kiosk rather than the
Vendôme Column.

Anonimno, 1871.,
karikatura komunara
Courbeta koji radije ruši
oglasni stup nego stup na
Trgu Vendôme.

http://www.histoire-image.org/site/etude_comp/etude_comp_detail.php?i=60#sthash.dypDVngk.dp

voyeuristic drone spy porn. And it's not just the mass media or digital technology turning life and politics into spectacle, the art world does it too when it aestheticizes the realm of social struggles and community activism. Consider a recent exhibition located in a gentrifying city neighborhood featuring *agitprop* and activist art that is hosted by a major museum whose board of trustees, like most similar institutions, is seated with real-estate developers, hedge fund operators and capital asset managers. Everything becomes binary bits of data. Share it, tag it, denounce it; the frustrating thing is we are caught in a noose. The ultra-financialized neoliberal hegemon not only demands everyone work creatively like an artist, but that we also live artistically, aesthetically, spectacularly. What could be more absolutely monotonous and repetitive? Even "history seems to have morphed into a loop," asserts artist Hito Steyerl. "History only exists if there is a tomorrow. And, conversely, a



jerističkom pornografijom koju snimaju dronovi za špijunažu. I ne pretvaraju samo masovni mediji ili digitalna tehnologija život i politiku u spektakl, to radi i i svijet umjetnosti kada estetizira područje socijalnih borbi i aktivizma u zajednici. Uzmimo nedavnu izložbu u gentrificiranoj gradskoj četvrti koja prikazuje *agitprop* i aktivističku umjetnost, a organizira je muzej čiji upravni odbor, kao i u većini sličnih institucija, čine građevinski poduzetnici, vlasnici hedge fondova i menadžeri kapitalnih ulaganja. Sve se pretvara u binarne bitove podataka. Podijeli ih, tagiraj ih, osudi ih; frustraciju izaziva činjenica da smo svi uhvaćeni u tu zamku. Ultra-financijalizirani neoliberalni hegemon ne samo da zahtijeva da svi rade kreativno poput umjetnika, nego i da umjetnički, esetski i spektakularno živimo. Što može biti monotonije i repetitivnije od toga? Čak se i "povijest, izgleda, smotala u petlju", kaže umjetnica Hito Steyerl. "Povijest postoji samo onda kad postoji sutra. I,



Hyacinthe Rigaud's oil
portrait of Louis XIV on
display in the Louvre
Museum, Paris

Hyacinthe Rigaud, ulje na
platnu, portret Louisa XIV
izložen u Louvreu, Pariz

https://unpointculture.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/dsc_o88o.jpg

future only exists if the past is prevented from permanently leaking into the present.”²⁵ How on earth will we cut this knotted loop?

Counterintuitively, Groys embraces total aestheticization. In it, so he argues, stirs a liberating force that allows us to “see the current status quo as already dead, already abolished.” If everything is spectacle, then art has already succeeded in proving authority useless and dead. Power has been made “nonexistent for all practical purposes—reduced to pure form.” Groys travels us back to examine the actions of the French Revolutionaries. “Instead of destroying the sacred and profane objects belonging to the Old Regime they defunctionalized or, in other words, aestheticized them.” Think of Hyacinthe Rigaud’s oil portrait of Louis XIV, a gravely solemn depiction of absolute sovereignty. Four years into the 1879 uprising and this power-painting became part of the newly liberated Louvre

obrnuto, budućnost postoji samo ako se prošlosti zapriječi neprekidno pretakanje u sadašnjost.”²⁵ Kako ćemo, zaboga, presjeći taj zapetljani čvor?

Kontraintuitivno, Groys se priklanja totalnoj esetetizaciji. U njoj se, kako tvrdi, kovitla oslobađajuća snaga koja nam dopušta da “ovaj aktualni status quo vidimo kao da je već mrtav, poništen.” Ako je sve spektakl, onda je umjetnost već uspjela dokazati kako je autoritet beskoristan i mrtav. Moći više nema, “ne postoji ni u jednu praktičnu svrhu – svela se na čistu formu.” Groys nas vodi u prošlost da preispitamo djelovanje francuskih revolucionara. “Umjesto da unište svete i profane objekte koji su pripadali *Ancienne Régimeu*, oni su im oduzeli funkciju ili ih, drugim riječima, estetizirali.” Sjetimo se portreta u ulju Louisa XIV Hyacintha Rigauda, velevažnog prikaza apsolutnog suvereniteta. Četiri godine nakon ustanka 1789. i ta je moćna slika postala dijelom netom oslobođenog

- 25 Hito Steyerl, *e-flux*, 2016: <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/a-tank-on-a-pedestal-museums-in-an-age-of-planetary-civil-war/>

- 25 Hito Steyerl, *e-flux*, 2016.; <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/a-tank-on-a-pedestal-museum-in-an-age-of-planetary-civil-war/>

Museum where it was available for viewing by any member of the public, high or low, and no longer capable of exuding an inviolable aura of autocratic power. The pigment covered canvas was reduced to just another well-crafted painting hanging in the people's museum.²⁶ *Regicide or simply aestheticide?*

Once Groy's establishes that *art for arts sake* overturned all previous mandates insisting high culture serve the State, Church or Aristocracy, and thus turning all past ideological and cultural instruments of power into functionless objects of pure contemplation, then the obvious question is raised: what sort of conditions would need to be present today in order to release this same art-power against modern, 21st Century human rights abusers and corrupt political regimes? And *voilà*, we already have our answer. Total aestheticization generates for the status quo "a much more radical form of death than traditional iconoclasm." Who could have imagined

Muzeja Louvre gdje ju je mogao vidjeti svaki član javnosti, i onaj s vrha i onaj s dna, čime je izgubila sposobnost isijavanja nepovredive aure autokratske moći. Pigment na platnu sveden je na tek dobro naslikanu sliku koja visi u narodnom muzeju.²⁶ *Regicid ili samo esteticid?*

Kada Groy's utvrdi da je *umjetnost radi umjetnosti* oborila sve prethodne ovlasti koje su ustrajale na tome da visoka kultura služi Državi, Crkvi ili Aristokraciji i tako pretvara sve prošle ideološke i kulturne instrumente moći u nesvrshodne objekte čiste kontemplacije, tada se pojavljuje očigledno pitanje: kakvi su uvjeti danas potrebni da se protiv modernih zloupotrebljivača ljudskih prava i korumpiranih političkih režima 21. stoljeća oslobodi ista snaga umjetnosti? *Voilà*, već imamo na to odgovor. Totalna estetizacija stvara "puno radikalniji oblik smrti nego tradicionalni ikonoklazam" za status quo. Tko bi mogao i pomisliti da će stoljećima kasnije stari

26 "The painting was shown at the 1704 Salon and then... remained in the royal collections until after the Revolution, when in 1793 it was handed over to the Muséum Central des Arts de la République, later known as the Musée du Louvre." <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/louis-xiv-1638-1715?selection=44896>

26 "Slika je bila prikazana na Salonu 1704. a potom je... ostala u kraljevskoj zbirci sve do 1793. kada je nakon revolucije premještena u Muséum Central des Arts de la République poznatiji kao Musée du Louvre.", <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/louis-xiv-1638-1715?selection=44896>

that in centuries later the old enlightenment ideal of purposeful purposelessness could be resurrected as a hard-hearted weapon against a corrupt world? Someone should tell ISIS! And presumably by extension total aestheticization would also be far more politically and critically effective than all that messy well-intentioned social movement culture and Occupy DIY art combined. Forget about vitriolic caricatures of authoritarian politicians and cardboard graphics, the bobble-headed banker marionettes, *New York Times* parodies and uproarious Yes Men Survivaball antics, none of these could ever truly compete with the democratizing effect brought about by death from total aestheticization.

