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PROJECT BY  
k.r.u.ž.o.k.

Edited by  
Nataša Bodrožić  
and Irena Borić

POLITICS OF FEELINGS / ECONOMIES OF LOVE

Project by  
k.r.u.ž.o.k.

Edited by  
Nataša Bodrožić and Irena Borić

slobodne veze / loose associations  
Onomatopee

**2014**

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# INTRODUCTION

Politics of Feelings/Economies of Love emerged out of a reading initiative by a group of cultural workers, artists and curators, gathered under the name k.r.u.ž.o.k. (kružok stands for an intimate social circle). Initially, five people were meeting regularly, each time bringing along another text to read or re-tell, every time trying to set a polylogue on the topic of our interest. Our intention was to grasp the ideological basis of emotions and emotional communities, as well as its implications with respect to the society at large. The idea was to unfold a set of issues around possible relations between sexuality, nationalism, ideology and social emotions, love and emotional community within nationalist and/or market fundamentalism. We were interested in finding out how were these issues tackled in literature, film, visual arts, architecture, political theory and to draw some new lines of understanding love as a vehicle in which political, social, ideological and economic meanings are inscribed. The work of k.r.u.ž.o.k. was based on research activities, knowledge-sharing principles and debates on current issues. In that sense, the researched material, whether written or visual, was never a final say on a specific topic, its final conclusion, but rather an open-end invitation to further discussion.

For that reason the publication you are about to read is not a documentation of our activities so far, but instead, it is the continuation of the project on paper. Again, it is composed of visual and textual contributions which open up different

chapters on the entanglement of nationalism and sexuality, politics and collective emotions, love as a trigger for dedicated unpaid work.

With a fresh approach to the entanglement of nationalism and sexuality and posing a sharp question about the definition of art, Ana Peraica analysed a rather peculiar case study of a Croatian pop star's home-made porn video which was defended as "video art". In her humorous, cunning text she emphasised the ignorance of public discussion on female sexuality and a definition of home-made porn as "video art" that was enabled due to nationalistic discourse which had immediately taken place. Moreover, the author recognised the absence of debate as political and artistic elitism – because the feminists did not object and the art world remained silent on the fact that porn was defined as video art.

Another aspect often discussed during our "readings" was the involvement of art in the process of shaping societal emotions. On that matter, Sebastian Cichocki writes about the exhibition *New National Art. National-patriotic realism in XXI century Poland* he curated at the Modern Art Museum in Warsaw. As he stated, the exhibition featured works tackling "repressed and marginalized emotions – patriotism and a sense of national unity". He deliberately wanted to introduce nationalist discourse into an art museum, thus addressing two divided Polands, as well as questioning the role of a national museum as such.

A different approach to the analysis of architecture as a generator of social emotions is offered by Marija Drémaitė through her text on wedding palaces in Soviet Lithuania. Those buildings of a modern design were meant as part of the scenery for the invention of a new socialist ritual, secular in its nature, which was to replace the older ones – namely, those taking place in churches – by means of a specific architectural language.

The issue of love and gold was of interest in the Bureau of Melodramatic Research's manifesto entitled *Love Gold*. Playing with the entanglement of love "as a first-rank affect" and gold "as a first-rank metal", they are uncovering their economical flows. However when it comes to the materialisation of love and gold, there is often a side-product of artificial gold and melodrama "that intersect on the surface of things". As they state: "Both lack depth, are deemed unnatural and exiled to the realm of bad taste." Moreover, they introduce the speculative character of alchemy that allows to obtain gold, or for that matter love, without work.

With regard to professional romance, Clare Butcher develops an economic table of visual and textual references, the model for which was adopted from the *Tableau Économique*, an economic model first described by the French economist François Quesnay (1758). References such as *Working Girl* (1988) or *I Love Lucy* (1952) have been borrowed from the archives of popular culture and, as a common locus within this text, turned into tools of critical imagery.

Playing with words, images and their possible meanings, she develops a rather unusual narrative of understanding relations between love, work, career, friendship, dressing up (acting up), where there is a constant negotiation between love and professionalism and compromises which a female curator has to deal with.

Furthermore, in their text Fokus Grupa speaks up from the position of an artist enmeshed in the art system and its specific mechanisms of the production and distribution of knowledge. They acknowledge that the right education often depends on luck as well as on wealth, and as such it is defined by unbalanced relations of marginal and central positions within that rhizome.

Finally, Tihana Puc explores the processes underlying the integration of contemporary artists from Croatia into the post-1989 “globalized” contemporary art world system. Through her *Maps of exhibitions*, as a part of her Ph. D. research, she exposed a set of relations artists have established with public and commercial institutions in which they have exhibited, which are further explored and contextualized for different geographical zones and exhibition circuits.

Accompanying the visual contributions to the publication, those by Jasmina Cibic, Thomas Hirschhorn and Marina Naprushkina, are perhaps the most direct reflections on the subject of this booklet expressed in its title and spreading along the axis: Ideology – Politics of Representation – Institution – Social Sentiment.

Instead of a conclusion, the following verses from Bob Dylan’s 1975 song, which were later appropriated by the artist Sharon Hayes, are also featured:

I AM WALKING IN THE PARADE OF LIBERTY  
BUT AS LONG AS I LOVE YOU I AM NOT FREE.

Nataša Bodrožić and Irena Borić



AIDEZ MOI !!  
JE TROUVE  
CETTE AFFICHE  
BELLE  
POURTANT JE  
SAIS CE QUE  
A FAIT STALIN!  
QUOI FAIRE?

I AM

# CHAUVINIST AND ELITIST OBSTACLES AROUND YOUTUBE AND PORNTOUBE

A CASE STUDY OF  
HOME-MADE PORN  
DEFENDED AS “VIDEO ART”

Recently a Croatian pop singer Severina Vučković has won a charge against Internet portal Index.hr for releasing her stolen home porn video. The lengthy court case, concerned two main arguments, the first one of which was lost. The second claim of releasing copyrighted photo material was easily won in light of recent laws on copyright, but also with new agencies defending rights of image libraries.<sup>1</sup>

But, what I find interesting is the initial argument posed by Severina’s lawyers – that the video was an art piece stolen and streamed. This strange formulation of (online) video art being actually porn was unfortunately badly defended in regard to the law of authorial rights and had no support at all amidst artist communities.

But, it would still be a challenging idea to try to re-define art in terms of home-made works uploaded somewhere on the Internet. What can be considered as art in those cases? And where is the author? Who is the public?

To further explore these questions I would try to give some idea of the porn that had an author, also an amazingly widespread public, but still could not be defended as art.

It was a culture shock for the whole nation, not only as a home-made video porn was stolen and released.<sup>2</sup> It was a video by very popular singer whose songs were supportive of neo-Catholicism, local ethnology and a bit of international turbo folk. In a way they were contradictory to all her previous work.

1

The portal Index.hr was charged a fine of 100,000 kuna, court’s expenses, with an obligation of publishing an apology to the singer in all daily presses.

2

Paris Hilton,  
Pamela Anderson  
(et. al.)

The public was uninformed of the medium, but gradually it was showing that a video has educated the nation technically; at the first; the number of downloads was nearly the same as the number of citizens (rarely someone knew to save and store the video offline); TV has reported gypsies made a great enterprise selling blank DVDs labeled with singer's name for a good price (rarely someone could understand the medium does not contain the video); the singer has asked "all copies to be returned to her" (retaining a very materialistic and inappropriate notion of this digital medium). The event has shown – Croats were passing a phase of learning the new media but also a kind of sexual revolution. Finally they came visible not only in sports...

It was a total hit, which turned out to be not only because of its suspicious origin (a theft), but also because it has immediately gotten itself a mass public unknown to the art world and quite a nationalistic discourse in its eventual interpretation, as the whole nation was looking through the peep hole.

## MASS "ART"

The first problem I would like to address concerning the online video in this essay is an institutional definition of art connected to the problem Internet has posed in the last decade, as most of technological tools – after being used as rather experimentally by scientists and artists – come completely absorbed by real-space institutions via processes of nationalization and mass-ification of the market.

Mass availability of equipment previously belonging only to the technological elite (owners of equipment) deconstructed the exclusive space of many professions; the photographer, the cameraman first of all. But has it also destructed its art? Flusser would argue that mere owning of or access to the equipment does not make a person photographer (and lets broaden the issue; nor a video cameraman, etc.), as knowing how to point and click is not knowing the medium. At the same time, it has made a totally different society producing amazing amounts of images no one looks at, being them professional or not. And these images actually reveal more about society itself than professional photography or video has ever done. It still enjoys looking through the peep holes of well-known people, rather than those unknown.

So, we need to ask, furthermore, which kind of a society is revealed in such images? What are its needs? What an amazing amount of pornography, paedophilia and human trafficking online have thought us, is that we need to face symptoms of a society that was previously not able to express itself, not the society that suddenly emerged. These problems (legal or otherwise) have been there, probably for centuries, only in private spheres. Unfortunately, it reveals a lot even on the previous engagement to prevent such behavior or practices. As feminism seems to be all the weaker as the facts concerning abuse and women trafficking are becoming visible in higher percentages than ever expected, as UNICEF seems incapable of changing the fact of abuse of children online, it seems – the whole recent history of art attempting to re-socialize and make a change has done nothing, as well.

Titles in national newspapers emphasize her nationality, quoting "Performance hrvatske pop zvijezde s njenim oženjenim ljubavnikom biznismenom pokazuje entuzijazam kakav nedostaje većini njenih američkih kopija," / The performance of Croatian pop star, with her married lover, the businessman, shows up enthusiasm missing to most of American copies." (my translation) which clearly shows up reasons why actually she has come famous as "Croatian icon," while local newspapers list the city of birth; as „Croatian singer fourth, – resonating actually the shauwinist reading of „best male“ and its companion. Furthermore, a joke said "Hercegovinians (Croats in Bosnia, publicly seen as the most nationalistic op.a) were asked if they would have sex with Severina. They replied – never again"

Popular culture simply shows different points from where what we used to call art, after decades of its need for a social change, after all of activism, still stays connected to own 19 century autistic definition of *l'art pour l'art*. Though, why would that be something less than expected if the whole history of photography, produced by elite, if a movie history, also produced by an elite has not managed to make an impact on a popular visual culture. Yet how do we know this? It has become visible...

## SEX AND NATIONALISM

Immediately after the release, a subsequent development has made Croatian nationalists happy: reports that Severina's video is one of the best international porn movies which has as a result made her national heroine.<sup>3</sup> Though, immediately after a discourse has arisen to decide if a Serbian video with TV star Silvana Mančić was better, advancing the scandalous idea that it is Serbs having better sex – which is a political claim par excellence, if not in fact the ultimate one. Severina used the nationalism rising around her and released the song *Hrvatica* (Croatian woman, my translation), with an accompanying video in which she is wrapped in the state flag, branding herself with sexuality rather than the music.

She has been criticized by opponents of nationalism as a symbol of Croatian corruption, and therefore instrumentalised again, instead of branding sex in national terms, where writer was describing the video with discursive dryness and consequential impotence that is the inevitable

outcome in circumstances when someone attempts to interpret and theorize sex (which leads me to conclude it seems plausible that "only nationalists do sex.")<sup>4</sup>

But, at the same time when Serbs, nationalists, and for that matter also intellectuals incensed by this surge of nationalism via sex were waiving and interpreting the video, some (intellectual) discourses have remained silent. Besides latter being represented as the "sexual revolution in Croatia" finishing up with graffiti on the primary school in Zagreb, where pupils wrote "Thank you Seve!" it has underlined a certain political and art elitism;

1. First of all, feminists were not objecting to the case of a scandal centered around female sexuality, for the obvious reason that the pop singer was not in other way (socially, economically, or even aesthetically...) disadvantaged, which resulted in quite a strange situation in which feminists could be seen as only defending the asocial, poor, ugly.

2. The second, the unique situation in the court, where Severina has attempted to define her charges against the portal "stealing the *video art*" has not provoked the attention of the art world of a post-socialist country currently having problems with copyright in general, not even mentioning art videos.

So, two interesting discussion which could have arisen into debate on a huge scale; a taboo of woman's sexuality and a video art, were not even started. They were prevented by popularity of the singer, engagement of the nation and branding.

Article Borislav Mikulić: Media pulp, Severina u poročnoj krugu medija (*Zarez, dvotjednik za društvena i kulturna zbivanja*, no 174, 23 February 2006) describes her consequently as; "Jednako kao i Ceca, i Seve je agent i proizvod nacionalističkog crnila, rata i kriminala, a njezina prihvatljivost je indikator prerade tog napretka." (similarly as Ceca, Seve is an agent of nationalistic darkness, war and crime, and her acceptability is an indicator that only of recycling of its progression" (my translation) She defines her video work as "real-sex performans, a ne art-porno" "real sex performance, not an art form" (my translation).

As though to defend the video's own thesis that it is art, a number of sexologists was attempting to interpret the video as radical. Finally, they concluded there is nothing new to be seen, as was expected... how could it be after thousands of years of civilization doing things the same way (or maybe there is really some possibility not explored in two thousands years of persistent practice by almost all individuals ever born)? But the symptoms of sexuality were researched, of course in the arts, starting with Bataille and in culture even more.<sup>5</sup>

5

Bataille, Georges:  
*Tears of Eros* (City  
Light Publishers,  
1989).

## COPYRIGHTED PENIS

The video in question was, at the time first charge was raised, not defended by video artists or producers, using the opportunity to speak on the authorial rights in arts, rather it was seen as a joke... obviously, besides, it had a mass public and served nationalist discourse. But it has shown still another status – the content of the video was pre-cultural in a way that it cannot be subsumed into art.

