



**Psychogeographical Research**  
**Rädle & Jeremić**

**Psihogeografsko istraživanje**

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Psihogeografsko istraživanje / Psychogeographical Research

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Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić

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**Psychogeographical Research**

**Psihogeografsko istraživanje**

*Rädle & Jeremić*



## **Psychogeographical Chronicle of the Society at the End of Transition or at the Beginning of “Neoliberal Reality”**

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

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

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

### **“Neoliberal Reality” in Serbia?**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**3** E.g. the case with the Novi Sad non-profit scene that have organized the initiative: Work group “Za kulturne politike – politika kulture” [www.zakulturnepolitike.net](http://www.zakulturnepolitike.net)



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

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

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

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

## **And Art – Into Social Production!?**

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

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

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

**7** Jason Hackworth, *Ibid.*

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

**9** *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<http://msuv.org>

<http://napon.org>

<http://zakulturnepolitike.net>



## Who Needs Psychogeography?

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

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

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



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

Another sympathetic remark in Rädle and Jeremic’s article is their warning “not to base criticism on spatial relations,” which allows us to have this theoretical debate on the uses of psycho geography in arts and politics.<sup>5</sup> To make it clear from the outset: psycho geography is not a revolutionary Situationist theory and practice. I will now argue why.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## What Comes After Racism?

**On different racial technologies and  
on solidarity with Roma in the works of Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić**

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

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

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

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

**3** Minorities, Race, and Genomics, Human Genome Project Information, 15 July 2009, [http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human\\_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml](http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml).

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

**5** Historical Memory, Global Movements and Violence Paul Gilroy and Arjun Appadurai in Conversation with Vikki Bell, *Theory, Culture & Society* 1999 (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 16(2): 21–40, [0263-2764(1999)04:16:2;21±40;008253] [www.appadurai.com/pdf/tcs-bell\\_interview.pdf](http://www.appadurai.com/pdf/tcs-bell_interview.pdf)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When asked about the issue of whether people have racial identities Paul Gilroy stated:

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

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

**7** Vladan Jeremić & Rena Rädle projects related to racial discrimination directed at Roma people include *Under the Bridge* Beograd, 2005 – publication and video documenting the collaborative community based project realized in collaboration with Alexander Nikolić and other artists, *Journey to the World of Our Wishes*, 2008, participatory project with young Roma children, *Writing on the Sky*, 2008, collaborative work between Nannette Vinson, Rena Rädle and children of Stari Kostolac, Veliko Crniće and Požarevac and the most recent *Belleville*, 2009, DVD, 22 min.

**8** In the conversation with Tommie Shelby *Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia*, Gilroy analyses the notion of racial identity: “I've always tried to unpack the notion of identity significantly. So when you say racial identity, I immediately triangulate it: there's the question of sameness; there's the question of solidarity (which we've already dealt with); and there's the issue of subjectivity. So, identity can be unpacked into at least three quite discrete problems, which are usually lumped together when we speak of identity”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Psihogeografska hronika društva na završetku tranzicije ili na početku “neoliberalne stvarnosti”**

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

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

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

### **“Neoliberalna stvarnost” u Srbiji?**

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

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

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

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

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

Exemples and Comments of Contemporary Psychogeography, beleške sa predavanja za konferenciju u Rigi, maj 2003. [http://www.socialfiction.org/psychogeography/unitary\\_urbanism.html](http://www.socialfiction.org/psychogeography/unitary_urbanism.html)

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

video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRSzU5wvcQ>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVC25afxpkU>

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

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

## **A umetnost - u društvenu proizvodnju?**

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

**3** Npr. slučaj novosadske neprofitne scene koja se organizovala kroz inicijativu “Za kulturne politike – politika kulture”, [www.zakulturnepolitike.net](http://www.zakulturnepolitike.net)

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

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

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

**7** Jason Hackwort, Ibid.

**8** Vladan Jeremić, Branjanje konteksta

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

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

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

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



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

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

politička intervencija u: “Za ideju-protiv stanja: analiza i sistematizacija umetničkog stvaralaštva Želimira Žilnika”, Playground produkcija, Novi Sad, 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Prekarijat (Precarity) je opšti termin kojim se opisuje činjenica da je danas veliki deo stanovništva subjekt fleksibilne eksploatacije ili “flexoplotacije” (niske i nesigurne isplate, visoki stepen uslovljavanja-blackmailability, neredovni prihodi, itd), i egzistencijalnog prekarijata (visoki rizik društvenog isključenja zbog niskih primanja, visoki troškovi života, itd). Ovi uslovi prekarijata utiču na sve oblike rada koji se tiču servisne ekonomije u užem smislu i celokupno stanovništvo u širem smislu, ali posebno omladinu, žene i imigrante. Preuzeto sa: <http://kuda.org/sr/node/746>

stećenog bogatstva, kao i nepostojeći nosilac proklamovanih ljudskih i građanskih prava, koji je često prepušten borbi za “goli život”.