“Every action that is directed towards the destruction of the status quo will ultimately succeed. Thus, total aestheticization not only does not preclude political action; it creates an ultimate horizon for successful political action...”

prosvjetiteljski ideal svrhovite svrhovitosti uskrsnuti kao bešćutno oružje protiv korumpiranog svijeta? Neka netko obavijesti ISIS! Nadovezujući se na to, vjerovatno bi totalna estetizacija bila puno politički i kritički djelotvornija nego sva ta neuredna, dobronamjerna kultura društvenih pokreta i Occupy uradi-sam umjetnost zajedno. Zaboravite otrovne karikature autoritarnih političara i kartonske crteže, glavate marionete bankara, parodije *New York Timesa* i bučne lakrdije Yes Men Survivaball, ništa od toga ne može se istinski mjeriti s demokratizacijskim efektom smrti od totalne estetizacije.

“Svako djelovanje usmjereno prema destrukciji statusa quo na kraju će uspjeti. I ne samo što totalna estetizacija ne prethodi političkom djelovanju, ona stvara najbolji horizont za uspješno političko djelovanje ako ono ima revolucionarnu perspektivu.”



Ad hoc union protest,
Victorian Stroll, Troy,
New York, 2005



Ad hoc prosjved sindikalista,
Victorian Stroll, Troy, New
York, 2005.

And we are back where we started. Total aestheticization permits the seemingly assimilated practice of institutional critique to be reborn as *activist art*.

I eto nas tamo odakle smo počeli. Totalna estetizacija dopušta da se naoko asimilirane prakse institucionalne kritike ponovno rode kao *aktivistička umjetnost*.

—2—

—2—

“Using the lessons of modern and contemporary art, we are able to totally aestheticize the world—i.e., to see it as being already a corpse.” — BORIS GROYS

But hold on, hold on. What if total aestheticization is not the result of some necrotic art-ether leaking out into the actual world, some deadly contaminant spewed from the citadel of revolutionary modernism and contemporary art? What if instead it is exactly the opposite: the rushing inwards of a previously overlooked creative productivity (and sometimes non-productivity): including that of the amateur, the informal artist, the social movement artist, all those redundant energies generated by the everyday and even banal imaginings of everyman and everywoman now occupying the space that art once held apart from society? It might be compared to the sudden unblocking of what Alexander Kluge and Oskar

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“Koristeći se poukama moderne i suvremene umjetnosti, u stanju smo potpuno estetizirati svijet – to jest, vidjeti ga kao da je već truplo.” — BORIS GROYS

Čekajte, čekajte. Što ako totalna estetizacija nije rezultat curenja nekog nekrotičnog umjetničkog etera u stvarni svijet, nekog smrtonosnog zagađivača izbačenog iz utvrde revolucionarnog modernizma i suvremene umjetnosti? Što ako je ona upravo suprotna tome: unutarnja navala prethodno previđene kreativne produktivnosti (ponekad i neproduktivnosti) u koju se ubrajaju amater, neformalni umjetnik, umjetnik društvenog pokreta, sve te redundantne energije koje stvaraju svakodnevnici, čak i banalni, zamišljajući svakog muškarca i žene koji danas zaposjedaju prostor što je umjetnost nekada odvajao od društva? To se može usporediti s iznenadnim deblokiranjem onoga što su Alexander Kluge i Oskar Negt jednom opisali kao





*Right to the
City, Zagreb,*

2010–2011 •

PHOTOGRAPHS:

TOMISLAV MEDAK

*Pravo na grad,
Zagreb,*

2010–2011. •

FOTOGRAFIJE:

TOMISLAV MEDAK



Negt once described as the counter-public sphere: a realm of working class fantasy just below the surface of productive disciplines aimed at negating the alienating conditions of capitalism.²⁷ Or we could refer to this process as the illumination of a previously hidden creative mass or artistic “dark matter” consisting of informal acts of everyday resistance, as well as resentments, both of which are necessary for the reproduction of the institutional art world.²⁸ It is an aestheticization from below that drags with it all manner of things, including both politically correct and reactionary ideas and images and affects, pop-cultural garbage and advertising schemes, sentiments, militancy, bathos, nostalgia and racism. It is like a carnival of attractions or Borges’ Chinese encyclopedia, messy and impure and excessive, but it comes with its own means of survival. John Roberts recently described the vast yet marginalized sphere of non-market activity as art’s “second

protu-javnu sferu: područje fantazije radničke klase, smješteno tik pod površinom proizvodnih disciplina, kojem je cilj negacija otuđenosti kapitalističkih uvjeta.²⁷ Ili taj proces možemo nazvati iluminacijom prethodno skrivene kreativne mase, ili umjetničke “tamne tvari”, koju tvore neformalni činovi svakodnevnog otpora, kao i ogorčenost, oboje neophodni za reproduciranje institucionalnog svijeta umjetnosti.²⁸ U pitanju je estetizacija odozdo koja sa sobom dovlači svakojake stvari, među kojima i politički korektne i reakcionarne ideje, slike i afekte, pop-kulturno smeće i oglašivačke sheme, sentimente, militantnost, banalnost, nostalgiju i rasizam. To je kao karneval atrakcija ili Borgesova Kineska enciklopedija, neuredno i nečisto i pretjerano, ali dolazi s vlastitim načinima preživljavanja. John Roberts nedavno je opisao ogromnu, ali marginaliziranu sferu netržišnih aktivnosti kao “drugu ekonomiju” umjetnosti.²⁹ Ona je također ekstremno egalitarna. Na kraju krajeva,

- 27 "Throughout history, living labor has, along with the surplus value extracted from it, carried on its own production—within fantasy... by virtue of its mode of production, fantasy constitutes an unconscious practical critique of alienation." Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, University of Minnesota Press, London, 1993, p. 32
- 28 Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*, Pluto Press, London, 2010