For the last part of the conclusion it would be interesting to compare Severina's video to a video of artists having sex, though the latter are copyright protected and unavailable as if there is something really radical in having sex... Well, at least that field of human practice is older than humanity and therefore – free of politics, which, again does not infer that politics, the market and culture are free of sex. On the contrary... To see how this high/low and informed/primitive dynamic works, I would like to analyze this

assumption with two different cases: one regarding the porn video of Croatian pop singer Severina and the other which includes her as well, again – recycling between popular and elite culture, with their formal replacement.

To try to interpret this phenomenon, while not making a historical overview, I would try to contrast the role of the video in popular and elite culture. An enormous resemblance of a Let 3 video featuring Severina and the recent one of a famous artist Marina Abramović – both recalling a Mapplethorpe's *Man in Polyester Suit* (1980) – is leaving me astonished in terms what actually recycles what: is it high culture recycling a low one or the other way around.

Due to the inner discursive system of artworks the relationship of Mapplethorpe and Abramović seems to be intelligible (as art is what has an inner narrative structure of art history), although this relation seems quite disconnected to the popular video of the Let 3 group. But it does not diminish the problem of the origin: namely, the problem that arises when we ask ourselves what actually is the original and what is the copy in the visual culture. It is not only a question whether it was Let 3 or Marina Abramović being first, but actually was it Mapplethorpe or any other man pissing on the street? And how did it come to be that the motif of an open slit on trousers exposing an organ for urination becomes a picture of sexuality and moreover the picture that is visually quoted in artistic practice as signifying sexuality? So how could – from the point of the obvious banality of represented primary needs and impulses – Severina's video ever be "innovative"?

But, to explore the difference further, we need to distinguish between the image of the open slit in the popular video of Let 3 (where it serves the spectacle and scandal) from the quote of Abramović (where it refers to the institutionalization of the very same image in elite visual culture): its displacement (as with Duchamp's displacement) which makes it simply; art.

One thing functions for sure, the image of sexuality, but even more the image of primary needs (to pee) are, after a whole century still – a taboo. They are taboo not because “cyborgs do not go to the toilet” as Sue Golding once formulated a new society, but because they are animalistic and in that way pre-cultural or even counter-cultural. So sex is also... pre-cultural, pre-political and it is for that reason scary to all progressive thinkers (including leftists, as the interpretation of Severina video has shown). Though – it is not a taboo for nationalists, for sure.

A step further, uncovering titles of works by Let 3 – *Kurcem u čelo* (Croatian: Hitting forehead with the dick) with the album entitled *Bombardiranje Srbije i Čačka* (Croatian: Bombing of Serbia and Čačak), but also Marina Abramović's *Balkan Epics* shows that both contexts are deeply ethnological and nationalistic, therefore – oriented to the right. So, from there it is not a problem if the video porn of Severina, with no title, was advocated and interpreted in terms of a nationalistic discourse. Finally, it is only the nation that profits from sex, the aim is the procreation of the nation, of course, within its own political boundaries.

## COPYRIGHTED VIDEO

While the sexual practice seems very unique, the visual culture obviously is splitting into two fields – but it is important to note the way in which this split occurs. In elite cultures sex, if it ever appears, seems to have different purpose or idea than it does in popular culture, where sex only generates sex. That would mean that if there were be any outside goal to the Severina video it would be art, but even kids writing graffiti on the school knew sex only leads to sex.

While one can hardly find Abramović's video online searching p2p portals or Emule + + , Severina's video is very popular and highly rated on Porntube (a version of youtube). Also, Let 3's musical video is available on Youtube.

What obviously differentiates these three “cultures” is the availability of video and its ends; the matter is essentially that art behaves as if copies are legitimate while it quests for the originality. Art keeps a track of own copies, while popular culture does not – in the latter case, all copies are there to raise the price of the product or to broaden the commercial potential.

But is this something different than we expected? It is only the real world appearing online. The only thing is – how right it is to put some of these videos and photos, especially ones I've mentioned on the start of the text.

But, could it be a video art?

Unfortunately, a second part of the taboo of video art, which was not defended during the long court proceeding has staid unanswered. Could it have ever been seen as a video art?

If it ever would be p2p-ed instead of exposed on YouTube or PornTube latter on, it could have, as has shown the analysis of the elite image. Though especially if someone would found some Bataillean points of human sexuality, the outside meanings. But these mechanisms were too slow and too political – in terms of national interests and leftists critique of sexuality that immediately took the place.

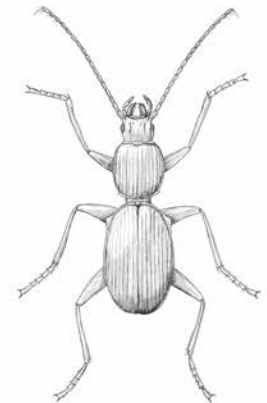
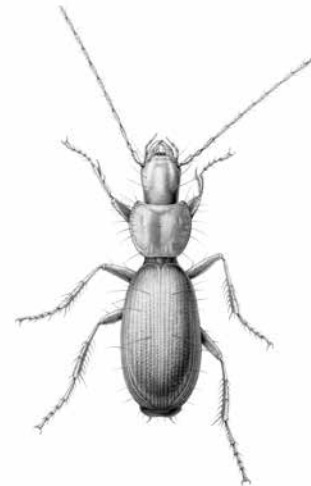
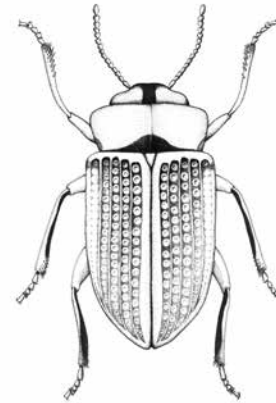
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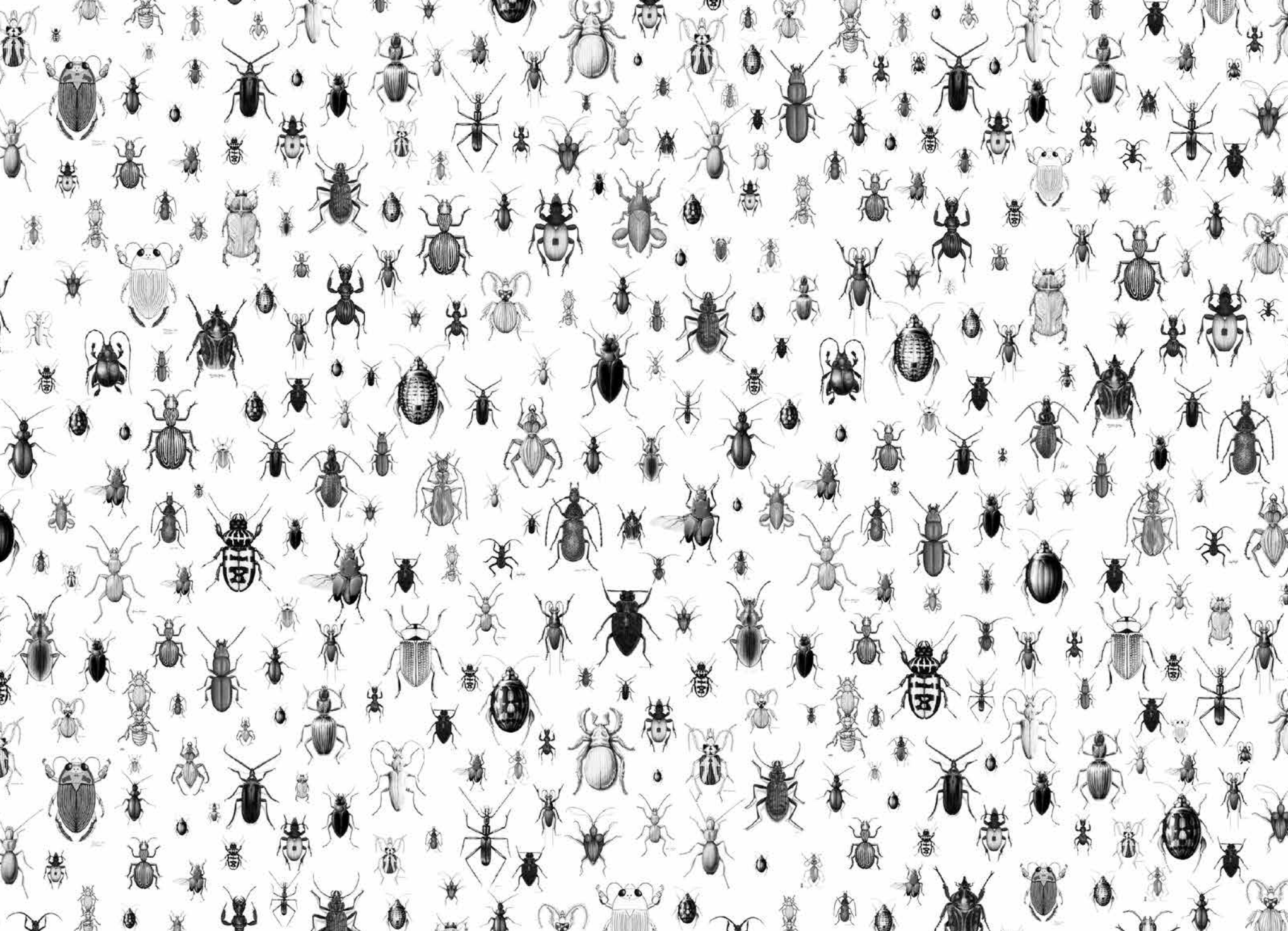
# WALKING IN THE PARADE OF

Jasmina Cibic's project *For Our Economy and Culture* was using the architectural specificity of the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennial (2013), a repurposed private residence, and by referencing state architectural strategies, Cibic created an immersive multi-media installation that appropriated the entire space and explored issues around national representation and framing.

Into this context, Cibic placed a variety of elements, which further examined modes of exchange, reception and constructions of identity. These included two films, shot on official state locations and a series of historical paintings drawn from the art collection of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. As a further framing device, the interior of the pavilion was entirely covered with wallpaper carrying obsessively repetitive scientific illustrations of an endemic *Slovene beetle*, a 'failed' national icon that has almost been completely exorcised solely because of its ideologically charged name, *Anophthalmus hitleri*.

JASMINA CIBIC  
For Our Economy and Culture  
2013





# LIBERTY

MARINA NAPRUSHKINA  
People's Artist  
2012



Народны  
мастак

# OBJECTS OF GENUINE ENGAGEMENT OR NEW NATIONAL ART

The exhibition *New National Art. National-patriotic realism in XXI century Poland* was organised by the Modern Art Museum in Warsaw in response to the arguments raised by Artur Żmijewski, artist and curator of the 7th Biennale of Contemporary Art in Berlin. Żmijewski called for an exhibition, which resembles “the parliament rather than salon” involving individuals and communities that, for ideological reasons (e.g. due to clear religious qualities, ‘smuggling’ conspiracy theories or xenophobic views), are rarely allowed to speak out in the space of a museum or a gallery. Żmijewski sought to achieve a polyphony of voices and mutually exclusive opinions utilising the dynamics of a dispute and political conflict to create a review of artistic practices that “really work”. The artist’s special attention was given to objects of unclear status, through which various demands and political conflicts manifested themselves - for instance, by bringing to Berlin “the largest key in the world” from the Aida refugee camp near Bethlehem.

The exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw was included in the programme of so-called *Solidarity Actions*, organized by various European art institutions for the duration of the Berlin Biennale. When confronted with the task at the Museum, we inevitably made an attempt to determine what an art object is for us and whether “political objects” exist that operate entirely off the “radar” of art institutions, how they influence us, what content they convey and what the reason is for their effectiveness? When starting to work on the exhibition we first of all, asked ourselves whether new national art (so called national-patriotic realism) exists, as a ubiquitous style permeating all areas of visual culture that has overcome Poland.

The exhibition *New National Art* referred to the emotions that are repressed and marginalized in the discourse of modernity – patriotism and a sense of national community. The artifacts in the exhibition were created, mostly, outside the official circuit of contemporary art – often through collective action, collaboration and direct engagement with changing the reality. What characterises them is the political imperative of strengthening national identity which generally remains in polar opposition to the left-wing avant-garde tradition. Thereby, through the exhibition we asked questions about the nature of the Polish relationship with tradition and modernity as well as the status of the Museum as a national institution. By transforming the Museum into a



space for the presentation of a wide range of national-patriotic art (and treating that style as artificially created theoretical construct), the exhibition (especially through a rich programme of lectures and panel discussions) tried to overcome the split into “two Polands” dominant in contemporary Polish culture.

We quickly realised that the *New National Art* exhibition was just a sketch for a much larger project. We outlined the general area of a “second circuit” of Polish culture, without disciplinary constraints (we presented examples from the fields of comics, sculpture, painting and hip-hop). Official narratives constructed using high-budget film productions, architecture and competitions for monuments commemorating national tragedies are juxtaposed with objects resulting from grassroots, collective actions without clearly defined authorship. The vast majority of the presented objects are not the work of professional artists. However they are characterised by their ability to give contemporary form to the content of the national-patriotic character. The installations, sculptures and films presented in the exhibition have emerged from the tension between modernity (impressive and attractive, but also menacing and “alien”) and Polish tradition that can be traced back to Sarmatism, reinforced by the Romantic imaginarium. Poles find these familiar and safe, but are unable to fit them with the requirements of the new era.

In dealing with national-patriotic art, we searched for parallels between the two circles of Polish visual art and pointed at a certain “confusion of



languages” which characterises both the Polish political scene and the products of visual culture. As the literary critic Przemysław Czapliński put it in his book *The Remnants of Modernity* (2011): “Heritage is no longer seen as what opposes modernity but rather as what can collaborate with it. The past becomes a corrective force here instead of contradicting late modernity. What is characteristic of the battles waged nowadays is the tactic of absorbing rather than fighting the enemy. The representatives of both sides have become so intermingled with each other as a result and so blurred that no one can refer to pure identity determinants anymore.”

