





музей!  
Ваша фальшивая выставка - плевок в художников и зрителей, мерзкая имитация современного искусства!  
Это вы затыкаете нам рот и заламываете руки, но это вы сами бьетесь в предсмертных судорогах!  
Истинная политика и искусство - вне государственной программы!  
Истинная политика и искусство - это мысль, это рывок вперед, протест против несправедливости, критика мешанства и пошлости!  
Мы верим в искусство, мобилизующее сознание и эмоции, создающие новые формы и новую реальность!  
Мы против сотрудничества с авторитарными институтами! Мы не обслуживаем госсакса!  
Бойкот фальшивой триеннале!  
Нет искусства вне политики!  
Нет политики без сообщества!  
Нет сообщества без самоорганизации!

#### Group manifesto

You - art bureaucrats - announced themselves as the only legitimate representatives of the culture!  
You - decorators and painters - ruined education and are training submissive apprentices!  
You – hacks - kilometers of yours salon paintings turned into a trash Belarusian museums!  
Your fake exhibition - spitting into artists and audiences, vile imitation of contemporary art!  
You should-up our mouths and throw-up our hands, but it is you, who are trapped in your own death throes?  
True politics and art – that is out of the State program!  
True politics and art - is the idea, it's a breakthrough, a protest against injustice, criticism of philistinism and vulgarity!  
We believe in art, mobilizing minds and emotions, creating a new form and a new reality!  
We are against cooperation with authoritarian institutions! We do not serve State order!  
Boycott the fake Triennial!  
No art outside of politics!  
There is no politics without community!  
There is no community without self-organization!

#### RECYCLE WHITE CULTURE

On January 13th, 2012 Czech artist Martin Zet under the protection of Berlin Biennale ideologists published a call collect the copies of an openly racist anti-muslim Thilo Sarrazin's "Deutschland schafft sich ab" book from the German readers. This would be done through the established network of collection points around the country. Collected copies of the book would be then used to compose sculptures. After the Biennale show is over, the books are supposed to be recycled for better purposes. As a result of such proposal, Martin faced a blast of furious counter-reaction from both media and the public (for example <http://www.berlinbiennale.de>).

The Heinrich Heine slogan „Dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen“ ("Those who burn books will end up burning people") is embraced by neo-Nazis resisting the suppression of their "democratic freedom of speech". One thing was Heine's point of view, but the true social-Darwinism doesn't proceed "backwards" – those who have burned people once don't step back to burn books again. In Germany today they don't burn books but still burn people, like Oury Jalloh (born in 1968 in Kabala, Sierra Leone, killed on the 7th January 2005 in the police cell in Dessau, Germany; see <http://thevoiceforum.org>).

"Well dressed Turkish woman" – is not a problem for sarrazins kind – they imagine a problem in those immigrants who do not show respect for German "ordnung" and migrate on their own means. There is no difference between these attitudes and those of Artur Żmijewski, who shapes the Berlin Biennale 7 theoretical platform based on ridiculous theoretical sophistications. The main problem with those bourgeois "truth speakers" and "serious" discourse keepers occurs when one realizes their self-protectionist stance. What is the argument of those "human right for freedom of speech" protectors – does it not mean to first force everyone speaks the language of an oppressor and obeys their rules? Berlin Biennale is just a small part of the white Eurocentrist culture which is not the opposite of Nazism but its development, maturation and fruition. Well dressed, i.e. provided with "right" commentaries. Nazism is still welcome in Germany and is acceptable for some Jewish organizations too – the "Mein Kampf" ban is lifted, Hitler being republished on 26 January, 2012 (see <http://www.smh.com.au/world/mein-kampf-ban-lifted-20120117-1q4me.html>).

Now, to dig deeper into Berlin Biennale's positioning in its relationship to the issues of race, we must remember the National Socialist Underground killings and Nuremberg Nazi rally grounds. BB7 did not publish a single article touching upon the murders, where the state presence in covering up crimes blew into a scandal (see <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,809402,00.html>). Biennale's position towards the renovation of nazi rally grounds in Nuremberg is just as absurd. In the times of deepening capitalist crisis, biennale's board is supporting the proposition to stop most of the activities currently held on the grounds in order to preserve the grounds as a monument of sorts. This would cost up to 70 million Euros ("The ordinary tax payer may think 70 million is too much money to preserve Nazi buildings and that it should be used for kindergartens, or roads" - <http://www.berlinbiennale.de/blog/en/allgemein-en/the-city-of-toys-16530>). BB7 has been sympathetic towards artistic contributors who suffer under the state oppression, but it remains completely ignorant towards 'the small people' - to quote Artur Żmijewski, "Not everyone can be an artist. That's an illusion" (interview <http://www.berlinbiennale.de/blog/en/allgemein-en/universalizing-the-exception-16719>)

One way that whites like Sarrazin AND Żmijewski can achieve the kind of equality that they falsely claim to have in Germany and in Europe today is to recycle their own selves by burning their passports, becoming stateless and applying for asylum themselves. We are not talking about a "symbolic" action defining nothing but mutual relationships of Nazi and "high culture" idealisms, but about the real situation where those Nazi-and-culture mutilators will face the results of their ideology. We invite them to do so.

**BURN BERLIN BABY! BURN BIENNALE-CANNIBALE! CAN NAZI BALE!**

Alytus Biennial Reversion into Abolition of Culture And Distribution of its Aberrant Bacillus Right Abroad - Committee (ABRACADABRA-C)  
DEad Workers Union at DATA Miners Travailleurs Psychique (DEWOU-DAMTP)

قیسفن رجنتلا لامعلا داحتا

ITIHAD RABNA AL-TUNJUR AL-ALAMIYA AL-FIKRIYA

SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS STRIKE IN INDIA - DINIA - ON THE 28TH FEBRUARY 2012

Today we join the biggest strike ever known - No psychic and electronic communication is to be undertaken for the purposes of work: This should include all Electronic mail, text messaging, w...ebmail, internet communication VOIP or telephony etc. Also to include any psychic communication with persons or beings dead, undead, alive or as yet unborn.

Communications are to be directed against the bosses and rulers.

This works as a real attack on capitalist production and allows individuals to join a general strike in wildcat style. But it can be undeclared - bosses never know if it is by accident or not. Either way capitalist production is attacked on a global scale.

Also see previous cessation:

<http://foldedin.blogspot.com/2009/12/immediate-industrial-action-on.html>

نهك نتم نمجنايك لمع روى نكراسك Anjuman Matan Kahneek Aur Amali Karkan (AMKAAK)

REFLECTIONS ON THE GENERAL STRIKE IN INDIA

हड़ताल

لاستړه

प्रहार

رلهرب

िवरोध – हड़ताल

تسفلاخم - لاستړه

तेल की खोज

تيك لي شلاست

We took part in the biggest ever strike known to human history in February 28, 2012. The results were mixed and muted – not much written but here are some thoughts. Some of the debate around the strikes tended to polarise – i.e. create a 2 dimensional situation – a spectacle. e.g.

हड़ताल / बंद

Hartal لاستړه / हड़ताल means strike – Bandh बंद means CLOSE or CLOSED. Both are used to denote a General Strike. Different people referred to it differently for political reasons.

In west Bengal the government referred to a bandh because bandh was banned in 1998. Chief Minister Mamata Banarjee for West Bengal – having called for bandhs herself when in opposition as leader of Trinamool Congress now apologised for this. Mamata of course should not be confused with Subodh Banarjee who popularised the Ghereo – the encirclement of politicians or government offices until workers’ demands are met. Hartal meaning strike has been a civil disobedience method used against British rule as well as against Princely state form in India for centuries. The action of stopping work also was used on the death of a leader or of many people as acts of mourning. Another variant which is common in Hindi-speaking regions is the bhukh hartal which translates as hunger strike.

असंगितत मजदरू

While the unionised sector is of course a great minority of the workforce – and indeed the best protected and higher paid in the working class – the strike demands did include protection for non-unionised and unemployed workers e.g. minimum wage and social security. West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee threatened workers with various punishments if they went out on strike. She also specifically warned non-unionised workers against doing so and threatened workers with all sorts of sanctions e.g. loss of pensions, positions, and even jobs, if they went out on strike or

Turingija, Vokietijos žemė, kurioje mano draugas Habibis buvo suimtas liepos pradžioje, tuo pačiu metu traukė minias žurnalistų, nes būtent šios žemės Vokietijos slaptųjų tarnybų padalinio darbuotojai buvo itin glaudžiai susiję su NSU (“Nacionalsocialistiniu Pogindžiu”). Vėliau jis pasižymėjo visų kriminalinių įrodymų apie neonacistų žmogžudystes legaliai pateisintu sunaikinimu. Taigi, Habibio patirtis glaudžiai siejasi tiek su valdžios ir NSU bendradarbiavimu, tiek ir paralelia “bekoncepte” Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev kuruojamos dOCUMENTos (13) ideologija bei strategija.

Pabaigai noriu pabrėžti, jog Heidegeriška būtis, siekianti atkurti “autentišką” socialinę ir psichologinę “taiką” privalo būti užsipulta monumentaliam rimtos (arba “alternatyviai modernios” - Nicolas Bourriaud) kultūros dekonstrukcijos. Pastaroji jokiais būdais nėra priešiška fašistinėms kapitalizmo versijoms, kaip bando teigti dOCUMENTA (13), bet priešingai – artimai, tačiau paslaptinai susijusi: menas yra istorinis konstruktas, kuris turi labai materialią funkciją – būti socialiniai klajais sujungančias klasinę visuomenę elito labui.

Priešingai nekvestionuojamam, dalyvavimu pagrįstam (“Participatory”) šiuolaikiniam menui, kuris įtraukia, tačiau iškreipia bei cenzūruoja socialinę sferą, aš siūlau kritiškai atsiriboti nuo panašių meno švenčių ir “autonomizuoti” negatyvą mene – t.y., meno sferai pritaikyti tą pačią radikalią kritiką, kuri dažnai taikoma finansų pasauliui ar valdžios administracijai. Tik tokiomis sąlygomis galima pasipriešinti pasauliui, kurį siūlo šovinistiniai (kaip Berlyno Bienalė 7), arba subliminaliai spekuliatyvūs (kaip dOCUMENTA (13)) propagandos ginklai. Šie, apsimesdami tarsi “nekaltais”, suteikia moralinio saugiklio funkciją besitesiančiam Šiaurės-Vakarų pasaulio (su kultūrine Europos širdimi) psicho-kolonializmui (angl. “Whitewash”) viso likusio pasaulio atžvilgiu, bei labai konkrečiai gentrifkacijai (REF) (Berlyno Bienalių atveju) arba ginklų gamybai ir prekybai (Kaselio dokumentų atvejais). Žinant šiuos procesus, dOCUMENTos (13) motto “grūtis ir atstatymas” yra daug lengviau “suprantami”...

Chus Martínez XIII

[čia pateikiama originali – necenzūruota versija]

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ТРИЕННАЛЕ СОВРЕМЕННОГО БЕЛОРУССКОГО ИСКУССТВА БЕЛЭКСПО-АРТ 2012 /// ASSAULT AGAINST 1ST TRIENNIAL OF CONTEMPORARY BELORUSSIAN ART BELEKSPO-ART 2012

yakizdat

23 November 2012

"Сегодня, 23 ноября мы, группа молодых художников и активистов, сделали акцию на открытии официальной I триеннале современного белорусского искусства БелЭкспо-Арт 2012. Акция прошла в рамках параллельной программы <http://artaktivist.org/afisha/events/1-ya-minskaya-triennale-parallelnaya-programma/> Today, November 23rd, 2012, the group of artists and activists did an action inside the official opening of the 1st triennial of Contemporary Belorussian Art BelEkspo-Art 2012. The action was a part of the alternative parallel program of self-organized lectures, meetings, shows, actions and workshops.

В программе, по техническим причинам, произошли важные изменения. Открытие <<Выставки буржуазного плаката>> и пресс-конференция для журналистов пройдет завтра 24 ноября в 17-00 на точке Свободного театра. Запись по телефону: + 375 29 3919830

Ниже мы представляем Манифест нашей группы:

Вы, чиновники от искусства, - объявили себя единственными легитимными представителями культуры!

Вы, декораторы и красильщики, - развалили образование и дрессируете покорных подмастерьев!

Вы, халтурщики, километрами своих салонных полотен превратили в хлам белорусские

pasaulio muziejuose: MOMA Niujorke ir Londono Tate Moderne, Giorgio Morandžio palikimas buvo eksponuotas MOMA muziejuje 2001 m., o Niujorko Metropolitenos muziejuje – 2008 m.). 2005 m. Jelyje išleistoje Janet Abramowicz monografijoje “Giorgio Morandi: the Art of Silence” konstatuojamas menininko sąsajų su Arte Povera judėjimu faktas:

“Penkis Morandžio gyvenimo dešimtmečius aprėpiantis epas atskleidžia naujus horizontus... Abramowicz reikia padėkoti, kad ji atliko tai, ką kiti meno istorikai pabrėžtinai neigė: ji drąsiai sieja Morandį ir kaip dailininką ir kaip asmenį su jo pirmtakais, amžininkais ir pasekėjais. “Arte Povera prasidėjo ne kur kitur, bet [Morandžio] namuose”. — Jennie Hirsh, CAA Reviews

Nors atrodytų, kad tokia knyga turėtų inspiruoti Morandį įtraukti į dOCUMENTA (13) ir dėl jo sąsajų su Arte Povera dar ir į lydinčią parodą Kabule, kuratorė Carolyn Christoph-Bakargiev ir toliau nesiliauja stebinti:

Savo dOCUMENTOje (13) Bakargiev nori pateikti menininkus, išgyvenančius kažką panašaus į Jobo išbandymus: suvokdami meno kūrimo karo akivaizdoje dviprasmybę jie pasirenka kūrybą, kaip atsiribojimą nuo supančios destruktijos. “Man, - teigia kuratorė - sėdinčio savo studijoje ir tapančio vazas Morandžio įvaizdis, kai aplink jį visur fašizmas – ir yra tai, ką gali menas.”

Christov-Bakargiev “vieną pasaulio žymiausių Italijos pokario meno ir kultūros autoritetų” saisto su Povera, bet slepia jo fašistinę praeitį. 2005 m. Abramowicz savo knygoje atskleidžia tiek Morandžio ir “skurdžiojo meno” giminybę, tiek jo politines pažiūras. Todėl, atrinkta kuruoti “pasaulinės klasės” meno cirką dOCUMENTA (13), Christov-Bakargiev turėjo arba pati atlikti “tyrimą”, arba bent jau stengtis prieštarauti Morandžio saistymui su Italijos fašistais. Mūsų minima Janet Abramowicz ilgus metus dirbo Morandžio sekretore ir buvo jo artima drauge – sunku netikėti jos argumentais. Dar viena citata iš Jeilio leidyklos puslapio:

Abramowicz aprašo glaudų Morandžio bendradarbiavimą su meistrystiniais Europos menu, įvardija jo asmeninius santykius su fašistine politika ir jos vykdytojais bei atskleidžia jo santykių genezę po II Pasaulinio karo pabaigos siekiant pabrėžtinai deklaruoti menininko apolitiškumą. Morandis buvo venintelis nenukentėjęs Italijos modernistas (Yale University Press informacija).

Ir dar viena citata:

[Janet Abramowicz] “Drąsiai aprašo menininką kaip nepiktžodžaujantį fašistų pakaliką” – Peter Plagens, Art in America

Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev yra parašiusi išsamią knygą apie Arte Povera. Arte Povera – tai pirmasis kritikų nukaltas skėtinis terminas, aprašantis ir adaptuojantis marketingui “Italijos” 7-o ir 8-o dešimtmečio menininkų grupę. Mes galėtume atleisti p. Bakargiev dėl “apakusios dešinės akies” požiūro į Povera ir jos iniciatoriaus Morandžio herojiškų vaidmenų 1999 m. išleistoje knygoje, bet ar tik ne karjeros sumetimais ji taip akivaizdžiai šalinasi nuo savo senstelėjusios studijos klaidų atitaisymo? Kaip Janet Abramowicz pabrėžia – dėl labia panašių karjeristinių motyvų ir Morandis save susiejo su fašistų elitu...

Nuorodos į ką tik paminėtą knygą ir Vokietijos nacionalistinę-ekspansionistinę politiką yra pats geriausias būdas atsakyti į klausimus, kuriuos kelia daugybė dOCUMENTA (13) apžvalgininkų p. Bakargiev “nuostabiam sutrikimui”. Žurnalo Frieze redaktoriaus pavaduotoja Christy Lange konstatuoja:

Šviečiančių vitrinų prikimštoje pritemdytoje erdvėje [Fridericianum Rotunda] aš taip ir nesugebėjau rasti sau paaiškinimo, ką bendra turi Giorgio Morandžio tapyba, daiktai iš jo paties studijos ir greta esančiose vitrinose sukūtos „Baktrijos princesės“ – 3-o ir 2-o amžiaus iki Kristaus laikotarpio sėdinčių moterų skulptūrėlės iš vietovių, kurios šiuo metu priklauso Uzbekijai, Turkmenijai ir Afganistanui. Be abejo, šie meno kūriniai yra nuostabūs, bet nėra jokios akivaizdaus ryšio, todėl jie yra čia – nebent, gal, kad būtų sukišti į vitrinas... arba, kad greičiausiai jokiai kita šiuolaikinio meno parodai jos jau nebetiks.

Moralinis saugiklis

were affiliated to the Communist Parties. Since it was her election that defeated the communist party previously she is clearly using this to gain political power in the area. Government vs party

The above shows that while the demands are made of government, it is in opposition that strikes or other methods are employed by a party – and the same party or leader can disavow the tactics used in opposition to gain that power. In this way the union is acting like a political party with its leadership and bureaucracy and this should be attacked too.

ريڤتڭ نم دحاو

We also took part in the strike by declaring a psychic strike - 0 cessation of psycho electronic communication.

Being a union of one, we do not have the protection and some of us rather than go on strike went for sabotage.

In order to increase the power of non-unionised workers DAMTPO has introduced 3 new methods:

1. 1 person unions
2. Dead workers union
3. Reproductive workers union

If we consider Marx’s use of work as a concept we may find 3 types of work:

1. Work where the worker is exploited and alienated – this produces economic growth
2. Work where the worker nourishes herself and produces herself
3. Work as a situation of revolutionary becoming – where the working class becomes proletarianised

A strike action encompasses all 3 areas – because all 3 types of work contribute to the production of capital and commodities. There are of course different methods of industrial action and resistance in the different areas. Also, while sabotaging in the workplace in an unorganised manner, we need to differentiate between these 3 currents of work within the same work place.

In other words: a strike is not simply the cessation of production – but also and in all sites of production consumption and distribution – the creation of propaganda in word and deed – of organisation – of the production of the psychic and physical space of workers and workers revolution!

دحاو نم ريڤتڭ

Our own psychic workers union having situated at Alytus biennial – as a point of time and space has lead us to be vigorous in our attack on Berlin Biennial and as others have commented we should also sustain a vigorous attack on the Manifesta Biennial. However we should point out that we mean to assist workers – to take over resources on an international scale in union with other workers. To attack capitalists and capitalism. The Dakar Biennial on at this time also therefore must also be part of our action. To fail to do so would be colonialist and gentrificational.

A simple mapping might be

Manifesta: our action attacks work type 1 - exploitation - (psychic and physic ghereo/ hartal)

Berlin : our action develops work type 3 - resistance (bundh - unionisation)

Dakar - work type 2 - empowering workers (culture - unionisation)

psychic ghereo /sit-in- occupying a website in comments etc - this has been done alot recently eg against ASOS or Tory govt websites and newspapers - unlimke the Anonymous hacker group who are attached to Occupy movement in USA, this is a mass action - most of anonymous hackers are just allowing their computers to be used - the decisions come from elsewhere about where to attack. maybe a timed electronic mob could roam the net - like conventional hacking methods but using

people instead of programmes - data miners instead of a programme/bot shutting down a website by bombarding comments - our spamming techniques are the same...

Manifesta – the rude eurocentrist (and rudest beneluxgermanocentric) propaganda event – will be supported by inner sabotage initiated by DAMTP and DAWOU -DAMTP people involved in the camp in Genk, Limburg (Belgium) – previously called a „mining machine“. All DAMTP's are called to attend Genk on June 1st through 7th to make the physic manifesta occupation on the proletarian level to happen. Its important to see psychic as physic and vice versa - our sitsical presence at Berlin and Manifesta and Dakar is significant! Any workers who are attending Dakar Biennial or seek assistance in attending may contact us:

miners at strike2012.org

POUR LES ARTISTES DE LA BIENNALE DE DAKAR  
12 May 2012

Chers artistes de la Biennale de Dakar,

Je vous écris en tant que collègue. J'ai rejeté le rôle de l'artiste et deviennent les données des mineurs Travailleurs Psychique (DAMTP)

DAMTP a été formée à partir de la grève biennale d'art de 2009 grâce à des discussions avec les Industrial Workers of the World. Ainsi, certains travailleurs d'autres sont aussi les DAMTP.

Notre objectif spécifique pour le moment consiste à attaquer la suprématie blanche, le patriarcat et la culture bourgeoise. Ces problèmes existent dans l'art - et même dans le mouvement de protestation des artistes contre le système de l'art.

Nous allons vous aider à résister à la marchandisation  
Nous vous aiderons dans votre révolutionnaire devient  
Nous allons vous aider à développer votre travail au niveau international

La grève d'art en 1970 Grève artistique de New York contre le racisme, la guerre et la répression a été organisée par des artistes masculins exclusivement blancs. Il a été contrecarrée à la fois par les étudiants et les artistes femmes pour Black Art Libération (WSABAL), qui a réussi à ouvrir l'action de protestation pour les femmes et les personnes de couleur.

Grèves successives d'art se sont efforcés de devenir plus prolétariés. Lorsque nous avons tenu la première conférence psychique des travailleurs en 2011 à la Biennale d'Art de grève à Alytus, Lituanie, nous avons discuté de ces problèmes et, par conséquent invité soudanais et africains les travailleurs américains - nous a donné des conférences en arabe et en ourdou et russes pour contrer l'hégémonie occidentale européenne.

Alors que nous rejetons le rôle de l'artiste, nous pensons qu'il est important de poursuivre et d'intensifier la production psychique à détruire l'art. Cette année, en même temps que la Biennale de Dakar en Afrique de l'Ouest, la biennale de Berlin et la Biennale de Manifesta auront aussi lieu en Europe occidentale  
(see <http://2012istheseasonfortreason.wordpress.com/>)

Nous serons en ces lieux pour attaquer la bourgeoisification continue, européanisation et le racisme inhérent au système l'art - et de soutenir ces artistes qui veulent résister à leur marchandisation et l'exploitation.

Malheureusement nous ne pouvons pas être avec vous à Dakar nous saluons donc une entrée en arrière vous. En particulier nous nous félicitons de toute réponse à notre message et à l'appel suivant pour des actions non autorisées de camarades à Berlin:

Karo arba pokonfliktinių situacijų sąlygomis, būtent menas gali tapti gydymo forma. Kilęs iš Turino Italijos Arte Povera menininkas Alighiero Boetti pirmą kartą aplankė Kabilo miestą 1971 metų pradžioje ir kartu su afganistaniečiu Gholam Dastahiru nusprendė ten atidaryti viešbutį pavadinimu “One Hotel” (liet. “Vienas Viešbutis”) Shar-e-Naw gatvėje netoli Chicken gatvės.. Kabule Boetti praleido pusę metų, kuomet jis užsakinėjo savo dekoratyvinių kilimų “Mappe” gamybą 1971 - 1977 m. Pirminis dOCUMENTos organizavimo Afganistane impulsas buvo vaizduotė: įsivaizdavome ne karo scenarijų, tačiau tam tikrą tęstinumą – nuo kunkuliuojančio ir tarptautinio 7-o dešimtmečio Kabilo gyvenimo – kuomet ten gyveno Boetti – iki mūsų laikų. Atmeskime karo nuspreštą atskirtį ir pasirinkime veikimą hosome – t.y., tarsi situacija būtų kitokia nei ji yra šiandien, tarsi kontrolės punktai, betoninės sienos ir užkardos, konfliktas, okupacija ir militarizacija Kabule neegzistuoti – tam pasitelkdami radikalią vaizduotę, kai tuo tarpu gyvename kasdienį militarizuotos zonos nulemtą bei neišvengiamai tokią gyvenimą.

Cituotas straipsnis pats visiškai sukompromituoja savo tariamai “neginėjimai” empatišką bei socialinio teisingumo siekiančią poziciją. Negana to, nors minėto straipsnio autorystė yra tarsi dviejų žmonių: “Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev ir Golare Kiazand”, keletas baigiamųjų pastraipų atskleidžia kažką kita:

(...) ir aš taip pat jaučiau kad tarptautinis meno pasaulis bei jo menininkai galėtų pasimokyti iš šių kultūrinių mainų [dOCUMENTos programos Afganistane] ir ši juos praturtintų (...) Mano patirtis parodė, kad ten [Afganistane] žmonės domisi šiuolaikiniu menu ir kultūra (...) Aš tikiuosi, kad dOCUMENTos pastangomis sukurti susivienijimai bei ryšiai tarp Afganistano ir likusio pasaulio menininkų turės teigiamą efektą ilgam laikotarpiui.

Čia aš randu save klausiantį: ar tekstas “Afghani Scene” – tai dar vienas Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev magijos šedevras? (cituoti teiginiai akivaizdžiai atitinka Carolyn stilių; nepaisant to, kuratorė naudoja veiksnį “aš”, bet autorystę priskiria dviems asmenims).

“Atsitraukimas”

dOCUMENTA (13) marketingas turi rezervuotą spalvinę schemą, kurioje dominuoja ryški geltona spalva, papildyta pasteliniais mėlynais bei žaliais atspalviais – toks sprendimas kažkokių būdu atspindi Giorgio Morandi indėlių. Morandi stilius idealiai atitinka firminį dOCUMENTA (13) stilių: Venecijos bienalė išsiskiria savo niekad nesibaigiančiais vakarėliais, Baselis - be abejonės – “komercinio” meno mugė, o dokumenta skendi rimtumo ir kuklumo dūmuose. Nuo pat pradžios ši meno mugė buvo skirta “išgydyti” sulaužytą pokarinės Vokietijos visuomenę. 1955 m. prasidėjęs kaip priedėlis prie Kazelio buržuazinės sodininkystės mugės meno festivalis siekė rodyti meną, kurį naciai buvo įvardiję “degeneravusiu”. Sukrečia jau ir pats faktas, kad dokumentos įsteigimas įvyksta tais pačiais metais kaip ir Vokietijos karinių pajėgų atkūrimas bei priėmimas į NATO (1955 m.; beje, Kaselis tampa vienu kertinių elementų Vokietijos militaristinėje industrijoje).

Didžioji dalis parodos yra sudaryta prisilaikant jau minėtos marketinginės spalvinės schemos. Gerą dieną pasitrynus po dOCUMENTA 13 tą patį galima pasakyti ir apie parodos turinį. Humoro joje nėra. Erotizmas buvo patalpintas įtartinai arti Giorgio Morandžio – italų fašizmo žvaigždės ir Adolfo Hitlerio portreto. Reikia pripažinti, kad net ir tie keli erotiniai parodos impulsai – įtraukiant ir Vogue žurnalo korespondentę Lee Miller – labai nepatrauklūs. Be to, Anna Teixeira Pinto apžvalginiam straipsnyje Art Agenda žurnale pažymi, kad pasigedo rimtesnių analitinių pareiškimų visame dOCUMENTos renginyje - tokių, kurie sąmoningai dekonstruotų “racionalius” diskursus, atvedusius į atominio ginklo sukūrimą, kaip šią problemą nuosekliai nagrinėja Gustavas Metzgeris savo darbuose. Vietoj to, Bakargiev kuratorinė pozicija “viskas gerai, kas atitinka Vokietijos kultūrinę politiką” akivaizdžiai linksta žmonių sukurtas katastrofas prilyginti gamtinėms: iš vienos pusės karas vertinamas, kaip universalus mirties instinktas, o menui – iš kitos pusės – suteikiamas “übermensch” savybės atsietai nuo istorinių sąlygų įgauti “energijos” formą, kuri jau pati savaime veda prie “dvasios ekologijos” (panašiai, kaip vokiečių nacių įkurto Volkswagen'o moto).

Skurdūs ir apgailėtini kuratoriniai sprendimai puikiai dera ir su “skurdžiuoju menu” (Arte Povera): Italijos “skurdžiojo meno” atstovas Alighiero Boetti - 2012 m. dOCUMENTA (13) žvaigždė. Giorgio Morandis - tai kitas menininkas, susijęs su Arte Povera (2009 m. jo darbai buvo dekoruoti Baltieji rūmai Vašingtone, JAV, kai tuo tarpu Alighiero Boetti 2012 m. atsiranda garsiausiuose

nusisekusį buržujų Alighiero Boetti paraštėse:

“(…) paskutiniame autoportrete, kuriame jis [Alighiero Boetti] pirmąkart panaudoja bronzą, vazduojamas menininkas, laikantis žarną, kuri purškia vandenį ant jo paties galvos. Kadangi galva yra įkaitinta, susidurdamas su ja vanduo užverda, taip sukurdamas garų debesį ir paversdamas Boetti daug idėjų turinčiu mąstytoju, kad jam net būtina save atsivėsinti”

Asmeniška ir politiška

Dabar norėčiau kek nukrypti nuo tiesiogiai dOCUMENTą (13) liečiančių temų. Mano draugas Habibis išvyko iš gimtojo Kabulo (ir iš Afganistano apskritai) prieš keletą metų. Keliavęs per Turkiją ir Balkanus, Habibis sutiko aktyvistų ir/ar tiesiog empatiškų žmonių būrį, kurie kiek patrupino jo kelią į Berlyną. Šie žmonės suteikė Habibiui praktinę pagalbą ir padeda iki šiol – tai realybė, kuri nustebino ir netgi sukūrė įtarimų jo paties draugų Afganistaniečių tarpe. Mano nuostabai, pastaraisiais mėnesiais Habibis pats aktyviai įsitraukė į organizacijų, rengiančių veiksmus prieš rasinį režimą ir skleidžiančių antirasistinę propagandą Vokietijoje, veiklą.

