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Vladan Jeremić

Biro za kulturu i komunikaciju

Omladinskih brigada 186

11 070 Novi Beograd

<http://birobeograd.info>

biro@modukit.com

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biro beograd & slobodnakultura.org

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Predstavljanje re-reader 2006/2007 – an annual report of the e-zine kakogod u Beogradu, Berlinu i Hamburgu u saradnji sa partnerima Dom omladine Beograd, KuBaSta - Raum für Kunst Bauen Stadtentwicklung, Hamburg i top - Verein zur Förderung kultureller Praxis e. V., Berlin.

re-reader 2006/2007 – Annual report of the e-zine kaKogod

<http://kakogod.birobeograd.info>

re-reader 2006/2007 presents a compilation of texts and materials contributed during the last time period documenting debates and topics discussed in public discussions, lectures, interviews, initiatives and art works.

The e-zine kaKogod is a collaborative internet platform and archive of texts and audio-visual material that informs about the contemporary cultural production bringing in context different fields of cultural and social activities.

Since June 2006 contributors publish regularly reflecting current (international, regional and local) discussions and events related to questions of society, contemporary art, theory of culture and free culture.

kaKogod follows an open publishing policy, which means that everybody is invited to contribute. As soon as enough articles are online, the next number is issued and publicly announced. In the end of the year, a selection of the contributions is published in a printed version.

kaKogod was initiated during a regional meeting and promotion of "04, Magazine for Reality Hacking" from Croatia in Belgrade and is maintained as a non-profit project by Biro za kulturu i komunikaciju Beograd. For this promotion on 16th and 17th of June 2006, Lela Vujanić, Sezgin Boynik and Dragan Jovanović contributed on the first publication and the pilot number of Kakogod magazine was published.

re-reader 2006/2007 predstavlja kompilaciju materijala, izlaganja, intervju, umetničkih radova i drugih tekstualnih zapisa i dokumentuje različite javne diskusije i teme koje su saradnici/ce tokom proteklog vremenskog razdoblja donosili/le i razmatrali/le.

e-zine kaKogod je kolaborativna internet platforma, arhiv tekstova i audio-vizuelnih materijala koji informiše o savremenoj kulturnoj produkciji, dovodeći u kontekst različita polja kulturne i društvene aktivnosti.

Od juna 2006. godine saradnici/ce objavljuju priloge reflektirajuću protekle (internacionalne, regionalne ili lokalne) diskusije o raznim društvenim pitanjima, savremenoj umetnosti, teoriji kulture i slobodnoj kulturi.

kaKogod sledi princip slobodnog i otvorenog objavljivanja što znači da je svako i svaka pozvan/na da učestvuje. Jednostavno, onoga trenutka kada je dovoljan broj članaka on-line, sledeći broj je otvoren i javno publikovan. Na kraju godine većina kontribucija se objavljuje u štampanom godišnjem izdanju.

kaKogod je iniciran tokom regionalnog dešavanja, sastanka i predstavljanja "04, Magazina za hakiranje realnosti" iz Hrvatske u Beogradu i započet je kao neprofitni projekat Biroa za kulturu i komunikaciju iz Beograda. Tokom ovoga dešavanja 16. i 17. juna 2006., Lela Vujanić, Sezgin Boynik i Dragan Jovanović su učestvovali u kreiranju prve štampane publikacije i pilot broj kakogod magazina je publikovan.

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Social Relevance of Contemporary Anarchism¹

Društvena relevantnost suvremenog anarhizma¹

Marko Strpić

Attempts to discuss anarchism or social themes from an anarchist perspective are very rare; especially if these discussions are held in a way that includes the broadest possible public, whether part of the movement or not, and no matter its degree of familiarity with the theme. We could almost speak about anarchism and anarchist ideas finding their entrance into the mainstream, although this distinction between mainstream and something else (whatever it might be) is rather unclear and a little odd.

Discussions about Anarchism as a Way into the Mainstream

At the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, a series of lectures/panels/presentations under the title *Discussions about Anarchism*² has been initiated. The basic idea is to bring the discussion about anarchism out of the closed circle of insiders and to open it up to a broader group of interested people. On the one hand, this can be seen as an attempt to enter the mainstream, although it is completely undefined where to

Vrlo su rijetki pokušaji razgovora o anarhizmu ili društvenim temama iz anarhističke perspektive, a da se ti razgovori vode na način da uključuju što širu populaciju, bez obzira na njezinu prethodnu upućenost u temu ili uključenost u pokret. Gotovo da možemo govoriti o ulasku anarhizma i anarhističkih tema u područje mainstreama, iako je posve nejasna i pomalo čudna podjela na mainstream i ono drugo (što god to bilo).

Razgovori o anarhizmu kao put u mainstream

U beogradskom Domu omladine pokrenuta je serija predavanja/tribina/predstavljanja pod nazivom *Razgovori o anarhizmu*². Osnovna ideja te serije razgovora je pokušati preseliti diskusiju o anarhizmu iz zatvorenog kruga upućenih i proširiti je na što širi krug zainteresiranih. S jedne strane to je predstavljeno kao pokušaj ulaska u mainstream, iako je posve nejasno gdje se nalazi ta granica između mainstreama i drugog (dva viđenja ovog pitanja možete čitati u tekstovima *Margina u središtu i Anarhi-*

¹This article by Marko Strpić has been published at zamirzine.net after his participation in the discussion concerning contemporary tendencies of anarchism in the frame of the *Discussions on Anarchism*, held on 17th May 2006 at the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, with the speaker: Miša Mašina, Dražen Šimleša and Marko Strpić. (http://www.zamirzine.net/article.php3?id_article=3478)

¹Članak je objavljen nakon gostovanja Marka Strpića u Beogradu (http://www.zamirzine.net/article.php3?id_article=3478), a povodom prvog ciklusa *Razgovori o anarhizmu* održanog u Domu omladine, na temu savremene tendencije u anarhizmu. U razgovoru su učestvovali: Miša Mašina, Dražen Šimleša i Marko Strpić.

draw the border between mainstream and sidestream or marginal (two perspectives on this question can be read in the texts *Margina u središtu* and *Anarhizam izvan logike spektakla*). If we talk about society as a whole, any distinction between “main” and “secondary” streams doesn’t mean much, especially in the domain of public activity, agitation and propaganda, which comprise the largest part of anarchist activity. This was exactly the topic raised in a discussion during the anarchist book fair in Zagreb, when the impression emerged that one talks about the anarchist movement as being separated from society. The conclusion was that we can’t look at the movement this way and that the essence of all the work is to be socially, politically, culturally, economically and in every way relevant and present all the time. This can be interpreted as constant presence in what we call the mainstream. We could also call it visibility. Or, a bit more ambitiously, acceptance. And that is what anarchists are longing for – a society in which anarchist ideas and practices are mainstream. Therefore every notion of separation, closing up, ghettoization and avoidance is absolutely unacceptable - at least, if we want to have an impact on society. If we only want to create our tiny paradise to feel

zam izvan logike spektakla). Ako govorimo o društvu, onda ono predstavlja jednu cjelinu, pa tako svaka podjela na “glavnu struju” i “sporedne struje” ne znači puno, pogotovo u domeni javnog rada, zagovaranja, propagande, gdje i leži veći dio anarhističke aktivnosti. Tijekom Anarhističkog sajma knjiga u Zagrebu je vođena diskusija koja je dotaknula baš tu temu, zbog povremenog osjećaja da se govori o anarhističkom pokretu kao izdvojenom iz društva.

Zaključak je bio da ne možemo na taj način gledati na pokret, te da je bit ukupnog rada biti stalno društveno, politički, kulturno, ekonomski i kako god već relevantan i prisutan. To možemo prevesti kao stalno prisustvo u onome što zovemo mainstream. Isto tako, to možemo zvati vidljivost. Malo ambiciozniji naziv bi bio prihvaćenost. No upravo to je ono što anarhisti žele – društvo u kojem su anarhističke ideje i prakse mainstream, dakle glavna struja. Zato je svaka ideja izdvajanja, zatvaranja, getoiziranja i izbjegavanja posve neprihvatljiva. Barem ako želimo utjecati na društvo. Ako pak želimo stvoriti svoj mali raj u kojem ćemo se osjećati sigurno i zaštićeno od svakog zla, onda je to posve druga stvar. Svakako manje zanimljiva za širi društveni kontekst i sama sebi dovoljna, pa je ovdje neću ni obrađivati

² **Grupa za logističku podršku** (Group for Logistical Support or GLP) is a non-formal group founded in February 2006 in Belgrade. In the period of May 2006 - May 2007 the GLP organized 10 discussion events *Discussions on Anarchism* with local speakers and speakers from Germany, Croatia and Kosovo in Belgrade. Themes were: history of anarchism, feminism, anarcho-syndicalism, postanarchism, anarchism and art, critical media, activism, violent and non violent struggle and self-management in socialist Yugoslavia. Speakers were: Trivo Inđić, Dražen Šimleša, Marko Strpić, Miša Mašina, Vanda Perović, Sanja Petkovska, Milica Gudović, Rudolf Mühland, Petar Atanacković, Ratibor Trivunac, Sezgin Boynik, Tadej Kurepa, Milica Ružičić, Vladan Jeremić, Edgar Buršić, Igor Todorović, Pop (Kontrapunkt), Boris Kanzleiter, Violeta Anđelković, Dragutin Leković, Silke Maier Witt, Sonja Drljević and Dragomir Olujić Oluja. A large number of people participated in these events and involved in the discussions. The recorded audio material can be found at <http://glp.anarhija.org>.

safe and protected, it's another story, which is in any case self-sufficient and less interesting for the wider social context, so I won't deal with it here. (That's far from saying that the subject of communes, squatting and similar social experiments should not be dealt with.) Thus, anarchism - or better anarchists - tend towards the mainstream, to the broadest possible acceptance of their ideas and principles in society, and are addressing everybody and not only the ones who are familiar with the movement and its existing activities and ideas.

Openness of Content and Organisation

The abovementioned discussions organized by the (informal) "Group for Logistic Support" are already open from the start for participation in organisation and everyone interested can suggest topics or make proposals concerning the realisation of each evening. This reflects also in the form of the discussions themselves, which try to avoid classical lectures and to include the largest possible number of participants. Of course it remains an attempt, as the debate was held by around ten people, whereas the remaining one hundred and twenty to fifty preferred to listen and not involve themselves in any other way.

(što ne znači da pitanje komuna, skvotova i sličnih društvenih eksperimenata ne bi trebalo biti obrađeno). Dakle, anarhizam (odnosno, anarhisti i anarhistkinje) teže toj glavnoj struji, teže što široj prihvaćenosti svojih ideja i principa u društvu, i svakako su okrenuti svima, a ne samo onima koji su već upoznati s pokretom, djelovanjem i idejama koje tu postoje.

Sadržajna i organizacijska otvorenost

Spomenute razgovore organizira (neformalna) Grupa za logističku podršku, međutim, već u samom početku cijelu organizaciju ostavljaju otvorenom za uključivanje svih zainteresiranih, kako kroz predlaganje tema, tako i po pitanju same realizacije svake pojedine večeri. To se reflektira i na same razgovore, barem kao pokušaj izbjegavanja klasičnog predavanja i uključivanja što većeg broja prisutnih. Naravno, to ipak ostaje na pokušaju, pa je tako tijekom razgovora o tendencijama u suvremenom anarhizmu razgovor vođen između desetak ljudi, dok je ostalih 120-150 ljudi ipak radije slušalo nego sudjelovalo na neki drugi način. Vjerujem da je tu u pitanju opći stav kako sudjelovanje znači dobru potkovanost u nekoj temi, što postavlja stvari

² **Grupa za logističku podršku** (GLP) je neformalna grupa formirana početkom februara 2006. u Beogradu. U periodu od maja 2006. do maja 2007. grupa je organizovala 10 dešavanja *Razgovori o anarhizmu*, sa lokalnim učesnicama/cima i gostima/gošćama iz Nemačke, Kosova i Hrvatske. Teme su bile: istorija anarhizma, feminizam, anarhosindikalizam, postanarhizam, anarhizam i umetnost, kritički mediji, aktivizam, nasilna i nenasilna borba, samoupravljanje i anarhizam.

Govorili/le su: Trivo Inđić, Dražen Šimleša, Marko Strpić, Miša Mašina, Vanda Perović, Sanja Petkovska, Milica Gudović, Rudolf Mühland, Petar Atanacković, Ratibor Trivunac, Sezgin Boynik, Tadej Kurepa, Milica Ružičić, Vladan Jeremić, Edgar Buršić, Igor Todorović, Pop (Kontrapunkt), Boris Kanzleiter, Violeta Anđelković, Dragutin Leković, Silke Maier Witt, Sonja Drljević i Dragomir Olujić Oluja. Veliki broj ljudi se uključivao tokom dešavanja u razgovore. Audio i foto materijale možete pronaći na internet adresi: <http://glp.anarhija.org>

In my view this has to do with the general attitude that participation implies a profound knowledge of the subject, which leads us to the commonly accepted assumption about experts debating, thinking and offering solutions, and us having no option but finally accepting them. When talking about social questions, nothing could be further from the truth (in my opinion), as these should be discussed by everyone, in order to find adequate solutions and, thereby, ways of living and acting. Of course, it is easier to delegate responsibility and to leave such decisions to experts. But these are not solutions. Or rather, they can't be good for society as a whole. The openness of the *Discussions on Anarchism* themselves is most apparent in the choice of topics they deal with, putting weight on all (or at least most) tendencies within anarchism, be it within traditional or contemporary anarchism, or various combinations and versions of both. The first series of discussions covers anarchosyndicalism, anarchofeminism, postanarchism, alterglobalism and includes an overview of the history of ideas, basic discussions and conflicts and concrete realizations/practices. All this certainly gives only a fragmentary insight into what anarchism is, what it amounts to, what it wants to achieve and how. It may be of interest to mention that the project takes place in the middle of the city and in a politically neutral space (although it is admittedly questionable whether a public space can be politically neutral or not), which makes its themes physically accessible for a large number of people.

na općeprihvaćeni društveni stav o stručnjacima koji razgovoraju, promišljaju i nude rješenja koja mi, eto, možemo samo primjeniti. Ništa ne može biti dalje od istine (po mom mišljenju) kad je riječ o društvenim pitanjima o kojima bi svi trebali raspravljati i pronalaziti odgovarajuća rješenja te načine za svoj život i djelovanje. Naravno, lakše je prebaciti odgovornost i prepustiti takve odluke stručnjacima. No, takvih rješenja nema. Ili, bolje rečeno, niko ne mogu biti dobra za društvo kao cjelinu.

Otvorenost samih *Razgovora o anarhizmu* možda se najbolje očituje u izboru tema koje oni obrađuju, stavljajući naglasak na sve (ili barem većinu) tendencija unutar anarhizma, bilo da je riječ o tradicionalnom anarhizmu ili suvremenom anarhizmu, te raznim kombinacijama i verzijama jednog ili drugog. Ukupna slika, koju bi prva serija razgovora trebala stvoriti, obuhvaća anarhosindikalizam, anarhofeminizam, postanarhizam, alterglobalizam, kao i pregled povijesti ideja, osnovne diskusije i sukobe te konkretne realizacije/praksu. Sve to, naravno, daje tek djelomičan uvid u ono što je anarhizam, kamo cijela priča ide, što se želi postići i na koje sve načine. Zanimljivo je za primjetiti da se projekt odvija u samom središtu grada i u prostoru koji je politički neutralan (uvjetno rečeno, jer pitanje je što može uistinu biti politički neutralan prostor, ukoliko je javan), pa samim tim ove teme čini i fizički pristupačnijim širem krugu ljudi.

Interest of the Society

But to what extent is there a true interest? Or is there just the intention to heighten the social relevance and a general wish to widen the circle of concerned people? It's hard to say how real the impact of this project is, or rather how strong the interest of society, although judging by the number of visitors, it might be concluded that a certain interest exists. The first discussion under the title *Introduction to the history of anarchist ideas* attracted eighty people (this was less than expected, owing to problems with the announcement), while the second (about tendencies and projects in contemporary anarchism) was attended by up to one hundred and fifty people. For the first steps of a project and a discussion on anarchism in general this is a good number, especially considering the fact that the guests/speakers didn't belong to the group of popular lecturers/authors/public personalities who attract people for their names and not for the content, as is usually the case here.

As things stand at present, we should ask if there is any media attention, for when we're talking about the media it is almost as if we're talking about a measurement that defines how large the impact of an event is. This is a bit stupid, but sometimes the idea that something not being covered by the media didn't happen is legitimate. In this case

Interes društva

No, postoji li stvaran interes ili tek namjera postizanja društvene relevantnosti i uopće interesa šireg kruga ljudi? Teško je zaključiti koliki je stvaran utjecaj ovog projekta, odnosno kolika je zainteresiranost društva, iako se prema posjećenosti može zaključiti da određeni interes postoji. Tako je prvi razgovor (pod nazivom *Uvod u povijest anarhističkih ideja*) okupio osamdesetak ljudi (navodno je očekivano više, no zbog problema u oglašavanju to se nije dogodilo), dok je drugi u nizu (koji je tematizirao neke tendencije i projekte u suvremenom anarhizmu) okupio do 150 ljudi.

Za prve korake projekta i uopće razgovor o temi kao što je anarhizam ovo je dobra posjećenost, pogotovo ako uzmemo u obzir da tu nije riječ o gostima/govornicima koji spadaju u domenu popularnih predavača/ autora/javnih osoba, koje okupljaju ljude svojim imenom a ne sadržajem, što je ovdje slučaj.

Naravno, zbog toga kako su uređene stvari, logično pitanje koje se postavlja jest postoji li interes medija, jer kad govorimo o medijima gotovo da govorimo o mjerilu koje određuje koliko je širok utjecaj nekog događaja. Pomalo blesavo, no ideja da što nije u medijima kao da se i nije dogodilo ponekad ima svoju osnovu. Ovdje onda možemo govoriti o nečemu što se dogodilo, jer medijski interes



we can talk then about something that has happened, because media attention exists. And it will certainly have a minimal impact, as far as it succeeds in breaking through the heavy pollution of news and information. There exists interest in, but also resistance to this kind of approach to anarchism within the movement itself. It was compared to having tea and cakes on Sunday afternoon, in a leaflet handed out during the first evening, alleging a frivolous, non-committed attitude towards anarchism. The text is full of funny moments and, although it is not signed, it could have been signed without problems by the anarchist moral police. The leaflet comes over as a defense of anarchism against uninitiated, inappropriate and trendy organizers and participants who dare to deal with a holy theme. It would be funny if it were not tragic. The organizers' answer to this leaflet was even better than could have expected – they simply served tea and cakes the following evening.

Concrete Results

Certainly it is necessary to pose the question as to what concrete results might be the outcome of such meetings and discussions. This is somehow the key to anarchism, because by leaving things at the level of thinking and theorizing we in fact haven't achieved anything. In this respect, it is for

postoji. Pa će to svakako imati neki minimalni utjecaj, ukoliko se uspije probiti kroz silnu zagušenost vijestima i informacijama. Interes postoji i unutar samog pokreta, ali i otpor prema ovakvom pristupu anarhizmu, što je kroz letak koji je dijeljen tijekom prve večeri uspoređeno s nedjeljnim ispijanjem čaja i jedenjem kolačića dok se neobavezno i u svrhu zabave raspravlja o anarhizmu. Letak je pun zabavnih trenutaka, a kako nije potpisan, bez problema ga je mogla potpisati anarhistička moralna policija. Letak je osmišljen kao obrana anarhizma od neupućenih, nepodobnih i pomodnih organizatora i sudionika, koji su se drznuli baviti svetom temom. Stvarno bi bilo smiješno da nije tragično. Odgovor organizatora na taj letak je bio više nego dobar – jednostavno su tijekom druge večeri poslužili čaj i kekse.

Konkretni rezultati

Svakako je nužno postaviti pitanje konkretnih rezultata koji mogu proizaći iz ovakvih okupljanja i razgovora. To je nekako ključno za anarhizam, jer ukoliko ostavimo stvari na razini promišljanja i teoretiziranja, zapravo nismo ništa napravili. Tako je svakako dobar rezultat određeno upoznavanje i povezivanje ljudi koji su već na neki način aktivni, ali i mogućnost uključivanja novih ljudi. Tu se možda treba zapitati što je to u što se mogu uključiti, jer tijekom razgovora o suv-



sure a good result to make people known to each other and to connect those who are already in a way active, as well as to include new people. Here one could ask why and in what way they could participate, because during the discussion about contemporary anarchism, there was repeatedly mentioned the impossibility of the realization of concrete projects (although in fact the attempt to realize something doesn't exist – there is only the idea and, afterwards, the conclusion that it's unrealizable). Regarding this, I don't think that theory and thinking are something unnecessary, but without practical action they become worthless. Various social experiments certainly are not the final result we want to achieve (if we are about to change something), and maybe not even the best way to such changes (unless they represent a strong basis for resistance); but often they are the best and most concrete example of what we want and where we are going. Also, for a larger part of society, these autonomous spaces represent a place where it's possible to become familiar with anarchist ideas and to join the movement. Developing autonomous spaces and initiating social experiments (concrete examples might be projects such as Take it or Leave it, Food Not Bombs, info shops...), we might fail, meet various obstacles or even open resistance, but this doesn't mean that we shouldn't try because it might be difficult or impossible. Three additional concrete results are propaganda, (self-) education and communication, but this doesn't lead us further than to the creation of a larger circle of interested people.

All this means a certain movement, opens up new possibilities and is a valid attempt to present anarchism and anarchist ideas by the activists themselves, but the question of the concrete actions that could be a result of such kinds of meeting, still remains open.

remenom anarhizmu u nekoliko se navrata govorilo o nemogućnosti realiziranja konkretnih projekata (iako zapravo nije postojao pokušaj da se nešto realizira, već samo ideja i onda je promišljanjem stvoren zaključak da to nije moguće). Ne mislim pritom da je teorija i promišljanje nešto što nam ne treba, ali bez svoje prakse oni postaju bezvrijedni. Razni društveni eksperimenti svakako nisu konačan rezultat koji želimo postići (ako već želimo mijenjati sve), pa čak možda i nisu najbolji put prema takvim promjenama (osim ako ne predstavljaju jake baze otpora), no često su najbolji i najkonkretniji primjer onoga što želimo i kuda idemo. Također, za najveći dio društva upravo takvi autonomni prostori predstavljaju mjesto gdje je moguće upoznati se s idejama i priključiti se. Pri razvoju takvih autonomnih prostora i pokretanja društvenih eksperimenata (konkretnije govoreći, to mogu biti projekti poput Uzmi ili ostavi, Hrana, a ne oružje, infoshopovi i slično) možemo raditi greške, nailaziti na razne prepreke ili čak otvoren otpor, no to ne znači da ne treba ni pokušavati jer je to teško ili nemoguće. Svakako treba spomenuti pitanje propagande, (samo)edukacije i komunikacije, što su tri konkretna rezultata ovog projekta, ali nas ne odvođe dalje od činjenice da time stvaramo tek nešto veći krug upućenih. Sve ovo znači određeni pomak i predstavlja dobar pokušaj predstavljanja anarhizma i anarhističkih ideja od strane samih aktera, no i dalje ostavlja otvoreno pitanje konkretne akcije koja bi bila poželjan rezultat ovakvih okupljanja.

Feminism and Anarchism¹

Feminizam i anarhizam¹

Vanda Perović

Anarchism and feminism aren't codified ideologies but movements that are hard to define, as there exists more than one anarchism and feminism. In fact, there is a wide range of anarchisms and feminisms. They have been developing for more than two centuries in different directions. Taking some of the most simple definitions of anarchism and feminism and saying that anarchism is a free community of equal and free individuals and that feminism is the constant fight of women against male domination, we can conclude that these are emancipatory movements. That is to say, anarchism as well as feminism are oriented towards liberation – feminism towards the emancipation of women, and anarchism towards the emancipation of women and men.

As emancipatory movements they are left-wing movements, anarchism being on the radical left and feminism generally on the left. These movements are subversive in relation to the existing values of a society, wishing to change them, and for this reason are often unwanted in that society. This undesirability has led anarchism and feminism into a difficult situation as regards the public,

Anarhizam i feminizam nisu kodifikovane ideologije, to su pokreti koje je teško definisati jer postoji više anarhizama i feminizama, ustvari cela lepeza anarhizama i feminizama. Oni su se razvijali više od dva veka u različitim pravcima. Ako bi smo npr. uzeli neke najjednostavnije definicije anarhizma i feminizma i rekli da je anarhizam slobodna zajednica ravnopravnih i slobodnih pojedinaca i ako bi smo rekli da je feminizam neprestana borba žena protiv muške dominacije, iz samih definicija zaključićemo da su to emancipatorski pokreti. Znači, i anarhizam i feminizam teže oslobođenju – feminizam emancipaciji žena a anarhizam emancipaciji i muškaraca i žena.

Kao emancipatorski pokreti to su pokreti na levljici, anarhizam na radikalnoj levljici a feminizam generalno na levljici. Ovi pokreti su subverzivni u odnosu na postojeće vrednosti društva, žele da ih promene, a kao takvi često su i nepoželjni u samom društvu. Ta nepoželjnost je dovela i anarhizam i feminizam u tešku situaciju u odnosu na javnost zato što društvo, braneći se, zamagljuje termine i anarhizma i feminizma, manipuliše svim sredstvima, da bi ih prikazalo u nega-

¹ This text is part of the transcript of a discussion concerning feminism and anarchism in the frame of the *Discussions on Anarchism*, held on 1st June 2006 at the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, with the speakers: Vanda Perović, Sanja Petkovska & Milica Gudović.

¹ Tekst je deo transkripta razgovora realizovanog u sklopu *Razgovora o anarhizmu* na temu feminizam i anarhizam, održanog u beogradskom Domu omladine 1. juna 2006. U razgovoru su učestvovalе: Vanda Perović, Sanja Petkovska i Milica Gudović.

because society, in defending itself, obscures the terms of anarchism and feminism and, as a deterrent, manipulates them in every possible way to show them in a negative context. Consequently, it's not easy to find somebody publicly saying: I'm a feminist, and even less: I'm an anarchist. But there are also the braver ones, who would say that they are anarchists and/or feminists, and many of them are here this evening.

Anarchism as well as feminism are movements that have had their ups and downs. In certain historical situations they have had very many supporters and a very strong impact, in other historical moments they have simply died out. Anarchism is often compared to a river, a mighty river, which at a certain moment suddenly becomes a subterranean stream. Referring to feminism, we talk about waves of feminism, which means that there is a discontinuity in effect. But what's for sure, as these two centuries have shown, is that these ideas will always exist, no matter if they are directly present in society or not.

...

The Attitude of Anarchism towards Feminism

According to its definition, anarchism includes feminism, because anarchism opposes

ativnom kontekstu u cilju zastrašivanja, tako da nije lako naći nekoga da javno kaže: Ja sam feminista/feministkinja, a još manje bi rekli: Ja sam anarhista/anarhistkinja, mada ima hrabrih koji bi rekli/le da su i anarhisti/kinje i feministi/kinje, (mnogi/e su od njih i prisutni/ne večeras).

I anarhizam i feminizam su pokreti koji su imali svoje uspone i padove. To su pokreti koji su imali u određenim istorijskim okolnostima veoma mnogo pristalica i veoma velikog uticaja, da bi u nekim drugim istorijskim trenucima jednostavno zamrli. Anarhizam se često poredi sa rekam, sa moćnom rekam koja u nekim trenucima postaje ponornica. Kada govorimo o feminizmu onda govorimo o talasima feminizma, znači postoji jedan diskontinuitet delovanja, ali ono što jeste sigurno, i što su ova dva veka pokazala, jeste da su to ideje koje će uvek biti prisutne, bez obzira da li su one direktno prisutne u društvu.

...

Stav anarhizma prema feminizmu

Anarhizam prema svojoj definiciji uključuje i feminizam, zato što je anarhizam protiv svih vidova autoriteta i hijerarhija, to znači protiv države, protiv kapitala, protiv crkve, i za feminizam važno, protiv patrijarhata. Međutim, istorijski anarhizam je bio, kao



all aspects of authority and hierarchy, which means it is against state, against capital, against church, and, important for feminism, against patriarchy. However, like all the movements of that time, historical anarchism was a male-dominated movement and the male anarchists didn't write anything or go into any detail concerning the future position of women. Ultimately, they were only children of their time.

Proudhon, the founder of anarchism, was overtly misogynous and wished it to be understood that women can only be mothers or whores; he wanted to change all the values of society, but not the relations within the family. Women anarchists were confronted with discrimination – with sexism, however you wish to call it, in anarchist circles, and of course in relation to society, which was radically different. They wrote much more about the question of women, and in a more detailed way, than male anarchists.

...

In the eighties of the 19th century, the center of the anarchist movement moved from Europe to America, following the big emigration from Russia and Central Europe. The departing emigrants carried with them new ideas about socialism, social democracy and anarchism.

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and many other future anarchists arrived in

i svi pokreti tog doba, muški dominantan pokret i muškarci anarhisti nisu mnogo pisali niti ulazili u detalje u vezi sa budućim položajem žena, na kraju krajeva oni jesu bili samo ljudi svoga doba. Osnivač anarhizma Proudon je bio otvoreno protiv žena, on je poručio da žene mogu biti samo majke ili kurve, hteo je da promeni sve vrednosti društva, ali nije hteo da promeni odnose u porodici. Žene anarhistkinje su se susretale sa diskriminacijom – seksizmom, kako god to nazvali, kako u okviru anarhističkog pokreta tako naravno u odnosu na društvo koje je bilo radikalno drugačije. One su pisale o ženskom pitanju, mnogo više i mnogo detaljnije nego što su muškarci anarhisti pisali. 80ih godina 19. veka težište anarhističkog pokreta se iz Evrope, usled velike emigracije iz Rusije i iz centralne Evrope, seli u Ameriku. Emigranti odlaze u Ameriku noseći sa sobom nove ideje socijalizma, socijaldemokratije i anarhizma.

Emma Goldman i Aleksandar Berkman, kao i mnogi drugi budući anarhisti i anarhistkinje stižu u Ameriku koja tada proživljava burno doba industrijalizacije. To je doba velike političke aktivnosti sindikata, štrajkova, mitinga, bombi... Emma Goldman direktno iz Petrogradske fabrike dolazi u američku fabriku, razočarenje je veliko. Bežeći od jedne bede i jedne eksploatacije stiže se u drugu eksploataciju. Posle bombi na Hejmarketu 1887. i pod uticajem montiranog sudskog procesa i izricanja smrtne kazne 4 anarhiste

America, which at that time was experiencing the stormy age of industrialization. This was the time of the big political activities of trade unions, strikes, meetings, bombs... Emma Goldman arrived directly from the Petersburg factory to the American factory and her disappointment was great. Escaping from one exploitation, one had arrived at another exploitation. After the Haymarket bomb in 1887 and under the influence of the unfair trial, in which four anarchists were sentenced to death in 1887, Emma Goldman left for New York and got to know Alexander Berkman and Johann Most, publisher of an influential anarchist newspaper.

After having completed her knowledge of English, Emma Goldman became one of the most famous agitators and theorists of anarchism in America. She was tirelessly travelling and giving lectures on anarchism in relation to various themes: the freedom of press, militarism, capitalism, education, the emancipation of women, marriage and love, woman-trafficking, the right to vote, prisons, patriotism. She was one of the first to begin to fight for the right to information about contraception.

...

The essence of Emma Goldman's writings is that she identified patriarchy as the basic locus of women's oppression, and the classical family as the place where women are oppressed and deprived of their rights. She claimed that the disenfranchisement of women differs from the disenfranchisement of men, both in its causes and its effects. A woman is doubly disenfranchised: in a patriarchal society, because she is a woman, and in an unjust society, as a worker and citizen. The patriarchal family and patriarchy stand for the ideology of domination. She considers the family to be the source of women's oppression and disenfranchisement, the place of sexual repression and forced moth-

1887. Ema Goldman odlazi u Nju Jork, upoznaje Aleksandra Berkmana i Johana Mosta, koji izdaju uticajane anarhističke novine. Kada je konačno savladala engleski ona postaje jedna od najpoznatijih agitatorke i teoretičarki anarhizma u Americi. Neumorno je putovala i držala predavanja iz anarhizma o raznim temama: o slobodi štampe, protiv militarizma, protiv kapitalizma, o obrazovnom sistemu, emancipaciji žena, braku i ljubavi, trgovini ženama, pravu na glas, zatvorima, patriotizmu, bila je jedna od prvih koja je počela bitku o pravu na informaciju o kontracepciji.

...