Undoubtedly the most ambiguous and intriguing object on display was for us, the exhibition curators, the Tomb of the Lord from the St. Anne’s church in Warsaw from 2011. The status of this object is unclear. Its authorship is blurred – as a collective project originally it was presented anonymously in a non-gallery space. We reconstructed the tomb on the basis of fairly rudimentary documentation (photographs taken with a mobile phone, a few pictures circulated online, the memory of witnesses). Formally, this object carries associations with the work of Robert Smithson: sample containers with natural materials (among others: *A Nonsite, Franklin, New Jersey*, 1968), or the famous installation *The New York Earth Room* by Walter de Maria (1977).

The particular 2011 Tomb of the Lord design in St. Anne’s is simple and formally disciplined, although it carries an enormous emotional weight. It is based on the Polish Rodło emblem represented as cracks in the ground. Rodło was



used by the Union of Poles in Germany after Hitler’s rise to power. It highlighted the national character of the organisation (the name comes from the Polish words for family – “rodzina” and heraldic badge – “godło”), symbolizing the Vistula river with Kraków marked on it. Rodło formally resembled a modified swastika. The Tomb of the Lord with the rodło emblem created shortly after the Smoleńsk tragic accident brings associations with a crack in the ground that could have been caused by the impact of the aircraft. The installation brings the plane crash into the continuum of atrocities and disasters suffered by Poles. At the same time it symbolises the rift between two Polands, which deepened after the disaster.



Despite the fact Tombs of the Lord, arranged in churches for the closure of the Good Friday liturgy often refer to current political events, St. Anne's church in Warsaw fits in this rich tradition in a special way. It is where, during World War II, carefully planned Tombs of the Lord were used to manifest patriotism and accuse the Germans of crimes against the Polish civilian population. The 1944 Tomb of the Lord is strikingly similar to the one from 2011. Both use soil, red light, both are very theatrical and emotionally charged. They don't simply speak to the viewer, but almost shout.

Objects of unknown status (models, reconstructions, organic materials, found objects, press cuttings, etc.) gathered at the New National Art exhibition create a very specific narrative – broken and nervous simultaneously showing

their remarkable potential. They influence attitudes, awaken the patriotic spirit, give a sense of security and integrate communities. Their formal solutions and aesthetic characteristics are secondary – they were created to influence the viewer. Even if we had lost the belief in the magic characteristics of objects in the field of art, whilst working on the exhibition we observed multifaceted relationships between objects and communities that seek to create them. This happened especially when we stopped avoiding dispute and “delegating” it beyond the space of the museum.

Summing up our experiences, together with Łukasz Ronduda, with whom I prepared the exhibition, we wrote: “The language of contemporary art, like any language, can be used by various political groups for the production of engaged artistic message. Many of the projects that we are presenting in the exhibition could, with a few minor curatorial interventions, have existed in the contemporary art circuit for a long time. One example could be the flower carpets from Spycimierz created in the process of unprecedented self-organisation and grassroots creation of social capital or the happenings by football fans that so far have been rejected by the contemporary art world mainly due to the conservative ideas that motivate their formation (Ö). Our exhibition is not a presentation of something fully-formed, but rather a conceptual challenge, an exercise in political imagination.

By presenting contemporary art of national-patriotic provenance in the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw we wanted to negate thinking



about two essentially different languages, two separate communities that can not meet. The exhibition took shape in response to a deep division in Polish society, especially after the Smoleńsk disaster. It seems to us that the most important in the current situation is creating possible planes for meetings and communication between antagonised circles. Such a heterogeneous plane, breaking essentialist divides, could become the museum for the duration of the exhibition. For it to happen it is worth abandoning prejudices and fears. By organizing this exhibition, we risk double exclusion: both by the circles associated with contemporary art with their cosmopolitan, leftist attitudes, as well as the creative right-wing circles. We believe, however, that without taking this risk, we can not expect real change. At stake is the quality of public debate in Poland."

Photo credits: Jan Smaga



**BUT**

# THE CRADLES OF LOVE: DRAMATIC ARCHITECTURE OF WEDDING PALACES IN SOVIET LITHUANIA

The secular Soviet state was well known for its elaborate 'socialist rites' instituted for life's milestones, from birth through marriage to death. Actions traditionally carried out in a sacral space were rather quickly assigned to 'consumer services', and were replaced by the civil registration of the new-born child, the secular wedding and funeral rite. Administrators of the new rituals insisted that these ceremonies neither derived from religious rites nor were they intended to replace them. The challenge, therefore, was to create secular spaces with their own dramaturgy, designed to offer appropriate settings for weddings and funerals while avoiding any kind of religious presence.

However, a ritual is a socially inert phenomenon, and on the mass scale, most of the initiation rituals in the Soviet Union date only from the 1960s. It explains why special purpose-designed types of buildings began to spread out in many Soviet republics only from the 1970s onwards. For example, Lithuanian Republican Board of National Tradition, established in early 1960s, published a book "Civil Ceremonies" in 1969, however, one would not find any photographs of interiors in it, since there were no purpose-built edifices yet. But the new version of the book, published ten years later, in 1979, was full of colorful pictures of the new ritual buildings and halls.

The main idea of this paper is based on the fact that the new secular soviet rituals were actually based on traditional rituals stripped off the religious content. It encourages me to investigate how much the tradition (in a very broad sense) influenced the new architectural spaces created

to practice those new rituals. I'm interested in the dramatic condition of an architect facing the challenging task to create unprecedented building as well as the boundaries of his traditional mentality, nostalgia or subconscious archetypes. My hypothesis suggests that it was really difficult to escape the traditional perception of the special, the exclusive, the festive, and the sacred, because initiation rituals (the birth, the marriage and the death) remained the most important and retained their sacral connotation in people's life.

There is one more important aspect that played a special role in strongly catholic Lithuania – during the entire Soviet period no church was allowed to build in the country. In this context the

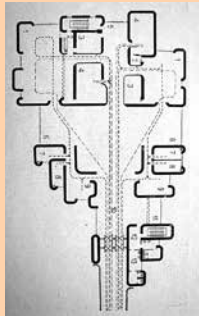
Wedding Palace in Vilnius, photo by Romualdas Rakauskas, 1980, personal archive of R. Rakauskas



situation was very different from the neighboring Poland which witnessed a real boom of modern churches, especially in the late decades of socialism. Lithuanian architects from this point of view were rather restricted; this fact allows me to interpret the new ritual buildings as the sublimation of sacral architecture.

In many Soviet cities and towns institutions for civil marriage registration (ZAGS) were simply placed in the rooms at the municipalities or collective farm (kolkhoz) clubs, or arranged in the rooms on the ground floor of apartment houses. It was the only place where a couple could be married officially. The registration quickly lost its festive aspect. However, in the early 1960s a new kind of civil marriage registration bureaus start to be established in Moscow (1961), Leningrad and Novosibirsk (1966) that are defined by the festive registration and therefore are called wedding palaces. These are being established in beautiful historic buildings showing the importance of architectural environment. However, one might say, that a proper architectural environment for the soviet wedding was yet not clearly defined, therefore the construction of the first purpose designed and purpose built palace for the civil wedding ceremony in Vilnius (architect Gediminas Baravykas, 1968–1974) is both exceptional and illustrative, because in the case of weddings, what used to be the mere registration of the marriage, it had to become an elaborate civil ceremony.

The function and secular origin of the building was well defined by the words of the second secretary of the Lithuanian communist party



The scheme of the ceremony of the Wedding Palace in Vilnius, from the book Лучшие произведения советских зодчих 1975-1976 [The Best Works by Soviet Architects in 1975-1976], Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1980.

1

Memoirs of the Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Algirdas Brazauskas, interview by Saulius Grybkauskas, 2008.

2

Christel Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society - the Soviet Case*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 81-82.

3

Natalya Sadomskaya, Soviet anthropology and contemporary rituals, in: *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*. Vol. 31 N°2-3. Avril-Septembre 1990, p. 247.

Genadyi Kharazov, complaining that there were no beautiful buildings for civil marriage registration in the capital city of the Soviet Republic, therefore people preferred to marry in the church<sup>1</sup>. And he was pretty right, because, according to Christel Lane, Catholic Lithuania was a republic in which a new wedding ritual has been unable to replace the traditional religious rite to any significant extent. There, according to the Catholic Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Believers (*Radio Liberty Research Bulletin 265/78*), 50 percent and 90 percent of couples in urban and rural areas respectively still had a church wedding<sup>2</sup>. Natalya Sadomskaya also notes, that 'during the liberal 1960s the anti-religious battle in the Soviet Union became, paradoxically, more acute: the government was seriously frightened by revival of ecclesiastical practice'<sup>3</sup>.

Soon after those complaints, in 1968, the plot for the palace was found in the place of the former Lutheran cemetery and a young modern architect was commissioned to design a building. The architect received permission to work on an individual design, a very desirable job in the context of the predominant industrialization and standardization of the period. He was also aware that he could not use any religious associations in the concept of a new type of building. This was the most challenging thing for the architect since he got "free hands" but no prototype to rely on. Therefore his idea to design a novel type of building that would combine the function of the town hall and the church was not a very far escape from the tradition.



The very building was a contemporary and elegant appropriation of western late modernism employing plastic shapes and a concept of developing building, which expands into the surrounding park. But much more important was the organization of the interior, first of all shaping the flows of people through architecturally defined spaces and creating essentially new dramaturgy of the soviet wedding and a new-born child registration. Functionally Baravykas separated the festive part of the first floor where he directed the flow of people starting from the symbolic bridge-staircase, leading through the waiting and ceremonial halls and back to the staircase leaving the hall as a newlyweds. All the administrative procedures were located on the ground floor which was little seen from the outside.

Ceremony of child registration in the Wedding palace in Vilnius, from the book *Civilinės apeigos* [Civil Ceremonies], Vilnius: Mintis, 1979.



Ceremony of wedding in the Wedding palace in Vilnius, from the book *Civilinės apeigos* [Civil Ceremonies], Vilnius: Mintis, 1979.

4

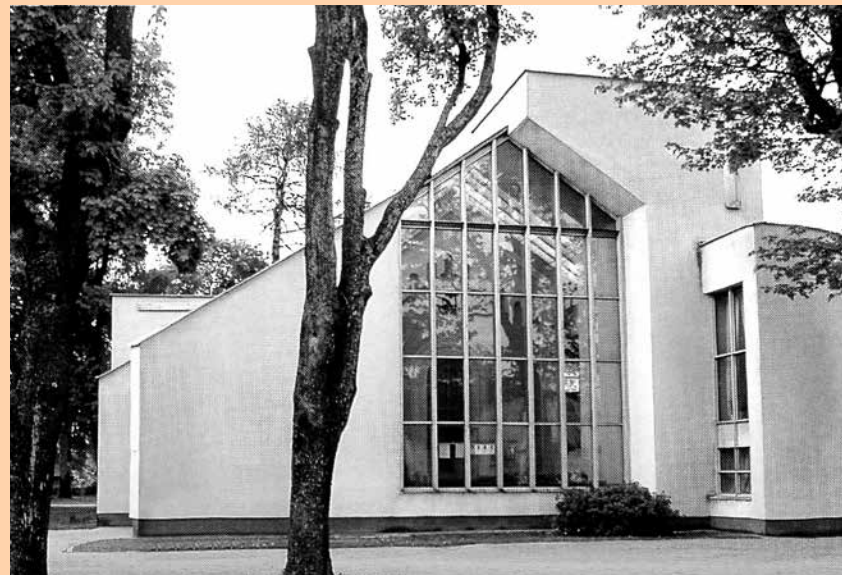
Rimantas Buivydas, *Gediminas Baravykas. Kūrybos pulsas*, Vilnius: Archiforma, 2000, p. 16.

The interior of modernist building was decorated with monumental arts – specially designed furniture and textile decoration in the lobby created an impression of a modern administrative building, whereas the design of the sculptural ritual table in both halls – the marriage hall and the birth registration hall – was a direct reference to a church altar. Furniture designer Eugenijus Gūzas remembers that the registration of the marriage at this table emotionally should have equaled to the marriage at the altar in the church<sup>4</sup>. Both halls were also decorated with stained glass. Although it was officially recommended to decorate the background wall of the hall with monumental arts, the choice of the stained glass resembled a very traditional element in the design of the churches and increased the impression of the festivity in the halls of new ceremonies.

5

Rimantas Buivydas, *Gediminas Baravykas. Kūrybos pulsas*, Vilnius: Archiforma, 2000, p. 126

In other towns of Lithuania it became a rule that a Palace of Weddings should be specially designed and built as a separate impressive building where architects could use their imagination either in employing their knowledge of latest western architectural ideas as in Klaipėda (architect Ramunas Kraniauskas, 1979), or reusing the heritage and creating combined buildings as in Anykščiai<sup>5</sup>. The latter, designed by Baravykas in 1984, again became a unique piece in Soviet Lithuania, because for the first time the church heritage was reused in a rather post-modern way – a closed cemetery chapel was partly covered and extended with glass annexes. However, the macabre tendency to create places for civil marriage on the grounds of cemeteries still needs to be investigated more thoroughly in the future.



Wedding palaces as a special type of building flourished in the late socialism in many soviet republics, fifty nine civil marriage parlors were established in Lithuania alone. On one hand wedding palaces demonstrate exceptional architecture, but on the other hand they appear rather weird. I think it was also the impression of the photographer Frederic Chaubin who called those edifices 'cosmic communist constructions'<sup>6</sup>. Eccentric and festive, those interiors and those buildings yet give a strange impression of artificial sacredness and most of them are little used now, especially in smaller towns.

