I Will
Never
Talk About
the War
Again
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TO BE HUMAN is to be on a continual journey of familiar and unfamiliar experiences. The way we handle each of the events on that journey transforms them to become parts of our experience – we rework our experiences, either on our own or together with others. What we perceive can be both enriching and frightening, reaffirming or questioning, and perhaps hard to explain in any rational way. Those experiences may be beyond our consciousness and challenge our conceptions in the most fantastical or horrifying way.

There are many ideas and theories about the human psyche from an array of different fields – including philosophy, psychology, and the sciences – each with its own sphere of interest and explanatory model. New discoveries give us new answers, but each new answer raises additional new questions, and as our understanding of ourselves grows, new thoughts emerge about who we are and how we work. It seems that the human psyche will remain one of the greatest mysteries we face, and it is just this timeless questioning that provides the point of departure for the Psychosis project.
The work with Psychosis began nearly three years ago. The idea was born from a conversation I had with an old friend. For many years he had lived in a commune in Austria, an experimental model for an alternative form of community with its own agreed standards of behavior. The commune had created a model society based on, among other things, sexual liberation, free fostering of children, and action analyses. It was a reaction to business-as-usual conservatism in European society following the Second World War. The project collapsed after several years when it became clear that the group’s leader had misused his power in various ways.

Our conversation raised several questions: What made my friend join the group, and what did he get out of it that was lacking in his life before then? What is it that makes a person give up him- or herself for something else like a commune or a powerful leader? Several of the group’s members left their jobs and some made a clean break with family and friends. It called into question my own conceptions of what constitutes freedom and obligation. For example, how can submission be transformed into a feeling of total liberation? From the outside, the commune seemed like a cult, its members victims of a kind of mass psychosis, but from the inside I suppose their lives seemed completely natural and healthy.

I introduced my friends and colleagues at Färgfabriken to these thoughts, and the issues and ideas started taking shape, and we began to talk about doing an exhibition. Early in the project we started calling it Psychosis, and from that clinical concept we then associated freely toward a wider interpretation. We initiated discussions with a variety of different actors and it was like opening up a dam, with different ideas, schools of thought, and interpretative prerogatives pouring forth and challenging one another. Quickly we realized that all of these thoughts and ideas needed a more profound and analytical process. Färgfabriken has therefore undertaken a comprehensive study. We begin at one point, working methodically outward and inward along the thought paths, the labyrinths, and the dead ends of human consciousness. We are searching for the margins and into the borderlands for the situations and conditions that in various ways challenge our preconceptions and our individual and collective ideas of what it is to be human.

We will continue to develop this unscientific analysis for some time to come, collaborating with experts in a variety of fields. Psychosis is an ongoing process and an expedition into a partially, perhaps entirely, unexplored landscape. It promises to be a journey with no clear destination, but it does have a well-defined point of departure: Färgfabriken’s unique perspective, our time and our space – the space of art.
Holy Warriors,
Alma Suljević
FROM ITS INCEPTION, Färgfabriken has been developing its own path and its own approach to society, architecture, urban planning, and art. Färgfabriken poses questions, studies issues, and invites in a broad spectrum of actors to move the discussion forward. It is important to Färgfabriken to generate meetings, contacts, and dialogue that transcend the boundaries between different fields and interests, since that create the conditions for unanticipated ideas to emerge from interdisciplinary collaboration and challenges people to step out of their usual roles.

To that end we keep the project Psychosis a medium for communicating various perspectives and approaches, and for preparing the ground for new combinations and cross-fertilizations. We employ an open and exploratory format that may be likened to the essayistic method in which one tests ideas from several points of departure and focuses on the test or study itself. Allowing us to better explore the human psyche.

Psychosis is a long-term global project. Through exhibitions, publications, screenings, seminars, or combinations thereof, we
will deal with aspects of the project theme. We want to utilize art’s associative character and its ability to express social relations and explore contemporary culture. To see how art can, in its own right and not merely as illustration, develop our understanding and knowledge of the human psyche in a way that cannot be achieved with scientific descriptions.

Färgfabriken will invite several different curators, artists, architects or filmmakers, each of whom in turn will make an interpretation of the themes of the project Psychosis and develop their theoretical framework together with Färgfabriken in different events. Here starting with an exhibition in cooperation with the curator Vladan Jeremić, with seminars and this catalogue, we approach the individual’s psyche in relation to society. How does society influence our conceptions, values, and our way of being and acting? Some people say the human psyche is only a reflection of the society in which we live.

The exhibition titled I Will Never Talk About the War Again is on the theme of post-war trauma and the social psychological consequences that follow. Within the project Psychosis Vladan Jeremić has chosen to look at societal phenomena in the former Yugoslavian countries and proposed works from several contemporary artists from the Balkans that deal with collective psychosis of the traumatic post-war society, neo-clericalism and its psychotic role.

Connected to the exhibition, we have also produced this catalogue. It includes, in addition to an introduction to the exhibition of Vladan Jeremić, selected essays by Cecilia Sjöholm, professor of aesthetics at Södertörn University, Sweden, Sezgin Boynik, theoretician and PhD candidate at Jyväskylä University, Finland and Šefik Tatlić, theoretician and MA in Journalism, Faculty of Political Science, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.
IN HER ESSAY “The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition,” Hannah Arendt interprets the popularity of Charlie Chaplin in terms of a timely revival of “the entrancing charm of the little people.” Chaplin’s popularity has to do with the absolute acuity with which he points to the mismatch between individual beings and general laws; he is always under suspicion, always a wrong-doer, always chased by cops. There is no proportion between the crime and the punishment: the police will go after him for whatever he does. Always acting the suspect, a schlemihl or a “conscious pariah,” Chaplin points to the discrepancy between state and individual. In this way, he ends up depicting a kind of refugee, or a stateless person. On the other hand, he will always manage to slip away, or reverse fortunes so that he comes out unscathed. And this is precisely why he manages to catch the delight of his audience: although Chaplin points to the “dangerous incompatibility” between laws and individual, he manages to turn events around and highlight the superior qualities of the little man, succeeding in getting away. Chaplin’s popularity, then, has to do with the way in which he portrays the schlemihl strategy, the way of being Jewish: offering
a path of identification between those that are not Jewish and those that are. The capacity of the audience to identify with Chaplin would then consist in the “little Yid” becoming the “little man” – confronting the gap between state and individual.