Suština onog što je Ema Goldman pisala je u tome da je ona identifikovala patrijarhat kao osnovno mesto tlačenja žena, klasičnu porodicu kao mesto gde je žena tlačena i mesto gde je žena obespravljena. Tvrdila je da se obespravljenost žena razlikuje u odnosu na obespravljenost muškaraca po svojim uzrocima i po svojim posledicama. Žena je dvostruko obespravljena, u patrijarhalnom društvu je obespravljena zato što je žena a u nepravednom društvu je obespravljena kao radnica i kao građanka. Patrijarhalna porodica kao i patrijarhat predstavljaju ideologiju dominacije. Porodica kao izvorište ženske potlačenosti i obespravljenosti, mesto seksualne represije, mesto nametnutog materinstva i mesto gde se ograničava sloboda razvoja ženske ličnosti. Smatrala je da žena sama treba da se izbori za svoj bolji položaj u društvu tako što će postati ličnost a prestati da bude seksualni objekt. Takođe je smatrala da žena ima pravo na ljubav i seksualno zadovoljstvo, ali ako samo žena bude ta koja će se emancipovati a društvo ostane isto da će to biti tragedija ženske emancipacije jer će žena ostati sama bez adekvatnog partnera. Neumorno je držala predavanja o ženinom pravu nad raspolaganjem svojim telom, to jest, pravu žena na seksualno obrazovanje i kontracepciju što

erhood, the place where the free development of a women's personality is restricted. She thought that women themselves have to fight for a better position in society by becoming personalities and desisting from being sexual objects. In her opinion, women have a right to love and sexual satisfaction, but if women are the only ones to emancipate themselves while society doesn't change, this would be the tragedy of women's emancipation, because they would remain without appropriate partners. Untiringly – and risking imprisonment, which she suffered twice - she gave lectures about women's rights to decide on their bodies, including the right to sexual education and contraception, which she considered of primary importance.

...

Following my preoccupation with Emma Goldman, I wanted to see if there is a trace of this big anarchist wave rolling over Europe in 19th century Serbia, and I encountered Jelena Ilka Marković. I've now completed her bibliography. As a feminist-oriented historian, it's my task to produce new knowledge about women's activities, to connect scattered items of information, and to assess them and inscribe them into the mainstream history written by men. My thesis is that Jelena Ilka Marković, the woman who shot at King Milan in 1882, wife of the influential politician and officer Jevrem Marković and daughter-in-law of Svetozar Marković, the first Serbian socialist, was not only a desperate widow shooting at King Milan to avenge her husband's murder four years earlier. I believe she definitely also had political motives, which originated from her clear political attitude and her posture in the immediate but also wider ideological context of anarchism and the Russian 'People's Will' movement (Narodnaya Volya), and I think I can prove this. My special work is Jelena Ilka Marković's biography, and my magister work

je smatrala od najvećeg značaja – rizikujući da bude osuđena na zatvorske kazne, koje je dva puta i izdržala.

....

Posle mog interesa za Emu Goldman, htela sam da vidim da li u Srbiji ima neki odraz tog velikog anarhističkog talasa koji je prošao Evropom tokom 19. veka i naišla sam na Jelenu Ilku Marković. Do sad sam sastavila njenu bibliografiju, kao feministički nastrojena istoričarka, moja je dužnost da proizvedem nova znanja o ženskoj aktivnosti, da sastavim te rasute informacije i da ih vrednujem a onda upišem u ovu istoriju glavnog toka koju pišu muškarci. Moja teza je da Jelena Ilka Marković, žena koja je pucala na kralja Milana 1882. godine supruga uticajnog političara i oficira Jevrema Markovića i snaja Svetozara Markovića srpskog prvog socijaliste, nije bila samo očajna udovica koja je pucala na kralja Milana samo da muža osveti, 4 godine posle ubistva Jevrema Markovića. Mislim da je ona definitivno imala i političkih motiva koji su proizašli iz njenih jasnih političkih stavova kao i iz stavova njenog neposrednog ali i šireg ideološkog konteksta anarhizma i ruskog narodnovoljskog pokreta i mislim da ja to mogu da dokažem. Moj specijalistički rad je biografija Jelene Ike Marković, moj magistarski rad će biti politička strana njenog atentata. U Arhivu grada Beograda pročitala sam 450 stranica njenog slučaja, njenog suđenja i istrage i mislim da tu definitivno ima dokaza o njenim jakim političkim stavovima u odnosu na vrstu vlasti koju je kralj Milan sprovodio tj. o političkoj motivisanosti njenog atentata. Istorija je do sada bila samo zainteresovana da li je njen atentat bio deo zavere šire grupe? Nije bila zavera šire grupe, u najboljem slučaju to je bila zavera dve žene. Mislim da mogu da stavim atentat u kontekst evropske istorije naročito anarhističkih atentata tog doba i uticaja atentata na Ruskog cara u kome su učestvovala žene.

will be the political aspect of her assassination. In the archive of the City of Belgrade I have read 450 pages related to her case, trial and inquiry, and I believe that there are definite proofs of her strong political attitude regarding the kind of government King Milan was leading and therefore of her political motivation. Until now, historians have only been interested in the question of whether the assassination was part of a larger group conspiracy. It was not a larger group conspiracy – at most, a plot by two women. In my view, this assassination can be seen in the context of European history, especially of the anarchist assassinations of that time and of the assassination of the Russian Tsar, in which women participated also.

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Erasing of Context Through Hyper-Production¹

Brisanje konteksta kroz hiperprodukciju¹

Vladan Jeremić

Already for a long now we find art reduced to the role of decorating neoliberal capitalism, functioning in the form of a mere market product. We see the modification of art into marketing strategies and corporate culture. The heritage of the artistic avant-garde, with its conceptual and visual experiments, is part of today's marketing strategies. For example, we feel free to state that without the collage at the beginning of the 20th century, there would have been no graphical operative computer systems or many other technological-conceptual products. And in a way, with their practice called *détournement*, situationists opened the door for today's models of para-advertising.

In a culture, besides marketing strategies, there is also present a political mediation, which according to the theory of identity, transfers the former partition of society into classes to the paradigm of different identities. In the Balkans, this kind of mediation is very apparent in the recent economic and political processes. Contemporary art is used both as a means for political propaganda and for the expansion of the market. Various brands have been imported from the dominant cultural areas and are implanted

Već dugo zatičemo umetnost svedenu na ulogu dekoratera neoliberalnog kapitalizma i njenog funkcionisanja kroz formu čisto tržišnog proizvoda. Reč je o modifikaciji umetnosti u strategije marketinga i korporacijske kulture. Naslede umetničke avangarde i njen konceptualni i vizuelni eksperiment, ugrađeni su u današnje strategije marketinga. Da nije bilo kolaža na početku 20. veka ne bi bilo ni računarskih grafičkih operativnih sistema kao i mnogih drugih tehnološko-konceptualnih proizvoda. Na primer, situacionisti, koji su se u svoje vreme bavili praksom nazvanom *détournement*, na neki način su otvorili vrata modelima para-advertajzinga.

Pored marketinških strategija, prisutna je i aktivnost političke medijacije u kulturi, koja se vezuje za teoriju identiteta, gde se nekadašnja klasna podela društva prenosi na paradigmu o raznim identitetima. Ovakva medijacija je bila veoma vidljiva na Balkanu u proteklim ekonomskim i političkim procesima. Savremena umetnost je u ovom smislu korišćena u svrhe političkih propagandi i proširivanju tržišta. Uvozili su se razni brendovi iz dominantnih kulturnih prostora, koji bi se propagandnim alatima i kroz sisteme

¹ This text is part of the transcript of a discussion concerning art and anarchism in the frame of the *Discussions on Anarchism*, held on 1st October 2006 at the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, with the speakers: Vladan Jeremić, Sezgin Boynik, Tadej Kurepa and Milica Ružičić.

¹ Tekst je deo transkripta razgovora realizovanog u sklopu drugog ciklusa *Razgovori o anarhizmu* na temu umetnost i anarhizam, održanog u beogradskom Domu omladine 1. oktobra 2006. U razgovoru su učestvovali: Vladan Jeremić, Sezgin Boynik, Tadej Kurepa i Milica Ružičić.

by propaganda tools and the media into the market of a subordinated cultural habitat. This transfer of cultural packages is locally put into practice uncritically as a form of “cultural karaoke”. At the same time, in these surroundings, particular profiles have developed for dealing with specific tasks in cultural politics. For the initiation of the transition in Eastern European cultures, contemporary art served a position described as “Soros-Realism” (after the name of the foundation mainly financing these kind of programs in Ex-Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe during the nineties).

Cultural politics and the agendas they impose are realized through the neoliberal strategies of the free market and with the help of the (European) totalitarian bureaucratic apparatus. We witness the expansion of consumption and cultural hyper-production, the branding of a region and the processes of gentrification providing ground for future economic investments.

In Belgrade, Serbia, a good example of the transition process in the arts is the “October Salon”, an until now conservative manifestation, which is currently becoming an international biennial, Belgrade meeting the same fate as the other main cities of the region. The aim is to have an exhibition similar to anywhere else in the region or Europe, the ideal effect being to change the city’s global image and to stimulate larger future economic investments.

Throughout its history, institutional art has already repeated the act of recuperation so many times that everything can be offered on its market. Consequently, the art works presented at these kind of biennials and shows look equally unconvincing.

All possible kinds of conceptions have already been recuperated a thousand times and multiplied in the digital media. The

medija implementirali na tržište podređenog kulturnog habitata. Način prenošenja kulturnih paketa realizovao se lokalno u nekritičkoj formi „karaoke aktivizma u kulturi“. U ovakvim uslovima se razvijaju posebni profili koji se bave specifičnim zadacima u kulturnim politikama. Pokretanju tranzicije u istočnoevropskim kulturama služila je savremena umetnost označena pozicijom „Soroš-realizma“ (po imenu fondacije koja je najviše finansirala ovakve programe, tokom 90-tih na prostorima ex-YU i istočne Evrope.)

Kulturne politike i njihove nametnute agende deluju putem neoliberalnih strategija takozvanog slobodnog tržišta i uz pomoć (evropskih) birokratskih totalitarnih aparata. Prisutno je proširivanje polja konzumacije i hiperprodukcije u kulturi, kao i novo brendiranje jednog regiona. Prisutni su i procesi gentrifikacije, usled ekonomskih investicija koje bi se sprovele u budućnosti.

U Beogradu, u Srbiji, imamo primer tranzicije Oktobarskog salona, do juče konzervativne manifestacije, koja trenutno postaje međunarodno bijenale, ne bi li ispunila bijenalsku sudbinu, kakvu su već usvojili glavni gradovi regiona. Cilj je izložba kao ma gde u Evropi ili ma gde u regionu. Idealni cilj bi bio da se promeni globalni imidž grada Beograda i da se time omoguće veće ekonomske investicije u budućnosti.

Institucionalna umetnost je u svojoj istoriji već toliko puta izvršila čin rekuperacije da je sve na njenom tržištu odavno moguće kao ponuda. Radovi koji su zastupljeni na takvim bijenalima i smotrama izgledaju jednostavno neubedljivo.

Uopšteno gledano, moguće ili nemoguće predstave su već bezbroj puta rekuperirane i multiplikovane u digitalnom mediju. Koncept autorskog prava ne korespondira sa savremenom remix kulturom. Realno-per-

concept of copyright cannot cope with the contemporary remix culture. The performative has become the manifestation of the spectacle and the creativity of the “virtual bodies”/“avatars” takes place inside of the defined corporate spaces of net games (such as “Second Life”). Context alone is not enough for the affirmation of an art work. Or rather, we observe the erasure of context itself - more precisely, the subsumption of all contexts into one single context, the celebration of capitalist superiority in corporate culture.

As regards the question of context, it is interesting to have a look at exhibitions like the show about the RAF (Red Army Fraction), which was realized in a quite relaxed way some years ago at Kunstwerke in Berlin. Accompanied by a fat catalogue, it promoted an aesthetic image of the RAF, showing art works, films and documentations representing something like the “radical art” we can enjoy today while having a coffee at the gallery’s bar. A similar treatment of the issue is exemplified in the worldwide retrospectives concerning the Situationist International during the last few years. They tend to show the situationists in their aesthetic and formal aspects, to the neglect of the true political context. Currently there is a show about SPUR, a section of situationists from Munich. The interpretation of their activities also concentrates on their aesthetic and formal aspects, putting the political in the background. The same process has happened to Dada and Surrealism too, as the phenomenon of these movements has for the most part entered the archives interpreted through the aesthetics and theory of the image, whereas their main aim of changing something through direct action in everyday life (also the main aim of anarchist groups) is disregarded.

formativno preostaje kao manifestacija spektakla, a kreativnost virtuelnih tela/avatara u svetu umreženih igara, (tipa „Second Life“), odvija se u definisanom korporacijskom prostoru. Kontekst sam po sebi nije dovoljan za afirmaciju umetničkog dela. Na snazi je brisanje samog konteksta kroz hiperprodukciju. Preciznije rečeno, sažimanje svih konteksta u jedan jedini kontekst slavljenja kapitalističke nadmoći u korporacijskoj kulturi.

Pomenuo bih izložbu o RAF-u (Rote Armee Fraktion), od pre nekoliko godina, u berlinskom Kunst Werke-u, koja je realizovana na uistinu relaksiran način. Uz debeo katalog, se forsirala estetika imižda RAF-a, prikazivani su umetnički radovi, filmovi i dokumentacija, jedne skoro „radikalne umetnosti“ koju danas možemo komzumirati uz kafu ili čaj. Zanimljivo je kako su tretirane i retrospektive o Situacionističkoj internacionali koje su proteklih godina realizovane u svetu. Tendencija je da se situacionisti prikažu u estetsko-formalnom kontekstu, a da se realni politički okvir izbegne.

Trenutno se u Nemačkoj realizuje izložba o SPUR-u. SPUR je bila situacionistička sekcija iz Minhena. Interpretacija delovanja SPUR-a takođe se odvija kroz estetsko-formalni kontekst, dok se onaj politički zanemaruje. Isti proces se desio s dadom i nadrealizmom. Pojava ovih pokreta je u masi arhivske građe interpretirana kroz estetiku ili teoriju slika, a zanemarivao se njihov početni i glavni cilj (koji je ujedno i cilj anarhističkih grupa), da se direktnom akcijom promeni svakodnevni život.

Esej anarhističkog pisca Džona Zerzana (John Zerzan) *The Case Against Art*, kritikuje postmodernističke i druge aspekte povezane sa umetnošću i njenom ulogom u civilizaciji. Zerzan ne kritikuje umetnost



In his essay *The Case Against Art*, the anarchist writer John Zerzan criticizes postmodern and other aspects of art and its entrance into civilisation. Zerzan doesn't criticize art as such, but the ways it is presented in a culture. For him, art is problematic because it speaks in a symbolic language mediated through experts who tell us what art is and what we should learn and experience as art. The majority of artists in the field of anarchism are linked in their activities to postanarchism or queer theory. A large number of participants in the field of contemporary art consider it inevitable to actively enter the art system, claiming that we cannot neglect it nor find any strategy to avoid it. According to them, it is necessary to enter the system with an rhizomatic idea about relations and to "invisibly" destruct and destroy it through various positions of identity - to play with the system in a way that simply makes its functioning impossible on different levels. This is more or less the current state of the discourse between postanarchism and contemporary art.

The attitude of anarchists towards art has always been critical and entrance into the system (even as an extreme strategy/anti-strategy) especially problematic. Only free play in everyday life can open a space for direct interpersonal contact and direct action and the symbolic models of artistic communication cannot replace that.

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samu po sebi, nego kritikuje prikazivanje i načine predstavljanja u kulturi. Za Zerzana umetnost je problematična jer govori simboličkim jezikom, isposredovanim kroz eksperte, koji nam govore šta je to zapravo umetnost, ili šta bi trebalo da naučimo i doživimo kao takvu.

Veći broj umetnika i umetnica u polju anarhističkog, danas su u svojoj aktivnosti vezani za postanarhizam ili queer teoriju. Veliki broj učesnika i učesnica u polju savremene umetnosti smatra da je neophodno aktivno ući u sistem umetnosti, da ga ne možemo zanemariti ili mu pronaći zao-bilaznu strategiju. Potrebno je ući u sistem sa rizomatskom predstavom o odnosima, i kroz razne pozicije identiteta „nevidljivo“ ga poništavati i urušavati; igrati se sa sistemom tako da jednostavno onemogućimo njegovo funkcionisanje na raznim planovima. U tom pravcu se kreće aktuelni diskurs kreiran između postanarhizma i savremene umetnosti.

Odnos anarhistkinja i anarhista prema umetnosti je oduvek bio kritički, a ulazak u sistem umetnosti (makar i kao sporedna strategija/anti-strategija) posebno problematičan. Samo slobodna igra u svakodnevnom životu, može otvoriti prostor za direktan međusobni kontakt i direktnu akciju, koje simbolički modeli umetničke komunikacije ne mogu nadomestiti.

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Our ideas are in everybody's minds¹

Sezgin Boynik

There exists a very active group on the Turkish subversive and anarchist scene dealing with the idea of postanarchism. They publish a magazine called *Siyahi*, which is one of the best magazines for theory of culture and critical thinking. The editors are Sureyyya Evren and Erden Kosova from Istanbul.

An important component of postanarchism is the search for a rhizomatic or new subject of anarchism. Postanarchists base their strategy on a slogan derived from the gender-queer-anarcho-feministic activities of the seventies, with the idea *The personal is the political*, leading their strategy to the point of *Changing the world without taking power*. This starting point is the most important problematic of the postanarchistic tendency, since they can be very easily incorporated and assimilated into the system, although taking very radical actions. For them, it is not important to take the power, but simply to create a new subject. Postanarchists can easily be connected to the situationist idea of the creation of situations, as well as to the work on a complete change of power structures (it is well known that the situationists wanted to achieve this by a practice they called 'détournement').

U turskoj subverzivnoj i anarhističkoj sredini postoji veoma aktivna grupa koja se bavi idejom postanarhizma. Oni izdaju list koji se zove *Siyahi*. To je jedan od najboljih časopisa za teoriju kulture i kritičko mišljenje. Urednici su Sureyyya Evren i Erden Kosova iz Istanbula.

Važna komponenta postanarhizma je tražanje za rizomatskim ili novim subjektom anarhizma. Postanarhisti/kinje baziraju svoju strategiju kroz parolu- inače izvedenu 70-tih godina iz gender-queer-anarhofeminističkih delovanja - *The personal is the political* i dovode svoju strategiju do tačke *Changing the world without taking power*. Ovo polazište je najvažnija problematika postanarhističkog pravca, pošto se oni/one zbog toga mogu veoma lako kooptirati i asimilovati u sistem, iako i dalje mogu izvoditi veoma radikalne akcije. Za njih nije važno uzeti *power* (ili moć), već jednostavno kreirati novi subjekt. Postanarhisti/kinje se veoma lako povezuju i sa situacionističkom idejom kreiranja situacija, kao i s radom na potpunoj promeni strukture moći (poznato je da su situacionisti želeli to postići praksom koju su nazvali *détournement*.)

¹ This text is part of the transcript of a discussion concerning art and anarchism in the frame of the *Discussions on Anarchism*, held on 1st October 2006 at the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, with the speakers Sezgin Boynik, Vladan Jeremić, Tadej Kurepa and Milica Ružičić.

¹ Tekst je transkript dela razgovora realizovanog u sklopu drugog ciklusa *Razgovori o anarhizmu* na temu umetnost i anarhizam, održanog u beogradskom Domu omladine 1. oktobra 2006. U razgovoru su učestvovali: Sezgin Boynik, Vladan Jeremić, Tadej Kurepa i Milica Ružičić.

Erden Kosova has written a review of the Situationist International for the magazine *art-ist*, of which I was the editor and which was published in Istanbul at the end of 2004. Erden's objection was that the new radical situationist position bases itself on the notion of 'récupération' and that it uses this term too often. 'Récupération' is one of the historically most important arguments of the Situationist International. In the first issue of the magazine *Internationale situationniste* (published in June 1958) there is an article *The Bitter Victory of Surrealism*, which advances the thesis that Surrealism and Dada were based on the radical position which Raul Vaneigem names *radical radioactive nucleus*, which was later very rapidly assimilated into the system of the society of the spectacle. They give two examples: the first is a robot that could write automatic songs, which had been a radical practice of the surrealists before; the second is brainstorming, which had already started being used in the USA in the fifties, inside the system of management.

In the year 1989, at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, there was held the first big retrospective concerning the Situationist International. It is interesting that the place where the exhibition was put on, more precisely the place where the Centre Georges Pompidou was built, was actually the part of the city where the situationists used to conduct their experiments during the sixties, calling their activity 'psychogeography'. In brief, they wanted to research the spatiality of the city or how the city is actually built, by walking around and using different practices, for example 'dérive'. The goal was to find the weak points of the ideological structure of urbanism, using the definition of unitarian urbanism. This quarter of Paris was demolished in 1963, to the protests of the situationists, and in 1989 there was already a big

Erden Kosova je napisao kritiku za magazin *art-ist* o Situacionističkoj internacionali, čiji sam ja bio urednik, a koji je izašao u Istanbulu krajem 2004. Erdenova zamerka je bila da se nova radikalna situacionistička pozicija bazira na terminu rekuperacije (récupération) i da ga previše upotrebljava. Rekuperacija je jedan od istorijski najznačajnijih argumenata Situacionističke internacionale. U njihovom prvom broju magazina koji se zove *Internationale situationniste* (izašao juna 1958. godine) postoji članak *The Bitter Victory of Surrealism*, s tezom da su nadrealizam i dadaizam počivali na radikalnoj poziciji koju Raul Vaneigem zove *radical radioactive nucleus*, kasnije asimilovanoj veoma brzo u sistem društva spektakla. Oni daju dva primera za to: prvi je robot koji piše automatske pesme, što je bila radikalna praksa nadrealista pre toga, a drugi je brainstorming, koji je zapravo započeo da se upotrebljava u SAD već 50-tih u sistemu menadžmenta....

1989. godine je u centru de Georges Pompidou u Parizu priređena je velika retrospektiva Situacionističke internacionale. Interesantno je da je mesto u kome je postavljena izložba, odnosno mesto gde je izgrađen centar de Pompidou, u stvari bilo deo grada u kome su situacionisti početkom 60tih eksperimentisali, nazivajući svoju aktivnost psihogeografija. Ukratko, oni su hteli da istražuju specijalnost grada ili kako je grad zapravo sazdan, šetajući se i koristeći razne prakse, npr. *dérive*. Cilj je bio da se pronađu slabe tačke ideološke strukture urbanizma kroz definiciju unitarnog urbanizma. Ovaj deo Pariza je srušen 1963., što je izazvalo proteste situacionista, a već 1989. tu je napravljena velika izložba o njima. Krajem 60-tih, Georges Pompidou je kao ministar unutrašnjih poslova, a čije ime danas nosi ovaj eminentni kulturni centar, nekoliko puta hapsio Vaneigema i Deborda. Stoga nije

exhibition dedicated to them at this place. At the end of the sixties, Georges Pompidou, the then minister of Internal Affairs, whose name was given to this renowned cultural centre, arrested Vaneigem and Debord several times. Hardly surprising that Debord did not visit this exhibition and that other situationists also refused to support it.

...

In Denmark, the most discussed topic at present is the canonization of culture. The Danish Ministry of Culture has established new canons about which contemporary artworks are to be considered Danish. This is of course a consequence and a continuation of conservative anti-immigration politics. Lars von Trier is one of the artists mentioned, although his movies were once considered radical, and *Idiot* has consequently become one of the canonic movies. In this canon, the Ministry considers some fifteen pieces of art in music, film and painting as representing the cultural matrix of „Danishness“. In painting, they have chosen Asger Jorn, more precisely his series of modifications that operate with the ‘détournement’ of images and objects found at the flea market and of worthless kitsch paintings he has transformed into a critical and revolutionary visuality. We could give a lot of examples of ‘récuperation’...

...

Halil Altindere from Istanbul repeated on an oil-painting by a local Turkish artist what the artist Alexander Brener did in 1997 (Brener painted a dollar with a green spray onto a painting by Kazimir Maljevič in the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam, and ended up in prison). Halil repeated this gesture a few months after Brener, painting a dollar as a practice of destruction of an aesthetical position that had become commodified. It is interesting to note what happened to

čudno da Debord nije posetio ovu izložbu, a ni drugi situacionisti nisu želeli da je podrže.

...

U Danskoj je trenutno najaktuelnija tema kanonizacija kulture. Dansko ministarstvo kulture je uvelo nove kanone koji određuju koji bi se savremeni umetnički radovi mogli smatrati danskim. To je naravno posledica produžetka konzervativne politike koja se vodi prema imigrantima. Lars von Trier je jedan od navedenih umetnika: njegov film *Idiot*, koji je nekada bio smatran radikalnim, takode je proglašen kanonskim. U tom kanonu ministarstvo pronalazi nekih petnaestak radova iz muzike, filma, slikarstva, koji predstavljaju kulturnu matriču „Danishness“. U slikarstvu su se odlučili za Asger Jorna, i to upravo za njegov ciklus modifikacija koji operiše détournementom predmeta pronađenih na buvljoj pijaci ili bezvrednih kič slika, koje je Jorn transformisao u kritičku i revolucionarnu vizuelnost. Možemo navesti dosta primera rekuperacije...

....

Halil Altindere iz Istanbula je ponovio Brenerov rad (umetnik Alexander Brener je 1997. godine u muzeju Stedelijk u Amsterdamu, na slici Kazimira Maljeviča zelenim sprejem nacrtao dolar i zbog toga završio u zatvoru), na uljanoj slici jednog lokalnog turskog umetnika. Halil je tim činom (nekoliko meseci posle Brenera) ponovio ovaj gest, nacrtavši dolar kao praksu destrukcije estetskog položaja pretvorenog u komodifikaciju. Interesantno je šta se kasnije desilo sa Altindereom: njega nisu uhapsili odmah kao Brenera, ali je morao da plati kaznu od oko 5000 dolara. Uspeo je da sa advokatom promeni odluku suda, tako što se pozvao na činjenicu da je i sam umetnik. Stoga, ako neki umetnik interveniše na radu drugog umetnika, onda to postaje nadograđeni

Altindere afterwards. He was not arrested immediately like Brener, but was ordered to pay a fee of around 5000 dollars. With the help of a lawyer, he succeeded in reversing the verdict of the court, appealing to the fact that he was an artist. In this way, if an artist makes an intervention on a work of another artist, it becomes an improved art piece. It is not destruction, but an artistic act, which later even raises the price of the artwork. This is a real example of 'récuperation' on the contemporary art market. It is known that Brener himself used this "being-an-artist strategy", when he avoided getting beaten up in Moscow after attacking a member of Parliament, saying that it was actually an artistic performance.

In any case, the connection between art and anarchism as radical thinking is very problematic. For example, the above mentioned magazine 'art-ist' from the very beginning supported Brener and Barbara Schurz, publishing their texts through this collaboration. When they were staying in Istanbul for the first time, we conducted an interview on the occasion of the incident at Manifesta in Ljubljana. Brener and Schurz intervened during the panel discussion on contemporary art of an elite circle, by writing with a spray *Demolish neoliberalist multiculturalist art system now!*. They found themselves imprisoned again, until Miran Mohar from IRWIN got them out. The editors of 'art-ist' decided not to publish any more issues about Manifesta, Documenta and the biennials, but in 2004 they invited Brener and Schurz as radical activists to edit the new issue of 'art-ist', dedicated to Alfredo Bonanno. Alfredo Bonanno is a radical anarchist who stands for insurrectionism and has been several times imprisoned since the seventies. Bonanno does not commit himself to theory but to a real and active approach. He is a classical humanist, who does not involve



umetnički rad, te nije reč o destrukciji, nego o umetničkom aktu, što je ovom radu kasnije čak i podiglo cenu. Ovo je pravi primer tržišne rekuperacije u savremenoj umetnosti. Poznato je da je i sam Brener koristio ovu „biti umetnik” strategiju, kada je u Moskvi izbegao batine posle napada na člana parlamenta i kada je izjavio da je sve u stvari bio samo art-performans.

U svakom slučaju veza između umetnosti i anarhizma kao radikalnog mišljenja je veoma problematična. Na primer, pomenuti magazine *art-ist* je od samog početka podržavao Alexandera Brenera i Barbaru Schurz i oni su objavili svoje tekstove kroz ovu saradnju. Kada su prvi put boravili u Istanbulu radili smo intervju povodom njihovog incidenta na Manifesti u Ljubljani. Brener i Schurz su u toku panel diskusije o savremenoj umetnosti, a u veoma elitističkoj sredini, intervenisali ponovo sa sprejem napisavši: *Demolish neoliberalist multiculturalist art system now!*, i tako se opet našli u zatvoru, odakle ih je izvukao Miran Mohar iz IRWIN-a.

Redakcija *art-ista* je odlučila da više ne izdaje brojeve o Manifesti, Dokumenti ili bijenaliima i Brener i Schurz su 2004. pozvani kao radikalni aktivisti da uredi novi broj *art-ista* posvećen Alfredo Bonannu. Alfredo Bonanno je radikalni anarhista koji zastupa insu-



himself with theories of postanarchism (which focus on the deconstruction of the subject, non-placement, deterritorialisation etc.). In Bonanno's work, on the contrary, the modern subject longing for the basic, better life beyond exploitation still exists. This was also a thesis of the situationists, who were for a real Hegelian subject, a modern subject that knows what it wants and is today actually being destroyed through exploitation and the society of spectacle. They have formulated the statement *Our ideas are in everybody's minds*, but in my view we cannot see it this way anymore, because we have become recuperated too much, incorporated and commodified in the society of the spectacle.

When the Boston Institute for Contemporary Art made an exhibition on situationists in 1989 (the same year as in Paris). It was curated by Elizabeth Sussman. For her, the comparison between contemporary artists and situationist ideas was very important. Elisabeth inverted the statement *Our ideas are in everybody's minds* in a tricky way and pointed out that situationist ideas were even in the minds of artists making appropriation art such as Robert Longo, Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger etc...

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rekcionizam, on je od 70-tih godina nekoliko puta bio u zatvoru. Bonanno se ne zalaže za teoriju nego za stvaran i aktivan pristup. Bonanno je klasičan humanista i ne bavi se teorijama postanarhizma (koje su fokusirane na dekonstrukciju subjekta, non-placement, deterritorijalizaciju, itd..). Naprotiv, kod Bonannai dalje postoji moderni subjekt koji teži bazičnom boljem životu neogrezlom u eksploataciji. To je u isto vreme i teza situacionista, jer su i oni bili za pravi hegelijanski, moderni subjekt, koji zna šta hoće i koji je danas zapravo uništen kapitalističkom eksploatacijom i društvom spektakla. Situationisti formulišu parolu *Our ideas are in everybody's minds*, ali po meni, na žalost, više ne možemo razmišljati na ovaj način jer smo do te mere rekuperirani, kooptirani i komodifikovani u društvo spektakla.

Kada je Institut za savremenu umetnost iz Bostona napravio izložbu o situacionistima, 1989. godine, (znači iste godine kada i u Parizu), kuratorica je bila Elizabeth Sussman. Za nju je bila važna komparacija između savremenih umetnika i situacionističke ideje. Elizabeth na veoma „tricky“ način izvrće stejtment situacionista *Our ideas are in everybody's minds*. Ona naglašava da su njihove ideje bile čak i u glavama umetnika i umetnica koji/e su pravili/e apropiacionu umetnost, kao što su Robert Longo, Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, itd...

Anarchopedia

*Interview with Miloš Rančić
Intervju sa Milošem Rančićem*

Miloš, you are one of the founders of Wikimedia Serbia and Montenegro and you are taking part in the building up of Wikipedia, in the same time you initiated the realization of the Anarchopedia community. Is this archive of “anarcho knowledge” on Anarchopedia as well an alternative model of work, and a new understanding and valuation of common knowledge?

Knowledge is power only in the case if it is not equally accessible. For that I always will support Wikipedia, no matter which kind of reasonable remarks I might have concerning this project. It's based on principles, which are so natural, but which in today's social conditions seemed to be unthinkable until recently: at least everybody who has access to internet can access the whole human knowledge, but not only that! Everybody can create this knowledge.

In this sense, Anarchopedia did not bring any important novelty. Even concerning anarchism, the English Wikipedia is more relevant than the English Anarchopedia. Maybe the French and German Anarchopedia are more relevant than the Wikipedias in these languages, but in my view the main idea of Anarchopedia is not the creation of a simple encyclopedia about anarchism; besides, probably Anarchopedia will be in one moment a better source of information about anarchism than Wikipedia.