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

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

Više o tome: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prearity>

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

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

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

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

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



## Kome je potrebna psihogeografija?

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

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

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

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

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

Krajnje sredstvo te preventivne akcije je „ne učestvovati, na bilo koji način, u kreativnoj ili nekreativnoj animaciji“.<sup>3</sup>

Veoma važan aspekt ovog predloga je to što situacionističku teoriju i praksu koristi ne svodeći ih na neku vrstu razigranog, kultur-aktivističkog, karnevalskog spektakla za mnoštvo, od kojeg na kraju korist imaju samo kapitalisti. Čak i ako nije teorijski razvijen, taj pristup sledi situacioniste u njihovoj ideji o neznanju kao krajnjem ishodu, što je izraz odbijanja.

Naša naklonost prema ovom predlogu je motivisana praktičnim razlozima: njegova negativnost ne daje nikakvu šansu hipijevskim i njeudžerskim ljubiteljima takozvanog aktivističkog uzbuđenja. On je veoma udaljen i od optimizma Brajena Holmsa (Brian Holmes), za koji on pronalazi opravdanje u antiglobalističkom, umetničkom i medijskom aktivizmu *Yes Men*.<sup>4</sup> Razlog zašto tom pesimizmu vredi posvetiti veću pažnju jeste činjenica da upravo odatle izviru i situacionističke ideje; inače bi zapaljivi presituacionistički koncepti kao što su *psihogeografija* ili *dérive* mogli zaseniti politički značaj te teorije i prakse. U svakom slučaju, ne treba gubiti iz vida da takav pesimizam može podržati i takve metafizičke aplikacije kao što je (konformistički) nihilizam, koji je, prema Raulu Vanegemu (*Revolucija svakodnevnog života*), samo prvi korak koji revolucionarni subjekt treba da učini da bi dospelo u stanje aktivnog nihilizma.

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

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

**3** Ekscesi suvišnih informacija i manipulativne komunikacije često su bili meta situacionističke kritike. Uvodna napomena iz Deborovih „Komentara o društvu spektakla“ pruža dobar savet kako se ta taktika može preokrenuti, sa izvesnom dozom pesimizma.: „Jasno je da ne mogu govoriti potpuno slobodno. Iznad svega, moram se potruditi da ono što znam ne prenesem bilo kome.“ Deborov jedini poznati „javni nastup“ bilo je njegovo predavanje pred „grupom za istraživanje svakodnevnog života“ Anrija Lefevra, 1961., kada je upotrebio magnetofon da bi se obratio publici.

**4** Brajen Holms je ovde najjasnije definisao taj optimizam: „Samopouzdanje taktičkog medijskog aktivizma predstavlja radikalni zaokret u odnosu na ekstremni medijski pesimizam Gija Debora.“ Objavljeno u *Do-it-yourself Geopolitics: Cartographies of Art in the World, Collectivism After Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945*, (eds.) B. Stimson & G. Scholette, University of Minnesota Press, 2004, str. 280.

**5** Nažalost, Redle i Jeremić nisu išli do krajnjih pesimističkih, konsekvenci svoje teze o nekomunikaciji i svojoj umetničkoj i organizacijskoj praksi. Od objavljivanja pomenutog članka (2004), organizovali su umetnički događaj gde se od nekih učesnika očekivalo da upotrebe psihogeografiju kao svoju umetničku praksu (*Under the Bridge*) i tu svoju „ludističku“ umetničku perspektivu nazvali *Psihogeografsko istraživanje*. Da ne spominjemo da je i sam ovaj katalog izraz komunikacije. Srećom, oni i ne pokušavaju da budu teoretičari pseudorevolucije. Oni nastoje da umetnost svedu na njenu upotrebnu vrednost u dokumentovanju ili podršci potlačenima (kao u njihovom video zapisu o rušenju romskog naselja kod beogradskog Belvila, 2009. godine).