Arendt wrote the text on Chaplin in 1944, at a time when the magnitude of the genocide of the Jewish people was still unknown. At around the same time, she published another text on the situation of the refugee in which she famously called the refugee the “vanguard” of his people. What she had observed was a development in which the great European belief in the sovereignty of the nation state had produced a reversal of the intended outcome of its foundations. Rather than protecting its citizens and bestowing on them rights such as freedom and equality before the law, the belief in the nation state had taken the idea of rights from individuals and peoples and made it applicable only to states. The strategy of the state, then, that wanted to protect itself and get rid of some of its inhabitants at the same time was to deprive certain groups of citizenship. In this way, the state would produce stateless people.

The idea that something such as “little people” should even exist is in fact a creation, caused by the ideology of the nation state. We may interpret the “little man” as a symptom of a broader ideological movement, if we are to follow the kind of argumentation that Arendt has pursued in the last chapter of The Origins of Totalitarianism. What signifies totalitarian regimes above all is that they have succeeded in creating a society in which people are less meaningful than the ideology they have created. Ideologies are not totalitarian in themselves; they become tools of terror. Why did Marxism and racism (in the form of Nazism) win the battle of all –isms? Once they were applied to the logic of totalitarian thinking, Arendt argues, they managed to complete the goal of totalitarianism: the suppression of individuality for an abstract idea of mankind, the
Europeans. Perhaps this is a future where we, “little people” all, are all refugees. This is not only to be considered a catastrophe. The fact that such a scenario is conceivable constitutes a foundation for a new beginning.

Arendt, herself, however, saw this possibility come to an end in Charlie Chaplin’s own cinematic artwork, to be considered “one of the most singular products of modern art.” When the cinematic ideal of the little man became less appealing to the general audience, Chaplin had to change his ways. The art of the refugee changed into The Dictator. The charm was thereby lost for most of his audience, and his artwork was no longer understood. This was a development to be deplored, although not for artistic reasons. The ethical and political possibilities of the critique of Nazism were more workable in the form of the “little man.” If we are all suspects, or all refugees, who gets to dictate? Perhaps the moment for laughter has come and gone. But the development conceived by Arendt and Chaplin alike has not ceased to produce its “little people” in one form or another.


East Side Story,
Igor Grubić
THE EXHIBITION *I Will Never Talk About the War Again*\(^1\) shows artistic positions that focus on social analysis, the state of the human psyche, and testimonies of trauma connected with recent wars and violence in the countries of the former Yugoslavia.\(^2\)

The works by artists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, and Russia refer to concrete events and bring them into the public discourse, yet avoid stereotypes or exoticization of the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

The dominant political discourse is that most of the states that emerged after the breakup of Yugoslavia are in a “post-war condition” and in a period of “social transition.” It was expected that the societies would quickly return to normal and that “normalization” would then lead to stability, economic prosperity, and Euro-Atlantic integration of the whole region. Instead, burdened with the heritage of the 1990s’ extreme nationalism and the new economic stratification of neo-liberal capitalism after the 2000s, most countries of the former Yugoslavia are in a state of neocolonial dependency and inner crisis. In such complex political and social contexts there are a variety of different positions in which testimonies of war trauma are translated,
manifested, and interpreted in the context of cultural production and contemporary art. Thematizing war trauma must avoid the pathologization of whole societies, and if such artworks are to be exhibited it is imperative that we analyze the concrete social and political events that became preconditions for war and traumatization.3

The majority of the contemporary art produced after the wars and breakup of Yugoslavia by the artists of the region dealt more with national identities than testimonies of war traumas. When artists did deal with trauma in their work, they were received by the art establishment as associated with the “politics of compassion,” human rights, and humanitarianism. Their art was expected to take an active role in the process of transcending the trauma of war and “curing” society. In this matrix, art is in the service of dominant paradigms because it is expected that through it trauma could be sublimated or transcended. The most common way of dealing with the trauma of war in the public sphere of the societies of former Yugoslavia, however, was to keep silent about it – or, alternatively, to manifest and transform traumatic experience through comedy in mass media or film.4

Can contemporary artistic practice really give innovative form and find a language with which it is possible to speak politically about individual and collective war and post-war experiences? Is it possible to find an adequate artistic expression, and is it always necessary to create empathy in the process of understanding? Silence and amnesia are the most common reactions to trauma; does art in this sense actually also remain silent by using only the symbolic language of images and sounds, staying in the field of mediation and symbolism?

This exhibition takes its title from Adela Jušić’s and Lana Čmajčanin’s video performance I Will Never Talk About the War Again, which refers to the post-war situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the video, the two artists promise each other not to talk about the war anymore, repeating the same sentence over and over. The work is an emotional statement on the fact that more than fifteen years after the Dayton Peace Agreement the war remains a central experience in the divided country.

Another artist who deals with the direct experience of war and violence is Alma Suljević. With her performance Holy Warrioress she challenges the fears of both the patriarchal occidental and oriental societies from a feminist perspective. Dressed as a female suicide bomber, she becomes a twofold symbol for female emancipation in the Islamic world and the paranoid fears of the West.

In Yugoslavian society, the discussion of socialist values, their actualization and criticism, had started in the late 1960s. In the 70s the country was facing the decline of socialist ideas and the resurgence and official sanction of regional nationalism and revisionism. The reawakening of conflicting nationalisms would eventually lead to civil war. At the time, Marina Abramović made some of her most radical early performances: for Rhythm 2 she took heavy tranquilizers in front of the public, describing the schizophrenic condition of contemporary society. From the start of the wars in Yugoslavia, Jaroslav Supek was critical of the fact that most Serbian intellectuals were ignoring and not criticizing Serbian military actions in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo. In his artistic practice, Supek performed a severe criticism of the society and its collective suppression of the violence.