The oddity of the buildings can be explained by the architects' aspiration to create exceptional and original forms as well as the special dramaturgy that was not based on any tradition.

Wedding Palace in Anykščiai, from the book *Gediminas Baravykas. Kūrybos pulsas*, by Rimantas Buivydas, Vilnius: Archiforma, 2000

6

See, for example, Frederic Chaubin, *Cosmic Communist Constructions Photographed*, Taschen, 2011.



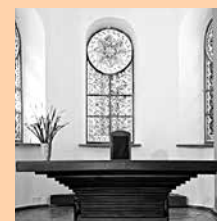
Interior of Wedding Palace in Vilnius, Lithuania, 2012, © Vilma Samulionytė, Project „60 monuments“

However, they did not escape far away – the ideas of the modernist church design as references to icons of the international modernism such as Ronchamp chapel by Le Corbusier or St. Mary’s Cathedral by Kenzo Tange that were admired by Lithuanian architects of the time, are evident as well as early pieces of postmodernist architecture.

In the discussion about soviet or socialist modernism, one could argue that there were not so many differences between the socialist and the western modernism. There is also a question what constitutes the “socialist” content of modernism. It is not the style, that’s for sure. Maybe it is even not a question of architecture. I would argue that it must be special types of

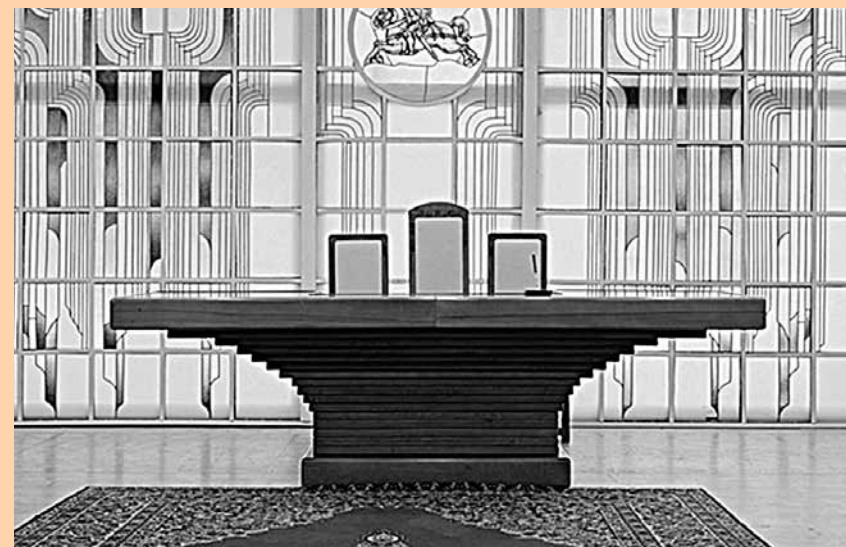
buildings that were originally created to serve the socialist lifestyle therefore wedding palaces play one of the most important roles in it.

Looking in a broader context, these new ritual buildings with their own dramaturgy were really close to the functional type of modern church or chapel that were wide spread in the west. In comparison to other objects of the ‘consumer services’ they demonstrate expressive architecture and interior design (vast compositions of applied art, i.e. bas-relief plates, colored ceramics, monumental textiles, wall paintings, altar-like ritual tables and stained glass in the background). A well-defined sacral dimension unfolding in the ritual buildings allows us to interpret them as a rather symbolic architectural and social phenomenon of the Soviet life-style.



Interior of Wedding Palace in Anykščiai, Lithuania, 2012, © Vilma Samulionytė, Project „60 monuments“

Wedding Palace in Klaipėda, from the book *Klaipėda*, ed. by Albertas Broga, Algimantas Garliauskas, Jonas Gureckas, Vilnius, 1983.



AS LONG  
AS

# LOVEGOLD

Love is the new gold. Love standard instead of gold standard. The alchemical imperative of capitalism.

Value is backed against affect, love is the attribute of the “ensouled” commodity. Capitalism as “commodity animism” (Steven Shaviro), commodity with a soul, canned consciousness, aliveness merchandised.

Gold is a trade on love. It is a fetishism of the soul.

Gold was extracted by people, by bodies, it was produced against life and death. Chile, Peru, Turkey, Romania: some of many territories where necrocapitalism is at work.

Ecophagia is the practice of eating the environment. Gold extraction is a practice of ecophagia. Alchemy was practical, it was a philosophy of practice – practice can be chemical, it can change materiality.

Teargas had been replaced by lovegas. Chemically converted, the population is united somato-affectively.  
(Stanislaw Lem – The Futurological Congress)

How to invent a practice of acquiring somnolence rather than take sleeping pills. “Deleuze and Guattari favour Henry Miller who suggests getting soused on water, and William Burroughs, who tries thinking the possibility that things usually attained by chemical means are also ‘accessible by other paths’ (Deleuze, 1990:161).”  
(Catherine Dale)

The alchemic effects of practice, not in pursuing the emergence of gold but in creating new temporalities outside capitalist time, affective bodies instead of bodies-as-image. Affect is non-representational. It may only be embodied and subjectified. Gold as a substance, body as a substance, the primordial substance of matter which escapes representation is ante-form, before form.

Ordinary matter amounts to 4% of the energy of the observable universe. The remaining energy is theorized to be due to exotic forms, of which 23% is dark matter and 73% is dark energy.

In the alchemical practice, gold fully materialized is dead gold. It should never be completed, consumed, used up. Alchemists don't spend their gold, neither do capitalists. As Marx writes in *Grundrisse*, gold "possesses all pleasures in potentiality".

The interesting moment is the moment before matter turns into form – the challenge would be to keep something of this moment even after the alchemic process is done. The transformation should never be complete, because it shouldn't close but open up. We are dealing today with habitual practices of closing.

Gold is hard, but malleable, ductil, it is the materiality of writing with computers, phones, inside circuits. Gold is conducting information, it is caught up in the formation of communities, affection, in the contagion of emotions.

"Real gold, having used up its potentiality, is dead. The alchemist is responsible for reviving gold (a process which means the death of alchemical mercury), but as long as gold is 'philosophical'—that is, not yet material—it is alive." (Karen Pinkus)

Soft gold – this hallucinatory perception may derive from practice, not from a command of the mind.

Love is a first rank affect like gold is a first rank metal.

0.000014% of a body mass is gold.

Surfaces of body and surfaces of gold. Body seen not as an organism but as a continuum, as another fold in the surface of materiality. Gold as a lucid blob, not inert, but capable of performing more than its material properties.

Artificial gold and melodrama intersect on the surface of things. Both lack deepness, are deemed unnatural, and are exiled to the realm of bad taste.

'Biomorphogenesis' (Franco Bifo Berardi), morphological freedom understood as alchemical freedom. Both from the body and the subject as from the object.

Gold in the nowness is pure presence as opposed to gold as a signifier, as a bearer of meaning, of value charged with an economical-futuristic function.

Love beyond meaning, without reciprocity.  
Love not an investment in the future but as  
overcharging the present. Love as a political  
concept has been corrupted by its confinement  
as love of the same: love of the family, love of the  
couple, love of the race, love of the neighbour.  
We must rediscover the love of the stranger.

“Love Thy Neighbor bombs dropping over  
the city.”  
(Stanislaw Lem – The Futurological Congress)

This is melodrama, it is without depth because  
all affect is exteriorized, nothing is kept inside,  
all inflexions of emotionality are revealed in the  
moment they emerge. They don’t belong to  
a subject. Everything unfolds in the nowness.  
Melodrama has something to do with both love  
and gold.

“nowness brings no hope, and nowness brings no  
future: the future will be precisely a now again.”  
(Clarice Lispector)

In economical sense, love and gold have a crucial  
relation to risk and future. They are investments  
in the future and they generate its fluctuations.  
Fluctuations of mood and financial flows.

Love is materialized in the erotic desire of the  
couple. How to de-materialize it and make it  
vulnerable to chance? Love as the embrace of  
the unexpected.

Both love and gold are abstract and aspire to a  
certain perfection. They are over-affirmative,  
have the potential to spread light and beatitude.

They are both haunted by darkness and shadows,  
gold through its destructive potential in the  
process of extraction and love as a standardized,  
formalized ritual, as maintaining itself between  
quotation marks. Though love has a more  
complex destructive potential.

Today’s economy is an extractive economy.  
Gold mining melts ecosystems and love mining  
exhausts affective powers.

“Alchemists don’t spend their gold. But this  
does not mean there is nothing to be said  
about consumption inasmuch as it is potential  
consumption.”  
(Karen Pinkus)

“affect both in terms of what is empirically  
realized and in terms of the philosophical  
conception of the virtual”  
(Patricia Ticineto Clough)

Some would undoubtedly argue that alchemy has  
nothing to do with production, at least if we agree  
with Marx that production is always consumption.  
Escape the “binary logic of representation that  
disseminates the dichotomy between materiality  
and immateriality, the separation of the inert body  
from the intelligent mind.”  
(Luciana Parisi)

Affect, just like gold, dwells in the field of the  
potential. Its materialization is emotion, the  
enclosed form of the subjective, psychological,  
individual.

Materialization not in the original, etymological sense of the word. If materialize means to “appear in bodily form”, then all affect and emotion is already material. In the Spinozan tradition, emotion, equated with affect is corporal. It is the “modification of the body by which the power of action of the body is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time the idea of these modifications”.

Melodrama is the ultimate materialization of love, just like porn of sexual desire and horror of fear. Bodily fluids are the material of these three “body genres” (Linda Williams). The organism is shown to be permeable, fluidity of matter and the success of the film is measured in number of handkerchiefs, degrees of erection of little cartoon penises, screams, faints and heart attacks.

Language is an alchemical act which transforms every moment of its emergence. Every reading can be an alchemical reenactment. It lives in the nowness of its emergence and of its reenactment.

## ALIEN GOLD. CATASTROPHE AND FUTURE

There is a post-catastrophic feel to the revival of gold. Fear is central to the contemporary affective momentum, full of doomsday dating, safety love, survivalist singles.

The financial collapse is behind us, so is the 2012 apocalypse, but in the aftermath of the end of the world, the threat has not disappeared. It is not confined to what has already happened but is bending from the past, over the present, towards a future continuous. Catastrophe is never here-and-now, it looms indefinitely.

“The initial gold deposits of the earth sank into the core of the planet during its pre-solid days. That gold is currently irretrievable by deliberate human actions, since the core of earth is over 3000 miles away while the deepest gold mine (in South Africa) doesn’t even go as far as 3 miles.” (Graham Harman)

All the gold of Turkey, Romania, India, Ft. Knox, New York and elsewhere came during the catastrophic period of asteroid impacts around 4 billion years ago.

“All gold is alien gold.”  
(Graham Harman)

“We have never been human.”  
(Donna Haraway)

The gold has never been earthly.

The inhuman in us. The nonorganic but the vital nonorganic.

Gold is chunks of outer space, alien agglutination of red nanoparticles. It is the abstract fascination coming from the universe.

"I am more what is not within me[...] We shall be inhuman—as humankind's greatest conquest. To be is to be beyond the human. To be a human being doesn't do it, to be human has been a constraint. The unknown awaits us, but I sense that that unknown is a totalization and will be the true humanization we long for."  
(Clarice Lispector)

Gold is the progeny of catastrophe. It is the precious appendage of collapse, of Supernovae colliding with the earth.

The totality of gold mined up to the present moment could form a cube with a height of 20 meters.

"The value of this golden cube would be nearly \$10 trillion, which is exactly enough to replace all housing units in the United States if they were all destroyed in a giant catastrophe: homes, mansions, trailers, huts, everything."  
(Graham Harman)

Gold is resilient. Resilience is thought to be the leading affect of the future.

11% of the gold mined in human history belongs to the many wealthy, average, and poor households of India. The Bollywood happy-end is drifting away while we are watching the melodramatic glitter of alien metals.

Could we perform a social alchemy rather than to fuel the economy of gold?

## ABSTRACT GOLD

Gold is stable matter, it is the 79th element of the periodic table.

"Matter and form have never seemed more rigid than in metallurgy"  
(Deleuze & Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus)

Gold is a product of chemical decay happening in large dying stars that "have exhausted their typical hydrogen fuel and begin a daring ascent of the periodic table, producing everweightier elements until eventually reaching a point of crisis." (Graham Harman)

If decay is the ontological process by which "space is perforated by time" (Reza Negarestani), gold is residual matter in a cosmogony of chemical putrefaction.

"Not everything is metal, but metal is everywhere."  
(Deleuze & Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus)

"Metallurgy has the option of melting down and reusing a matter to which it gives an ingot-form:

the history of metal is inseparable from this very particular form, which is not to be confused with either a stock or a commodity; monetary value derives from it.”

(Deleuze & Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus)

Gold ore is invertebrate gold.

The toxic process of gold extraction is a violent attempt at purifying matter, a denial of the potential of matter to become, a sweeping separation of the thrills of high value and certainty from the pits of darkness and unknowing.

Ingot is the standardized matter waiting to become form, a proliferation of objects and stabilizing reserves.

Following Nixon’s decision to abandon Bretton Woods system in 1971 and to cancel the convertibility of the dollar into gold, “the genesis of value enters in a phase of indetermination and uncertainty.” (Deregulation.”Franco Bifo Berardi – After Future)

Gold is abstract, it can embrace chaotic forms in a paradigm of uncertainty.

## ALCHEMY / POSTALCHEMY

To gain without work was starting to be repressed in the 17th century, which is the century of alchemy. At the same time in England some alchemists like Isaac Newton switched their attention to the promotion of what we know understand by the credit system.

Some would argue that the foundations for the financial economy to come were laid during the scientific revolution: rationalized alchemy is another sort of probabilistic thinking.

Alchemy is no more scientific than it is speculative.