Habibio nelaimė dėl įsitraukimo į antirasistinę veiklą bei nesitaikstymo su rizika keliauti toliau savo “gyvenamosios vietos” Berlyne jis buvo pakartotinai suimtas bei uždarytas į politinių pabėgėlių kalėjimą. Vėlgi, Habibis buvo “pasodintas” dėl labai “asmeniškos” priežasties – dėl savo odos spalvos: policija, kap jau įprasta Vokietijoje, pareikalavo mano draugo “tinkamų” identifikacijos įrodymų Tiuringijos miesto traukinių stotyje (vos per 150 km nutolusioje nuo dOCUMENTos miesto Kaselio – Hesse žemės centro; Hesse iki Sovietų Sąjungos griuvimo buvo Vakarų Vokietijos dalis, o Tiuringija – Rytų). Faktas, kad Vokietijos valdžia (vengiant implikacijos jog vienintelė) aktyviai naudoja savo žymųjį rasinio profiliavimo principą kasdieniame visuomenės gyvenime (bei vadovauja naujiems Europos/Afrikos antimigracijos susitarimams), man regis, nėra jokiais būdais pakankamai pabrėžtas. 2012 m. kovo 27d. Koblenco (Vakarų Vokietija) miesto administracinis teismas atmetė juodaodžio vokiečio skundą dėl prieš jį nukreipto policijos diskriminavimo. Šio esmė yra nebaityjų gyventojų išskyrimas viešojo transporto naudotojų būryje, dengiantis galimo nelegalios imigracijos pagrindo (ar kitų nusikaltimų) priežastimis. Teisėjo sprendimas pateisino apskūstus rasistinius Vokietijos politikos principus ir teigė, jog “rasinė selekcija yra argumentuota” – bei atvėrė kelią tolimesniam policijos smurtui. ( UPDATE) Be to, reikėtų paminėti daugelį metų oficialiai nesprenžiamą Oury Jalloh bylą: vyras buvo politinis pabėgėlis iš Sierra Leone, kuris jau prieš septynerus metus mirė nuo stipraus kūno nudegimo būdamas pririštas prie ugniai atsparaus čiuzinio vienvietėje Vokietijos Dessau miesto areštines celėje. Panašiais bruožais pasižymi ir ilgus metus nei policijos, nei kriminalistų netirta “NSU” (“Nationalsozialistische Untergrund”) - neonacistinių žudikų būrio – istorija, nepaisant jau to fakto, kad šalies specialiosios tarnybos oficialiuose raportuose net nepažymi fašistinio ekstremizmo kaip potencialios grėsmės visuomenei...

Tuo tarpu dOCUMENTA (13) ir pati jos kuratorė Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev bergždžiai pripažįsta 20-ojo amžiaus feminisčių motto “Asmeniška yra Politiška” (“Personal is Political”). Žinoma, skaičiuoti politiškai ir asmeniškai motyvuotų dokumentos eksponatų santykį nėra prasmės, tačiau verta paminėti, jog renginio paraleliniuose renginiuose dalyvavę Kabulo meno studentai buvo aktyviai paraginti remtis savo subjektyviomis asmeninėmis patirtimis, tačiau jokiū būdu nelįsti į politiką – ir dauguma dalyvavusių džiaugsmingai sutiko su jiem primesta eurocentriška subjekto ir objekto perskyra:

Nelaimėi, [Chus] Martínez [dOCUMENTos (13) agentė] pradėjo trijų valandų trukmės renginį Kaselio mieste nuo aprbojimų deklaracijos: kiekvienam dalyviui derėtų pasidalinti jo(s) “asmeninėmis” Afganistano programos “patirtimis”, tačiau - tai galima suprasti - jie neturėtų kalbėti apie sudėtingus politinius ir etinius klausimus, kuriuos pati programa kelia. Dauguma kalbėtojų apibūdinami savo padėką dOCUMENTos (13) pateiktiems resursams ir mokymams klusniai vykdė nurodymus.

Bene aiškiausias šiuometinio dOCUMENTos ekspansionizmo į Afganistaną paaiškinimas yra išspausdintas “Afghan Scene” skaitmeninio bei popierinio žurnalo straipsnyje tuo pačiu pavadinimu “dOCUMENTA (13)”:

Les paramètres pour la participation à non sanctionnée:

1. Tous les "artistes de la couleur" sont encouragés à participer à non sanctionnée. Ils doivent être noirs, asiatiques, latino-américaine, et ou un mélange. Toutefois, sans discrimination d'aucune sorte ne sera pratiqué.

2. L'œuvre d'art peut être abstrait, mais des sujets ou des images représentant des gens de couleur sont préférables. Tous les artistes sont à réfléchir sur l'évolution de l'hétérogénéité ethnique et culturelle de Berlin comme le nouveau centre du monde l'art occidental.

3. Comme une appropriation de la tactique de l'art collectif russe Voïna, qui est aussi un membre de l'équipe de conservation de la 7ème Biennale de Berlin, toutes les oeuvres doivent être situés à des endroits choisis par l'artiste, tout au long de Berlin - en tant qu'art action de rue qui est dirigée contre l'exclusion systématique intégrer culturelle des artistes de couleur.

4. Toutes les oeuvres (expressions) sont à prendre la forme matérielle de la «non-précieux.» comme étant «non autorisée» impromptues des spectacles publics, à deux dimensions des autocollants, des dépliants ou des affiches, et - ou en trois dimensions "bricolage" constructions (sculptures) fabriqués à partir de matériaux écologiques recyclables.

5. Toutes les oeuvres doivent être placés là où ils se trouvent par anonyme "téléspectateurs / collectionneurs" d'être mis au rebut ou précieusement, comme le viseur anonyme choisit. Il est recommandé que les placements être documentées.

6. Toutes les oeuvres documentées et les placements sont à inclure le mot non sanctionnée, et être paraphé ou signé et daté par l'artiste.

7. La reconnaissance officielle: tous les artistes qui veulent être officiellement reconnus en tant que participant non sanctionnée doit partager la documentation de leur participation.

Envoyer la documentation à moins non sanctionnée: [geopraxisdadapost@googlemail.com](mailto:geopraxisdadapost@googlemail.com)

voir <http://alytusbiennial.com/news/519-unsanctioned-berlin-biennale-7-april-27-to-july-1-2012.html>  
pour du texte intégral

Si vous souhaitez soumettre un travail dans n'importe quel format, nous serons heureux de vous aider de quelque façon que nous le pouvons.

S'il vous plaît nous contacter à l'adresse des mineurs à [strike2012.org](http://strike2012.org)

WE SUPPORT CULTURAL BOYCOTT: MTN BLACKOUT 20 DAYS CAMPAIGN  
12 May 2012

we hereby join the Cultural Boycott: MTN Blackout 20 Days Campaign

Our site <http://strike2012.org> will be blacked out for 20 days and show only info of the 20 Day Campaign

By forfeiting her livelihood and following in the foot steps of the conscientised South African top musicians, Lira's sacrifice and others must not be in vain and thus we and the people we associate with, in South Africa and Swaziland, have taken the decision to forfeit the luxury of receiving and making MTN calls, sms and so forth as from the 10th May until after the Bush Fire Festival - 30th May 2012.

All in all, the reality is that the MTN Blackout 20 Days Campaign is solely opposed to MTN's promotion and glorification of the suppression of the right to self determination, freedom of association, freedom of expression and democracy by virtue of sponsoring the Bushfire Festival and

blatantly practicing unfair competition against the state owned post and telecommunication enterprise in Swaziland. As consumers, we refuse to be abused whereby our scarce resources subsidize the sustenance of Africa's last absolute monarch.

Swazi King secured 6 % share in local MTN operation through the Swaziland Post and Telecommunication Corporation (SPTC) Despite the business community citing that the move by King Mswati III to purchase a 10 percent shareholding in mobile company, Swazi MTN was a 'bad business decision,' the deal went through.

The South African-based mobile telecommunications group, MTN (confirmed) that King Mswati III bought a six percent interest in Swazi MTN through the Swaziland Posts and Telecommunications' (SPTC), which sold some of its shares (donated to the monarchy!).

However, according to South Africa's Mail and Guardian, MTN said the shares were made available by SPTC, which is entitled under the terms of a joint venture agreement to dispose of up to 21% of its shares free of any pre-emptive rights. The agreement is between the SPTC, MTN International, Swazi Empowerment Limited and MTN Swaziland.

STAND UP & BE COUNTED TIME FOR LIP SERVICE IS OVER

Viva the MTN Blackout 20 Days Campaign!

Viva Cultural Boycott!

Long Live SSN Long Live!

Viva the Republic of Swaziland!

Released by MTN Blackout 20 Days Campaign Syndicate (Contact Rinto via 084 330 0749)

اتحاد العمال  
التجدر النفسية ITIHAD RABNA AL-TUNJUR AL-ALAMIYA AL-FIKRIYA  
انجمن متن كهنيك اور  
عملی کارکن ANJUMAN MATAN KAHNEEK AUR AMALI KARKAN (AMKAAK)  
工人们, 行动起来! 进行猛烈的战斗, 打倒投机的机会主义者  
All Made-up And Non-existent, Dead and non-Living workers Association (AMANDLA)

OPEN ADDRESS TO THE ARTISTS OF MANIFESTA 9  
27 May 2012

Dear artists of the Manifesta Biennial and events related to it,

I write to you as a fellow worker. I have rejected the role of artist and become the DATA Miners  
Travailleurs Psychique (DAMTP)

DAMTP has been formed out of the Art Strike biennial of 2009 via discussions with the Industrial  
Workers of the World. So some other workers are also the DAMTP.

Our specific aim at the moment is to attack white supremacy, patriarch and bourgeois culture. These  
problems exist in art – and even in the protest movement by artists against the art system.

we will attack your role in the spectacle  
we will attack your bourgeoisification  
we will attack your role in european bourgeois patriarchal serious culture

The art strike in 1970 New York Art Strike Against Racism, War and Repression was organised by  
exclusively white male artists. It was counteracted at the time by Women Students and Artists for

Ironiška, tačiau asmenybė, kuria buvo pasinaudota siekiant išplėsti dOCUMENTą toliau Vokietijos  
Respublikos sienų buvo bene žinomiausias pasaulyje iš Afrikos kilęs meno kuratorius. Nigerijoje  
gimęs Okwui Enwezoras 2002-aisiais buvo dOCUMENTos (11) žvaigždė. Enwezor yra verslininko  
sūnus, o tai – galima priežastis jo socialinės klasės principu pagrįstam pokolonialistiniam  
tarptautinui supratimui, nutiesusiam kelią tolimesniam “neoksidentalių” kultūrų įvyniojimui į patį  
dOCUMENTos koncepcijos centrą.[2] Nors šis procesas galėtų atrodyti kažkuo pozityvus, Enwezor  
- “tobulas kosmopolitas” - regis, įsiasmenino vakarietiška meno koncepciją su visais jos  
kolonialistiniais, tačiau fundamentaliais bruožais. Itin panašaus pagrindo “fenomeną” įvardina  
Roger Tayloras 1978-ųjų knygoje “Art, an Enemy of the People” (liet. “Menas – žmonių priešas”),  
kurioje autorius rašo apie istorinį džiazo (su)formavimą:

Tezę pademonstruosiu kiek supaprastintų kontrastų derinu. Buvimas baltaodžiu, įkalintu Naujojo  
Orleano socialinėje patirtyje, reiškė “juodumo” įtraukimą į “baltumą”, ir tuo pačiu buvimo baltuoju  
pateisinimas (rasiškai ypatingai segreguotoje visuomenėje – vert. past.)- arba tiesiog nebūti  
juodaodžiu ir likti baltuoju. Projektas buvo kontroversiškas - jis teigė galimybę būti baltuoju, bet  
nebūti juo, ir būti juodaodžiu, bet juo nebūti (žvelgiant iš baltaodžio perspektyvos), tai reiškė įnešti  
“juodumą” į “baltumą” kaip “baltumą”, tačiau tuo pat metu tai, kas įėjo kaip “baltumas” turėjo būti  
“juodumas”. [3]

Taigi, kodėl 2012-ųjų dokumenta vyksta Afganistane? Surįžkim priet Christov-Bakargiev - kuratorė  
bando susieti savo dabartines privileijuotas gyvenimo tradicijas su šviesiomis denoms 1970-ųjų  
Kabule, kuomet jos tautiečiui Alighierui Boetti, kaip ir jo verslo partneris Gholam Dastaghiriui,  
priklausė Kabule buvęs “One Hotel” viešbutis. Regis visa dOCUMENTos “empatiija” okupuotoje  
šalyje prasideda ir baigiasi verslo interesais: viešai nėra plačiai žinomas faktas, kad 7-ajame ir 8-  
ajame dešimtmečiais Afganistane knibždėde knibždėjo europiečių ir amerikiečių heroino turistų.  
Christov-Bakargiev nėra kontraversiška, kai Afganistano menininkų vardu kviečia “radikaliai  
įsivaizduoti”, jog okupacija neegzistuoja! Tai tarptautinė buržuazijos kasta, kuri gyvena Jacques  
Derrida stiliaus “poststruktūrinėje” bei “besienėje” pokolonialistinėje erdvėje: neverta net atskirai  
minėti fakto, kad būtent tokie meno renginiai moraliai ir ideologiškai pateisina nesuskaičiuojamų  
politinių pabėgėlių, kurie bando įsitvirtinti “demokratiškoje” Vakarų Europoje, (į)kalinimą,  
kankinimus ir žudynes (pvz. Oury Jalloh “byla”). Tai jie, tūkstančiai gvyv pavyzdžių, kad  
Bakargiev išsakyta, tačiau Vokeitijos elito tempama “politika” (tiksliau, struktūrinis ir  
fundamentalus kultūrinis šovinizmas), gali būti pritaikyta tik privileijuotoms socialinėms klasėms,  
pavyzdžiui - elitinių meno renginių kuratoriams, kuriems (remiantis tuo pačiu Derrida), “tiesa  
egzistuoja tik tekste”. Paraleliai Siems dOCUMENTos (13) pareiškimams yra Vokietijos valstybės  
aktyviai propaguojamas žymusis rasinio profiliavimo metodas, kuomet “nusikaltimų statistika”  
sudaro prielaidas kasdieniam nebaltaodžių kankinimui policinėmis priemonėmis. Vėlgi, cituoju  
Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev: “1990-aisiais aš mėgau dirbti su “centro” ir “periferijos” konceptais,  
nes tuomet jie buvo nauji ir skatino diskusiją. Šiandien aš nebenaudoju šių terminų – jie tapo  
pemelyg madingi ir įgavo neteisingą toną.”

Alighiero Boetti, dOCUMENTos (13) ir “skurdžiojo meno” (it. “Arte Povera”) žvaigždė “žavėjosi  
ktomis kultūromis”: daug metų gyveno Afganistane. Šio laikmečio dokumentai buvo eksponuojami  
Friedricianum'e, vienoje pagrindinių dOCUMENTos (13) erdvių Kaselio mieste: tai buvo plačiai  
žinomi Boetti kilimai-žemėlapiai pavadinti “Mappa”. Siems dabams atlikti nuo 1971-ųjų iki 1994-  
ųjų menininkas įdarbino Kabulo audėjas. Alighiero Boetti pamėgęs “atsitiktinumo kaip elemento  
naudojimas” yra plačiai žinomas, tačiau šis “atsitiktinumas” yra (gal ne itin sąmoningai)  
suplanuotas: nors yra sunku atsekti darbdavio nesugebėjimą aprūpinti savo samdinkomis  
medžiagomis (pvz. mėlyną siūlą vandenynų audimui kilimuose-žemėlapiuose), geltonos arba  
rožinės pasaulio vandenyno detalės yra laikomos paaiškinamu fenomenu: tariamai Kabulo vietiniai  
niekada gyvenime nėra matę vandens telkinių, tuo labiau jie nenutuokia apie žemėlapių sudarymą:  
“Boetti mėgo tokius netikėtumo įsiveržimus į dizainą ir skatino gamintojus pasirinkti norimas  
spalvas pasaulio vandenims,” - teigiama Boetti parodos gide (Tate Modern; 2012 m. vasario 28 –  
gegužės 27 d.)

Apskritai, ar tik ne apibūdinto tipo “kita kultūra” pagrįstas Kabulo audėjų išnaudojimas yra tas  
akivaizdus, tačiau slepiamas ingredientas, paverčiantis “Boetti” darbą “išskirtiniu”? Toliau  
išspausdinta citata leidžia mums palikti šį Bakargiev marketingo vėliavnešį, tačiau beviltiškai



Patra : space time and class dimensions which would lead towards the situation of global revolution.

Art biennials inspire and strengthen privileged and bourgeoisified “art community” outdrops and help to lay foundations for their further domination. Sustainable infrastructures could appear only when oppressive and exploitative structures will fade away. But we must start from the very basic understanding that art is nothing but a social glue for bourgeois society build up not to sustain, but parasitize.

Biennials never deal with alternatives and can never be sites for experimentation capable of resistance (as you note in your statements) – they are always the sites and bubbles of recuperation of the real life experiments so converting it into frozen forms of art and therefore forms of „serious culture“.

Instead we offer to turn Biennials into Art Strike Biennials as we did since 2009 and every two years, to cease any activity in the field of arts while inviting workers to come to be together and to foster establishing of workers’ organizations locally and showing the wish and ability to listen to and work with them.

We want to share with you recent researches made on two major events of German art establishment – Berlin Biennale 7 and dOCUMENTA 13 - and the features of fascist rhetoric, rehabilitation of fascist regime collaborators, and racism in the very core of its organizational structures and mode of thinking.

We claim to demolish „serious“ and „white“ Eurocentrist culture by subverting its general purveyor – the Biennial.

We should push the revolutionary time frame both back into the revolutionary anti-imperialist democratic past and into the revolutionary anti-party communist future for a Minjung Art Strike Biennial at the end of the Age of Divinity!"

Alytus Biennial Reversion into Abolition of Culture And Distribution of its Aberrant Bacillus Right Abroad - Committee (ABRACADABRA-C)  
www.alytusbiennial.com

“NUOSTABUS SUTRIKIMAS” [apie retrofuturistinį ir eurocentristinį dOCUMENTA 13 (Kaselis, Chus Martínez  
1 November 2012

dOCUMENTA “be sienų”

Pasak dOCUMENTOs (13) kuratorės Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, po skurdžių pristatymų ankstesnėse parodose 2012-aisiais italai sugrįžta į didžiausią Vokietijos šiuolaikinio meno festivalį. Regis, jie sugrįžta “originaliuoju” 1930-ųjų stiliumi! Gaila, tačiau tiek paskutinė Berlyno Bienalė, tiek naujausia dOCUMENTA, struktūriškai ir ideologiškai remiasi nacionalistiniu ir etniniu tapatybės supratimu. Tuo pat metu jau minėtas Italų “dalyvavimas” dOCUMENToje (13) yra būtinas elementas, leidžiantis šiam “anti-konceptualiam” konceptui dar kartą užkariauti Afganistaną (2012 m. dOCUMENTA vyksta Kaselyje (Vokietija), Kaire (Egiptas), Banfe (Kanada) ir Kabule (Afganistanas)). Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev yra italų-amerikiečių kilmės rašytoja, meno istorikė ir kuratorė, kuriai būdingas tapatinimasis su Vokietijos valdančiojo elito sprendžiama vietinės ir tarptautinės kultūros politika. Remiantis artnet.com autore Emily Nathan:

Gana keista, kodėl dOCUMENTOs (13); Kaselis, Vokietija, 2012m. birželio 9 – rugsėjo 16 d.) kuratorė Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev pasirinko surengti du metus trukusį meno paskaitų ir dirbtuvių ciklą karo nuniokotame Afganistane. Afganų Seminarai – taip pavadinti rengėjai – vyko nuo 2010 ir 2012 metų, organizatoriams bendradarbiaujant su Gėtės Instituto (vok. Goethe Institut) Afganistano padalinio, Kabulo Universiteto Afganistano Centru ir kitomis kultūrinėmis institucijomis. Tačiau, turint omenyje šiuometines Afganistano socialines ir politines sąlygas, toks sprendimas gali atrodyti naivus, jei ne pavojingas..

Black Art Liberation (WSABAL), who succeeded in opening the protest action to women and people of colour.  
<http://ringgoldinthe1960s.blogspot.co.uk/2009/09/excerpt-from-invisibility-blues-reading.html>

Successive art strikes have strived to become more proletarianised. When we held the first psychic workers conference in 2011 at the Art Strike Biennial in Alytus, Lithuania we discussed these problems and therefore invited Sudanese and African American workers – we gave talks in Arabic and Urdu and Russian and Lithuanian to counteract western European hegemony.

Why particularly Manifesta? Because it is one of mostly Eurocentric events ever as due to the approach to the meaning, as due to the composition of the artists represented. Also it is because of radical exploitation of the artists – hundreds of the artists are working for free just because of inertial trust towards the white supremacy ideology inherent in the art institution as such and with secret hope to climb it up. We showed an attempt to radically engage with the subject of the attracting the black refugees communities and african diaspora immigrants to join our gathering there in in Hasselt, but it was taken rather as a joke, or at least an „art work“ of the kind. We found it cynical that this year Manifesta is held in the historical location of the mining as continuous form of gentrification and could it be said once again that this will be yet another case of “the eternal defeat of the miners”?  
(<http://www.alytusbiennial.com/news/362-gap-in-trashy-corpse-of-biennialization-when-bad-faith-moves-mountains.html>)

While we reject the role of artist we feel it is important to continue and intensify psychic production to destroy art. This year at the same time as the Manifesta biennial there are Dakar biennial in West Africa, the Berlin biennial and the Documenta are also happening in Western Europe (see <http://2012istheseasonfortreason.wordpress.com/>)

We will be in these places to attack the continuing bourgeoisification, europeanisation and racism inherent in the art system – and to support those artists who wish to resist their commodification and exploitation.

We will be with you in Genk and Hasselt (Belgium) and count for you to join us. See you all soon there, comrades!

...  
Data Miners & Travailleurs Psychique

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM IN THE LEFT  
9 June 2012

*But I was first struck by the true dimensions of that problem in 1970, when Faith and I attended a guerilla art action protest against Art Strike, which was itself a protest against ‘racism, war and repression’. A group of famous white male artists led by Robert Morris decided to withdraw their work from the Venice Biennale, a prestigious international exhibition, in order to protest US bombing of Cambodia and the murder of college students at Kent, Jackson and Augusta. Although the protest was supposed to be against ‘Racism, War, and Repression’ (sexism was not yet on their agenda), Art Strike then expected to mount a counter-Biennale in New York without altering the all-white male composition of the show. This seems to be the key to understanding the intrinsic limits of Western cultural avant-gardism: while it can no longer deny its own white male supremacist presuppositions it cannot be rid of them either.*

*In the first years of our feminism, working through an organization that we founded called Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation (WSABAL), Faith and others succeeded in opening this exhibition to women and people of color. WSABAL was also influential in the subsequent development of Ad Hoc Women Artists, led by Lucy Lippard. This group repeated WSABAL’s 50 per cent women demand in their protest against the Whitney Biennial, which was in the habit of including white male artists almost exclusively. Specifically because of Faith’s research and support of Ad Hoc, black women artists Barbara Chase Riboud and Bettye Saar were included in the next Whitney Biennial.*

[Michele Wallace "Invisibility Blues"]

In 2009 artists in Alytus responded to the EU city of culture award to Vilnius, by declaring an Art Strike and hosting an Art Strike Biennial. I was involved with the IWW at the time and put forward the idea of creating a psychic workers union. This was to counter Bolshevik ideas of a division between cultural, political and economic organization of workers as well as the bourgeois Eurocentric ideas of art production as separate from other creative activities.

The Psychic workers union was indeed formed when I left the IWW in 2009 after briefly organizing with the Cambridge branch as they would not support the terms of myself and the Art Strikers of Alytus – so we created the DATA Miners Travailleurs Psychique. This summer we have been attacking the Manifesta Biennale, the Berlin Biennale and also linking up with the artists of the Dakar Biennale. We saw it important to not only attack Eurocentric bourgeois culture at its source (the art biennial) but also in its neo-colonial form in Dakar, Senegal while also extending the hand of comradeship to the African black and coloured artists there.

This is not about identity politics – but about (re)defining what we mean by the Proletariat! Any situation is defined in Time, Space and Class – and its measurement begins with the here and now – our own situation as workers who are constructing it.

That's why recent texts of the psychic workers are always talking about black power. The failure to link up the strikes (of workers), the protests (of students) and the riots (of the so-called "lumpen" proletariat) in a time when the most vulnerable in society are being hit by government cuts is not necessarily the sign of total defeat. Much is going on which is invisible - unrepresentable – outside and beyond the surface of the spectacle. However international proletarian organizing and uprising will inevitably make contact with the spectacle in order to destroy it.

Recently I heard that the Industrial Workers of the World have organized a meeting at the London Action Resource Centre. It was in 2005 that they expelled me my comrade psychic worker we call them the London Anarcho-Racist Centre. I should have seen it coming: Adam K had presented "Anarchist Orientalism and the Muslim Communisty in Britain" at a Revolutionary Opposition to the War event in 2002 and it was roundly dismissed by the activists there. He never returned to the social centre. Despite being in a Muslim area of the east end there were no other activists of a Muslim background using the centre but there was a Christian group. So as well as attacking the bourgeois hegemonic culture funded by the state however we must also attack it in our own organizations – in the so-called revolutionary left - but more importantly we must support those who speak out against it.

There are 3 instances I want to bring up which I think illustrate the manifestation of institutional racism in the everyday reality of organizing and interaction between people. These occurred while working at LARC where we helped organize a Global Conference in Serbia for the PGA. The PGA has since become defunct and collapsed, unable to recover from the infiltration by New-Right groups which we helped to expose.

1. During the organizing of the conference we asked why African groups had not been invited. We were told that the problem with African groups was that they were made up organizations created solely in order to get visas for European travel. The implication of course here is that having a Shengen visa – being European - grants political authenticity.
2. When planning the conference literature we continually pushed for all material to be made available in Serbian as well as English. This was ignored in the event and led to confrontations at the conference.
3. Back at LARC when a refugee tried to join the directors of the company that runs the building we were told that this was not practical because of a lack of papers. So rather than try to make this possible it was dismissed without discussion. We also tried to arrange for it to be mandatory for a refugee to be part of the user group – again this was dismissed. There fore there is a tendency to reproduce positions of power on the lines of the state

We have no hope for the British authorities and call on all workers to bring about its total downfall. We also demand that all workers do whatever they can to ensure that Ms Margaret Nambi is allowed to remain in this country as per her wishes and that all is done to ensure the safe passage of her children too.  
2012

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BRUTAL, RACIST, SEXIST AND CLASSIST EVICTION OF DALE FARM IN ESSEX  
19 October 2012

We hereby authorise the eviction of Eric Pickles and the government he represents  
Not just the Party but the system of governance is obsolete and hereby given NOTICE TO QUIT  
We call on all workers, including Eric Pickles, to join the psychic workers union or indeed start their own psychic workers union in opposition to the bourgeoisie  
We are now here  
REproductiVe wOrkers and Lovers indUsTrial uniON  
(RÉVOLUTION) 2012  
WE HEREBY AUTHORISE THE EVICTION OF ERIC PICKLES AND THE GOVERNMENT HE REPRESENTS  
NOT JUST THE PARTY BUT THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE IS OBSOLETE AND  
HEREBY GIVEN NOTICE TO QUIT  
WE CALL ON ALL WORKERS, INCLUDING ERIC PICKLES, TO JOIN THE PSYCHIC WORKERS UNION OR INDEED START THEIR OWN PSYCHIC WORKERS UNION IN OPPOSITION TO THE BOURGEOISIE  
WE ARE NOW HERE

MINJUNG ART STRIKE BIENNIAL AGAINST WORLD'S PSYCHIC BIENNIALIZATION!  
19 October 2012  
[open address to the Gwangju World Biennial Forum No.1 to happen on 27-31 October 2012]

World biennial forum is just conference alongside with Gwangju Biennial - you are collecting representatives of the largest biennials of the world and sponsor those, who are colonizable. While "Founded in memory of spirits of civil uprising of the 1980 repression of the Gwangju Democratization Movement" the biennial is unable to speak on the student strikes against imperial occupation in 1945 and also the more recent workers strike at Kumho Tire Co. plant in Gwangju who began a general strike on Aug. 16 2012

Minjung art is exactly the recuperation of the essential antiimperialist and anti-american movement : With the democratization of the 1990s, Minjung art started losing their concrete aim and became part of the mainstream - post modernism - the colonist biennial simply sold up any trace of disobedience. We must include our solidarity with murdered and tortured Minjung art psychic workers of 80-ies Gwangju uprising and disclaim recuperation of their memory by Gwanju biennialization-recuperation-colonialization processes.  
Biennialization is the neoliberal ritualization of Eurocentric bourgeois propaganda.

Gwangju World Biennial forum is the exploitation of world wide psychic workers in the form of western colonization and imposition of the misuse of the working class by employment of western bourgeoisie models.

Your role (as biennial organizers) in societies is a colonialist one: to impose westernization on local societies and further exploit psychic workers; to alienate workers by imposing the roles of artists, writers, spectators, staff, security guards etc and to create cultural capital based on that alienation;

How can we undo the teleologies of Eurocentric modernity? Simply open up the biennial initiatives by giving way to the workers to lead it. The true de-eurocentrized biennials must obtain forms of self leading by [psychic] workers communes.