Meteorite Rain has provoked great controversy and debate in Serbian society as it questions the power of the Serbian Orthodox Church. This work is a paraphrase of La Nona Ora, a sculpture by Maurizio Cattelan, but in place of the Pope artist Živko Grozdanić Gera casts the Serbian Patriarch Pavle in the role of the meteor victim.
In the last decade, several attempts to organize Gay Parades in Belgrade and Zagreb have failed. In Belgrade in 2001 the parade was attacked and a large number of people were injured. In his piece East Side Story, Igor Grubić tackles the question of the rights of sexual minorities in societies that show a violent reaction to any diversity.

The film Partisan Songspiel: Belgrade Story by Chto Delat? also deals with the situation in Serbia. It describes a post-transitional society in the grip of corrupt politicians, war profiteers, and business tycoons and puts the question about the revolutionary subject today.

Last but not least, the in situ mural by Nikolay Oleynikov illuminates the historical and political context and preconditions for the war in the former Yugoslavia. With a timeline of the events it gives the necessary background information to understand the historical context.

1. I Will Never Talk About the War Again is the title of a work of art by Adela Jušić and Lana Čmajčanin.

2. The largest wars in recent European history were the wars in the former Yugoslavia, which took more than 100,000 lives from 1991 to 2001. The destruction of the city of Vukovar in Croatia, the siege of Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the concentration camp in Omarska, and the genocide in Srebrenica are the most horrible events of the wars of the nineties.

3. Psychological trauma is a type of damage to the human psyche that occurs as a result of a traumatic event. During a war, traumatic situations include both direct fighting and spending time in the war zone. Psychological trauma can cause acute reactions to stress, which may lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Some statistics state that in the cities and areas that were exposed to direct destruction, as in the case with Vukovar and Sarajevo, a vast majority has some form of stress-related psychological disorder.


4. Exaggeration through hyper-comical situations, especially in mass culture, e.g. in Kusturica's films of the 1990s.
Adela Jušić and Lana Čmajčanin

I WILL NEVER TALK ABOUT THE WAR AGAIN

Video performance, HD video, color, sound, 9 min 42 sec, 2011
Photos: Stills from the video I Will Never Talk About the War Again
Courtesy of the Artists

With the video performance I Will Never Talk About the War Again, Adela Jušić and Lana Čmajčanin draw attention to the post-war situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From their personal experience they come to the conclusion that it is impossible not to talk about the war in everyday life. As children the artists lived through the siege of Sarajevo with their relatives and friends and they were confronted with a major loss in their life—the death of relatives and friends.

In their artist statement about the piece, Jušić and Čmajčanin say:

“In this performance we are trying to expose all the possible emotions we have about this fact, but also to point out different aspects of talking about the war, such as how nationalist parties use constant reminders of the war in the media to hold onto power and foment nationalism among the people of the former Yugoslavia. Is it possible not to talk about the war? Why do we do it and when will it stop? Will we stop? Should we stop?”
Bedtime Stories is a sound piece installed within an artistic reconstruction of several tiny cellar rooms. It refers to life during the 1395-day siege of Sarajevo, when people sought shelter from the shelling in the small basement spaces of the city’s buildings. At times unable to leave these cellars for days and weeks, people started to form a special community with its own rules and survival systems, sharing everything together—food, clothing, happiness, and misery.

The artists collected authentic stories from people they know, without prompting or correcting their spontaneous memories of the time in the cellars. With this approach they get a variety of differing individual perspectives on a historical event, while posing the question of which events or memories are actually of historical relevance. Aware that the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina is written from different politically opposite positions, Jušić and Čmajčanin draw attention to the individual experience of the war and try from this point to understand the human capacity to adapt to the most extreme situations.
For the past ten years, one of the most radical Bosnian artists, Alma Suljević, has been giving unannounced performances of Holy Warrioress at exhibition openings. Since the first suicide attack by a woman in the 1980s, women have become increasingly accepted as suicide bombers and acknowledged as martyrs in the ranks of Islamic jihadists. With her performance, Alma Suljević challenges the Islamophobic and psychotic condition of western Christian societies and reminds us of the consequences of such hostilities, having herself witnessed the war in the Balkans and the genocide of Bosnian Muslims.

Another of Suljević’s long-term projects (ongoing since 1996) is the demining of minefields in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. She collects the soil that was under the mines, exhibits it and shares it as a gift of warning.

At the opening of the exhibition at Färgfabriken, Suljević performs as a female suicide bomber, walking between the visitors.
Homophobia, xenophobia, neo-clericalism, and intolerance toward any different social group are everyday hardcore realities in the societies of the former Yugoslavia and part of a complex post-war syndrome. We witness the transition during the 1990s from the militant turbo-nationalism of the Milošević era in Serbia or the Tuđman era in Croatia to a neoliberal reality with all its social disintegration and antagonisms. In 2001, an attempt to organize a gay parade in Belgrade failed. Groups of fascists, clerical nationalists, and football hooligans managed to disperse the parade and a large number of people were injured.

Zagreb artist Igor Grubić says that the aim of his piece East Side Story was to tackle the question of the rights of sexual minorities in a society that reacts violently to any show of diversity.

"I was horrified by the cruel response of citizens to the activists’ efforts in demanding equal rights for homosexuals during the Gay Parades in Belgrade in 2001 and Zagreb in 2002. Going through the documented material afterwards, I could hardly believe what I saw, terrified by the force of brutality spread among the people only because of their differences. Along with choreographers and dancers, I decided to create dance interventions on the very spots where the events took place in both cities. This was a way of suggesting the presence of a vivid, creative force very much akin to the resistance movement that is trying to change the intolerant, conservative society into a better one."
Jaroslav Supek (b. 1952 Odžaci, d. 2009 Novi Sad) was a visual artist and writer and one of the most important researchers in the field of experimental art in Vojvodina and Yugoslavia. Supek began performing in public and art spaces in the early eighties. Since childhood he suffered from lucid dreams accompanied by sleep paralysis and rapid vibrations of the body. Later he learned to intentionally achieve conscious dreaming states and published notes about his dreams.

From the start of the war in Yugoslavia, Supek was critical of the fact that the majority of Serbian society, including mainstream artists and intellectuals, were not protesting, ignoring the military actions Serbia was conducting in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo. In his processual artistic practice, Supek performs a severe criticism of the society and its suppression of these events of horror.