Carl Gustav Jung documents as alchemists collectively come to understand that they themselves must embody the change they hope to effect within their materials. “He argues for a deeper understanding of the Western spiritual traditions e.g. Esoteric Christianity and Alchemy alongside an examination of the Eastern ones e.g. Buddhism, Hinduism etc. Jung diagnoses the spiritual laziness of the West in not truly embracing the Christian Myth as an inner journey of transformation. Alchemy, he argues, is a ‘Western Yoga’ which was designed to facilitate this.” (Wikipedia)

Alchemy is a work on the primary level of matter, it is a form of inorganic cooking, a cosmic recipe. The alchemist needs to understand nature as being more complex than a homogenous regime of laws, which link cause and effect across times and scales. At an infinitesimal level, the laws can

change, difference and not identity is at the basis of matter itself.

If laws of physics are varying, then becoming is possible. Becoming can even be a putrefying force.

Affective cooking is mutational. For its chemical conversion vital matter needs the black earth (al-chem), a tellurical darkness to begin with.

Matter is not inert, but capable of performing more than its material properties.

The experiment is not the same every time conducted.

Material and affective are tight together. There is affect in the material just as it has physical properties.

Alchemy's intention was to resolve or even annihilate every conflict produced by the antagonism of matter and mind, idea and form, concrete and abstract, and to dissolve all appearances into one unique expression which must have been the equivalent of spiritualized gold.

Postalchemy is the surpassing of chemistry today. It works with deformations of sensation, irreducible to optical resemblance and cultural convention.

"Alchemy is labour at the incandescent edges of the future." (Artaud)

Postalchemy is future at the edges of incandescent perception.



ALL GOLD  
IS  
ALIEN GOLD

I LOVE  
YOU

# TABLEAU ECONOMIQUE.

Objets à considérer, 1<sup>o</sup> Trois sortes de dépenses; 2<sup>o</sup> leur source; 3<sup>o</sup> leurs avances; 4<sup>o</sup> leur distribution; 5<sup>o</sup> leurs effets; 6<sup>o</sup> leur reproduction; 7<sup>o</sup> leurs rapports entre elles; 8<sup>o</sup> leurs rapports avec la population; 9<sup>o</sup> avec l'Agriculture; 10<sup>o</sup> avec l'industrie; 11<sup>o</sup> avec le commerce; 12<sup>o</sup> avec la masse des richesses d'une Nation.

| DEPENSES<br>PRODUCTIVES<br>relatives à<br>l'agriculture, &c.                                                   | DEPENSES DU REVENU<br>l'impôt prélevé, se partageant<br>aux dépenses productives &<br>aux dépenses stériles. | DEPENSES<br>STERILES<br>relatives à<br>l'industrie, &c.                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Avances annuelles<br>pour produire un revenu de 600 <sup>fr</sup> .<br>600 <sup>fr</sup> . produisent net..... | Revenu<br>annuel<br>de 600 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                   | Avances annuelles<br>pour les ouvrages des<br>dépenses stériles, &c.<br>300 <sup>fr</sup> . |
| Productions annuelles netes.....                                                                               | 600 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                                          | Productions annuelles netes.....                                                            |
| 300 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                                      | 300 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                                          | 300 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                   |
| 150 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                                      | 150 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                                          | 150 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                   |
| 75 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                                       | 75 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                                           | 75 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                    |
| 37 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                    | 37 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                        | 37 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                 |
| 18 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                                    | 18 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                                        | 18 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                 |
| 9 <sup>fr</sup> . 7 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                    | 9 <sup>fr</sup> . 7 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                        | 9 <sup>fr</sup> . 7 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                 |
| 4 <sup>fr</sup> . 13 <sup>fr</sup> . 0 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                   | 4 <sup>fr</sup> . 13 <sup>fr</sup> . 0 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                       | 4 <sup>fr</sup> . 13 <sup>fr</sup> . 0 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                |
| 2 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                   | 2 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                       | 2 <sup>fr</sup> . 6 <sup>fr</sup> . 10 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                |
| 1 <sup>fr</sup> . 3 <sup>fr</sup> . 5 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                    | 1 <sup>fr</sup> . 3 <sup>fr</sup> . 5 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                        | 1 <sup>fr</sup> . 3 <sup>fr</sup> . 5 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                 |
| 0 <sup>fr</sup> . 11 <sup>fr</sup> . 8 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                                   | 0 <sup>fr</sup> . 11 <sup>fr</sup> . 8 <sup>fr</sup> .                                                       | 0 <sup>fr</sup> . 11 <sup>fr</sup> . 8 <sup>fr</sup> . reproduisent net.....                |
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| &c.                                                                                                            |                                                                                                              | &c.                                                                                         |

REPRODUIT TOTAL ..... 600<sup>fr</sup>. de revenu; de plus, les fruits annuels de 600<sup>fr</sup>. et les intérêts des avances primitives du Laboureur, de 300<sup>fr</sup>. que la terre restitue. Ainsi la reproduction est de 1500<sup>fr</sup>. comprise le revenu de 600<sup>fr</sup>. qui est la base du salair, abstraction faite de l'impôt prélevé, et des avances qui exigent sa reproduction annuelle, &c. Voyez l'Explication à la page suivante.

"Tableau Economique." From François Quesnay, The Economical Table, 1766.



## A. amateur

[French amateur  
'lover of', from Old French  
and ultimately from Latin amator, 'lover']  
is generally considered a person attached to a particular  
pursuit, study, or science in a non-professional or unpaid manner.  
Amateurs often have little or no formal training in their pursuits, and many are  
autodidacts (self-taught).



[I Love Lucy  
Episode: Job Switching  
1952]

Ingredients  
3 tablespoons olive oil  
8 anchovies (drained and finely chopped)  
2 cloves garlic (peeled and finely sliced, crushed or  
grated  
½ teaspoon dried chilli flakes (or 30ml pickled red jalapeno chilli  
peppers, drained, sliced and diced)  
500 grams spaghetti  
1 x 400 grams can chopped tomatoes  
150 grams (drained weight) pitted black olives (chopped a bit)  
2 tablespoons small capers (rinsed and drained)  
3 tablespoons chopped fresh parsley (to serve - optional)  
salt (to taste)  
pepper (to taste)



## B. ff

## &c. career

Pro-mance\*  
lprōmans; prōmans!  
noun.

A compound of the terms 'professional' and 'romance'.  
An intimate relationship emerging in a work environment.

[\*Art Therapy Group, Cape Town, September 2012]

'Clouds part  
Just to give us a little sun

There's a limit to your love  
Like a waterfall in slow motion  
Like a map with no ocean  
There's a limit to your love

There's a limit to your care  
So carelessly there  
Is it truth  
or dare



[Dress coat pattern  
ref. The Costumer's  
Manifesto.com, founded  
by Tamara Maginnis]

There's a limit to your care'  
[Feist and Gonzales, 2007, Limit to Your Love]

&c.

# UNTITLED

## I INTRODUCTION; REVISING THE MATTER

Speaking in the language of contemporary art; we focus on questions and practices that, from the perspective of the Centre, cannot be interpreted as canonical, and on the personalities whose achievements, due to geopolitical, gender, ethnic, sexual and other deviations from the norm, are not considered of universal value.

When one comes from the marginal culture, the culture of the Centre finds about (its own) periphery through her/him, while on the other hand, when s/he speaks of the marginal, s/he affirms her/his place on the margins, as the one who confirms the inclusiveness of the canon and satisfies its desire for diversity, its desire for establishing itself as the canon.

Although within the culture niche in which we work we can say this claim is a commonplace, the frequency of such reflections should also be reviewed in the mainstream, because there, we can say almost with certainty, it is evoked sporadically, more as a proof of one's consciousness than out of necessity.

## II

### EXPERIENCE ON ONE'S OWN SKIN

We are interested in registering knowledge positioned outside the central personalities and topics; accessible but marginal. This knowledge is often not exhibited in flawless systems, primarily because, by depending on the language that both enables and limits thinking, it usually consists of too much unprocessed matter, too many uncanny thoughts and ambiguous interpretations, and lacks citation as a foundation for legitimacy.

Dealing with less renowned personalities, historical moments, ideas and ideologies, offers the satisfaction of a personal discovery, a way of conceiving a different world and opens up the space for expanding and deepening a worldview that, through its advocating, opens up the possibility of active shaping of one's own environment. However, the most important thing for understanding historical selection processes may be the understanding that even common places are mostly presented in such unambiguous way, that the re-exploration of this area, as well, offers a different insight. Insight into complexity of, for example an individual personality, through the reading of the original (con)text, can lead to insights other than the ones we received through education, for instance, and *the truth* is always in a pronounced deviation from the canonical biographies.

## III

### MULTITUDE OF CENTRES IN CONTEMPORARY ART AND CULTURE

The claim that through history there was never more interest in the marginal is not easily verifiable, if not due to arbitrariness of selection of measurable elements for obtaining exact information, then because we compare the past time with the time we live in, and which we cannot judge objectively. Let us focus on what we call (post or neo) conceptual art practices. Art practices which to some extent share the same interest in content and formats of presentation – it is the idiom that is, within its own circles, understandable internationally (trans-globally).

On the basis of these common denominators one can interpret the remaining unknowns. Besides large exhibition endeavours, such as *Global Conceptualism*, in practices of specific museums we can see that not all roads lead to the Centre, but they try to map out (a specific part of) the world through art. Thus Van Abbemuseum simultaneously exhibits the works of artists from Croatia, Russia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, USA or Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova focuses on art practices from Eastern Europe. Artworks reveal something about the place of their origin, about the conditions of production, historical relations, personal inclinations, and they, unlike the modernist paradigm, explicate all

this. These art practices, through their channels of distribution, became one of the mechanisms of knowledge production about the world around us.

## IV PERIPHERY IN THE RACE WITH THE CANON

In this text we assume that due to extraordinary mobility and accessibility of information (albeit only to some), in the given historical moment, marginal practices, which (re)present peripheral experiences, are more accessible than ever. They occupy an extremely important place and role because, although they exist at the margin of school curricula, with the appearance of the Internet, each of them is one click away, sometimes even interpreted from a variety of angles. However, only future will tell how much will this accessibility of information influence the greater inclusivity of *others* in contemporary thought, how much of this scope can be preserved for the future... We reach the cognitive limitations of the individual as well as the society at large.

In spite of the technological development and wide availability of search tools that enable a multitude of transversal readings. It remains questionable whether the commonplace concepts of contemporary art are accessible and known to an average computer engineer?

## V GUARDIANS OF CULTURE 1

*The world's earlier archives or libraries were the memories of women. Patiently transmitted from mouth to ear, body to body, hand to hand. (...) Every woman partakes in the chain of guardianship and of transmission.*<sup>1</sup>

This, so to speak, essentialist position, expresses one of the ways in which feminist criticism fought against gender bias. Through the attempt to influence the imagination of people who will, by imagining the *guardians of culture*, sometimes also imagine a non-white non-male, something that until recently was hardly possible, and today is only exceptionally rare. After numerous revisions, which changed the face of culture, maybe the unified representation of men and women in popular culture is the place which turns out to be the most resilient to all the successes of identity politics – the simplicity and omnipresence of media images allow them to imprint themselves on the deepest subconscious level. Although some individual existences have changed greatly, still, someone's immediate conditions do not allow emancipation without much hassle.

English language does not reveal the gender of a person behind the title *guardian of culture*, unlike, for example, Croatian, Italian, German, etc. Still, even in English, it is difficult to imagine that the first image that comes to mind when a *guardian of culture* is evoked will be female.

By placing the guardians of culture in correlation with *Grandma's Story*, imagining *guardianess* of culture becomes possible.

## VI

### GUARDIANS OF CULTURE 2

*For our own most rapid regeneration, I should like to see the museums, cathedrals, palaces, salons, boudoirs, with all their furniture, ancient and modern, thrown to the flames – and artists forbidden to practice their art for fifty years. Once the past was forgotten, we would do something.*

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon <sup>2</sup>

During our studies, in an art history lecture, the damaging of Velázquez's painting *The Toilet of Venus* was described as an act of a deranged woman. The initial interpretation of the mentioned gesture, replicated via the popular media, spread through the contemporary society and became the dominant attitude.

Despite the fact that Suffragettes' actions have since been interpreted differently, our first encounter with this act was identical to the prevailing reaction of their contemporaries. As a part of the exhibition *Art Under Attack; Histories of British Iconoclasm*s, in the Tate Britain, the same event was interpreted from the perspective of cultural significance of the struggle for equality of women and men.

From the present perspective, the fact that the author of this act is Mary Richardson, an artist herself, allows us to position this gesture into the genealogy of contemporary art. It allows the possibility of reading the gesture as the author's ambiguous attitude towards the art/work – a love-hate relationship.

Considering the above mentioned representation of the guardians; one being the dominant, the conservative, insisting on preserving the established culture and its fetishist by-products and the other being the revisionist one, repeatedly lead us to the conclusion that culture is an ambivalent and pluralistic term, and that Suffragettes' attempts to disturb the dominant attitude towards culture, by vandalising art, as the guardians of dominant ideologies might say, is not in contrast with culture. It is a form of cultural rivalries, form of culture of resistance.

## VII

### WORK IN ART 1; INTERPOLATION INSTEAD OF DESTRUCTION

On May 13, 2010 Olivia Plender and Hester Reeve addressed a letter to the Tate Britain. In it they suggested the museum to include Sylvia Pankhurst's works into its collection, with the following argumentation: *Her practice expanded upon becoming a WSPU leader; she designed*

*banners and logos (...) It is claimed that this is the first instance of a campaigning organization deliberately using design and colour to present an "identity".<sup>3</sup>*

This argumentation was met with the museum's approval. Several years earlier the Tate Britain acquired *Women & Work: A Document On the Division Of Labour In Industry* by Margaret Harrison, Kay Hunt and Mary Kelly who, between 1973 and 1975, were dedicated to an extensive research on the women's work on the example of female and male workers in a metallurgic factory in London. It is possible that Harrison, Hunt and Kelly were not familiar with Sylvia Pankhurst's artworks, whereas today – these works are exhibited next to each other, awkwardly separated from the rest of the extensive collection, but still shown as a part of the Tate Britain's permanent exhibition.