Miloše, jedan si od osnivača Vikimedije SCG, učestvuješ u izgradnji Wikipedije, paralelno si inicirao i realizovanje zajednice Anarchopedije. Da li je ovaj arhiv „anarho-znanja” na Anarchopediji, alternativni model rada, kao i novi model poimanja i vrednovanja opšteg znanja?

Znanje je moć isključivo ako postoji njegova neravnomerna dostupnost. Zato, ma kakvih razložnih primedbi imao na račun Wikipedije, uvek ću taj projekat podržavati. Jer, ona počiva na principima koji su toliko prirodni, a koji su u današnjim društvenim okolnostima do skora izgledali nepojmljivo: makar svako ko ima pristup Internetu može da ima i pristup celokupnom ljudskom znanju, ali ne samo to! Svako može to znanje i da stvarati.

U tom smislu Anarchopedija nije donela nikakvu bitnu novinu. Uzmimo, čak i o anarhizmu, engleska Wikipedija je relevantnija od engleske Anarchopedije. Možda su nemačka i francuska Anarchopedija relevantnije od Wikipedija na istim jezicima, ali smatram da glavna poenta Anarchopedije i nije stvaranje jednostavne enciklopedije o anarhizmu; i pored toga što će, verovatno, Anarchopedija u jednom trenutku postati bolji izvor informacija o anarhizmu od Wikipedije.

Anarchopedija, dakle, nije donela ništa posebno novo u, grubo govoreći, tehničkom smislu. Kažem „grubo govoreći“, zato što je očigledno da je jedan tehnički princip, prin-

Anarchopedia didn't bring anything new in, roughly put, technical sense. I say roughly, because it is obvious that a technical principle, the principle of the wiki and its concrete realisation at Wikipedia brought social changes, which we will experience only in the coming decades to their whole extent. The idea of Anarchopedia is to create a true open virtual anarchist community, a community of people from the whole planet who deal not only with the production of free knowledge, but as well with the creation of significantly more concrete relations between people.

In the contrary to Wikipedia and its community, Anarchopedia has much more potential to become a global movement, maybe even a new framework for the global anarchistic movement. As far as I know, Anarchopedia represents in this sense the most active international anarchist organisation, although its community counts still only around fifty people. But there doesn't exist any single international anarchist group the members of which are in every day contact: from Brasil and Canada to Indonesia.

Which language communities exist until now on Anarchopedia and which ones are most active?

The first one was in German and for a long time the German Anarchopedia was the biggest and most active. Later the French speaking people were organized very good and they overtook the activity of the German Anarchopedia for a short time. Today the German is most active, then the English, followed by the French Anarchopedia. In the contrary to Wikipedia, the people on Anarchopedia are interested in "their backyard" but not for "global propaganda". For comparison, the English language Wikipedia is three times as big as the German Wikipedia following after. Besides the above mentioned

cip wikija i njegova konkretna tehnička realizacija na Wikipediji—doneo društvene promene koje ćemo tek u narednim decenijama početi da osećamo u punoj snazi. Smisao Anarhopedije je stvaranje prave otvorene virtualne anarhističke zajednice, zajednice ljudi koji se sa različitim krajeva planete bave ne samo stvaranjem slobodnog znanja, već i stvaranjem i znatno konkretnijih međusobnih odnosa.

Za razliku od Wikipedije i zajednice oko nje, Anarhopedija ima mnogo više potencijala da postane globalni pokret, možda čak i jedna nova okosnica globalnog anarhističkog pokreta. Prema onom što znam, Anarhopedija, iako zajednica sa tek oko pedesetak ljudi, predstavlja u ovom smislu najaktivniju međunarodnu anarhističku organizaciju. Ne postoji nijedna međunarodna anarhistička organizacija čiji su članovi u svakodnevnom kontaktu: od Brazila i Kanade do Indonezije.

Koje su se jezičke zajednice formirale do sada na Anarchopediji i koliko je to bilo brzo? Koja od njih je najposećenija i najpunija?

Prva formirana zajednica bila je nemačka. Zadugo, nemačka Anarhopedija je bila i najveća i najaktivnija. Potom su se vrlo dobro organizovali ljudi sa francuskog govornog područja i na kratko pretekli po aktivnosti zajednicu na nemačkoj Anarhopediji. Zanimljivo je da je danas najaktivnija i dalje nemačka Anarhopedija, a da je slede engleska i francuska. Za razliku od Wikipedije, ljudi na Anarhopediji su zainteresovaniji za „svoje dvorište“, a ne za neku „globalnu propagandu“.

Poređenja radi, engleska Wikipedija je jedno tri puta veća od prve sledeće, nemačke. Pored pomenutih, zajednice postoje na danskoj, španskoj, poljskoj i italijanskoj Anarhopediji, dok po jedna osoba radi na arapskoj, indonežanskoj, portugalskoj, ruskoj i našoj.

ones there are communities in Danish, Spanish, Polish, Italian and single persons work in Arabian, Indonesian, Portuguese, Russian and Serbian. There are some more, but without specific activity. If I remember it right, there are around twenty language units open now.

The practice you advocate is based on the concept of new knowledge (because every person has the possibility to contribute her or his knowledge). Can you tell us more about this?

I never analyzed my practice theoretically. Yes, I am for the completely basic society of free and responsible people, without any myth, first of all without the myth of "I'm doing this because of somebody else". For this, it is necessary to apply first of all the basic models of free relations between responsible people. The common and non-hierarchical creation of knowledge is in fact only one of these models, but it is extremely important, because it is a fundament both for the production and for the application of other models. I learned a lot on Wikipedia and most meaningful for me is the knowledge that is contradictory to the deceits of the school system I have gone through. Probably I would have a better life if I had acquired my knowledge on Wikipedia and not at school.

To lead a life in freedom, we have to learn to live outside of regulated repressive systems as, amongst others, money. This means that one of the very important practical aims is to create economically self-sufficient micro communities. And not in the way that we all become ascetics, but that we realize our economic independence together with the increase of the quality of our life. I think that for example the creation of an ecovillage with like-minded people in the same time raises the life quality. For, in any case, life

Ima još nekoliko otvorenih Anarhopedija, ali na njima nema neke posebne aktivnosti. Koliko se sećam, do sada je otvoreno dvadesetak jezičkih izdanja Anarhopedije.

Praksa koju ti zastupaš je zasnovana na konceptu novog znanja. (zato što svaka osoba može dati svoj doprinos dodavanje svoga ili editovanjem postojećeg sadržaja) Možeš li nam malo više reći o tome?

Nisam nikada teorijski analizirao svoju praksu. Ja jesam za potpuno ogoljeno društvo slobodnih i odgovornih osoba, bez ikakvih mitova, počev od onog osnovnog mita „ja radim ovo zbog drugog“. Da bi se to stvorilo, neophodno je, prvo, u praksi primeniti ogoljene modele slobodnih odnosa odgovornih ljudi. Zajedničko i nehijerarhijsko stvaranje znanja jeste jedan od tih modela, ali je izuzetno važno što je taj model jedna od osnova i za stvaranje i za primenu drugih modela. I sam sam svašta naučio na Vikipediji, a najznačajnija su mi ona znanja koja protivreče obmanama školskog sistema kroz kojih sam prošao. Verovatno bih imao znatno kvalitetniji život da sam svoje znanje sticao na Vikipediji a ne u školi.

Da bismo živeli u slobodi, moramo da naučimo živeti van uređenih represivnih sistema, kakav je, između ostalih, novac. A to znači da je jedan od izuzetno važnih praktičnih ciljeva stvoriti ekonomski zadovoljne mikro zajednice. I, opet, ne tako što ćemo svi postati isposnici, nego tako što ćemo svoju ekonomsku samostalnost ostvariti zajedno sa podizanjem kvaliteta naših života. Smatram da je, npr., stvaranje ekološkog imanja sa sličnomišljenicima ujedno i podizanje kvaliteta života. Jer, svakako je da će mi život biti kvalitetniji ako sam češće sa ljudima koji takođe žele da žive u nehijerarhijskim odnosima. Ipak, to je samo jedan način ostvarenja eko-

will be better if I'm more often together with people wishing to live in non-hierarchical relations, too.

Nevertheless this is only one way to realize economic independence. Life in a big city allows the economical linking of its inhabitants. If all of us, one for one, start to step out from the system based on money and state regulations, we could throw off the system without any resistance. For the system is not a thing for itself. The system is created by the people who participate in it. Also, the system doesn't understand relations outside of it. And the system is in fact only a small part of this planet.

But behind all this stands a very simple chain of thoughts: I don't like that, I like this – that won't work out, this could work out – that doesn't work, this works. If other people aren't free, how can I be free, but why should I liberate people who don't want to be free? I can only offer something of which I think that it "could work" or I can join something that already works or I can make a combination of it, what I did on Anarcho-pedia. And then, together with other people who want a free society too, I can create free interpersonal relations in a concrete small or little bigger surrounding, which are the basis of a free society. The wiki concept, as I said, was something between "this could work" and "this works". Wikipedia has shown that the wiki concept works, but it was necessary to apply this on a much narrower circle of people – on anarchists and people near to Anarchism. In this way I'd like to create, together with other interested people, real and not only virtual free interpersonal relations.

The interview was conducted by Vladan Jeremić.
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nomske samostalnosti. Život u velikom gradu omogućava i ekonomsko povezivanje ljudi koji u tom gradu žive. Ako svi mi, jedan po jedan, počnemo da izlazimo iz sistema zasnovanog na novcu i državnim regulativama, bez ikakvih otpora možemo jednostavno odbaciti sistem. Jer, sistem nije stvar za sebe. Sistem čine ljudi koji u njemu učestvuju. Takođe, jer sistem ne razume odnose van njega. A samo mali deo ove planete jeste sistem.

Ali, iza svega toga stoji jedan vrlo jednostavan sled razmišljanja: ono neću, ovo hoću—ono ne bi moglo da radi, ovo bi moglo da radi—ono ne radi, ovo radi. Bez slobode drugih ljudi nisam ni ja slobodan, ali mi ni na kraj pameti nije da oslobađam ljude koji ne žele biti slobodni. Mogu samo da predstavim ono što smatram „da bi moglo raditi“ ili se mogu priključiti nečemu što već radi ili mogu napraviti kombinaciju toga, kao što sam napravio na Anarhopediji. A onda, zajedno sa ljudima koji, takođe, žele slobodno društvo, mogu u konkretnoj maloj ili malo većoj sredini praviti slobodne međuljudske odnose, osnovu slobodnog društva. Wiki koncept je, kao što sam rekao, bio nešto između „ovo bi moglo da radi“ i „ovo radi“. Vikipedija je pokazala da wiki koncept radi, ali je trebalo isto to primeniti na znatno užu krug ljudi—na anarhiste i ljude bliske anarhizmu. Isto tako želim da, zajedno sa drugima zainteresovanima, stvorim realne, ne samo virtuelne, slobodne međuljudske odnose.

Razgovor vodio i intervju priredio Vladan Jeremić.
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Kritički mediji u Nemačkoj¹

Boris Kanzleiter

Moja tema su kritički mediji u Nemačkoj. Zašto je to zanimljivo za našu večerašnju diskusiju u Domu omladine u Beogradu? Rekao bih zbog nekoliko aspekata; Nemačka ima relativno bogato iskustvo u produkciji alternativnih, nekomercijalnih i kritičkih medija svake vrste. Uprkos tome, radikalna levica – a za mene to znači levica levo od socijaldemokratije – nema većeg uticaja na društveni diskurs. Znači, levica se nalazi donekle u nečemu što možemo označiti kao „politički geto“. U ovom smislu levica u Nemačkoj i levica u Srbiji imaju nešto zajedničko.

Šta je uopšte funkcija kritičkih medija? Koje su motivacije koje stoje iza medijskog aktivizma? Možemo sagledati tri različita aspekta: a.) Potrebu da se nešto uradi protiv manipulacije i laži komercijalnih ili državnih medija-ovaj koncept možemo opisati kao koncept „kontra informacija“. b.) Drugi je da želimo da uspostavimo medije koji su u našim rukama, da samostalno odlučujemo šta i kako pišemo ili snimamo, da ne zavisimo od politike neke izdavačke kuće ili komercijalnih pritisaka. Znači, da smatramo da mediji nisu roba na tržištu nego sredstvo za naše stvaralačke želje. c.) Treći aspekt je da želimo koristiti medije da bi menjali svet. Poslednje zvuči pomalo patetično, ali u suštini takođe posmatra medije kao sredstvo političkog aktivizma.

Rekao bih da su kritički mediji u Nemačkoj prilično uspešni što se tiče „kontra informacija“. Sumnjam da ima previše zemalja gde čovek može da čita toliko i tako dobro istraženih tema i informacija o različitim problemima. U Nemačkoj ima najmanje deset antifašističkih časopisa koji objavljuju informacije o neonaci-pokretu koji postaje prilično jak. Možete pročitati svašta o aktivnostima ultradesničara, o njihovim različitim organizacijama, gde su izvršeni napadi na imigranate, levičare, Jevreje ili homoseksualce, šta su ideologije tih organizacija, itd... (<http://www.antifaschistische-nachrichten.de/index.shtml>). Sledeći primer su raznorazni časopisi i internet webstranice o socijalnim protestima u Nemačkoj i u

¹ Tekst je transkripta dela razgovora realizovanog u sklopu *Razgovori o anarhizmu* na temu nezavisni mediji, održanog u beogradskom Domu omladine 17. novembra 2006. U okviru razgovora su učestvovali: Boris Kanzleiter, Violeta Anđelković i Pop (kontrapunkt)

svetu. Tamo možete da se informišete o štrajkovima i kampanjama protiv multinacionalnih koncerna (<http://www.labournet.de/>). Možemo nabrojati niz ovakvih primera, kritičkih informacija o ekologiji, o antirasističkim pokretima, o političkim borbama u Južnoj Americi (<http://www.latein-amerikanachrichten.de/>). Neki mediji imaju i širi tematski prostor. Na primer Jungle World za koji ja radim jeste nedeljnik. Izdaje članke i reportaže o politici u Nemačkoj i svetu, kulturi i teoriji. (<http://www.jungle-world.com>). Svi ovi medijski projekti su se formirali jer su aktivisti/kinje, koji/e rade u organizacijama i pokretima protiv neonaci grupa, protiv zagađenja itd., smatrali/le da je potrebno širiti nezavisnu informaciju. Obični komercijalni mediji obaveštavaju ili pogrešno ili uopšte ne obaveštavaju o datim problemima, a često su kontraproduktivni i negativni kao na primer kada šire rasizam.

Međutim, glavni problem koncepcije „kontra informacija“ jeste: Nije dovoljno da se šire nezavisne i kritičke informacije, nego da se u društvu zaista nešto menja. Baš suprotno: I najbolje informacije ne znače da se išta menja, jer ipak nije informacija ta koja presuđuje u političkim odlukama nego presudna jeste socijalno-politička moć i interes.

Postoji opšti veliki problem, da živimo u (neo)kapitalističkim društvima, a informacije su uglavom roba koja se prodaje i kupuje. Komercijalni mediji nas informišu, ne da bi mi nešto bolje razumeli, nego zato što imaju za cilj da prodaju svoje medije. Konzumenti ovih medija nisu samo puke žrtve dezinformacije i manipulizacije, nego oni u kapitalizmu traže svoj komad spektakla i pseudo zabave. O tome su kritički intelektualci kao Adorno ili Debord doista dobro pisali u predhodnom veku. Naravno i kritičke informacije mogu da budu deo tog medijskog spektakla. Naveo bih jedan nedavni primer: Pre nekoliko nedelja su se pojavile šokantne fotografije nemačkih vojnika iz Avganistana. Vojnici se igraju skeletom koga su pronašli u nekoj masovnoj grobnici. Scena je prilično mračna. Šta su povodom ovoga nemački mediji uradili? Pokazali su slike vojnika na prvim stranicama svih vesti. Šok je bio veliki. BILD je prodao mnogo više primeraka nego obično. Generali i političari su bili u nezgodnoj situaciji. Ali, niko ne može da kaže da je vršen pritisak de se slike ne objave. Nije bilo cenzure. Sa druge strane, postavlja se pitanje šta je bila interpretacija tih slika? BILD i izvesni političar su širili strah da bi sada neki islamski fundamentalisti mogli da izvrše napade u Nemačkoj. Tako je BILD prodao još više primeraka. Neki generali su rekli da nemački vojnici tako nešto ne smeju da rade jer je to protiv časti nemačke armije. Izjava deluje naravno smešno ako poznajete istoriju nemačke armije. Problem leži u tome da nigde u komercijalnim medijima nisu postojali kritički komentari o suštini toga problema, a to je da nemački vojnici u Avganistanu jesu deo jednog prljavog rata.



Znači, problem nisu samo informacije nego i interpretacija. U tom kontekstu jeste iluzija da se nešto može menjati putem uspešnih kontra-informacija. Uprkos tome ja vidim smisao u radu i postojanju kritičkih medija, jer oni mogu da otvore prostor za delovanje kritičkih socijalnih pokreta. U ovom smislu rad antifašističkih časopisa jeste vrlo koristan. Preduslov za akciju su informacije i komunikacija među aktivistima/kinjama i tu ulogu imaju nezavisni mediji. Još jedna važna uloga kritičkih medija za aktivizam jesu diskusije u samoj levisi. Proteklih godina, kroz kritičke medije u Nemačkoj se vodilo niz važnih debata. Obrađivane su teme: O antisemitizmu u samoj levisi, o staljinizmu i iskustvu takozvanih realsocijalističkih režima, o ulozi novih društvenih subjekata kao što su migranati, itd. Neki kažu da ovakve teoretske debate ne menjaju ništa. Mislim da je to pogrešno. Debate su dokaz da kritička mišljenja postoje i da se razvijaju. I jeste, potrebno je prvo interpretirati svet da bi ga mogli uspešno menjati.

Rekao bih nešto ukratko o finansijskim problemima rada u medijima. Nezavisni mediji jesu nezavisni ako su samofinansirajući, a finansiranje predstavlja veliki problem. To je problem koji se mora rešiti. U Jungle Worldu je takva situacija da smo uvek na ivici finansijskog kolapsa. Nedeljne novine ne mogu da se proizvode bez profesionalnih urednika, a plate su ekstremno niske. Praktično jedini izvor finansiranja Jungle Worlda jeste prodaja novina. Ponekad organizujemo i koncerte. Na taj način rade praktično svi kritički mediji u Nemačkoj i uglavnom ne plaćaju novinare i urednike. Problem je takođe i distribucija. Jungle World se može kupiti samo na određenom broju trafika i ne prodaje se u većem broju primeraka. Zbog toga se novine uglavnom distribuiraju poštom. U Nemačkoj ima sve manje i manje malih knjižara ili infoshopova gde se prodaju kritičke knjige, novine ili časopisi. Zbog finansijskih problema, internet je u poslednjih nekoliko godina postao vrlo važan prostor za kritički medijski aktivizam...

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Kanzleiter Caravan for Peace CEDEUM
Cinc CMS **collective** comicritique
ommunity creative industries critica
media cultural DDT Dez.org DIY policy cultura
translation DDT Dez.org DIY DRM
teatar oruzje http://e-artacademy
org/http:// **antihierarchy** Druga
scena Drupal e-artacademy Ecotopia
flux ERG Status European Youth Fo
Action Festival slobodne kulture
slobodnakultura flexible platform Food
Not Bombs free knowledge free software Free
Software Network G8 Summit globa
responsibility globalna odgovornost GNT
Club Gradiliste Niš Hacklab hardcore
punk Heiligendamm HOLZY DAMN
IT! Horrorkatze Hrana a ne org http://
www.drugasцена.net http://www.tkh
generator.net Ibrahim Mozain/Artist
Without Walls independent scene Ivar
Gravleis John Zerzan joint platform Jungla
World Justart Karlo Rojck Kontejner KONTEKS
galerija kontra-informacije Kristofe
Paetau kriticki mediji kuda.org kulturna
politika Linux User Group LUG Mansou
Ciss/Laboratoire Deberlinisation Marjan
Crtalic Marina Gržinic Marko Kosnik Marku
Dorfmueller **media activism** medijsk
aktivizam Megalofon meta-organiza
ion Mimart Mirovni karavan **Monte**
paradiso Mreža kreativnih ljudi Ni
zavisna NATO nehierarhičnost network n
Bon - org a n i z a t i o n Q l i v e
Kessler Ondrej Brody open circle oper
source openness Other scene People
Global Action Peti park Petra Gerschne
platforma protest protiv G8 Pula Ouee
Beograd radical Richard Stallman samoc
rganizacija **samoupravljanje** Sarena
akultura.org Socijalni fronti squattin
Stani Pani Kolektiv Stanica Star
Pani Kolektiv streaming teleakcija TKH

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P
O



Komunikacijske igre

Marijan Crtalić

Tekst je najava događaja i stejment Marijana Crtalića povodom umetničkog projekta KOMUNIKACIJSKE IGRE, izvedenog 7. oktobra 2006. godine između Zagreba i Beograda.

Pozivam Vas u subotu 7. 10. 2006. (18-22h) na moju umjetničku teleakciju "KOMUNIKACIJSKE IGRE" u sklopu međunarodnog multimedijskog izložbeno-akcijskog projekta Device art u organizaciji udruge Kontejner. Cilj happeninga je uspostava izravne audio-video veze između Zagreba i Beograda. Streaming će se održati na Trgu bana Jelačića, pokraj knjižare Tamaris, a podno Kluba arhitekata. U Beogradu će isti firewire show biti na adresi Dom omladine Beograd u Makedonskoj 22. Prijenos užiivo započneće, ako sve bude funkcioniralo, u 18h, a moći ćete međuljudski, međugradski i međudržavno komunicirati do 22h.

Rad je moj doprinos oživljavanju veza između Zagreba i Beograda. Audio-video veza između različitih lokacija i ljudi nije ništa novo, ali do sada nisam primijetio da je bilo ikakvih pokušaja javnog streaminga između navedenih gradova. Općenito, ništa slično, barem u Zagrebu ne postoji, pa je moja ideja zapravo prijedlog za uvođenje sličnih praksi koje bi iz umjetničke prešle u svakodnevnu javnu telekomunikacijsku domenu. Naslov rada podsjeća na naslov filma RATNE IGRE što sugerira izvjestan podtekst same prirode rekonstrukcije dobrosusjedskih odnosa između politički, jos uvijek, nedovoljno prijateljskih sredina. Dakle, napetost i nepovjerenje faktori su koje bi trebalo ukloniti iz



odnosa dvaju naroda (kako na kolektivnoj, tako i na individualnoj razini) te političku percepciju konkretnog "drugog" transformirati u ljudsku. Podaci o društveno političkoj, kulturnoj i tsl. situaciji dodatna su pomagala potencijalnim korisnicima sučelja (sugovornicima) pri odabiru teme eventualnog razgovora, a i podsvjesnog sugeriranja da smo svi u sličnoj tranzicijskoj "kaši" i kako možda ne bi bilo loše zajednički rješavati razne probleme bez posredovanja političara itd. Usput, godina je Nikole Tesle, pa eto...

Partneri s BG strane su BgWireless, Slobodnakultura.org, B92.net, Miloš Rančić, Vikimedija Srbije, Vladan Jeremić, Biro za kulturu i komunikaciju Beograd, Stani Pani Kolektiv, Dom omladine Beograd, Marijana Cvetković... A sa ZG strane glavni sponzor je Globalnet.hr i direktor marketinga Robert Pokrovac, Silva Kalčić i Klub arhitekata te suradnici i pomagači kao što su npr. Marcell Mars, Antun Božičević, Miroslav Lučić, Josip Ožanić, Galeb Vekić, Radmila Iva Janković, Ksenija Kordić, Goran Proso, tehničar Kruno...

Svima velika Hvala i čujemo se i vidimo!
Marijan Crtalić



Monteparadiso¹

Edgar Buršić

Monteparadiso developed from an informal collective to the formal organisation it is today. We started in 1992 with the organisation of concerts at the Casoni Vecchi fortress. The fortress was neglected and overgrown by grass and bushes, we cleaned it up and began to hang around there. The place is in a quarter of Pula called in Italian “Monteparadiso”, so we overtook this name for our collective. We started to organise Monteparadiso hardcore punk festivals, back then we were teenagers between 14 and 18 years old, loving underground music, punk and hardcore. The first festival took place in 1992.

We had to lock up our space in the fortress to avoid to attract drug addicts, for Monteparadiso is notorious as a drug quarter. The second bigger festival we had in 1993 with a bit more international bands. We cared about having low prices for entrance and drinks and always offered food for free. We were angry teens and considered all these festivals too commercial. We wanted to organize something ultra cheap and ultra noncommercial, where everybody could do what she or he wants. This went on for some years and was in the main connected to music.

¹ This text is part of the transcript of a discussion concerning activism and anarchism in the frame of the *Discussions on Anarchism*, held on 17th October 2006 at the *Dom Omladine (Cultural Center DOB)* in Belgrade, with the speakers Edgar Buršić i Igor Todorović.

Monteparadiso je od neformalnog kolektiva došao do formalne organizacije, tj. onoga što jeste danas. Krenuli smo 1992. godine sa organiziranjem koncerata na tvrđavi Casoni Vecchi. Tvrđava je bila zapuštena i obrasla u travu koju smo prokrčili, i počeli smo odlaziti tamo. Mesto se nalazi u kvartu u Puli koji se na talijanskom zove Monteparadiso pa smo preuzeli to ime za ime našeg kolektiva. Na tvrđavi smo počeli organizirati Monteparadiso hardcore punk festove, Tada smo svi bili takoreći klinici između 14 i 18 godina, u fazonu glazbenih subkultura, punka i hardcorea. Prvi festival se desio 1992. godine.

Morali smo zatvarat naš prostor u tvrđavi da nam ne bi dolazili narkomani, jer je kvart poznat po narkomaniji. Drugi veći festival smo imali 1993. godine na kome je bilo malo više internacionalnih bendova. Gledali smo da ulaz i piće budu jeftini a delili smo uvek hranu besplatno ljudima koji bi došli. U to doba su u Puli postojali razni veliki festivali, ali za nas to tada nije bilo nešto dobro. Bili smo nabrijani klinici koji bi te festivale definisali kao prekomercijalne. Hteli smo organizirati nešto ultra jeftino i nekomercijalno i gde bi svako ko dođe mogao uraditi

¹ Tekst je deo transkripta razgovora realizovanog u sklopu drugog ciklusa *Razgovori o anarhizmu*, na temu aktivizam i anarhizam, održanog u beogradskom Domu omladine 17. oktobra 2006. Učesnici razgovora su bili Edgar Buršić i Igor Todorović.

1997 we had to found a citizen's group to be able to go on with the organisation of concerts and we registered an organisation named Monteparadiso. In this time it was most important for us to work with music, which was the height of activism for us, punk bands singing something about anarchism. We quickly understood that this was not enough for us and that we would like to do something more. 1999 we moved from the fortress to the former barracks Karlo Rojc. The barracks were built in the end of the 19th century and during the history there were stationed the austrian-hungarian, italian and in the end, until 1991, the Yugoslavian army. To the Rojc first moved refugees from Bosnia, who stayed until 1996. After that the building was more or less neglected, it remained only organisations that had been doing humanitarian work while the refugees lived there.

In the void between the refugees and some general undefined status of the building, the first ones that started to work there were various bands and other organisations. The city gouvernement told us that we would have to pay 15 kuna/m² for a space of 100m². We moved in, but never wanted to pay. We took 400m² more to go on with other activities and helped also other organisations to

bilo šta želi. Tako je to trajalo nekoliko godina i bilo uglavnom vezano za muziku.

1997. godine bili smo primorani osnovati udrugu građana da bi mogli nastaviti sa organizovanjem koncerata. Tada smo registrirali organizaciju pod imenom Monteparadiso. U to vreme nam je bilo najbitnije da se bavimo muzikom i ona nam je predstavljala vrhunac aktivizma, sa nekoliko hardcore punk bendova koji nešto pjevaju o anarhiji. Ubrzo smo shvatili da nam to nije dovoljno i da želimo da radimo neke druge stvari. 1999. godine smo se preselili sa tvrđave u bivšu kasarnu Karlo Rojc. Kasarna je napravljena krajem 19. stoleća. U kasarni je kroz istoriju bila stacionirana austrougarska i talijanska vojska i na kraju do 1991. godine jugoslaven-ska vojska. U Rojc se uselile prvo izbeglice iz Bosne, koje su ostale do 1996. Nakon toga zgrada je bila više manje napuštena, ostale su samo organizacije koje su se bavile humanitarnim radom za vrijeme dok su izbeglice bile tamo.

U praznini između izbeglica i općeg nekog nedefiniranog statusa zgrade, počeli su prvo unutra raditi različiti bendovi i neke druge organizacije. Gradska vlast nam je rekla, da ako želimo prostor od 100 kvm onda moramo platiti 15 kuna po metru kvadratnom. Mi



find space. The barracks looked not so nice in some moment, as many people came and stole various things, like installations for heating, radiators, windows and other elements of the building. There was a lot of material as the barracks are huge, before 1991 there were over 7000 soldiers there.

In one moment there had come together a very large number of organisations and the city decided to give everything to them, but with the obligation to pay. Not one single organisation wanted to pay, because all had to build everything on their own and the city paid only water and electricity. The building is still in the ownership of the Foreign Ministry of Croatia², but given to the city for use, so that the legal situation is not precisely regulated. The city in the end accepted the fact that nobody would pay, but that we can talk about building alterations. At the moment there are working 77 quite different organisations³ there. There is us with our Monteparadiso Hacklab, which is connected to media activism, free software and use of new technologies, there is a Roma kindergarten, a group of the Macedonian minority, Hungarian und Serbian minorities have a space as well as some organisations of disabled persons, aerobic clubs etc. There is anything and everything, as well what we don't like, because besides organisations that are useful for the community there are also organisations that succeeded somehow to legalize their private business telling the story about "building up the civil society".

² Now the building is owned exclusively by the city.

³ Now the number raised to 107 organisations.

smo ušli, ali nikada nismo hteli platiti. Uzeli smo dodatnih 400 kvm da bi mogli nastaviti i sa drugim aktivnostima. Pomagali smo i ostalim organizacijama da si nađu prostor unutra. Kasarna u jednom trenutku nije ličila ni na šta, jer mnogi su ljudi dolazili krasti razne stvari, tipa instalacije za grijanje, radijatore, prozore, i ostale građevinske elemente. Bilo je dosta materijala jer je kasarna ogromna, tamo je bilo pre 1991. godine preko 7000 vojnika.

U jednom trenutku se sakupio veliki broj organizacija i grad je odlučio dati im sve ali pod uslovom da plate. Niti jedna organizacija nije htela platiti, jer svi koji smo ušli unutra, smo morali sve sami izgraditi, i tu je bila jedino voda i struja koju je grad plaćao. Zgrada je još uvek u vlasništvu Ministarstva odbrane Hrvatske² ali je data na korišćenje gradu, tako da u ovoj situaciji i pravni odnosi nisu precizno regulirani. Grad je na kraju prihvatio činjenicu da niko nikada neće platiti za biti unutra, ali da možemo razgovarati o uređenju zgrade.

Trenutno u Rojcu deluje 773 organizacija³, baš sasvim različitih. Tu delujemo mi sa našim Monteparadiso Hacklabom, koji je vezan za medijski aktivizam, za Free Software i korišćenje novih tehnologija, ovde postoji i Romski vrtić, a udruge mekedonske manjine, srpske manjine, mađarske manjine imaju također svoj prostor, zatim nekoliko organizacija invalida, do aerobik klubova itd. Ima svega i svačega, što nama baš ne paše, jer u zgradi, gde imamo organizacije koje su zaista korisne za zajednicu,

² Sada je zgrada u potpunom vlasništvu grada Pule

³ Sada se je ta brojka popela na 107 organizacija



What has all this to do with anarchism? Not too much. In my opinion, approaching anarchism means to do something for the community, but in the community there are not only anarchists. It is important that things that are reserved for the rich can be used by the whole community. For that we are spreading wireless internet through the whole city. Who likes to, can put up an antenna at home and have internet access through us. We have internet connection via the Croatian Academic Network we are collaborating with in the wireless project. Together with CARNet we set up a number of antennas in the city and of course on the top of Rojc. If somebody likes, we can install it, if we have time, of course. At our Hacklab took place the international hacker meeting in 2004 (Trans Hack Meeting – www.transhackmeeting.org), bringing together about 300 hackers from whole Europe. The ideas of the meeting were autonomy and do it yourself (DIY). Everybody cooked and cleaned, had all rights and duties and all decisions were made in consensus. The participants were mainly programmers and experts and all of them could earn a heap of euros monthly somewhere, but they preferred to give their knowledge to the community by creating software that is free and gratis and to build up hacklabs in Europe that offer free access to the internet. This is how we imagine our Hacklab and what we offer there. There is the possibility that people set up computer or we do it. We collect old computers that people throw away but that are still very useful. People who have too much money constantly exchange old things and buy new computers. In addition we offer web space, email, mailing lists etc for initiatives that are useful for the community.