You are welcome to join DATA Miners & Travailleurs Psychique Wahdat as workers in Desa Kala

IWW's industrial classification system and redraw the map of class.

This is because any point on the map of industrial unions – a 2 dimensional map – has a coordinate also in the hierarchy of management. To deny that union officials – that academics – that other psychic workers are not located there is to undermine our organisation as workers and to foster a “revolutionary” identity without achieving class consciousness at all. All that this achieves is the creation of cultural capital.

Capital – the spectacle – the sum of commodity culture – is the abstraction of labour – the expression of labour in its inhuman form. Oppression is all that creates alienation. Revolution is all that liberates labour from its inhuman form.

To obscure the fact that psychic work is indeed a form of work is to side with the Bolshevik separation of politics from economics and culture. It is also to side with the Bakuninist agenda to obscure the 3rd dimension of class – that of situation – and limit workers to their own identity – whether that be industrial or national. However it is that identity that is prerequisite for an understanding of class.

It is clear that some industries dominate others. It is clear that some nations dominate others. It is clear some genders dominate others. It is our task to support those who are oppressed while always pushing for proletarianisation and class unity against not just capital but the capitalists themselves. It is equally clear that the capitalists will use our efforts, our labour, against us – after all that is the essence of capital.

[A Situationist Worker]

And few more proposals:

1. To request from Fidelis to find out that original Cameroonian word for „identity“ – the same he never knew and already forgot - and to use it to name what we have had in common while being together as distant from the family of bourgeois identities and so to experience it without clear labelling and self-attachment [so far [psychic] workers identity is still hardly acceptable to many of us). And in a case Fidelis would not find the word – to name it without actually knowing how it sounds.

2. In the case whomever of us will find out not him/herself enough organized/motivated to join in the upcoming Art Strike Biennial, which will be held on 19th-25th August, 2013 - we would be very pleasant to get instructions/requirements from you how to improve the art strike movement. rooting your proposals on theoretical hypothesis and historical knowledge. Those to gather (if they would agree) would try to survive while implementing it right in a place.

3. On the basis of our talks and DAMTP constitution we will compile the address to World Biennial Forum No.1 in Gwangju to stress their eurocentrist pathos, to ask them to resign from machinery which creates cultural capital based on alienation of workers and to join DAMTP so canceling the further colonization by „serious culture of whities“ and stressing the structural racism prevailing in those structures.

And instead of conclusion:

I figured out that after endless talking there is not so important whom one would like to be, but it's so exiting whom everyone is used to be. There is a thin limit where the endless talks step beyond into the [psychic] practice.

Thanks to everybody

[Redas]

## REVOLUTION AGAINST RAPE

19 October 2012

British atrocities - both direct and indirect through collaboration with rape and murder around the world must come to an end now

The backlog of cases from Kenya between the 1960s and 2000s of rape cases by British soldiers is now coming to trial in 2012

However the indirect rape and genocide by British authorities is still be brought to account.

The deportation of refugees is a clear example of where the UK and other European governments continue to practice racist neo-colonial policy of rape murder and genocide across the planet.

Ms Margaret Nambi, despite having fresh claim through new evidence of rape in Uganda - has been detained and threatened with deportation to where she will surely be tortured.

What happened subsequent to this and countless other incidents is that myself and another member of the Voice forum was expelled from LARC. At the time there were 4 members of the Voice forum – and we were the 2 who were most vocal and known – one other was a refugee. Soon after the remaining member so the Voice forum were also hounded out with demands for phone bills with no negotiation or concessions made or support given for a refugee group to arrange payment of phone bill.

It was only then that NO Borders London began operating and meeting at LARC. This was no coincidence. The group was set up by Anarchists of the WOMBLES who were instrumental in our expulsion. They even knew that I was facing a police case for obstructing the police at an anti- BNP demo because another member of the WOMBLES was up in court with me on the same charge. When I brought this up in Alytus I was interested to hear of another comrade's experience of how refugees were treated at a NB social centre in Rome. There was a case of a refugee who was effectively treated as a servant in the “social centre” in exchange for lodging! Even if this is not typical it is The politics of No Borders which only deals with getting people across borders and not with the day to day life and work of people once they are in Europe that is the problem. At worst these NB activists are exploiting someone else's struggle in order to don the pose of radical activists.

Some aspects of NB maybe worthwhile, e.g. supporting hunger strikers in detention. However these transitory and fragmentary support is no compensation for the derailment of refugee struggle. IWW have recently started to have meetings at the LARC. While the IWW are very distinct from the groups previously because they are working class lead. There is a clear organizational structure which means that informal power structures and hierarchies do not remain invisible and cannot become as damaging as they can in Anarchist organizations.

Since the IWW has become registered in the UK they have been able to organize non-unionized workers. A good example is the Latin American workers in London. Clearly they are going beyond the Internationally the IWW has remained restricted to mainly white /European areas in the US, Europe and Australia. This has to do with language – but also with the notion of industries which are closely associated to nation – the 1st world i.e. European colonies that have remained dominated by Europeans (us/Australia) are service industry lead.

If the aim of one union for all workers is serious then the IWW must look to overcoming the institutional racism inherent in the left: overcoming language restraints, overcoming the bias for those who are recognized by the state already and beginning to empower those who are already disempowered by the state.

Going beyond nationalism also means going beyond industrialism. Non-unionized workers includes the vast majority of people who are not in paid employment at all. Not just non-productive and productive workers but also reproductive workers.

As reproductive workers we constitute the unpaid workers who continually create life. Our unionization is the intersection of everyday life and political organization.

The occupy movement was a good sign of where this in action but again limited by Eurocentrism. Occupations were indeed workers strikes –strikes of those producers and consumers of psychic space, occupying a space of psychic production and consumption and distribution.

The positions outlined in the “de-occupy Glasgow” blogpost and the DisOccupy blog challenging sexism and racism in the occupy movements show these limits in action – and these things can only be dealt with through the self organization of the working class - ie a movement that is conscious of itself as proletarian.

The Occupations proved unable to re-connect to the so-called Arab Spring which were a starting point for the camps in Spain. While the internationalism of this influence is a revolutionary move, we must reject this term Arab Spring - firstly we prefer the translation of الثورات as Revolution rather than Spring. Secondly the racialising of the countries in the north of Africa as Arab is as a

nationalistic and racist maneuver and reveals the structural spatial and temporal limits that psychic workers must resist. It is no coincidence that the most successful occupations have been in the UK, USA and Australia. These places are all part of the Former British Empire – but unlike African and Indian ex-colonies they are controlled by those who still bear European names and family ties.

In resisting the capitalist atomization of social and community life, we must not let ourselves be pushed back into a reactionary position of defending the family as this will only strengthen the national and aristocratic groups that this organizational form derives from. We must refuse the bourgeois choice of marriage or prostitution and push forwards towards proletarian workers organization. Perhaps it is time for a lovers union.

In the Capitalist era and nations of advanced Capitalism, this nationalism has taken on an industrial structure – countries are now divided by industrial production –it is no coincidence that the occupy countries are those focused on capital intensive production while the countries of the “Arab Revolution” are geared towards land and labor intensive production. It is also no coincidence that while the so-called “Arab” revolution have matured into armed struggle and have met with heavy and violent state repression from the outset, the Occupations have chosen so-called non violent protest and have met with less direct or covert state repression. The internalization of industrial identity has lead to a Peace Police set up with in the Occupy camp, at the Oakland Occupations joining of the General Strike last month, to physically repress Black Bloc and Anarchist groups. Despite our criticisms of black bloc as a tactic and anarchism as political position, we find this unacceptable as attacking buildings (capital or land) can never be compared to attacking people (labor). It is in this regard that the riots and looting in London this summer were of a more politically revolutionary nature than the occupations—in a practical negation of the commodity and of capital. The choice of targets in the future will depend on the drawing of picket lines by revolutionary workers unions and groups. Attacking of the police as self defense is a revolutionary act and is as inevitable as the confrontation with any worker who crosses the picket line. This will need discussion in the very near future.

Our immediate concern however is the attacks on the people of the occupation from outside the camp and the failure of the commune to protect them. The publicized rapes in the US and UK occupations have lead to attacks from the right, the state and also criticism from within the movement. It is vital we reject out of hand any criticism from the right or the state and foster and encourage the criticism from within and from those who seek to join the occupation on its declared terms. So while we reject Mayor Nutter calling for the Philly occupation to close after a rape there, we support the Black-Out by Black workers who boycotted the occupation after the racism experienced there could not be combated effectively within the camp. We also support the Glasgow Women’s Activist Forum who criticized the Glasgow occupations handling of the rape that happened in their camp.

For the empowerment of reproductive workers we look to Sylvia Pankhurst and Workers Dreadnought’s Constitution of British Soviets where the Household Soviets were to be put under the control of all women members of households over 20 years old. However we wish to go further in internationalizing the union. We must look towards reproductive workers lead by women in other countries where organization is so weak that reproduction is failing and mortality is higher than it is here.

Traditional unions and even revolutionary unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World, who we split from after they refused to recognize the renegade psychic workers IU 007/700, have proved incapable of going beyond national industrialism. The only way to do so is to unionize across all time as well as space and class – across tribal and feudal as well as the capitalist era. Those families who are from outside of England and Europe must be given power in this strike action. A simple way we can do this is by empowering their relatives who are in our locality.

\*U\*\* THE BIENN(i)AL(1e). \*\*C\* THE [WHITE] OCCUPATION. F\*\*\* THE ART STRIKE  
10 June 2012  
[ACTIVE PSYCHIC WORKER’S ABC]

"enlightenment" scribbles like the author of "Oppression is not a simple matter", referenced in the debates about or beyond identity. [Andrius]

I congratulate all fellow workers and comrades on the 2012 Alytus conference.  
I have 3 proposals:

1. We request Chus Martinez to take down the “Gatekeeping Africa” article – and that DAMTP issue a formal apology to Sharlene Khan. As she has accused us of disrespecting her as a worker and producer of the text. Our use of the text was a plagiarism done without contacting her. While I defend this method and do feel that our plagiarism has been successful in disseminating the basic ideas therein in a new and proletarianised context, I do acknowledge and want to extend our respect to her as a worker. I also think that as an African and a woman artist (operating in a capitalist system that is patriarchal and Eurocentric) we should support her wishes. I also do not wish DAMTP to be associated with alienating fellow workers in this way.

2. I also request that we do not publish the “oppression is not a simple matter” text. The main reason is that its basic premise equates capital with labour and this is unacceptable. While I am in agreement with much of the positions and some of the historical observations, I do feel that this basic orientation means that the conclusions drawn are wildly inaccurate and misleading and I do not wish DAMTP to be associated with them.

3. We work on a collective text/declaration/constitution/manifesto etc which addresses our approach to our production and our constitution as proletarians – to be written in a non-European language or mixture of languages – to be signed by individuals but also as a collective identity. At the last conference in 2011 we were in general agreement on the identity of psychic worker but this may also be reviewed. We finalise this document and publish it at the 2013 conference.

The moving finger writes. Or to use a different example: a finger points to the moon. But let us leave the abstract and look at this situation: my finger on this keyboard. It has a point in space – a point in time – a point in class. These 3 interwoven axes – what the ancients called *Desa Kala Patra* are sometimes translated as “space, time, identity” or alternatively “space, time, situation” – but I will term them as Space, Time and Class.

If there are only 2 identities possible in class: that of bourgeoisie and proletariat then also in space: the west and the east or the north and the south. Also in time: the past and the future.

Already you are witness to the expansion in space, time and class of this text. I have written and you read. But we are just a part of its expansion in space, time and class – there are workers who preceded it and produced the computers etc in space time and class. There are workers who will read it after us and who will come in other space, time and class.

The orientation – the point of origin in space, time and class are all on my body. The body of the worker is the orientation for all measurement and the situation can only be understood as a relationship between workers.

This text, having expanded in space from its origin in my body, now occupies a volume that encompasses the machines, telephone wires and minds of other fellow workers including you, across different countries.

In time it has blossomed from a point in my own time, to having an origin in its conception and a magnitude into the future when fellow workers will read it as you are doing now.

And in Class it was created by me, a situationist worker, defined by various letters: perhaps a sign found on public toilets indicating male, a letter in the English language and maybe also Arabic, urdu. Already multiple names and nations – identities, as I have 2 passports and more than one occupation. But it has now been also processed by other workers – with different identities - some students, some academics, at least one in the employ of the police or secret services. But in every case – this text deals with the conditions of production of the workers reading it and how they can oppose the formation of capital.

Whether this escapes the formation of cultural capital is determined by its movement in space : Out of the north and west – by its movement in time: out of the past and into the future ie new ideas – and out of the hands of the bourgeois class into workers.

The map used by DAMTP in order to understand Class, is that of the IWW industrial unions. This is the point of departure for the DAMTP. We have created a Union of Psychic Workers that breaks with the IWW’s administrative and regional organisational structure. We have created a Union of Dead Workers. We have created a Union of Reproductive Workers – all of which break with the

criticising the meeting in Alytus per-se. I have to admit that such a piece of writing surprised me big time: nevermind the complete lack of depth in the text, a conclusion where "the feminists" (among others) are accused of "bringing Bush into power" ("event" paralleled to the role of German Social Democracy in bringing Hitler to power); So to say the "identity-based" social movements are more "evil" than the "evil itself"!

It is precisely this kind of economism that enables these people to claim, without evidence, that declining wages is universally more important to most black people than police brutality or having to wait an hour for a seat at Denny's. One is hard economics that unites people; the other is just narrow identity politics. Thus, when black gays and lesbians take to the streets to protest violence against them, that's "identity politics." When angry white males claim that affirmative action is taking jobs from them, that's class politics muffled beneath a racial blanket they themselves don't understand (...) Something's wrong with this picture.

<http://nova.wpunj.edu/newpolitics/issue22/kelley22.htm>

The "everything and nothing" discussion in Alytus, besides the things going on on Saturday, had a Friday program which included an in depth critique of the serious culture in 2012 Germany in its relationship with wider expressions of racial profiling; first-hand experiences of migration to Europe from Africa, among other things. I haven't read the newly released Chus book in full, and had too less of a conversation with him in order to deal with the issue of his theory in relationship to the struggles of non-whites, etc., but what I gathered in the presentation of the mentioned book in Vilnius on Sunday, was that Chus was not interested in the riots that "did not connect with the workers of factories" - but who is to say they were not the same workers, just out of factories, but taking on the shops?

It is now often said that American youth, after thirty years of silence, are rising again as a force of contestation, and that the black revolt is their Spanish Civil War. This time their "Lincoln Brigades" must understand the full significance of the struggle in which they are engaging and totally support its universal aspects. The Watts "excesses" are no more a political error in the black revolt than the POUM's May 1937 armed resistance in Barcelona was a betrayal of the anti-Franco war. A revolt against the spectacle — even if limited to a single district such as Watts — calls everything into question because it is a human protest against a dehumanized life, a protest of real individuals against their separation from a community that would fulfill their true human and social nature and transcend the spectacle. <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/decline.html> Likewise, I'm sorry Chus has missed the Friday discussions, since I had difficulties in explaining him later what was the practice of the assault on serious culture all about; Conversely, Black Mask (who connected their struggles with the Black Panthers in the 60s) understood the importance of also connecting anti-Vietnam uprisings with the boycott of Museum of Modern Art New York.

I would like to pinpoint one more thing: people disgusted the most by "identity" discussion in Alytus were themselves white, European males of not the poorest background. As described in Robin D. G. Kelley's "Identity Politics & Class Struggle", the sneers at (at least) an attempt to merge proletarian initiatives with the experiences of social movements which are firstly focused around the issues of race & gender come from the camp which has a stereotypical image of the communities they see themselves defending. Curiously, this stereotyping includes an image of "the worker"...

I would finish with the oldschool feminist slogan of "personal is political", which i think should be taken seriously, if one is ready to at least differ from the nationalist left of various manifestations such as bullshit fascist Nazbol & others...

And the comment on machismo? I remember the oldest still existing squatted Berlin social centre freaking out when a bunch of Nigerian guys who were self-organizing against a big migration policy change (a collaboration among European & African states led by Germany & Nigeria) lived in the house... The bubble has lost a touch with the struggling people a while ago... Likewise, the history of the black man is the one of having to entertain a whitey musically, while his lover experienced the harshest sexual exploitation by the same colonizers... Yes, oppression is not a simple matter, especially if you are not white. And it should be people like Robin D. G. Kelley (like in his "Identity Politics & Class War" available <http://nova.wpunj.edu/newpolitics/issue22/kelley22.htm>), rather than anonymous yet glorious

Introduction fitting the main regulations by police, authorities and bourgeois art world

The text below is intended to serve as the mean for self-education and amusement. Better do not make copies, simply hide yourself at home, do art or go to work, and stay in fear!

#### 1. What do we want?

Art world is in a process of neo-liberalization (i.e. privatization, commercialization, taxation) what makes the basic institution of art even less acceptable than it was when established in 18th century as a mean to gain privileged status for bourgeoisie and to start the total capitalist alienation and the specialization (including non specialized specialists) of the society.

We simply want to turn away from ongoing bourgeoisification of the psychic workers and data miners – many of them still call themselves being artists or in rare cases – art workers. We ask to quit with art production in support capitalist machine and to start production of meaning without giving a right for capitalists to distribute it. We demand immediate quite the exploitation of working people at the same time damaging their minds filling it with propagandized-diverted meaning just produced by themselves.

Nowadays we have reached the critical point of neo-liberalist biennialization of the art world what is nothing else but global corruption of the art system and industrialized privatization of the meaning fitting it to the customized standards and clichés. The customized forms of the culture are true forms of the colonization of mind, alienation of human beings and nature, humans and humans, humans and dead humans... etc. what lead towards further exploitation of all working people of the world.

Debiennialization – that is a newest approach – the kick into ass of seeming-to-be capitalist stability. Our task is to result the bloody convulsions of capitalist rites rooted in contemporary forms of biennialization.

#### 2. Why we never get to it?

Everything is set up in a way nothing to happen. We have an opportunity to vote, but the authorities are always wrong. We have an opportunity to attend the meetings and to held public manifestations, but authorities do not pay attention to it. The contemporary art world pretends to be „critical“ and shows-up established forms of „right“ social and political critique in the frame of institution what in result turns into general spectacle. Conclusion is a simple one – we must change the tactics and methods.

The second reason why our critique is ineffective is that all the artists are totally alienated – they have no any trace of the proletarian self-organization and even deny any possibility of it, but always trust and obey to cynic art world bourgeoisie bastards: curators, gallerists, dealers etc. Even the so called initiatives of artist-run activities finally obtain forms of divergence into the corporational forms of art establishment and not only because of funding by various foundations, but also because of highly incorporated forms of competition, lies, self-promotion, arrogance and climbing over each other's heads.

The third reason is that radical artists and activists are very easily recuperated (or even specially made up to simulate spectacular „resistance“) by the system – as it recently happen with group “Voyna“ from Russia or the whole “critical“ Berlin Biennial 7 curated by pro-neo-fascist behaving Artur Żmijewsky. The latest fact showed how even quite radical and very actual positions towards the social changes are falsified with the help of state, media and economical power, and also by mafia like repressions on particular artists. But the fact is that their strategies are also as outdated as their modes of carrier building.

Of course, there is always an option to turn away from the art world and to start some other activities, but the art machine takes continuously its power on naiveté of awkward squad baked by the art academies. What to be done? Sure, we can leave it to rot on it's own. But it's so surprising how long a putridity still retains its original external form before falling into dust when slightly touched.

So, why we still continue doing this “critical” production what simply turns into ineffective

spectacle, and which feeds art bourgeoisie?

Why we still use eurocentric and very racist in its essence discourse to describe our dreams and expectations? It just simply alienates us not only from our Black Power comrades, but also colonizes our own dreams.

We distrust all the promises by art bourgeoisie and further deny any negotiations with them – that is hopeless waste of time!

We demand immediate occupation of art spaces, dismantle its meaningless and fill up it with our own (non)meaning – that is what an occupation is about.

Decolonization of psychic mind – that is debienalization of eurocentrist expansion – and further demolition of the „serious culture of Whites“. That is a main reason not taken into account and therefore led towards the failure of majore culture revolutions which remained racist in it's essence. The art strike in 1970 New York Art Strike Against Racism, War and Repression was organised by exclusively white male artists. It was counteracted at the time by Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation (WSABAL), who succeeded in opening the protest action to women and people of colour.

### 3. Why to occupy biennials?

The occupation is an extension of the idea of strike into the sphere of non proletarian activities i.e. universities, public spaces of the s. c. 1st world countries and usually consisting of White bourgeoisie. Latest activities in the Occupy movement(s) revealed inherent racism of the approach. Officially an occupation is held to attend more attention to the inner problems of occupied institutions and practical forms of self-organization during the process which are claimed to be a real autonomy.

In the art world the situation is slightly different. The art world is represented by the stolen work of art slaves – i.e. artists (or non specialized specialists) which is located in the specialized spaces (galleries, museums, art halls, museums etc) with the task to ridicule their ideas and meaning created. In that way the organized spaces are turned into a capitalist entertainment. The physical occupation of the space with the artworks (biennial) means straight appropriation of the meaning created by those who are the real proletarians in that field. The occupation of the biennial means a cessation of meaning of the art as institution. It is an abolishment not only of the art system but also of the role of artist as specialized non specialist because erasure of the institutionalized meaning becomes more valuable and meaningful then privileged participation and “skills”. We prefer Black Power braveness against White Power adaptability.

We are told that the better case is to show all our envy when creating a new “critical” art works for the new biennials. Are you sure you want to precede this hopeless direction? That leads nowhere and all you know it well! It's time to start changing the system which sucks. The passivity of the obeying of the colonized psychic workers must be overcome only by concrete action. But there is not necessary to physically destroy the furniture and break the windows – leave better the role of the vandals to the policemen and housekeepers who will eventually try to dismantle the barricades. The occupation must be arranged in solidarity and to be peaceful. That is what the pamphlet is about – we aim at successful occupation of the biennial exhibition buildings.

We do not aim in interruption of the process of the location of the meaning – in opposite – we aim in direct process of meaning production, distribution and realization by psychic workers right in a place were it was intended to be manipulated as a commodity. We demand art to be revolved back to its origin – the meaning.

We do not demand to close the exhibition spaces – inviting to occupy the spaces we aim in gathering of the open community what quits with the rotten past and steps beyond. We aim in open discussion and self-organization. There is no necessity to be or not to be a participant of particular show, even there is no need to be nominally an artist – there is enough to be confident that corporation forms of art and it's distribution are true means of alienation. Might be we decide to be noisy and to march through the territory so inviting the workers to join, or might be we will turn on building barricades all around – the means of expression are not so important – it must be effective. We aim not in symbolic protest or occupation – the new spectacle – not at all! We aim in doing! We hope to involve as many people as we would be able. Art and “white” culture customers are those whose mind is colonized – we demand decolonization!

LETS TURN ART SPACES TO THE PSYCHIC SPACES!

### 4. The theory of the occupation

Preplanning

From the experience of the visual artist I was always upset because my experience never gave enough opportunity to talk to colleagues, friends – just occasional talks. That is why I got a need to make meetings people to talk. While beeing an artist I was needed [usually] just as picture producer – few times was censored because of mine verbalizations – „we have people to write – all we need are your pictures“ – I realized that I need first to talk instead of giving the pictures. When you talk critically on your own field its harder to put you into the system while critical pictures are easily recuperated.

A nice coincidence – simply great story about colonization - was recovered during the meeting, that in the year 2003 four persons present in Alytus meeting were participating in the slightly related events in Tirana. One then art curator, one then artists and one still artist were participating in Tirana biennial which was ridiculously recuperated and misused for local mayor elections and supported in it by Italian/French art mafia. [In fact this biennial was the main impact to start Alytus biennial in 2 years as political pastiche]. The Tirana biennial was planned as some detail of huge election campaign. On the other side there were invited a Tsmall Theater and rock band from Lithuania to play for Tirana biennial artists, which occurred to be ell; ection campaign for to be re-elected mayor Edi Rama. So far artists were too disobedient they were kindly invited for the concert when it was almost over, but the theater show was even before. So far lithuanians brought also a crew from national TV and arranged their own version of the event for Lithuanian TV – they ridiculed Tirana biennial artists (actually they filmed not a biennial show, but of some students), the overpresent powerty of tiranian social life, and very explicit corruption of police. In that context themselves they depicted as „high culture“ bringing people for some savages [Redas]

For the end DAMTP presented Kent's Ten Key Values of Proletarian Post-Modernism

1. The insistence upon a tough-minded grip on reality.
  2. A willingness to confront the self searchingly and even with laughter.
  3. Patience and endurance.
  4. Humour as a tool for transcendence.
  5. A sort of dead-end courage, and not so dead-end.
  6. An acceptance of the role of suffering in retaining one's humanity and in retaining some perspective on the humanity of the oppressor.
  7. A high development of dissimulation and camouflage.
  8. A sense of something more than this world and of its rhythms.
  9. A deep sense of the inexorable limitation of life and all that we associate with the tragic and tragicomic vision.
  10. Ceremonies or poise in a non-rational universe. (The hipsters and the cool-cats play an endless satire upon Western assumptions of rationality.)
- [Taken from George E. Kent's 'Ethnic Impact in American Literature' a lecture read at the Annual Meeting of the College Language Association, 1967]

Post conference DAMTP comments:

Due to obvious reasons (poisoning by crappy beer in one of the bars/clubs me with Fidel have visited on the previous night), I can not participate in the chat about the outcomes of the discussion on Saturday in Alytus, and can not fully engage in the last discussion in retrospective of the conference on psycho-decolonization. Nevertheless, I will draw on Friday events and the couple of texts linked to us by different participating comrades after the meeting.

Having lived in England for a while, i've encountered the position of "class war and nothing else matters" from a friend who's a member of "good boys club" SPGB (Socialist Party Great Britain, itself a national section of World Socialist Movement). "Economy and nothing else" (including a sometimes comical classification of society drawing on positioning in relation to the means of production yet simultaneously excluding social/"cultural" upbringing/tastes/principles) approach to each and every problem encountered in a current shape of alienated society is somewhat paralleled in the text "Oppression is not an easy matter" forwarded to us by Saul in one of the recent e-mails

nationalism - to connect with class - to empower the endangered and suppressed [DAMTP remark]

Later-on DAMTP received a sharp critique from comrades anarchists as organizing "failed" of-point discussion, which Chus Martinez labeled as a "messy" one. DAMTP answer was simple - rrrrevolution to be a messy thing and different from those described by "white theoreticians" which are promoting nothing but racism (rooted in [eurocentrist] aesthetics).

Prolegomena for 2013

Art strike biennial format – to abolish the roles of the art, an artist and spectator in the society. To criticize and abolish the mechanisms of „serious culture“ from inside and to stress the „ever being positive“ image of the subject in the society. To be pointless and repeat it endless what makes more sense than doing things as it supposed to be. To stress „white“ and „serious“ discourse of theoreticians. To destroy the the whole subject of biennialization establishing worse biennial ever. To invite artists and theoreticians in the same status as immigrants and workers. [Redas, DAMTP]

It's hard to define when things done are related to the promotion of one persons ideas for the wider market and when it is done from the inner [collective] necessity. When something formulated is used for the market, or enough to have confidence. First – networking – we already starting it here. [Fidelis]

Art that distributes [or is distributed – DAMTP addition] must be changed into art of sharing and connectivity. [Edvardas]

Artists are united either by idea or by space – example Teatre Vallo Occupato. [Rita]

Free art space – integrates into the system – it's a colonizing. [Povilas]

We are all inside very different. The artists of oneself. Thing is not about showing, but about sharing. [Fidelis] Alytus proposes something to share – I accept or decline – it depends on ones own ability to share with something.: time, thoughts.

Thing happens every two years. Revolution-biennial. Biennialization of the social level. [Martin]

When I grew up in the small village in Togo I did not felt any colonization. I realized what the colonization is when I got to a city. Especially the effect of the mass media. But there were some levels – first you must become a christian – other way you will not get access to resources – so, my farther send 3 sons to become christians while other kids were unchristianized, then they asked my father to be a chief of the village. The further level was when I came to Paris. [Mawuna]

The colonization is about change – European colonizers wanted to change africans according to their understanding. Decolonization actually also came from the 1st world as recolonization as well. Especially it is evident during the „democratic“ procedures in Cameroon – it doesnt work – it is performed. We live in Cameroon, Africa, but the system is imposed – that never was there, nor was decided by local people. The colonization stronger affects on vulnerable people, more resistant people are less colonized. [Fidelis]

Keeping in mind how this event started [ might be he had in mind the fact that it was given to the young students once to do what they would love to do] – might be to invite people who are dubious – who have doubts on what is happening here. Some feedback of the art strike as reflected in their minds how it was done. That would be different level of perspective – as Stephanie was talking about concerning French history. We could learn much more from the different level of the persons who do things from the feeling, with emotions and not as would fit/correspond „high“ theoretical discourse which is usually gets as a goal for cultural events. [Mawuna] It would go not as a top idea proposed by colonizers clishe, but rather low-brow messy replicas what usually sais more about „high“ ideas then it used to mean. [DAMTP comment]

The theater of oppressed based on real practices [Vëjünë]

Preplanning is needed in whatever case of organization done either by tiny clandestine adventurer's group or by ungovernable crowd. Get familiarized with the building. How many doors must be closed? What could be used for the barricades indoors and what outdoors if needed? How to escape, if needed? Is here a need for food recourses and/or other implements?

Enlisting the crowd

The crowd of gapers appears immediately when the confrontation with police starts. We need the crowd as close to the building as possible before the arrival of the police. If police will build up the barriers the crowd will appear in-between you and police, but not in the reverse of police. Attract the public by arranging the meeting. During the meeting invite the people to join the occupation. Very important note: keep in mind that everything you are going to arrange in the context of biennial would look like part of the art process – so audience could be very easily attracted to participate as it is essential in a kind of events. We also highly recommend arranging occupations during the official openings of the monster-shows.