*There are pictures in plenty of worship, anguish, celebration, states of mind; but, for many reasons, there are few images of work. It is too obvious too obdurate for form: painters avoid it.<sup>4</sup>*

At the beginning of the 20th century, with her active role in the activities and identity formation of *Women's Social and Political Union*, Sylvia Pankhurst carried out an extensive study on the working class, more precisely, a study of female workers in the industry of northern England and Scotland. Her research, in line with the art forms of her time, does not borrow research methods from disciplines such as sociology and statistics; she paints and draws female workers

at work. Pankhurst concluded this feat of painting numerous portraits with the publication of an illustrated article *Women Workers of England*.

## VIII WORK IN ART 2; THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS

*If I had not made adjustments, by now I would be consumed by bitterness, and nothing would have been achieved.*

Hans Haacke<sup>5</sup>

The importance of Sylvia Pankhurst's work for the canon of art history was revealed only recently, as a result of the experience of later feminist projects, such as the aforementioned *Women & Work*. Although formally in opposition to the avant-garde canon, which is traditionally seen as a progressive artistic tendency of the early 20th century, if we take into consideration her activist approach and work on the formation of political position, from today's perspective we see Pankhurst's work as pioneering. However, by the looks of her biography, she did not devote too much energy to enter the canon of high art. The shift that has been happening in the field of visual arts, which allows the entry of such practices into the domain of art, in its final stage leads to politicality becoming a prerequisite – the canon of a certain type of practices. The canon that is, much too often in conflict with the actual

politics of the work. Pankhurst did not have that problem; her position was far too distant from the canonical. Her activism did not interfere with her career. She did not try to become famous through art or to make a living out of it.

## IX WORK OUT OF LOVE

Financial compensation that the majority can expect from their artistic profession is generally small, which is maybe an utterly distorted perception of Charles Fourier's suggestion that compensation for work should be inversely proportional to the desire to do it. Consequently, for more demanding jobs, which provide less personal satisfaction, one should receive a higher compensation. Thus follows that art, an occupation many people are attracted to, regardless of financial compensation, is already a part of Fourier's *Harmony*. The only thing is that, besides the so-called unpaid or low-paid women's work, of nursing and caring for others (which is a much more extensive problem than the issue of compensation for artistic work!) not many domains cover this, in our opinion, stimulating concept. However, in art there is always a promise of large and sudden compensation.

## X PRIZE VS. FEE

Besides calling for the destruction of museums, modernism also called for the abolition of system of awards. Cries like *Sans jury ni récompense* [Paris] or *No jury, no prizes* [after being translated and adapted to the New York context] are paradigmatic shouts of modernism. As is Suffragettes' activism nowadays being musealised though art as a form of cultural production, so has the call for the abolition of prizes often led to winning the same. At least since the appearance of institutional critique, *artist provocateur*<sup>6</sup> has been established as one of valid positions, often awarded for its provocation. Ideological background of these criticisms can be of all sorts; the criticism of awarding can insist on (structural) changes of cultural paradigms, but it can also be the expression of desire, and the strategy (which largely proved successful) to enter the existing system. It is hard to draw the line between the conflicting motives, which sometimes artists themselves cannot discern.

## XI PRIZE AS AN ESSENTIALIST CATEGORY

Unlike compensation for the work done, prize depends on a chance, and its scarcity creates competition among equals. *Frieze Projects* is a curated part of *Frieze Art Fair*, which usually represents works that are ephemeral and more difficult to sell on the art market. Although non-object based practices have already become a convention of the institutional culture, still they more often participate in the economy of prizes than in the market economy. The presence of such works at the art fair is in turn the form of legitimation of the fair within the institutional framework of contemporary art. Besides the curated part of commissioned artworks, there is also *Emdash Prize* for young authors. This functions similarly to *Frieze Projects* and it is usually given to ephemeral works. Besides, awarded works usually reflect on the fair, art valuation and tradition. Pilvi Takala's work that won the *Emdash Prize* in 2013 is based on using the financial award as educational or maybe critical tool, as a generator of a community or focus group for children aged 8 to 12 who can then decide what to do with the awarded money. Pilvi Takala's work is a social context she created. With the proposed work Takala gives precedence to symbolic capital over the financial one, and symbolic capital is additionally increased with the refusal of the financial prize – for her personally, for the prize and for the fair.

She connects work out of love (care for others, children's education) with the art market. It is noteworthy to say that Takala's work did not precede the award it became possible through the process of receiving the award its material being the *Emdash Prize* itself.

## XII ACCEPTING AMBIVALENCE AS THE ONLY POSSIBLE CONCLUSION

*[...] In this chain of continuum, I am but one link. The story is me, neither me nor mine. It does not really belong to me, and while I feel greatly responsible for it, I also enjoy the irresponsibility of the pleasure obtained through the process of transferring. Pleasure in the copy, pleasure in the reproduction. No repetition can ever be identical, but my story carries with it their stories, their history, and our story repeats itself endlessly despite our persistence in denying it. [...]*<sup>7</sup>

Finally, we accept that we have not said anything new and original, although we do not think that this trivializes what we are saying. Although all these information are accessible, if they were, by any chance, a part of convention and canon, they could have formed us much earlier in life.

I AM

NOT

# MAPS OF EXHIBITIONS — ARTISTS- INSTITUTIONS NETWORK

“Maps of exhibitions” display the connections between contemporary artists from Croatia and public and commercial institutions in which they have exhibited from 2002 to 2012.<sup>1</sup> The maps contain two types of nodes – artists represented by red circles and exhibition spaces represented by blue squares – linked via exhibitions.<sup>2</sup> The nodes in the maps are sized proportionally to their “degree centrality” – the number of ties that each node has, i.e. the number of exhibitions each artists has participated in, as documented in artists’ CVs. Their numbers are specified below each figure.

All the connections displayed in the maps “weigh” the same, regardless of the type of exhibition or art institution, and therefore, what is visualized is not a ranking of artists’ positions within the economy of attention,<sup>3</sup> but a set of relations they have established, which are further explored and contextualized for different geographical zones and for different exhibition circuits – public and commercial. The reduction to a visual model – enabling their “distant reading”<sup>4</sup> – clearly unveils patterns otherwise mostly invisible and/or unrecorded.

1

The visualizations are extracts from an ongoing research project investigating the processes underlying the integration of contemporary artists from Croatia into the post-1989 “globalized” contemporary art world system. A facet of the research, whose fragment is given here, includes the analysis of artists’ exhibition activity within public and commercial exhibition circuits worldwide. For this purpose, a dataset was created containing the exhibitions in which a sample of artists has participated from 1991 to 2012. Presently, the dataset includes sixty artists, 6124 participations (solo and group exhibitions, performances, screenings, public art projects) organized by 1895 institutions in 69 countries. The research is carried out as a part of a Doctoral Program in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage at IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca, Italy.

2

Data on exhibitions was analyzed by UCINET. Borgatti, Stephen, Everett Martin and Linton C. Freeman 2002, *UCINET for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies.

3

Bull, Malcolm 2011, Two Economies of World Art. In: Harris, Jonathan (ed.), *Globalization and Contemporary art*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell. 179-190

4

Moretti, Franco 2011, Network Theory, Plot Analysis. Pamphlet 2. Stanford Literary Lab <http://litlab.stanford.edu/LiteraryLabPamphlet2.pdf>

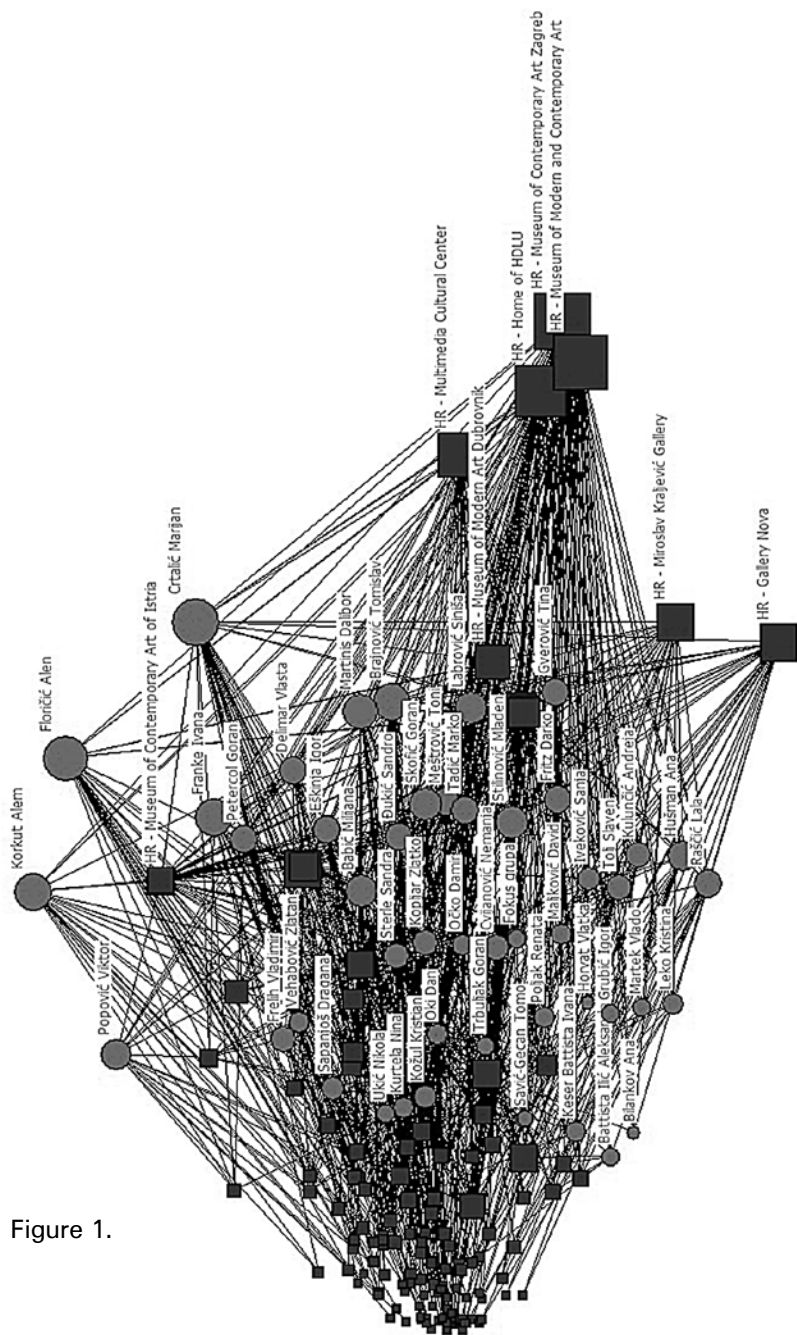


Figure 1.

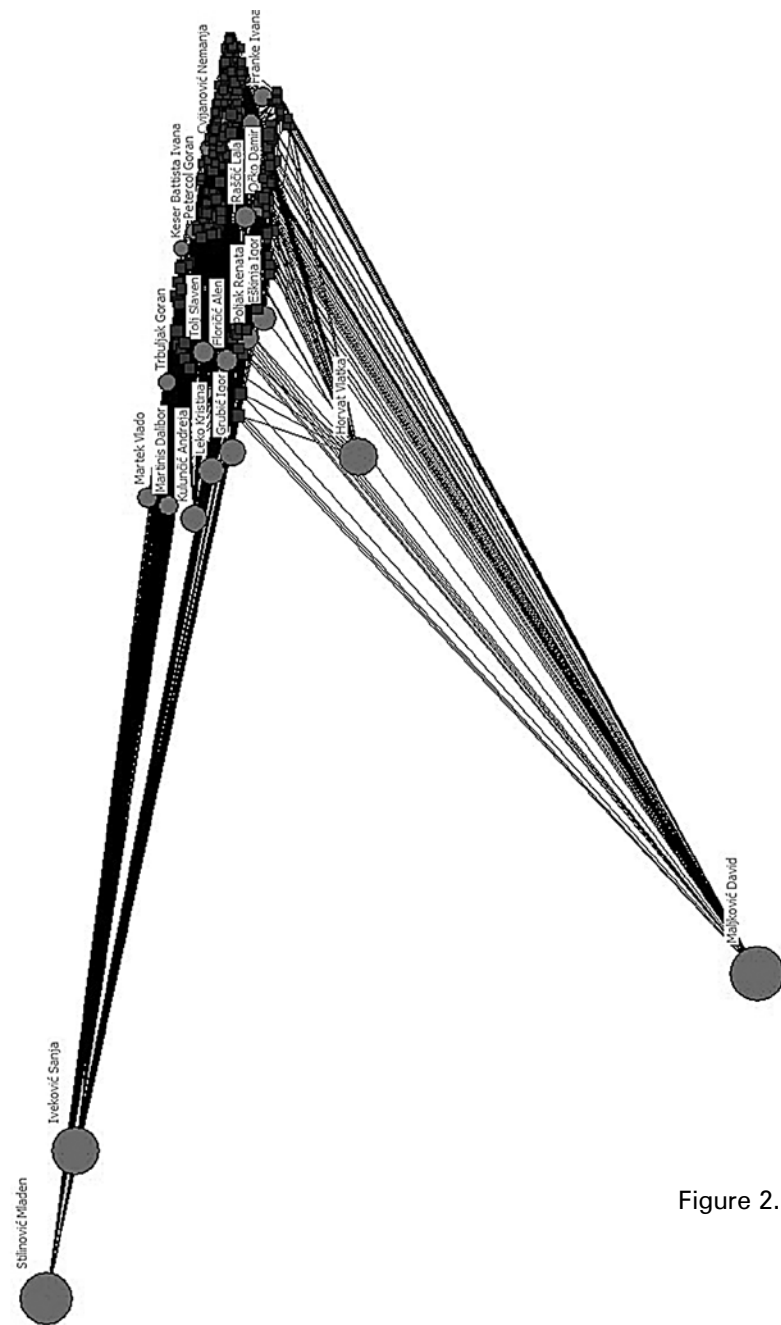


Figure 2.