- 27 "Tijekom povijesti, živi rad je, zajedno s viškom vrijednosti koji se iz njega izvlačio, imao i vlastitu proizvodnju — u fantaziji... zbog načina na koji nastaje, fantazija stvara nesvjesnu praktičnu kritiku otuđenja." Oskar Negt i Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience*, University of Minnesota, London, 1993., str. 32
- 28 Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*, Pluto Press, London, 2010.
- 29 Parafrazirajući moj koncept tamne tvari, Roberts taj modus operandi svijeta umjetnosti iz sjene opisuje kao drugu ekonomiju umjetnosti koju stvaraju pojedinci i grupe što zbog nužnosti, ili iz političkih uvjerenja, djeluju izvan uobičajenih kanala umjetničke proizvodnje i razmjene. U njih se ubrajaju podzaposleni profesionalci, umjetnici amateri, hobisti i studenti umjetnosti, odnosno "unaprijed propali" umjetnici. John Roberts, *Revolutionary Time and Avant-Garde*, Verso, London, 2015., str. 23–26

economy.”²⁹ And it’s also egalitarian to an extreme. After all, any kid today with a 3D printer can be a Jeff Koons tomorrow. In truth this *trouble from below* has been ongoing far longer than the present wave of art activism suggests, though what most distinguishes this current occupation of art and aesthetics is its very composition: the armies of angry, pre-failed MFA students, the self-organizing, unwarded art laborers, including especially those who have recently been woken up by *Occupy Wall Street*, the *Indignados Movement*, *Black Lives Matter*. If art activism is a new phenomenon then it is as much the result of the 2008 financial collapse and the ongoing predicament of global capitalism in general as it is a turn outward of art world aesthetics. Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.) makes the link explicit,

“Wall Street is an abstract space, everywhere and nowhere at once. By de-occupying it, we created space for collective

svaki klinac koji danas ima 3D printer sutra može postati Jeff Koons. Zapravo ta *opasnost odozdo* traje puno duže nego što to val umjetničkog aktivizma koji upravo traje pokazuje, ali ono u čemu se aktualna okupacija umjetnosti i estetike najviše razlikuje jesu ljudi koji je provode: vojska ljutih, unaprijed propalih studenata postdiplomskih studija umjetnosti, samorganiziranih, potplaćenih radnika koji rade za umjetnost među koje se prije svega ubrajaju oni što su zbog *Occupy Wall Street*, *Indignados Movement*, *Black Lives Matter* nedavno progledali. Ako je umjetnički aktivizam novi fenomen, tada je u jednakoj mjeri rezultat financijskog kolapsa iz 2008. i škripca u kojem se općenito nalazi kapitalizam koliko i zaokreta prema van iz estetike svijeta umjetnosti. Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.) to eksplicitno povezuje:

“Wall Street je apstraktan prostor, istovremeno svugdje i nigdje. Time što smo ga deokupirali, stvorili smo prostor

29 Riffing off my concept of Dark Matter, Roberts describes this shadow art world's modus operandi as a second art economy made up of individuals and groups who, for reasons of necessity or political persuasion, operate outside mainstream channels of artistic production and exchange including underemployed professionals, amateur artists, hobbyists and art students, aka "pre-failed" artists in John Roberts, *Revolutionary Time and the Avant-Garde*, Verso, London, 2015, pp. 23–26



G.U.L.F., *Guggenheim Occupation*, NYC, May 1 2015

G.U.L.F., *Okupacija Guggenheima*, New York City, 1. maj 2015.

powers to surge forth and for struggles to connect with one another. Walking together, we have asked questions. How do we live? What is freedom? What does solidarity look like? What role can art play?”³⁰

G.U.L.F. answers its own question by dramatically occupying the Guggenheim Museum on May Day 2015 in New York City, and then again a week later in Venice, Italy during the 56th Venice Biennale *All the World's Futures* organized by Okwui Enwezor. Both actions sought to call attention to the plight of migrant labor in Abu Dhabi where the museum is in the process of constructing a new contemporary art museum.³¹ If Wall Street is an ubiquitous abstract space, then so too is the realm of high culture as well. It sits at the nexus of capital, art and cheap precarious surpluses of overabundant labor. All of which makes it possible for artistic production to once again be

kolektivnim snagama da izbiju naprijed i da se borbe međusobno povežu. Hodajući rame uz rame, postavljali smo pitanja. Kako živimo? Što je sloboda? Kako izgleda solidarnost? Kakvu ulogu može imati umjetnost?”³⁰

G.U.L.F. na vlastita pitanja daje odgovor dramatičnom okupacijom Muzeja Guggenheim na 1. maj 2015. u New York Cityju, a potom tjedan kasnije u Veneciji, za trajanja 56. Venecijanskog bijenala *All the Worlds Futures* koji je organizirao Okwui Enwezor. Obje akcije htjele su ukazati na teško stanje migrantskog rada u Abu Dhabiju gdje Muzej Guggenheim upravo gradi novi zgradu za suvremenu umjetnost.³¹ Ako je Wall Street naširoko rasprostranjen apstraktni prostor, tada je to isto i područje visoke kulture. Ono počiva na jezgri kapitala, umjetnosti i jeftinih prekarnih viškova preobilja rada. A sve to zajedno omogućava da umjetnička proizvodnja opet bude u

- 30** G.U.L.F. op cit. the concept of “de-occupying” space is explained by group members this way: “The de-occupy is intentional as, for a variety of reasons, we should consider our spaces as occupied — this land taken from its native people and occupied; our workplaces, taken by capital from the people, the workers, and occupied; we live under occupation; our struggle is to de-occupy. This knowledge emerged from the *Occupy* experience and its criticism by de-colonizing movements in NYC and workers movements in Delhi. Nitasha shared something relating to this as an example from the ground too.” (Cited from an email from Amin Husain and Nitasha Dhillon, 2/14/2016).
- 31** For the most recent developments about these actions and the museum’s response see: <http://gulflabor.org/> and full disclosure the author of this essay is himself a core member of Gulf Labor Coalition.

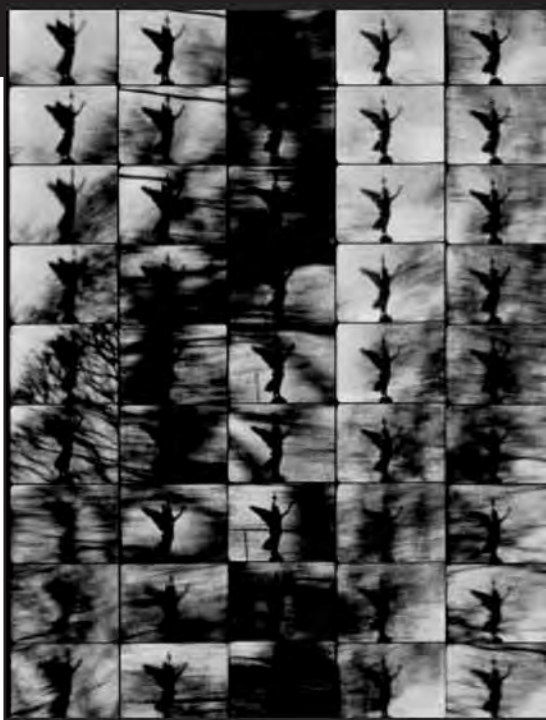
- 30** G.U.L.F., op. cit. Članovi grupe ovako su objasnili koncept “de-okupacije” prostora: “De-okupacija je namjerna jer, zbog niza razloga, vlastite prostore trebamo smatrati okupiranima — ova je zemlja oduzeta ljudima koji su na njoj rođeni i okupirana; naša radna mjesta, koja je kapital oduzeo ljudima, radnicima, također su okupirana; mi živimo pod okupacijom, borimo se za de-okupaciju. To znanje stekli smo iskustvom u *Occupy*, i iz kritika de-kolonizatorskih pokreta u New York Cityju i radničkih pokreta u Delhiju. Nitasha je podijelila nešto u vezi s tim što je i primjer s terena.” (Citirano iz e-maila Amina Husaina i Nitashas Dhillon, 14. veljače 2016.)
- 31** Za najnoviji razvoj događaja vezanih uz te akcije i kako je muzej na njih odgovorio vidi na: <http://gulflabor.org/> gdje se objelodanjuje činjenica da je autor ovoga eseja angažirani član Gulf Labor Coalition.