Controlling the doors

While exploring the building in advance decide which door to be used for entrance/exit during the occupation. Choose one door or window. Do not barricade the exit chosen but lock it differently – so would be openable in the case of emergency. If there are build some barricades outdoors – check out it does not block the exit.

Leaving the quarters open

Occupants usually argue whom to let go in. But the best solution – to let go in as many people as fits. If you take control of the entrance the risk to get to the resolution of the initiate group or passing-in of casual people is not a big one. Let people to get into the building as fast as possible until cops do not dissipated the crowd. People would feel better inside, because between them and police there will be walls of the building.

Change the quarter's destination

Do not follow the real destination of the quarters. Use the spaces so you can transform them. Occupy other quarters and expand the movement in the territory. Do not forget to have a lark – arrange a sexy dancing party!

#### 5. Reconnaissance

Choose the building in the center, preferably with some balconies, better – several stories building. The ideal building for occupation is that one with few entrances and heavy furniture or [art] things inside. Not necessarily it must be occupied in one night – there is enough one storey, or even one bigger quarter for the beginning. Do not be afraid to occupy the headquarters of your “curators” and biennial's co-ordination staff. But keep in mind that bigger spaces are easier to retain than smaller administrative quarters. Any way the main task is to cease activity of the biennial management turning away from art bureaucracy the control over spectacle and slightly fading it down. So, it would definitely being more effective to occupy the exhibition spaces than administrative HQ's. When reconnoitering you be cautious and coherent. How many doors must be guarded (also check out for secret exits and fire-doors)? How doors look like and which way it opens? Look for structural bearings (columns, pipes etc.) close to the doors and useful for blocking the entrances. What is useful for barricade's arrangement? Look for toilets' locations. The drinking water supply. Possibilities to accept the food without opening the doors. Decide which the entrance to use for letting people to come in and to go out during the occupation. How to defend it? Do some photos or make notes about all the details. Make photos of the ways of retreat. Keep in mind – details are the subject to be forgotten even faster than it seems!

Mobile connection

Prior to action obtain mobile phone cards without treaty. The connection is important for internal use, also to contact supporters outside the building, and to continuously inform the media. Put in the list of each others phone numbers.

The locks

Obtain any necessary locks for door locking. Take few more. Sometimes happens that people decide to go further for more occupation.

#### 6. Door block

Doors open either inside or outside. Doors to open inside could be barricaded only from inside. Outside-to-open doors could be blocked depending on door handles. Doors with push handles Swirl the rope around the handle and other side to be fixed to structural bearing or other handle.

Doors with round handles

Creative usage of cramps is applicable to fix the rope – other side to be fixed to structural bearing or heavy table.

Doors without handles

Almost impossible to block without destroying of the door itself – avoid that type of doors unless it opening inside.

The “bold new” method (all cool kids are doing it this year)

In the auto accessories store obtain truck tie-down belts. Pass the belt through the latch, then girth the table (or whatsoever other massive furniture or an artwork – bigger than the door frame) round with the belt, and tie-down hard. When policemen will try to open the door – table does not fit through the door frame and door will remain blocked unless somebody would break the door window. Use few belts for one door. Nylon is used to give – time after time the belts must be re-tie-downed. If the door would happen to be open at least few centimeters – policemen could cut the belts. This method is very useful for quick opening and quick lock of the doors. Be inventive – use unique characteristics of various types of the handles!

#### 7. Building the barricades

If applicable – build-up the barricades as outside as indoors.

Indoors barricades

Use heaviest things attainable. Allocate it all gradually in between all doors. Ensure that all the barricades are functioning. Avoid complicated and labor-consuming barricades. If police is pushing the barricade from outside – then push back it from inside. So far contemporary art is unimaginable without dozens of projectors – point them towards the blocked entrances so to dazzle forcing police. Never destroy artworks arranged as installations, but involve it to look like part of the barricade. When police will start jostle things aside make photos – later would be easier to prove who destroyed the expensive artworks of celebrities. The TV sets, monitors and computers are also useful for the barricades – especially it must be well apparent from the outside. Do not build up light-weight furniture (unless can not find any), because it would be too easy for policemen to hustle it away. Do not use safes and do not chain yourselves to some heavyweight things or pipes. Creative use of dustbins filled with liquids and placed on a top of barricade is welcome.

Outside team

It appears suddenly, builds-up barricade and disappears. To block the entrances use dustbins filled with stones, trash containers, trees, parts of the fences, lattice-works, outdoor furniture and fancy cars. Outside team must know the emergency exits and do not block it.

Human barricades

There is always a wish to count on the human barricades – especially when organizers of the occupations and other protest forms lack with imagination, are not organized enough, have no clear plan prepared and in general this is very essential feature of all bourgeoisie lead protest forms – to manipulate people. People are usually gathered to support some “general idea” and to show their “unity”. They are used to take each others hands so trying to protect the building. After some negotiations police usually leaves the place, because administration tries to avoid confrontation. When police leaves people are used to disband. In a best case very few could stay for a night. Always better to let people to go into the building and to use the barricades inside instead of pushing people for the meaningless immolation. Remember – symbolic sacrifice is an essential feature of any bourgeois based action! The best solution in that situation would be to gather people around the building during the first confrontation with the police and then to invite them in.

#### 8. Outside support: juridical team

Look for the lawyer

Some lawyers will provide with juridical information for free. Majority of the lawyers would meet with occupants in advance to the occupation. Always good to have a lawyer experienced in the protests’ participants defending.

The team for juridical maintenance

Somebody must stay outside and to record violations done by police. Somebody must hang around

But what is about eliminating the concepts as the basis for the things to be done? [Kęstutis]

That was a main point of schism for Situationists into a Nordic and Southern internationals. The word-following tradition from the Rome Empire and still prevailing in southern European countries could be described as Fascio (the bundle – in the analogy that the formulated idea keeps the bundle tighten) and that of the Nordic was based on verbalizing the things done.[Redas]

Then Mawuna took a long speech on abundance of African nature and enjoyable way of the Africans to live in it without stress. Abundance mentality. When comparing to scarcity mentalities of Europeans (also the desert inhabitants), who are those to invent capitalism, interventions, greed, exploitation, competition etc. And following on imposing of a catastrophic sensing of the living through all over the world.

I don’t think that this European identity leads us anywhere – please leave it aside. Lets go to the main topic – how did the scarcity mentality came to Africa? [Saulius]

That is about colonization. People in Africa lived as one. They called it civilization what made people separated. Everybody started to look different. And conflicts started. Westerners cut the hugest areas of forests [in Cameroon] which were resources of abundance – now it’s a desert, emptiness, hunger. I somehow believe Europe was the same abundant as Africa, just they exploited all their resources. [Fidelis]

But it shows also that there is no way back. We must do something on finding the way towards common living in the way it never happen before. It would be different for Africa. It would be different for Europe, unfortunately. Equilibrium must somehow to get power to improve unevenness. It for the justice sake. That is what we need a solidarity for. Asgerm Jorn elaborated the concepts of unity [for European „psychopatic geography“]:

1. Fascist – the bundle – based on ideas to be followed by action. Specific to the Southern part of Western Europe – former Roman empire. Attacking the linguistics as basic to eurocentric shauvinism and therefore colonization.

2. „Polyphonic singing“ or weaving – based on individualities interwoven into a single tissue or polyphonic singing of viking soldiers’ army. Specific for the Nordic countries. One of the versions to talk on everyone’s language in the same time was proposed by Vējūnē just at the beginning of the discussion. DAMTP was involving this aspect by arranging D.I.Y. scratch concerts without audience – just performers. Networking.

3. The strong as weakest ring of the chain – inherent to the former Byzantine area. DAMTP gives right to lead for less organized workers, while more organized workers follow them. Solidarity. Support to those who are oppressed and struggle.

[Redas]

I was expecting to talk on the processes how people were put to labor in order to exploit those resources. And there our conversation stucked. We should be talking about wage labor, exploitation, why its happen in Africa etc. Instead we were talking on all those bourgeois identities: white, black, women etc. All that continuation concepts in the context of the revolution is the main cause why those revolutions failed [Saulius]

So, lets be radical! [Mawuna]

How to do afford to live together happily, without humiliation.

We are talking each his own language – not in a sense of linguistics only, but in a sense of meaning because of our differences ( especially those created because of the getting „civilized“). It is very easy to talk when you’re in some affinity group, where you are used to get the questions you would love to answer. This is easy. This is an identity. But the problem is that there are many those kind of boxes. Even this particular case of our meeting could be an example – depend what one would like to emphasize – communication or miscommunication. And if you would decide that our communication failed – its time to think, where is the weakest point. [Redas]

We would need to arm and defend it with our trialectical approach as a wahdat (union) in kathiral (multitude): to proletarianise the local and global situation - to combat colonialism/imperialism /



rather concrete doings with the attention to common people. And the mentality changes every day, every hour, every minute. The revolution of today is not the one what was done 100 years ago, and we are here not to remake them. [Fidelis]

Unfortunately the example fits only for the single cases, but doesn't work on the big scale like a social revolution. This is not true that revolutions start from the single person. Like the French revolution. Of course, there were thinkers. There were necessary to be people in the streets, demonstrating, fighting, getting together. And that was the same in Paris commune – everywhere..in Lithuania. [Chus]

Prague's velvet revolution was manufactured - and intentionally – and from the very beginning - that I saw with my own eyes [Martin]

People complain, but do nothing to change. But it starts from meeting, talking together, taking a risk, but not from just going into the street. [Fidelis]

All revolutions what did happen were bourgeois revolutions in fact. And no one solved the cultural problem – that one of bourgeoisie mentality. What is the first – revolution or mentality? That must go all together: doing and thinking in the same moment. If you think at the beginning and doing what you just constructed mentality – you are becoming a machine. If you're doing and then thinking – somebody will misuse you even before you'll realize it – that was to happen in Lithuania in 90-ies. [Redas]

I completely disagree with that statement. I think this is wrong. I don't think the Paris Commune 1971 was bourgeois at all – it was bloody and it was crashed, and it leed – thats truth - towards the French Republic and modern democracy, but it was not a bourgeois revolution. I would leave Russian revolution aside as it is too complicated. Germany in January 1919 was not bourgeois at all – that was a proletarian revolution – then the Weimar republic came. I think the historical knowledge there is something what's lacking. Also Spain 1936. If you disregard all that – that is easy to interpret everything. And again – 1968. Or Italy in 1977? What we are talking about? All were an attempts of proletarian revolutions. And Fidel Castro in Cuba – it ended of course on one more capitalist regime..as Soviets too. But there were the failure, either there was no revolution. French revolution and English revolution – yes they were bourgeois, but not the others.[Chus]

Separation of Paris Commune from French revolution is a big mistake, because that was a long and continuous process. In between of those was 1848. Its a long process of competition. [Stephanie]

Everything is possible with the words. You are using the word revolution in a sense of evolution. [Chus]

The point is that fixing only on some particular events and taking them away from the context gives a false effect. It's like fixing the meanings. [Stephanie]

I see revolution as a break through a time, through class. If there would happen the revolution I would like – it would take not a week, nor month or year, but the whole generation period. [Chus]

But all the examples of the proletarian revolutions failed. So it doesn't happen at all. But why not to talk why proletarians took the same bourgeois concept of the revolution which ended-up on building-up of bourgeois society. Revolution which starts and stops at some point is exactly the bourgeois model. I am talking about mechanisms evolving the continuous change. The problems to be solved – leadership, specializations, roles... identities if you want. Including identity of the revolutionary. [Redas]

Imagine scientific example in a completely dark chamber holding two bottles. Then you put bees into one bottle and flies into another. Then after some time bring the bottles back to the light and it happen that almost 100 % of bees died, while all flies came out of the bottle. Bees are too rational to survive. The romantic image of the revolution is very exiting, but things behind it are different from the image. [Mawuna]

to record reactions of people – they might be need for the juridical support later. All the occupants must to write down on their arms the phone number(s) of the lawyer(s) and must have personal ID, but nothing else, because other things will be taken away during the arrest.

Know your rights

Tell to police just your name and surname. Afterwards announce that you'll talk only in the presence of your lawyer.

Resistance during detention

When stopped by police you first ask if you are arrested. If not – you can freely go away. In the case you're arrested do not resist – that would significantly complicate your defense. Do not agree to be searched. Do not answer questions. Escape if will get possibility. If you've got a mask – write a slogan on it – it will cease being a mask and will become a banner.

Treasons

Remember – you don't know who is an organizer of the protest and who is participating in it. You remember just facts that policemen were using swearwords, breaking furniture, and beating occasional passersby and so expressed their inherent sadistic instincts.

9. Outside support: medical team

Medics must be located outside and inside as well. They must be informed about particular requirements (medicine, allergies) of those participating in the action and must be prepared to provide first-aid. Inside located people must wear comfortable long-hand vesture; sport foot-wear would be preferred. Leave at home contact lenses, oil based cosmetics and easily graspable accessories (airings, jewelry). If arrest is expected better do not use tampons. When getting some pepper-gas eyes must be cleaned by the mixture of milk, magnesia and water. When attacked with teargas – clean with moistened handkerchief and swimming glasses.

10. Outside support: mass media team

Press release must be prepared in advance of occupation. Besides giving freedom to your feelings logically explain what is you are planning to be done, what are the aims, because people would like to know what is going on. But there is no need for the official announcement. Do not block people's free self-expression in their own way.

Look after somebody to distribute the leaflets. One or few people outside appoint to be responsible to talk to media. Important to note that they are not representatives but delegated. Alternative media will publish your announcements. Establish a new website for the occupation and special e-mail address. Do not use your personal e-mails. No one of the occupants must be distinguished because could be later treated as leader. No one of the occupants must let be filmed for TV or interviewed. Do not provide more information then necessary.

11. What to thought about

Collect the telephone numbers

That is necessary in the case of police attack to send immediately a message to everybody. Very reliable that you will be pushed out in a few hours – so do not overburden with recourses. Take some medicine, snacks, water. If occupation is planned in France or Germany – there they have a good tradition of durational occupations – that could be an issue. Take some additional locks, ropes and/or belts. Have some extra computers in the case police will confiscate facilities. If you succeed people will brink more food, blankets, cigarettes etc.

Go shares with everybody

There is no private property during the occupation. Common food, drinks, cigarettes.

Break down social barriers

Social status and positions during the occupation are meaningless. If you have some time – write about everything you do, feel and see around to happen. Write a diary. Make a photo of the spaces in the building before leaving – would be easier at suit.

Use the building as the place for self-organization

When the building is under your control you can use it as base for further occupations and actions. It could become the gathering place to dissatisfied and cast-offs. Invite your community fellows to join resistance. Our job has no end. Every occupation has an aim to develop, expand and to become

irreversible process. Lets occupy everything!

#### 12. Conclusion: worth to try!

In many cases the long term occupation is hardly doable, but worth to try. If succeeded – that is important to keep in mind that it's meaning is in continuity not in some particular results. Do not stop – lets move forward! The ever lasting requirement – permanent (self)critique and learning from previous failures and mistakes.

#### LETS MAKE MISTAKES, BUT EVERY TIME THE NEW ONES!

We are not a group

We are not an organization. Groups are used to describe themselves in very vague and ambivalent terms, but not in the action. Groups are used to define the ideal of “how everything must be done” and then point to follow towards the will of the leader.

We are friends

We are joined in common action. That is because we want to reclaim our physic space and time and to revert it to the common property for the all people to share. We are here to spread the solidarity between atomized units. We are not spectators, we are really living personages. We do not need models to self identify with. We do not need bourgeois mystification – art – anymore. We had fears for too long. We wear afraid of police. We were afraid of authorities. We were afraid to loose job, careers, and colleagues. We respect the fear, but want to encourage everybody to step beyond their own limits. Somebody may join us not only when their consciousness will rise enough, but rather when they will realize that the participation in resistance is worth of all the risks. Some people will join immediately, because they have nothing to loose. Some will join in a last minute, because their possible losses shackle them. We are confident in people's choices and trust they know what they do.

#### 13. Post Scriptum

It must be clear to everyone who read the text that there never will be any organizational committee which is going to send directives what to be done. To fight for your autonomy you must organize YOURSELF!  
HERE AND NOW!

#### MORE ON HASSELT HDI EVENT: DISCUSSION BY ARTISTS, CURATORS AND DAMTP COMMENTS 28 July 2012

The discussion sprang-up after the DAMTP report was sent to the artists and curators of the Manifesta related event called HDI (Hotel de Inmigrantes) and also Cosmopolitant Stranger.

Response by Juliana Smith, an artist of the Hasselt HDI event:

(ge)MACHT

power done. Power acted upon – something. You or me, who is power over who.

I had no power. My only power was to escape, inwards and away. I felt bullied.

Disgusted. What the hell was that? Actually.

In hind sight I should have left. Or I should have stood with Redas. We should of left... but it was like a bad car accident... watching – waiting... hoping something good or even productive would come of it...a life would walk out of the wreckage.

I like to like people and I am usually the good old party girl who can get along with everyone, ask anyone... the only people I usually have a problem with are lovers...

Where was the curating, the organization? We were puppets, and we paid to be so. I am ashamed.

I became a warrior for the Middle East and I am only half Iranian and a woman who hates to see world suffering, somehow landed in Palestine and was used because of the place?

I want to be the hero. I am not.

Not once did Koen or Tomasz introduce us to anyone, not with a name. Hi this is so and so. Do you know how good we are?

The group is good people. But did we get to excel or shine or meet together and put a topic on the

in bourgeois society. Neither in Lithuania, nor in Cameroon there were no such word as identity - in Lithuania we use either Latin, or some relatively new-made word [Redas], while in Cameroon they had something to describe identity so far they had a pre-colonial flag for the country, but it is out of use for a long time as people are talking French and English... just bended in some very specific way and out of „civilized“ order [Fidelis].

Is it not colonizing happens because people in Africa are colonizable? [Stephanie]

Is it not exploitation happens because workers are exploitable? [Mawuna]

This sort of questions is possible only in White historical context of theorizations without knowing or simply hiding the real conditions.

Identification as colonist framing: an example of hutu and tutti in Rwanda what gradually were developed into a anthropological absurd of more intelligent and less intelligent people. In the same way bourgeoisie has an agenda to create any kinds of labels and impose identities of democracy, anarchism, communism etc. [Mawuna]

Individuality manifests itself with the Greek tragedy [Chus]

Is it not an Eurocentrist issue? [Kęstutis]

The labling is not the matter of language only. Changing the words does not improves the problems – as it happens with political correctness. The performative role of the language. Word is followed by action [Judith Butler's theory of performative]. It declared that if to change the role of the language the identity to be changed as well. But it doesnt worked. [Chus]

But it does work in the line of colonizing people, recuperation of workers, or black's movements etc. Just it doesn work in de-colonization line. Might be the problems of academicians consists on exageration of role of „serious“ discourse, which is far away from practice – including performative use of language [DAMTP remark]

Even the name Africa has a colonist origin: Afri was a Latin name used to refer to the Carthaginians who dwelt in North Africa; it stems from the Berber word ifri or ifran meaning "cave" and "caves", in reference to cave dwellers; the later Muslim kingdom of Ifriqiya also refers to Arab colonialism. [Mawuna].

I completely disagree with the concept of identity as bourgeois construct so far the identity existed at least with the christianity in the Europe and it is quite evident. Just with the capitalism and bourgeoisie it was multiplied. [Saulius]

The features of the bourgeoisie existence must be documented so far to prove its forms of existence. [Chus]

Multiple identities of bourgeoisie could be present on one person in the same time: one could be an oppressor as the chief of the company at work and oppressed as a woman /wife at home in the evening. The identities are like multiple boxes (bourgeoisie, working clas, black people, women, gays etc) and some of them more important, while some less. The structures are different but there must be some common elements in the public service cuts in Lithuania and some of Congo for example which has something in common and explains capitalist system. And collaboration between labor and capital. And this is essential. Even in the case of revolution – that what I would like to happen – is about not the essential change of some for example interrelation of man-woman relationships, but to atchieve changes through the changing interrelations between labor and capital. But the real problem with the conversation we have here is that everything was said is more or less right, but not an equal. Language is unequal to social insurrections; social strikes – to vocabulary; feelings – the same like strikes? What is the first – first we go into the streets, stop working, going for strikes, not going to schools...and mentality is secondary. [Chus]

Every revolution starts from one persons idea which involves more people, somebody buys it and then things go to history. Things are used to be changed by a daily process: when just arriving to Hasselt (Belgium) I was used to go into the street and nobody used to answer to my greetings. But I did it every day and used to continue. In some year a man from the other side of the street came up and greeted me – that was what he never did before. This is not an idea what changes the minds, but

level of mazochist desire to be „culturally“ colonized, which is not an ironic one.

Identity is an absolute term [Stephanie's remark] and not adequate to the contemporary use because does not corresponds to what it is signifier for.

Bla Bla Bla  
Identity  
Bla Bla Bla  
Identity  
Bla Bla Bla  
Identity....[so Lipovy Tsvet resumed the 2nd part of the meeting]

Bourgeois identity: letter+language+nation+name=dimensions of class  
How to switch out of the identity question towards the class question, which differs from identity?  
Class consciousness as a network+solidarity+attack?  
The agenda for the upcoming day.

Third part was initially and intentionally undefined, so we started by trying to reveal the topics of main importance to everybody. DAMTP proposed to try to make wahdat (union) from Kathirah (multitude) of identities. There was clear that the wish to scope once again on issues of identity took over.

Identity as based on the lack [Povilas]. People stream towards something they have lack of. But that is exactly what the bourgeoisification of proletariat is about. The desires are produced in the capitalist society in the way identities could be build up [DAMTP comment].

Do we really want to sink into a swamp of identities?  
What's the opposite of identity? [Martin]

Might be identity  
Identity started as selfness  
Identity as selfness imposed on myself. [Chus Martinez]

Identity as a term we use now is a bourgeois construct. [Redas]

How could identity be an absolute term when bourgeoisie rules?  
There is no prove that identity is an absolute term – really shows that identity is multiplied.  
Bourgeoisie is too strong and is able to leave itself unidentified.  
Identity starts with the individual thousands of years ago. Cats, for example, do not recognize themselves – they do not have self-understanding. [Chus]

Individuality rather starts with the European civilization and therefore cats are not europeans?  
[DAMTP remark]

I do not think that society is an addition of individuals [Chus]  
I do not think that identity is a bourgeoisie thing – rather it brought something to identity [Chus]  
Identity is what came from peoples' customs [Fidelis]  
Lithuanian identity was invented in 19 century by manipulation with the name then surfing on linguistics and finally followed by creation of nation which imposed the customs [Redas]

I am from the French speaking Afrika – I frame myself.  
I am from the 3rd world – I frame myself.  
I am from the 1st world – I frame myself.  
Afrikans live not in houses – they live in bushes. Africans live in tribes, not as population... There is a lot of colonist literature. Even being a woman comes first from identifying it and then becoming a woman.  
Africans were divided by colonist and now we deal with imposed identities. [Mawuna]

Identity as such in pre-bourgeoisie communities was very different as a role and concept from that

table a real topic? No.

Did we create anything? Like really?

It was a mess.

Tomasz, I think you like this. (I like you, but perhaps, in my opinion, we have different strategies. Actually I know it. I am a capitalist after all. To deny it would be denial.)

I did not speak up enough. The same people spoke the most. I tried too, but also wanted to give room for those who were often quiet.

Koen is the local hero. That is clear. And he is a decent person. But we were used, as toys and for what? What was the point? What dialogue was achieved? Did we learn anything about migration or immigration? From Belgium or globally? What do you want from this?

I am not a chicken.

The University. That was gross. It was racist. It was immature. The sex tourist professor. Really? The science student missing food, really? Disgust. Who were they talking to? You want to lecture me? Excuse me. I think you forgot who we, the artists are. Where were the students? I do not need to be taught by them. None of us did. Why was this not considered? We should have presented to the students. They could have learned something from us. Gross.

I do not understand.

What was it about?

Too many men. I like men, everyone knows that but maybe it was just so – ugh. I cannot even articulate what I want to say, except –

To go forward, transparency must occur. The group must take the power.

Of course I want to go to Uruguay. Of course I want to see you all again. But please be clear of the intention. (I promise to read every detail from now on.)

I could get theoretical and talk about power and subjectification, but we have all read the texts... we know the talk...

Do I really want to be in the catalog? I am a bit embarrassed. Who is it for? Who will design it?

What will it say?

I want full disclosure.

Will you make it seem like a success? Do you think my frustration and dissatisfaction are part of the point and does it satisfy you to have me be dissatisfied?

To the group, you know I adore the personal times that I was lucky enough to have. That is what I took away from it. The one on one time, the little encounters. That was valuable and worth, because I value the individual and can call you by name.

<...>

A lot of people in the group acted like it was some huge privilege. It was not.

I am not against the art system as a whole. I simply think like any field, it should be challenged and worked on. There are problems, lets discuss, try and find solutions and not feel grateful for a piece of bread, especially stale bread.

This taught me a lesson. I love being an artist and I am good at what I do, perhaps I am still emerging or coming into my skin... but I am not desperate. I need to feel respected and communicated with. It is

about questioning, learning from and moving forward. And then doing it all over again. Constantly working on it, like we do as people too.

Respond by Tomasz Wendland, curator of the Hasselt HDI event:

There was a clear rule in the invitation letter, that we will sleep together, eat together and work together.

There was an open opportunity for everyone to create as much as anybody want, as big and as long as anybody want.

There was plenty of time, space and attention.

I was trying to amuse some of You, who say "I am a good artist", who were not able over 10 days to make anything creative.

I did 6 art works in that time and didn't need to ask anybody for permission. So You could do it as well.

There was a speaker corner in the city, conference at the university, everyday a chance to grasp an initiative and propose any discussion any activity. You have got provided all what we could provide, even bicycle and visit to Manifesta, which was not an obligation from us.

Koen has offered his own studio, people, documentation, food, organisation, university, city

townhall.

Think a bit You egocentrics !!! What did You offered? what You can provide for the others? Are You able to do such a huge activity in YOU own studio, home, gallery, city, country? I doubt.

That was clear that Koen gives his own studio, and clean all the works from the main rooms. He did a party at the end, pay all the bills. Now we have some good works and some bad works which stay there 2 month and represent YOU artists on the level which You deserve, which is a level of Your creative "power". Blame Yourselves first of all and then You may blame others, who do activities. There is no hidden profit by anybody from us. Koen is working very hard and has success. If You cannot

over Your own success, do not spoil other people with Your frustration. I have enough of such a „critical, sophisticated, distanced, wise " attitude which can only heart other people who try to initiate something good.

Some people are coming with their unsolved problem to any meeting, so they can attach others, because they are not able deal with own problems. You must start to love people, who without being asked approach You to share love, who offer You all what they can. You must love others in order to be loved.

If You hate people who give You their hearts, because there would be actually more what You might want to get, it is so bad.

There was no single that You, for 10 days looking after me, giving me what You can give, working one year to be able to bring it to the point, so I could come and make my experience.

You are demanding more and better. So tell me what did You do with a free space You have got to improve as a great artist? Where is Your splendid art ?

Shame.....

BUt now positively. We new that HDI is about many different individuals, who come with their mental and psychical attitude, so You have made us reacher offering us Yourself as You are. It is a part of a community, it is a part of reality, it is a part of life.

HDI - Cosmopolitan Stranger was just about sharing life, but still being strangers.

Honesty against Honesty, Truth against Truth.

Anyway with big sympathy and nice memories.

Tomasz Wendland

Respond by HDI art striker Redas Diržys to curator Tomasz Wendland:

I never criticized you personally, but always the role you were playing in the project. Personally I found you being a great man to talk on everything except art issues – there you are kicking away all the arguments and switching on axioms – that happen in your last letter as well.

I've read every word of all your writings for the event – possibly I am from a very minority of artists who attended the event – artists are used not to read curatorial bullshitting as we all know. There was never written how many and what kind of artworks must be created, but was clearly noted that there will be no funding, neither assistantship for doing an art works. There were also written following: "...establish rules of coexistence between 40 artists coming from all over the world and discover new social relationships which will reveal new personal relationships in the 21st century". So far you did not contracted me to do art and I have an experience that artists social relations without mediations of arts are much healthier – it seems that you're so infuriated because its truth and you feel trapped as a curator – but it's your own problem.

One thing is clear – if you aim to do a show – just do the show and invest into it – then later on not to blame anybody to produce “bad” art. If you aim in gathering people and establishing new relationships – arrange space and facilities for it. What you did was disrespect to the people you invited to fit your own prejudiced spectacle and to play roles prescribed, and treated people as common artworks too – including yourself personally. You are right – you provided board and logging in the way of experiment and everybody took it as a challenge – nobody blames you because of that. But there is no heroism too – if you are inviting people personally and providing them with what you've promised that's called hospitality and at least in my country it is a common thing. . . exception could be possibly Dutch Treat... Finally as the result there happen a bad (=useless) show and no room (space, time and potential) left to the establishing of new relationships neither for discussion.

Colonization is based on destroying local identities: language, human relations, social structure and transposing it into the identity theft – simply turning it into exotism.

Immigration therefore follows up colonization – never in the opposite order - and involves the use of language, culture and identity.

Comming back home even to a colonized country with your double colonized mind means lost original human relations for ever.

Multiculturalism is a trap.

Civilization is a trap.

White people from the first world are always colonizers in whatever part of the world.

Black people from 3rd world are always immigrants in whatever part of the world.

White people from the 2-nd world are immigrants in the 1st world, but also colonizers in the 3rd world.

Black people from the 1st world are treated as „whities“ in 3rd world?

Very to point was the critique of the new exotisms as awareness of stereotyping the other (uncritical and pseudo-anthropological lens based works) – pointed out by Sharlene & Fouad (unfortunately they did not attended the meeting, but have sent some notes for discussing). As one of the great examples of the previously effective strategies (which faded away giving the way for stereotyped ones) was Manriquo Figueroa's Museum of Poverty: artist decided to subvert the strategies of depictions of powerty as typical to the 3rd world into the depiction of the poverty in the 1st world and showing it to the audiences in the 3rd world.