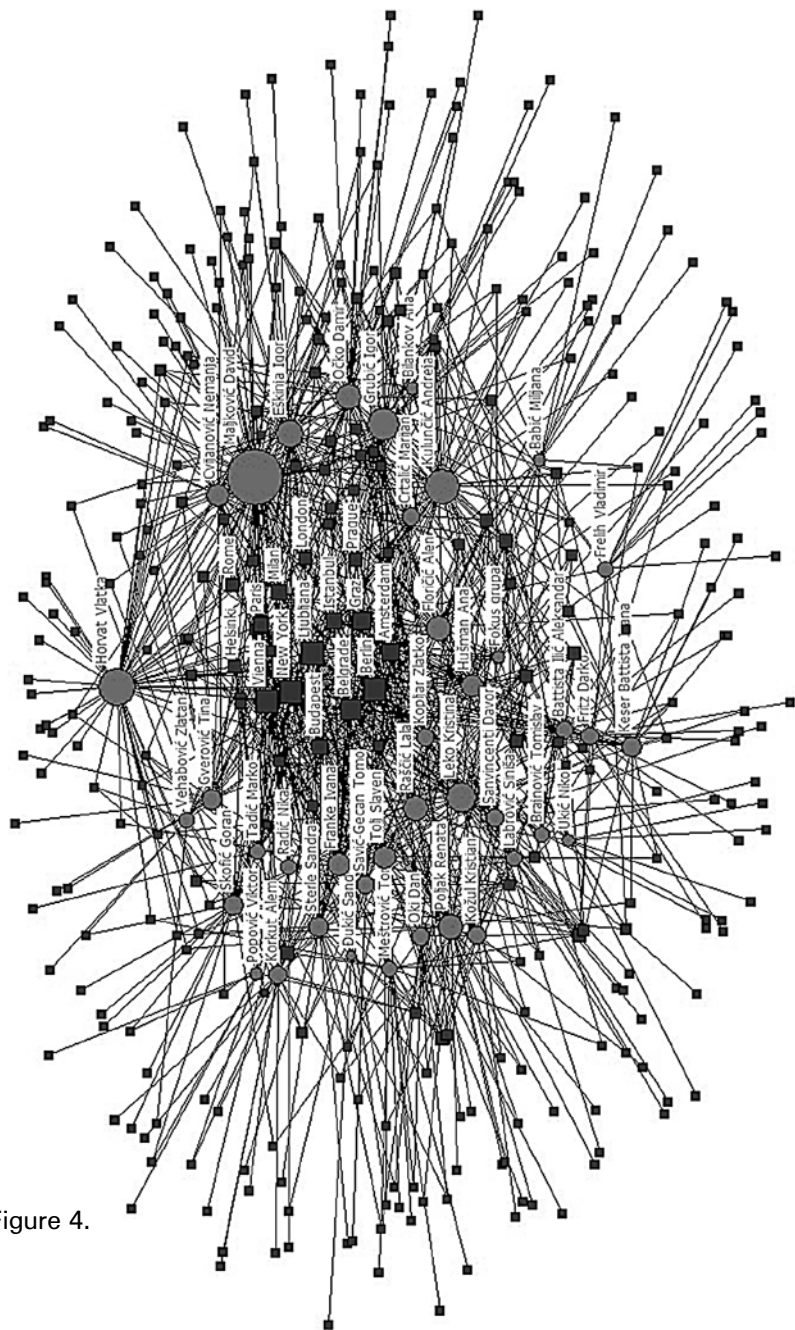


Figure 5 shows a map of the artists-institution network for the same forty artists within the international exhibition circuit from 2002 to 2012, based on 1561 exhibition participations in 858 public and commercial art institutions.

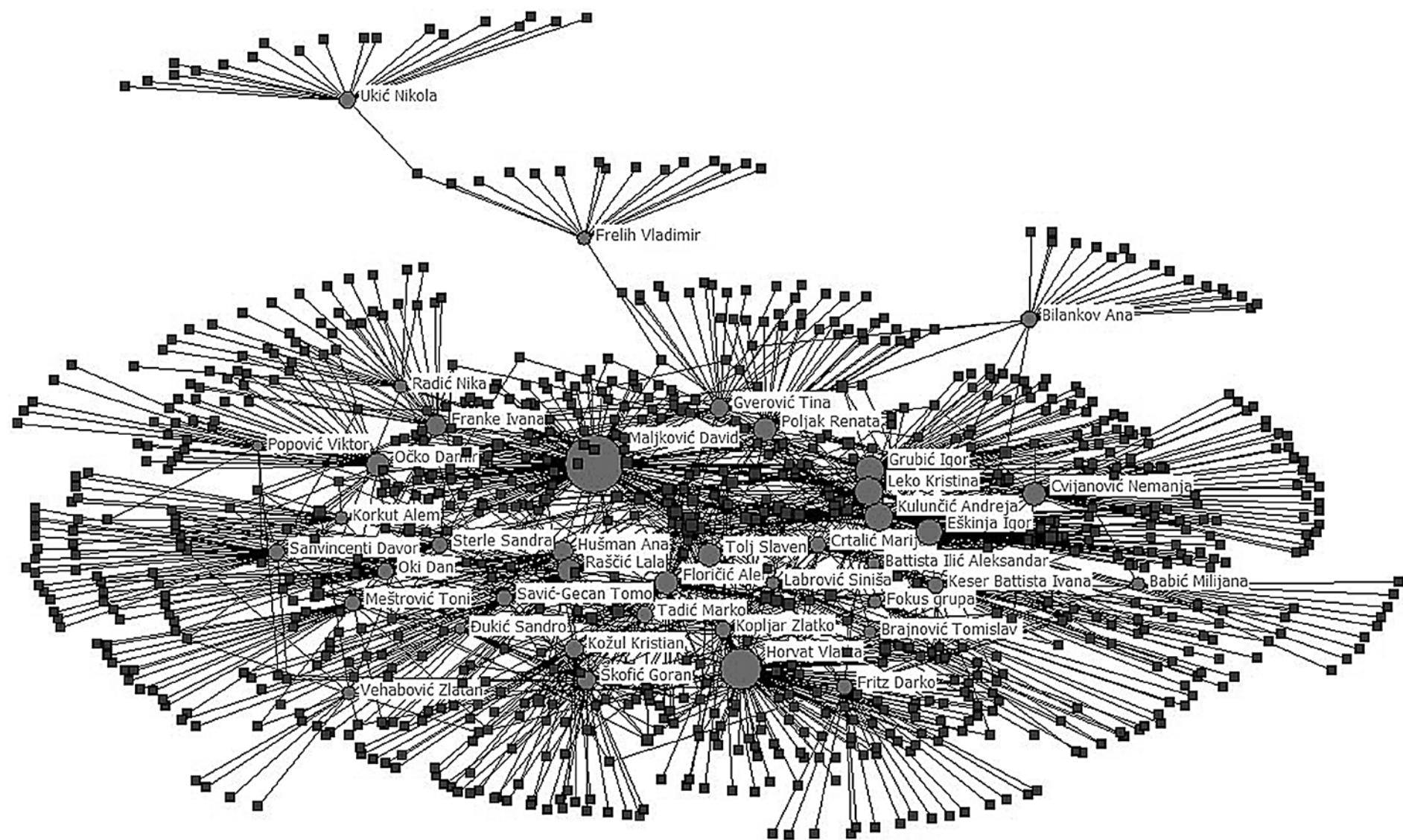


Figure 5.

Figures 6 and 7 display the position of artists within the so-called “dealer-market”<sup>6</sup> for the same period. From the same set of artists as in the previous map, the exhibitions within the international commercial circuit are extracted to map the artists’ connections with private galleries and art fairs. The map is based on 230 participations of thirty artists in shows in 145 galleries and art fairs in 25 countries.

The remaining 1331 participations were in 713 non-commercial institutions (museums, exhibitions spaces, centers for contemporary art, non-commercial galleries, and perennial exhibitions). Ten artists from the subset of forty artists do not appear on the map, since no exhibitions in commercial spaces for the indicated period were recorded in their CVs.