at the center of a struggle over definitions and possibilities not only regarding what might constitute a genuine avant-garde practice – something perhaps achievable only through its very denial – but also about the nature of creativity, democracy, political agency, public space and perhaps even revolution. It is not artistic ideals or critical theories but capitalism itself, with its seemingly endless destructive-creativity, that spurs the total spectacularization of everything. Capital annihilates space through labor-saving technologies and ultra-fast financial transactions. Of course modern aesthetic theory played its part in this breaching event. But when Groys focuses on Benjamin's invocation of Klee's *Angelus Novus* who he writes "moves into the future—but backwards," and then concludes that this image represents a "U-turn on the road towards the future," we do not have to reject Benjamin's deep suspicion of historical progress in order to invoke a different reading. The

središtu borbe oko definicija i mogućnosti, ne samo u pogledu onoga od čega bi trebala biti sastavljena izvorna avangardna praksa – nešto što je možda moguće postići jedino tako da se porekne – nego i u pogledu prirode kreativnosti, demokracije, političkog djelovanja, javnog prostora a možda čak i revolucije. Totalnu spektakularizaciju svega ne potiču umjetnički ideali i kritičke teorije nego sam kapitalizam sa svojom naoko beskonačnom destruktivnom kreativnošću. Kapital poništava prostor koristeći se tehnologijama koje reduciraju rad i super-brzim financijskim transakcijama. Naravno da moderna teorija estetike igra ulogu u tom prijelomnom događaju. No kada se Groys usredotoči na Benjaminovu invokaciju Kleeova *Angelusa Novusa* koji se, kako on piše, "idući unatrag premješta u budućnost" i potom zaključi da ta slika predstavlja "kružni zaokret na putu u budućnost" mi ne moramo odbaciti Benjaminovu duboku sumnju u historijski progres da bismo potakli



*Angelus Novus
in Berlin,
16 mm strips
from Daniel
Eisenberg's
1997 film
Persistence.*



*Angelus Novus
u Berlinu, 16mm
trake iz filma
Persistence
(Ustrajnost)
Daniela
Eisenberga,
1997.*

German philosopher's call to politicize art asks committed practitioners to focus on the radicalization of culture's means of production, thus bringing art into closer proximity with the actual, continually evolving imaginary of the working class, as well as nearer to an encounter with "now-time," or *jetztzeit*, a moment ripe with revolutionary possibilities.³² And for better and sometimes for worse, that imaginary is where the "2 Rs" of *resistance* and *ressentiment* animate social movements on the Left as well as the Right.

As ultra-deregulated corporate interests transform all previously private as well as public spaces into a fully monetized pseudo-commons, they also convert more and more of the population into an unemployable surplus and transform mainstream art into what Ian Nilliss has called a "neo-liberal business model."³³ The 2 Rs intensify and entangle. The result is the amplification of previously unarticulated forms of so-

drukčije čitanje. Poziv njemačkoga filozofa na politizaciju umjetnosti traži od posvećenih praktičara da se usredotoče na radikalizaciju sredstava kulturne proizvodnje i tako umjetnost dovedu bliže postojećem imaginariju radničke klase koji se neprestano razvija, kao i bliže susretu sa "sadašnjim vremenom" ili *jetztzeit*-om, trenutkom bremenitim revolucionarnim mogućnostima.³² Na sreću, a ponekad i nesreću, taj imaginarij je mjesto gdje "dva R", rezistencija i resantiman, daju poticaj društvenim pokretima i ljevice i desnice.

Kako krajnje neregulirani korporativni interesi pretvaraju sve prostore, bez obzira na to jesu li bili privatni ili javni, u potpuno monetizirano pseudo-zajedničko dobro, tako se sve više i više populacije pretvara u nezaposliv višak i pretvara mainstream umjetnost u ono što je Ian Nilliss nazvao "neo-liberalnim modelom poslovanja".³³ Dva R jačaju i spajaju se. Rezultat je amplifikacija prethodno neartikuliranih formi so-

32 Walter Benjamin, *Thesis on the Philosophy of History*, 1940

33 Ian Milliss, *Love Among the Ruins*:

<http://milliss.com/love-among-the-ruins/>

32 Walter Benjamin, *Thesis on the Philosophy of History*, 1940. [VIDI: Walter Benjamin: *Uz kritiku sile: eseji*, Razlog, Zagreb, 1971.; *Eseji*, Nolit, Beograd, 1974; "Povijesno-filozofijske teze", u: *Novi anđeo*, Antibarbarus, Zagreb, 2008.]

33 Ian Milliss, *Love Among the Ruins*,

<http://milliss.com/love-among-the-ruins/>

cial imagination. The activation of this surplus dark matter is both exciting and dangerous. It simultaneously opens up new channels for creative expression and participation, and it also gives public access to less savory forms of thought and conduct exemplified by the rising visibility of France's National Front, the British National Party, the Danish People's Party, the Dutch and Austrian Freedom Party, Greece's Golden Dawn, and the Right wing militias and reactionary "Trumpster" Nationalists here in the USA. It is not the jiffy clean revolutionary process that Groys forecasts, unfortunately. But throughout it all the desire to experience something, to encounter anything of value, any actuality that lies beyond that slim space left to most of us by the current affective phase of capitalism, is a hope that drives on the occupation of art by life, simultaneously explaining the continued growth of art school applicants at a time of increasing debt and precarity.

cijalne imaginacije. Aktivacija tog viška tamne tvari uzbudljiva je i opasna. Ona simultano otvara nove kanale za kreativno izražavanje i participaciju te također dopušta javni pristup manje primamljivim oblicima mišljenja i ponašanja čemu je primjer sve veća vidljivost francuske Nacionalne fronte, Britanske Nacionalne stranke, danske Narodne stranke, nizozemske i austrijske Slobodarske stranke, grčke Zlatne zore te militantne desnice i Trumpovih reakcionarnih nacionalista ovdje u SAD-u. Nije, nažalost, u pitanju kristalno čist revolucionarni proces kakav Groys predviđa. Ali kroza sve to žudnja da se nešto doživi, da se susretnemo s nečim vrijednim, sa stvarnošću koja počiva iza tog uskog prostora kojeg je većini nas ostavila trenutna afektivna faza kapitalizma, ostaje nada koju pogoni okupiranje umjetnosti životom i koja objašnjava stalni rast prijavljenih u umjetničke škole u vremenima porasta dugova i prekariteta.