The basic features of colonizer/colonialist could be detected in a small scale as well. Turning out from Prague to Libušin [Martin] even during the 20 years was not accepted by the local community. Colonizer's [romantic one] case. Leaving for studies to Estonia and coming back to Alytus, Lithuania [Redas] resulted rejection as in local as in a wider – Lithuanian – community. The fate of colonized [„civilized“]. Even moving through the different parts of the same country (Vėjųnė). I am not a person that I want to be, but I am still not a person what I used to be. [Fidelis]

Also there was presented the critique towards DAMTP because of showed support towards the Chus Martinez group, which without any regard for the author as a producer plagiarized her text „Gatekeeping Africa“ without even asking her for permission. Sharlene accused the Chus Martinez group and DAMTP in total disregard for the respect of Others, who produce the work; and in White racism because of the linking towards the pseudo-radicalism.

This was the position from Chus Martinez group: „dear comrades, please forgive the plagiarism of Sharlene's text - it is for a psychic work against art system:

see also

<http://destroydocumenta.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/the-curator-as-culture-broker-critique.html>

and <http://chusmartinezproject.wordpress.com/about/>

Aside from being that Spanish easy listening guitarists (who made me realise it was a common name) Chus Martinez is also the name of one of the curators from Documenta this year who comes from a philosophy background and has a reputation for being over ambitious. So that's one male and one female Chus - you get the name with both sexes. I never met the curator but I did met her ex-husband when he was still with her, Lars Bang Larson, who is another ambitious curator. The critique of the western supermarket curators is a nice spin off from them in the Gatekeeping Africa!“[Chus Martinez]

DAMTP finds out that White racism features also in individualist authorship and especially in the identity of owner of the intellectual property...what is inconsistent keeping in mind that itself the author's position is to criticize colonization as such. DAMTP notes that the text got much more reaction and ideas presented there were brought into discussion - seems it does not to happen while it was published in the art contexts. But it is hard to discuss issues when comrades from both sides of the conflict are not present at the discussion [more on that particular case in the final comments]. The presentation by Lipovy Tsvet gang from Belarus was based on enjoying making detournements of Belarussian contemporary identities which is stucked in some Soviet times aesthetics, but filled with capitalist content. The result tends to fit western stereotypes of Belarusians as oppressed by their own dictator, which is in fact supported by western colonization system (including money for the regime and hand-off policies). The short video documentation was presented about „[self] vandalism act“ performed by Denis Limonov – ex member of Lipovy Tsvet, who burn his own valid pasport and was trying to identify with the western (civilized) radical cultural clishes and also russian (civilized) serious culture clishes. Shocking is not the form of transgression, but rather the

identity - the identity of the worker - and it is at the heart of our disagreements with the IWW.

## DAMTP ALYTUS MEETING REPORT & REFLECTIONS

19 October 2012

The DAMTP meeting took part in Alytus on September 21st – 22nd, 2012.

The main topic was defined as psychic (de)colonization, agenda (the word proposed by Mawuna) – prolegomena for future actions.

First part of the meeting was given to critique on biennialization as neoliberal form of eurocentric bourgeois propaganda's ritualization. There were presented various strategies to attack biennials (particularly BB7 and dOCUMENTA 13), hierarchies, structural racism, apparent neo nazi formations, fascist reanimations, and gentrification plans in Berlin – all researched, collected and presented by our comrades located in Berlin: DAMTP, Organ Kritischer Kunst - OKK and Polaris International Ltd.

More to be found: <http://2012istheseasonfortreason.wordpress.com/why/> , <http://polarisinternational.wordpress.com/> and in previous publications on BB7 and dOCUMENTA: <http://www.alytusbiennial.com/news/547-zuckerbrot-und-peitsche-militaer-und-kultur-eine-erfolgsgeschichte-aus-kasselcarrot-and-stick-military-and-culture-a-history-of-success-outcome-of-kassel.html>

...

As it was the trialectical strategy outlined: <http://alytusbiennial.com/news/551-report-on-alytus-2012-damtp-meeting-psychic-eurocentrist-workers-colonization-features-of-belarus-and-africa.html> and it was tried this year:

1. attack:  
highlight hierarchy - supression of viewpoints - careering - structural individual and institutional racism (Berlin, dOCUMENTA13, Hasselt)
2. network  
create alternative and counter spaces (Berlin)
3. solidarity  
connecting with and publishing workers, immigrants, students (Dakar, Berlin, Hasselt)

The aim of a wahdat (union) is to bring these 3 together on our own terms

DAMTP also did the 3 in Alytus in 2011: we connected with local psychic workers (e.g. Afghanistan war veterans, psychic spaces touring, students, address to Tunissian workers) - we combat imperial eu - we network with those who accept our invitation.

While combating the „serious culture“ structures workers starting to attack other workers. As it happen with our comrade Martin to appear among BB7 artists. Instead of highlighting the hierarchies he still tries his strategies based on individual „parrallel revolt“ – direct impact towards oppressor strenghtens it, while indirect - as he guessed – ignores it and therefore makes useless. In fact he repeated the same trialectics: attacking (parrallel one), networking (double/tripple agent) and solidarity (without agreement), but instead of moving towards wahdat (union) took on the „salvation system“ (Mawuna's remark). Salvation system is nothing but the identity's option inside the capitalist society. The main point – the salvation system to be effective - it must be temporary!

The second part was trying to dive further on Psychic colonialism and features of structural racism in the modes of capitalist production [African & Belarussian experiences].

The basic topic was covered by Fidelis (main positions were presented in the paper „Immigration, Linguistics and Human Relation Conflicts in the Western World“, which is obtainable from the scans overdrawn by belorussian comrades who took it without understanding - <http://www.alytusbiennial.com/news/551-report-on-alytus-2012-damtp-meeting-psychic-eurocentrist-workers-colonization-features-of-belarus-and-africa.html> ), who described the way of Cameroonion colonization and his own experiences as immigrant in Europe.

I want to remind you that I never promised you to make any artwork and even intentionally declared that I will do none. As nowhere was written that we must work together and do art – you wrote about it as an option, a possibility “to develop artworks”. Also [during the course of this project] I never called myself an artist, because I am not using that word anymore. It was you or somebody from organizational staff who placed my photo in the folder enlisting performances – it was not a performance – it was just me standing. You did an appropriation of me – and that was not prescribed in your concepts. But have you ever heard about invisible art? There were few Senegalese in 1977 who were doing something like that and were outstanding then even in Africa were post-colonialist westernization of mind took up the power. There I just want to remind that the origins of “white” ocularcentrist art and culture are racist and colonist in essence. And it's you, who is so desperately defending it?

I cannot share with you in optimism that you produced 6 artworks – it says nothing about the quality. What was the efficiency of you artworks for further developing of human relationships? It just took away physic and psychic space from the people there – that is mine opinion.

You are very brave and fast to divide art into good and bad one. Do you have any criteria for that? So far I know the only criteria for determining what art is, and what is not, and what are the levels of all it's hierarchies - are empowered and self-legitimatize institutions and as a curator you have some right for it too. But then – what's new in the oppressive and subordinate relationships? Also - "bad" and "good" are moral criteria. . . and have nothing common with aesthetics... even opposite – it will displace aesthetics in the more friendly to the human beings and environment society.

You call it unsolved problem – yes, you're right.

You call it somebody's personal problem – I disagree with you – it's our common problem, because problematic is the whole thing we all were [and still are] involved into:

It was structurally racist – despite you declared opposite.

It was sexist

It was exploitative, misusing.

Neither art, nor it's system, nor yours hard job or slaverhood to it is not an excuse.

And it must be declared – if not in your papers – then DAMTP will do it and that is our initiative to our Hasselt community. We think that the best to happen there in Hasselt was outside of art format and I am inviting to publish our experiences there besides those belonging to institutionalized art rituals – just want to not let dismiss real things with art. That is how I see the future of Hotel de Immigrantes initiative to be further developed. It's pity that majority of artists are too careful about their careers – the real hotel de immigrantes would happen with those to be able to emigrate from the trashy art bubble, what is the same bourgeois/capitalist structure as tourism - we all had experienced it in Hasselt. But might be somebody of you is still thinking about being immigrant in the quarantine and trying to infiltrate into the high-art corpse?

DAMTP rejects assimilation processes of immigrants into White Power bourgeoisie.

DAMTP is talking about Black Power of immigrants to disrupt structure of White Power.

And finally – love. You know – the relationship of art to life is the same like pornography to love. Keeping in mind your reliance on picturesque I would have some suspicions even in this concept of your approach. And, sorry, but your concept of love sometimes resembles the Stockholm syndrome ...

Respond by Denise Catvalho, co-curator of the Hasselt HDI event:

Dear Redas, Tomek, and all,

I would like to enter the conversation but feel like I am entering a firestorm, which almost puts us in a position that we need to take a side. And since we are all free thinkers here, I also understand that I don't have to take a side, which is what I choose. One of my own handicaps here is that I was not physically present, except through skype, so I haven't been a part of some of your everyday experiences, and this is my loss of course. I wish I had been there to be able to see better with your eyes.

Two points Redas is addressing which I feel that I want to respond to. First, the idea of what an art

work is, which I have to say, I am very interested in the expansion of that overused word, art. For many years I have been researching, curating, writing, experiencing life, all of which I think is for me a dialogue with art. If it wasn't part of experiencing art, I would not be doing. The idea of an art as an object is obsolete for many artists today, and it has been, at least in the west, for over a hundred years. Even the avant-garde modernists have questioned this issue. Of course, artists in the east, such as the Gutai group and others, since the 1950s, have questioned this idea. Obviously, art is much more than the object of art, which now is so important for a growing market of art which also transform the artist in a commodity, if he or she is famous and marketable. At the same time, we cannot think of art without histories, markets, etc. Art or whatever we think art is a product of our social realities in which markets also participate.

The concept of Hotel de Inmigrantes is also to expand something even more important than art: human relations. Artists' relations in a world that is terminating with the artist as a thinker, by objectifying or focusing too much on the commodity. I think that the experience of living together as free thinkers and creating beings is that we should find ways that don't fit the stereotypes of our everyday realities. I think the idea of love for me is important, but it is not an unconditional love, nor is sexist love, which I don't think was in any way intentionally expressed in this case at Hotel de Inmigrantes. Perhaps, what was expressed was what we all already know: how limited we are in our communication skills, how difficult it is to communicate with each other. I always remember that even animals can communicate better than us, with all our words, we lack the capacity to read between the lines. I think this was our biggest task in this event. Love is the ability to see the other's side. The compassion of seeing the other's side is not the same as having to swallow your own views over another's, nor have to shut up when you want to be truthful about how you think, but to expand your own understanding of how we see it across the border of our own individual limitation. And that is something we all need to continue to develop. Love can come out of desperate situations.

Here is my two cents, with a quote by Andre Breton: "If I place love above everything, it is because for me it is the most desperate, the most despairing state of affairs imaginable."

With warm regards to all of you!

Denise Carvalho

Respond by Tomasz Wendland, curator of the Hasselt HDI event:

Dear Redas:

If You say:  
"And finally – love. You know – the relationship of art to life is the same like pornography to love".

Then it is how You think.

I never thought that my action was:

"It was structurally racist – despite you declared opposite.  
It was sexist  
It was exploitative, misusing."

I am sorry that in a way I misused You. I promise I will not do it any more.

Response by Martin Zet, an artist of the Hasselt HDI event:

I liked it.  
I enjoyed the tension.  
The hospitality reaching its limits.  
Not clear days and the nights with their sounds.  
Snoring symphony. So good that the night soloists didn't know, didn't remember who dominated

right-wing shift of the U.S. working class, but not more so than the union leaders who were threatened by it and who broke strikes and cut deals and managed lay-offs in order to make sure that Carter and Reagan's attacks did not provoke a more generalized class struggle. Now however it is almost impossible, even while one is a sickeningly retarded Christian, right-wing moron (it is not possible to run in the U.S. without proclaiming one's Christianity, and if you want to see the state of U.S. politics, watch what is happening to the rather conservative Barak Obama for refusing to wear a USA pin on his lapel), to not accept practically multiculturalism, even if one admonishes it verbally. Bush exemplifies this, as on the one hand with Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, Gonzalez, and the whole crew, as he has had the most integrated cabinets in U.S. history, and on the other hand he constantly stresses that the 'war against terrorism' is not a war against Islam or Muslims. But the old guard did not create multiculturalism and identity politics, the 'radicals', the 'left', the post-structuralists, the nationalists and the feminists, did. By this, I don't mean this or that movement, but the politicians and ideologues who succeeded in giving becoming the expression of it, of course in no small part because of the limits of those movements themselves. Just as in Germany from 1918-23, Nazism was not the beginning, but the completion of the counter-revolution begun by Social Democracy (and quickly thereafter the CPs), so Clinton and George W. are the completion of a counter-revolution begun by a combination of reformers and 'radicals' inside the social movements of the 1960's and 70's (Trotskyists, the union reformers, Maoists, SDS, The Nation of Islam, the Southern Christian Leadership Coalition, SNCC, the Black Panthers, the McGovern campaign, and so on.) Certainly, none of them had the weight of the Social Democratic Parties in 1918-21, but as a whole they formed and expressed each in their own way, identity politics and multi-culturalism.

#### DAMTP COMMENT

The key point that our comrade Chus Martinez should note from Robin Kelley ( <http://nova.wpunj.edu/newpolitics/issue22/kelley22.htm> ) is that (s)he is not engaging with real instances of class struggle as experienced by "blacks" or "women" against oppression. Just judging them from his/her own situation.

I would state that a situation is known from the letter to the name to the nation - and that's how we know his perspective: situated - in body and mind, in place - and only then in its situation - the aspects of its class. Robin's text demonstrates some good examples of how one leads to the other when followed through to maturity - in other words - the autonomy of capital itself rests upon the identity of bourgeoisie and the identity of proletariat. ie power flows to concrete individuals called capitalists - through others who are workers - on the way it divides the workers - unequally.

The text by Chus looks only at moments of oppression - it sees capital and labour as equal things. They are not.

(S)he actually engage with the struggles (s)he writes about. That way (s)he is situated within and may comment on black power movements - on women's movements. But it seems evident (s)he can only comment from the perspective of the oppressor ((s)he writes of what the nazis did - what the racist white workers did) - never from the perspective of one engaged in struggle with concrete examples.

(S)he states "racial oppression or sexual oppression ... are completely mystified if they are taken in abstraction from the formation of labor and capital..." this for me is telling. Firstly for me capital is indeed an abstraction. It is abstracted from labour. Labour is not an abstraction - it is the disalienated expression of humanity. So for me (s)he is perpetuating the foundations of bourgeois psychopathic/ spectacular geometry - that labour and capital are equal. This is why (s)he imagines that his perspective and interpretation of our struggles as an academic exercise can ever be equal to the perspective of us who are carrying out these struggles.

It would be easier maybe to locate problems more precisely if I saw what (s)he is proposing instead - is it anarcho-syndicalism? invisible dictatorship? leninism? the party? But for this (s)he would have to present his/her actual situation - his/her position in class struggle - and (s)he has not done this once. This is the main abstraction and mystification (s)he is creating. If (s)he is arguing for working class unity then how does that manifest/ organise? In industries? Then that is nation and

As far as people really experience class through these fragmentations, these fragmentations appear much more real. Not that poverty is not real, but it is to strike out at some group that seems more concrete and more susceptible to attack because they are weaker. It is not simply that whites look to whites because of some white identity, but because it is easier to attack black people or Indians or immigrants. It is safer and the results are more certain because the state has criminalized the first, genocided the second, and does not legally recognize the third. In the same way, black people may look first and foremost to attack immigrants. Basically, shit rolls downhill.

On the other side, those oppressed in turn experience the power structure as including not just the cops, courts, politicians, social workers, etc., but also the workers who commit violence against them, conspire with management or the cops to undermine them. This is the appeal of identity politics because it starts from the immediate experience, if only very one-sidedly. Identity politics don't say "Hey, you have to unite with those three whites who keep calling you ni\*\*er, and the other whites who don't shut them up but pretend not to hear" or "We need unity (including with the guys who keep grabbing your ass and asking you to suck their dicks)". Identity politics says, "There, that is the enemy. Sure, you are poor and they are poor, and being more gives you one thing in common, but you are a <insert identity fragment(s) here> and that is the struggle you need to make now." The problem is that we only live in the now. The struggle against this or that oppression, as if it could be eliminated in this society, guarantees, much like anti-fascism, that we never get around to capital. The oppression may get recalibrated, softened, sophisticated, your oppression turned into a niche market, given your own status as a 'culture', your own university <insert identity fragment here> Studies department, etc., but capital rolls on and it generates new oppressions or new forms of the old oppressions.

The only way that people overcome these fragments is in struggle. I know that is a cliché, but only in class struggle does it become possible to outline and envision class unity. Our class is divided because it is weak. It can become unified only when it is strong. This does not negate the need to battle all forms of oppression. A unitary critique requires a unitary fight.

What makes communists different is what makes class different. Class is not merely one oppression among others. Class is an absolute cut, it is nothing but negative. I don't mean this in the obvious sense of there being "working class identity" because that positive identity was ultimately connected to the idea of workers running things, a self-managed capitalism that also often was encoded with all of the racism, sexism, national chauvinism, heterosexism, etc. In the U.S., real workers were white, male, straight, pro-America and they defended "American" jobs and "American democracy", which happened to include segregation for example. The labor movement of the 1930's was soaked in it and proved it during WWII and afterwards, as the CIO collaborated with the Ku Klux Klan, as white workers went on strike against black workers (and women and immigrants, esp. Mexican workers), and so on.

No, the class I am talking about is not a sociological category, a container or definition to fit people into. Rather, it is the fact that whatever capital does with this or that identity or group, it must, on pain of death, exploit labor. It can never afford for labor to realize itself against capital because then it threatens the whole house. The proletariat either becomes the negation of all of the essential aspects of capital, of money, value, exchange, markets, capital, wage-labor or it is nothing. You can't market to the negation of the market. You can't sell to the abolition of money. You can't negotiate with your gravedigger. This is why capital will accept the most brutal atrocities in human history, using its full and immense productive power, to keep the workers from becoming a class, from becoming a proletariat.

Since the last major round of class struggles, the destruction of colonialism, the civil rights struggles, women's struggles, and the not-insignificant class struggles of the 1960's and 70's, capital has maneuvered again and partially met the demands of those struggles with identity politics on one side (generally the side of the bourgeois left, nationalists, feminists, union reformers, i.e. all of the hustlers on the make, all of the democrats who made it an issue of rights and wages and new workers' representatives and a stronger state), and repression (COINTELPRO, counter-insurgency, economic isolation, union busting) and restructuring (de-industrialization, greenfielding, computerization, cyberneticization, flattening organizations, partial or total elimination of social programs including both transfer payments/social welfare and social equalization such as anti-discrimination) on the other hand.

Identity politics and multi-culturalism were, in effect, forced on the ruling class as central to the counter-revolution. The old milieu hated it: the Nixons (who had by today's standards of a U.S. president, a very liberal social program), Fords, Reagans, who led the backlash and architected the

and also the members of the disturbed audience had no idea about their/ours beforehand or later individual roles in those choir sessions. Here the real new relationships found the way. Uneasy but beautiful unconscious harmonising.

And I like it also now – the discussion initiated by Redas brings us to serious aspects of similar events and also to current redefinition of the activity we live. Interesting however taken – personally or generally.

My position is following: rationally - I identify with overcritical DAMTP view and am even more pessimistic experiencing recent attempts at militarization of our rows in events which are usually proclaimed to be special – essentially different from the others – therefore the participants are asked to be disciplined and also in art school system, which newly forces teachers and students to respect ridiculous evaluation of places and events and this way to subordinate the whole territory to transparent carrier building; emotionally - I adore any activity bringing people together and giving them/us chance to think and interact maybe painful but not harmful way and I really don't mind how the platform is called. Can be even "art" – which Czech equivalent "umeni" speaks only about skill (the verb "umet" means: to know how to do something...).

As to art rituals I am the same divided – longing for and hating the whole thing from creating objects and dealing with them to taking part in and refusing the overwhelming commodification, from protecting artists as the nowadays martyrs to sentencing them/us to leave the exclusivity. How it will be in the future? Maybe there will not be an interest in achievements, which would thank God kill the competitiveness. But there will always be the difference in devotion not only among the people but also within the lifetime on an individual.

BUT! before my particles will break free I want to be some more with you and others and also with me in different circumstances.

ART IS DEAD – LONG LIFE TO UMENI!

Martin

14.7.2012 in Libusin

Response by Enrique Badaro, an artist of the Hasselt HDI event:

cosmopolitan stranger, HDI Hasselt, was grand.

life and thinking in this world is hard, sometimes it takes some lives away. the conjunct of people sharing positive impulses, and compluses is a jewel to take care of.

personally, coming from south America, to dedicate so much time to art, in stead of struggling with everyday tough life, with poverty, with injustice-not about prices of art pieces, or who is nominated for the next bienalle, but with hunger, humiliating existences of searching food from garbage etc - was a privilege.

I am not a fool. Doesn't mean that because I lived wonderful for 15 days I was saved from my surrounded reality.

But I leArnt a lot.

We Uruguayans learnt a lot- in general, Uruguayans located in a first level affectivity, love, friendship, etc. then can be art, well designed posters, or well designed exhibits.

I think to claim for more organization, structure, personal desires, is nonsense- we are adults, we have could to propose any new structure during these days, not as a coup d etat, but as a free and welcome attitude.

We as adults must not expect to receive everything squared and pre digested from above.

That I lived in usa, and Europe many times. The scaring in front a different or new structure or organization.

In south America we are acostumated to find side tracks every day, and it is a militant way of being. we educated our sons and daughters to be so- I learnt a lot, and I think it will be awesome for hdi in Uruguay, we are working hard for this, we struggle with politicians, ministries, embassies...but we are happy to follow this first and unique step that was cosmopolitan stranger Hasselt.

I loved the verb of martin in Czech M..... it englobes more than our collapsing definition of art, or visual arts, or...whatever-

love you all

kike badaro,

and company from south, santiago, mirlo, alejandro

Enrique Badaró Nadal

DAMTP comment from aside:

It is interesting that the curator Tomasz appeals not to the work done by Koen but to the capital (use of studio, of space, of money for a party...) of creation of art which is not as a labour but as an exercise of cultural capital...

The talk of love reminds me of the need for the reproductive workers union in fact the appeal to the heart I find quite sickening..!!! But I am not sensitive enough I know. We need reproductive workers unions!

DEad WORKers Union (DEWOU-DAMTP) comment:

We agree on reproduction of life instead of the putridity.  
We celebrate vermin, worms and ants in their labour of decomposing of that corpse to be left after everything what was still possible to be understood but is already forgotten.  
We must confess that Homo sapiens is apparently loser in it.  
We all will be together when our particles will fall apart!  
With love!

THE FOUNDING OF REproductiVe wOrkers and Lovers indUsTrlal union  
29 July 2012

today – July 28th, 2012 is the anniversary of the death of Isidore Isou and the founding of the Situationist International and founding day of REproductiVe wOrkers and Lovers indUsTrlal union.

here is a little bedtime story as comment on declaration that “baker cannot leave her bakery”:  
so the baker leaves the shop and goes off to other work...  
but she still bakes  
for herself  
maybe for her fellow workers  
maybe she ends up working in a kitchen  
(that is not exclusively for baking...)  
is the baker the same as the shop?  
can she refuse being a baker and still bake?  
can she refuse baking and still be a baker?  
why bake? to resist hunger? for herself? to feed others?  
how does she fight hunger? how can she ignore starvation all around her  
to be a baker  
she must by definition identify with other people  
who share her passions  
she wants to bake better than ever  
but comes across lots of problems in organisation and production  
some other bakers make free kitchens for the homeless and poor  
she loves this but encounters many of the same shortcomings as the bakery  
in particular she cannot attack her enemy: starvation  
she sees many bakers around her have a very limited idea of baking  
and bread and cake and oven  
and food and eating  
she travels around the world meeting other bakers who use different methods of baking  
she notices that all workers are in a union - except some like soldiers and bakers  
she wonders why is this?  
she talks with other bakers in her shop and in other shops  
she sees that unions are local and national  
but seldom achieve international structure  
and she knows that starvation kills thousands of people every day  
but mostly in other countries  
she sees that other people who cook food are also not in unions  
she decides to re-define her own production

benefits they receive. At the same time, the state makes some ways easier than others where those methods line up with existing methods of social control, hence the argument of “How the Irish Became White” about the transformation of a mostly anti-slavery Irish immigrant population into white Irish Americans (unlike Race Traitor, I don’t believe that there is a choice between ‘white’ or ‘American’; that is a bourgeois left ideology and utterly shameful) who were the social base of the party of slavery, the Democratic Party, in the North.

In that respect, Africa has always struck me as a vivid example of how elites make use of essentially outmoded or declining social relations to reinforce their power, and to move against competing sections of capital to grab a larger portion of the total social capital available, and the means to produce more. But then again, Yugoslavia was little different in the 90's. It is simply that the smaller the share of total social capital available, and in Africa as a whole that is already a tiny, tiny share, the more viscous the conflicts.

There is no 'law' of racial oppression or sexual oppression, per se. There is no general theory of oppressions. They develop in specific ways out of specific concrete conditions in which capital develops, in relation to particular struggles (implicitly or explicitly) against or for capital. They are completely mystified if they are taken in abstraction from the formation of labor and capital, as otherwise slavery makes no sense, the changing relation of women and men to the household, childcare, work, etc. makes no sense, the relation of immigrant and citizen makes no sense, and so on. They certainly make no sense abstracted from capital's control of labor. If in the short term the generation or reinforcement of oppressions can be utterly destructive developments to capital or to a particular regime, such as the racist strikes in World War II in the U.S. to keep black workers out of industrial jobs previously reserved for whites or the Nazis spending huge resources as they were losing the war to keep the camps for Jews, Romani, etc. going, it nonetheless seeks to disarm the workers, and so protects capital as a whole. Certainly, some instances spiral wildly out of control, such things once unleashed sometimes have a logic of their own, such as in Rwanda, but it is hard to say that they cause capital any significant damage on the whole, while I suspect that proletarian solidarity in Rwanda and the surrounding countries hit new lows and will not recover for some time (especially as now all of the democrats can come in with their democracy programs and their relief and such.)

It is not merely that class structures other forms of oppression, as Revol noted, but also that these forms of oppression structure how class is experienced and expressed. Class is not experienced directly as such, compared to various kinds of oppression, whether it is being poor while others are rich, black where another is white, an immigrant where another is a citizen, a woman where another is a man, homosexual where another is heterosexual, and so on.

The proletariat does not experience itself, in oppression and exploitation, as a class. We only experience ourselves as a class in our strength, when we fight, when we are drawn together, unify, in order to fight.

At all other times, capital rends us into fragments: gendered, racialized, sexualized, skilled/unskilled, blue collar/white collar, citizen/immigrant, employed/unemployed, dependent/independent, waged/unwaged, educated/illiterate, and on and on and on. The list of fragments is almost endless and capital as a social relation finds ways to perpetuate itself through them.

Non-class identities create cross-class unity (which is of course largely of benefit in one direction because even where some material privileges are gained, capital gains more). When opposition is based on these political identities (and not all resistance to racism takes on an identity, that is a political and ideological struggle), such as 'radical black politics', what is affirmed is that the point of unity is between those who are 'black' against those who are 'white'. This cannot but result in the unity of labor and capital in a sectional competition over the social division of total social capital.

This is not to say that class unity immediately eliminates those oppressions or their effects or the habits and behaviours generated by those oppressions, only that there is no other way to destroy them. Otherwise capital uses social struggles that do not challenge its total social power to adjust itself. Just as economic crises are its mechanism of recalibration of accumulation, so struggles against oppression which do not become struggles against the totality of social relations, which do not become radical, go to the root, can allow capital to recalibrate the rest of the social organism, but for the same end: to rationalize and/or reinforce the accumulation of capital.



попиздели о том, что в Беларуси нет левых, одни либералы и националисты, полоумная тоталитарная власть, и, многом другом, включая разницу исторических взглядов литовцев-фашистов и беларусов-фашистов на ВКЛ. Все это происходило под трели Соломенных Енотов, Тараса Монзаны и Егора Летова. В конце-концов кончилось вино и мы ушли спать. Утром мы выехали в пасмурное вильнюское небо до трех часов дня. Потом Айра проводила нас через замечательный лес, в котором хотелось остаться побродить, пособирать грибов, но времени уже не было, хотя мы и приехали на вокзал за 2 часа до поезда. Делать было нехуй, и мы отправились гулять по Вильнюсу в старый город, разумеется. Благо, светило какое-никакое солнце, было прохладно, но хорошо. После этой прогулки я еще больше возненавидел капиталистов и либералов, они оккупировали весь старый город, превратив его в одну сплошную туристическую забегаловку. Только архитектура, и ничего более. Все остальное куплено и перепродано десятки раз. Ебаная буржуазия вокруг и бомжи. В 19.10 я с радостью сел в поезд Вильнюс-Минск, и, наверное, впервые с радостью выходил на минском вокзале, хотя и понимал, что приехал из одного говна в другое.

OPPRESSION IS NOT A SIMPLE MATTER: DIRECTED AS REACTION TO ALYTUS MEETING 19 October 2012  
[DAMTP COMMENT ATTACHED IN THE END]

Oppression is not simple matter. I will start more or less arbitrarily and then stop here and there on different points.