There was an tragic incident in 2004, when two young people left the Rojc at 4 in the night. They were heavily attacked by a group

postoje i organizacije koje su uspele nekako legalizirati svoj privatni biznis, kroz priču o civilnom društvu.

Kakve sve ovo ima veze sa anarhizmom? Pa ne baš previše velike. Po meni, približavati se anarhizmu znači djelovati za zajednicu, a u zajednici nema samo anarhista. Važno je da stvari koje spadaju u ekskluzivu nekih bogatih, cela zajednica može koristiti. Tako mi npr. širimo gradom wireless mrežu. Ko se hoće doma spojiti i postaviti antenu, može se preko nas prikačiti na internet. Internet dobijamo preko Hrvatske akademske mreže jer s njima surađujemo na wireless projektu. Zajedno sa CARNetom montirali smo više antena po gradu, kao i naravno na vrhu Rojca, te ako neko hoće možemo mu ih montirati. Naravno, ako imamo vremena. Kod nas je 2004. bio i međunarodni hakerski miting (Trans Hack Meeting - www.transhackmeeting.org), na kojem se skupilo oko 300 hakera iz cele Evrope. Ideje autonomije i do it yourself (DIY), bile su prisutne tokom meetinga. Tu se kuhalo, tj. svako je kuhao i čistio, prava i dužnosti imao je svako a svaka odluka se donosila konsenzusom. Sudionici koji su došli su većinom programeri i stručnjaci i svako od njih bi mogao negde zarađivati na tisuće eura mesečno, ali rađe poklanjaju svoje znanje zajednici kreiranjem softwera koji je slobodan i besplatan, te postavljanjem hacklabova u Evropi koji nude besplatan pristup internetu. Mi ovako zamišljamo naš Hacklab i sve ovo nudimo u Hacklabu. Imamo mogućnosti da ljudi si mogu sklopiti kompjutor, ili ga mi sklapamo. Sakupljamo stare kompjutere koji ljudi bacaju i koji se odlično mogu iskoristiti. Oni često više nisu potrebni ljudima sa viškom novca koji non-stop menjaju svoje stare i kupuju nove kompjutere. Uz to, kod nas se može dobiti web prostor, e-mail, mailing liste... ako je inicijativa korisna za zajednicu. Jedan tragičan događaj se desio 2004. godine

of nazi skinheads. Until then, police in Pula said that there don't exist any nazi skinheads or similar groups. We asked if they had to have proofs for a nazi movement to consider them as an organized group. After this we succeeded to organize together with the other organisations from Rojc a protest with some thousand people taking part. We were astonished that so many people came, because Pula is a small city. After that, this group of nazi skinheads was charged with attempted murder and the main perpetrator was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment. In 2004 we organised the EYFA Wintermeeting together with the European Youth for Action (EYFA) from Amsterdam, which organises for example Ecotopia and Bike Tour cross Europe. We offer our space to different initiatives or whoever asks for a room to organise meetings. All these years we have had quite "important" and interesting guests at Hacklab, for example this year came Richard Stallman. There were also John Zerzan and various collectives. For we celebrate 15 years of existence in 2007, we thought to make a bigger festival to bring together various people that in a way mark these 15 years, but the organisation we gave over to the young activists and we will see how it will be in the end. Currently, our most interesting project is the Monteparadiso Netlabel that distributes music completely free and gratis and bands from Pula and elsewhere can publish their music absolutely free.

Links:

<http://twiki.monteparadiso.hr>
<http://netlabel.monteparadiso.org>
<http://fazan.org>
<http://twiki.pula.org>

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kada su dvojica mladih odlazila iz Rojca u 4 po noći. Napala ih je grupa naci skinheada i izbola ih. Do tada je policija u Puli govorila da nema naci skinheada i slično deklariranih grupa. Na to smo ih mi priupitali da li bi oni morali imati neke iskaznice naci pokreta da bi ih smatrali kao organiziranu grupu. Nakon toga događaja mi smo uspjeli s ostalim organizacijama iz Rojca okupiti nekoliko tisuća ljudi za protest. Prosto smo se iznenadili pošto je Pula mali grad, da je na kraju jako puno ljudi došlo. Nakon toga je ta grupica naci skinheada tužena za pokušaj ubojstva a glavni vinovnik je dobio 6 godina zatvora.

2004. organizirali smo EYFA Wintermeeting zajedno s European Youth For Action (EYFA), organizacijom sa sjedištem u Amsterdamu, koja organizira npr. Ecotopiu i Bike Tour po Evropi. Mi smo tako organizirani da ustupamo naš prostor različitim inicijativama ili ko nas god pita za organizirat neke skupove. Svih ovih godina imali smo poprilično „važne“ i zanimljive goste. Npr. ove godine u Hacklabu je bio i Richard Stallman. Ranije je prošao i John Zerzan i razni kolektivi. Pošto 2007. godine slavimo 15 godina postojanja mislili smo napraviti neki veći festival koji bi okupio razne ljude koji su na neki način obilježili tih 15 godina, no organizaciju smo prepustili mlađim aktivistima pa će ispasti što ispadne... Trenutno naš najzanimljiviji projekt je Monteparadiso Netlabel na kojemu distribuiramo sasvim slobodno i besplatno muziku bendova iz Pule i drugih mjesta koji žele izdati za nas sasvim slobodno.

Linkovi:

<http://twiki.monteparadiso.hr>
<http://netlabel.monteparadiso.org>
<http://fazan.org>
<http://twiki.pula.org>

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Stani Pani Collective¹

Stani Pani Kolektiv¹

Igor Todorović

Stani Pani Kolektiv (SPK) arose in May 2002, when a group of people decided to start organizing illegal – free parties in the nature and benefit parties for various manifestations and events.

“... a PARTY, as we imagine it, is a journey in another world by active participation in a creative process. For the duration of the party, the SPACE in which it is happening, is not subjected to the laws and prejudices ruling in the world around us. The SPACE becomes for these hours a realized UTOPIA, a place where druids and high-tech fetishists meet for a game of chess. Experiences and positive energy is shared and the party becomes the starting point from which these realized ideas and emotions extend further... Join in!!! You are part of the network, too!”²

Some knew each other from before, from the psychedelic world of underground clubbing, from the hardcore/punk subcultural streams or from the anti war campaigns and the radical activist scene. Soon joined new people as well and everybody brought her or his part of the puzzle and in the end the collective developed into a huge body, a platform, which allowed the individuals to realize their ideas. The main principles of

Stani Pani Kolektiv (SPK) je nastao u maju 2002. kada je grupa ljudi odlučila da počne raditi zajedno na organizovanju ilegalnih - slobodnih žurki u prirodi i benefit žurki za razne manifestacije i događaje.

„...ŽURKA, kako je mi zamišljamo, je putovanje u drugačiji svet kroz aktivno učešće u kreativnom procesu. Za vreme trajanja žurke, PROSTOR na kome se ona odvija ne podleže zakonima i predrasudama koje vladaju u svetu oko nas. PROSTOR postaje, za tih par sati ostvarena UTOPIJA, mesto gde se sreću druidi, i hi-tech fetišisti na partiji šaha. Razmenjuju se iskustva i pozitivna energija, i žurka postaje polazna tačka sa koje se te, ostavarene ideje i proživljene emocije, šire dalje... Učestvuj!!! I ti si deo mreže!”²

Neki su se poznavali i ranije, iz psihodeličnog sveta underground clubing-a, iz hc/punk subkulturnih tokova, ili iz Antiratne kampanje i sveta radikalnog aktivizma. Uskoro su počeli da se priključuju i novi, nove, svako donoseći svoj deo slagalice, tako da se kolektiv na kraju formulisao kao veliko autonomno telo - platforma koja omogućuje pojedincu, pojedinki da ostvari svoje ideje. Kao bitni principi delovanja istaknuti su: autonomnost, nehijerarhičnost,

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² from: <http://stanipanikolektiv.com>

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² iz: <http://stanipanikolektiv.com>

our activities are: autonomy, anti-hierarchy, non profitability and the fight against all forms of discrimination and oppression. The group doesn't define itself as anarchist, because some of the members don't wish to declare themselves as anarchists. They think that this would open problematic questions and they don't want to be pigeonholed. Anyway, there exists a consensus about the importance of autonomy, the absence of hierarchy and the common aim to fight against discrimination and everyday oppression we find both on local level and in the broader society.

Stani Pani Kolektiv took part in various squat actions, that means we occupied empty rooms of abandoned houses and buildings. The first of these actions was in Dobračina street. In an old, quite derelict villa some rooms were repaired and for some time some groups have been living there. The squat in Dobračina street deteriorated after a certain time. This happened exclusively because of violence by some individuals who came there. There were a number of violent incidents caused by a quite decadent group of people that attacked the ones that were really living there. Therefore people had to move out...

The following action with huge enthusiasm is linked to the building at the Branko Bridge; people went inside, brought it in order and cleaned its vast rooms. Some people had the idea to legalize or half-legalize the stay there. The building belonged to a bankrupt company and the status of property was debatable. So some people went to the city administration and tried to explain that they would like to establish a cultural centre or an art space there. The city would give a usage permission for the building and in this way it would be possible to work there undisturbed. In return the groups would maintain the abandoned space. The city reacted with great delight about the young people who are

neprofitabilnost i borba protiv svake vrste diskriminacije i ugnjetavanja. Sama grupa se ne definiše kao anarhistička zato što postoji stav jednog dela članstva da ne žele da se deklariraju kao anarhisti i anarhistkinje, jer bi to otvorilo problematična pitanja, a i zato da nas ne bi svrstavali u definisane fioke. U svakom slučaju, konsenzus je taj da su u kolektivu bitne stvari autonomnost i odsustvo hijerarhije, i da je zajednički cilj borba protiv diskriminacije i svakodnevnog ugnjetavanja koje zatičemo kako na lokalnom nivou, tako i šire u društvu.

Stani Pani Kolektiv je učestvovao u raznim akcijama skvotiranja, tj. zauzimanja praznih prostora napuštenih kuća i zgrada. Prva takva akcija je bila u Dobračinoj ulici. U jednoj staroj vili koja je bila prilično zapuštena, osposobljeno je nekoliko prostorija. Jedno vreme su razne grupe ovde boravile. Skvot u Dobračinoj je posle određenog vremena propao. To se desilo isključivo zbog nasilja pojedinaca koji su tamo dolazili. Došlo je do nasilja jer je postojala grupa prilično dekadentnih ljudi koji su prouzrokovali par incidenata prema onima koji su tu stvarno živeli. Zbog svega ovoga ljudi su morali da se odsele...

Sledeća akcija sa velikim poletom, vezana je za zgradu kod Brankovog mosta u koju je ekipa ušla, sredila je i očistila njene ogromne prostorije. Tada se javila ideja od strane jednog dela ljudi, da bi se status boravka mogao legalizovati ili polulegalizovati. Zgrada je bila vlasništvo neke propale firme i bio je sporan vlasnički status. Neki ljudi su otišli u opštinu i pokušali da im objasne da bi želeli napraviti kulturni centar, ili mesto za kulturna dešavanja i umetnike. Tako bi se moglo nesmetano raditi, a zgrada bi od strane grada bila ustupljena na korišćenje. Zauzvrat bi grupe održavale zapušteni prostor. U opštini je ovaj predlog dočekan sa velikim oduševljenjem, kako eto, mladi ljudi žele da se bave nečim, itd..., te da će im oni

willing to do something, etc..., and promised to help. The following day there was a public notification at the building. The door was sealed and from that very moment every step inside the building became a criminal act. Lots of our things stayed locked inside: armchairs, chairs, furniture we had brought or got from people who didn't need them any more.

Shortly before the Peoples Global Action Congress in 2004 near Belgrade, there was squatted an old house in Kralja Milutina street. In this house lived Roma and homeless people and in the same backyard was the DŽKC Club. Everything worked fine for a few months, as long as there was enough enthusiasm, but by-and-by there came less and less people. In the house stayed as well activists on their journey through. Some time there was water and electricity. Later all ended up, because there was no enthusiasm or will to do something concrete. The city government tore down the house in the end and kicked the people out. Now there is a fence around the old houses in this backyard and one is waiting for an investor.

There took place lots of benefit parties and illegal parties in the nature, mainly with trance music. At the benefit parties we collected optional donations through symbolic tickets and by the time we had enough money to buy a whole sound system: amplifier, loudspeakers, cables etc. We lend the equipment for every event that we like to support and normally people give a symbolic amount of money between 5 and 10 Euro for transport and maintaining of the equipment. Sometimes we have problems with the transport, but we always find some friends to help out.

SPK participated in a joint project with activists from Priština called Road to Peace and with this was realized an important collaboration. People from here went to Prishtina and people from Prishtina came

pružiti svu pomoć. Sutradan je na zgradi osvanulo zvanično obaveštenje. Zgrada je bila zapečaćena i od tada svako ulaženje unutra smatrano je krivičnim delom. Veliki broj naših stvari je ostao unutra: fotelje, stolice, nameštaj, donešeni ili dobijeni od ljudi kojima nisu više trebali.

Nešto pre konvencije Peoples Global Action održane 2004. u okolini Beograda, skvotirana je jedna stara kuća u ulici Kralja Milutina. U kući su živeli Romi i beskućnici, a u istom dvorištu je bio i klub DŽKC. Sve je funkcionisalo nekoliko meseci dok je bilo poleta, ali je vremenom bilo sve manje posećeno. Ovde su bili smešteni aktivisti i aktivistkinje na proputovanju. Neko vreme je bilo vode i struje. Kasnije se sve opet završilo odsustvom entuzijazma ili volje da se tu nešto konkretno uradi. Gradska vlast je na kraju došla i srušila kuću a ljude isterala i evakuisala. Na starim kućama u ovom dvorištu sada stoje rešetke i čeka se građevinski investitor.

Organizovane su nebrojene benefit žurke kao i neprijavljene žurke u prirodi, uglavnom trance karaktera. Na benefit žurkama sakupljani su dobrovoljni prilozima od simboličnih ulaznica i s vremenom smo imali dovoljno novca da kupimo ceo sound system: pojačalo, zvučnike, kablove i slično. Oprema se ustupa za svaki događaj za koji se odlučimo da treba podržati i obično ljudi daju neku simboličnu cifru od 5 ili 10 evra, za troškove transporta ili za održavanje same opreme. Ponekad imamo probleme sa prevozom, ali se uvek snađemo preko saradnika ili prijatelja.

SPK je učestvovao u jednom zajedničkom projektu sa aktivistima i aktivistkinjama iz Prištine koji se zvao Road to Peace i ostvarena je značajna saradnja. Ljudi odavde su išli u Prištinu kao što su i iz Prištine dolazili u Beograd. Bilo je tu, kulturnih programa, političkih debata i diskusija itd... Radilo se na obezbeđivanju boravka nekoliko kara-

to Belgrade. There were cultural programs, political debates and discussions, etc. We worked on securing the stay of a number of caravans journeying through Belgrade. Last year (2005) came the peace caravan for Palestine, which consisted of around hundred busses, trucks and cars. Activists from whole Europe had come to hold demonstrations, actions, workshops or the like. In Belgrade we had together a presentation in REX. That year marked the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre and it came to a very brutal fight with local fascist groups, with teargas and physical violence.

2005 was organized the first peace caravan through ex-Yugoslavia by the regional network for conscientious objection. The caravan started in Croatia, crossed Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia and finished in Thessaloniki in Greece. This year it took place again in May and it was one bus full of activists

vana koji su prolazili kroz Beograd. Bio je prošle godine mirovni karavan za Palestinu, koji se sastojao od stotinjak autobusa, kamiona, auta i kombija. Aktivisti iz cele Evrope i sa Bliskog Istoka su prolazili sa namerom da na svom putu skrenu pažnju, praveći demonstracije, akcije, radionice i slično. U Beogradu smo zajedno imali prezentaciju u Rex-u. Te godine se obeležavalo 10 godina od zločina u Srebrenici i došlo je do vrlo brutalnog obračuna sa lokalnim fašističkim grupama, sa suzavcem i direktnim nasiljem.

2005. godine se desio prvi Mirovni karavan kroz celu bivšu Jugoslaviju, u organizaciji Regionalne mreže za prigovor savesti. Karavan je išao od Hrvatske preko Bosne i Srbije, Makedonije i završio se u Solunu u Grčkoj. Ove godine je ponovo održan u maju i bio je pun autobus aktivista i aktivistkinja iz skoro svih krajeva bivše države, odnosno iz regiona. Ovoga puta je krenuo od juga, tj.



from the whole region. This time it started in the South, in Skopje, and stayed in Prishtina in Kosovo, where happened an incident in which one activist from Croatia was injured with a knife by an unknown agresor. This year will be founded a group that will deal with the promotion of the demilitarization of our region. The idea is that the activist scene from all states of the region unites to realize bigger and stronger actions.

Another initiative that already lasts for some time should come to an end now. It is the translation of the book *We Are Everywhere*. This is a book of 520 pages with stories written down by activists from the whole world about the fight against capitalism, NATO, G8, etc. The people that own the rights of the book left the graphic design to us, the money for the printing is collected and we will hand out the book for free.

SPK participated in a big number of protests and one of the most recent has been against the destruction of the Fifth (Peti) Park at Zvezdara. Probably you have heard about the legal or half legal usurpation of the park. Some investor got the right to destroy the children's park and to build his building. The citizens organized themselves to protect their park and made some noise in the media. During the stay of the international caravan of art and activism and together with activists from the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany etc. SPK organized a solidarity protest in the Fifth Park.

The campaign NE U NATO (NOT IN NATO) was a joint initiative by various groups, collectives and individuals, which later died off because of constant personal conflicts and disagreements. I hope that we will again succeed to work on the spreading of information and the raise of the public consciousness about the meaning of the accession to the "atlantic integration". At benefit parties we collected money to print

Skoplja i boravio na Kosovu u Prištini, gde se desio incident i gde je jedan aktivista iz Hrvatske bio izboden nožem od strane nepoznatog napadača. Ove godine bi trebalo da se oformi grupa koja bi se bavila promocijom demilitarizacije našeg regiona. Ideja je da se aktivistička scena iz svih država regiona ukрупni u cilju da postignemo šire i jače delovanje.

Jedna inicijativa traje već neko vreme ali bi trebala da se polako primakne kraju. Reč je o prevodjenje knjige *We Are Everywhere*. To je knjiga od 520 strana, sastavljena od priča koje su napisali aktivisti i aktivistkinje iz celoga sveta, o borbi protiv kapitalizma, NATO-a, G8 itd... Ljudi koji poseduju prava na knjigu ustupili su sva grafička rešenja, a novac je sakupljen, kojim će se obezbediti štampanje. Knjigu ćemo deliti besplatno.

SPK je učestvovao u velikom broju protesta a jedan od najskorijih je bio protiv rušenja Petog parka na Zvezdari. Verovatno ste čuli za taj slučaj, protiv pravne ili polupravne uzurpacije parka. Neki investitor je dobio pravo da sruši dečji park i umesto njega napravi svoju građevinu. Građani su se samorganizovali da zaštite svoj park i napravljena je kolika-tolika medijska halabuka. Za vreme boravka internacionalnog karavana umetnosti i aktivizma, tj. sa Karavanom umetnosti i aktivizma iz Britanije Holandije, Nemačke itd, SPK je organizovao protest solidarnosti u Petom parku.

Kampanja NE U NATO je bila zajednička inicijativa raznih grupa, kolektiva i pojedinaca, koja je kasnije zamrla zbog većitih ličnih sukoba i nesuglasica. Nadam se da ćemo ponovo početi da se bavimo njome i nadam se da ćemo uspeti da uradimo nešto na širenju znanja i dizanju svesti u javnosti o tome šta zapravo znači ulazak u Atlanske integracije. Na benefit žurci smo sakupili novac i štampanje nalepnice koje su lepljene po gradu, a izveli smo i kampanju grafitiran-

stickers and we had a graffiti campaign NE U NATO, too. Another graffiti campaign referred to the abuse of a boy by a member of the serbian orthodox church. The collective organized with other groups a protest in front of McDonalds at Terazije on 16th October 2005, which was already the eleventh protest in row organized by us and other people.

At the international day of the fight against international companies we gave cooked food for free and leaflets to the people. The action was quite successful, as I think, as we handed out a very huge amount of leaflets. We had a big table, good music, jongleurs and many people came to support the action. In the most recent initiative "Food Not Bombs" we as well give out food for free. It was intended to take place in the frame of an action called "Free Space". The idea was to create every Saturday, when Kralja Milana street is free of traffic, a free space for having parties, various protests and free speech about current problems in society. After the first Saturday, which went quite good, we didn't manage to organize another one, because the police asked for the permission of the communal inspection. In the communal inspection they told us after one week without explanation that we didn't get the permission, although we started the process at time. They said that if we still tried to organize the meeting we would get a fine about 20.000 Dinars. We refrained from the action as we weren't sure if we could afford such costs. Of course we will go on trying, as this is the most fresh and original idea we thought out. Maybe there is the chance to move to some other quarter at the periphery, where they would leave us in peace. These are most of the activities we had in the last few years.

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ja NE U NATO. Grafitirali smo poruke po gradu i zbog slučaja zlostavljanja dečaka od strane pripadnika Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Kolektiv je zajedno sa drugim grupama 16. oktobra 2005. organizovao protest ispred Mcdonaldsa na Terazijama. Ovo je bio već 11. protest po redu koji je organizovan što od nas što od drugih ljudi.

Međunarodni dan borbe protiv multinacionalnih korporacija je funkcionisao tako što smo delili ljudima besplatnu kuvanu hranu i letke. Akcija je, po mom mišljenju, bila dosta uspešna jer smo podelili jako puno letaka. Imali smo veliki sto, bila je dobra muzika, neformalna cirkuska i žonglerska grupa Šarena Laža je takođe učestvovala, kao i mnogi drugi ljudi koji su došli da podrže akciju. U najskorijoj inicijativi „Hrana a ne oružje“ takođe delimo besplatno hranu. Ovo je bilo zamišljeno u okviru akcije koja bi se nazvala „Slobodni prostor“. Ideja je da svake subote u mesecu, kada je zaustavljen saobraćaj u ulici Kralja Milana, kreiramo slobodan prostor za održavanje žurki, ali i zbog raznih vrsta protesta i radi dizanja glasa protiv aktuelnih problema u društvu. Posle prve subote koja je protekla prilično dobro, sledeću nismo uspeali da organizujemo, jer nam je policija tražila dozvolu od komunalne inspekcije. U komunalnoj inspekciji su nam posle nedelju dana rekli bez obrazloženja da nam dozvola nije odobrena, iako smo na vreme krenuli sa procedurom. Rekli su nam da ako ipak pokušamo da održimo skup na opštini Stari grad, bez dozvole komunalne inspekcije, biće nam napisana kazna u visini od 20 000 dinara. Odustali smo od sledeće akcije jer nismo bili sigurni da te troškove možemo prihvatiti. Pokušavaćemo naravno dalje i još, jer je ovo najsvežije i najoriginalnije što smo smislili. Hteli smo preći na neku drugu opštinu na periferiju grada gde bi nas ostavili na miru... Ovo je najveći deo aktivnosti koje smo imali proteklih godina...

Slobodnakultura.org¹

*Part of an interview about slobodnakultura.org from TkH,
Journal for Performing Arts Theory*

Slobodna kultura is a regional network for the enhancement of free culture, free software and free knowledge that consists of artists, theorists, activists media and law experts and organizations: Wikimedia Serbia, Biro for culture and communication, Kuda.org Novi Sad, Dez.org Belgrade, Žene na delu Belgrade, Act Woman Belgrade, Mreža kreativnih ljudi Belgrade, Free Software Network, Linux User Group (LUG) Novi Sad, Linux User Group (LUG) Belgrade, GNU Club Niš, BGWireless, Gradilište Niš.



The interview about the platform Slobodnakultura.org was published in the "Self-organization issue" of the magazine of TkH Center of Performing Arts (<http://www.tkh-generator.net/spip.php?article69>). You can find the complete version as well at the address <http://creativecommons.si/bralnik2.pdf> in a collection of texts published on the occasion of the Festival of Free Culture in Slovenia in December 2006.

TkH, Journal for Performing Arts Theory:
Self-organization issue, published by TkH Centre for performing Arts and
Bitef Theater, November 2006. This publication is licensed under the Crea-
tive Commons Attribution–Share- Alike 2.5 License

[Q] Alice Chaucat & Ana Vujanović

[A] Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, in behalf of slobodnakultura.org

[name/title of organization]

slobodnakultura.org

What is the format/legal status of your organization?

Legally, we do not exist.

**In which field of art/culture/society do you work? Is your organiza-
tion platform of projects, organizations/groups, or individuals?**

We do act within any social sphere on demand of a certain member or a project. The members could be individuals or groups, already organized before, or not. We consider that what we have established so far can be articulated as a meta-organization, since we consist of different NGO's, groups and individuals. What we are is more of a consulting and decision-making joint platform rather than the organization in traditional sense. We are not formally registered, and I think this position has more advantages in this initial phase. In "tactical" sense, the one of advantages is to apply for particular project through the most "convenient" of our member organizations. Also, at this stage of existing social relationships in our environment, I feel that some conditions characteristic for more mature generation of transitional society are not being met yet – "branding" and "positioning", especially in the public sphere, and that there is a social atmosphere of mandatory "mapping" and adjusting to a "convenient" coordinate system and ranking mechanisms. As diverse with the issues it theoretically can deal with, from free software through different activism and free knowledge all the way to "free culture", however perceived or defined, slobodnakultura.org would hardly avoid being "classified" according to the field/topic of its first or most prominent action. There is a general feeling around that we don't want yet to "position" ourselves within the "map". We are yet to explore and articulate where the premises of "openness" and "freedom" we are trying to base our organization upon are placed in social, cultural or political aspects of our society, what those terms mean today and how the role of those premises could be transformed in the future. So, the tactic of slobodnakultura.org, addressing the particular project/action we agree upon, would be "ASAP", while the strategy, addressing the building of the protocols and experience necessary and, well, the "brand" of the organization, that would be "step-by-step". This approach may easily be changed at any given moment :-)

Geo-political territory: Where is your organization based? Is it local, regional, or international organization?

Currently, our meetings and most of the projects are happening in Belgrade. We find it very important where we live, work and act, and not really important if it is labeled as local or international. This question appears like it is coming from the background of “mapping” and “identity” approach, as perceived in recent “identity re-counts” imposed by the official European “diversities” discourse. In the light of recent attempts to define politics as “the art of identity” rather than the real-world “material” action discourse there is also a view on the issues of “identity” as a supplement or re-articulation of what is defined as a “class”, and the same goes for derivative terms such as “cultural differences”, “creative industries” and the notion of “cultural translation”. I don’t think that it matters if the organization is declared as local or international – what is of importance is its material practice. Most of our members live and/or work in Belgrade. So we can say that, at the moment, we are a Belgrade-based network. We have members from Niš, Novi Sad and other cities/towns in Serbia and we have active participants on our mailing list(s) from Croatia. This can “earn us the title” of regional organization. But, some of our members have years of experience and collaboration with different actors from the region, Europe and beyond, some people are living abroad but originally are from this society, some members maintain and plan to include different forms of international collaboration, so this may put us in “international” category. Since the technology allows us to communicate, coordinate and even in some cases act from wherever we are to wherever we want, this geographical categorization should not be considered crucial anymore. Since we are dealing a lot, as the most organizations here, with the practice of networking, with an accent on the digital networks, the “correct” question may be “where is your server based”, as well...

[organizational structure]

What are the rules of/in your organization?

We don’t have much rules yet, but we do introduce and change them over time.

How do you produce these rules?

Most of the rules we create from the experience of working on certain projects and “problems” we encountered in practice.

Do you aim at creating a non- or less-organized organization? If yes, how do you do? Is there a core group? Is the core group flexible?

At the moment, yes, and yes.

Do you consider the structure of your organization as an utopian model? If yes, how?

It is hard to say. Let's use this quote by Arthur C. Clarke as the answer: "If we have learned one thing from the history of invention and discovery, it is that, in the long run – and often in the short one – the most daring prophecies seem laughably conservative." "First it was a crowd" (group psychology and political theory by C.F. Alford) – says that liberal sociology and philosophy is traditionally putting the accent on the relations between the state and the individual. No groups were "desired", or allowed to be considered as the "serious" actors.

That, actually, is not happening in the real world – this discussion and the exchange we have is the very proof of that. What we may mention as important here, considering the discussion we had @Goethe Institute, is that it needs to be clear that self-organization does not underestimate non-organization in any way. It is rather the most sophisticated form of organization, where the models and protocols are being articulated and tested in practice and changed accordingly, and the understanding that this process may be infinite is a precondition to accept it. There is a common experience that the better the rules are, the less you need them in quantitative terms, but it is applicable to mature phases of self-organized forms. The initiation often needs to be articulated through the process of making rules, changing rules, having certain protocols "built-in" at one point, and that's where we can begin to think about making rules less visible. Those rules and protocols can hardly be inherent to a particular organization or group – the evolution of the rules is synchronized with the general protocols of immediate social and "material" surroundings and what is being adopted from what is being accessible and filtered from "global" experiences and practices. Also characteristic for the initiation phase is that a "center of gravity" is necessary – we do have a sort of "core" of our meta-organization at the moment. If this core will sustain acting like a small power plant we can hope that a critical mass will at one point form an entity which will become self-sustainable organism, in a way that it is not easily vulnerable by the lack of one particular cell, and that it can develop itself in a more diverse ways. I believe that traditionally this process graphically looks like a mild curve at the beginning, that building of a "system" requires undefined period of patience and efforts, and that it is the most decisive period of "shaping" the structure. I also suspect that quantum physics and social networking may share a lot of "rules". After that initial period/process, the "quantum leap" in the evolution of the organization happens, the graph shows a sudden peak, a "cardiac arrest"-like image, and the "entity" needs no permanent "pace-maker" from the small number of people in its core anymore. They can be safely replaced or removed now :-). If we already said that the mechanism of building "rules" derives from the practice rather than from theory or history (although is quite desirable to play and have all sorts of fun and experiments with traditional rules), and that we are "patching the holes" as we discover them, how we should consider traditional functions or titles within the organization, marking "value" and "power" between individuals?



Now, this reminded me of a story I read somewhere, but can't even google it anymore, so I will try to retell it. It is about (if I remember well) a Japanese business person, a small manager in the big company, obsessed with his status within the organization and the pace of his climbing up the ladder. He was so under the burden of thinking about his formal position that he was contemplating all the time about how his business card looks like comparing to the cards of other managers and executives – there is this thing, allegedly, about business cards – the less it tells about you, the more important you are. His card was saying a lot – manager of this department for that in charge of developing this, with all sorts of contacts there. Senior executives had less and less data exposed as they are in the higher positions, and the President Of The Board had a card with just his name on it. And, finally, the story ends one night, when our businessman wakes up in sweat, after dreaming of meeting God, who handed him over his business card – a blank piece of paper. I like this story – I think it has a lot to say not just about how “system” is using titles and functions as automatically executed “self-control” and “self-reference” system, and not just about how people are unquestionably accepting and actually grasping this imposed system of values, not only how the power is actually in its secrecy and non-transparency (I believe professor Miško Šuvaković spoke about that at the discussion) but about how vertical, “chain of command” and top-down organization may produce a mechanism which can deliver real-world results in the short term and in specific situations. It is creating what is perceived as a personality-depriving machine, and in the long run it all may work on the system's inevitable and possibly ludistic end. The same applies not just to military or business circles, but to the world of academics, as well (soon I expect a post-mortem PhD studies and complementary titles to be introduced :-). This is not to criticize the process of education, quite



the contrary – there is this statement by Jiang Zemin, describing the process of building a society: “A learning society in which all people will learn or even pursue life-long education will emerge to boost their all-round development” – it could be achieved by re-defining of vertical structures, decision and policy making mechanisms, “permanent” positions and the aggregation of power, which do restrain faster development in the educational systems worldwide for quite some time. “Horizontal” way of organizational structures hypothetically does not suffer from such a danger, but only if the two conditions are met: the protocols already underestimated, embedded in the social structure of individuals (where the issues of social values and education arise) and constant communication, which, among other roles, serves as the support for the different system of reference. If those conditions are not fulfilled, top-down system wins hands-down :) Just remember all those movies where a few of the robocops from some special forces or the group of trained terrorists crush into a building or a plane, and take over the control of hundreds of people... The privilege of being in the tactical (as opposed to “strategical”) position is that it allows any weapon at hand to be used, and whatever happens does not go under “Geneva Convention” rules. There are attempts to explore if some of the heritage of neo-liberalism can be recycled, appropriated and temporarily used to build transitional or evolutionary theories and practices. I would not bring any opinion on if this could be considered as taking part in existing rather than introducing new practices. An excerpt from “A Democracy of Groups” by Beth Simone Noveck:

“In groups people can accomplish what they cannot do alone. Now new visual and social technologies are making it possible for people to make decisions and solve complex problems collectively. These technologies are enabling groups not only to create community but also to wield power and

create rules to govern their own affairs. Electronic democracy theorists have either focused on the individual and the state, disregarding the collaborative nature of public life, or they remain wedded to outdated and unrealistic conceptions of deliberation. This article makes two central claims. First, technology will enable more effective forms of collective action. This is particularly so of the emerging tools for “collective visualization” which will profoundly reshape the ability of people to make decisions, own and dispose of assets, organize, protest, deliberate, dissent and resolve disputes together. From this argument derives a second, normative claim. We should explore ways to structure the law to defer political and legal decision-making downward to decentralized group-based decision-making. This argument about groups expands upon previous theories of law that recognize a center of power independent of central government: namely, the corporation. If we take seriously the potential impact of technology on collective action, we ought to think about what it means to give groups body as well as soul — to “incorporate” them.”