Shadow Museum presents the re-enactment of a performance by Jaroslav Supek titled "I Slept Under the Photos of Killed in the Wars in Ex Yugoslavia" and the installation "Meteorite Rain" by Živko Grozdanović. Shadow Museum is an alternative non-institutional museum and art collection initiated by curator and art historian Slavko Timotijević in the 1970s. The Shadow Museum comprises the most famous works of Yugoslavian conceptual art (from the 70s to the present), which trace and predict the extreme conditions of the 90s and 2000s. Some of the artists represented in the Shadow Museum are Marina Abramović, Raša Todosijević, Dragan Papić, Mladen Stilinović, Trokut, and Jaroslav Supek.

Jaroslav Supek
I SLEPT UNDER THE PHOTOS OF KILLED IN THE WARS IN EX YUGOSLAVIA

Re-enactment of the performance and photos
Photo: copyright Shadow Museum
Courtesy of Shadow Museum and the family of the artist
Meteorite Rain is one of a series of installations and sculptures developed in the context of a broader POP Art project (in Serbian, pop means priest). Živko Grozdanić Gera makes visible the contradictions inherent in the contemporary religious, social, and political forces that shape everyday life in Serbia. Gera started the POP Art project as an artistic discussion with current post-socialist and transitional readings of the traumatic role of religious conditions, i.e. those of the church as an institution, in the Serbian society.

One of the first works from the POP Art series is Meteorite Rain (2005), inspired by a piece by Maurizio Cattelan that showed Pope John Paul II struck down by a giant meteor. In Poland, where it was exhibited in 2000, Catellan’s work provoked strong disapproval from the members of the Polish parliament. But in Serbia, Catellan’s piece would have aroused exactly the opposite reaction, since what can be subversive in one social context, can have quite the opposite effect in another. This is why Gera undertakes an "artistic translation" and instead of the Pope installs the Serbian Patriarch Pavle in the role of the meteor victim. Gera’s work provoked great controversy and debate in Serbian society. The goal of this work in the local Serbian context was to invite the Serbian Orthodox Church to reform itself and to re-examine its activities and function during the break-up and wars in Yugoslavia. There is an essential difference in the material and the way in which this work is performed as compared to Catellan’s, because Gera performs his caricatured sculptures as a parody, even in his choice of materials (recyclable materials, plaster, or wire).
At the end of the night the candle dies out. In the light of dawn, the reflection of the face vanishes away. Patience, persistence, and strength begin to hang over deep scars of the horrors of war.

The film is vertically composed with a chiaroscuro effect reminiscent of painting techniques for oil on canvas. The film is eighteen minutes long and shot in a single take. The composition shows a woman sitting before a window. The only other object in the scene is a candle. This long shot captures the gentle change from night into day, the birth of a new dawn. In the video we can see the composition reflected in the window. As dawn approaches, the reflection of the woman’s face in the window slowly fades, replaced by the natural landscape outside.

Text by Lana Čmajčanin and Igor Grubić.

Nikolay Oleynikov paints narrative murals in the tradition of avant-garde propaganda. For the exhibition I Will Never Talk About the War Again at Färgfabriken, he develops a menagerie of situations and images connected to the historical chronology of war-related events in Ex-Yugoslavia. Combining painting and collages of printed photo materials with a didactic approach, according to the relevance of historical materialism, Oleynikov’s conceptual murals could be seen as a true example of contemporary “leftist propaganda”.

“When I think about the art worker’s place in contemporary reality, unexpected pictures flash before my eyes: a poet torching an ugly office building in the city center or an artist, his face covered by a bandana, being arrested by seven cops at a demonstration. I like these pictures. Boring is the artist who has convinced himself that his place is in the studio from eleven in the morning to seven in the evening. And fine is the poet who doesn’t merely rock the Internet or club slam with his words, but devotes himself to activism...”

(Nikolay Oleynikov in On Propaganda in Art, September 2010).

Lana Čmajčanin and Igor Grubić

WOMAN WITH A CANDLE

HD Video, color, sound, 18 min 17 sec, 2011
Photo: Stills from Woman With a Candle
Courtesy of the Artists

THE YEARS OF THE BONECRUSHER QUEEN

Wall paintings, 2011
Photo: The ORGY (detail), acrylic mural, 2011, part of the show Chto Delat? Between Tragedy and Farce,
SMART Project Space, Amsterdam, research group (Oleg Jouravlev, Dmitry Vilensky, Nikolay Oleynikov)
The video Partisan Songspiel: Belgrade Story is the second in a series of Chto Delat?’s songspiels. Staged in an abandoned factory from 19th century, it refers to actual events in Serbia in the year 2009 and transposes them into a more universal songspiel about oppressors and the oppressed. The setting is a typical post-war and post-transitional society in which different protagonists formulate their stands. Workers, NGO-activists, war veterans, and women from a minority group stand against corrupt politicians, war profiteers, and business tycoons.

In the songspiels, Chto Delat? re-applies methods from Brecht’s epic plays to create a contemporary form of didactical film. Acting as personified historical consciousness, a choir of partisans risen from the death comments on the situation. The worker’s disturbing attribute, a large amputated bloody finger, again refers to a real event in which a worker who had led numerous hunger strikes cut off his finger to protest on behalf of the victims of criminal privatization that forces companies into bankruptcy. In the end, mourning about the lack of unity in the particular fights of the oppressed, the partisans leave the stage in search for new comrades.
One of the most radical early performances of Marina Abramović was Rhythm 2. In 1974, in front of an audience gathered in the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, she took a pill prescribed for catatonia. Her body reacted violently to the drug, experiencing seizures and uncontrollable movements. A few minutes later she took another pill, prescribed for aggressive and depressed people, and her body couldn’t move at all. With this performance she wanted to bring her body into unpredictable psycho-physical states (muscle spasms, disorientation, etc.) and to test the limits of her being.

After the student protests of 1968, and throughout the seventies, Yugoslavia faced the decline of socialist ideas. There was regional nationalism and revisionism. One element of society intended to liberalise the market in response to a shortage of jobs. In such a social surrounding, progressive intellectuals, young filmmakers, and conceptual artists, among them Marina Abramović, were demonstrating specific radicalism in their work.