— *Coda* —

— *Coda* —

“The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language.” — KARL MARX³⁴

I am trying to forget the many debates we endlessly engaged in back in the 1980s: art versus activism, politics versus aesthetics, representation versus direct action, all those many disputes built on the unresolved wrangling of previous generations that was our inheritance from such collectives as Angry Arts, The Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, Art Workers Coalition,

“Tradicija svih mrtvih generacija pritišće kao noćna mora mozgove živih. I baš kao što se čini da su živi okupirani revolucionariziranjem sebe i stvari, stvarajući nešto što prije nije postojalo, upravo u takvim epohama revolucionarnih kriza oni uznemireno prizivaju duhove prošlosti u svoju službu, posuđuju od njih imena, slogane bitaka i kostime s ciljem da predstave tu novu scenu svjetske povijesti pod ‘krinkom dugovječnosti’ i posuđenim jezikom.”
— KARL MARX³⁴

Pokušavam zaboraviti mnoge rasprave u kojima smo se 1980-ih angažirali bez kraja i konca: umjetnost versus aktivizam, politika versus estetika, reprezentacija versus izravna akcija, sva ta mnoga razmimoilaženja nastala na neriješenim prepirkama prethodnih generacija koje smo naslijedili od kolektiva poput Angry Arts, The Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, Art

34 Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852),
CreateSpace Publishing edition, 2015, p.15

34 Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte* (1852),
CreateSpace Publishing edition, 2015., str.15

Guerilla Art Action Group, and Artists Meeting for Cultural Change to mention only a few of these informal factions of the 1960s and 1970s. I am trying to avoid activating the pre-programmed subroutines and definitions that kick-in for me whenever “art” and “activism” appear together in a sentence such as this one. I am therefore attempting a cold, grey-matter reboot based on the ludicrous assertion that art activism is a *new phenomenon*. After all, my own ruminations in the dark archive of art’s missing mass have not always been entirely positive; my findings not always progressive or politically healthy. I will perform this scholarly misdeed by *actively forgetting* four decades of accumulated research, writing and politically engaged art practice. First proposed by Friedrich Nietzsche and elaborated upon by Jacques Derrida among others, active forgetting is the tactical withdrawal of memory that simultaneously erases and makes legible the

Workers Coalition, Guerilla Art Action Group i Artists Meeting for Cultural Change da spomenem samo neke od neformalnih frakcija iz 1960-ih i 1970-ih. Pokušavam izbjeći aktivaciju prethodno programiranih subrutina i definicija koje me zadesi kad god se u istoj rečenici zajedno pojave “umjetnost” i “aktivizam” kao što se pojavljuju u ovoj. Pokušavam stoga ponovno pokrenuti program, hladno i iz glave, polazeći od apsurdne tvrdnje da je umjetnički aktivizam *novi fenomen*. Na kraju krajeva, moja vlastita traženja nedostajuće mase umjetnosti u mračnom arhivu nisu uvijek bila do kraja pozitivna, a ono što sam pronalazio nije uvijek bili progresivno ili politički zdravo. Izvest ću ovo znanstveno nedjelo *tako da aktivno zaboravim* četiri desetljeća akumuliranih istraživanja, pisanja i politički angažirane umjetničke prakse. Aktivno zaboravljanje, koje je prvi predložio Friedrich Nietzsche, a razradio, među ostalima, Jacques Derrida, jest *taktičko* povlačenje memorije koje

Protesters cross the
Williamsburg Bridge on May 1,
2012 • PHOTOGRAPHY: STEPHEN
NESSEN / WNYC

Prosvjednici prelaze Most
Williamsburg, 1. maj, 2012,
New York City. • FOTOGRAFIJA:
STEPHEN NESSEN / WNYC

<http://www.wnyc.org/story/the-brian-lehrer-show-2016-05-02>



archive and its feverish hold over us.³⁵ But make no mistake, my conduct unbecoming does not void the previous critique of Groys' oversights delivered with what I hope is sufficient academic protocol above. Instead the aim now is to locate what Bruno Bosteels calls an "enabling fiction," a transparent lie capable of restoring to the beleaguered Left it's lost emancipatory imaginary.³⁶ How else to counter the non-stop crisis that thus far is the 21st Century? For regardless of whatever "time-honored disguise and borrowed language" a pending confrontation ultimately adopts the fateful rendezvous of liberty and barbarism seems increasingly imminent. So *Cna-убо* Professor Groys, this is my attempt at reset:

OCCUPY, ORGANIZE & REPEAT

Art activism appears to be a "made for TV" event. Whether it seeks to raise awareness of racism, xenophobia, class privilege,

simultano briše i čini čitljivim arhiv i grozničavi stisak kojim nas drži.³⁵ Ne dajte se zavarati, moje neprilično ponašanje ne poništava prethodno iznesenu kritiku Groysova previda koju sam ovdje iznio s, nadam se, dovoljno akademskog protokla. Sada je umjesto toga cilj locirati ono što Bruno Bosteels naziva "poticajnom fikcijom", ili transparentnom laži koja je u stanju povratiti zaposjednutoj ljevici njen izgubljeni emancipatorski imaginarij.³⁶ Kako se inače nositi s krizom koja ne prestaje a zove se 21. stoljeće? Bez obzira na to koju će "krinku dugovječnosti" i posuđeni jezik nerazriješena konfrontacija na kraju usvojiti, čini se da je sve više neizbježan sudbinski renevezvous slobode i barbarizma. Pa *спасиба*, profesore Groys, ovo je moj pokušaj resetiranja:

OKUPIRAJ, ORGANIZIRAJ & PONOVI

Umjetnički aktivizam čini se kao događaj "stvoren za TV".

- 35** Nietzsche's notion of active forgetting pivots on a tactical withdrawal of memory that as Gayatri Spivak describes in her unforgettable introduction to Derrida's *Of Grammatology* "protects the human being from the blinding light of an absolute historical memory (that will, among other things, reveal that 'truths' spring from 'interpretations'), as well as an attribute boldly chosen by the philosopher in order to avoid falling into the trap of 'historical knowledge.'" Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, John Hopkins University Press, 1967, Spivak's introduction p.xxxii
- 36** "Insofar as it breaks with the given assignation of tasks and aptitudes supposedly inscribed in our very own bodily frames, all emancipatory politics relies on a degree of fiction, namely, on the fictive gap between a given task the aptitude that alone is supposed to make a subject or group of subjects fit for it." Bruno Bosteels, *The Actuality of Communism*, Verso Books, 2011, p.264