It appears that original term of democracy made it’s way to 21st century as an distorted (liberal) idea of permanent tolerance, and this “artificial consensus” needs to be re-examined. There is the thesis of “agonistic pluralism” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agonistic_pluralism] by Chantal Mouffe, freely interpreted as the possible model of democracy as a society of permanent confrontation rather than the restrained and “time bomb” society of permanent tolerance (the latter is the model especially well developed within European official cultural policies). That hypothesis is in practice also preconditioned by the same two social platforms we mentioned before – social protocols embedded and constant and uninterrupted communication.

[decision making]

How is the decision-making process organized?

It’s easy. First there is the initiative from a certain member. Then it gets the network support. Or not.

What are the practices of openness, transparency, sharing in your organization? Are these important?

The practices mentioned are the core elements of our organization. Anarchists would say “if voting and elections could change anything, it would be illegal” :-). But, we do vote on some issues using mailing lists and in the meetings... In the organization as diverse as this one, it is not possible (I would say even not desirable) to reach consensus on a particular topic. Often there is an idea or activity and certain group forms around it, acting more or less independently. The essential communication and organization tool of our group is mailing list. We did various experiments with having completely open discussion and announcement lists, having “invitation only” organization list, sub-lists for specific projects/tasks, and

we are still in the process of developing the most functional approach. Our web site, on the address http://slobodnakultura.org/index.php/Glavna_strana, was based on media wiki platform, but for various reasons we are in the process of switching to CMS (content management system), and the one we are building a new site is based upon Drupal [<http://drupal.org>] – we expect to replace the wiki one with a new system and fresh content in the following weeks, on the permanent address <http://slobodnakultura.org>. We also managed to deploy, up to a certain success, a collaborative writing on the documents such are definition of the aims and activities of our organization and project proposals for funders using web-based platforms like <http://www.writely.com>, but of course there are people whose interests, skills and abilities will be manifested in some specific and complementary situations and on some dedicated tasks. We try not to “guide” that kind of positioning, but to rather leave it to the process of “natural” selection trough interest expressed and the evaluation of difference between minimal or desired and actually accomplished results in certain situation. Communicating and collaborating trough web-based platforms and mailing lists should not be in any way a replacement for real-world – in this phase of development and utilization of technology still it may be a simulation, supplement or the extension of it. Remember, for example, old movies where we follow the progress of a murder case? Remember that one can appoint the meeting with the “executor” by phone or trough mediators, but have to actually meet in order to say who will be the victim, and when? Still, it seems that some important decisions have to be “verified” by one’s “bodily presence”, as a sort of guarantee that you as such stand aware and responsible for what you do and stand for. Hm, I think I might have borrowed this from Marko Košnik :-)

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HOLY DAMN IT!¹

50 000 posters against G8

On the Urgent Need for Radical Answers

50 000 postera protiv G8

O urgentnoj potrebi za radikalnim odgovorima!

The art project HOLY DAMN IT is an artistic intervention in the political debate about social alternatives in the international protest and resistance movements against the G8 summit in Heiligendamm near Rostock in 2007.

Ten international artists and artist collectives from four continents have created one poster each: bankleer (D), open circle (India), Mansour Ciss/Laboratoire Déberlinisation (Senegal), Markus Dorf Müller (D), Petra Gerschner (D), Marina Gržinić (Slovenia), Ibrahim Mozain/Artists Without Walls (Israel/Palestina), Oliver Ressler (A), Walter Seidl (A), Allan Sekula (USA).

The artistic contributions deal with the hegemonic conditions and current issues about social movements against capitalist globalization: privatization, exploitation of human beings and resources, war, torture, escalating military mobilization from within as well as to the outside as a permanent state of exception, sexist violence and patriarchal as well as racist models of dominance. Moreover, the project deals with the power of global

¹ Text on the occasion of the action HOLY DAMN IT!, which took place on the plateau in front of the Belgrade Cultural Center DOB on 3rd May 2007. The posters designed for HOLY DAMN IT were presented and handed out to the people; there was a screening of films about the G8 group, music and Šarena Laža jugglers!!!

Projekat HOLY DAMN IT! je umetnička intervencija u procesu političke debate o društvenim alternativama u okviru međunarodnih protesta i pokreta otpora protiv samita G8 u Hajligendamu kod Rostoka u Nemačkoj 2007.

Deset međunarodnih umetničkih grupa i umetnica/ka je kreiralo po jedan poster: bankleer, open circle, Mansour Ciss/Laboratoire Déberlinisation, Markus Dorf Müller, Petra Gerschner, Marina Gržinić, Ibrahim Mozain/Artists Without Walls, Oliver Ressler, Walter Seidl i Allan Sekula. Ovaj umetnički projekat se bavi hegemonističkom politikom i problematikom društvenih pokreta protiv kapitalističke globalizacije: privatizacijom, eksploatacijom ljudi i resursa, ratovima, mučenjem, eskalirajućom militarističkom mobilizacijom spolja i iznutra kao stanjem stalnog izuzetka, seksističkim nasiljem i patrijarhalnim i rasističkim modelima dominacije. Osim toga, projekat se bavi snagom globalnog imidža (re)produkcije u okviru kapitalizma i razvojem kultura i društava koje su orijentisane na emancipaciju i solidarnost.

image (re-)production within capitalism and the development of ideas about of an emancipative and solidarity-oriented culture and society.

Why in Belgrade?

In the first place because of the fact that global capitalism determines life in Serbia as well as in other countries in the region and within the G8 summit the decisions about the political future of the Balkans will be made. The magical words transition and privatisation are the most famous symbols of the transformation of Serbia's economy into ferocious capitalism. This system brings massive unemployment, loss of workers' rights, sell-out and exploitation of

Zašto u Beogradu?

Pre svega zato što globalni kapitalizam danas određuje uslove egzistencije u Srbiji, baš kao u i ostalim državama u regionu, a na samitu G8 će se odlučivati i o političkoj sudbini Balkana. Magične reči „tranzicija“ i „privatizacija“ najpoznatiji su simboli prevođenja srpske ekonomije u divlji kapitalizam. Ovaj sistem sa sobom donosi masovna otpuštanja, gubitak radničkih prava, rasprodaju tj. pljačkanje prirodnih i drugih resursa, još veću korupciju i „slobodnu“ trgovinu u kojoj su velike korporacije legitimna konkurencija slabim domaćim firmama. Nekolicina ljudi koja se munjevito obogatila na kriminalan način sada drži monopol nad domaćom ekonomijom; radnici koji štrajkuju glađu umiru bez nade, dok nesposobni političari već mesecima ne uspevaju da formiraju Vladu, a uredno primaju plate za svoj nerad. Procenat nezaposlenosti stanovništva je 25%, a posledice opšte nesigurnosti i siromaštva širom sveta daju isti rezultat – beg u ksenofobične strahove i uspon (ekstremne, iracionalne i populističke) desnice. Ove i brojne druge činjenice su razlog što smo danas na ulici tražeći da se uslovi za sve nas promene!

Linkovi i izvori:

<http://www.holy-damn-it.org>

<http://www.kontra-punkt.info>

<http://www.g8-germany.info/english/events.htm>

Organizacija:

KONTEKST galerija <http://www.kontekstgalerija.org>

Žene na delu <http://www.zenergija.org>

StaniPaniKolektiv <http://www.stanipanikolektiv.com>

Queer Beograd <http://www.queerbeograd.org>

slobodnakultura.org <http://slobodnakultura.org>

Biro Beograd <http://birobeograd.info>

¹ Tekst povodom predstavljanje projekta HOLY DAMN IT! u Beogradu 3. maja 2007. ispred platoa Doma omladine sa besplatnim deljenjem postera HOLY DAMN IT! i projekcijom filmova o G8, uz učešće grupa KONTEKST galerija, StaniPaniKolektiv, Queer Beograd, Žene na delu, slobodnakultura.org i Horrorkatze

natural and other resources, even more corruption and “free” trade that allows big corporations to compete with the weak local companies. A few people that became rich in a criminal way now hold the monopoly at the local economy; workers in hunger strike die hopeless, while unable politicians cannot manage to build the government for months, getting paid regularly for doing nothing. The percentage of unemployment is 25% and the consequences of the general worldwide insecurity and poverty are the same: escape into xenophobic fears and success of the (extreme, irrational and populist) movements on the right. These and numerous other facts are the reason why we’re on the street today to claim changes for all of us!

Links:

<http://www.holy-damn-it.org>

<http://www.kontra-punkt.info>

<http://www.g8-germany.info/english/events.htm>

Organized by:

KONTEKST galerija <http://www.kontekstgalerija.org>

Žene na delu <http://www.zenergija.org>

SPK <http://www.stanipankolektiv.com>

Queer Beograd <http://www.queerbeograd.org>

slobodnakultura.org <http://slobodnakultura.org>

Biro Beograd <http://birobeograd.info>



e-artacademy

<http://e-artacademy.org>

e-artacademy is an art project dealing with experimental distance teaching & learning of contemporary art via e-mail & internet. Participation is worldwide and free of charge.

The Comicritique studies are directed by Prof. Zampa di Leone, who defined Comicritique No. 1 as "The best surprise is no suprise..." (e-flux), while the photography master class is given by professor Ivars Gravlejs.

The founders also welcome new professors, and all interested in, who have a teaching proposal, should contact them via eartacademy@googlemail.com. Your only remuneration is the joy of teaching contemporary art to more than 60.000 people all over the world.

Ondrej Brody and Kristofer Paetau, conceptual neo-dadaistic artistic couple which haunts for grotesque aspects of both institutionalized art world and the very phenomena of art production itself, are also responsible for e-artacademy.

Related links: <http://www.brodypaetau.com/>

e-artacademy (e-umetnička akademija), je umetnički projekat eksperimentalnog podučavanja i učenja na daljinu u oblasti savremene umetnosti putem e-maila i interneta.

Učestvovanje je besplatno i organizovano je širom sveta. U prvom semestru ova virtuelna akademija nudi dva kolegija: – društveno angažovani strip, čiji je voditelj prof. Zampa di Leone – majstorska klasa za fotografiju, voditelj prof. Ivars Gravlejs

Novi profesori su takođe dobrodošli!

U slučaju da imate predloge za nove nastavne programe, molimo Vas kontaktirajte akademiju na e-mail: eartacademy@googlemail.com Vaša velika satisfakcija će biti prenošenje znanja o savremenoj umetnosti, auditorijumu od više od 60.000 ljudi po celome svetu. Da biste se priključili akademiji, subskribirajte Vašu e-mail adresu i Vaše ime, potom jednostavno kliknite na „Join E-ARTACADEMY“.

Prodekani za nastavu ove akademije jesu Ondrej Brody & Kristofer Paetau – konceptualni neo-dadaistički umetnički duo koji lovi groteskne aspekte institucionalizovanog sveta umetnosti, te samog fenomena umetničke produkcije kao takve.

Detaljnije informacije možete pronaći na internet stranici: <http://www.brodypaetau.com/>

Other Scene

Druga scena

<http://www.drugascena.net>

As a wide and flexible platform of the Belgrade independent scene, Other Scene was initiated in a meeting on 18th of November 2006 at the Context Gallery, venue of the Centre for Culture Stari Grad, Belgrade.

The meeting was organized by the Other Scene in its initial constitution – that included Prelom Collective, Station, TkH-Walking Theory, Dez.org, New Drama, Techne, Stani-Pani Collective and Queer Belgrade – which was operational from December 2005 until November 2006 (<http://www.tkh-generator.net/spip.php?article43>). Dragana Alfirević, Bojan Đorđev, Dušan Grlja, and Ana Vujanović formed the Working Group for the organization of the meeting, which was dismissed after the meeting.

Participants from the following groups took part in the meeting:

1. BAZAART: Sunčica Milosavljević, Ivana Despotović, Nikola Koruga, Zoran Rajšić, Aleksa Čajić and Živojin Živulović
2. Biro for Culture and Communication (SK): Vladan Jeremić, Selena Savić
3. Činč: Bojan Đorđev
4. Dez.org: Jelena Radić

Kao široka i fleksibilna platforma beogradske nezavisne scene, Druga scena je pokrenuta na sastanku 18. 11. 2006. u Kontekst galeriji, u prostorijama Centra za kulturu Stari Grad.

Sastanak je organizovala: Druga scena, u polaznom sastavu – Prelom kolektiv, Stanica, TkH, Dez.org, Nova drama, Tehne, Stanipanikolektiv i Queer Beograd, koja je funkcionisala od decembra 2005. do novembra 2006. (<http://www.tkh-generator.net/spip.php?article43>). Dragana Alfirević, Bojan Đorđev, Dušan Grlja i Ana Vujanović činili su Radnu grupu za organizaciju sastanka, koja je nakon sastanka rasformirana.

Sastanku su prisustvovali učesnici i učesnice iz grupa:

1. Bazaart: Sunčica Milosavljević, Ivana Despotović, Nikola Koruga, Zoran Rajšić, Aleksa Čajić i Živojin Živulović
2. Biro za kulturu i komunikaciju (SK): Vladan Jeremić, Selena Savić
3. Činč: Bojan Đorđev

5. DDT – centar za kreativni pokret: representative Aleksandra Bjelajac
6. ERG Status: Aleksandra Bjelajac
7. Justart: Ivan Pravdić
8. Linux User Group Belgrade (SK): Marko Đorđević
9. Megalofon: Slađana Rackov, Slaviša Rajković
10. Mimart: Nela Antonović, Predrag Radovanović
11. Prelom Collective: Jelena Vesić, Dušan Grlja
12. Simbiosis: Sanja Drašković
13. Slobodnakultura.org (SK): Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, Miloš Rančić (Wikimedia)
14. Social Front: Divna Komluški
15. Station: Dragana Alfrević, Dalija Aćin
16. Stani-Pani Collective: Majda Puača
17. Šarena laža: Ivan Zdravković
18. TkH: Bojan Đorđev, Jelena Knežević, Marta Popivoda, Ana Vujanović
19. Zluradi Paradi: representative Majda Puača
20. Women at Work (SK): Milica Gudović
21. Queer Belgrade: Zoe Gudović
22. DRM teatar: Marko Paunović, Jovan Lukić
23. Context Gallery: Vida Knežević, Ivana Marijanović
24. CEDEUM: Ljubica Beljanski
25. Tanja Marković, as an individual

Resume of the program text of the Other Scene

The Other Scene is a wide and flexible platform of the Belgrade independent scene. It gathers organizations, groups, and individuals involved in improvement work of a legal and infrastructural status of the independent scene; redistribution of public spaces; increasing of transparency of operational mechanisms and protocols of responsible institutions in arts and culture; as well as presence of the independent scene in media and public space. Strategies of the Other Scene in the field of cultural policies are: integration of the independent scene “bottom-up” (self-organization of actors), increasing of its visibility, dialogue/pressure on the responsible institutions and internal coordination of activities.

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4. Dez.org: Jelena Radić
5. DDT – centar za kreativni pokret: zastupnica Aleksandra Bjelajac
6. ERG Status: Aleksandra Bjelajac
7. Justart: Ivan Pravdić
8. Linux User Group Beograd (SK): Marko Đorđević
9. Megalofon: Slađana Rackov, Slaviša Rajković
10. Mimart: Nela Antonović, Predrag Radovanović
11. Prelom kolektiv: Jelena Vesić, Dušan Grlja
12. Simbiosis: Sanja Drašković
13. Slobodnakultura.org (SK): Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, Miloš Rančić (iz Wikimedije)
14. Socijalni front: Divna Komluški
15. Stanica: Dragana Alfrević, Dalija Aćin
16. Stanipanikolektiv: Majda Puača
17. Šarena laža: Ivan Zdravković
18. TkH: Bojan Đorđev, Jelena Knežević, Marta Popivoda, Ana Vujanović
19. Zluradi Paradi: zastupnica Majda Puača
20. Žene na delu (SK): Milica Gudović
21. Queer Beograd: Zoe Gudović
22. DRM teatar: Marko Paunović, Jovan Lukić
23. Kontekst galerija: Vida Knežević, Ivana Marijanović
24. CEDEUM: Ljubica Beljanski
25. Tanja Marković, kao pojedinaka

Sažeta verzija programskog teksta Druge scene

Druge scena je široka i fleksibilna platforma beogradske nezavisne scene. Okuplja organizacije, grupe i pojedince/ke angažovane u radu na poboljšanju pravnog i infrastrukturnog statusa nezavisne scene; preraspodeli javnih prostora; povećanju transparentnosti mehanizama i protokola delovanja nadležnih institucija umetnosti i kulture; i zastupljenosti nezavisne scene u medijskom i javnom prostoru. Strategije Druge scene u domenu kulturne politike su: ukрупnjavanje nezavisne scene “odozdo” (samorganizacijom aktera), povećanje njene vidljivosti, dijalog/pritisak na nadležne institucije i unutrašnja koordinacija aktivnosti.



OPEN SOURCE WATER

- manually filled into a Creative Commons bottle
- water is a public commodity, not for profit
- share with passion, under same conditions
- Roland Alton-Scheidt @ www.media.coop

WATER

- manually filled into a Creative Commons bottle
- water is a public commodity, not for profit
- share with passion, under same conditions
- Roland Alton-Scheidt @ www.media.coop

Holler Brunnen, after the original by the artist, not for profit, 2004

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abolishing Anticopyright Bittorrent collaboration
collecting societies Copy Me Copyleft
copyright debate Creative Anti-Common
Creative Commons Dada Data Retention Ac
DirectConnect distribution Dmytri Kleiner
file-sharing free culture free software free
standards GFDL Gilberto Gil GPL iCommons
iCommons Summit impersonal poetry
Indymedia intellectual property iSummi
Joanne Richardson Lawrence Lessig
legislation licenca creative P2P Luthe
Blissett media industry M12 movemen
networks Neuromancer No copyright open
content overmundo.com p2p community
patents Piratska partija performance
pharmaceutical companies pharmaceutica
Industry Piratbyran Pirate Bay Pirat
Pary Pirates to Brussels Piratska partija
to Plagiarism Plunderphonics Pyratbiran
Rasmus Fleischer remix culture Richard
Falkvinge Richard Stallman Ronaldo Lemo
self-organization sharing Si slobodnakultura
ord steward Home Swedish Riksdac
Telekommunisten terabytes trans
ideology Walburgis ritual Wikipedia Wu
Ming abolishing Anticopyright Bittoren
collaboration collecting societies Copy Ma
Copyleft copyright debate Creative Anti
copy trans-ideology Creative Common
Dada Data Retention Act DirectConnec
distribution Dmytri Kleiner file-sharing
free culture free software free standards
GFDL Gilberto Gil GPL iCommons
iCommons Summit impersonal i poetry

Copright, Copyleft and the Creative Anti-Commons

by Anna Nimus

This is an excerpt from the text "Copright, Copyleft and the Creative Anti-Commons" [http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors0/nimustext.html] by Anna Nimus (developed out of a series of conversations and correspondences between Joanne Richardson and Dmytri Kleiner: "...I met Joanne on a field trip to Halle for Radio Revolten, from our first conversation it became clear we had many intellectual interests in common, among them, a critical stance on not only intellectual property but certain tendencies within the intellectual property reformist movement also, the above text captures our view on the origin, history and meaning of intellectual property, in short, that Intellectual Property is Fraud....").

The Revolt against Intellectual Property

The private ownership of ideas over the last two centuries hasn't managed to completely eradicate the memory of a common culture or the recognition that knowledge flourishes when ideas, words, sounds and images are free for everyone to use. Ever since the birth of the proprietary author, different individuals and groups have challenged the intellectual property regime and the „right“ it gave to some private individuals to „own“ creative works while preventing others from using and re-interpreting them. In his 1870

Poesies, Lautreamont called for a return of impersonal poetry, a poetry written by all. He added, Plagiarism is necessary. Progress implies it. It closely grasps an author's sentence, uses his expressions, deletes a false idea, replaces it with a right one. His definition subverted the myth of individual creativity, which was used to justify property relations in the name of progress when it actually impeded progress by privatizing culture. The natural response was to reappropriate culture as a sphere of collective production without acknowledging artificial enclosures of authorship. Lautremont's phrase became a benchmark for the 20th century avant-gardes. Dada rejected originality and portrayed all artistic production as recycling and reassembling - from Duchamp's ready-mades, to Tzara's rule for making poems from cut-up newspapers, to the photomontages of Hoech, Hausmann and Heartfield. Dada also challenged the idea of the artist as solitary genius and of art as a separate sphere by working collectively to produce not only art objects and texts, but media hoaxes, interventions at political gatherings and demonstrations on the street. Its assault on artistic values was a revolt against the capitalist foundations that created them.

Dadaist ideas were systematically developed into a theory (if often suffering on the level of real practice) by the Situationists. The SI

acknowledged that detournement - putting existing artworks, films, advertisements and comic strips through a detour, or recoding their dominant meanings - was indebted to Dadaist practices, but with a difference. They saw Dada as a negative critique of dominant images (one that depended on the easy recognition of the image being negated), and defined detournement as a positive reuse of existing fragments simply as elements in the production of a new work. Detournement was not primarily an antagonism to tradition; it emphasized the reinvention of a new world from the scraps of the old. And implicitly, revolution was not primarily an insurrection against the past, but learning to live in a different way by creating new practices and forms of behavior. These forms of behavior also included collective writings, which were often unsigned, and an explicit refusal of the copyright regime by attaching the labels „no copyright“ or „anticopyright“ to their works, along with the directions for use: any of the texts in this book may be freely reproduced, translated or adapted even without mentioning the source.

It is these twin practices of detournement (Lautremont's necessary plagiarism) and anticopyright that inspired many artistic and subcultural practices from the 1970s to the 1990s. John Oswald started doing sound collages that remixed copyrighted works during the 1970s. In 1985 he coined the term plunderphonics for the practice of audio piracy as a compositional prerogative, which he and others had been practicing. Oswald's motto was: if creativity is a field, copyright is the fence. His 1989 album *Plunderphonics*, which contained 25 tracks that remixed material from Beethoven to Michael Jackson, was threatened by legal action for copyright violation. *Negativland* has become the most infamous of the plunderphonic bands after their parody of U2's song „I Still Haven't

Found What I'm Looking For“ was sued by U2's record label for violating both copyright and trademark law. *Plundervisuals* also has a long tradition. Found footage film goes back to Bruce Connor's work in the 1950s, but became more prevalent after the 1970s with Chick Strand, Mathew Arnold, Craig Baldwin and Keith Sanborn. With the invention of the video recorder, the practice of scratch video, which detourned images recorded directly from television programs and ads, became very popular during the 1980s because of the relative ease of production compared to the found film's splicing of celluloid. A form of more depoliticized, postmodern plagiarism has also achieved widespread reputation in literary and artistic circles during the 1990s with Kathy Acker's novels - her *Empire of the Senseless* plagiarized a chapter of William Gibson's *Neuromancer* with only minor rewriting - and with Sherrie Levine's image appropriations of Walker Evans, Van Gogh and Duchamp.

Steward Home, a well-known proponent of plagiarism and organizer of several Festivals of Plagiarism from 1988-1989, has also advocated the use of multiple names as a tactic for challenging the myth of the creative genius. The significant difference is that whereas plagiarism can be easily recuperated as an artform, with star plagiarists like Kathy Acker or Sherrie Levine, the use of multiple names requires a self-effacement that draws attention away from the name of the author. The use of multiple names goes back to Neoism, which encouraged artists to work together under the shared name of Monty Cantsin. After his break with Neoism, Home and others started using the name Karen Eliot. The practice also caught on in Italy, where the Luther Blissett name was used by hundreds of artists and activists between 1994 and 1999. Luther Blissett became a kind of Robin Hood of the information age, play-

ing elaborate pranks on the culture industry, always acknowledging responsibility and explaining what cracks in the system were exploited to plant a fake story. After Luther Blissett's symbolic suicide in 1999, five writers who were active in the movement invented the collective pseudonym Wu Ming, which means „no name“ in Chinese. The collective, anonymous name is also a refusal of the machine that turns writers into celebrity names. By challenging the myth of the proprietary author, Wu Ming claims they've only made explicit what should already be obvious - there are no „geniuses,“ thus there are no „lawful owners,“ there is only exchange, re-use and improvement of ideas. Wu Ming adds that this notion, which once appeared natural but has been marginalized for the past two centuries, is now becoming dominant again because of the digital revolution and the success of free software and the General Public License.

Digitalization has proven to be much more of a threat to conventional notions of authorship and intellectual property than the plagiarism practiced by radical artists or critiques of the author by poststructuralist theorists. The computer is dissolving the boundaries essential to the modern fiction of the author as a solitary creator of unique, original works. Ownership presupposes a separation between texts and between author and reader. The artificiality of this separation is becoming more apparent. On mailinglists, newsgroups and open publishing sites, the transition from reader to writer is natural, and the difference between original texts vanishes as readers contribute commentary and incorporate fragments of the original in their response without the use of quotation. Copyrighting online writing seems increasingly absurd, because it is often collectively produced and immediately multiplied. As online information circulates



without regard for the conventions of copyright, the concept of the proprietary author really seems to have become a ghost of the past. Perhaps the most important effect of digitalization is that it threatens the traditional benefactors of intellectual property since monopolistic control by book publishers, music labels and the film industry is no longer necessary as ordinary people are taking up the means of production and distribution for themselves.

Free software guru Richard Stallman claims that in the age of the digital copy the role of copyright has been completely reversed. While it began as a legal measure to allow authors to restrict publishers for the sake of the general public, copyright has become a publishers weapon to maintain their monopoly by imposing restrictions on a general public that now has the means to produce their own copies. The aim of copyleft more generally, and of specific licenses like the GPL, is to reverse this reversal. Copyleft uses copyright law, but flips it over to serve the opposite of its usual purpose. Instead of fostering privatization, it becomes a guarantee that everyone has the freedom to use, copy, distribute and modify software or any other work. Its only „restriction“ is precisely the one that guarantees freedom - users are not permitted to restrict anyone else's freedom



since all copies and derivations must be redistributed under the same license. Copyleft claims ownership legally only to relinquish it practically by allowing everyone to use the work as they choose as long the copyleft is passed down. The merely formal claim of ownership means that no one else may put a copyright over a copylefted work and try to limit its use.

Seen in its historical context, copyleft lies somewhere between copyright and anticopyright. The gesture by writers of anticopyrighting their works was made in a spirit of generosity, affirming that knowledge can flourish only when it has no owners. As a declaration of „no rights reserved“ anticopyright was a perfect slogan launched in an imperfect world. The assumption was that others would be using the information in the same spirit of generosity. But corporations learned to exploit the lack of copyright and redistribute works for a profit. Stallman came up with the idea of copyleft in 1984 after a company that made improvements to software he had placed in the public domain (the technical equivalent of anticopyright, but without the overt gesture of critique) privatized the source code and refused to share the new version. So in a sense, copyleft represents a coming of age, a painful lesson that relinquishing all rights can lead to abuse

by profiteers. Copyleft attempts to create a commons based on reciprocal rights and responsibilities - those who want to share the common resources have certain ethical obligations to respect the rights of other users. Everyone can add to the commons, but no one may subtract from it.

But in another sense copyleft represents a step back from anticopyright and is plagued by a number of contradictions. Stallman's position is in agreement with a widespread consensus that copyright has been perverted into a tool that benefits corporations rather than the authors for whom it was originally intended. But no such golden age of copyright exists. Copyright has always been a legal tool that coupled texts to the names of authors in order to transform ideas into commodities and turn a profit for the owners of capital. Stallman's idealized view of the origins of copyright does not recognize the exploitation of authors by the early copyright system. This specific myopia about copyright is part of a more general non-engagement with economic questions. The „left“ in copyleft resembles a vague sort of libertarianism whose main enemies are closed, nontransparent systems and totalitarian restrictions on access to information rather than economic privilege or the exploitation of labour. Copyleft emerged out of a

hacker ethic that comes closest to the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake. Its main objective is defending freedom of information against restrictions imposed by „the system,“ which explains why there's such a wide range of political opinions among hackers. It also explains why the commonality that links hackers together - the „left“ in Stallman's vision of copyleft - is not the left as it's understood by most political activists.

The GPL and copyleft is frequently invoked as an example of the free software movement's anticommmercial bias. But there is no such bias. The four freedoms required by the GPL - the freedom to run, study, distribute and improve the source code so long as the same freedom is passed down - means that any additional restriction, like a non-commercial clause, would be non-free. Keeping software „free“ does not prevent developers from selling copies they've modified with their own labour and it also does not prevent redistribution (without modification) for a fee by a commercial company, as long as the same license is passed down and the source code remains transparent. This version of freedom does not abolish exchange - as some free software enthusiasts have claimed - nor is it even incompatible with a capitalist economy based on the theft of surplus value. The contradiction inherent in this commons is partly due to the understanding of proprietary as synonymous with closed-sourced or nontransparent. Proprietary means having an owner who prohibits access to information, who keeps the source code secret; it does not necessarily mean having an owner who extracts a profit, although keeping the source code secret and extracting a profit often coincide in practice. As long as the four conditions are met, commercial redistribution of free software is nonproprietary. The problem is more obvious when translating this condition to content-based works, like

poems, novels, films, or music. If someone releases a novel under a copyleft license, and Random House prints it and makes a profit off the author's work, there's nothing wrong with this as long as the copyleft is passed down. To be free means to be open to commercial appropriation, since freedom is defined as the nonrestrictive circulation of information rather than as freedom from exploitation.

It comes as no surprise that the major revision in applying copyleft to the production of artworks, music and texts has been to permit copying, modifying and redistributing as long as it's non-commercial. Wu Ming claim it is necessary to place a restriction on commercial use or use for profit in order to prohibit the parasitic exploitation of cultural workers. They justify this restriction, and its divergence from the GPL and GFDL versions of copyleft, on the grounds that the struggle against exploitation and the fight for a fair remuneration of labour is the cornerstone of the history of the left. Other content providers and book publishers (Verso, for example) have expanded this restriction by claiming that copying, modifying and redistributing should not only be non-profit but also in the spirit of the original - without explaining what this „spirit“ means. Indymedia Romania revised its copyleft definition to make the meaning of „in the spirit of the original“ clearer after repeated problems with the neofascist site Altermedia Romania, whose „pranks“ ranged from hijacking the indymedia.ro domain to copying texts from Indymedia and lying about names and sources. Indymedia Romania's restrictions include: not modifying the original name or source since it goes against the desire for transparency, not reproducing the material for profit since it abuses the spirit of generosity, and not reproducing the material in a context that violates the rights of individuals

or groups by discriminating against them on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, gender or sexuality since it contradicts its commitment to equality.

While some have multiplied restrictions, others have rejected any restriction at all, including the single restriction imposed by the initial copyleft. It is the movement around peer-to-peer filesharing that comes closest to the gesture of anticopyright. The best example is the Copyriot blog by Rasmus Fleischer of Pyratbiran (Bureau of Piracy), an anti-IP think tank and the one-time founders of Pirate Bay, the most used Bittorrent tracker in the P2P community. The motto of copyriot is no copyright, no license. But there is a difference from the older anticopyright tradition. Fleischer claims that copyright has become absurd in the age of digital technology because it has to resort to all sorts of fictions, like distinctions between uploading and downloading or between producer and consumer, which don't actually exist in horizontal P2P communication. Pyratbiran rejects copyright in its entirety - not because it was flawed in its inception, but because it was invented to regulate an expensive, one-way machine like the printing press, and it no longer corresponds to the practices that have been made possible by current technologies of reproduction.