Marina Abramović

RHYTHM 2, 1974

2 black and white photographs with 1 letterpress text panel, 1974/publ. 1994
Photo: Rhythm 2, 1974. Copyright Marina Abramović
Courtesy of Marina Abramović Archives and Sean Kelly Gallery, NY
Writings on trauma are in most cases based on a “psychological” discourse of such impossibility, opaqueness, and elusiveness that it precludes any further elaboration of the issue in the field of politics and ideology. Spontaneous knowledge of this discourse ranges from the utilitarianism of engineered pop-psycho-analysis to the humanism of recuperating endangered personal communications and relations. Practically, these approaches insist on “acting out” this painful and difficult elusiveness, as Freud would say. Contrary to this position, I will insist on “working through” trauma, which, especially for theoreticians and artists like me, will provide an opportunity to arrive at political and philosophical positions in which it is possible to resist populist approaches.

Due to the limited space to deal with this sensitive issue, I start with a direct question: What is the relation between trauma and ideology? Examining ideology can open far-reaching possibilities for thought on the topic of trauma as well.

We can begin with an assertion by Jasmina Husanović: It is important to provide a critique and appraisal of those gestures that es-
cape the post-political bind of the culture of “exception/trauma/terror” that persist despite all state-building and democratizing efforts involving a host of international and national agencies and globalizing processes (including “Europeanization”). This is a very concise description of the problematic: the culturalization of trauma, which is the same as culturalization of politics, is a conception of trauma based on utilitarian therapeutic regimes of apoliticalness and ideology, or in Husanović’s words, the “dominant symbolic and ideological orders” of “empty politics.”

The immediate question that emerges from this concrete description of the situation is: How is it possible to “politically think” or “artistically produce” about trauma when it is caused by the extreme situation in which language is confiscated? Does not this excess imply that trauma could be handled only with carnality or sensuality where the “thinking” is replaced with the “feeling” and where the bodies are left as absolute and sole bearers of “truth” after all the subtractions done? The usual conclusion of this carnalistic approach is that the traumatized bodies of the raped and the bones of the killed are concrete elements to be taken into account in contrast to the abstract sociologism of theoretical minds. A further intensification of this approach is the claim that there is no possibility of detour in the case of trauma.

Another problematic with the “politicization of trauma” is related to the justness of this experience: How can we separate just and unjust traumatic experiences? Since in traumatic experiences the infinite possibilities or mutual exchangeability between the perpetrator and the victim in many ambiguous cases is blurred, taking sides or giving a definitive interpretation is in many cases almost impossible, it is difficult to do politics with trauma. The most descriptive artwork for this situation is the film-essay by Jean-Luc Godard and Anne-Marie Mieville Ici et Ailleurs (Here and Elsewhere, 1974). Godard, who visited Jordan in the early seventies as member of Dziga Vertov Group to film Until Victory (a film intended to deal with the anti-imperialist struggle of the PLO), was struck by a traumatic experience when all the members of the militant camp in which he was making his film were killed by Jordanian forces a few months after he had left. This dead-end situation of impossibility to do anything as a French artist on the trauma of Arabs, who were killed by other Arabs in a struggle against Israeli oppression, led Godard to a stalemate, which he further elaborated in Ici et Ailleurs by including the notion of ideology in the process of making art about politics.

In order to specify the relation between trauma and ideology we have to look at the text of Dominick LaCapra, which clearly describes the “ideological role” of trauma as the “typical myths of origin... which is mythologized history of every people.” According to LaCapra, trauma, as a very negative experience, can be the basis, paradoxically, for a positive foundation of collective and personal identities. We can hear the echo of Foucault here, of his general claim that progress implies power relations, repression and sadism, but with a more subtle sociological reflection, that trauma can be the foundation of (or fundamental to) a collective identities, such as national identities. When exactly does trauma become the foundation for a nation? Does this happen when the group or collective of human subjects unite in their negative experience to “act out” as a nation? Is it then possible that this national form produced by the traumatic experience at one point generates new traumas that will further generate new “national forms,” which will introduce new traumas...

The cacophony of these questions implies that trauma is more than it appears to be. It is even possible to say that trauma is foundational at another level as a schism, cut, division, disunity or separation – that trauma is not only a foundation for national
myth, but generally a foundation for the myth of human subject. LeCapra, who is aware of the consequences of philosophizing on trauma, calls for specifying two different forms of trauma: structural and historical trauma. According to him, the ideological role of trauma is due to the effects of historical trauma, which are based on loss. Structural trauma is deeper, trans-historical and omnipresent, or as he explains: “everyone is subject to structural trauma” and it “appears in different ways in all societies and all lives.” He finds philosophico-psycho-sociological explanations for this trauma in factors such as separation from the (m)other, the passage from nature to culture, the eruption of the pre-oedipal or pre-symbolic in the symbolic, the entry into language, alienation from species-being... etc. In short, structural trauma is absence that is everywhere, and what is most important, it is a “precondition for the historical trauma.” In practice this means that without structural trauma, historical trauma would not have the grandeur of its own. Another practical implication of this proposition is that “ideology” resides in the sphere of historical trauma, which in other words means that politics (of fascism or of communism) generating historical traumas are ad hoc manifestations of daily human (mis-) conditions, which can easily be recuperated. But structural trauma as eternal and above the consciously produced human ideologies “may not be cured but only lived with in various ways.”

In order to avoid this halfway theorizing of the ideological role of trauma we have to take one more step and make the following claim: the ideological foundation of trauma is not its history but its structure. This proposal will bring us closer to the theory of ideology proposed by Althusser (“ideology does not have an history”), and consequently would provide a theoretical apparatus for materialistic and abstract analysis of trauma.


2. Dušan Makavejev’s films, especially Sweet Movie (1974), which is usually interpreted as a film about the trauma caused by fascism and communism, are a favorite of this “carnal thinking” approach. Especially as “theorized” by Lorraine Mortimer in her book Terror and Joy: The Films of Dušan Makavejev (University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

3. This situation is found in many films. One can recall Gillo Pontecorvo’s Italian-Yugoslav co-production Kapo (1959). Kapos, or Jewish councils in the concentration camps, had this kind of ambiguous situation. But still their complex situation is caused by the determined Nazi policy that generated the conditions for both the kapos and the prisoners and the institution of the concentration camps.