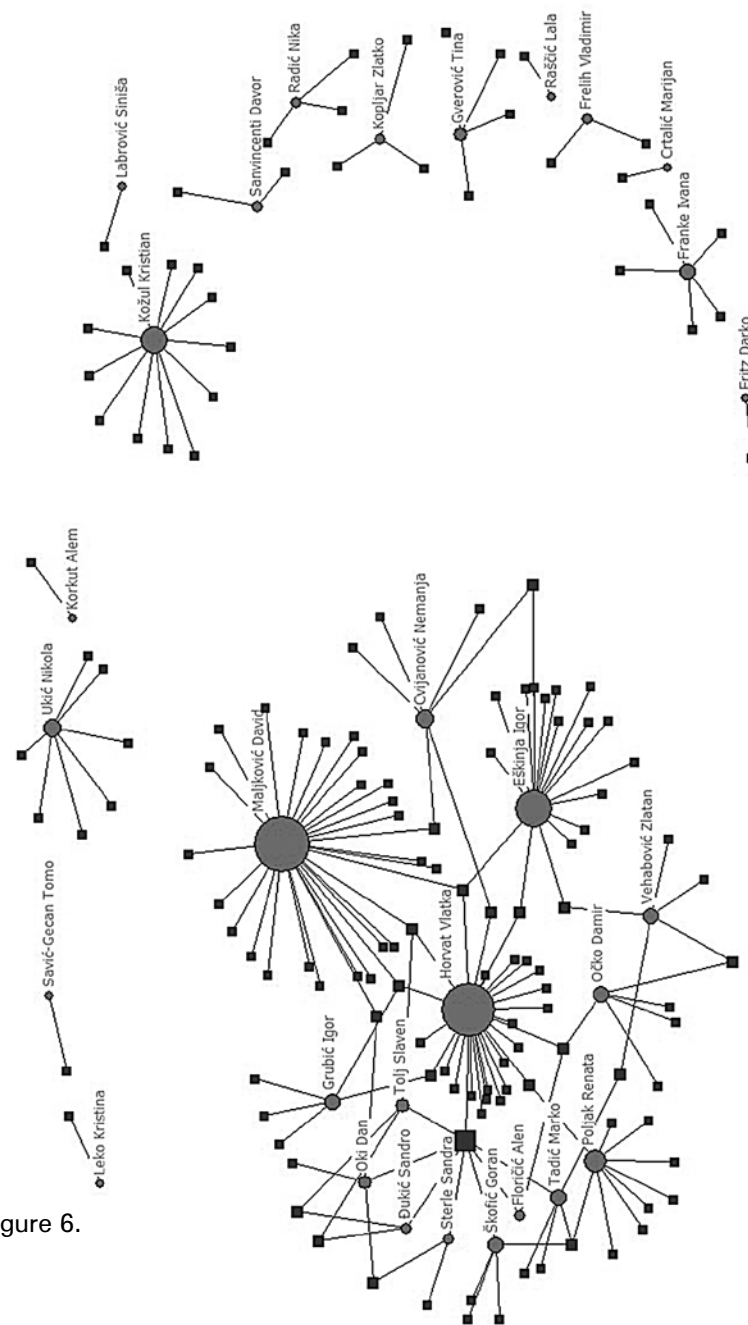
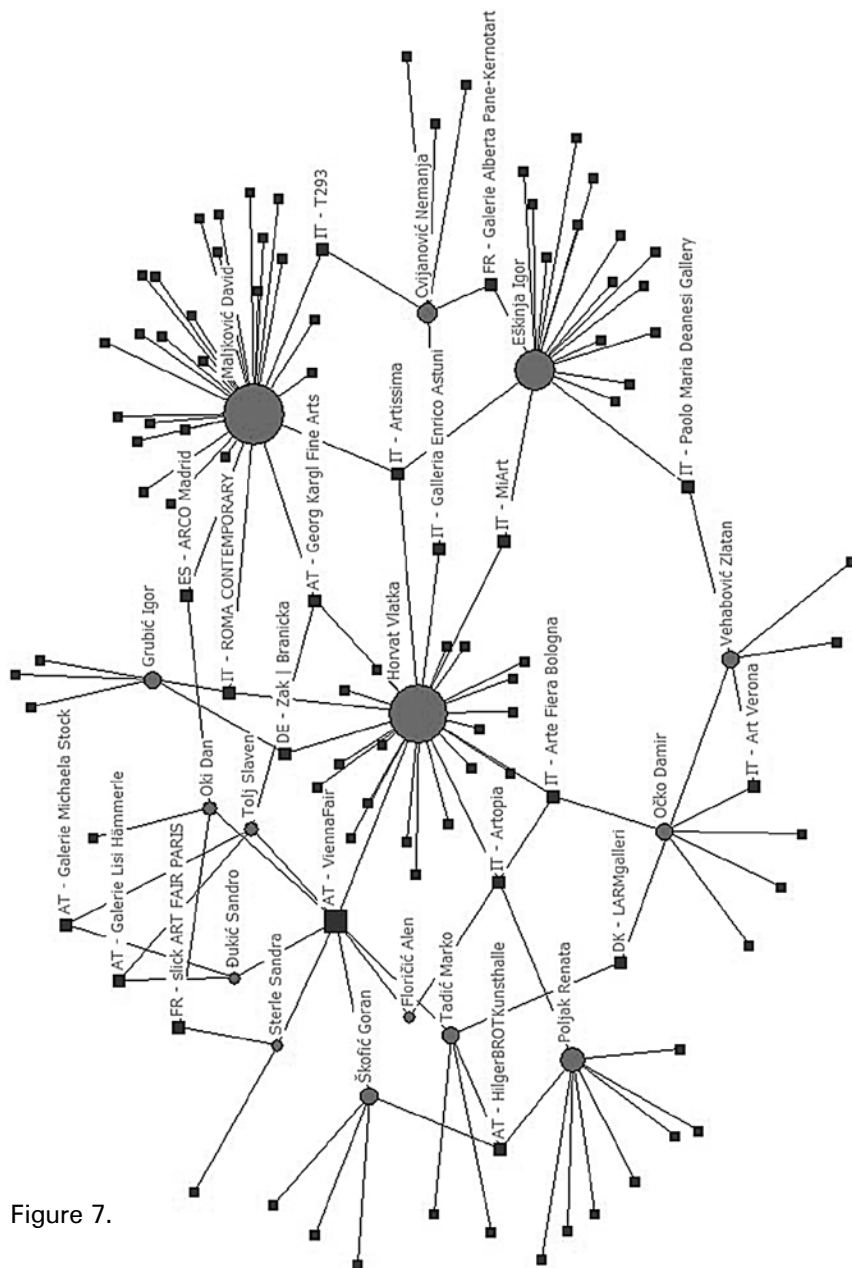
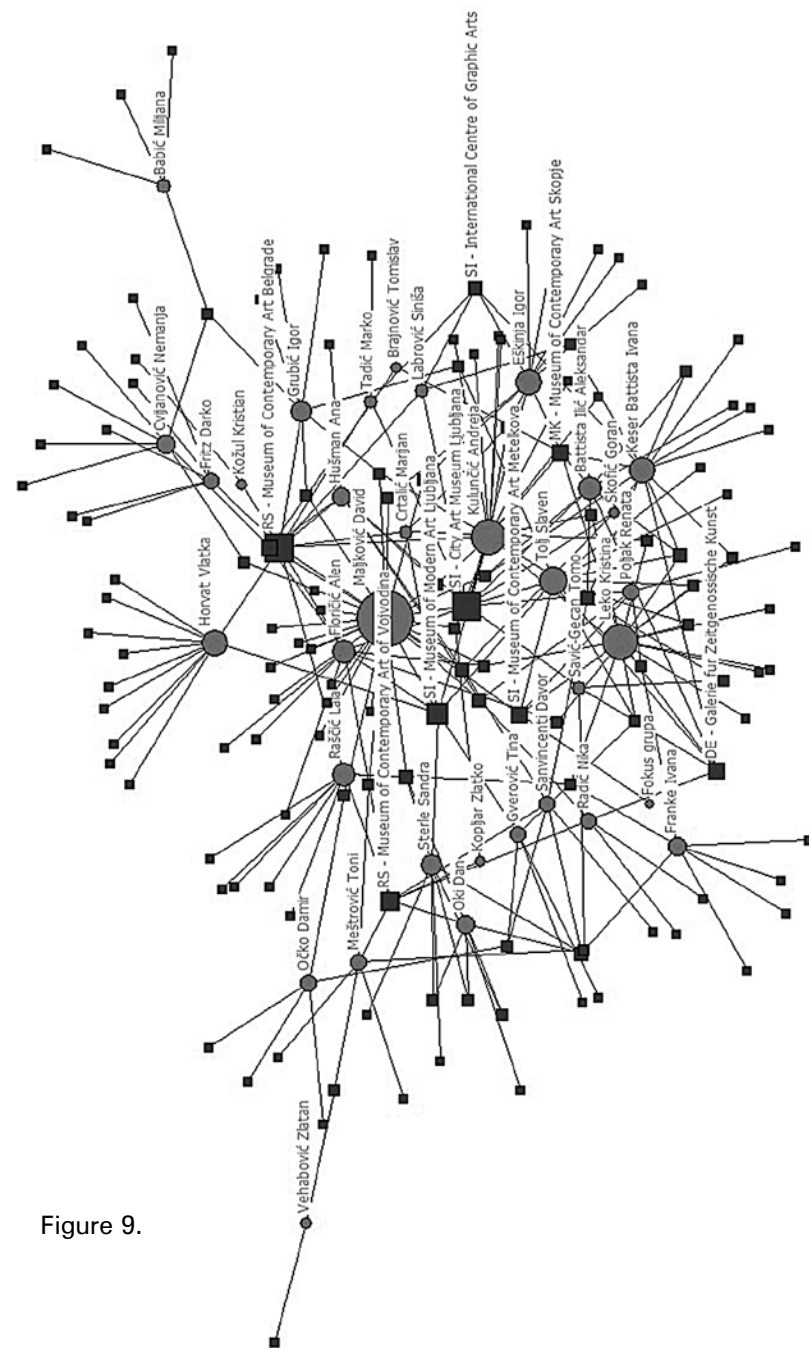
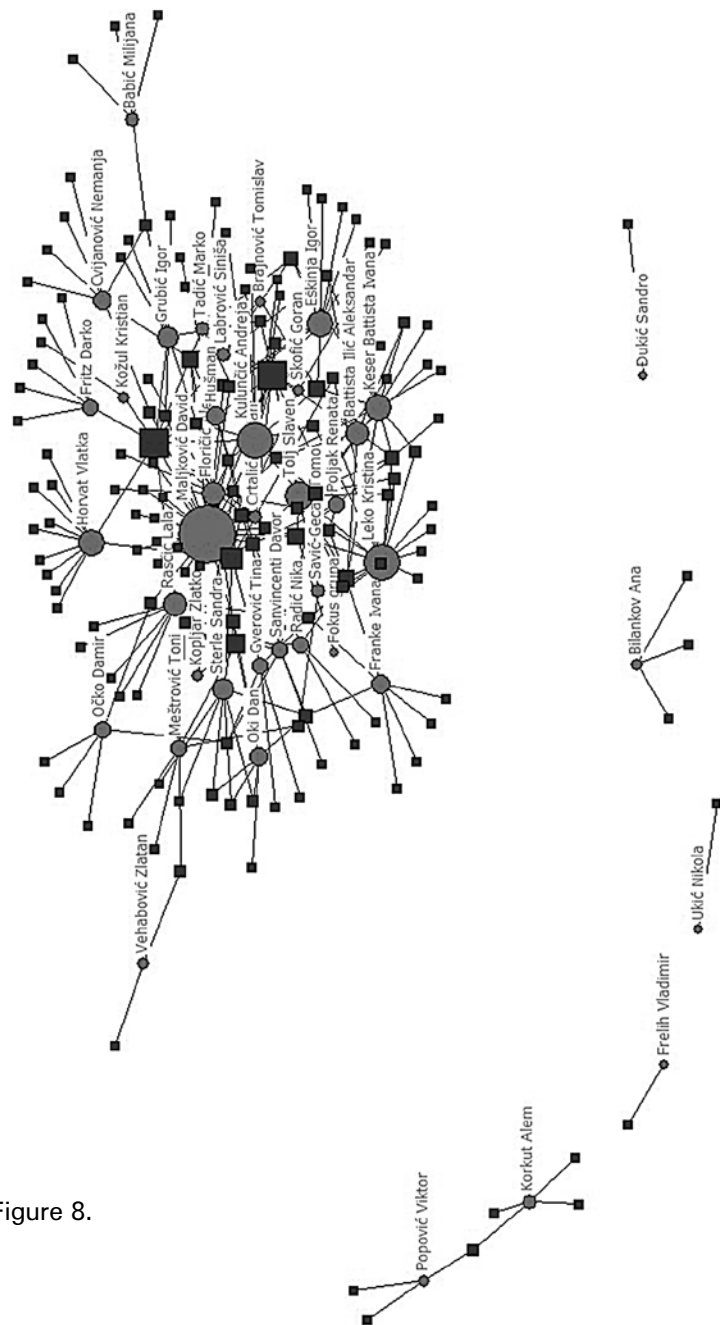


Figure 6.



Figures 8 and 9 display the artists-museum network for the same set of artists during the same time period, based on 297 participations in 145 museums in 35 countries.



**FREE**

# BIOGRAPHIES

**CLARE BUTCHER** (1985, Harare, Zimbabwe) is a curator and writer who cooks and hopes to one day be a DJ. She currently teaches in Fine Art at the Gerrit Rietveld Academie and is a member of the School of Missing Studies, Sandberg Instituut in Amsterdam. Recently she conducted an MFA at the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town, South Africa and before that, participated in the de Appel Curatorial Programme, Amsterdam, 2009.

**ALINA POPA and IRINA GHEORGHE** founded the Bureau of Melodramatic Research in 2009 to investigate the affective modulations of politics and the emotional performance of labour in the current economy. They (re) search the vague zones of dissipated affect through the practice of exaggeration germinating enormous chasms in the cast of our solidified life. As agents of the Bureau, they also follow the intricate workings of alien, anonymous passions which connect us to an unhuman world at the core of ourselves.

**JASMINA CIBIC** (b.1979 Ljubljana) completed her MA in Fine Art at Goldsmiths College in London in 2006; her recent projects and exhibitions include *For Our Economy and Culture*, Slovenian pavilion, 55th Venice Biennial (2013), Musée national d'histoire et d'art, Luxembourg, 30th International Graphics Biennial Ljubljana, "October Salon", Belgrade, "U3 – 7TH Triennial of Contemporary Art", MSUM, Ljubljana, Dokfest – Kulturbahnhof, Kassel, Joanneum Museum Graz, California College of the Arts, San Francisco, Museum of Modern Art Ljubljana, Galerija Škuc, Ljubljana, Five Years Gallery, London, Ljubljana International Airport and Künstlerhaus Graz. Her upcoming exhibitions include LMAKprojects, New York, Ernst Museum (Capa Contemporary Photography Center), Budapest and Nassauischer Kunstverein Wiesbaden.

**SEBASTIAN CICHOCKI** (b. 1975), curator and writer, is deputy director at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Warsaw. Curator of numerous exhibitions, including Monika Sosnowska's exhibition in the Polish Pavilion in the 52 Venice Biennale and Yael Bartana in the 54 Venice Biennale, *The Sculpture Park in Bródno* (2009–2013), *New National Art* (2012). Author of curator projects in the form of publications, e.g., *A Cookbook for Political Imagination* (2011), and *The Future of Art Criticism as Pure Fiction*, the libretto of the opera *Spoken Exhibitions* (with Michał Libera, Grzegorz Piątek and Jarosław Trybus, 2011).

**MARIJA DRĖMAITĖ** (1971) is an Associate professor at Vilnius University, Department of Theory of History and Cultural History. She holds a Ph. D. in History of Architecture (2006). Her scientific interest is focused on Soviet modernism, 20th century architecture and architectural heritage. She is involved in DOCOMOMO Nordic-Baltic cooperation, where she investigates political planning and architecture in the postwar Soviet Baltic States. In 2011-2012 she received post-doctoral grant from the Lithuanian research council for the research "Heritage of Modernist Architecture in Lithuania".

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**THOMAS HIRSCHHORN** (b. 1957) is a Swiss artist known for large sculptures and ambitious projects, often constructed of everyday, makeshift materials.

**MARINA NAPRUSHKINA** is an artist whose work in media including painting, video, and installation, concentrates on power structures in nation-states, often making use of nonfiction material such as propaganda issued by governmental institutions in Belarus. Since 2007 Naprushkina runs the Office for Anti-Propaganda, which participates in and organizes political actions and also publishes newspapers.

**ANA PERAICA** holds a Ph. D. in aesthetics of photography. After graduating from University of Zagreb, in fields of art history and philosophy, she became a researcher in art theory at the Jan Van Eyck Akademie, Maastricht, where awarded UNESCO-IFPC. In parallel she undertook three year doctorate course in cultural analysis, theory and interpretation at ASCA, University of Amsterdam and defended her thesis entitled *Photography as the Evidence* at University of Rijeka. She is an editor of the reader *Žena na raskrižju ideologija* (Split, HULU / Governmental Office for the Equality of Rights Split, 2007), *Victims Symptom – PTSD and Culture* (Institute for Networked Cultures, Amsterdam, 2009) and author of *Sub/versions* (Revolver Publishing, 2009/in print). Her essays in domains of visual studies and media theory are/were published by many magazines and journals, such as Springerin, Pavilion, Fotografija, Afterimage, Leonardo.

**TIHANA PUC** majored in Art History and Ethnology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia. She worked as assistant researcher at the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka, Croatia (2005-2008), as well as at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, Croatia (2004, 2008-2010). Since 2010 she has been enrolled in a Doctoral Program of Management and Development of Cultural Heritage at the IMT Institute for Advanced Studies in Lucca, Italy, where she is conducting research on the impact of post-1989 processes on the contemporary art system in South-Eastern Europe, with a specific focus on Croatia and the integration of its artists into the international art system.

**POLITICS OF FEELINGS / ECONOMIES OF LOVE**

2014

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*Politics of Feelings / Economies of Love* publication brings about a set of reflections on the possible relation between ideology and social emotions, sexuality and nationalism, love and emotional community within nationalist and/or market fundamentalism. In attempts to find out how these issues were tackled in film, visual arts and architecture, we are trying to draw some new lines of understanding love as a tissue in which political, social, ideological and economic meanings are inscribed.

This publication is composed of visual and textual contributions which unfold different chapters on the entanglement of politics and collective sentiment, as well as love as a trigger for dedicated unpaid work.