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

Pored toga, u drugom broju *Situacionističke internacionale*, iz decembra 1958, opisan je još jedan (delimično) neuspeli pokušaj psihogeografskog istraživanja. U članku *Pokušaj psihogeografskog opisa Lez Ola*, član grupe Abdelhafid Kathib je pokušao da istraži svaki detalj socijalnog i političkog ambijenta pariske četvrti Lez Ol, omiljenog lovišta situacionista. Ali, kao što je objašnjeno u post skriptumu, taj pokušaj nije uspeo (tačnije, bio je ometen), „zato što je naš saradnik (Kathib) bio izložen policijskom nasilju, na osnovu uredbe kojom je od septembra (1958) Severnoafrikancima bio zabranjen izlazak na ulicu posle pola deset uveče. Naravno, najveći deo Kathibovog istraživanja Lez Ola trebalo je da se odvija noću. Pošto je dva puta bio uhapšen i dve noći proveo u pritvoru, to je osujetilo njegove napore. Prema tome, sadašnjost – politička budućnost, ni manje, ni više – može se apstrahovati na osnovu razmatranja same psihogeografije“. Ova epizoda sa Khatibom je od suštinskog značaja za razumevanje političkih implikacija psihogeografije. Pre svega, ona ukazuje na originalni pristup situacionista kulturnoj praksi nebelaćkih i kolonizovanih naroda: nije reč o psihogeografskom istraživanju njihovih teritorija (naprimer, neki psihogeografski pokušaji u romskim naseljima<sup>7</sup>), kao nečeg „drugog“; naprotiv, reč je o tome da se glasu neevropskih kolonizovanih ljudi omogući da bude avangardan i subverzivan.<sup>8</sup> Drugo, vidimo da je takav

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

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

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



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

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

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

<sup>9</sup> Raimund Minichbauer, u intervjuu sa Emils Rodeom u *Rigas Modes and Psychogeographic Rrigo This Week*. [http://www.republicart.net/art/concept/interview-rode\\_en.htm](http://www.republicart.net/art/concept/interview-rode_en.htm) Modni dizajner Rode objašnjava svoj umetnički projekat nazvan *Ovonedeljno psihogeografsko israživanje Rige*, izveden 2003.

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

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

Situacionisti su imali vrlo specifičan odnos prema nadrealistima; u prvom broju svog časopisa, nadrealističku praksu su definisali kao naivno maštanje, koje su moderne naučne inovacije lako kooptirale. Situacionisti su naveli dva američka izuma, kao primere za takav ishod. Prvi je marketinška tehnika „brainstorminga“, koja je zamenila nadrealističku igru *le cadavre exquis* (izuzetni leš), a drugi „robot koji piše ljubavna pisma“, koji zamenjuje i ismeva *automatsko pisanje*.<sup>11</sup> Ali, pored tih zabavnih poređenja, situacionisti su svoje ideje suprotstavili nadrealističkim zbog načelnih razlika. U *Izveštaju o konstruisanju situacija i uslovima za organizaciju i delovanje međunarodne situacionističke tendencije*, predstavljenom na Osnivačkoj konferenciji Situacionističke internacionale u Kozio d'Aroši, u Italiji 1957, Gi Debor je jasno konstatovao da je „temeljna greška nadrealizma ideja o neograničenom bogatstvu nesvesne imaginacije. Sada znamo da je nesvesna imaginacija siromašna, automatsko pisanje monotono i da je ceo taj razmetljivi žanr 'čudnovatih' i 'šokantnih' nadrealističkih kreacija prestao da bude iznenađujući“. Ta nemilosrdna kritika nadrealističke vere u mistično, kao tautološko-monotonu dosadu, praćena je afirmacijom *racionalnosti*. Kao što Debor kaže u *Izveštaju*: „Svet moramo učiniti racionalnijim – to je nužni prvi korak ka tome da ga učinimo uzbudljivijim, fascinantnijim i ispunjenijim.“ Racionalizam situacionista ima korene u obnovi avangarde, koja počinje sa nadrealistima, koji su hteli da dadaizam „stave na noge“, tako što bi ga učinili upotrebljivijim u revolucionarne svrhe, ali koji je ubrzo izgubio svoj program potonuvši u unutrašnji misticizam nesvesnog. Situacionisti su hteli da taj racionalizam ponovo stave u upotrebu (to jest, da ga *détourner*). Na primer, *Projekat za racionalno unapređenje grada Pariza* – objavljen u letrističkom časopisu *Potlač* br. 23 – bio je racionalni *détournement* Bretonovog teksta *Eksperimentalni pokušaj iracionalnog ulepšavanja grada Pariza* iz 1933. Dok je Bretonov projekat zamišljao Pariz iz fantastičnih priča, situacionisti su predlagali izmene konkretnih mesta, koje bi uticale na tok svakodnevnog života (na primer, metro, ulična rasveta, parkovi,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Na pitanje iz naslova ovog teksta, *Kome je potrebna psihogeografija?*, možemo odgovoriti: onoj vojsci „srećnih negativaca“ i hipi aktivista, čija se ideja o političkom svodi na karneval svakodnevnog života. Mogućnost pronalaženja upotrebne vrednosti „radioaktivnog radikalnog jezgra“ psihogeografije još uvek leži u polju racionalnosti.