Stallman's original definition of copyleft attempts to found an information commons solely around the principle of information freedom - in this sense it is purely formal, like a categorical imperative that demands freedom of information to be universalizable. The only limit to belonging to this community is those who do not share the desire for free information - they are not excluded, they refuse to participate because they refuse to make information free. Other versions of copyleft have tried to add further restrictions

based on a stronger interpretation of the „left“ in copyleft as needing to be based not on a negative freedom from restrictions but on positive principles like valuing social cooperation above profit, nonhierarchical participation and nondiscrimination. The more restrictive definitions of copyleft attempt to found an information commons that is not just about the free flow of information but sees itself as part of a larger social movement that bases its commonality on shared leftist principles. In its various mutations, copyleft represents a pragmatic, rational approach that recognizes the limits of freedom as implying reciprocal rights and responsibilities - the different restrictions represent divergent interpretations about what these rights and responsibilities should be. By contrast, anticopyright is a gesture of radicality that refuses pragmatic compromises and seeks to abolish intellectual property in its entirety. Anticopyright affirms a freedom that is absolute and recognizes no limits to its desire. The incompatibility between these positions poses a dilemma: do you affirm absolute freedom, knowing it could be used against you, or moderate freedom by restricting the information commons to communities who won't abuse it because they share the same „spirit“?

Berlin, 2006. Anticopyright. All rights dispersed.

A Numbers Game

*Interview with Richard Falkvinge,
President of the Pirate Party*



Stockholm, 27th of June 2007, Espresso Café

Hello Richard, and thanks for having time for this conversation. Can you briefly explain why Pirate Party emerged, and what made you to register as a formal political entity?

What we realized was basically that there is no incentive at all for politicians to understand what's going on right now in the economy, what is going on with civil liberties in terms of the copyright debate. They are so tied up with their school, health care, taxation, work force and so on and so forth that there is no time or no interest in understanding these issues. So, we realized that the worst penalty for them was, if they made the wrong decision, that maybe someone out in the back quarters, in the shades somewhere, without any influence whatsoever, might get upset. So what we needed to do was to raise the stakes, was to send a message to the politicians that if you don't understand these issues, if you don't take your time to understand them right now, then you risk being out of your job after the elections...

After only three months of preparation it seems that elections proved you have been right, as some immediate results were achieved. How would you judge the impact Pirate Party had so far on the political life of Sweden?

We fought our way into the top ten list of parties and into the proportional representation of parties, and I think this is very good even though we didn't reach the threshold. We influenced most of the other parties who are in parliament, and actually two parties in our neighbouring country copied our platform almost word for word and, most importantly, people are starting to see that this is actually a real issue, that this is becoming a very important issue in particular for the first time voters.

It's not only Sweden that's got a Pirate Party in the previous year. How many Pirate Parties are there, and what's your relationship towards sister parties?

It sort of depends on where do you draw the line. If a couple of guys set up a website and say they're Pirate Party, I would say they are probably not - if I come down to a congress like I did in München with the Deutsche Piratenpartei and I see a room full of delegates, is that a Pirate Party? Yes, it is definitely! So where do you draw the line, I'm not sure. There are at least two dozen initiatives, how many have matured into a full flesh Pirate Party I'm not sure, but what we can see, and this is important, what we can see is that this is a global movement, it's happening all over the world, in six out of seven continents.



Talking about movements, can you describe your attitude towards another movement gathered around introducing and using Creative Commons licenses? What are your views on possible cooperation, similarities or antagonisms between PP and CC?

There is a lot of different movements taking the copyright debate, and Creative Commons is one of them. I think they are doing a very good job in terms of shedding light on the issue, I think they're taking their approach in terms of providing an alternative for authors in sort of building a critical mass of music and movies that are not under traditional copyright, and I hope that some day a radio station can say "we are only broadcasting Creative Commons anyway, so sorry collection agencies, sorry record and music industry, we don't care about your restrictive terms anymore"... That's their approach. We have a slightly different approach saying that, well, the record industry has all the money in the world, they really do, they have real barrels of cash, but there is one thing and only one thing that beats all that money in the world, and that's votes. Votes and democratic actions, that's what we are going for. The copyright debate has just started, we see different faces of this debate all over the world. Creative Commons is one of the best known, I think they have been very successful. We are taking a different approach. And

I actually think a lot of different approaches are necessary in order to beat this monopolistic agenda of the old media industry.

I guess you are familiar with the Creative Commons way of licensing where you can assemble your license from different modules. If you would contribute to this way of licensing, if you could introduce another module, what should it permit or restrict, and what should be the name of it?

I'm not so much into changing their licenses, but if you look at the record industry, they're almost adamant that the artist should have the choice of licensing, meaning, of course, the record industry having the choice of licensing as the artist signs over to the record industry. But one major point of the Pirate Party is that as long as one single artist allows, or has the ability, to control what I'm allowed to send in private to my friends, as long as one single person has the legal ability to control that, then that means all my private communication must be monitored to see when that happens. So the question isn't "doesn't the artist have a right to control the distribution of his/her works", the question is "does the artist have that right if the cost of enforcing that right is that all private communications must be monitored"? So that's one of our key points, and in such terms Creative Commons sort of sheds light

on the subject, but I think the civil liberties angle of it hasn't really shown through.

Now you mentioned some other issues addressed by Pirate Party. Most people think you are dealing exclusively with copyright, but there are two more things in your agenda, one is patents and the other one is privacy. Regarding patents, could you briefly describe your proposition to abolish patents, especially in the case of the pharmaceutical industry, as elaborated on PP web site?

We believe quite firmly that the patent debate is going to come just parallel to the copyright debate, only twenty or thirty years out. It's exactly parallel in every detail. It's artificial scarcity, it's monopoly on ideas, it is an exclusivity that doesn't make economic sense. It's an obstacle to innovation. And if you look at pharmaceutical industry for example, there is the obvious sign that patents are not for innovation as a whole and that the big pharmaceutical companies are lobbying for more patents. It's good for their monopoly but not for innovation as such. So, what we are saying is that if you look at the big pharma's own numbers, just by cutting out patents you can actually reduce government spending, since, at least in Europe, this is not the case all over the world, but at least in Europe, the pharma revenue comes up to eighty percent from government anyway. And a lot of that is just flushed down the toilet in patent fees. Big pharma are spending two thirds of their research money, which is already just 15 percent, circumventing each other's patents. So this sort of myth that patents are required to make new drugs is just a myth perpetrated by these people who desire a monopoly. In reality these patents kill people. They prevent people in the third world from making medicine for themselves and I think that is immoral, evil and unjust. There

is no point in adding such an artificial scarcity. That was pharma. In other industries, patents are ranging from "unnecessary" to "preventing innovation". If you look at mobile phones, for example, patents are usually granted long after the phones are retired and taken off the market. They are granted only when the phones become obsolete. So, why do you continuously invent in the mobile phone market?

Obviously not because you can get patents. You invent, because if you don't invent, you are not going to sell any mobile phones. So patents are not necessary as an incentive to invent. The incentive is there because if you don't invent you are not going to sell any products.

Abolishing patents sounds like a sound proposition. Have you had any contacts on any level with the representatives of government or pharmaceutical industry, any reactions from that side?

Oh yes, they were actually quite funny. There was a guy, I think he was even a lobbyist with the big pharma industry from Sweden, who took me out to lunch to try to explain to me their position. He said, "well you have to realize that we make all these big investments". Yeah, but you still spend only 15 % on research. "But you have to realize that we make all of these big investments"... So, let me just say that he was not very convincing. Especially since these are the guys who have lobbied for more copyright protection.

Waiting to enter the Swedish parliament or European parliament, who do you collaborate with among other parties, for example here in Sweden? Do you have any joint strategic or tactical plans, any talks about coalitions, mutual support, any shared agenda with somebody?

This is actually quite funny because this is one of the keys towards how can we get so much influence with just 4 % of the votes. In Sweden there are two blocks. They're always quite tight in parliament, which means if a small party would come in and put a wedge in between the two blocks, that small party would have the power of determining who would be the next prime minister. So that's our plan, we are getting in there, we have a narrow agenda by design. So, we're saying: ok guys, here is what we want, whoever gives us this will have our support on all other issues. As I said, these issues are so peripheral to the other politicians just wouldn't care about them. They would surrender them in a heartbeat to get their budget, health care, defence, school policy and so on and so forth. So this is key to how we can be so influential with just 4 % of the votes, just one in 20 voters for us, even less. In the meantime, now in between the elections, we are talking a lot, as much as we can, to the other parties. What's important for us is that the questions are coming to parliament, that the issues are understood and either that we educate the other politicians about them, or, failing that, that we carry the issues there ourselves, which is our current chain of thought. The issues must get into parliament and right now we are trying as much as we can to talk to other politicians in other parties. For instance, the youth leagues are very understanding all our issues, they are fully on board.

The subtitle of the "Next Step Politics!" event held in June in Vienna was "Pirates to Brussels 2009?". Will it happen? Do you expect to see Pirate Party in European Parliament in 2009?

Oh, it's going to be tough. It's definitely going to be tough. But then again, everything that we have done so far has been hard bor-

dering on impossible. So that's almost kind of our signature. Do I believe that we can do it? Yes. Do I believe it's going to be an easy sail? Not at all, it's going to be very tough. But we are having the plan of getting there and I think it's realistic.

In the statement on PP web site you said that because of the very particular issues the Pirate Party stands for, which are copyright, patent abolition and privacy concerns, you cannot be placed on the traditional political scale of left to right. Are you a trans-ideological political party?

This was actually explained to me by a Danish guy, it was kind of funny that he came and explained to me the historical perspective. At the dawn of democracy there were conservatives and liberals who were opposed to each other, there was nothing else. And so when socialists arrived on the stage, conservatives and liberals both became sort of the guardians of the present, with the socialists being the radicals, being the reformers, being the opposition, being the other pole. So it was the old conservatives and liberals versus socialists, who were new. And at that point the differences between the conservatives and the liberals didn't really matter anymore. Just a few decades ago the greens came on stage. At that point the guardians were the old, conservatives, liberals and socialists against greens, who were the radicals, who wanted to introduce new values into the debate. And so, could you place the greens or just the ecology movement as such on a left or right scale? Well in some countries they picked up a position on the left-right scale, in other countries they didn't. In other countries yet you have two green parties, one on the left and one on the right side. What we're seeing now is that now we're trying to make a fuzz, now we're try-

ing to introduce new values. So were would we stand in between the old ones? We don't, because the old are the guardians of the present. Or the guardians of yesterday. We don't care where we fit in between conservatives, liberals and socialists, because to us they're the guardians of the old system, and we are trying to introduce new values just as others have done before us in different centuries.

You had less than 1% of the votes on previous Swedish parliamentary elections, but the polls among forthcoming voters, the next generation of voters, show some different numbers. Could you elaborate on that?

We are seeing 4,5 % in the school elections, which are held parallel to the real elections. So if we don't gain or lose one single voter, just by the people that become first time voters we will double our result in the next election and I don't think any other party can say that. So, if we do our homework, we will pull this off.

This "numbers game" is a bit different when it comes to European Parliament?

Well, we need around 100.000 voters to get into European Parliament. We had 35.000 last time, that means, counting the people that are coming into voting age, we are going to get about 70.000 votes if we don't gain or lose one single voter. That means we need to grow about 50% to the next election. It's hard but it's not impossible. Like I say we have a strategy for getting there.

On the "Next Step Politics!?" conference in Vienna you discussed a sort of joint media approach and general coordination with sister Pirate Parties. Can you tell us more?

What we're seeing is that this is a global movement. And the battleground for changing copyright laws globally is Europe. The initiative is not going to come out of the US, because the rules of the game are so different there. However, in Europe, a small party and a small success can make a huge difference. If Swedish Pirate Party gets into parliament it's just going to domino all over Europe. And Europe is as strong economically as the US is. So that would really change the rules of the game. We are cooperating with the European Pirate Parties to get seats and a party group in the European Parliament by 2009. That election is in two years and those years are going to pass fast. We are working on it and we are going to get there quickly.

A Pirate Party of the United States was formed very soon after the Swedish one, and is listed as a sister party on the PP website. How would you estimate the position of something like the Pirate Party in the United States?

I think the relationship between the different Pirate Parties is very cordial. The problem with the US and the UK though is that they have a different political system, they don't have proportional representation but they have a first-round poll system, which means that in order to get one person into parliament you need to have an absolute majority in a certain geographical area, because every county, every neighbourhood selects its representative. And I think that is a very tough task to accomplish given the complexity of these issues. Can we get 4-5%? Yes certainly, I believe that is possible. Can we get over 50? Even in a small area, I think that's tough, that's going to be very hard. We got up to 9% in the student districts...

Do you have any proposition for the "authors" of so called "content" - although

approaches such as Piratbyran's question these terms - about what to do with the "content" produced today, before Pirate Party reaches its political goals and the world is free of copyright?

Well, I don't think authors have any reason to fear the pirate movement, quite to the contrary. What we are about is the right to share, the right to communicate and the right to collaborate. What we are against is monopolistic distribution, old distribution chains, locking artists in and forcing artists basically to sell to the monopolies and then stripping them off all their rights. An artist cannot even go out and hold a concert without the approval of the record company. I think that's unfair, that's evil and immoral. So what we're for is the right to remix, share, collaborate and distribute. I don't see this as a problem for authors, quite to the contrary, I think this is one of the biggest cultural political issues for the 21st century.

Until we wait for the Pirate Party to take over the European Parliament and get us rid of the copyright, what is your advice for the "authors" and artists regarding licensing? Should they go for Creative Commons, should they go for nothing (most of national law jurisdictions, if something is not tagged at all, would claim it as fully copyrighted). What should people do in the meantime?

Creative Commons is good, in terms of that it builds critical mass for a library of music, a library of works that you can go to without tapping in the old monopolies. I'm just waiting for the first net radio station to use only Creative Commons licensed music, for instance. They wouldn't need the old monopolies, and that would be such a huge blow to the old system. And as for what authors should do, well, I think they should continue

to do what they have always done, which is create culture, share culture, borrow from each other and be inspired. And we want to keep that legal.

More and more PR departments of the biggest businesses are starting to use words like collaborative, participatory, open source... Are we seeing the attempt of a massive appropriation of terms? Is this the sign of the industries based on patents and copyright losing the battle and trying to change the name, but not the game?

I just think they're trying to play with words to sound like that they are in the game, but they really aren't. It's one thing to talk the talk but I'll be impressed when I see they walk the walk.

A perfect ending! Thanks a lot.

Thank you.

interview: vladimir jerić vldi
special thanks: simon goldin
audio & video of this interview @slobodnakultura.org

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Crie tive Como

Interview with Ronaldo Lemos, chairman of the board of iCommons
audio & video of this interview @slobodnakultura.org



About: Ronaldo Lemos da Silva Júnior is the chairman of the board of [iCommons.org](http://icommons.org), the director of the Center for Technology & Society (CTS) at the Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV) Law School in Rio de Janeiro, and Project Lead for the Creative Commons in Brazil. He is one of the founders of Overmundo.com.br, the largest cultural network initiative in Brazil.

The iCommons Summit '07 <<http://icommons.org/isummit-07>> was organized by the iCommons International, in cooperation with the Multimedia Institute MI2 <<http://www.mi2.hr>> from Croatia.

Dubrovnik, 15th of June, iCommons Summit day one, the roof of Revelin.

Hi, Ronaldo, and thanks a lot for having time to speak with us. This is the first day of the iSummit. What is the feel of it so far? What do you think, how it will develop?

First, for me it is a pleasure to be talking with you... My feel about the iSummit is the best possible. First, it's taking place in such a great city, the environment is perfect, but the best thing about it is that you can see that something is going on. Something is going on in terms of how people are connecting, how people are seeing that they can do things together, either together in the

same space or together in the Internet, and I think this is very powerful. I think people who are here are motivated not only by intellectual property, but through the fact that they think, they perceive the fact that they can change things. We have big challenges ahead, technology, internet and lots of other things like the decadence of the welfare state, challenges that we have to face in the future. And I think technology is very much at the edge of solving these problems. Not that it is technology that is going to solve them, but in fact technology is the spearhead, it is the first thing that is having to face these new challenges of the new century. My impression is that people here are concerned not only about intellectual property but about new solutions for our old problems.

This year's summit has some focal points, one of those being the issue of collecting societies still boycotting the collaboration with Creative Commons. A private session was organized where we had the chance to talk with the representative of one of the biggest collecting societies, but I think the general feeling after that, and after Lawrence Lessig's appearance in Brussels a few weeks ago in front of representatives of societies, is that they are maybe still willing to talk, but there isn't much progress, and it's quite uncertain if there will ever be any. What do you think, can we solve this



problem without actually collaborating with collecting societies?

That's a very interesting question, and I think right now there are a few of cooperations between Creative Commons and the collecting societies. The fact that Larry Lessig went to Brussels - whatever happened in Brussels - and the fact that we had somebody from the collecting societies here as well, indicates at least a willfulness to try to initiate a dialogue. Of course I find this very good. If we can work together, that's very good. But, concerning creativity, the person from the collecting society said something I found very intriguing. He said that he represents 2.5 millions offerers around the world. I wasn't impressed by this number as I actually think this is a very small number compared to the amount of people who are creating things nowadays through the democratisation of the ways of production, so 2.5 million is actually not much. You have to think about these new constituents, which are not part of the collecting societies and sometimes do not want to be part of the collecting societies, because they know that they can manage their creation in a different way. So this is the challenge that we have to face. How do you rethink the ways that artists/creators can manage their work? Now technology allows you to establish direct contacts with your audience. So this is a challenge not only for the Creative Com-

mons but for the collecting societies as well. And I think they are finally realizing that they have to do something about this problem, because their legitimacy will become more and more questionable if they don't do anything.

In your presentation about what is happening in what you defined as periphery, not just in Brazil or Southern America but in Nigeria and other places , you made a distinction between so called legal and social commons. It reminds a lot on the ideological background of a rising phenomena of exploring the so-called piracy, where something like "gray commons" is defined. How compatible, how overlapping those "peripheral" events may be with what is happening in (mostly) Europe right now, with this pirate discourse?

That's an interesting thing. This research that we have done in Brazil and in other countries realizes that there are many places in the world in which intellectual property is either unknown, irrelevant or unenforceable. This is a fact, a social circumstance, and you cannot avoid it. But on top of it you realize that in these places business models are emerging that take into account these facts. People develop business models in circumstances in which they cannot rely on intellectual property. And, curiously, in

these places there is a lot of innovation going on. Since you cannot count on intellectual property protection in the sense that you are Hollywood and intellectual property allows you to sell your film five times: you sell it to the movie theaters, to TV, to video on demand, and then you sell it on DVD - OK, this is based on intellectual property. What if you don't have intellectual property protection? That means that you have to do something else. You have to innovate the terms of your business model. If you take a look to Nigeria's film industry that's exactly what is happening there. In Nigeria, you don't have a strong IP (Intellectual Property) regime to rely on, and actually from the beginning of the nineties until the late nineties Nigeria didn't have an articulated copyright law, so you could not count on that, and even though, they developed a very sound, a multimillionaire business model for producing and selling audio-visual content that doesn't rely on intellectual property. This is what I think we can pay attention at, because it provides us with different alternatives on how we can do business with intellectual creation. So when you think about this correlation, which sometimes is repeated as a dogma, that you need intellectual property as the only source for motivating intellectual creation, it proves to be completely wrong. Intellectual property can be one of the incentives to be creative, but there are many others. And these other incentives are becoming as important or sometimes even

more important than intellectual property itself.

You presented us with various different business models which don't have a name yet, maybe they will never have, but I got the impression that they are adjustable and that they are sort of coming from the improvisation, from the gray zone, from the deregulated zone. Are we now entering a time in history where there won't be one business model which can be copied and pasted, but many business models, which have to be adaptable to the special circumstances of a special societies? Or can we derive some patterns and rules that can be applied everywhere?

That's an excellent question. And I'm afraid I don't know the full answer to the question. But one of the things we can say for sure is that this emerging model is produced by the fact that these peripheries can be everywhere. They can be in Brazil, in poor countries, in rich countries, they can be in Eastern Europe, anywhere, it's not a thing about poor and rich, it can be the peripheries of London, the peripheries of New York, the mix tape markets, all the things that are emerging out of the pirate radios, it's the same thing. But it's the first time in history that this is happening. This is new. For the first time people appropriate the means of mass production, which is a concept of the previous century, so that everyone is now able to multiply the cop-

Nigeria

30 new titles p/ week

-0 movie theaters

US\$3.00 / US\$0.50



ies of your work, be it by digital technology, be it by CDs, all this is being democratized. We still don't know what the consequences will be. The impact will be profound. When I mentioned the Nigerian movie industry to a very well known movie maker in Brazil, he told me "Ronaldo, this is not movies, this is not cinema, this is something else". I was intrigued, I researched and I found an article by the founder of the Cinémathèque Française, a guy named Henri Langlois. He wrote in 1969 that the true cinema would only emerge when the peripheries would appropriate the means of producing audiovisual content and were able to tell their own stories unmediated. This is the time when the true cinema will emerge. And I sent this article to this famous Brazilian director and he never wrote back to me, so I don't know what he thinks.

Discussing ideology, there is a certain fraction of the Creative Commons movement asking for even more of "depolarization" of the movement. Then again, Creative Commons and similar initiatives do mess with the very notion of property, which has to be very political, very ideological and we agreed on that. What would you say about the politics of Creative Commons initiative?

This is very interesting. Just an example before I answer this question. Politics is completely relevant, for instance, for the defini-

tion of what cinema is. The definition of cinema is actually a totally political definition. Because if you define something as cinema, that means that you have state incentives for that particular form of production, that you have certain types of distribution, certain expectations, and so defining something as cinema and defining something as not cinema has a political impact, and this renders the definition of cinema itself as a political definition.

In terms of the Creative Commons project, what is happening right now is the following: you have Creative Commons on one side and you have iCommons as the entity that has been created to take care of the movement. The role Creative Commons are expected to play right now is a legal role. Creative Commons is the guardian of these licenses, it deals with legal problems... iCommons as the movement, and you are totally right, is very diverse. You have people who are in a certain place in the scale, and you have people who are very much like anarchists, like communists, and you have people who are more conservative, they all live together. And this is what makes the movement powerful. Because in spite of these different ideas and different concepts people have, there are a lot of things in which people agree as well. I think this is one of the most important chances of iCommons and learning how to live with these disagreements is one of the things that make us an important and relevant movement.



And another thing I find important is, by doing this, by having one single movement made of disagreements, at the same time we are challenging the structures that were built in the 20th century. So nowadays left, right, it doesn't mean much. We are building something else, even in terms of ideology, because we are having other ways of articulating what you think and what you aspire, which are completely independent from these concepts, these dichotomies that were made in the 20th century. So now we are free to reinvent that language, as well.

So you believe it is possible that this is a process in which some sort of trans-ideological platform is emerging?

That's exactly what I mean when I say that technology is at the spearhead of all these transformations. Technology is the first one in which you see this redefinition of concepts, the redefinition of roles, and you can see it clearly. Just take a walk through this conference. You see people from all ranges, from all backgrounds and beliefs, and at the same time you see something that unifies them. How you call it, post-ideology, trans-ideology, para-ideology, I don't know. You still have to reinvent this language.

Our forthcoming CC jurisdiction is not really funded yet at all, and then you told me that Brazilian jurisdiction saw its first funding eighteen months after launching the licenses. Here we are, so far, doing fine with a lot of enthusiasm and using of public services, such as Google hosting of everything and alike. Do you think that it is possible to get rid of the money in the system altogether?

That's an interesting thing. I'm not sure that you can get rid of the money, but I'm pretty sure you can hack your way to it. For

example, in the Brazilian case I mentioned, we got funding very late in the project, but in the same time we managed to become part of a law school, which was giving us institutional support to develop the project. They were not paying us to do the Creative Commons job, that was something that was paid or motivated by our enthusiasm for the project. But at the same time, if you hack these institutions, if you know how to navigate in the cooperation with other people, to do partnerships, to work together, I think you can find ways that are broader than the mere fact: now we have money, now we can do things. I think it is possible to do things through cooperation and through partnerships, building alliances, and that's actually what is happening in Brazil. Money came after that. We had all the work done, that's a paradox, and then we had money.

Discussing the licenses, is there maybe a semantical problem in the penetration of CC licenses into, let's say, public service? I don't know how it works in Portuguese, but for an average Slavic language user, who would be maybe a 55 years old civil servant, it's very hard to imagine licensing this civil servant's work on "Creative Commons 3.0", just because of the language barrier, not to mention other problems in understanding the concept. Is it possible to maybe rethink the names of licenses and to maintain the CC "brand-recognition" for the movement behind the licenses, and to invent some neutral phrases, without much meaning but easy to recognize things like flickr, google, etc...?

This is a great question, and we had this problem in Brazil as well. The term Creative Commons in Portuguese is very difficult, even how to pronounce it. This is a problem that we had from the beginning. But when

we started the project the Creative Commons Brazil launched a challenge, because Brazilians have this capacity of reincorporating other cultures, transforming them and giving them back in a completely different way. So we launched this challenge of who would be the person who would reincorporate Creative Commons in Portuguese and come up with something that is meaningful. I called it “the challenge of the uteredelisation” - I know this term is very weird, I will explain where it comes from. There is a famous hip hop song, where they say: “whoomp there it is, whoomp, there it is.” Everybody knows it and it’s very popular in Brazil. But we don’t know as Portuguese speakers how to pronounce “whoomp, there it is.” So Brazilians transformed it into “uuu-te-re-de”, which sounds similar.

Does it mean anything?

It doesn’t mean anything. And then I launched the challenge that said “we are not going to translate the license - if someone wants, please go ahead, find nicknames, find other words to refer to this license”. Then the minister of culture Gilberto Gil came with a definition that is called *licença creativa*, which means “creative license” - it was OK, but not that good... And then a guy from Salvador said: oh, in Portuguese Creative Commons phonetically sounds like “criei tive como” - “I created because I had how”, and sometimes we adopt that. Because it’s a plain Portuguese and it has a similar meaning as the original license. So what I would suggest, I’m not sure, different cultures have different solutions, but take up this challenge, let people tell you how you should call it, invent nicknames - it makes people closer to the idea and they can reinvent the whole thing for you and can cooperate with you and become re-appropriating, which is for me the most important thing, how people can re-ap-

propriate these ideas and recreate them. That happened in Brazil and it’s really nice.

And for the end some mid-term or short-term predictions, expectations... What do you think may happen with the CC movement and generally with the advancement of technology and networking, by the time we talk again, maybe this time next year?

Well, it’s very hard to make predictions. So I’ll better do some expectations. I think the expectation that everyone shares is that the movement is going to grow a lot, because there is a simple reason for that: this transformations that we are living at, file sharing, emerging cultural industries from the peripheries, new forms of rethinking the distribution of cultural content, they are going to get deeper and deeper. The challenges and the facts will continue to change, and naturally the response to the facts and the reaction to these facts will also continue to grow. So my expectation is, when we meet next year maybe in Sapporo, we will have a much larger, much more influential movement than we had before, and every year it will be like that, simply because the challenges are only starting. We are only seeing the beginning of the changes of the century. This is one of the communities that have been organized to deal with these challenges and we are doing what we can. I think we are on the right path.

interview: vladimir jerić vlidi (currently CC serbia public lead)

video by Vladan Jeremić

special thanx: Rebecca Kahn

audio & video of this interview @slobodnakultura.org

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Piratbyrån presents:

Four Shreddings and a Funeral - A walpurgis ritual on spring mountain

A manuscript


<http://piratbyran.org/walpurgis/>

The spring mountain. The highest point in Stockholm. It's twilight time at Walpurgis Night. Four piles of the book "Copy Me" are assembled in the formation of a rhomb.

In the middle stands the May Queen, in green clothing and a face mask of feathers. In her hand, a burning torch.

"Welcome to Piratbyran's Walpurgis ritual year 2007: "Four shreddings and a funeral". Today, we will finally put an end to the so-called "file-sharing debate"; the same file-sharing debate that we once took part in initiating has now served its time.

When Piratbyran was founded four years ago, there was no such discussion in Sweden as there is today. There were anti-piracy groups whose words stood unchallenged, but first and foremost there existed a copying without histori-



**The file-sharing debate
hereby declared**

cal equivalent, taking place in file-sharing networks.

We gave a voice to that copying, but now it is time to move along.

After two years of activity, Piratbyran collected the texts from our webpage and let them be printed in a book, entitled Copy Me. This book is the only enduring and burnable document from the past years. By destroying that document we will sweep out the old and frozen positions, and make room for new ones. Everything has its time, and Walpurgis Night is the time to leave bygone stuff behind and greet the spring and its playfulness. Hereby we burn, in four book-fires, four



Winter is pouring down the hillside.
Make way for spring!

oate is
uried!

conceptual opposites which we are now done with, and which are already collapsing.

[The May Queen initiates fire #1]

Legal/Illegal

Copying takes place everywhere and all the time. To use digital data is to copy it. No matter if it's from hard drive to RAM memory, from one portable device to another or from peer to peer. No matter if the physical distance of the copy is measured in millimetres or miles. No matter if the copy travels through a neurological path, through cable or wireless, on plastic discs, chips or constellations of cells. Still some people prefer to speak for or against file-sharing, as if it was an isolated phenomena. As if the alternatives was no more than two: file-sharing networks or selling digital files.

Yesterday we walked around with megabytes in our pockets, today with gigabytes and tomorrow terabytes. The day after tomorrow, for a reasonable price, we will have tiny storage devices that contain more film, music, text and images than we can ever incorporate into our lives. Everything ready for immediate transfer to another persons device.



[The May Queen lights the second fire]

Here/There

There is no longer an archive that is yours entirely. Neither an archive completely open to all. The divide between private and public networks, copies and performances does not comply anymore. What's left are networks through which you have more or less access to different archives. There are localities and communities to take part in, technical and social barriers to access, but there is no fundamental difference between a copy from your external hard drive and one from an open file-sharing network.

File-sharing has a potential to create meaning, community and context -- a bigger potential than most other forms of reproduction. We want to keep talking about how that potential may be realized in the best manner possible, how cultural circulation can be organized and how the unleashed forces of the open archives can be used for more than stacking a pile of objects which we care less and less about. However, we want to stop explaining why file-sharing is righteous or not - as if there was a choice between copying and non-copying.

[The May Queen sets the third pile on fire]

Free/Charge

To ask if distribution of film and music should be free or cost money is like asking if it should be free or cost money to attend a party. Sometimes, someone manages to charge a toll when we want to enter a space that summons something better than the spaces that are free, but no one would even think of banning free parties. When do you actually have a party, and when are you just having some fun?

The files are already downloaded. The files are already uploaded. They've been going up and down and in and out in abundance. Instead of discussion how the forces of winter are going to sell snow to Eskimos, we want to talk about how to extract meaning from this abundance.

[The May Queen initiates the last fire and performs a ritual dance]

Art/Technology/Life

The digital networks makes processes, identities, contexts and works infinitely connected. The division between creator, work and consumer is a bleak way of describing cultural circulation and digital lifeforms. The cost of upholding copyright's abstract relations between art, technology and life is a world that is mute and ever more depopulated. Hence, we are not about anti-copyright but more - Thank you and good bay (sic!). Let's have a fucking party!

[The May Queen spreads the ashes by the wind. In the distance, more fires are lit throughout the Stockholm suburbs.]

The file-sharing debate is hereby buried. When we talk about file-sharing from now on it's as one of many ways to copy. We talk about better and worse ways of indexing, archiving and copying - not whether copying is right or wrong. Winter is pouring down the hillside. Make way for spring! e hillside. Make way for spring!



About Piratbyrån

From <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piratbyran>

Piratbyrån (The Bureau of Piracy) is a Swedish organization (or think tank) established to support the individuals fighting against current ideas about intellectual properties by sharing information and culture freely. The organization provides guides, news and a forum focused on file-sharing, intellectual properties, piracy and digital culture, and is arranging events such as lectures, media appearances and a yearly may day demonstration. In 2005 Piratbyrån released an anthology entitled Copy Me containing selected texts previously available from its website. The name is a play on Antipiratbyrån ("The Anti-piracy Bureau"), a non governmental but content industry-based Swedish anti-piracy organization. Members of Piratbyrån have participated in debates on Swedish Radio and Swedish Television and later also been giving several lectures in other European countries, like at the Chaos Communication Congress in Berlin.

Police raid

Early morning on May 31, 2006, in a raid by Swedish police, both The Pirate Bay <<http://thepiratebay.org>>, a popular Swedish BitTorrent tracker, and Piratbyrån's servers were seized in an investigation into possible illegal activities at the same time, as they were hosted in the same building. The legalities of the raid have already come into question, as Piratbyrån (and thus, their servers) is no longer affiliated with The Pirate Bay. Piratbyrån set up a temporary news blog in the meantime, but since July 19 have their website up online again.