- 35** Nietzscheov pojam aktivnog zaboravljanja vrti se oko taktičkog povlačenja pamćenja koje, kako Gayatri Spivak opisuje u nezaboravnom uvodu Derridinoj knjizi *O gramatologiji* "štiti ljudsko biće od zasljepljujućeg svjetla apsolutnog povijesnog pamćenja (što će, između ostaloga, otkriti da 'istine' proizlaze iz 'interpretacija'), kao i atribut koji je filozof hrabro izabrao s ciljem da izbjegne padanje u zamku 'historijskog znanja.'" Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1967.; uvod G. Spivak, str.xxxii
- 36** "Sve dok raskidaju sa zadanom dodjelom dužnosti i sposobnosti koje su navodno upisane u naša vlastita tijela, sve emancipatorske politike oslanjaju se na neki stupanj fikcije, točnije, na fiktivni jaz između dodijeljenog zadatka i sposobnosti da ga se ispuni koji bi sama po sebi trebala učiniti neki subjekt ili grupu subjekata spremnom da ga obavi." Bruno Bosteels, *The Actuality of Communism*, Verso Books, London – New York, 2011., str.264

or the overturning of bad government policies the implicit rationale of an action only becomes visible to most people at the moment its documentation hijacks the mass media as a news report or shareable video. Art activism, in other words, is primarily experienced only in the past tense. But what if we shift our perspective to focus on the activism of art activism? What if we view it as an event-object situated partially in the here and now, and partially in a time, place and medium still to come?³⁷ Like some vibrant ante-archival agency this version of direct art action interrupts the present by drawing upon its own impending futurity. And with this weird temporality in play bodies momentary bypass the routinized blockages and choreographed movements built into the very structure of corporate atriums, policed streets, privatized spaces and museum lobbies. Which is to say, perhaps the most unsettling aspect of artistic activism may not

Bez obzira želi li se njime povećati svijest o rasizmu, ksenofobiji, klasnim privilegijama ili rušenju loše vladine politike, implicitan razlog za djelovanje većini ljudi postaje vidljiv tek u trenutku kada njegovo dokumentiranje zauzme masovne medije u obliku vijesti ili videa koji se može podijeliti s drugima. Umjetnički aktivizam, drugim riječima, prvenstveno se doživljava tek u prošlom vremenu. No što ako promijenimo perspektivu i prebacimo fokus na *aktivizam* u umjetničkom aktivizmu? Što ako ga vidimo kao događaj-objekt djelomično smješten u ovdje i sada, a djelomično u vremenu, prostoru i mediju koji tek dolaze?³⁷ Poput nekog živahnog preteče tvrtki za digitalno arhiviranje, ta verzija izravne umjetničke akcije prekida sadašnjost crpeći iz njene predstojeće budućnosti. I s tom čudnom temporalnošću u igri, tijela trenutačno premošćuju rutinske blokade i koreografirane pokrete koji su ugrađeni u samu strukturu korporacijskih atrija, ulica koje

37 Unlike Alain Badiou's concept of event, which rewrites history writ large, this proposed event-object is far more modest in scope, though it still offers a glimpse of change conceivable on a larger scale.

37 Za razliku od koncepta događaja Alaina Badioua koji nanovo ispisuje očiglednu povijest, ovaj događaj-objekt koji tu predlažem puno je skromnijih dosega iako i dalje nudi tračak promjena koje se mogu postići u većim razmjerima.

be the viral video or spectacular photograph but the moment participants and bystanders are temporarily disengaged from familiar social narratives and forced to confront their own tacit state of *un-freedom*.³⁸ Returning us to key questions posed above: does this singular event-object evade the distended institutional critique paradigm inferred by Groys, and can it slice through the historical loops of Steyerl's Gordian knot? Yes. And no. And yes.

Regarding the return of institutional critique there is every reason to believe, following Marx, that art world intellectuals, curators and critics will continue to apply this now orthodox terminology to every cultural trend that gains visibility at any given moment.³⁹ However, the sublation of artistic production by the global marketplace (and ultimately by finance capital) just as all social organizations are being hollowed-out by private interests means the critique of institutions must either

nadzire policija, privatiziranih prostora i muzejskih predvorja. Što znači da najuznemirujući aspekt umjetničkog aktivizma možda nije viralni video ili spektakularna fotografija nego trenutak kada se sudionici i promatrači sa strane privremeno odvoje od poznatih socijalnih narativa prisiljeni suočiti se s vlastitim, prešutnim stanjem *ne-slobode*.³⁸ Čime se vraćamo na ključna pitanja koja smo prethodno postavili: da li pojedinačni događaj-objekt izbjegava rasprostranjenu paradigmu institucionalne kritike koju je izveo Groys i može li ona presjeći historijske petlje gordijskog čvora Hito Steyerl? Da. I ne. I da.

Što se tiče povratka institucionalne kritike, postoje svi razlozi da se povjeruje u to da će, na tragu Marxa, svi intelektualci, kustosi i kritičari iz svijeta umjetnosti nastaviti koristiti ovu sada ortodoksnu terminologiju za svaki kulturni trend koji će steći vidljivost u bilo kojem trenutku.³⁹ Međutim, globalno tržište (i u konačnici financijski kapital) poriču umjetničke

- 38** "A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress," writes Herbert Marcuse in the introduction to *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, Beacon Press, 1964. p.1
- 39** Even artists associated with the youthful Brooklyn "return to painting" movement can be slotted into this framework, see for example Rebekah Kirkman, "Paul Gagner paints anxiety and institutional critique in his solo show at Guest Spot," *City Paper*, January 20, 2016: <http://www.citypaper.com/arts/visualart/bcp-012016-art-paul-gagner-20160120-story.html>

- 38** "Udobna, mekana, razumna, demokratska nesloboda koja prevladava u naprednoj industrijskoj civilizaciji, simbol je tehničkog napretka", piše Herbert Marcuse u uvodu *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964., str. 1 [VIDI PRIJEVOD: Herbet Marcuse, *Čovjek jedne dimenzije*, Veselin Masleša – Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1968.]
- 39** Čak se i umjetnici povezani s mlađahnim pokretom "povratak slikarstvu" iz Brooklyna mogu svrstati u taj okvir, vidi na primjer Rebekah Kirkman, "Paul Gagner paints anxiety and institutional critique in his solo show at Guest Spot", *City Paper*, 20. siječnja 2016.; <http://www.citypaper.com/arts/visualart/bcp-012016-art-paul-gagner-2016120-story.html>

take aim far beyond the cultural sphere, or as Fraser opines wallow in its own victimhood. Most activist art and social movement culture recognizes and embraces the conundrum. As G.U.L.F. affirms,

“We recognize that our work, our creativity, and our potential are channeled into the operations and legitimization of the system. We work—often precariously—as both exploiters and exploited, but we do not cynically resign ourselves to this morbid status quo.”⁴⁰

Escaping from crisis capitalism’s “groundhog day” effect is more challenging. Even as art activism leaks the future into the present it cannot help but leak the past in along with it. After all, art activism’s very form recapitulates decades, even centuries of embodied resistance to unjust laws, exploitation and authoritarian power. Still, the activist event-object does

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proizvodnje upravo u trenutku kada društvene organizacije nagrizaju privatni interesi što znači da kritika institucija mora ciljati puno dalje od sfere kulture ili se, kako misli Fraser, valjati u vlastitom bivanju žrtvom. Većina aktivističke umjetnosti i kulture društvenih pokreta priznaje i prihvaća tu dubiozu. Kako tvrdi G.U.L.F.:

“Mi priznajemo da se naš rad, naša kreativnost i naš potencijal usmjeravaju prema djelovanju i legitimizaciji sustava. Mi radimo – često prekarno – kao izrabljivači i kao oni koje se izrabljuje, ali ne prepuštamo se s cinizmom tom morbidnom statusu quo.”⁴⁰

Način da se umakne efektu “beskonačnog dana” krize kapitalizma je tim više izazovan. Čak i kad umjetnički aktivizam propušta budućnost u sadašnjost, ne može izbjeći da zajedno s budućnošću ne propusti i prošlost. Na kraju krajeva, sama





Members of Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.), S.a.L.E. Docks and other supporters of the *Gulf Labor Boycott of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi* occupying the loading doc of the *Peggy Guggenheim Collection* in Venice Italy on May 8th, 2015, opening week of the Venice Biennial.