6. LaCapra, p. 723.


8. Ibid. p. 724.

9. “The traumatizing events in historical trauma can be determined (for example, the events of the Shoah) while structural trauma (like absence) is not an event but an anxiety-producing condition of possibility related to the potential for historical traumatization.” LaCapra, ibid, p. 725.

Meteorite Rain,
Živko Grosdanić Gera
Due to the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and the later process of transition toward free-market capitalism, Southeastern Europe is usually interpreted in a context that, at best, addresses two concepts: nationalism and allegedly indiscriminate capitalism. These are therefore positioned as the region’s main concepts of social organization. On the other hand, the supplementation of these two models and their tendency to merge together is being ignored in the mainstream discourse — or else interpreted by critics in rigorous terms that tend to see nationalism as problematic if over-emphasized and capitalism as savage only if it is in some rudimentary, “underdeveloped” state.

The European Union as a political conglomerate or Europe as an idea was and is institutionally and politically heavily involved in the region’s disputes. Its role in the former Yugoslav-
via, in combination with the political tendencies and major cultural patterns in the region, gives a picture of the relation between Europe and the Balkans as a colonial relationship.

Hence, instead of imperial and/or military conquest of the colony, the contemporary colonial order managed to integrate founding (in this case ethnic) violence as a progression towards the debt-based neoliberal economy that serves the colonialist best, while managing to equate “national” liberation with liberation only towards the colonialists’ (Western European) interpretation of modernity and/or progress.

In his analysis of colonial relations, Achile Mbembe, distinguished three forms of violence on which colonial sovereignty rested. “The first one was the founding violence... its supreme right was (in its capacity to assume the act of destroying) simultaneously the supreme denial of right.”

This is not to imply that the European Union created the violence in ex-Yugoslavia, but that the EU’s politics utilized the ethnic divisions that grew out of violence to form an agenda that serves both the European and the complicit local bourgeoisies of the region. It created a situation in which the majority of Serbian soldiers who committed systematic rapes of 20,000 Bosnian Muslim women were not prosecuted and in which most of the victims have been left uncompensated. This may reflect the fact that the local courts are not synchronized with European judicial standards. However, since Europe exercised almost utter political disregard for these events while they were happening, and since Bosnian (or any other ex-Yugoslavian state) institutions are today under very strong influence of various EU bodies, it seems that an institutional functionality that would protect human rights and in the process tackle the credibility of the European Union’s role in interpreting post-war social antagonisms is not welcomed by the EU itself.

Just as empty rhetorical support of human rights was exercised during the wars, that support was dislocated to a level of culture where responsibility for the trauma would be compensated only through recognition of cultural products that reflected the issue. This seems to have been the case when the Bosnian movie Grbavica (which dealt with post-war rape trauma issues) won the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival in 2006.

Otherwise, in the case of the “Readmission Agreement” that, as Ivana Marjanović noted, “the Serbian government signed with Germany as part of the process of EU integration and that allowed Germany numerous instantaneous brutal deportations of refugees, asylum seekers and so-called illegal immigrants originating from Serbia back to Serbia” might be seen as a reflection of a specific colonial relation in which the EU’s approach is conditioned, not by the protection of human rights, but on the contrary by the willingness of certain governments to suppress those rights. French racist deportation of the Roma community in this sense serves as an example that local Balkan elites view with admiration and read as a green light to perpetuate similar racist prosecutions.

Hence, the supreme denial of right meant that the privileges implied by civil rights were at first denied by nationalists, who connected them intrinsically to ethnic identities, corrupted networks, and loyalties. And second, after the ethnic divisions were pacified, but never resolved, those civil rights became only the right to integrate into a neoliberal production process. As a result, ascendance in the social hierarchy became dependent on complicity either with ethnic loyalty or with the tendencies that institutionalize and/or endorse neoliberal institutions and ethics, transforming victims of war into victims of neoliberal exploitation.

Mbembe noted, “A second form of violence was produced before and after, or as part and parcel of, the conquest, and had to
do with legitimization. Its function was... to give this order meaning, to justify its necessity and universalizing mission – in short to help produce an imaginary capacity converting the founding violence into authorizing authority." 

This meant that not only was the European recognition of certain regimes through Euro-Atlantic integration also a recognition of the way those regimes acquired control over the means of production, but that recognition also implied that neoliberal capitalist exploitation should be accepted in the public discourse as both a "necessary" part of modernization and a "salvation" from ethnic conflict. A colonial imaginary in the Balkans functions as a myth that pacifies the nationalistic and neoliberal agenda in a fashion that subverts any class-based struggle by imposing religious, ethnic, and racial matrices of differentiation as the basis for social conflict and the realization of society in general.

A new television ad in which the Croatian government promotes the EU with the slogan “EU – Tu Pripadamo” (“EU – This is Where We Belong”) implied that integration with Europe should not depend on the effort a society makes in its organization, but rather on the concept of “belonging,” which means that mere ethnic or religious distinction is “positive” in itself. Simply stated, Croatia’s government (and its moral majority) sees its country as belonging to Europe because the majority of its population is (white) Christian – it’s as simple as that. Since the EU’s structural racism is based on a similar matrix and since the EU recognized Croatia’s utterly corrupted and non-functional state as “adequate” for EU integration, it seems that the world less unknown to the moral majority in Europe is being privileged exactly because it failed as a society and because it prospered as a corrupt, Christian fundamentalist, but consumer society.

This is a purely colonial relationship that allows Europe’s own racism to be situated as a super-narrative that provides a neutral, democratic, universal classificatory matrix capable of rationalizing the capitalist order to determine the amount of privilege to be afforded a given society, but only in commodification of that society. Mbembe described a third form of founding violence:

“Falling well short of what is properly called ‘war,’ it recurred again and again in the most banal and ordinary situations. It then crystallized, through a gradual accumulation of numerous acts and rituals – in short, played so important a role in everyday life that it ended up constituting the central cultural imaginary that the state shared with society, and thus had an authenticating and reiterating function.”