BitTorrent tracker

Members of Piratbyrån are the original creators of The Pirate Bay <<http://thepiratebay.org>>, a popular BitTorrent tracker, but are no longer affiliated with the site.

Kopimi.se

Piratbyrån has proposed -- and publishes most of its work under -- a copyright alternative called "Kopimi" (pronounced and sometimes also spelled as "copyme"). Designed to be the

opposite of copyright, a kopimi notice specifically requests that people copy the work for any purpose, commercial or non-commercial.

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<http://www.gnu.org/licenses/fdl.html>

quote (from <<http://www.wired.com/science/discoveries/news/2006/08/71544>>):

Piratbyran, or "Pirate Bureau," is hard to nail down as an organization. It is best described as an ad hoc pro-piracy think tank, but Fleischer's partner in the effort, Marcus Kaarto, won't even go that far. "We're like a gas," Kaarto says, laughing. "You can't get a hold on us."

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links:

<http://www.piratbyran.org/index.php?view=articles&id=114>
<http://copyriot.wordpress.com/2006/06/03/piratbyrans-speech-at-reboot>



pravo na ostanak Radio - Revolten remixing of cultures Roma community Roma Karawane Kenya Romski Karavan Sar Hopkins javni prostor self-established cinema Stadt als Arbeitslager SLUM -TV susedstvo Tanja Ostojić Under the Bridge Vienna deportacija Voodoo Abschiebung Aleksa Golijanin Alexandre Nikolic Bleiberrecht Blocks blo 45 blokovi blokovska arhitektura chronicle communities David Rych deportacija cinema dobrovoljni povratak Duldung Fitt Park Flucht Fred Otiempo freiwillig Rückkehr Gazela Settlement grad Ino radni logor izbeglice migrirating reality javni prostor Juhus Mwelu Katrin Schnieders k msiluk Lukas Pusch Mathare migracija m grating reality Peti park Migration mixi g Münster MYSA Neu Halle Neustadte Neu Belgrade Novi Beograd novi gradovio periferija öffentlicher Raum open stuio periferija Peripherie Peti park pravo n ostanak Radio Revolten remixing of culture Abschiebung Roma community Roma Karawane Romski Karavan Sar

Migrating Reality¹

Mindaugas Gapsevicius

Emigration, immigration and fears of them is a tension between global economics and dreams of local culture, a dream to live at the same time in own culture and surrounding. L.Donskis

In the nature we observe the process of climate changes, animal - birds, beasts, fishes - migration. Throughout history we have many examples of the mixing and remixing of cultures - people are migrating because of diseases, lack of food, cultural expansion, wars or economical reasons. The unification of Europe opens the borders for free movement of labour and to move from one continent to another just takes some hours.²

In the technological age we have a different sort of migration. Trying to store cultural heritage, we preserve buildings or digitize analog products. Finally we move files from one file system or place to another. Mixing and remixing existing products especially in literature and music became one of the most interesting phenomenon in contemporary art. Music transforms into visual arts and vice versa.

Talking about migrating reality, the first thing coming to mind is the essay "The Temporary Autonomous Zone" written by Hakim Bey. It describes the socio-political tactic of creating temporary spaces that elude formal structures of control. Taking a metaphor of pirate enclaves, Hakim Bey draws a parallel to the communities around the virtual spaces. Even if the idea is still alive, in the globalized world it becomes less powerful. The rapid development of technologies allow power structures to control communities even in the decentralized internet.³ Nevertheless they appear again and again in the virtual as well as in the physical world. Integrating into the existing structures these new communities shape new tasks and ideas bridging (or migrating) themselves between other similar communities.

Such a reality does not necessary have anything to do with uncontrolled enclaves or dreams left in the past as L.Donskis, a philosopher and sociologist states. It rather leads towards the curiosity common for all human beings. Migration enables exchange of ideas, finally it is a power of economics and culture.

¹ Migrating Reality is a project about emigration, immigration and migration in general, planned for 2008 in Berlin. Most participants are artists living in Lithuania and Germany. The series of events will concentrate on panel discussions not excluding visual presentations and performances. Painting and photography, music and theater will remix into the final internet radio and TV stream.

² According to unofficial informations, during the last 15 years around 300 000 citizens have left Lithuania. That is nearly 10% in total. On a website of the Nordic Council of Ministers Office in Lithuania (<http://www.norden.lt>) a questionnaire results that inhabitants of the Baltic States will face huge migration and aging problems in the future. Local media (Daily newspapers Lietuvos Rytas, online magazine Balsas.lt) have own chapters to introduce and analyze the life of emigrants.

³ The FBI for example uses the internet packet sniffer Carnivore to monitor all of a target user's internet traffic. The most widely cited American Management Association (AMA) survey of "Workplace Monitoring & Surveillance", found in 2001 that "More than three-quarters of major U.S. firms record and review employee communications and activities on the job, including their phone calls, e-mail, Internet connections, and computer files."

Freiwillige Rückkehr

Dobrovoljni povratak

Interview mit Katrin Schnieders
Intervju sa Katrin Schnieders

In den letzten Jahren ist vielen in Deutschland lebenden Flüchtlingen der Schutz entzogen worden. Besonders betroffen sind Menschen, die aus dem Kosovo, Serbien, Montenegro und Makedonien geflohen sind. Vielen Roma, Ashkali, Ägyptern und anderen Asylsuchenden aus Serbien und dem Kosovo, die bereits seit den 90er Jahren mit dem unsicheren Status der Duldung in Deutschland leben, droht jetzt die Abschiebung in ihre Herkunftsregion. Katrin Schnieders, die seit vielen Jahren in Münster in der Flüchtlingshilfe tätig ist, porträtiert in ihrem Dokumentarfilm „Letters for Ljeta“ eine Familie, die „freiwillig“ nach Belgrad zurückgekehrt ist. Während ihres Aufenthalts in Belgrad sprachen wir über die Praxis der Kettenuldung in Deutschland, das neue Zuwanderungsgesetz, den Kampf um das Bleiberecht und die Situation der Roma in Belgrad.

Belgrad, den 29. 6. 2007

Katrin, was führt dich nach Belgrad?

Als allererstes persönliche Kontakte. Anfangen hat es damit, dass 1999, während der Bombardierung, Münster die erste Stadt in Deutschland war, die einen entsprechenden Ratsbeschluss zur Aufnahme von Deserteuren umsetzte und in diesem Rahmen 2 De-

Protekljih godina je mnogim izbeglicama u Nemačkoj oduzeta zaštita. To se odnosi posebno na ljude koji su prebegli iz bivše Jugoslavije. Velikom broju Roma, Aškalijski, Egipćana i drugim azilantima iz Srbije i Kosova, koji žive još od 90tih sa nesigurnim statusom „trpljenja“ (Duldung) u Nemačkoj, prethodi deportacija u regiju porekla. Katrin Schnieders već godinama radi u organizaciji koja pomaže izbeglicima. Katrin portretira u svome filmu „Letters for Ljeta“ jednu porodicu, koja se vratila „dobrovoljno“ u Beograd. Za vreme njenog boravka u Beogradu razgovarali smo o praksi „lančanog trpljenja“ (Kettenduldung) u Nemačkoj, novom zakonu o imigraciji, borbi za pravo ostanka i o situaciji Roma u Beogradu.

Beograd, 29. jun 2007. godine

Katrin, šta te dovodi u Beograd?

Na prvom mestu lični kontakti. Počelo je time, da je Münster 1999. godine, za vreme bombardovanja, bio prvi grad, koji je odlučio da primi dezertere. Te godine su došla dva dezertera u Münster. Upoznali smo se na početku njihovog boravka i započelo je naše

serteure aus Belgrad nach Münster kamen. Wir haben uns zu Beginn ihres Aufenthaltes kennen gelernt, hieraus ist eine sehr enge Freundschaft entstanden und das Interesse meinerseits an ihrem Herkunftsland. 2001 bin ich dann das erste Mal nach Belgrad gereist, um mir ein eigenes Bild zu machen.

Seit wann werden Flüchtlinge aus Deutschland nach Serbien abgeschoben?

Bis 2001 gab es ein Flugembargo bzw. auch kein Rückübernahme-Abkommen zwischen Serbien bzw. der damaligen Bundesrepublik Jugoslawien und der BRD. Das hat sich 2001 geändert und in diesem Jahr fing dann auch die Intensivierung der zwangsweisen Rückführungen an.

Welchen Aufenthaltsstatus hatten die Kriegsflüchtlinge aus Serbien in Deutschland?

Es gab Menschen, die durch ein Asylverfahren versuchten, einen Aufenthalt in Deutschland zu erreichen, deren Asylanträge jedoch meist abgelehnt wurden und die daraufhin eine Duldung erhielten. Eine große Anzahl von Flüchtlingen, viele von ihnen Roma, sind im unregelmäßigen Verfahren nach Deutschland gekommen. Das heißt, sie haben sich eine Stadt ihrer Wahl, meist dort, wo schon Bekannte oder Verwandte lebten, ausgesucht und sich dort bei der örtlichen Ausländerbehörde gemeldet und dann eine Duldung erhalten. Duldung bedeutet erstmal keinen sicheren Aufenthalt, sondern nur die vorübergehende, temporäre Aussetzung der Abschiebung. Teilweise sind die Menschen schon Anfang der 90er Jahre nach Deutschland gekommen, viele auch im Zuge des Kosovo-Krieges 1999.

blisko prijateljstvo i moje interesovanje za njihovu zemlju porekla. 2001. godine sam prvi put posetila Beograd, želeći da stvorim sopstvenu sliku o gradu i ljudima.

Kada su počele deportacije izbeglica iz Nemačke u Srbiju?

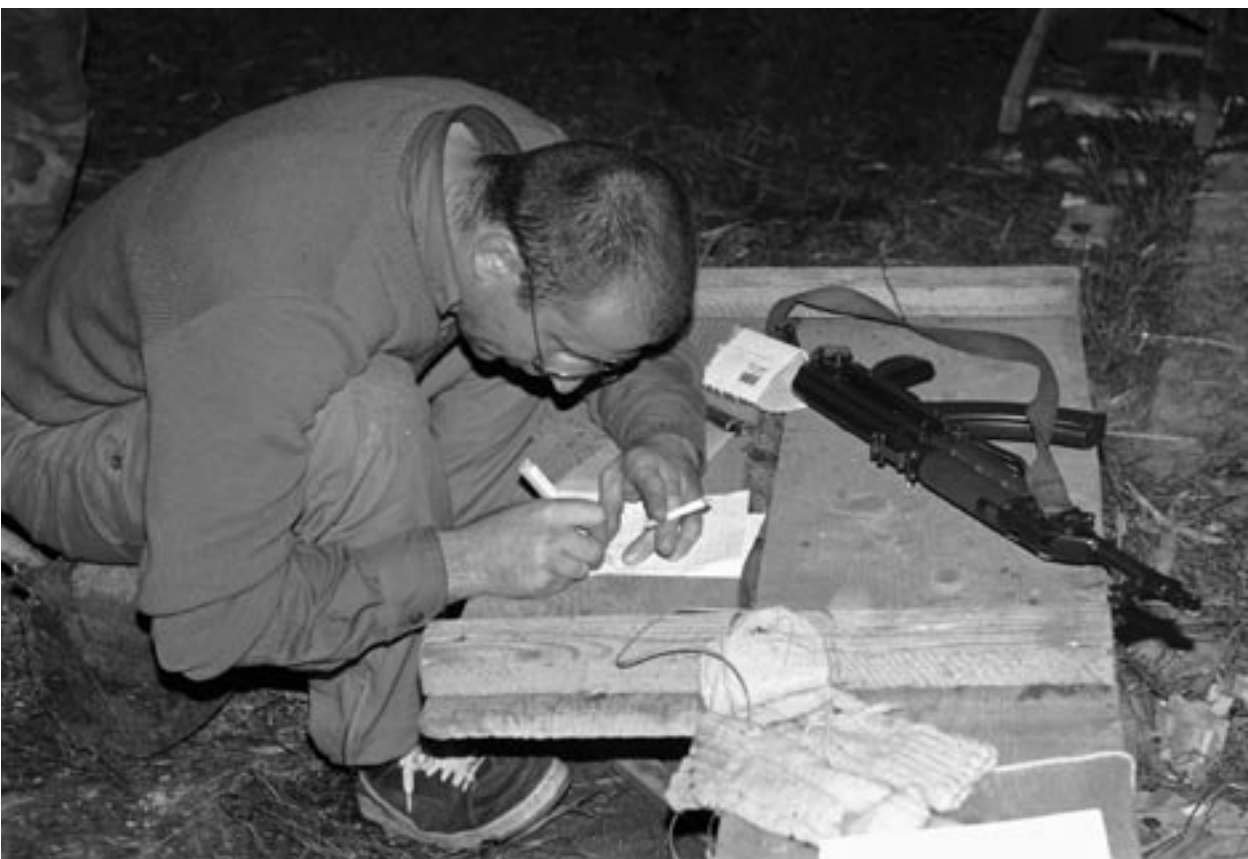
Do 2001. godine je postojao embargo letova, odnosno nije bilo ugovora o readmisiji između Srbije, odnosno Federalne Republike Jugoslavije i BRD-a. 2001. godine se to promenilo i započelo je intenzivno prisilno vraćanje.

Koji status boravka su imale izbeglice iz Srbije u Nemačkoj?

Deo ljudi, koji su pokušavali traženjem azila da dobijaju boravak u Nemačkoj, su u najvećem broju slučajeva bili odbijani, dobivši potom status trpljenja (Duldung). Veliki broj izbeglica, mnogi od njih Romi, su došli neregularnim putem u Nemačku. Ovo znači, da su izabrali grad, najčešće tamo, gde već žive poznanici ili rođaci, prijavili se lokalnoj upravi za strance i dobili status trpljenja. Trpljenje ne znači siguran boravak, nego samo prelazni, privremeni prekid deportacije. Ljudi su delimično već početkom 90-tih došli u Nemačku, mnogi i tokom rata na Kosovu 1999. godine.

Sa kojim nametima je vezano trpljenje, kako izgleda ova životna stvarnost?

Najveći problem je zato što ljudi moraju da produže trpljenje svaka tri meseca kod uprave za strance. Od početka je eksplicitno rečeno da se radi samo o privremenom boravku i vrši se jak psihološki pritisak da napuste zemlju. Dugo je postojala zabrana rada, koju su ukinuli, pa tako oni sa statusom trpljenja mogu da rade posle godinu dana čekanja. Ali u praksi je to maltene





Mit welchen Auflagen ist die Duldung verbunden, wie sieht die Lebensrealität aus?

Das größte Problem liegt darin, dass die Menschen die Duldung in der Regel alle drei Monate bei der Ausländerbehörde verlängern lassen müssen. Es wird von Anfang an von den Behörden klargemacht, dass dies nur ein temporärer Aufenthalt ist und es wird enormer psychischer Druck ausgeübt, auszureisen. Es gab eine ganze Zeit lang ein Arbeitsverbot, dies wurde aufgehoben, so dass Geduldete jetzt nach einem Jahr Wartezeit eine Arbeit aufnehmen dürfen. Das ist aber in der Praxis nahezu unmöglich, da es schwer ist, einen Arbeitgeber zu finden, der dich einstellt, wenn deine Papiere nur drei Monate gültig sind. Faktisch sind also die meisten Leute abhängig von Sozialleistungen. Das eigentliche Existenzminimum des Sozialhilfesatzes ist für Flüchtlinge um ungefähr 30 % gekürzt, mit weiteren Auflagen, die vom Land oder der Kommune abhängig sind. Es gibt Auflagen, dass bis auf ein geringes Taschengeld die Leistungen in Wertgutscheinen ausgeteilt werden, andere Städte geben nur Lebensmittelpakete aus.

Die Personen sind in Gemeinschaftsunterkünften untergebracht, oft über viele Jahre. In Münster dürfen Familien nach einem Jahr und Einzelpersonen nach 2 Jahren in eine Privatwohnung umsiedeln, soweit es ihnen möglich ist, diese eigenständig zu finden. Durch die Unterbringung in Sammelunterkünften werden sie aus dem gesellschaftlichen Leben ausgeschlossen, auch die Gutscheinpraxis bedeutet, dass die Menschen immer wieder auf diskriminierende Momente stoßen und mit den Gutscheinen schon beim Einkaufen den Stempel Ausländer oder Flüchtling erhalten. Dazu existiert noch die Residenzpflicht. Dies ist ein einzig in Deutschland existierendes Gesetz, das es auch schon während des Nationalsozialis-

nemoguće, jer je teško naći poslodavca, koji hoće da te primi sa papirima, koji važe samo tri meseci. U stvari ljudi zavise od socijalne pomoći. Egzistencijalni minimum prema zakonu o socijalnoj pomoći za izbeglice smanjen za 30%, sa daljim propisima u zavisnosti od federalne države ili administrativne provincije. Jedan propis je da se pomoć daje u bonovima, osim minimalnog džeparca koji je i dalje u novcu. Drugi gradovi daju samo pakete hrane i ništa više.

Ljudi su smešteni u zajedničkim domovima, često godinama. U Münsteru porodice smeju posle godinu dana da se sele u privatne stanove, pojedinci posle dve godine, ukoliko su u stanju sami da ih nađu. Zbog smeštaja u zajedničkim domovima su isključeni iz socijalnog života, a praksa sa bonovima znači, da se ljudi često susreću sa diskriminacijom, jer kad kupuju sa bonovima imaju pečat stranca ili izbeglice. Uz to postoji takozvana "dužnost mesta boravka (zakon o boravku)". To je zakon koji postoji samo u Nemačkoj i bio je na snazi i u vreme nacizma. Ovaj zakon primorava ljude da se kreću samo u određenoj sredini, na primer unutar federalne države ili unutar granica jedne administrativne provincije. Ako žele da izađu iz okvira dužnosti mesta boravka ljudi moraju da predaju papire za dozvolu kod uprave za strance, ali je ne dobijaju uvek. Povrede zakona o boravku su prekršaj, koji može da postane krivično delo ako se ponovi.

Ti radiš u organizaciji za izbeglice u Münsteru. Gde se nalazi trenutno težište rada sa izbeglicima?

Aktivna sam već godinama u GGUA (organizacija za pomoć izbeglicama), to je zajednica za podršku azilantima. U proteklom vremenskom periodu koncentrisani smo na borbu za pravo ostanka za oko 200.000 izbeglica pod statusom trpljenja (Duldung) u Nemačkoj. Sa promenom zakona 2005. go-

mus gab. Dieses Gesetz zwingt die Betroffenen, sich nur in einer festgelegten Umgebung aufzuhalten, beispielsweise innerhalb des Bundeslandes oder sogar der Grenze der Kommune. Wenn sie den Bereich der Residenzpflicht verlassen wollen, müssen die Menschen einen Antrag bei der Ausländerbehörde stellen, der nicht immer genehmigt wird. Verstöße gegen die Residenzpflicht sind eine Ordnungswidrigkeit, die bei wiederholtem Verstoß zu einem Straftatbestand werden.

Du arbeitest in einer Flüchtlingsorganisation in Münster. Wo liegen derzeit die Schwerpunkte der Flüchtlingsarbeit?

Ich bin seit Jahren in der GGUA Flüchtlingshilfe aktiv, die gemeinnützige Gesellschaft zur Unterstützung Asylsuchender. Einer der größten Schwerpunkte in der letzten Zeit war sicherlich der Kampf um eine Bleiberechtsregelung für die nahezu 200.000 geduldeten Flüchtlinge in Deutschland. Mit der Gesetzesänderung 2005 ist nun abzuwarten, was die Konsequenzen daraus sind.

Damit kommen wir auf das neue Zuwanderungsgesetz, das 2005 verabschiedet worden ist. Inwiefern hat sich damit die Lage der Geduldeten verändert?

Die Lage der Flüchtlinge hat sich durch die neue Gesetzgebung nicht wirklich verbessert. Allerdings wurde bei der Innenministerkonferenz im Herbst 2006 entschieden, dass Familien, die länger als 6 Jahre und Einzelpersonen, die länger als 8 Jahre in Deutschland leben, für den Fall, dass sie nicht straffällig geworden sind, Aussicht auf einen festen Aufenthaltsstatus haben. Wesentliche Voraussetzung für diese Altfallregelung ist, dass sie bis September 2007 in der Lage sein müssen, ihren Lebensunterhalt selbst zu bestreiten. Auf gewisse Weise ist es

dine, čekamo trenutno, šta će biti posledice svega toga.

Dolazimo na novi zakon o imigraciji, koji je donet 2005. godine. Kako se promenio položaj trpljenih?

Položaj izbeglica se nije stvarno poboljšao sa novom zakonom. Ipak je konferencija ministra unutrašnjih poslova, u jesen 2006. godine odlučila, da porodice, koje žive duže od 6 godina i pojedinci, koji žive duže od 8 godina u Nemačkoj, imaju, ako nisu vršili krivično delo, šanse za stalni boravak. Ključna pretpostavka za regulaciju starih slučajeva jeste da su u stanju da se sami izdržavaju od septembra 2007. Sa time je na neki način situacija za mnoge teža i bezizlaznija. Oko 8.000 ljudi su po novoj regulativi dobili boravak na jednu do dve godine i oko 18.000 onih koji imaju posao, imaju do septembra šansu na poboljšanje svoga statusa boravka. To su oko 10% od više od 180.000 trpljenih u Nemačkoj.

...a ko ne uspe da nađe posao biće deportovan od septembra?

Pitanje je kako je to moguće realizovati u praksi jer još uvek stoji problem da mnogi ljudi nemaju papire, odnosno da postoje prepreke za deportaciju. Ovi razlozi su smanjeni sve više, posebno što se tiče Kosova. Na primer, do sada nije bilo moguće vraćanje na Kosovo zbog nedostatka medicinske brige. Ti razlozi su sada izbrisani te sve više ljudi moraju napustiti zemlju uz pritisak.

Zašto je pokrenuta akcija Romski Karavan?

Romski Karavan je započeo 2002. u proleće u Essen-u, u prvom redu iz praktičkih razloga. U Nordrhein-Westfalenu su se mnoge romske porodice našle u situaciji, da im

damit für viele Menschen noch schwieriger und auswegsloser geworden. Bundesweit erhielten bisher 8.000 Menschen nach der neuen Regelung einen 1-2 jährigen Aufenthalt und circa 18.000 Menschen, die einen Job haben, haben bis September die Aussicht auf einen verbesserten Aufenthaltsstatus. Das sind etwa 10 % der mehr als 180.000 Geduldeten in Deutschland.

... und wem es nicht gelingt, eine Arbeit zu finden, wird ohne Vorbehalte ab September abgeschoben?

Es ist die Frage, wie das praktisch umsetzbar ist. Sie stehen ja immer noch vor dem Problem, dass für viele Menschen keine Papiere vorhanden sind, bzw. dass es faktische Abschiebehindernisse gibt.

Aber diese Gründe wurden vor allem im Bezug auf den Kosovo immer weiter heruntergeschraubt. So war es beispielsweise bislang auf Grund einer medizinischen Mangelversorgung nicht möglich, in den Kosovo rückzuführen. Diese Gründe wurden jetzt gestrichen, sodass immer mehr Menschen ausreisen müssen und Druck auf sie ausgeübt wird.

Was war die Roma-Karawane?

Die Roma-Karawane startete 2002 im Frühjahr in Essen, vorerst aus ganz praktischen Gründen. Und zwar sahen sich in Nordrhein-Westfalen viele Roma-Familien vor der Situation, dass morgens um 5 Uhr die Polizei in ihren Wohnungen stand und sie eine halbe Stunde Zeit hatten zu packen, um dann nach Belgrad abgeschoben zu werden. Dies passierte mehrfach und ist der in Deutschland übliche Ablauf einer Abschiebung. Darauf haben sich mehrere Familien mit Unterstützung einer Roma-Organisation zusammengetan. Sie beschloßen, ein Protestcamp in Essen zu errichten.

policija upadne u pet ujutro u stanove, imali su pola sata da se spakuju i deportovani su u Beograd. Ovo se stalno dešava i jeste sasvim običan način kako se odvija deportacija u Nemačkoj. Stoga su se više porodica udružile uz pomoć romske organizacije i napravile protestni kamp u Essenu. Na početku je to bilo samo nekoliko porodica, koje su postavile šatore, demonstrirajući za pravo ostanaka. Na ovaj način su se praktično i štitile od deportacije, jer nisu bile kod kuće, kada bi došla policija da ih deportuje.

U roku od nekoliko nedelja se sakupio veliki broj porodica iz Nordrhein-Westfalena i nastao je protestni kamp od preko 600 ljudi. Odlučili su da naprave karavan kroz celu Nemačku, da protestuju u raznim gradovima i da se bore za njihovo pravo ostanaka. Ovaj protest je trajao devet meseci. Bili su prisutni na konferenciji ministra za unutrašnje poslove u Bremenu, demonstrirali u Berlinu i u svim većim gradovima Nemačke. U principu su sve rizikovali sa velikim ciljem da stvarno putem protesta dobiju pravo ostanaka. Postojala je velika solidarnost od strane raznih organizacije za izbeglice, od zelenih i drugih stranaka. Uspeli su da ostvare ogromnu medijsku pažnju i probude javnost povodom situacije. Na individualnom planu je to tako izgledalo, da su porodice sve napustile što su imale. Početkom 2003. protest se razbio, već zimi, boravilo se u crkvi u Düsseldorfu, shvativši da više nema smisla ići dalje. Nekoliko porodica su dobrovoljno napustile zemlju, druge su deportovane tokom sledećih meseci.

Šta znači „dobrovoljni povratak“?

Dobrovoljni povratak je kontradiktornost, zato što se pod pomenutim uslovima ne radi o slobodnoj odluci ljudi da napuste zemlju. Njihova domovina izbora je Nemačka, gde i žele da ostanu. Pokušavali su da grade svoj život i ne vide nikakvu perspektivu u

Anfangs waren es nur einige Familien, die Zelte aufschlugen und für ein Bleiberecht demonstrierten und sich so aber auch praktisch vor der Abschiebung schützten, indem sie faktisch nicht anwesend waren, wenn die Polizei zu ihren Wohnungen kam, um sie abzuschieben.

Innerhalb von wenigen Wochen sind zu dieser Gruppe sehr viele Familien aus Nordrhein-Westfalen dazu gestoßen, sodass sich bald ein Protestcamp von über 600 Menschen zusammen gefunden hatte. Sie haben dann beschlossen, eine Karawane zu bilden und durch ganz Deutschland zu touren, um in verschiedenen Städten zu demonstrieren und für ihr Bleiberecht zu kämpfen. Dieser Protest zog sich letztendlich über neun Monate hinweg. Sie waren präsent bei der Innenministerkonferenz in Bremen, in Berlin und haben in allen größeren Städten in Deutschland demonstriert. Im Prinzip haben sie alles auf eine Karte gesetzt mit dem großen Ziel, durch diesen Protest wirklich ein Bleiberecht zu erlangen.

Es gab eine große Solidarität von verschiedenen Flüchtlingsverbänden und Organisationen, bis hin zu den Grünen und verschiedenen anderen Parteien. Was ihnen gelungen ist, ist eine unheimlich große Öffentlichkeit für ihre Situation zu erlangen. Individuell sah das allerdings so aus, dass diese Familien alles, was sie hatten, aufgegeben haben. Anfang 2003 wurde der Protest dann aufgelöst, schon im Winter, sie waren untergebracht in einer Kirche in Düsseldorf und mussten einsehen, dass es keinen Sinn hat. Einige der Familien sind freiwillig ausgereist, andere wurden dann innerhalb der nächsten Monate bis jetzt abgeschoben.

Was heißt das, „freiwillige Ausreise“?

Freiwillige Ausreise ist eigentlich ein Widerspruch in sich, weil es unter den bisher geschilderten Bedingungen keine wirklich

tome da se vraćaju u Srbiju. Lepa formulacija „dobrovoljni povratak“ dobija sve više značaja, jer često nemačke uprave ne mogu da ih deportuju zbog nestanka papira ili političke situacije. Na ovaj način se vrši pritisak na ljude da se dobrovoljno vraćaju. To znači da organizuju papire, da se spakuju i da se vraćaju uz podršku nemačke vlade. Ima raznih programa za povratak (na primer REAG i GARP, i programi međunarodne organizacije za migraciju IOM), koji daju novac – za porodice u Srbiji 1500 evra je pomoć za početak, a ima i projekata osnovanih od strane nemačkih humanitarnih organizacija u Srbiji, kao što su AWO i Caritas, sa namerom da podržavaju ljude nakon povratka.

Snimila si dokumentarac o porodici, koja je živela 8 godina u Nemačkoj i koja se sada vratila „dobrovoljno“ u Beograd. Kako je nastao taj film?

Ideja za film je nastala u okviru filmskog festivala „Globalni grad Münster“ u Münsteru, sa konceptom da portretira građane Münstera sa migrantskim iskustvom. U ovom okviru su me pitali da li želim da radim na temu „građani Münstera na Balkanu“, nisam dugo razmišljala i pristala sam, jer je porodica Ajetović baš u to vreme morala da se vrati u Beograd. Porodica Ajetović je vrlo dugo živela u Nemačkoj, otac je imao posao, imali su svoj stan, bili su, ako hoćemo to tako da nazovemo, integrisani u najboljem smislu i vodili su prilično dobar život. Ipak su dobili poziv za deportaciju. Sa podrškom GUAA organizacije za pomoć izbeglicama bilo je moguće da se spreči deportacija i da porodica uđe u „dobrovoljni povratak“, što znači, da makar nisu dobili zabranu ulaska za Nemačku i pošteđeni su od teškoća koje nosi deportacija. Odmah sam kontaktirala porodicu i prisustvovala njihovom povratku od početka, pokušavajući da ih podržavam koliko god sam mogla. Bilo je jasno, da ako





freiwillige Entscheidung für die Menschen ist, auszureisen. Ihre Wahlheimat ist Deutschland, sie wollen in Deutschland bleiben, sie haben versucht, dort ihr Leben aufzubauen und sehen keinerlei Perspektive für sich darin, nach Serbien zurückzukehren. Die schöne Formulierung „freiwillige Ausreise“ bekommt immer mehr Bedeutung, da es in vielen Fällen für die deutschen Behörden aufgrund fehlender Papiere oder der Situation hier nicht möglich ist, abzuschieben. So wird immer mehr Druck auf die Menschen ausgeübt, freiwillig auszureisen. Das heißt, dass sie ihre Papiere organisieren, ihre Sachen packen und mit Unterstützung der Bundesregierung ausreisen. Es gibt verschiedene Rückführungsprogramme, (z.B. das REAG und GARP Programm, sowie Programme der IOM, International Organization for Migration), die Gelder geben - für Familien sind das hier in Serbien 1500 Euro Starthilfe, und es gibt von Wohlfahrtsverbänden wie der AWO oder der Caritas in Serbien gegründete Projekte, die die Menschen hier nach ihrer Rückkehr unterstützen sollen.

Du hast einen Dokumentarfilm gemacht über eine Familie, die 8 Jahre in Deutschland gelebt hat und jetzt „freiwillig“ nach Belgrad zurückgekehrt ist. Wie kam es zu dem Film?

Die Idee zu dem Film ist im Rahmen des Filmfestivals „Globale Stadt Münster“ in Münster entstanden, dessen Konzept es war, Münsteraner zu porträtieren, die einen Migrationshintergrund haben. In diesem Rahmen wurde ich gefragt, ob ich mir vorstellen könne, etwas zu dem Thema Münsteraner auf dem Balkan zu machen, und ich habe nicht lange überlegen müssen, da ja zu diesem Zeitpunkt die Familie Ajetović nach Belgrad zurückkehren musste. Familie Ajetović hat sehr lang in Deutschland gelebt,

je tema filmskog festivala građani Münstera i globalni grad Münster, onda trebam snimiti film o porodici, koja sebe smatra porodicom iz Münstera, pored toga da su prisilno morali da napuste svoju domovinu. Film ima cilj da bude prikazan na festivalu i stoga ima snažan lokalni karakter.

Imaš blizak kontakt sa Romima u Beogradu i znaš njihovu životnu situaciju i iznutra. Kakva je perspektiva za mlade koji su odrasli u Nemačkoj i došli sada u Beograd?