Pripadnici Global Ultra Luxury Faction (G.U.L.F.), S.a.L.E. Docks i dugi aktivisti koji su podržali *Gulf Labor Boycott of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi* okupiraju pristup *Zbirci Peggy Guggenheim* u Veneciji, 8. svibnja 2015., za vrijeme otvorenja Venecijanskog bijenala.

not treat the future prescriptively by championing any specific utopian model, other than perhaps a very broad claim to this or that notion of *the commons*.⁴¹ Instead, futurity enters into the present as a short-lived confirmation proving that the catastrophic repetition of time imposed by capitalism is not inexorable (even if the consequences of this demonstration are not always clear-cut or progressive). And just as capitalist time can only ever offer the eternal return of the M-C-M commodity form, art action counters with its own perennial and redundant adversarial ontologies. Under conditions of post-democratic, ultra-deregulated markets, even these very temporary scraps of resistance against disciplinary time and space are disturbing to the moribund status quo. For one thing their materiality generates spontaneous encounters with experiential knowledge via collective bodies that is quite different from the regimented training of individuals implicit within

forma umjetničkog aktivizma rekapitulira desetljeća, čak i stoljeća utjelovljenog otpora nepravednim zakonima, eksploataciji i autoritarnoj moći. Ipak, aktivistički događaj-objekt ne tretira budućnost preskriptivno boreći se za neki od utopijskih modela osim možda vrlo širokog prisvajanja ovoga ili onoga shvaćanja *zajedničkog dobra*.⁴¹ Umjesto toga, budućnost ulazi u sadašnjost kao kratkotrajna potvrda koja dokazuje da katastrofično ponavljanje vremena koje nameće kapitalizam nije neizbježno (čak ni ako posljedice izloženosti tome nisu uvijek jasno određene ili progresivne). I baš kao što kapitalističko vrijeme može samo i jedino ponuditi vječno vraćanje oblika dobara novac-roba-novac, umjetničko djelovanje susreće se s vlastitim trajnim i redundantnim neprijateljskim ontologijama. Nakon uvjeta postdemokratskih i krajnje nereguliranih tržišta, čak i ove vrlo privremene mrvice otpora disciplinarnom vremenu i prostoru uznemiruju

- 41 "The commons has become a crucial keyword in the language of critical theory, social movements, and activism in many parts of the world" writes Sandro Mezzadra, just one of many theorists adopting this term with varying degrees of political fuzziness today. This citation is from the preface to a new reader geared towards the emerging discipline of "communing studies" entitled *Space, Power and The Commons: The Struggle for Alternative Futures*, Kirwan, Dawney, Brigstoke editors, Routledge Books, 2016

- 41 "Zajedničko dobro je postalo presudna ključna riječ u jeziku kritičke teorije, društvenih pokreta i aktivizma u mnogim dijelovima svijeta", piše Sandro Mezzadra, jedan od mnogih teoretičara koji su taj pojam danas prihvatili s različitim stupnjem političke nejasnoće. Ovaj citat prenosim iz predgovora novom zborniku koji je orijentiran prema novonastajućoj disciplini "zajedničarskih studija", a čiji je naslov *Space, Power and The Commons: The Struggle for Alternative Futures*, urednici Kirwan, Dawney i Brigstoke, Routledge Books, 2016.

institutional spaces. This in turn has unpredictable outcomes. Some participants will experience activist art as liberating and therefore also pleasurable and possibly even motivating towards further political reflection and action. In this sense the event-object represents the possibility of a truly complex praxis that joins theory with embodied action. At the same time art activism is experienced quite differently by those wedded to the disciplinary regimes of the status quo. It may appear baffling and therefore possibly paralyzing, or more worrisome still, it might be perceived as terrifying, and thus serve as a spur for preexisting feelings of rage and resentment.

Regressive mass animosity grows in intensity today, claiming political legitimacy via the US presidential campaign of Donald Trump as well as a half dozen other chauvinist and anti-immigrant movements emerging across the developed world. These political factions are the antithesis of futurity.

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status quo na izdisaju. Njihova materijalnost stvara spontane susrete s iskustvenim znanjem preko kolektivnih tijela što se prilično razlikuje od uniformiranog treninga pojedinaca koje je implicitno institucionalnim prostorima. To zauzvrat ima nepredvidive ishode. Neki sudionici doživjet će aktivističku umjetnost kao oslobađajuću pa zbog toga i ugodnu a možda čak i motivirajuću za daljnje promišljanje politike i djelovanja. U tom smislu događaj-objekt predstavlja mogućnost istinski kompleksnog *praxisa* koji spaja teoriju s utjelovljenim djelovanjem. Umjetnički aktivizam potpuno drukčije doživljavaju oni koji su združeni s režimima i njihovim disciplinama za održavanje *statusa quo*. Može se činiti nestalan pa stoga i djelovati paralizirajuće, ili, što u većoj mjeri zabrinjava, može djelovati zastrašujuće i zato služi kao potkrijepa prethodno postojećim osjećajima bijesa i ogorčenosti.





Flash Mob outside BBVA Bank, their chants include: "This Is Not a Crisis, It Is Called Capitalism," and "Banker, Banker, Banker Rumba Rave", Seville. Circa 2015

Flash mob ispred banke BBVA, u njihovoj pjesmi čuje se i: "Ovo nije kriza, ovo se zove kapitalizam", i "Bankaru, Bankaru, Bankaru Rumba Rave", Sevilla, 2015. (?)

They seek to bring history to a close, but not in the liberal-democratic way Francis Fukuyama once famously championed following the collapse of the Cold War in 1989 as capitalism “normalized” a faltering socialist East.⁴² Instead, the new “end of history” is a lot like the Far Right’s drive to eliminate all forms of governance in so far as it appeals to a near-apocalyptic mania for the total, claustrophobic monetization of daily life down to the last detail, be it public or private, singular or collective, even including the mental and spiritual dimensions of our inner existence (there are for instance technologies being developed that will profitably mine our dreams⁴³). This is where activist art makes its detour towards an unknown and different event horizon quite unlike the U-turn of failed conventionality or expanded institutional critique proposed by Groys.⁴⁴ If some new aesthetic phenomenon is indeed being generated by this so-called *new wave* of art activism it

Intenzitet regresivnog masovnog animoziteta u Americi danas raste, prisvaja pravo na politički legitimitet putem predsjedničke kampanje Donalda Trampa i nekoliko drugih šovinističkih i protuuseljeničkih pokreta koji se pojavljuju diljem razvijenog svijeta. Te su političke frakcije antiteza onoga što dolazi. Oni žele dovesti povijest do kraja, ali ne na liberalno-demokratski način na koji je to Francis Fukuyama jednom slavno zastupao nakon sloma Hladnog rata 1989. kada je kapitalizam “normalizirao” klimavi socijalistički Istok.⁴² Umjesto toga, novi “kraj povijesti” uvelike je nalik porivu krajnje desnice da eliminira sve oblike vlasti u onoj mjeri u kojoj je to privlačno gotovo apokaliptičnoj maniji za potpunom, klasutrofobičnom monetizacijom svakodnevnog života sve do najmanjeg detalja, javnog ili privatnog, pojedinačnog ili kolektivnog, a u to se ubraja čak i mentalna i duhovna dimenzija našeg unutarnjeg postojanja (razvijaju se, primjerice,