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



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

## Šta sledi posle rasizma?

**O različitim rasističkim tehnologijama i o solidarnosti sa Romima u delima Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića**

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

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

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

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

Pošto sam to rekla, neophodno je podsetiti da:

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

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

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

Otud, ako bismo rekli da su mržnja, diskriminacija i rasizam usmereni protiv crnaca uopšte zapravo najradikalniji i najekstremniji vid rasizma na svetu, to bi moglo ojačati već zastarele ali i dalje postojeće argumente kako među ljudima postoje biološke ili genetske razlike. Takav naglasak stavljen na Afro-Amerikance kao na one više izložene mržnji, ali naposljetku i vrednije solidarnosti ili saosećanja od drugih diskriminiranih ljudi, ne doprinosi kritičkom diskursu o rasizmu i rasnoj diskriminaciji.

Štaviše, sudeći po Gilroju, čak i solidarnost koja se među samim crncima gaji u pogledu istovetnosti rase i naroda treba posmatrati kao jedan oblik rasizma i fašizma.<sup>6</sup> Ali prava pitanja koja se ovde kriju glase: je li dovoljno reći da smo protiv svake vrste rasizma bilo gde i vrši li to činjenje solidarnosti?

Na koje onda rasizme uistinu mislim i kako su oni povezani sa radovima Radleove i Jeremića zapravo su pitanja koja se istovremeno bave hitnom potrebom za diskusijom o rasnoj mržnji u Istočnoj Evropi, sa kojom se ovo dvoje umetnika u mnogim drugim prilikama već hvatalo u koštac.<sup>7</sup>

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

**3** Minorities, Race, and Genomics, Human Genome Project Information, 15. jul 2009.

[http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human\\_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml](http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml).

**4** Cosmopolitanism, Blackness and Utopia, razgovor koji je sa Polom Gilrojem obavio Tomi Šelbi, Transition – An International Review, W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, 18. jul 2009. <http://www.transitionmagazine.com/articles/shelby.htm>.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Na primer, projekte Vladana Jeremića i Rene Redle u vezi sa rasnom diskriminacijom usmerenom prema Romima spadaju Under the Bridge Beograd, 2005 – publikacija i video-rad koji dokumentuju zajednički društveni projekat realizovan u saradnji sa Aleksanderom Nikolićem i drugim umetnicima, Putovanje u svet naših želja, 2008 – združeni projekat sa mladim Romima, Pisanje na nebu, 2008 – zajednički rad Nanet Vinson, Rene Redle i dece iz Starog Kostolca, Velikog Crniča i Požarevca, i najskoriji Belleville, iz 2009.

<sup>8</sup> U razgovoru sa Tomijem Šeljijem Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia, Gilroj analizira predstavu o rasnom identitetu: „Oduvek sam ulagao znatan napor u to da raščlanim predstavu o identitetu. Stoga kada vi kažete rasni identitet, ja ga smesta triangulišem: tu je pitanje istovetnosti; tu je pitanje solidarnosti (kojim smo se već pozabavili); i tu je pitanje subjektivnosti. Dakle, identitet se može raščlaniti na najmanje tri potpuno odvojena problema, koji su obično spojeni u jedan kada govorimo o identitetu“.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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