Part of the problem with racism, sexism, etc. is that while capital structures all of our social relations, it also takes over a lot of what preceded it. This is not to say that sexual oppression is very much like it was in other times and places, nor that sexual oppression is expressed or experienced uniformly in the current day, in all places. Capital subordinates the world to itself, and has done so more or less successfully, but it also does so unevenly and without wiping out all particularities. Capital's universality (instantiation of the capital-labor relation, generalization of money and exchange, separation of the producers from the means of producing and the product, etc.) goes hand in hand with production of all kinds of particularity, which often appears as autonomous from or unrelated to it. For a social relation where each difference has become an opportunity to market niche commodities, each 'community' becomes little more than a potential market, and each oppression has generated a new 'community', defined less by struggle against a particular oppression, which need not propose a new identity after all, than by its being given the status of an identity through the market (often with the help of the capitalist left, not to mention the nationalists seeking their own market.) Capital generates differences automatically because wherever/whenever, as well as when/where it is necessary to split labor. In both cases its representatives make use of existing differences and generate new ones. Sometimes this happens consciously as in strikes or other social struggles (in the U.S., The Populist Movement in the 1890's comes to mind as another example) where capitalists, politicians, the media, etc. consciously play upon and generate differences to undermine class solidarity. All bourgeois politics is, except when it is forced to engage in simple, outright oppression, divide and conquer. It is better to make people fight among themselves, than confront a united body head on.

Even more so, capital creates conditions where competition between workers not only takes on the character of competition between individuals, but foments workers looking for the easiest group advantages. Sometimes those grow out of linguistic differences, or out of cultural differences, or out of otherwise irrelevant biological differences or out of all kinds of differences, an of course out of multiple combinations of these. Not surprisingly, those associated with sex, language and culture are especially potent. Added to this is the organization of capital's political power in states, which is explicitly exclusionary and which seeks to formalize in many cases linguistic and cultural differences, and to which racism is inherent implicitly.

That this desire for a group advantage should then involve cross-class alliances is not terribly surprising to me, especially as the petit and big bourgeois elements again concentrate for themselves a market of both producers and consumers willing to enforce their power for the

and unionise with workers who produce food in other ways she has "one in the oven" (an english expression for being pregnant) the anarchists say "we don't want bread - we want the bakery" maybe she seeks the society where it is possible to bake in the morning, to eat in the afternoon, shit in the evening, kill after dinner... without ever becoming baker, fucker, painter or killer.

DISCUSSION 1000000011011111 THAT GAVE AN ADVENT OF REPRODUCTIVE WORKERS AND LOVERS INDUSTRIAL UNION  
01 August 2012

1. I read the "REPORT ON DAMTP PSYCHIC ATTACK ON MANIFESTA 9...". I agree and do not agree with the tactical conclusion "it's time for artists to face their own misery" since the misery is quite clear to everyone but artists who stay arty or non-arty artists might not be able to face it. Anyway perhaps 99,8 percent of those artists got to do jobs that are not arty, as long as Beuys comes around telling everyone is one and everything is art. it is a vicious cycle to use the term art and criticize it, it's at least (and furthermore) an apologia for doing art as art. it is okay I guess to attack exploitation in the sector of the arts, but (no mission here and no believe) as long as art as a social need is not sublated as art of the bourgeois society nothing can be 'art'. So I rather think of leaving the art-field and check out more economy/work/life (whatever this means) -- mh, the way to the woods I guess? Crisis I'd say.

0. The term art I use in a very particular sense - as a capitalist specialization, therefore the artists are capitalist specialization of non specialists. The exploitation I take rather not on the level of art production in economic sense, but rather as the playing of the role in the capitalist specialization machine. It doesn't, matter it is critical or conservative, or bourgeois or proletarian. The problem with Beuys was that he played a double game - that was exactly what you call using the word art and criticizing it. I am using the word art since there are existing artists and my call is to resign from playing the role and to become psychic workers. Also the exploitation I see not on the level of the art production, but rather cultural capital is created on the manipulation with masses of the participating artists. Another point is the overwhelming eurocentrism in the whole approach of the white bourgeois propaganda in the form of serious culture and particularly in arts - I mean linguistic and ocularcentric colonialism of mind. Simply I am talking about racism (fascism is just a small part of this much older and bigger problem as it was just the form of how it revealed itself in Europe). Reviewing the economy without referring to colonialism would be stepping deeper back into a capitalist illusion.

0. If to talk about crisis - this is not economical, but that one of paneconomism.

0. It may be useful to consider our activities in their historical context: amongst other things, the psychic workers union comes from discussions and studies of the work of Gustav Metzger who was one of the artists who pioneered the art strike strategy Metzger also called for artists unions and even was in communication with the graphic artists union in the 60s - but the talks failed ...

0. You may have heard of course when Beuys said to Metzger "Jedermann ist ein Künstler" he replied: 'Himmler auch?'

0. I see no problem in using art and criticising it at the same time - as a teacher I criticise teaching also because real learning is discovery made by people together and for this we must unionise against the spectacle!

0. I feel like emphasising Peter Burger's "Theory of the Avant-Garde" where he is in favour of "autonomizing the negative in art", in order to counter the whole alienated mode of living.

0. For me this "running into the woods" seems like a mistake certain "artist activists" do, when they do no counter the eurocentric, paneconomic organisation and the concept of art (and simultaneously they do not oppose bourgeois society as a whole), and just "use the art platform". For me such a habit is an important obstacle on the way to working dialectically;

0. Personally, I see no problem in using art and criticising it at the same time either - otherwise it will remain a fetish as it was - materialist "deconstruction" is necessary

1. I just say: read carefully, read dialectically. Ask a baker if he can leave the bakershop. "Running into the woods" was a satire-phrase. And: there's a difference between talking radical and doing radical, or: detecting blind spots is not the royal road get to rid of it.

0. But can whitey leave the whiteyshop?

0. A problem with art is that it sticks to the feudal setting and it is this that must be first damaged, before we can speak about art's "commodification". Because the latter is the actual cause of art's "autonomy" - which does exist (springing from the institutional setting of the whole concept; but of course not in Adorno's understanding). Why baker, the artisan? Sorry, I think we here all know that art itself is a sham, so why not be open about it?

1. The thing that we are living controversial lives in our work and "habitual personal life" (which I really can't distinguish) is the precarious survive every former named proletarian person has to trespass. Our discourse is connected with academy but the action is on the streets ... therefore I think the double discourse or better named: 'dispute' towards traded terms is part of our existence so the controversial prostitutions will happen on the one or other way ... you work for fucking nothing in an disangled proletarian work relation or you prostitute part of your theory and artwork for surviving and feed and educate your children? I really fucking don't know but the laws of "selbständiger künstler" or "freischaffender künstler" but the great option offered by voina to live without money ("without own one but with or through the money of other ones good spend") is an interrogative ...

1. What I mean is before I sell my legs and arms in factory I try to sell 'some fuckin artwork' or maybe a blues in subway ... scheisse mannn keine ahnung es ist zum abwinken mit paradoxieen im denkschema und den damit verbundenen handlungsweisen. Before suming the army of krupparbeiter and all collaborating corporate structures I try to prostitute my own "artistic work" ... not less prostitution but even near by bourgeois education, trying to avoid the worse.... [any] ism.....

1. We should try to build an open platform for exactly this discussions ... von woher ??? vkeine ahnung!

1. But in an idea to find : 'gemeinsame nenner in unserer kontroversen position zur kunst'

1. bueno joder lo que seA OSTIAS

GATEKEEPING AFRICA [reloaded]  
25 August 2012

[Sharlene Khan sets up a discourse for looking at 'contemporary' African art, in particular from a curatorial perspective, seeking to challenge the role of Western curators taking on the job of selecting African works and taking them to the world stage. This is a comparative text calling upon Edward Said's idea of the intellectual and curators to seriously consider the implications of their role as intellectuals in contemporary culture. This article has been structured in a way that considers 'representation and responsibility' and moves on to discuss 'accountability'. Major factors which are examined are the problems with contemporary/craft representations in taking African art to western audiences as well as issues surrounding race, education, ethnicity and questions the morality of such curatorial procedures.][1]

Politics is everywhere; there can be no escape into the realms of pure art and thought or, for that matter, into the realm of disinterested objectivity or transcendental theory (Said, 1994: 16).

African art has, since the 1980s, gained ground in the Western contemporary art world as large-

with overcoming similar problems (Czech Republic, Germany, Libya, France, etc.)

b. the creation of working committees, independent trade unions, working in the field, in the factories. As though it may be difficult, it is necessary.

c. creating a serious leftist platform: the media, again, committees, parties, etc. Deploying a serious debate between liberals, nationalists, leftists. Everything must be on the surface.

d. understanding that Belarus should fight not with the Lukashenko regime, not with the nationalists and liberals, but for the minds of the middle class, workers of the factories. How to do it in the Belarusian situation is the particular serious subject of talking.

e. the widespread introduction of left-wing ideas in all branches of government at all levels (judicial, executive and legislative) for the opportunity of gradual promotion of necessary projects, ideas, and suggestions. But it is very difficult and almost impossible way, if you use the elections. There is an alternative: the cessation of all the rhetoric about the election, about the current government, about all actions of the authorities. All efforts should be aimed at creating an alternative platform, where will be discussed and solved specific issues, without criticism of the government - how if the authority not exist. Solutions need to be inculcated at the lowest levels. Gradual seizure of space (not only streets, houses, but factories, plants, schools, universities). Seizure of individual minds. We must create umbrella organization that can not be decomposed, which is essentially impossible to implement. No charter, no software titles and principles. Only concrete proposals, concrete work, projects, ideas and their gradual implementation.

What's about the Integration culture of immigrants: the policy of the President in the field of relations with China promotes not only the massive influx of immigrants, but also the inculcation of an alien culture, what's more - from the side of the State: in Belarusian schools the study of Chinese language is introduced as one of the basic foreign language (perhaps in the near future it will become the leading); on admission to universities privileged position occupied by foreign students (providing a place in a hostel, priority admission to the leading universities of the country) - and all this is happening in the absence of attention to own culture.

So, we have the situation when Belorussian identity is destroyed and erased, alien culture becomes stronger and stronger, and we see exchange of our own cultural system for something like post-Soviet model of life and thinking.

The "Orgy of Vandalism" is a half-documental trash movie about provincial life of a member of group Lipovy Tsvet Denis Limonov, about his love and hate, his tastes and secret desires. The action of the movie is going under the sound of music from the radio canal "Culture" and ends with erotic dance of Limonov. The dance, in its common sense, and symbolical death are those main aspects from the life of our hero, which takes off the masks from demons and corpses, who are around us. Ugliness and filth, vomit and nausea, a parody of life and meaning - that is what surrounds us in this province. May be, the liberation themselves from the stamps, from senses and "normalities" is, if not the only, one of the ways to not turn into a zombie.

This movie was banned after introduction of new law about the distribution of pornography. [it was shown to DAMTP's]

23 мы уже были в Вильносе, на презентации книги Жилия Дове "Коммунизм и капитализм - только провокационные слова" на литовском языке. Разумеется, с моим английским я внятно ни хуя не понял, но внимательно глядя в лицо Жилию, догадался, что он левый романтик-теоретик-революционер, неплохо сохранился с времен 68-го.

Далее мы с Виктором и Айрой поехали ночевать к ним в гости, за город. Глядя в окно, я окончательно убедился в призрачных прелестях и радостях капитализма. Сквозь окно на меня смотрел обветшавший и обнищавший город, а, возможно, и страна в целом. Где средний класс живет не лучше и не хуже, чем средний класс в Беларуси. На эту и другие темы мы дискутировали с Виктором всю дорогу, попивая литовскую яблочную водку. Ночью мы еще

### 3. Fairs.

#### Semantic aspect.

At the semantic level with help of official propaganda gradually were created different memes, for example: "prosperous Belarus", "Belorussian economical miracle", "enemies" (USA, EU countries), etc.

Furthermore, at nowadays our government, using specific authorities resources, arbitrarily changes the history: in the textbooks for grade 11 there was appeared new, acceptable to the authorities Interpretation of the events of December 2010 (the last election of the President). That is, under brainstorming will get not only adults, but the immature minds of children.

Recolonization of the mind comes from the side of the nationalist and liberal opposition (The Belorussian People Front, The United Civil Party, site "Charter 97", newspaper "People's Volition"). The opposition tries to "reformat" the collective consciousness with the help of a virtual (desired) antipode of the system: the attention is accentuated to national revival without understanding the Belorussian context (for example, at this moment exists the bilingualism in the country, the majority speaks in Russian or in the mixed of Russian and Belorussian languages dialect); also real effective protest is substituted to the visual component of it ("waving the flag") and constant protrusion of "national symbols" and "speaking in Belorussian". Constant a appeal to Belorussian identity, roots, Belorussian language, unsupported by serious economic and political programs and actions within the work environment (factories, plants) leads to rejection and misunderstanding from the side of majority. Moreover, in the absence of consolidation within the opposition, failure to develop a common and coherent program, the weakness of certain forces, weakness of party's leaders, concepts such as "freedom", "democracy", "politics", "opposition", etc. are discredited.

As for the question of "Westernization" - we can't speak seriously about it. The authorities strongly opposed this process, knowing that the free market, democratic freedoms, any liberalization of the economy will lead to weakening of the vertical of power and then to the fall of the regime, so Lukashenko is oriented to the East – to Russia, China, countries of the Third World, where there are similar regimes.

From the other side, the liberal Belorussian opposition constantly alludes to European identity of Belarusians (In their speeches often is heard the following: we are in the centre of the Europe, we are closer to Poles and Lithuanians, not Russian, we have to join the EU). At the same time the opposition does not take into consideration the consequences of the Soviet colonialism for Belarus and a real popular support for such proposals.

Thirdly, the younger generation, students in general are oriented on Western values, Western market, but they acts only as consumers of certain goods, they copy certain cultural codes without understanding the context and not able to adapt it in Belarus. The same situation is in art environment. This leads, firstly, to erasing of their identity, secondly, to forming a new slave mentality, which is not able to produce something, but only to consume. In principle, this problem is actual not only for Belarus.

#### Decolonization.

In Belarus there are no serious left rhetoric, no left platform for artistic, political or any other statement. Recently was opened left Belarusian magazine "Light», but its future is already questionable, and interviews with editors makes seriously think about to what extent it is leftist. From the other side, we can draw upon Russian left practice, and seemed, that leftist movement is gaining popularity, but we should clearly understand who is who within the movement (it is not yet clear), and, again, we have to take into attention the specifics of the Belarusian and the need to adaptation.

It should be clear that the process of decolonization in Belarus should:

a. the deployment of serious information sites with experts from around the world who have faced

scale shows featuring African art have set the stage for portrayals of a post-colonial Africa. This has not been an easy task of course when one has to negotiate a minefield of myths and fallacies about a continent filled with hundreds of cultures, religions, languages, traditions and histories.

Despite this, the all-encompassing 'African' label has perhaps been necessary not only in bringing attention to the continent and its cultural productions, but also in trying to challenge and dispel prevailing stereotypical notions of whether Africans can actually make 'art', what is 'African art' and how it should be included in international showcases, the usual 'is it art/is it craft' debate, what constitutes an African artist and what is 'contemporary' in Africa? Curators such as Jean-Hubert Martin, Francesco Bonami, Okwui Enwezor, Olu Oguibe, Salah Hassan and Simon Njami have all been faced with these difficult artistic and ideological challenges when featuring African art in mega exhibitions, pavilions and biennales.

While many of said curators have had the best interest of Africa at heart, our 'saviors' have also come under intense criticism. The many Western curators who have traversed African countries picking artwork to represent the continent have been criticized of perpetuating some of the very same stereotypes that they themselves have tried to challenge: they can be seen as exploiting 'Africa' in the same way colonist traders, anthropologists and historians did; and more recently of engaging with African art one dimensionally, that is through focussing on socio-political art work exclusively and then through a 'supermarket shopping' mentality.

It is based on these paradoxes that this article questions the role of curators, quite specifically Western curators, who engage with 'Other' contexts like Africa. Their importance in the global system is not under question here, but rather what their roles and obligations are as purveyors in cultural knowledge systems. This article does not deal with the 'business' side of contemporary curatorial practice, but rather questions curatorship on an ideological, moralistic level. This is partly because curatorship is not only seminal in the dissemination of information on different African experiences, but is also actively engaged in promoting Africa as cultural capital in the wider contemporary art circles and Western culture. In this, I compare curators to Edward Said's idea of the intellectual in the 'art of representation', and call upon curators to seriously consider the implications of their role as intellectuals in contemporary culture.

In his *The Role of Intellectuals* (1994), Said identifies that the ability to represent is what implicitly defines an intellectual,

Today, everyone who works in any field connected either with the production or distribution of knowledge is an intellectual in Gramsci's sense. .... The central fact for me is, I think that the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public. (1994: 7, 9)

The above quote accurately defines a curator in today's art culture, as curators are constantly seeking to represent not only new art styles and practices, but increasingly local contexts, situations, perspectives, identities and histories (which is the 'artwork' of a curator). Representation, though, comes with a level of responsibility and accountability not only to an audience and sponsors, but to those being represented.

#### Representation and Responsibility:

Attempts to showcase African art inevitably runs into a number of representational problems. Curators are faced with various expectations of what a show on Africa should encompass from historic 'traditional' artworks that have come to typify African art, rural or informal creative works (craft) to new media works that fit neatly into twenty-first century contemporary art exhibitions. An established First World/Third World polemic that significantly differentiates between 'art' and 'craft' has resulted in any African shows ignoring craft or showing more new-media works being attacked as being untrue to the Third World-ness of Africa. Another expectation that is heaped upon art from Africa, is the constant association of works which deal specifically with the socio-political and economic woes of Africa. African artists can often be heard bemoaning that while Western artists have the luxury of modernism's 'art-for-art's sake', Third World artists have to be the moral conscience of the world, consistently serving up disaster after disaster of Third World existence for

consumption. While one has grown accustomed to this type of representation in the mass media, that they constantly flood the supposedly more critical realm of the visual arts is indeed troubling.

So because strife-ridden Africa remains highlighted, curators of these large scale exhibitions end up in the paradox of trying to challenge stereotypes of exotic craft-based, timeless Africa but often dishing up representations of collective or personal struggle that continues to 'Other' Africa. 'Struggle' becomes our cultural capital and passport to international art exhibitions and continues to be defined in this way to a Western audience.

But, Michel Foucault reminds us that the masses have agency in their self-determination in his essay on 'Intellectuals and Power',

In the most recent upheaval, the intellectual discovered that the masses no longer need him to gain knowledge: they know perfectly well, without illusion; they know far better than he and they are certainly capable of expressing themselves (Foucault, [1972] 1977: 207-208).

If Foucault is correct about the masses being able to articulate themselves, why is it so hard to hear expressions of Africans about themselves and their art except through these Western curators who use Africa as a knowledge base? Foucault understands that though the knowledge base of the intellectual comes from 'the masses' themselves, those who are represented are not heard in centralised discourses and that the intellectual's position in, and access to, these dominant spaces is what essentially allows them to present Other voices. It is therefore not that hard to understand the problems that arise when a 'middle-man' is needed to legitimise one's voice and presence. For instance, it is not uncommon to hear of intellectuals becoming authorities in an area, but still being out of touch with its people. This disconnectedness may occur when intellectuals stop communicating and listening to various voices and their dissent. Said (1994: 84) warns that '... there is the appalling danger of thinking of oneself, one's view, one's rectitude, one's stated positions as all-important.'

Contemporary art curating has not been immune to such dangers. Many of those who have curated African art exhibitions either have an academic interest in African arts and/or some sort of cultural tie with 'Africa'. Problematically, some Western curators use their black skins as an automatic qualifier to access various African contexts and have subsequently become 'gatekeepers' to Africa art. Many of these curators were born and educated in different Western countries, and yet have gone on to become authorities on contemporary art from Africa, some of them never having lived for more than a few months at a time in any African country.

Firstly, let me say that in questioning the positioning of these black Western curators, there is a question that always nags me. Surely any person, anywhere, has the right to become educated about a context, and to then go on to represent and teach about it? My answer is usually yes, but it is problematic when these outsider voices become the 'official' experts at the expense of locally-based voices. Even more worrying is when these outsider experts seek to control what is shown about Africa, where, when and how, and eventually become intellectual filters for the representation of all things African. This became evident in the disagreement between academics/curators Enwezor, Hassan and Oguibe with regard to the open call for submissions in 2006 for the African pavilion of the Venice Biennale. On the South African website ASAI, Oguibe accuses Enwezor and Hassan of trying to channel proposals for the Venice Biennale African Pavilion through their arts organisation Forum for African Arts. The fall-out between these former curator buddies ultimately reveals a level of politics that apparently people based in Africa seem to have little say in. Although the Forum can be seen as 'overseeing' shows on Africa (in terms of logistics and funding), such spaces can easily become a vigilante position – the 'all-important' position that Said cautions against. Oguibe writes in his letter,

'We may have clout and connections, but we have no monopoly on vision. We cannot turn our advantage into a right. Moreover, we cannot afford to be part of any demand, idea, arrangement or suggestion that seeks to limit the opportunities of African practitioners in the art world. We simply cannot afford to turn ourselves into gate-keepers'.

The authoritative antics of Western-based curators have also resulted in the manifestation of

inaccessible and impose the view that they know better than people itself what to do and what people want; the policy is represented as dirty and complicated matter and in that case upper act as those who "have" to do this job, etc.). Also "post-Soviet syndrome" is expressed in the development of a provincial taste in art and life (at all levels of the authority, in ministries and departments work officials from villages, small cities with very low level of education, with well developed "culture of land" but no "culture of town"); "post-Soviet syndrome" is both in underestimated requirements to conditions of existence (the minimum wage, stable prices, etc.), in the imposition of Soviet memes "the main thing is peace", "the enemies are around (such as the West and the USA)", etc. The colonization occurs at all possible levels: linguistic, visual, semantic (memetic).

Linguistic aspect. Examples:

1. Name "Father" (may be, you have heard that Belarusians call The President "бацька") –this name to the President is a top link in the creation of the paradigm of "affinity" and corresponding relations (the need to obey the "strict but fair" Father), and also this name is used as a method of suppressing The Oedipus complex (If Oedip know who is his father, he will not kill him). Deposit "Cracklings" that contributes to the progression of ideas about the "happy life" as the minimum set of

В конце-концов нашу презентацию зачитал наш литовский товарищ по тяжелой борьбе с капиталистами, журналистами, фашистами, расистами и т.д.

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The colonization of the mind is an intention of Belorussian authorities that during the reign of Lukashenko have become marginal, at all the levels and at all branches, to inculcate Belorussian people "post-Soviet syndrome". It is expressed, above all, in unconditional agreement with all gestures of power structures (subordination to the "authority"), in the alienation of the people from real policy (we mean well-defined distinction between upper and lower classes: the upper are inaccessible and impose the view that they know better than people itself what to do and what people want; the policy is represented as dirty and complicated matter and in that case upper act as those who "have" to do this job, etc.). Also "post-Soviet syndrome" is expressed in the development of a provincial taste in art and life (at all levels of the authority, in ministries and departments work officials from villages, small cities with very low level of education, with well developed "culture of land" but no "culture of town"); "post-Soviet syndrome" is both in underestimated requirements to conditions of existence (the minimum wage, stable prices, etc.), in the imposition of Soviet memes "the main thing is peace", "the enemies are around (such as the West and the USA)", etc. The colonization occurs at all possible levels: linguistic, visual, semantic (memetic).

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3. Tasteless streamers on Stalin's buildings are an example of the marginalization of the Ministry of Culture (In that example we can see the combination of linguistic and visual method). Unfortunately, we have no photo to show.

4. The use of the primitive (half-colloquial) Belorussian language at television and in official speeches of the President. This "dialect" in our country is called "trasyanka" – from the verb "tryasti" (to shake), and it is a mix of Russian and Belorussian languages.

5. Active using of Soviet clichés in the conversation of power: the myth of "national values" ("unity", "equality", "freedom", "law", "social security"); formulaic turns of phrase: "work is widely deployed...", "the new technique is taken into service", etc.

1. Social advertising at billboards.

....

## Weißer Kriegsversehrter vs. Schwarzer mit rituellen Transformationen

Die Tatsache, dass hier von einer europäischen Position heraus eine Bewertung, beziehungsweise ein Urteil über die ästhetischen Manifestationen von afrikanischen Stammesangehörigen abgegeben wird, und dieses durch eine bizarre Gegenüberstellung erfolgt, lässt eine Lektüre zu, die durchaus koloniale Züge hat. Durch eine eurozentristische Ästhetik soll kulturelle Genesung entstehen. Kader Attia spricht von einer Hybridisierung der Kultur, die den ‚unterentwickelten‘ Kulturen, aber auch der europäischen Kultur nur zugutekommen kann. Jedoch ist es schwer, aufgrund der europäischen Kolonialgeschichte, eine solche Hybridisierung nicht als einen erneuten Versuch zu werten, sich die Deutungshoheit, in diesem Fall auf dem Feld der Ästhetik, anzueignen um eine überhebliche, eurozentristische Position zu manifestieren. Ein versteckter kultureller Rassismus lässt sich, in dieser künstlerischen Arbeit und der entsprechenden theoretischen Erklärung dazu, leider nicht leugnen.

Die Afghanistan Orbitale: Negation des Krieges und des imperialistischen Zugriffs auf Ressourcen  
In die Serie des imperialen Gedankens, der sich hier auf mehreren Ebenen manifestiert, lässt sich die Idee Christoph-Bakargiev's durch exportierte, europäische ‚serious culture‘ die Afghanische Gesellschaft heilen zu können, gut einreihen. Was die Politik mit struktureller, ökonomischer und sogar militärischer Gewalt nicht geschafft hat, soll nun die Kultur erledigen. Das Afghanische Volk soll letztendlich nun durch vorgegebene ästhetische Praktiken und Herangehensweisen aus der Dunkelheit, von einem über dreißig Jahre währenden Krieg, geführt werden. Die Message lautet: wir sind die kulturellen Heilsbringer aus dem Westen.

### Konklusion:

Abschließend lässt sich feststellen, dass eine solche große Schau der westlichen Kultur, eben auch nur die Kultur der Gesellschaft widerspiegelt, die sie erschaffen hat. Die Kultur ist ein ästhetisches Abbild dessen was die ethischen Werte dieser Gesellschaft darstellen. Einzelne kritische Künstlerpositionen die eine ernste und kontinuierliche Analyse des kapitalistischen Systems durchführen werden neutralisiert und die politische Kunst für die politischen Zwecke gebraucht, die man derzeit verfolgen will, nämlich ein Land aufbauen für dessen Zerstörung man die Verantwortung mit übernehmen muss. Postmilitärische Interventionen zum Machterhalt der eigenen wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und hegemonialen Interessen. Die Kunst ist das Zuckerbrot, die Waffen sind die Peitsche, beides wird produziert in der Documentastadt Kassel.

((p))

REPORT ON ALYTUS 2012 DAMTP MEETING: PSYCHIC EUROCENTRIST [WORKERS']  
COLONIZATION FEATURES OF BELARUS AND AFRICA  
2 October 2012

The group Lipovy Tsvet from Belarus during the DAMTP conference in Alytus did a situationist-linguistic-surrealist strike under the code name: "BLA BLA BLA - MY IDENTITY". The you can see the following report of their on-situ activities - the whole text of Mbaku Fidelis Mbabiti is included as also some more visual presentations of other psychic workers and lipovy Tsvet themselves.

Со стороны участников группы Липовый цвет на этой конференции в течение 2-х дней происходила языковая ситуационистская забастовка с кодовым названием "bla-bla-bla - my identity". Результаты этой забастовки приведены ниже.

В конце-концов нашу презентацию зачитал наш литовский товарищ по тяжелой борьбе с капиталистами, журналистами, фашистами, расистами и т.д.

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'supermarket' curating, which sees curators with hectic schedules jet in for a day or two to view artworks in one city then the next, before jetting off to the next African country. Often, these curators are looking for 'brands', i.e. artists who are already well established in the art scene, whose works represent a distinct African struggle and who won't present any difficulty for time-strapped curators to work with. While 'supermarket' curating occurs in wider contemporary practise and is not restricted to Africa, for Africa it has had some serious implications. Artists from only a select few galleries are chosen; tried and tested artists are shown repeatedly at the expense of a host of younger artists who are never given exposure; while many different types of artworks are ignored in favour of individual or collective identity explorations.

In South Africa, it has meant engaging with more White South African artists who continue to have access to privileges that make it easier to contact and work with them. And while fellow curators can sympathize with trying to contact artists who can't use email or provide them with jpegs or slides on a moment's notice, or articulate even a paragraph on their work, when one comes into a local circumstance steeped in differential economic inequalities that has impacted greatly on art production, one can't shy away from challenges simply because they are difficult. Of course a simple solution seems to be to work more closely with local curators to get a better idea of what's going on locally and who would have more time to deal with the practicalities of curating local artists. While local curators come with their own level of politics the reluctance of working hand-in-hand with local curators may hint more at international curators being unwilling to relinquish their 'authoritative' status than anything else. Such working strategies of intellectuals ultimately reveal more about their integrity and lack of courage than it does about the artists and the local contexts. As difficult as this all may be, let us not forget that many of these curators have been propelled into the limelight by engaging with Other contexts. This engagement is a choice and implicates these intellectuals with their area of inquiry.

### Accountability

One would assume that curators coordinating a show on 'Africa' or a specific African context would be familiar with the socio-politics of that domain, even if it is limited to the visual arts field. It is therefore surprising when international curators dealing with Other contexts are quiet ignorant of the local political and socio-economic wranglings. Although this might be initially expected, often when these outsider intellectuals are presented with insider politics they still choose to ignore them. Increasingly in South Africa, black artists, writers and curators have found that in trying to make international curators aware of the warped apartheid-inherited art system that still exists, our complaints fall on deaf ears or is intellectualized 'away' as curators feeling that they are above internal politics and are reaching more towards a universal artistic stance that is apolitical.