- 42** Of course this neo-Hegelian approach played directly into the needs of neo-liberal capital, see: Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" first published in *The National Interest* 1989, online at: <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>
- 43** Elizabeth Landau, "Scan a brain, read a mind?", *CNN* April 12, 2014: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/12/health/brain-mind-reading/>
SEE ALSO: Kelly Bulkely, "Data-Mining Our Dreams", *The New York Times*, October 18, 2013
- 44** None of this of course alters the point Marx made more than a century and a half ago that all political transformations conjure up their own set of ghosts, though it does likely explain why Groys misread the specter of art activism as a "new phenomenon."

- 42** Naravno, taj neo-hegelijanski pristup igrao je direktno u korist neoliberalnog kapitala. VIDI: Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History", prvi put objavljeno u *The National Interest* 1989., online na: <http://www.wesjones.com/eoh.htm>

is not found within the predictably utilitarian moment of documentation alone, but rather is embedded deep within the structure of the event itself. Like a vibrant, archival agency the activist event-object is made up of past, present and future possibilities, always already compromised, certainly, but also simultaneously brimming with probabilities and uncertainties. Which is why any new wave of art activism is not only *not* “new,” *it is entirely new*, it is a repetition of the type that can only happen once, and then once again, and then once again. *Occupy, organize and repeat.* ✕

tehnologije koje će profitabilno kopati po našim snovima⁴³). I tu umjetnički aktivizam radi zaokret prema nepoznatom i različitom horizontu događanja, nimalo nalik kružnom zaokretu propale konvencionalnosti ili proširene institucionalne kritike kakvu predlaže Groys.⁴⁴ Ako je ovaj takozvani *novi val* umjetničkog aktivizma doista proizveo neku novu estetsku pojavu, ona se ne nalazi unutar predvidivo utilitarnog momenta dokumentiranja nego je utkana duboko u samu strukturu događaja. Poput živahnog preteče tvrtke za digitalno za arhiviranje, aktivistički događaj-objekt stvoren je od prošlih, sadašnjih i budućih mogućnosti, i uvijek je unaprijed kompromitiran, naravno, ali istovremeno i prepun prilika i neizvjesnosti. I zbog toga svaki novi val umjetničkog aktivizma ne samo da *nije* “nov”, *nego je posve nov*, u pitanju je ponavljanje onoga što se može dogoditi samo jednom, potom još jednom, i onda još jednom, i onda još jednom. *Okupiraj, organiziraj, ponovi.* ✕

“Merciless Aesthetic, Activist Art as the Return of Institutional Critique” originally appeared in the online publication *Field: A Journal of Socially-Engaged Art Criticism*, Issue #4, Spring 2016, the author wishes to thank its editor Grant Kester as well as Jennifer Avri and Paloma Checa-Gismero for their assistance with the original essay.

- 43 Lizabeth Landau, “Scan a brain, read a mind”, CNN, 12. travanj 2014., <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/12/health/brain-mind-reading/> / ВИДИ ТАКОЂЕР: Kelly Bulkely, “Data-Mining Our Dreams”, *The New York Times*, 18. listopad 2013.
- 44 Ništa od ovoga naravno ne mijenja Marxovu poantu od prije stoljeća i pol da sve političke promjene prizivaju vlastitu grupu duhova, ali vrlo vjerojatno objašnjava zašto je Groys krivo protumačio utvaru umjetničkog aktivizma kao “novi fenomen”.

Tekst “Merciless Aesthetic” izvorno je objavljen u *on-line* publikaciji *Field: A Journal of Socially-Engaged Art Criticism*, broj 4., proljeće 2016. Autor želi zahvaliti uredniku Grantu Kesteru kao i Jennifer Avri i Palomi Checa-Gismero za pomoć pri pisanju njegove prve verzije.

Gregory Sholette is a New York-based artist, writer, activist and founding member of Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PAD/D), REPOhistory, and Gulf Labor Coalition. His publications include *Delirium & Resistance: Art Activism & the Crisis of Capitalism* [Pluto Press, 2007 with a preface by Lucy R. Lippard], *It's The Political Economy, Stupid* co-edited with Oliver Ressler [Pluto Press, 2013], *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in an Age of Enterprise Culture* [Pluto Press, 2010]. Along with an upcoming solo exhibition at Station Independent Projects in November 2016 his recent installations include *Imaginary Archive* at the Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania and Zeppelin University, Germany, as well as the *Precarious Workers Pageant* performance procession in Venice, Italy, 2015. Sholette is a graduate of the Whitney Independent Study Program in Critical Theory, Associate of the Art, Design and the Public Domain program at the Graduate

GREGORY SHOLETTE

Gregory Sholette umjetnik je, pisac i aktivist koji živi i radi u New Yorku. Jedan je od suosnivača umjetničkih kolektiva Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PAD/D) i REPOhistory, te koalicije umjetnika Gulf Labor Coalition. Publikacije koje je objavio uključuju: *Delirium & Resistance: Art Activism & the Crisis of Capitalism* [*Delirij i otpor: umjetnički aktivizam i kriza kapitalizma*, Pluto Press, 2007., s uvodom Lucy R. Lippard], *It's The Political Economy, Stupid* [*To je politička ekonomija, budalo*, u suradnji s Oliverom Resslerom, Pluto Press, 2013.] te *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in an Age of Enterprise Culture* [*Tamna tvar: umjetnost i politika u doba poduzetne kulture*, Pluto Press, 2010.]. Osim njegove recentne samostalne izložbe u galeriji Station Independent Projects u studenom 2016., Sholetteove novije instalacije uključuju *Imaginary Archive* na Institutu za suvremenu umjetnost pri Sveučilištu Pennsylvania, na Sveučilištu Zeppelin u Njemačkoj, te *Promenadu prekarnih*

School of Design Harvard University, an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow at the Center for the Humanities at the Graduate Center, CUNY, as well as Associate Professor in the Queens College Art Department, CUNY, where he helped establish the new MFA Concentration SPQ (Social Practice Queens). ✕

radnika, defile-performans održan 2015. u Veneciji. Sholette je završio nezavisni studijski program kritičke teorije pri Muzeju američke umjetnosti Whitney, suradnik je Art, Design and the Public Domain programa pri Školi dizajna Sveučilišta Harvard, dobitnik je Andrew W. Mellon stipendije Centra za humanističke znanosti pri Gradskom sveučilištu New York, te je izvanredni profesor na odsjeku Queens College Art pri istom sveučilištu gdje je pomogao utemeljenju novog magistrarskog studija iz područja umjetnosti (Master of Fine Arts Concentration Social Practice Queens). ✕

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Gregory Sholette
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