This form of violence in the former Yugoslavia is a copy of the European tendencies that structure ideology around the performative play that equals all ideological projects, most prominently fascism and communism. One of the results of this institutional and epistemic process is not political, but rather biopolitical control over the population.

This, among other interpretations, means that control is being exercised not over political subjectivities, but over populations as biological entities – dispensable lives. However, it is not only biopolitics but also necropolitics that have influenced the post-war situation in ex-Yugoslavia. Necropolitics, according to Achille Mbembe, is a “subjugation of life to the power of death” and in this sense functions as both a pacification of ethnic cleansing (the Hague Tribunal is prosecuting Karadžić and Mladić for genocide, while their creation, the Republic of Srpska, continues to be a mono-ethnic entity) and a humiliation of its victims through rituals that reward complicity in genocide, as when Dutch soldiers were awarded medals for an “impossible” mission in Srebrenica that saw some 8,000 people slaughtered before a helpless UN force.
In any case, necropolitics in this context could be seen as a discourse that managed to acquire control over life by legitimizing the results of the destruction of life in war and, afterwards, by imposing the circulation of capital as the central concern of society. Consequently, this produced victims both of war and of the neoliberal production process, and made them victims of "circumstances" rather than of elaborate hierarchies of exploitation and colonial relationships structured through the cooperation of complicit local elites and a colonial European Union that, perversely enough, poses as a universal, non-ideological agent of modernist salvation.

1. Perpetrated primarily by Serbian and Croatian nationalist-fascist projects aimed at the creation of mono-ethnic states.

2. This is the chauvinist, fascist kind of nationalism, not the nationalism with anti-imperialists agenda.

3. Or as a conglomerate of colonial neo-liberal interests.


6. Ibid.


9. By closing of the EU integration negotiations.

10. White Western Christianity.


Bedtime Stories
Lana Čmajčanin and Adela Jušić
Marina Abramović (b. 1946, Belgrade) lives and works in New York. She is one of the pioneers of performance art. She started her art career in Belgrade in the early 70s, with a group of conceptual artists. Later she moved to Amsterdam where she worked together with artist Ulay.

The recent famous work *The Artist Is Present* from 2010 was performed for more than 700 hours at MoMA, New York, where Abramović had a retrospective of her performances.

In 2011, at the 54th Venice Biennial Abramović represented Montenegrin Pavilion with the concept of the MACCO Cetinje – Marina Abramović Community Centre Obod Cetinje. Among many awards she got the Golden Lion Award at the 47th Venice Biennial in 1997.


Chto Delat? (What is to be done? www.chtodelat.org) is a platform founded in early 2003 in Petersburg by a work-group of artists, critics, philosophers, and writers from Petersburg, Moscow, and Nizhny Novgorod with the goal of merging political theory, art, and activism. The platform’s activity consists in developing a network of collective initiatives in Russia and setting them into an international context. The platform is coordinated by a work-group of the same name. The work-group engages in a variety of art projects, including video-works, installations, public actions, radio programs, and artistic examinations of urban space and critique of everyday life.

They have exhibited worldwide including recent solo shows at: Smart Project Space, Amsterdam, (*What is to be done between tragedy and farce?*); ARGE Kunst Galerie Museum, Bolzano; ICA, London, (*The Urgent Need to Struggle*).

Group exhibitions include venues such as: New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, (*Ostalgia*); Contemporary Museum, Baltimore, (*LOL: A Decade of Antic Art*); Centro Andaluz de Arte Contemporáneo, Sevilla; MMOMA, Moscow; Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, (*Das Potosí-Prinzip*); Musée d’Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, (*Etats de l’Artifice*); 17th Biennial of Sydney; 11th International Istanbul Biennial; 2nd Biennial of Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki.

Lana Čmajčanin (b. 1983, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, Sarajevo 2007. Although she was formally trained a sculptor, she uses a variety of media like video-performance, installations, site-specific works and sound installations. Čmajčanin is co-founder of the Association for Art and Culture Crvena and member of the Association of Visual Artists of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2008.
She has participated in many international exhibitions, recent includes: NGBK, Berlin (Spaceship Yugoslavia); ArtPoint Gallery, KulturKontakt Austria, Vienna, (I Advocate Feminism); 1st Time Machine Biennale of Contemporary Art, Konjic; Center for Contemporary Art, Tel Aviv, (Prolonged Exposure); El Parqueadero, Bogotá, Colombia (Decolonial Aesthetics); Gallery Atopia – film & videokunst, Oslo, Norway; Gallery P74, Ljubljana, (Global South).

Živko Grozdanić Gera (b. 1957, Vršac, Serbia) lives and works in Novi Sad and Vršac, Serbia. He is one of the most relevant and most active representatives of Serbian contemporary art scene. Gera graduated in sculpture from the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo in 1983. He is the founder of the Yugoslav Youth Biennial (1994), as well as the Center for Contemporary Culture Concordia, where he has hosted a large number of exhibitions by both local and international artists. He has participated in a large number of solo and group exhibitions in Serbia and international. Gera was the commissioner of the Serbian Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennial in 2011, which was awarded with the UniCredit Prize.

Igor Grubić (b. 1969, Zagreb, Croatia) enrolled in 1992 in a course of philosophy and later psychotherapeutic education based on Gestalt and Transactional analysis. As a visual artist, since 1996 he has mainly produced site-specific interventions in public spaces, with the aim of involving others in the creative process. Since 2000 has Grubić been working as a producer and journalist at Fade In, a studio for activist video, on the production of documentaries, TV reports and socially committed TV advertising. His most important projects and actions in public space: 366 Liberation Rituals (Zagreb, 2008); Call for the withdrawal of the Zagreb Student Center management (Zagreb, 2000); Black Peristyle (Split/Zagreb, 1998); Book and Society - 22% (Zagreb, 1998); NO KI TEKA, (Zagreb, 1997/8). Igor Grubić has exhibited worldwide including shows at: MMSU, Rijeka and Fondazione Bevilacqua La Masa, Venice (Volume Collection, 2011); The National Museum in Warsaw (2010); MUMOK Vienna, (Gender Check, 2009); 11th International Istanbul Biennial, (2009); Apexart Gallery, New York, (Looking Awry, 2003); 2nd Biennale Tirana (2003); Manifesta 4, Frankfurt (2002).