This mentality was revealed by prominent curators Fernando Alvim, Ruth Noack and Donna Cornwell at Sessions eKapa in Cape Town in 2005. It was disappointing time and again to hear them say that they did not believe they should get involved in the local politics of the (South African) art scene, despite how untransformed it was and despite being directly confronted by black South African artists who unequivocally vocalised how their curatorial methodology was perpetuating racialised and economic inequalities. Their denialism of the political dimension of art production, and their desire to keep art 'free' from racial, internalized politics is nothing new, especially for South Africans faced with a post-apartheid White liberalism that seeks to de-racialise things for the convenience of 'moving things along'. But the reality is that life in 'Africa' is inseparable from politics at every level. As Said's statement that this piece opened with reiterates, politics is everywhere and there is no escape from it, especially for those situated on the 'wrong' side of the political divide. Even an apolitical stance is in itself a political stance. And while curatorial subjectivity is a privilege of the curator, it is a privilege that has accountability to the people and knowledge systems that it shares a symbiotic relationship with.

Before I end, I would like to exemplify the issue of gatekeeping with myself as its proponent – this is in keeping I believe with Said's text which encourages self-reflection and self-monitoring precisely because it is all too easy to assume and become mired in positions of authority. A year ago, while I was serving on a university gallery committee which attended, among other things, to acquisitions and proposals for new exhibitions, we were presented with a case where the assistant curator was attempting to revive an annual exhibition of township artists but did not follow the

usual channels of approval and hence the exhibition was due to happen all too soon with preselected artists. I was among the lot who made a big brouhaha about procedures and was sceptical about the 'quality' of the show of mainly self-taught artists which I felt bordered too often on flea-market, touristic art. The show went ahead and on opening day there was an unusually larger audience present, a few works sold and the local media even gave the show coverage (none of which was par course for exhibitions at this gallery). In one of these articles, artists were complaining about the unchanged conditions of being an artist in South Africa's Black townships. Subsequently a colleague began lambasting the usage of the term 'township artists' used by these local artists – after all, they were not real 'township artists' (the term used by art historians to refer to Black artists between the 60s and 80s whose works predominantly dealt with the dehumanising conditions of apartheid). The authority with which these sentiments were expressed by my (White) colleague made me question my own stance towards the whole situation, after all these artists still lived in Black South African townships – many of which show little economic change post-1994 – and are defining their work in relationship to their social conditions, in which the township landscape and politics was once again at the fore (if it ever left at all). The assistant curator, who hails from such settings himself, had curated an exhibition which was more than a line on their CVs and a sale, but rather articulated the concerns of the local artists and validated them as relevant creative producers. This exhibition was more than a gallery's commitment to 'community engagement' but a right to representation and access demanded by the curator and artists which brought into relief questions of 'artistic standards', 'contemporary art', relevance and historicism. These were questions that were, when I myself was a younger artist from an Indian township, a lot more fluid and contentious, to be subverted at any time. To have so easily become a purveyor of Western colonial modernist standards and definitions of art in my own context speaks no doubt of the mimetic qualities of Western art education and coloniality of which one has to be on constant guard against. The slippage – of the mask of veneer curatorial practice and artworks of 'contemporary exhibition standards' - that occurred left me with the uncomfortable feeling of the inevitable question that arrives when one pushes at the boundaries of standards and definitions: 'what is art?' – and who gets to define it?

For Said, the role of the intellectuals wasn't an easy one, but it certainly wasn't an impossible one either.

At bottom, the intellectual in my sense of the word, is neither a pacifier, nor a consensus-builder, but someone whose whole being is staked on a critical sense, as sense of being unwilling to accept easy formulas, or ready-made clichés, or the smooth, ever-so-accommodating confirmations of what the powerful or conventional have to say, and what they do. Not just passively unwilling, but actively willing to say so in public. (1994:17)

Intellectuals who make a living out of their interests in Africa and African art, have indeed slowly made a difference to 'placing' African art within the circuit of contemporary art. However, with this showcasing, intellectuals are required to go beyond the stereotypical, the predictable, and the 'safe', to prod, to probe, to present the mundane and not just the sensational and the catastrophic, and perhaps even ask Africans how they define themselves and each other, what is important to them. They will never of course know any of this if they launch in and out of African cities as if they're on a four day flight through Africa.

Sharlene Khan

IU 007/700 AND IU 000 MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO ALL FWs  
25 August 2012

Two years after our last message ([http://circuit47.com/mediawiki2/index.php?title=TOWARDS\\_A\\_INDUSTRIAL\\_UNION\\_OF\\_PSYCHIC\\_WORKERS\\_007/700](http://circuit47.com/mediawiki2/index.php?title=TOWARDS_A_INDUSTRIAL_UNION_OF_PSYCHIC_WORKERS_007/700)) calling for the formation of an industrial union of psychic workers we send psychic solidarity support to the most successful proletarian FWs (in terms of workers struggle and internationalism) of the Cleaners Union and Latin American Workers Union for organising on whatever grounds they see fit as is the aims of the IWW. The BIRA statement (<http://iww.org.uk/node/771>) against the cleaners workers does not make sense as the IWW does allow workers to dual card also and we do not see the union

Kunsthelden Morandi. Hier stellt sich nur noch eine letzte Frage: sind die Gremien der Bundeskulturstiftung, welche die Akteure auswählen, nicht in der Lage die Personen und ihre Arbeit und Diskurse gründlich zu recherchieren?

Kritikpunkte in der politischen Hinterfragung im documenta Konzept:  
Heroisierung umstrittener Personen

Wie oben schon erwähnt wird, durch eine regelrechte Verherrlichung mancher fragwürdiger Personen, ein Kult um Heroen der Kultur initiiert. Die Hauptfigur für Christoph-Bakargiev ist der italienische Maler Morandi der eine braune Vergangenheit nicht konkret von sich weisen kann. [...]Morandi participated in the Novecento exhibitions of 1926 and 1929, but his work had greater affinity with the Strapaese movement, which was inspired by provincial cultural traditions. [...] [http://www.estorickcollection.com/permanent/Giorgio\\_Morandi.php](http://www.estorickcollection.com/permanent/Giorgio_Morandi.php)

Die Tatsache der Heroisierung und der Zementierung dessen was man als Künstlermythos bezeichnen kann, lässt die Kuratorin doch eher in einem Licht einer fast schon reaktionären Position stehen. Ihre Erklärung der politischen und kritischen Kunst den Weg zu ebnet, passt nicht wirklich zu solchen retro-renaissantistischen Positionierungen (der Künstler als genialer Schöpfer). In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die neuen sogenannten 'avantgardistischen' Strömungen in der Kunst, sich eher in eine Richtung von Kollektivismus und kommunitaristischer Kunstproduktion bewegen, scheint das Modell was Christoph-Bakargiev hier anwendet wohl eher verstaubt und konservativ. Politische Kunst dient hier nur noch als sensationalistisches Zugpferd einer hegemonialen Kultur, die in der Lage ist fremde Kulturen zu hybridisieren und innerhalb der eigenen, die kritischen Alternativen gleichzuschalten und durch Verschiebung der Parameter, diese in den Einzugsbereich des Hegemon zu holen. Die Situationisten sollten am Ende mit ihrer Analyse der Kunst als Zuckerbrot des Kapitals Recht behalten haben.

Kader Attia's Narben- und Maskenkabine (Kader Attia: "The Repair from Occident to Extra-Occidental Cultures", 2012)

Vorweg möchte ich sagen, dass es bei dieser Kritik nicht um eine ästhetische Analyse geht, Kader Attias Werk ist sowohl künstlerisch als auch technisch von höchstem Niveau, umso mehr wundert es mich, dass eine solche Lektüre wie ich sie im Anschluss darstelle überhaupt zustande kommen kann. Das problematische bei dieser Arbeit ist nicht die sonderbare Zusammenstellung verschiedener Kontexte, sondern deren Lektüre als exotistische Gegenüberstellung von zwei grundlegend unterschiedlichen Sachverhalten menschlichen Handelns. Zum einen haben wir die plastische Chirurgie Kriegsversehrter aus dem ersten Weltkrieg und zum anderen die Skarifizierungen (Narben-Tattoo) Afrikanischer Stämme. Hier wird beides, eine durch kriegerische Gewaltausübung hervorgerufene Verstümmelung und eine kulturell, ästhetisch motivierte („natürliche“ – weil es Teil eines Ritualen Handelns ist), korporale Intervention gleichgesetzt, ohne weitere Hinterfragung der ethischen Herkunft dieser Handlungen. Sprich eine „natürliche“ Vernarbung menschlicher Körper, die (im entstandenen Kontext) keinerlei negative Konnotationen mit sich bringt ist vergleichbar mit einer, durch die barbarischste aller menschlichen Handlungen hervorgerufenen Entstellungen menschlicher Körper, nämlich Kriegsverletzungen. Dies liest sich so, dass das was für die autochthonen Völker Afrikas normal und durchaus ästhetisch wertvoll ist, ist für Okkzidentale eine furchtbare Entstellung. Andersherum ist die Verstümmelung von Kriegsteilnehmern gleichzusetzen mit einer natürlichen, kreativen Entstellung des Körpers. Auch hier wird innerhalb der Lektüre des Werkes eine Parallele zwischen natürlichen Ereignissen, sprich dem Zerfall und Korrosion der Materie (rituelle Stammesnarben als Prolongation der Natur auf die menschliche Identität), und der kriegerischen Zerstörung durch hegemoniale Machtpolitik gezeichnet. Ist organisch, natürliche Korrosion gleichzusetzen mit Schäden, hervorgerufen durch menschliche Valenz? Hier passiert eine ästhetische Aufhebung der Kritik an der Destruktion durch imperiale Politik (WW1) durch „Naturisierung des Krieges“, indem man menschliche und natürliche Katastrophen gleichsetzt. Das Unvermeidbare schicksalhafte soll musealisiert werden, als eine böse Erinnerung die man sich immer wieder vor Augen führen kann, aber der man sich auch ganz bewusst entziehen kann. Durch das Entsetzliche der menschlichen Bilder einzelner Individuen, wird eine „simultane Nähe“ zu dem Opfer erzeugt, die den Blick auf die direkte menschliche Misere lenkt, die Hinterfragung der kriegerischen Mittel erfolgt nicht, sie wird als eine Katastrophe mehr vermarktet und letztendlich als ein zu bedauerndes, aber nicht abwendbares Übel deklariert.

“[...] He [Morandi - d. Red.] participated in the right-wing, ruralist Strapaese movement of the late nineteen-twenties. His attitude toward Mussolini, whose regime gave him teaching jobs, was more positive than not, although he was briefly imprisoned in 1943 for associating with anti-Fascists. (If ever an artist merited political amnesty, on the ground of unworldliness, it would be Morandi.) Fame came to him after the war: he won first prize for an Italian painter at the 1948 Venice Biennale, and became so revered in Italy that filmmakers, notably Federico Fellini, in “La Dolce Vita,” used his work as a ready symbol of lofty sensibility. Morandi had a last adventurous phase of nearly abstract drawings and watercolors that condense into swift marks a lifetime of looking. [...]”  
[http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/artworld/2008/09/22/080922craw\\_artworld\\_schjeldahl](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/artworld/2008/09/22/080922craw_artworld_schjeldahl)

Wenn Christov-Bakargiev dies ausblendet - und sie kann es, als eine der renommiertesten Expertinnen für diese Kunstrichtungen (arte povera + Vorgänger), nur bewusst tun - dann fragt man sich wie ernstgemeint sind die Ansprüche von documenta -(tion) von Kunst und ihren pädagogischen Ansätzen. Die Verortung des Nationalen spielt unterbewusst doch noch eine größere Rolle, als uns eigentlich augenscheinlich eingeredet werden soll. Nationale Verortungen sind sowohl in der Grundstruktur (Entwicklungshilfe-Export-Modell-documenta), als auch in den meisten präsentierten Kunstwerken selbst, maßgeblich an der Bildung von Identität(en) beteiligt.

Einhergehend mit dem eurozentristischen Gedanken der „ernsten Kunst“ (serious culture, man könnte sie auch als ‚kompetitive Kultur‘ bezeichnen), die es (fast) nur als Exportware gibt zeichnet sich ein Bild ab, das die historischen Bezüge zu Kolonialismus und gegenwartsbezogen, zum westlichen Imperialismus zwar in einigen Werken kritisiert, aber im Großen und Ganzen diese kritischen Punkte substanzlos werden lässt, da die angewandten Systemschemata von Krieg und Kunst sich nicht wesentlich voneinander unterscheiden. Das liest sich dann so: die überlegenen Europäer und Amerikaner errichten aufgrund einer ökonomischen Abhängigkeit ein Diktat in den sog. Krisengebieten, eine Bevormundung auf politischem (militärischem) und auch kulturellem Feld. Die Anderen kollaborieren mit Ressourcen (von Erdöl über Humankapital bis Coltan) und bekommen dann, als Gegenleistung (Schein-) Demokratie, und die westliche Notion von Freiheit und Sicherheit. Und was noch viel wichtiger ist, die nationale (ethnische) Identität der invadierten Völker wird gewährleistet. Das System Zuckerbrot und Peitsche erweist sich als transdisziplinäres Erfolgsmodell von Militär und Kultur.

#### Elitismus in der Kunst:

Diese im vorangegangenen Kapitel beschriebenen Bezüge zu nationalistischen Traditionen und ihren künstlerischen Ergüssen, lassen sich auch auf eine parallele Ebene, innergesellschaftlichen Klassenverständnisses uminterpretieren. Sprich die Bedienung des nationalistischen auf gesamtgesellschaftlicher Ebene, ist die Weiterführung einer klassistischen Denkstruktur auf professioneller Ebene. Die Aussagen von Hauptkurator Zmijewski, dass nur ein kleiner privilegierter Teil der arbeitenden Bevölkerung in der Lage ist Kunst zu schaffen und, dass diese Fähigkeit nur durch eine gezielte akademische Aneignung zu erreichen ist, wird auch von Christoph-Bakargiev weitestgehend geteilt. Diese Sichtweise zeugt von einer Denkstruktur der elitäre Denkschemata zu Grunde liegen. Dieser ästhetische Elitismus ist meiner Meinung nach ein Gegenstück zur wahren Essenz von künstlerischem Aktivismus und damit, eine ethische Gegenposition der derzeitigen Strömungen von politischer Kunst, die sie ja in ihren kuratorischen Projekten für sich beanspruchen. Der pluralistische Denkansatz einer „freien internationalen Universität“ wie sie Beuys und Kollegen auf der documenta 7 (1982) vorgestellt und bearbeitet haben, ist zu Zeiten der documenta13 und der BB7 nicht mehr als ein Tropfen auf den heißen Stein der Kunstgeschichte.

#### Naivität und Kuratorie:

Eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit zusätzlich zu den oben erwähnten, ist die (bewusste oder unbewusste?) Naivität der Kuratoren solch wichtiger gesellschaftlicher Projekte, im Umgang mit komplexen politischen Zusammenhängen. So wie Zmijewski sein, mit Fettnäpfchen bestelltes Feld des Nationalsozialismus und der Bearbeitung der Shoa hat und außer dumm, provokanten Attitüden in der Bearbeitung dieser politischen Felder nicht viel vorzuweisen hat, so hat Christoph-Bakargiev ihre abgründig, naive Position gegenüber der Hegemonialpolitik, die in Afghanistan mit Bomben und Toten zementiert wird und die grob fahrlässige, geschichtliche Bearbeitung ihres faschistischen

as a political party to be centrally controlled but rather as a tool of proletarianisation and step towards workers councils - as such the statement stinks of the bullshit bollocks of Bolshevism and Bakuninism

However we must state our own differences with the "Industrial Workers of Great Britain" - the union that the FWs of the IWW Cleaners union are now also using - not least that we do not recognise Great Britain as a legitimate entity. The IWGB makes a similar error to the IWW with regards to their industrial union structure as can be seen in their old graphic:  
[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0d/Class\\_battle\\_fronts\\_diagram.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0d/Class_battle_fronts_diagram.jpg)

Simply reproducing the structures of the ruling class in terms of industrial organisation which is something both the IWW and the IWGB are doing is doomed to failure.

However we do support the use of whatever unionisation necessary in order to escalate the class war in the workers favour. Ourselves since we received very little positive feedback from within the IWW mostly from FWs in Australia also decided to continue organising outside of the IWW and started a separate union called the DATA Miners Travailleurs Psychique (DAMTP)

One reason is that the IWW is dominated by workers in the so-called services industries ie those of capital intensive or non-productive work. A psychic workers union disrupts the coherent logic of services industries and allows a self-critical look for us workers who are non-productive ie that do not constitute the Marxist notion of the proletariat. It is precisely this weakness in Marxist theory that failed to allow new strategies and tactics after The defeat of the proletariat in 1917 and again in 1945

The industrial strictures of IWW should prioritise IUs 300 and 400 as proletarian labour intensive over 100 and 200 as land intensive and 500 and 600 as capital intensive. The fact that the IWW is concentrated on services is also explained and has led to it being concentrated in the so-called First world or European dominated countries and areas such as USA, Europe and Australia. We have unionized with workers in Pakistan Lithuania and Sudan and attribute our success to a critique of Eurocentrism that the IWW current structure is incapable of addressing.

We have established the psychic worked as IU700 as this is a service union ie that of non-productive work in Marxist terms as well as a dead workers union as IU 007 and this too is unproductive - however this was an important step in allowing members to join regardless of paying dues, regardless of nationality and location and regardless of whether they were alive or not. FW Joe Hill lead us in this.

We now must move beyond the traditional thought of political economics of labour, land or capital intensive production and we must consider reproductive labour . In order to ensure that labour dominates both land and capital it is essential we begin a reproductive workers union: This we have called the REproductive wOrkers and Lovers indUsTrial uniON (REVOLUTION). The practicalities of this also show how a workers council - based on Mother and Child - relate to the union with other workers.

We must however continue to subordinate capital and land intensive production to that of labour. The current system does the opposite with too much power in the hands of psychic workers. But a new structure which recognises all productive workers with reproductive and non-productive workers, in that order, may overcome also the old problem of peasant vs proletariat. So again we stress that rather than extend the union classification from 000 to 999, we use base 7 : keep 007/700 as the psychic and dead workers and have the reproductive workers as our point of origin - thereby setting the labour of birth as the original labour: IU 000

We're in solidarity with cleaners as reproductive workers therefore taking their lead in the striking also on the psychic grounds to vanish whitewashing, light and stylistics. So we're distancing from bolshevism which got an electric bulb to show workers the mess of their environment and instead of fighting the misery they choose for bourgeois whitewashing so empowering edisonian westernization.

Electricians to come next. We're looking forward for psycho-electric cleaning wahdat! Long live short-circuiting on the surfaces of saponaceous show windows!

FW 366470 IU 000 007/700

CHUS FOR CHUS  
5 September 2012

Chus Martínez is a name that refers to an individual human being who can be anyone. The name is fixed, the people using it aren't. The name Chus Martínez can be strategically adopted for a series of actions, interventions, exhibitions, texts, etc. You can use the name Chus Martínez when involved in making art, making music, or just making trouble as an activist. The purpose of many different people using the same name is to create a situation for which no one in particular is responsible and to practically examine western philosophical notions of identity, individuality, originality, value and truth.

Anyone can become Chus Martínez simply by adopting the name. When one becomes Chus Martínez one's previous existence consists of the acts other people have undertaken using the name. When one becomes Chus Martínez one has no family, no parents, no birth. Chus Martínez was not born, s/he was materialised from social forces, constructed as a means of entering the shifting terrain that circumscribes the 'individual' and society. Chus Martínez is a transsexual collective phantom.

Chus 4 Martínez at <http://chusmartinezproject.wordpress.com/about/>

The Chus Martínez moniker has the advantage of being one that might belong to either a European or an African since Chus as a first name does not appear to be language ryospecific. In this way it is superior to any previous multiple identity we are aware of. The last part of moniker reffers to all poetic in the heart colonized-mind-spanish speaking world.

Dissapointed by not enough of plagiarisms in her/his own site s(h)e established psychic worker's site to plagiarize it's own project:

<http://destroydocumenta.blogspot.co.uk/>

as we, in Uruguay born people, are used to say: plagiarism is necessary - it implies progress!

"BEAUTIFUL CONFUSION" ABOUT RETRO FUTURISTIC EUROPEAN COLONIALISM OF DOCUMENTA (13)  
5 September 2012

Organ Kritischer Kunst (OKK, Berlin) Team has researched the new waves of the Art Establishment in the "probably most creative city in the world (at least in the continental part of Europe)" as manifested by the Berlin Biennale 7 (BB7; 27.04-01.07). OKK hosted the event entitled "2012 IS THE SEASON FOR TREASON" parallel to the BB7 (27.04-13.05) in order to expose the outcomes of their research into the biennale, but also to provide the space for discussion of the crypto-fascist ideology and tactics in the broader social context. On Friday 20th July, OKK presentation "Biennialization of political art" will draw on their "2012 IS THE SEASON FOR TREASON" and specify its relationship to the dOCUMENTA (13), which is currently occupying the city of Kassel.

from POT press release about the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Hessen event "Biennialization of Political Art"

1) "Borderless" documenta

According to dOCUMENTA (13) curator Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, the Italians are coming back

verstehen und anwenden lernen"), Lernprozess durchlaufen, die Politiken des europäisch, bourgeoisen Kunstverständnisses und der damit einhergehenden methodischen, medien-strategischen Umsetzungen angenommen und eine stringente Hinterfragung der herrschenden Strukturen weitgehend ausgeblendet.

In diesem speziellen Fall müssen die gesellschaftlichen Wunden eines misslungenen, imperialen Krieges nun mit der Kultur geheilt werden, am besten man tut dies indem man die Patienten in einen sedierten Zustand versetzt, der über die schmerzhaften Wahrheiten hinweghilft. Den bösen, nicht abwendbaren (also intrinsisch ,natürlich' - folglich unvermeidlichen) und unpopulären Krieg möglichst schnell vergessen heißt die Devise. Dies wäre auch dem Bundeswehr-Rückzug aus Afghanistan aus diplomatischer Sicht, Balsam auf die Seele. Und wenn wir schon angestrengt beim Vergessen sind, womöglich im gleichen Akt auch gleich das vergessen, was die wahren Interessen hinter der militärischen Intervention am Hindukusch sind, nämlich die der Protektion ökonomischer Interessen vor allem mittelfristige Ressourcensicherung und freie Handelswege (Pipelines)<sup>5</sup>. Es gibt auf der ganzen documenta keine künstlerischen Positionen, die so eine analytische Arbeit durchführen und hinter die Kulissen der derzeitigen geostrategischen Kriegsführung, mit Angelpunkt in Afghanistan, schauen. Marc Lombardi hat leider nie die Chance dazu bekommen! Kann man diese ignorante Haltung der Kuratorin C.B. verübeln? Die Angst vor der Wahrheit ist gewiss groß! Schließlich hat es, nur in diese Richtung laut zu denken, den höchsten Mandatsträger der Republik, 2010 seinen Posten gekostet, weil er dies deutlich und klar zu benennen wagte (sei der Rücktritt nun aus eigenen Stücken gewesen, oder wie auch immer). Man nimmt es kaum war, aber auch die bundesrepublikanische, präsidentiale Schmierentragödie nahm ihren Anfang in Afghanistan!

Nationalismus in der internationalen Kulturshow

*"[...] the pivot of the national-popular concept remains, through all the notes, the ideal relationship between intellectuals and nation-people, a relationship that has been lacking historically and still waits to be created. this relationship, is then developed in a positive sense by being linked to Jacobinism, hegemony, the organic bond between knowledge and feeling, the historical bloc, the reconigition of the need to pass through a national stage, and the reflection on historical models (Dostoyevsky, Shakespeare, the Greek tragedians, Abba, Gioberti). At the same time it is developed in a negative sense, as the diagnostic key to a lack or absence, in the many polemical notes against 'i nipotini di padre Bresciani', Catholic intellectuals, the fascist writers of the 1920s ruralist-nationalist movement called strapaese, and in the acerbic observations on a popular taste which has remained stuck at the stage of french serial literature of a century before."*

.(Quote: "performing national identity – anglo-italian cultural transactions" (s.188) Edited by Manfred Pfister und Ralf Hertel, Editions Rodopi B.V., Amsterdam 2008, ISBN: 978-90-420-2314-7)

Dieses Zitat bezieht sich auf nationale Identitätsbildung während der 20er Jahre im faschistischen Italien bei der auch der documenta-Star Morandi aktiv beteiligt war. Ob bewusst oder nicht C.B. betreibt Geschichtsklitterung auf höchster ästhetischer Stufe. Wie schon vorher von Zmijewski auf der BB7 praktiziert, wird eine Identitätsbildung immer an nationalen und/oder ethnizistischen Parametern festgemacht. Auf der documenta ist es viel subtiler, nicht eine brachiale Agit Prop Sprache kombiniert mit dem gründlich misslungenen Versuch der Anwendung von Überidentifikation (siehe Querfrontstrategien) wie auf der Berlin Biennale<sup>6</sup>. Das ästhetische Feingefühl (wenn man bei Zmijewski überhaupt von einem solchen reden kann) von Frau Christov-Bakargiev ist recht gut austariert und sie verzichtet auf den schrillen, plakativen Popfaktor aus Zmijewski's Visualisations -Trickkiste. Trotz so grundlegender Unterschiede ist der Bezug des Nationalen mit vielen künstlerischen Positionen auf beiden Großevents sehr ausgeprägt mitbedient. Die Fokussierung auf nationale Strömungen wie die der Kuratorin in Bezug auf ihre Europäische Heimat Italien, sich mit Hauptaugenmerk auf Arte Povera und die einhergehende Deklaration Morandi, als deren geistigen Vater zu beziehen, spülen den faden Beigeschmack nationalistisch-regionalistischer Kulturförderung durch Mussolinis Faschisten, bei Gruppen wie die „900“ (Novecento)<sup>7</sup>, „Strapaese“<sup>8</sup> oder publizistischen Organen wie „il selvaggio“<sup>9</sup> und „il italiano“ ins Gedächtnis. Hierbei sei festgestellt, dass Morandi bewiesenermaßen in mindestens drei dieser nationalistisch-faschistischen Vereinigungen, über viele Jahre hinweg, beruflich aktiv war.



nachzugehen. Wenn ich die Gegenwart anschau, habe ich Probleme damit, die Gleichzeitigkeit von Zusammenbruch und Wiederaufbau zu verstehen. Für Afghanistan, beispielweise, gilt beides: ein nach dem Krieg und ein im Krieg. Das ist merkwürdig. Der Krieg endete 2004, alle kamen zurück und der Krieg schien vorbei zu sein. Gleichzeitig sagt jeder, es herrscht dort noch Krieg. Der Unterschied zwischen heute und 1945/46 ist, dass Krisen und Nichtkrisen gleichzeitig bestehen können." [...] (<http://www.3sat.de/page/?source=/kulturzeit/themen/160698/index.html>)

Was Frau Christov-Bakargiev hier betreibt ist die Verbreitung einer nicht ganz neuen Propagandalüge, nämlich die, dass der Afghanistankrieg 2004 beendet wurde. Alle Fakten sprechen für einen proportional größeren Teil der Todesopfer in der Zeit nach 2004 als in den drei Jahren davor. Ich ziehe hier ‚nur‘ die militärischen Opfer zum Abgleich heran, die zivilen Opfer sind bekanntlich um ein tausendfaches höher (alleine 2010 über 10.000 zivile Opfer)! Die alliierten Truppen hatten von 2001-2004 genau 200 Gefallene zu beklagen, von 2005-2012 waren es insgesamt 2944 3. Bei einer solch evidenten Statistik vom Ende des Krieges oder von ‚Nichtkrise‘ zu sprechen ist entweder sarkastisch, oder aggressiv naiv und weltfremd. Und wer die Geschichte von Afghanistan mal in die letzten Jahrhunderte hinein verfolgt, wird eine kontinuierliche Kette von kolonialen Kausalitäten und die dadurch ausgelösten bewaffneten Konflikte und Kriege herauslesen können, die den Gedanken an eine wie C.B. es nennt („Nichtkrise“), äußerst schwer fallen lässt 4.

„[...] [wo] explizit Verknüpfungen zu Kassels Nachkriegsgeschichte und zu aktuellen Beispielen kriegerischer Zerstörung weltweit aufgezeigt werden. In Kassel sind diese Themen auch ohne die documenta jederzeit präsent, ohne jedoch von der Öffentlichkeit wirklich wahrgenommen zu werden. Schon die Zerstörung der Stadt im Zweiten Weltkrieg hing eng mit den vor Ort angesiedelten Rüstungskonzernen zusammen. Die anschließende „Erfolgsgeschichte“ des Wiederaufbaus brachte dabei nicht nur die viel diskutierte 50er-Jahre Architektur in die Innenstadt, sondern auch eine schnelle Erholung der Kasseler Rüstungsindustrie mit sich. Von Deutschland bis Chile, vom Kosovo bis nach Afghanistan sind heute Waffen aus Kasseler Produktion im Einsatz. [...]“ <http://dorn.blogspot.de/2012/01/11/kassel-documenta-stadt-ruestungsstadt/>

„Zusammenbruch und Wiederaufbau“ / Collapse and Recovery

Ist das einzig zu erkennende Leitmotiv, der derzeit noch laufenden documenta(13), die unter ihrer Kuratorin und dem Programm das sie zusammengestellt hat, eine nie dagewesene Anziehungskraft des Publikums entfaltet. Dies mag an ihrer unbekümmerten Art liegen, mit den tradierten klaren konzeptuellen Richtlinien vorangehender dOKUMENTA's zu brechen, die einen thematischen roten Faden durch die Ausstellungen ziehen. Das „no-concept-concept“ scheint eine gewisse Attraktivität auf das Publikum zu haben. Wenngleich es auch an einigen Stellen unbeholfen, ja gar naiv wirkt, wie die „kolonial-manieristische“ globale Expansion der „serious (white) culture“ durch die Satelitenausstellung in Kabul, angeblich zur Heilung historischer, sozialer und kultureller Wunden (sowohl bei Tätern, als auch Opfern!). Diese naive Herangehensweise an politische Komplexe ist manchmal erschreckend und zeugt entweder von einer gewissen Oberflächlichkeit oder einer gezielten Ausklammerung unangenehmer Wahrheiten. Es wird der Wiederaufbau gepredigt (im Übrigen mit den gleichen Schlagwörtern mit denen ein Jahrzehnt vorher der Terror des Krieges Einzug gefunden hat: Demokratie und Freiheit) aber ein nicht-Zustand des Krieges und seiner Auswirkungen herbeibeschworen, ohne eine radikale Analyse von Ursachen und Hintergründen (z.B. Ökonomien) zu vollziehen. Die, 1955 von den Westmächten (und ihrer neuen, zur Demokratie kulturell „erzogenen“, Deutschen Verbündeten) installierte Kunstgroßmesse in der (damals ex-und-bald-wieder) Rüstungsstadt Kassel, sollte zur Genesung des Deutschen Volkes dienen, folgerichtig war es die ‚entartete Kunst‘ als Erste zur Rehabilitation auszustellen. Dieser sozio-pädagogische Anspruch wird auch heute noch aufrechterhalten, wenn auch heute ein Kampf um die Deutungshoheit von medialen Symboliken entbrannt ist, die Monopolisierung der Kunstvermittlung zum Beispiel, die von dem documenta Team durchgedrückt wurde ist nicht mehr, als die Bevormundung der Interpretationsmöglichkeiten gegenüber Kunst. Die lineare Unidirektionalität der Perzeption der Kunst wird hierdurch, anstatt aufgebrochen zu werden, nur noch verstärkt. Die Denk- und Interpretationsmuster sind vorgegeben und fast schon absolut. Der Betrachter wird in seiner Wahrnehmung fremdbestimmt. Auch die Leseart über die behandelten Konflikte und Probleme ist vorgegeben, alle machen dieselbe Lernprozedur (z.B. über Afghanistan) durch. Die Afghanischen Künstler\_innen haben im Übrigen auch ihren „okzidentalistische ‚serious culture‘ Kunststrukturen

to this largest German contemporary art festival in 2012, after somewhat little presence of this nationality in the recent shows. Apparently they are coming back with a full blast in the style of 1930s! Sadly, both Berlin Biennale 7 and dOCUMENTA (13) rely on the nationalist and ethnic conceptions of identity. Simultaneously, Italian presence in documenta is the very element which allows this anti-concept concept re-conquest Afghanistan (2012 documenta takes place in Kassel, Germany; Cairo, Egypt; Banff, Canada and Kabul, Afghanistan). Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev is an Italian and American writer, art historian and curator, sporting philosophy suitable for German domestic and foreign cultural policies. According to Emily Nathan from artnet.com:

One might wonder why on earth Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, the curator of Documenta (13) in Kassel, Germany, June 9-Sept. 16, 2012, would choose to hold two years of art lectures and workshops in the war-torn country of Afghanistan. The Afghan Seminars, as they are called, took place between 2010 and 2012 in collaboration with the Goethe-Institut Afghanistan, the Afghanistan Center at Kabul University and a host of other cultural institutions -- and considering the current conditions of the country's social and political landscape, such a decision might seem naive, or even dangerous.

Ironically, the very personality who was used in order to let documenta expand through German borders is probably the most globally famous contemporary art curator with a background in Africa. Nigeria-born Okwui Enwezor was the star of dOCUMENTA (11) in 2002. Enwezor is a son of a businessman, a probable reason for his class-determined understanding of post-colonial international relations which had made way for “non-occidental” cultures forming the core of the whole show. While this might sound positive or in some way progressive, “the ultimate cosmopolitan” seems to have internalized the concept of art with its typical colonialist bias. Formulaic “phenomenon” of similar basis is described in Roger Taylor's 1978 book “Art, an Enemy of the People”, where author speaks about the historical founding of Jazz:

I have now said something about the social context in which a certain social project was lived out. A set of simplifying contrasts help to clarify my meaning. Being white, an encapsulated in New Orleans social experience, was bringing blackness into whiteness, and thereby obtaining some release from being white, but at the same time not being black and remaining white. The project was contradictory, it was to be white, but not be white and to be black, but not be black (all of this from the standpoint of those who were white), it was to bring blackness into whiteness as a whiteness but at the same time that which entered as a whiteness had to be a blackness.[3]

So, why is documenta in Afghanistan? Back to Christov-Bakargiev, the curator attempts to relate her own present privileged living conditions with the bright days of 1970s in Kabul, when her “native” Alighiero Boetti owned a hotel together with his Afghani business partner Gholam Dastaghir. It seems that the whole “empathy” of documenta starts and ends with the business interests in an occupied country, which infamously hosted numerous European and American junkie communities in the 1960s and 70s. Christov-Bakargiev creates no contradiction when, in the name of Afghani artists, she boasts of a necessity to “radically imagine” that occupation does not exist! It is the international bourgeois who live in a Derrida-like “post-structural”, “borderless” post-colonial space: it goes without saying that such art events justify the imprisonment and torture of innumerable people who struggle to practically live-out this globalism both Christov-Bakargiev and Enwezor claim to exist for everyone. For the curators, just like for Jacques Derrida, truth only exists in text. Somewhat symmetrical to this is racial profiling exercised by the German state, where “crime statistics” provide justification for daily harassment of the non-white residents. Again, Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev: “In the 1990s, I liked to work with the concepts of ‘center’ and ‘periphery’ because then they were new and helped to structure the discussion. Today, I don’t use these terms any more—they became too fashionable and got a false tone.”

Alighiero Boetti, the “Poor Art” star of the most recent documenta, was “fascinated with the other cultures”, he spent a long time living in Afghanistan. An outcome of this is present in Friedricianum, one of the main dOCUMENTA (13) venues in Kassel city, in the form of yet-another Boetti's carpet-maps entitled “Mappa”. The artist employed numerous female weavers of Kabul in order to produce “his” world political maps over the years of 1971 to 1994. Alighiero Boetti's “use of an element of chance” is widely spoken about. Interestingly, this “chance” is a calculated one: while it is difficult to track down the reason for employer failing to provide his employees with

correct materials (for example blue string for the colouring of the oceans in Italian's maps), yellow or pink parts of the world waters are treated as an explainable phenomenon: supposedly, Kabul locals have never seen water in their lives, neither do they have any idea of mapping: "Boetti loved this intrusion of chance into the design and from then on left it to the makers to choose which colour to use for the seas," Tate said in its guide to the Boetti show, which ran from February 28 till May 27 2012 in Tate Modern.

Overall, is it not such "other culture" based treatment of Kabul weavers that makes "Boetti's" work "outstanding"? The following quote allows us to leave this Bakargiev championed hopeless yet lucky bourgeois loser aside:

"(...) final self portrait, and his [Boetti's] first work using cast bronze, is an image of the artist holding a hose that sprays water onto his head. Because the head is heated, the water boils on contact creating a cloud of steam and portraying Boetti as a thinker with so many ideas that he needs to cool himself down."

## 2) The personal & the political

At this point I would like to mention something of a little importance to most of the dOCUMENTA (13) visitors. My friend Habibi left Afghanistan, a country where he was born, and Kabul, the city where his relatives still reside, a good few years ago. Having travelled through Turkey and the Balkans, Habibi met a network of activists and simply empathetic people who made his long way to Berlin easier. They also provided Habibi with practical support ever since, even to the extent of his Afghani friends expressing suspicion. To my surprise, in the recent months Habibi himself took an active part in the actions of networks who provide voluntary practical support for refugees in Germany.

Unfortunately, Habibi's involvement with anti-racist activities is what got him back to the refugee camp, one of those prisons Habibi was sent to the previous time my friend had been policed. Yet again, Habibi has been put behind bars for a very "personal" reason, which is his skin color: the police demanded for my friend's identification papers in the train station of Thuringian city (150 km away from Kassel; Kassel is in the land of Hesse – former West Germany, Hesse is bordering the territory of Thuringia, former GDR). It is not spoken openly enough about the fact that German state still uses the historically infamous method of racial profiling in their hunt for "illegal" immigrants. On March 27, 2012, the administrative court of Koblenz, in Western Germany, dismissed a complaint by a black German man who was asked to show his papers while travelling by train. The judges ruled that skin color was reasonable grounds on which to carry out ID checks – this ruling made way for further police aggression on urban and regional transportation in Germany. [6] Simultaneously, it has been about 7 years since Oury Jalloh, a political refugee from Sierra Leone, died in a fire in a police cell in Dessau – another case not yet resolved by the justice apparatus of Germany.

On the other hand, Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev and dOCUMENTA (13) relate uneasily to the 20th century feminist slogan that "Personal is Political". While it doesn't make much sense to add up the numbers of personally or politically motivated works in the whole of 2012 documenta, it is worth mentioning the fact that Kabul students who took part in German art program in relationship with the same art fair were advised to draw on their personal experiences, and not to go into the sphere of politics, most of whom reportedly accepted a full package of Eurocentric subject/object division:

Unfortunately, [Chus] Martinez [the "agent" of dOCUMENTA (13)] launched the three-hour event in Kassel with a disclaimer of sorts, a declaration that each participant would share his or her "personal experiences" of the Afghan program, and would not, presumably, address the complex political, moral and ethical questions it involves. Most speakers followed suit, describing how grateful they were for the resources Documenta had provided and what they had learned.

Somewhat of the clearest statement as to the justification of documenta's recent expansionism into Afghanistan is spelled out in the article entitled "dOCUMENTA (13)" published in the "Afghan Scene"

So wird dabei die homogenisatorische Maschinerie der Documenta mit ihren so genannten (von der Artistic-Direktorin CC-B) „Artistic-Agents“, ein Instrument der Expansion, Okzidentsalisierung und Verblendung für die 100 Tage laufende Spielshow mit einem Budget aus privaten Investoren und staatlichen Geldern von 24 Millionen Euro ausgerüstet. Das Verhalten des Documenta-Apparats spricht nicht nur das Verhalten von kolonialen Prozessen an, sondern auch das Verhalten des Marktes. Dieses wäre das holistische Verhältnis worauf CC-B sich diffus bezieht, ein homogenes Verhalten der Elemente des Neokolonialismus, die flüssig miteinander für den Status kooperieren. Ergebnis des ganzen flüssigen Miteinanders von Kultur-Religion Institutionen, Politik, Markt und Rüstung ist mehr als die Summe seiner Teile, ist mehr als Nationalstaat, es sind auch Neo-Co-Kolonien und strategische okzidentale Geschäftspartner in Krisengebieten.

Der Satellit der Documenta in Kabul (die Perle der ganzen Show) übernimmt jetzt die homogenisatorische Rolle der missionarischen Stiftungen wie in den früheren kolonialisatorischen Prozessen Amerikas mit der damaligen Zivilisierungspolitik (civilization policy) (mit Amerika meine ich genau Amerika, das heutige Kontinent mit 35 Ländern und 3 Subkontinenten). Dieser Documenta Satellit als Neo-Missionar in dem „Post-war“ Gebiet von Afghanistan lässt sich nicht von früheren Missionierungen unterscheiden, die von den kolonialen Regierungen nach Ende und während des Terrors, blutiger Vertreibungen und Ausbeutung ihrer Völker und Territorien beauftragt wurden. Dies geschah in lass es uns mal so benennen „damalige Nachkriegszeiten“ um „im Namen Gottes“ und Okzidents das Verhalten, Sitten, Sprache und Glauben der koloniale Herrschende durchzusetzen, somit das kulturellen Bewusstsein eines ausgebeuteten, unterdrückten, demoralisierten und fast ausgelöschten Volkes zu annullieren. So wurde dann der mögliche künftige Widerstand einer unterdrückten Gruppe gebrochen durch eine gewaltige Modellierung der Volker, dieser in einer zweite-Klasse Gesellschaft transformiert, für die problemlose Versklavung und weitere Ausbeutung der „Indianer“ durch die neuen europäischen Siedler, die sich mit ihrer Kriegsmaschinerie durchsetzen.

So strebt die Documenta an das Fenster einer globalen Repräsentation von Kunst zu sein, sie stellt sich dar als die globale Leitkultur der Kunst, die Bibel der Kultur. Dort wird durchgesetzt was für ein Diskurs und wie die kulturellen Träger durch künstlerische Prozesse sein sollen oder was dadurch thematisiert werden soll. Sie interveniert in der Hauptstadt Afghanistans als „Retter der afghanischen Kultur“, als eine virtuelle Brücke zwischen den „idealen“ 70er Jahren des Bohemiens der europäischen Junkie-Viertel in Kabul mit dem One-Hotel des italienischen Künstlers Alighiero Boetti (ein wesentlicher Schlüssel des Spielchen), und das Kabul von heute als ein Wiederanfangspunkt, jetzt weiter unter dem Taktstock der US-Italienerin CC-B. Der Zeitraum dazwischen, die terrorisierte Gegenwart und das Schicksal Afghanistans durch Jahrzehnte Ausnutzung, Ausbeutung, Unterdrückung Terror via Okzident, bleibt erstmal still, wie ein dunkles Bild. Ein nationalistisch/eurozentristischer Diskurs von Frau Christoph ist nicht einfach zu verbergen. Der weg wird wieder und weiter frei gepflegt für „den Wiederaufbau“ Afghanistans.

ZUCKERBROT UND PEITSCHEN - MILITÄR UND KULTUR, EINE ERFOLGSGESCHICHTE AUS KASSEL///CARROT AND STICK – MILITARY AND CULTURE, A HISTORY OF SUCCESS OUTCOME OF KASSEL

30 September 2012

Wenn wir von Kassel und der documenta reden, müssen wir auch immer im Hinterkopf behalten, dass wir hier von einem Ort reden, an dem ein wichtiger Standort der deutschen Rüstungsindustrie seit vielen Jahrzehnten wieder platziert ist. Die Nähe von Krieg und Kultur ist kein neuer Zustand geopolitischer Strategien. Anhand des Beispiels von Kassel wird deutlich wie die Kulturpolitik (auf globaler/sowie regionaler Ebene) sich als Teil hegemonialer Machtstrukturen herauskristallisiert, mal deutlicher, mal versteckter, aber durch die Zeit hindurch konstant. Die derzeit wichtigsten Rüstungs-Player in der Kasseler Region (mit milliardenschweren Umsätzen) sind: Rheinmetall Defense, Krauss-Maffei Wegmann und Eurocopter!

Ein Leitmotiv, das für Christov-Bakargiev über die Reflexion der Vergangenheit hinausgeht. "Kassel ist eine Stadt, die zerstört und wieder aufgebaut wurde", so die documenta-Chefin. "Und inmitten der Trümmer gab es die erste documenta. Dieser Aspekt brachte mich dazu, einer Frage

Rüstungsindustrie in Kassel in der Nachkriegszeit zu beschleunigen (die kaum 10 Jahre seit der Kapitulation der Nazis eingeschlafen war). Dann die Neugründung der Bundeswehr am 5. Mai 1955. Seit den fünfziger Jahren war Strauß schon ein wichtiger Lobbyist des NATO-Beitritts und offener Vertreter der McCarthy-Ära, die die Hexenverfolgung Andersdenkender des okkupierten Deutschlands vorantrieb. Seine Bemühungen in Kooperation mit den kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Institutionen war für das Erwachen der eingeschlafenen Kriegsproduktion schon in der zweiten Hälfte der fünfziger Jahre ein Erfolg. Die beiden Nachfolgefürfirmen von Henschel (6 Generationen und im Naziregime mit über 6000 Zwangsarbeitern) und Wegmann(3), Rheinmetall und Krauss-Maffei Wegmann sind in den 50er Jahren wieder mit Pauken und Trompeten ins Kriegswaffengeschäft eingestiegen.

1955 war dann das Jahr des Erwachens von Kassel nach dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges in einem Jahrzehnt voller Verzweiflung, Hunger, Schuldgefühle und Widerstand hin zum Wiederaufbau der Kriegsmaschinerie, Verfolgung von Pazifisten des linken und religiösen Spektrums, -die Soldaten als Mörder bezeichneten-, Denunzierungen, Wiedereinsetzung von ehemaligen Nazis in Sicherheitsbehörden und Politik Hand in Hand mit den Occupierten. Diese turbulenten Zeiten waren die Plattform für die Entstehung der ersten Documenta um gleichzeitig diese Turbulenzen zu beruhigen. Wiederaufbau, Wiedereinsetzung, Neugründung...

Wieder, wieder und wieder, das ist teil des Mottos, das Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev für ihre Documenta 13 gewidmet hat „Zusammenbruch und Wiederaufbau“. Zusammenbrüche und Katastrophen aus natürlichen Prozessen (Meteoriteneinschläge, Erdbeben, Flutwelle...) mit ihrer Selbstregenerierung/Heilung der Natur und auch parallel dazu Zusammenbrüche und Katastrophen von Menschenhand gemacht (Pogrome, Kriege, Vertreibungen, Ausbeutung, Versklavung...) mit ihrem jeweiligen Wiederaufbau/Selbstregenerierung, werden mit einem holistischen Bezug auf der gleichen Ebene entlang der verschiedenen Ausstellungsorte der dOCUMENTA für eine Klientel von mehr als 750.000 „raffinierten“, privilegierten Besuchern dargestellt. Die Botschaft ihres diffusen Konzept Non-Konzept und ihrer Darstellung wird von einer Masse von Mainstream Publikum gelesen, als ein natürlicher Prozess, als gehörten Krieg und Neokolonialismus zu einem natürlichen Verhalten unserer Existenz als Gruppe. Katastrophen durch Krieg mit Ausbeutung, Verblendung, Folter, Vertreibung, Rassismus und alle Symptome von Krankheiten, wie Hass und Gewalt wären dann natürliche Prozesse, die in unserer Existenz passieren sollten. So wie bei jeder Umweltkatastrophe würden auch koloniale Prozesse und ausbeuterisches Verhalten unvermeidbare und natürliche Prozesse bedeuten (ein Beruhigungsmittel).

Es gibt selbstverständlich engagierte Künstler entlang der Documenta, die sich bewusst und geschickt mit der Gegenwart beschäftigen, die individuelle kritische Diskurse werden aber neutralisiert im Kontext einer pompösen massiven Kunstveranstaltung. Die Kritik und Thematisierung der einzelnen Projekte verdampft schweigsam innerhalb von einem extrem eurozentristischen Zusammenhang wo der standardisierten Klientel gesagt wird, dass natürliche und menschliche Katastrophen zusammen gehören und unvermeidbar sind. Unter diesem Prinzip wären die Verbrechen in den Kolonien und Neokolonien ein normaler Teil des natürlichen Prozesses der Welt, die in der Vergangenheit und heute noch im Namen der Privilegien vom Okzident anhand einer Flagge, einer effizienten Kriegsmaschinerie mit Rüstung, staatlichen/privaten Agenten, Investoren und Neo-Missionaren gelenkt werden. Während die privilegierten-entfremdeten Besucher sich mit der Anwesenheit von einem Zoocopy am Eingang des Fridricianums zufrieden stellen, wird 10 Minuten davon entfernt die Terror-Kriegsproduktion in den Fabriken kontinuierlich durchgeführt. Und andere erschrecken sich bestimmt über die jetzigen Zeichen von neuen Transformationsprozessen bei der Hinterfragung unseres Verhaltens in der Gesellschaft, befriedigen sie sich gleichzeitig mit ihren Fantasien oder Vorstellungen von Kunst und einer Darstellung von einer Welt, „die nicht in Ordnung ist, aber doch schlimmer sein könnte“.

Die Documenta verblendet ihre Existenz als Instrument von neokolonialen Prozessen mit kleinen isolierten Dosen von Kritik und undeutlicher Denunzierung. Es ist ja mal „die“ internationale Kunstveranstaltung und würde nicht ernst genommen werden, wenn keine Kritik präsentiert wäre (mindestens tun als ob). Diese Kritik wird von CC-B sei es bewusst oder unbewusst verblendet und durch die herrschende Klasse kooptiert. Diese wirkt wie ein Placebo auf die soziale Krankheit einer unbewussten Gesellschaft.

Especially in times of war, or in post-conflict conditions, art can be a form of healing. Arte Povera artist Alighiero Boetti from Turin, Italy, visited Kabul in early 1971, and decided to open a hotel called One Hotel on Shar-e-Naw near Chicken Street, together with an Afghan called Gholam Dastahir. He spent half the year there, commissioning his embroidered Mappe from 1971 to 1977. The initial impulse for organizing a part of dOCUMENTA in Afghanistan came from imagining not the scenario of war, but rather a form of continuity between the vibrant and international life of the 1970s in Kabul, during the time Boetti spent there, and our own times, rejecting the state of exception that is determined by the war, and choosing to act *hosmē*—that is, as if the situation were not what it is, as if the checkpoints, cement walls, and barriers, the conflict, occupation, and militarization in Kabul, did not exist—through acts of radical imagination, all the while continuing the daily life required by and inevitable while living in a militarized zone.

This quoted article already in its form blatantly demystifies its “unquestionably” empathetic or egalitarian stance. Furthermore, while the authors of the feature are supposedly both “Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev and Golare Kiazand”, the last few paragraphs expose something of a different nature:

1. (...) and I also felt that the international art world and artists could learn and profit from this cultural exchange [dOCUMENTA program in Afghanistan] (...)
2. My experience was that there [in Afghanistan] is an interest in contemporary art and culture (...)

I hope that the alliances and connections created between artists in Afghanistan and artists in other parts of the world through dOCUMENTA have a positive impact in the long term.

Here I would like to pose a question: is that a form of magic on Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's behalf? (quoted statements have clearly come from her camp; nevertheless, the curator uses subject "P", but the authorship is attributed to two persons)

### 3) The “retreat”

Marketing of dOCUMENTA (13) relies on a reserved colour scheme, dominated by the bright yellow and accompanied by pastel tones of blue and green – the decision somewhat reflecting Giorgio Morandi's output. Morandi style fits dOCUMENTA brand perfectly: while Venice Biennial is denounced for its never-ending parties and Art Basel constitutes a “commercial” art fair, documenta is shrouded in a smoke of seriousness and modesty. Ever since its foundation, this art fair was meant to “heal” a broken society of post-war Germany. Started out as an annexe to the bourgeois horticultural show in the city of Kassel in 1955, the art festival was meant to show art formerly deemed “degenerate” by the Nazi party. Nevertheless, the fact that documenta was initiated at the same year as the German military was officially recreated and accepted into NATO (1955; with Kassel as one of the most important arms industry hubs in Germany), is rather striking.

Most of the show is produced with the same colour scheme like its marketing. Having spent a good part of the day in documenta, this could be also said about its contents. Humour entirely absent, eroticism was positioned in a suspiciously close proximity to both: Italian fascist star of the show Giorgio Morandi and the portrait of Adolf Hitler, therefore rendering one of the very few erotic impulses of the art fair - images featuring the Vogue correspondent Lee Miller herself – entirely unattractive. Furthermore, Anna Teixeira Pinto, in her review for Art Agenda points to the lack of seriously analytical contributions to documenta, those which would have been capable of consciously deconstructing language and the “rationalism” which led to the creation of nuclear warfare, the problem continuously scrutinized in the works of Gustav Metzger. Instead, the nature and man inflicted disasters are put side by side by the Bakargiev curatorial “everything goes as long as it fits German cultural policy” concept, where on the one hand war is justified by the supposedly universal human death instinct, and on the other art is granted “übermensch” qualities by its un-historical appearance in the form of “energy”, which on its own behalf leads towards the “ecology of spirit” in the form of German Nazi founded Volkswagen “motto's”.

Poor curatorial decisions fit well with the glorification of “Poor Art”. Alighiero Boetti has been historicized into the poor Italian art circle, but another hero of 2012 documenta, Giorgio Morandi, is also another artist related to the Arte Povera (in 2009 his paintings decorated the US White House,

while Alighiero Boetti was featured in the world's largest art museums in 2012: MOMA NYC and London Tate Modern, Giorgio Morandi's legacy was exhibited in MOMA in 2001, in New York Metropolitan Museum in 2008, and others). Reviews of 2005 Yale University Press published Janet Abramowicz's "Giorgio Morandi: the Art of Silence"] state the artist's relationship with Arte Povera movement:

"An epic account covering five decades of Morandi's life that breaks new ground. . . . Abramowicz should receive the highest praise for daring to do what other art historians have repeatedly denied: she unabashedly links Morandi as both artist and person to his predecessors, contemporaries, and descendants, arguing that 'it was in [Morandi's] room that the real arte povera began.'"—Jennie Hirsh, CAA Reviews

While it seems that this very book inspired the inclusion of Morandi into the concept of dOCUMENTA (13) and its "subsequent" justification for the show's presence in Kabul through Morandi's association with Arte Povera, it is striking that Carolyn Christoph-Bakargiev states the following:

With her Documenta, Bakargiev seems to be positioning artists as suffering something akin to the trials of Job, acknowledging the contradictions of making art in the face of war, and choosing to pursue symbols of creativity when surrounded by destruction. "For me," she concluded, "the image of Morandi sitting in his studio painting vases, one after the other, with Fascism all around him -- that is what art can do[14]

Christov-Bakargiev, herself "one of the world's leading authorities on post-war Italian art and culture" associates Morandi with Povera but nevertheless whitewashes his fascist past. To my understanding, it is exactly this Abramowicz's 2005 book that did both: named Morandi a precursor of the "poor" art movement but remained open about his political positions. Therefore, selected to curate a "world class" art circus dOCUMENTA (13), Christov-Bakargiev should have either done "her" research herself, or been willing to confront Morandi's participation in the fascist project of Italy. Provided Janet Abramowicz is a long-time assistant of Giorgio Morandi and his close friend, it is hard not to treat the book seriously. Another review from Yale University Press Website:

Abramowicz shows how Morandi worked in close proximity to mainstream contemporary European art and tells the story of his relationship to the Fascist politics and patrons of his time, illustrating how his connections to this period were muted after the fall of the regime in post-World War II Italy in an effort to establish the artist as apolitical. Morandi was the only Italian modernist to emerge from Fascism unscathed. (Yale University Press promotional information)

And the last one:

[Janet Abramowicz] "Bravely exposes the artist as a speak-no-evil Fascist tagalong."—Peter Plagens, Art in America

Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev has written an extensive book on Arte Povera, which is itself first and foremost a critic-coined umbrella term to describe and market a certain style shared by an "Italian" group of artists in the 60s and 70s. We have to forgive Bakargiev for her "blind in the right eye" approach to Povera and its forerunner Morandi in her 1999 book on the subject, but is it not the career perspectives that holds Carolyn back from re-evaluation of her research? As Janet Abramowicz shows, Morandi related himself to the Italian fascist elite for precisely the same careerist reasons...

Providing the references to both the mentioned book and German nationalist expansionist policies seems to be the best way to answer innumerable establishment reviewers of the dOCUMENTA (13) who fully submitted themselves to Bakargiev's "beautiful confusion", Frieze magazine's assistant editor Christy Lange among them, who stated the following:

In this darkened space [Fridericianum's Rotunda] crammed with spot-lit vitrines, I had trouble making the connections between Giorgio Morandi's paintings, displayed along with actual objects from his studio, and the neighbouring vitrines containing 'Bactrian Princesses' – a series of small

sculptures of seated women created in the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC in what is now modern day Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Afghanistan. While these art works and artefacts are no doubt fascinating, there is no apparent justification for their inclusion together, other than their need to be housed in vitrines, and the fact they probably couldn't have been procured for any contemporary art exhibition other than this one.[15]

4) The moral safety valve

Thuringia, a German land where my friend was arrested on 08.07.2012, has been frequently featured in the news recently, mainly due to its security services' intimate involvement with the "National Socialist Underground" (NSU) and subsequent "loss" of evidence about the serial killing executed by these neo-nazi fanatics and the security services in collaboration over the years. Therefore it is my suggestion that Habibi's situation is related to both: the state protection of NSU and simultaneously to the "no-concept" ideology of dOCUMENTA (13) curated by Carolyn Christoph-Bakargiev.

To conclude, I would like to repeat myself in saying that Heideggerian dwelling in order to restore "authentic" social and psychological "peace" must be severely attacked by the deconstruction of the monumentally serious (or "alternatively modern") culture, which is not antagonistic towards fascist versions of capitalism as presented at dOCUMENTA (13), but instead tightly, but obscurely woven together: art is a historical construct which has a historical and very material function – that of social glue.

Instead of absorbing everything into universally "acceptable" sphere of "participatory" contemporary art, I propose the critical distancing from such art fairs and autonomizing of negative in art, in order to counter the possibility and vanguardism of such chauvinistic (like Berlin Biennale 7) or subliminally speculative (like dOCUMENTA 13) propaganda weapons. These simply provide a moral safety valve for the continuing North-Western psycho-colonial expansionism (i.e. whitewash) in general and gentrification (in case of Berlin) or arms trade (in case of Kassel) in particular. Knowing these processes documenta's motto of "collapse and recovery" makes much more "sense"...

Chus Martinez XIII

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12 September 2012

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Thank you

DOCUMENTA 13 „ZUSAMMENBRUCH UND WIEDERAUFBAU DES ZUSAMMENBRUCHS“/// DOCUMENTA 13 „COLLAPSE AND RECOVERY OF COLLAPSE“  
30 September 2012

Zehn Jahre nach der Kapitulation der Nazis und der Verdauung des deutschen Volkes über das geistesgestörte Abenteuer des Nationalsozialismus, kam die erste Documenta in Kassel 1955 zur Welt. Im gleichen Jahr taucht das frühere Wehrmachtelement (1939-1945) und Oberleutnant (1944-1945) im Heer Adolf Hitlers, F.J. Strauß in Kassel auf, um schon als damaliger Parteivorsitzender der CSU, Atomminister der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1955), späterer Verteidigungsminister, Ministerpräsident Bayerns und Kanzlerkandidat Deutschlands, den Wiederaufbau der