Vladan Jeremić is curator and artist, lives and works in Belgrade, Serbia. In his curatorial and artistic practice he researches the intersection between contemporary art and political activism. Jeremić holds MFA graduated from the University of Arts Belgrade. Since 2002 he works together with Rena Rädle as artist duo. They are founder of Biro Beograd, an association that gives platform for critical practice that step beyond conventional forms of contemporary art, cultural and social research or activism.

Vladan Jeremić was director of the Gallery DOB of the city’s cultural center in Belgrade (2008/2009). He has curated more than thirty exhibitions in local and international contexts and was one of the initiators of the project, Call the Witness - 2nd Roma Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennial. Vladan Jeremić and Rena Rädle had solo exhibitions in Belgrade, Paris, Hamburg, Helsinki, Trondheim, and Novi Sad, and many group exhibi-
I Will Never Talk About the War Again.

Adela Jušić (b. 1982, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina), graduated printmaking from the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo in 2007. Mostly working with video art, video performance and since recently with sound installation. Her most important artworks are connected to the war and post-war situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and are deeply rooted into her personal experiences.

Adela Jušić won the prize The best young Bosnian artist award (YVAA) in 2010, which among other things included residency at ISCP in New York. Since two years, she is also working in collaboration with artist Lana Čmajčanin. Adela Jušić is a member and co-founder of Organization for Culture and Art Crvena.

Selections of the recent exhibitions includes: Center for Contemporary Arts Celje, (Continuity); Videonale 13, Kunstmuseum Bonn; Manifesta 8, Murcia; El Parqueadero, Bogota, (Decolonial Aesthetics); The Red House, Sofia, (Transitland); Gallery P74, Ljubljana, (Global South); Transmediale, Collegium Hungaricum, Berlin.

Nikolay Oleynikov (b. 1976, Gorky City (now Nizhny Novgorod), USSR) lives and works in Moscow. He graduated from Theater Academy in Nizhny Novgorod. Since 2003, he is member of Chto Delat? collective, and editor of the Chto Delat? newspaper. He is also a regular writer for Moscow Art Magazine.

As independent artist or as a member of Chto Delat? Oleynikov has exhibited worldwide including recent shows at: Smart Project Space, Amsterdam; ARGE Kunst Galerie Museum, Bolzano; ICA, London; Gallery Nova, Zagreb; Museu de Arte Contemporânea, Porto; Musée d LArt Moderne de la Ville de Paris - MAM/ARC, Paris; The Baltic Triennial of International Art, Vilnius; Galerie Hlavního Města Prahy, Prague; 17th Biennale of Sydney; 11th Istanbul Biennial; Centro per lArte Contemporanea Luigi Pecci, Prato; The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

Shadow Museum is an alternative non-institutional Museum and art collection initiated by curator and art historian Slavko Timotijević in the 70s. The Shadow Museum consists of the most famous artworks of the conceptual Yugoslavian art (from 70s until today) that traces and predicts the extreme conditions of the 90s and 2000. Some of the artists represented in The Shadow Museum are Marina Abramović, Raša Todosijević, Dragan Papić, Mladen Stilinović, Trokut, Jaroslav Supek.
Cecilia Sjöholm is professor of aesthetics at Södertörn University. She is the author of, among other works, *The Antigone Complex; Ethics and the Invention of Feminine Desire* (Stanford University Press, 2004) and *Kristeva and the Political* (Routledge, 2005). She is currently working on a book on Hannah Arendt and aesthetics.

Alma Suljević (b. 1963 in Kakanj and grew up in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) studied at the Faculty of Law, Faculty of Philosophy and Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo. Graduate and post-graduate studies in sculpture from the Academy of Fine Arts Sarajevo and post-graduate studies in contemporary philosophy from the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. Suljević is professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the International University in Novi Pazar and Niš, Serbia.

Her most important performances and projects are performed and exhibited at: MOMA, New York (*The Age of Awareness*, 1998); Sarajevo Center for Contemporary Art, (*Under Construction*, 1999); I Bienal de Valencia, (*The Body of Art*, 2001); Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel (*In den Schluchten des Balkan*, 2003); Musée d’Art moderne de Saint-Etienne, (*Passage d’Europe*, 2004); Museum Essl, Vienna, (*Blood & Honey*, 2004); Bétonsalon MuseumsQuartier, Vienna (2006); Centre for Contemporary Art, Gdansk, (*Artist and Weapon*, 2006); Triennale Bovisia, Milano, (2007); Schloss Esterházy, Eisenstadt, (*Central Europe Revisited II*, 2008); MARS Moscow, (*Artists and Soldiers*, 2009); 1st Time Machine Biennale of Contemporary Art, Konjic, BIH, (2011).

Jaroslav Supek (b. 1952, Odžaci – d. 2009, Novi Sad) was visual artists and writer and one of the most important researchers in the field of experimental art in Vojvodina and Yugoslavia. His was focused on visual and sound poetry, mail-art, artistic actions and theory. He was connected with the Neoists and post-Fluxus artistic practices and movements. Museum of Andy Warhol from Slovakia published his work in 2005. Supek exhibited in Museum of Contemporary Art in Novi Sad, SKC Gallery in Belgrade and participated worldwide under various pseudonyms or as a member of many artist collectives and groups.

Šefik Tatlić is a theoretician from Bosnia-Herzegovina, MA in Journalism (Faculty of Political Sciences, Sarajevo), currently PhD in humanities (sociology) at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. His theoretical work has a focus on political philosophy, culture and sociology. Tatlić writes regularly for the platform journal Reartikulacija (Ljubljana, Slovenia) and Ultra web (ultrainput.com).

His publications include a number of essays in the field; published in Slovenia, Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Austria, Italy, Romania and the US in Bosnian, Slovenian, German and English. Recent publications include the book *Biopolitics, Necropolitics and De-coloniality* (co-authored with Marina Gržinić, Pavillon, Bucharest); the essay *Redefinition of Democracy as Re-invention of Capitalism* (Odjek magazine, Sarajevo); the article *Implications of Chauvinist Dogma’s* (Dani magazine, Sarajevo) and the essay titled *The Transgression* (Center for Global Studies and Humanities, Duke, US).
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