Mislim da teško možemo da pričamo o perspektivi mladih. Vrlo puno mladih su rođeni ili odrasli u Nemačkoj, tamo socijalizovani, imaju totalno drugu pozadinu, delimično ne znaju zemlju porekla njihovih roditelja uopšte ili znaju nešto samo iz priče. Mnogi mladi Romi su odrasli dvojezično, pričali su romski kod kuće a na ulici nemački. Oni su došli u zemlju čijim jezikom ne vladaju. Videli su jasno svoju perspektivu u Nemačkoj, tamo se školovali, počeli stručno obrazovanje iz kojeg su praktično iščupani. Najveći problem je da u Srbiji nastave obrazovanje. U Srbiji se to rešava tako da ih, zbog neznanja srpskog jezika, šalju u škole za osobe sa mentalnim nedostacima. Veliki broj mladih odbija da ide u ove škole jer se osećaju apsolutno deplasirani odustajući od daljeg obrazovanja. Naći posao u Srbiji, gde je ionako visoka stopa nezaposlenosti, je tako teško, da najveći broj mladih, koje srećemo u romskom naselju, sedi na ulici i ništa ne radi. Osim da razmišljaju po ceo dan o tome, kako da se vrate u Nemačku. Rekla bih povodom ovoga svega da je prava reč ne-perspektiva.

Učestali su napadi na Rome u Beogradu. Kako izlaze na kraj ljudi, koji su tako dugo živeli u Nemačkoj, pod pretnjama sa kojima su opet suočeni?

der Vater hatte Arbeit gefunden, sie hatten eine eigene Wohnung, also sie waren, wenn man es so sagen will, im feinsten Sinne integriert, hatten ein recht gutes Leben und haben dann dennoch die Aufforderung zu Abschiebung bekommen. Mit Unterstützung der GGUA Flüchtlingshilfe ist es in letzter Sekunde möglich gewesen, eine Abschiebung zu verhindern und die Familie in die sogenannte freiwillige Ausreise zu bekommen, das heißt, dass sie zumindest keine Wiedereinreisesperre für Deutschland erhielten und ihnen die Strapazen einer Abschiebung erspart wurden. Ich habe sofort mit der Familie Kontakt aufgenommen und habe so ihre Rückkehr von Anfang an mitbekommen und versucht, ihnen soweit es ging Unterstützung zu geben. Für mich war klar, wenn das Thema des Filmfestivals Münsteraner sind und die globale Stadt Münster, dann möchte ich gern eine Münsteraner Familie porträtieren, deren Mitglieder sich immer noch als Münsteraner begreifen, auch wenn sie zwangsweise ihre Heimat verlassen mussten. Der Film hat die klare Ausrichtung, auf diesem Filmfestival gezeigt zu werden und beschäftigt sich sehr mit dem lokalen Bezug.

Du hast engen Kontakt mit Roma in Belgrad und kennst ihre Lebenssituation von innen. Wie ist denn tatsächlich die Perspektive vor allem für Jugendliche, die in Deutschland aufgewachsen und jetzt nach Belgrad zurückgekehrt sind?

Also ich glaube, von Perspektive zu reden ist sehr schwierig. Vor allem für Jugendliche. Sehr sehr viele zurückgekehrte Jugendliche sind in Deutschland geboren oder aufgewachsen, dort sozialisiert, haben einen völlig anderen Hintergrund, teilweise kennen sie das Herkunftsland ihrer Eltern überhaupt nicht oder nur vom Hörensagen. Sehr viele, vor allem Roma-Jugendliche sind zweisprachig aufgewachsen, das heißt sie haben

Ono što sam često čula od ljudi, pogotovo od onih koji su se tek vratili, jeste da imaju ogromni strah. Posebno u Beogradu ima napada na Rome i diskriminacije na ulici, od grafita "Smrt Ciganima" do fizičkih napada. Najveći broj ljudi, sa kojim sam pričala, ne smeju da izađu slobodno na ulicu, sakriju se u svom naselju među ostalima i ne mogu da zamisle da normalno učestvuju u društvenom životu. Pogotovo od 2004. godine, posle incidenata na Kosovu, Romi muslimanske veroispovesti su se strašno preplašili i nisu više izlazili na ulicu.

Gde je odgovornost nemačke politike u nastaloj situaciji?

Odgovornost je u tome što ne postoji pravo ostanka. Ne postoji alternativa, nego da se ljudima koji su živeli godinama u Nemačkoj i koji su tamo rođeni i odrasli, pravno omogućiti da ostanu u svojoj zemlji. Oni se osećaju kao Nemci i Nemačka im je jedina zemlja gde mogu zamisliti da žive. Jasno je da nemačka politika prema izbeglicima nema interes i mislim da jednu ulogu igra i rasizam prema Romima, jer u logici iskorišćenja koja prati politiku migracije, oni jednostavno nemaju svoje mesto.

Gde vidiš sopstvenu odgovornost kada se baviš ovom temom kao filmska stvarateljka?

Najvažnije mi je da izbegavam stereotipe. Kada sam radila pomenuti film, tražili su da predstavim slike o životnoj stvarnosti Roma u Srbiji. Naravno da se tu misli na to da se ide u razna romska naselja, da se snima đubre i siromaštvo ljudi. To jeste realnost koja postoji i koju je bitno pokazati, ali pomeni je isto tako bitno, da se borim protiv svih takvih slika. Najbitnije mi je bilo da opišem glavni problem onoga što vidim, da su ljudi naterani da napuste svoju domo-

zu Hause romanes gesprochen und sonst deutsch, das heißt sie kommen in ein Land, dessen Sprache sie gar nicht beherrschen. Sie haben ganz klar ihre Perspektive in Deutschland gesehen, ihre Schulausbildung da gemacht, Ausbildungen angefangen, aus denen sie herausgerissen worden sind. Das größte Problem ist erstmal, hier ihre Ausbildung fortzuführen. Im Fall von Schule sieht das sehr häufig so aus, dass sie aufgrund der Sprachdefizite in Schulen für geistig Behinderte eingestuft werden, was viele von ihnen auch einfach verweigern, da sie sich völlig deplatziert fühlen und insofern verzichten sie völlig auf weiterführende Schulen. Arbeit zu finden in Serbien, wo sowieso eine unheimlich hohe Arbeitslosigkeit herrscht, ist so schwierig, dass doch der Großteil der Jugendlichen, denen ich begegne, wenn ich in der Romasiedlung bin, auf der Straße sitzt und eigentlich nichts tut, gar nichts. Außer den ganzen Tag darüber nachzudenken, wie sie wieder nach Deutschland kommen. Also ich würde sagen, Perspektivlosigkeit, das ist das richtige Wort.

Es gibt in Belgrad immer wieder Übergriffe auf Roma. Wie werden Menschen, die so lange in Deutschland gelebt haben, mit der Bedrohung fertig, die hier wieder auf sie zukommt?

Was ich immer wieder gehört habe von vielen Menschen, vor allem von denen, die gerade zurückgekehrt sind, ist eine unglaublich große Angst. Es gibt vor allem hier in Belgrad immer wieder Fälle von Übergriffen und Diskriminierung auf der Straße gegenüber Roma, von Graffitis „Tod allen Zigeunern“ bis hin zu physischen Angriffen. Die meisten, mit denen ich gesprochen habe, trauen sich überhaupt nicht auf die Straße zu gehen, sie verkriechen sich in ihre Siedlung, zwischen ihren eigenen Leuten und können sich gar nicht vorstellen, überhaupt

vinu, da ne mogu tamo da žive, gde žele!
Da deportaciju ne treba kritikovati zbog siromaštva ili zbog loših uslova za život, nego iz razloga zato što je to nasilje nad slobodnom odlukom čoveka i protiv je prava samoopredeljenja.

Za mene kao filmsku stvarateljku je u svakom slučaju najvažnija odgovornost, da ne sledim poziciju gde je najveća beda i koje bi sada slike najviše pokrenule gledaoce i publiku, nego da sačuvam autonomiju čoveka. Bitno je da ne radimo filmove o ljudima, nego da ljudima damo priliku da sami pričaju o svome položaju i pokažu situaciju iz svoje perspektive. Mislim da filmovi koji se bave stvarnosti ljudskog života uvek trebaju da budu zajednički proces između onih kojih se tiče tj. protagonista i snimatelja. Treba da bude jedan tim, u idealnom slučaju ljudi sami mogu da pričaju o svojim stvarima, a ne to da rade drugi za njih.

linkovi:

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Intervju je vodila i priredila Rena Rädle

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an irgendeinem sozialen Leben hier teilzunehmen. Vor allem auch 2004, nachdem es die Ausschreitungen im Kosovo gab, haben sehr sehr viele Roma mit muslimischem Hintergrund unglaubliche Angst bekommen und haben sich gar nicht mehr auf die Straße getraut.

Worin liegt denn deiner Ansicht nach die Verantwortung der deutschen Politik in der entstandenen Situation?

An dem fehlenden Bleiberecht. Für mich gibt es eigentlich keine Alternative, als diesen Menschen, die über Jahre hinweg in Deutschland gelebt haben, die dort geboren sind, dort aufgewachsen sind, zu ermöglichen, auch in ihrer Wahlheimat zu bleiben. Sie fühlen sich als Deutsche, das ist das einzige Land, in dem sie sich es vorstellen können zu leben und sie sind hier völlig deplatziert und sie wissen gar nicht, was sie hier sollen. Aber es ist natürlich klar, dass die deutsche Flüchtlingspolitik keinerlei Interesse an diesen Menschen hat und ich denke da spielt auch ein Antiziganismus, also ein ganz klarer Rassismus gegenüber Roma mit eine Rolle, denn in der Verwertungslogik der Migrationspolitik haben sie einfach keinen Platz.

Worin siehst du deine eigene Verantwortung, insbesondere wenn du dich mit diesem Thema als Filmemacherin beschäftigst?

Also das allerwichtigste ist für mich die Vermeidung von Stereotypen. Beispielsweise, als ich diesen Film gemacht habe wurde ich gefragt, doch bitte Bilder über die Lebensrealität von Roma aus Serbien zu sammeln und natürlich liegt es nah, sich dann in die verschiedenen Romasiedlungen zu begeben und den ganzen Dreck aufzunehmen und die Armut der Menschen. Das ist natürlich

eine Lebensrealität, die existiert, und die ist es auch wichtig zu vermitteln und zu zeigen, aber ich denke, dass es genauso wichtig ist, gegen all diese Bilder zu kämpfen. Für mich war das wichtigste, das eigentliche Problem, das ich sehe, zu beschreiben und zwar, dass die Menschen gezwungen sind, ihre Wahlheimat zu verlassen, dass sie nicht da leben können, wo sie wollen! Dass Abschiebung nicht aus dem Grund zu kritisieren ist, weil hier Armut herrscht und weil die Lebensbedingungen hier so schlecht sind, sondern aus dem Grund, weil es ein Einschnitt gegen die freie Entscheidung von Menschen ist, von einem Land zum anderen zu migrieren, ihr eigenes Leben zu bestimmen, gegen ihr Selbstbestimmungsrecht ist. Und da sehe ich für mich als Filmemacherin auf jeden Fall eine Verantwortung, mich nicht davon leiten zu lassen, was das größte Elend ist und welche Bilder meine Zuschauer und Zuschauerinnen am meisten bewegen, sondern die Autonomie der Menschen weiterhin zu bewahren. Vor allem ist es wichtig, dass man nicht Filme über Menschen macht, sondern die Menschen selber befähigt, über ihre eigenen Belange zu reden und ihre Situation aus ihrer Sicht darzustellen. Ich denke, dass Filme, die sich mit der Lebensrealität von Menschen beschäftigen, immer ein gemeinsamer Prozess sein müssen zwischen den Betroffenen - also den Protagonisten - und den Filmemachern und dass das im Prinzip ein Team ist und im Idealfall die Menschen eben selber in der Lage sind, über ihre Belange zu reden und das nicht andere für sie tun.

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Das Interview führte Rena Rädle

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Neustädte¹

Novi gradovi¹

Interview mit Aleksa Golijanin
Intervju sa Aleksom Golijaninom

Neustädte mit riesigen Plattenbausiedlungen, den Neubaublocks. Das waren die Errungenschaften sozialistischer Architektur. Die Zeiten haben sich geändert, die Neustädte auch. Schrumpfen oder Wachsen, die Privatisierung kommunalen Wohneigentums, Entstehen neuer sozialer Brennpunkte, Abriss oder Vollsanierung bestimmen Leben und Stimmungen in diesen noch relativ jungen Zentren moderner Architektur. Wie geht man heute mit diesem Erbe um und wie leben Einwohner in den Neubaublocks heute? Wir schauten in einer Livesendung aus Halle-Neustadt in verschiedene Orte Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropas. Nach Belgrad, Ljubljana und Warschau. In diesem Beitrag: nach Neu-Belgrad.

Hallo, du bist Aleksa Golijanin, auch unter dem Namen anarhija/ blok 45 bekannt, Herausgeber der berühmten Bücher in deiner Aktion *Operation für umme*, die sich mit der Idee der Anarchie, der Analyse der Gesellschaft und ihrer Veränderung befassen. Als aufmerksamem Beobachter deiner Umgebung wür-

Novi gradovi velikih blokovskih naselja i betonske novogradnje behu nekadašnje dostignuće socijalističke arhitekture. Vremena su se promenila, novi gradovi takođe. Smanjili su se ili porasli, društveni stanovi su se privatizovali a iskrsla su nova socijalna pitanja, u toku je proces rušenja ili potpune sanacije uspostavljenog života u ovim ipak još uvek mladim centrima modernističke arhitekture. Kako se ljudi danas snalaze sa ovim nasleđem i kako žive stanovnici u novoizgrađenim blokovima danas?

Zdravo, ti si Aleksa Golijanin, poznat i kao anarhija/ blok 45, izdavač čuvenih knjiga u okviru akcije *Operacija Džabalesku*, koje se bave idejom anarhije, analizom društva i njegovom promenom. Htela bih da ti, kao pažljivom posmatraču svoje okoline, postavim par pitanja u vezi blokova: Pre koliko godina si se doselio i kakav ti je bio prvi utisak?

Doselio sam se početkom 1974. Bio sam fasciniran. Pre toga smo živeli u Zemunu, u iznajmljenom stanu, u delu jedne velike

¹ Dieses Interview entstand für ein Radio Feature über Neustädte von Stefan Tenner im Rahmen des Radio REVOLTEN Festivals in Halle in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Bürgerradio aus Neu-Halle und wurde am 10. Oktober 2006 gesendet.

¹ Ovaj intervju je emitovan 10. oktobra 2006. u okviru radio emisije „Novi gradovi“ autora Stefana Tennera u okviru RadioREVOLTEN Festivala u Halleu u saradnji sa Bürgerradiom iz Neu-Hallea. Segment „Novi gradovi : Novi Beograd“ realizovala i priredila Rena Raedle.

de ich Dir gern ein paar Fragen zu den Blocks stellen. Vor wie vielen Jahren bist du gekommen und wie war damals dein erster Eindruck?

Ich bin Anfang 1974 hier hergezogen. Ich war fasziniert. Davor hatten wir in Zemun eine Wohnung gemietet, einen Teil eines großen ebenerdigen Hauses, ohne Bad und Toilette. Ich habe mein eigenes Zimmer bekommen. Ich war restlos begeistert. Überall war noch Baustelle, das war auch interessant. Heute sehe ich das alles mit anderen Augen, aber damals war ich einfach überwältigt.

Wenn Du an diese Zeit zurückdenkst, wo habe sich die Leute getroffen, was habt ihr gemacht, was war die größte Attraktion?

Wir haben uns hauptsächlich hier im Viertel aufgehalten, sind Fahrrad gefahren, haben Basketball gespielt, sind in der Sava geschwommen und haben uns nach den Mädchen aus der Schule geseht. Das war eine große Gruppe, die sehr fest verbunden war. Kein bisschen entfremdet! Das war eine andere Zeit und ich war noch Kind. Wir hatten zwar meistens kein Geld, aber alles war so gut, dass mir das heute unwirklich erscheint. Eine vollkommen sorgenlose Zeit. Erst jetzt verstehe ich, was dieses Wort bedeutet. Ja, wir hatten alle möglichen persönlichen Probleme, aber alles war so sorgenlos...

Wie ist das heute, was hat sich geändert?

Die Jugendlichen halten sich auch weiter zusammen. Wenn man raus geht, egal um welche Tageszeit und besonders nachts, sieht man ganze Horden von Mädchen und Jungen, die zusammen in der Gegend herumlaufen oder herumstehen. Als hätten sie nicht die geringste Lust, ins Zentrum zu gehen oder irgendwo hin, wo es mehr „Un-

prizemne kuće, bez kupatila i WC. Dobio sam i svoju sobu. Mom oduševljenju nije bilo kraja. Sve se još gradilo, zaista je bilo neobično. Sada na sve to gledam drugačije, ali tada sam bio prosto oduševljen.

Kada misliš na to vreme, gde su se ljudi okupljali, šta ste radili, šta je bila najbitnija atrakcija?

Uglavnom smo se družili ovde u kraju, vozili bicikle, igrali košarku, kupali se na Savi i patili za devojkama iz škole. To je bilo veliko društvo, vrlo čvrsto povezano. Ni malo otuđeno! Doselio sam se u neko drugo vreme. Bili smo uglavnom bez para, ali sve je bilo tako dobro da mi danas izgleda nestvarno. Potpuno bezbrižno vreme, uprkos svemu što nas je brinulo ili mučilo. Tek sada shvatam šta znači ta reč, „bzbrižno“...

Kako je to danas, šta se promenilo?

Klinci se i dalje dosta drže zajedno. Kada izađeš napolje, u bilo koje doba dana, a posebno noću, videćeš cele čopore dečaka i devojčica koji šetaju ili stoje okolo. Kao da im nije na kraj pameti da idu do „grada“ ili tamo gde ima više „zabave“. To nije samo zato što nemaju dovoljno novca za kafiće i klubove iz centra – iako to sigurno ne treba gubiti iz vida. Ipak, oni stariji idu i dalje. Baš kao nekad, samo što je sve ipak drugačije. Sada ima neuporedivo više sadržaja namenjenih „mladima“ ili otvorenih za njih. To je bitna razlika u odnosu na vreme kada sam ja došao u blok. Koliko god visili napolju, oni mnogo više gledaju TV i troše druge sadržaje koji ih brže i potpunije konformiraju sa važećim društvenim očekivanjima. Tačnije, društvo može da proklamuje šta hoće, ali klinci se mnogo brže konformiraju sa zahtevima tržišta i opštim političkim okvirom, a to je za svaki sistem najvažnije. U tom smilsu, današnji sistem je daleko tota-

terhaltung“ gibt. Das liegt nicht nur daran, dass sie nicht genug Geld für die Bars und Clubs im Zentrum haben, es gefällt ihnen hier einfach besser. Aber die Älteren gehen auch weiter weg. So wie früher auch. Ich denke, dass sich bei den Jugendlichen die Interessen und der Geschmack verändert haben. Das ist ein wichtiger Unterschied zu der Zeit, als ich in die Blocks gezogen bin. Wie viel auch immer sie draußen miteinander herumhängen, schauen sie doch viel mehr fern und konsumieren andere Inhalte, die sie schneller und vollkommener mit den geltenden gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen konform machen. Genauer ausgedrückt, kann die Gesellschaft proklamieren was sie will, die Jugendlichen passen sich viel schneller an die Forderungen des Marktes und an die allgemeine politische Umgebung an und das ist für jedes System von Vorteil.

Meinst Du, dass die Leute von hier eine andere Beziehung zum öffentlichen Raum haben, als in der alten Stadt?

Ja, sie ist anders, aber ich kann das nicht vergleichen, weil ich nie auf der anderen Seite des Flusses gelebt habe. Hier sind viel mehr Leute an einem Ort konzentriert. Deswegen sind die Leute sehr aufeinander angewiesen. Andererseits wird hier der öffentliche Raum nicht von großen Institutionen geschaffen wie zum Beispiel Kulturzentren. Es gibt nur die alten Gemeindezentren, die in jeder Siedlung gebaut wurden und in denen früher Bibliotheken, Pensionärsclubs, Kunst- und Kulturvereine usw. waren. Etwas davon hat auch überlebt, doch der größte Teil wurde privatisiert und kommerzialisiert. Mehr und mehr spielt sich einfach draußen ab. Es gibt keine öffentlichen kulturellen Veranstaltungen – außer in zwei großen Hallen im anderen Teil Neu-Belgrads, die aber für die ganze Stadt von Bedeutung sind und nicht typisch für Neu Belgrad. Diese Art von Manifesta-

litarniji od svega što smo imali ranije; traži mnogo više, agresivniji je, napada te na svim nivoima stvranosti, ali ima i neuporedivo bogatiju ponudu. Svemu tome je teško odoljeti ili umaći.

Kako vidiš odnose između ljudi u blokovima?

Dosta smo upućeni jedni na druge, hteli to ili ne. Ima nas previše na relativno malom prostoru. S jedne strane, to stvara utisak pravg komšiluka. Deca mogu slobodno da se igraju napolju, jer je tu uvek neko iz zgrade ko ih drži na oku. Ovde je prilično bezbedno, koliko je to moguće za tako veliki grad. Mislim da onaj talas teškog uličnog nasilja, koji smo imali početkom 1990-tih, nije bio nešto specifično „blokovsko“. Masovne tuče i opšte nadjebavanje sa onima iz bloka 70, tokom 1970-tih i ranih 1980-tih, ne računam, to je bilo nešto drugo... S druge strane, pošto živimo jedni drugima iznad glava, ima i dosta tenzija. Sve ovo ipak nije za ljude: tolika brojnost, svi mogući izvori buke, itd. Ali, generalno, nije tako „otučeno“, kao što bi pomislio neko sa strane, kada vidi sav taj beton. Nije sve gola betončina, ima puno otvorenog prostora i zelenila, tu je i velika reka, sa dva ostrva, što sve skupa pruža neko olakšanje i odstupnicu.

Može da se kaže, da su socijalisti napravili taj grad kao idealan grad. Šta je po tebi ostvareno od tvoje neke idealne predstave grada i života?

Pa, moj ideal nije ni urbani, niti ruralni, sve to vidim nekako drugačije. Ali, zanimljivo je gledati kako su to komunisti nekada zamišljali, pratiti sam taj plan. U njemu je ispisan cela ideologija tog sistema. Sve je trebalo da bude „po meri čoveka“, „humano“. U velikoj meri je zaista tako, u smislu da Novi Beograd, posmatran u celini, nije bio

tionen sind doch eher für die Medien reserviert, weniger für diesen oder jenen Teil der Stadt. Hier ist der öffentliche Raum einfach der ganze Platz um uns herum: öffentliche Grünflächen und breite Boulevards. Ich denke, man hätte doch mehr um das bisschen Raum in den Gemeindezentren kämpfen sollen. Der wurde ohne jeden Widerstand aufgegeben.

Wie schätzt Du die Beziehungen der Bewohner der Blocks untereinander ein?

Wie ich schon erwähnt, sind wir sehr aufeinander angewiesen, ob wir das wollen oder nicht. Wir sind zu viele auf relativ kleinem Raum. Auf der einen Seite sieht das aus wie eine richtige Nachbarschaft. Kinder können alleine vor dem Gebäude spielen, immer ist jemand aus der Nachbarschaft da, der Bescheid sagen würde, wenn etwas nicht in Ordnung wäre. Hier ist es sehr sicher - soviel das eben möglich ist in einer so großen Stadt. Auf der anderen Seite, weil wir einer dem anderen auf dem Kopf herumtrampeln, gibt es auch viele Spannungen. All das ist nicht wirklich für Menschen gemacht: zu viele Leute, zu viele Lärmquellen, usw. Aber im allgemeinen ist es nicht so "entfremdet", wie es jemand von außen denken könnte, der nur diesen ganzen Beton sieht. Es ist nicht alles nackter Beton, es gibt viel freie Fläche und Grün, da ist auch der breite Fluss mit zwei Inseln. Es gibt viel Gelegenheit, sich die erholen und zu entspannen.

Man könnte sagen, dass die Sozialisten Neu Belgrad als ideale Stadt gebaut haben. Was ist deiner Meinung nach davon realisiert, wenn Du von deiner persönlichen Idealvorstellung der Stadt und des Lebens ausgehst?

Gut, mein Ideal ist weder urban noch ländlich, ich sehe das alles ein bisschen anders.

zamišljen kao neki radnički geto. To treba imati u vidu. Tu je trebalo da bude mesta za sve: od fabričkih radnika i drugih prostih izvršilaca, do umetnika, profesora, medijskih faca, partijskih funkcionera i direktora komunističkih kompanija. I Slobodan Milošević je dugo živeo u Novom Beogradu, u običnoj stambenoj zgradi, dok je bio direktor velike državne banke i viši partijski funkcioner. Ostao je upamćen kao skroman i dobar komšija! Neke od najvećih federalnih zgrada podignute su na Novom Beogradu. Tu je i Muzej savremene umetnosti, kao i još neke monumentalne zgrade. Sve to nije tipično za neki geto. Ni sama naselja nisu najgora na svetu. Uz nekoliko izuzetaka – uglavnom novijih – svako naselje je imalo dosta prostora, zelenila i sportskih igrališta. Samo kod nas u bloku 45 bilo je preko 20 terena za basket, potpuno opremljenih. To je sada sve dosta ruinirano, ali to je bio plan. Da se radnom čoveku pruže neki pristojni uslovi za život i dalje rmbanje. Trebalo je da šrafovi budu srećni i zahvalni.

U medijima u Srbiji se često koriste izrazi "seljački" i "gradski". Šta je to gradsko, urbano po tebi?

Tu podelu sigurno nisu izmislili „seljaci"! Na tome insitiraju „urbani", elitistički nastrojene tipovi, koji su i sami zatucani i indoktrinirani na način koji premašuje sve što smo imali od srednjeg veka na ovamo. Drugo, po definiciji, grad isključuje svaku autonomiju: zavisiš od opšte podela rada i masivnih sistema. To ostavlja duboke posledice na urbani mentalitet. Nema bespomoćnijih i ovisnijih ljudi od stanovnika gradova. To je ono što ih čini i potencijalno opasnim, brutalnim, sebičnim, sklonim panici, itd. Uglavnom, ne bih toliko isticao svoj urbani psihološki profil!





Aber es ist interessant sich das anzusehen, wie sich die Kommunisten das damals vorgestellt haben und diesen Plan zu verfolgen. In ihm ist die ganze Ideologie des titoistischen Systems eingeschrieben, zumindest die, die deklariert wurde. Alles sollte nach dem „menschlichen Maß“ sein, „human“. In hohem Maße ist das auch so, in dem Sinne, dass Neu-Belgrad im Ganzen gesehen nicht als eine Art Arbeiter-Getto geplant war. Darauf muss man achten. Da sollte Platz für alle sein: vom Fabrikarbeiter bis zum Parteifunktionär und zum Direktor einer kommunistischen Firma. Auch Slobodan Milošević hat lange in Neu-Belgrad gelebt, in einem normalen Wohnhaus, solange er Direktor einer großen staatlichen Bank und hoher Parteifunktionär war. Er blieb im Gedächtnis als guter, bescheidener Nachbar. Einige der größten föderalen Gebäude wurden in Neu-Belgrad gebaut. Hier ist auch das Kunstmuseum und noch ein paar Monumentalbauten. Das alles ist nicht gerade typisch für ein Ghetto. Diese Siedlungen sind nicht die schlechtesten. Mit einigen Ausnahmen - meist den neueren - hat jedes Viertel viel Platz, Grün und Sport- und Spielplätze. Allein bei uns im Block 45 gab es 22 Basketballplätze, voll ausgestattet. Das ist heute alles ziemlich heruntergekommen. Aber das war der Plan, dass man dem arbeitenden Menschen annehmbare Lebensbedingungen schafft und die Grundlage, sich noch mehr zu abzurackern. Die Schräubchen sollten glücklich und dankbar sein.

Hier werden die Ausdrücke „bäurisch“ und „städtisch“ oft benutzt. Was bedeutet dieses Städtische, Urbane für dich?

Diese Einteilung haben sich sicherlich nicht die „Bauern“ einfallen lassen! Das sind nur Verallgemeinerungen. Gemeint ist ein bestimmtes Niveau Kultiviertheit, formaler Erziehung, Weltkundigkeit, Informiertheit

U Beogradu postoje razne varijante urbane arhitekture i različiti modeli gradskog života. Male kuće ili velike vile sa baštama, barake od lima i kartona, nove i stare stambene zgrade i soliteri. Koji način stanovanja se danas propagira kao najbolji i kako izgleda stvarnost?

Posle komunista i njihovog propalog humanističkog projekta, urbanistička ideologija i teorija sveli su se na propagandu agencija za promet nekretnina i građevinskih kompanija. Nikoga više nije briga za opšti „kvalitet života“ – iako, po meni, grad, kao radni logor, i „kvalitet života“ nikako ne idu zajedno. Ali, nestala je i ta pretenzija, ta tema. Sve je namenjeno onima koji imaju pare, keš ili za kredit. Ali, cenim da je ideal i dalje isti: kućica u cveću. To je, naravno, malograđanski ideal, ali čak i to izražava očajničku, ali sve jaloviju potrebu za autonomijom i malo više ljudskog prostora. U stvarnosti, nude se i traže dobro opremljene stambene jedinice, u novim masovnim naseljima; nešto drugo je prosto nerealno, ali i neprofitabilno. Idemo u korak sa svetom, šta da ti kažem...

Ako ga uporedimo sa starim gradom, sa druge strane Save, koji je ko zna koliko puta bio rušen i ponovo građen, možemo reći da je Novi Beograd „grad bez prošlosti“. Tamo gde su danas soliteri od betona, do 1950-te bila je močvara. Da li misliš da istorija jednog mesta utiče na ljude koji tu žive?

I Novi Beograd ima prošlost, koja je deo prošlosti Beograda. Sada već ima i svoju mitologiju, junake, poseban mentalitet, itd. Najzad, svi Novobeograđani su došli odnekud, s torbama punim „istorije“; na primer, ja sam došao iz Zemuna, koji je star koliko i Beograd, možda i stariji. Ali, mi ne živimo u tim okvirima, to su apstrakcije. Živimo

über etwas, das über das eigene Dorf hinausgeht. Aber wer insistiert auf diesem Begriff? Urbane Typen natürlich, die selber verstockt und auf eine Art indoktriniert sind, die alles übertrifft, was wir vom Mittelalter bis heute gesehen haben. Außerdem schließt die Stadt eine tatsächliche Autonomie per Definition aus: du bist abhängig von der allgemeinen Arbeitsteilung und von für die Massen geschaffenen Systemen. Das hat einschneidende Auswirkungen auf die urbane Mentalität. Es gibt keine hilfloseren und abhängigeren Menschen als die Bewohner der Städte. Das macht sie potentiell gefährlich, brutal, panisch, usw. Kurz gesagt würde ich mein urbanes psychologisches Profil nicht so herausstellen!

Welche Rolle spielt in all dem die Anonymität, die in einer großen Stadt oder einem Hochhaus herrscht, bzw. möglich ist?

Auf eine Art ist Anonymität garantiert, weil wir in einen Ameisenhaufen leben, und nicht in irgendeiner kleinen Gemeinschaft, wo jeder jeden kennt. Aber ich denke das die Leute darunter nicht leiden. Jeder ist in seinem Viertel der König!

In Belgrad gibt es alle möglichen Varianten urbaner Architektur und unterschiedliche Modelle städtischen Lebens. Kleine Häuser oder große Villen mit Garten, Baracken aus Blech und Karton, neue und alte Wohnblocks und Hochhäuser. Welche Art zu wohnen wird heute als die beste propagiert und wie sieht die Realität aus?

Nach den Kommunisten und ihrem misslungenen humanistischen Projekt beschränkt sich alle urbanistische Ideologie auf die Propaganda von Immobilienmaklern und Baufirmen. Niemand sorgt sich um die allge-

u konkreten uslovima i u svojim ličnim istorijama. Ali, ima nešto i do mesta. Možda to kada odrasteš na tako velikoj periferiji, koja je celina za sebe, utiče da postaneš rasejan prema mnogo čemu što se dešava u zvaničnom „Centru“. To u isto vreme stvara kompleks manje i veće vrednosti, što može da ima i neke pozitivne posledice. Na primer, lakše krećeš da radiš nesto svoje, nezavisno od zvaničnih standarda i pravila, koja se diktiraju iz Centra – kulturnog ili subkulturnog, svejedno. Ne znam, ovo je možda malo nategnuto. Ali, možda i nije.

Da li nešto fali u blokovima?

Meni ne, barem na nivou institucija – a posebno ne na nivou „kulturene produkcije“! Što manje, to bolje. Ali, previše je prodajnih objekata, u stvari, sve je sada pokriveno tom mrežom, što je takođe noviji fenomen. Sve se sada evakuše na Novi Beograd, to je trend. Samo u poslednjih godinu dana izgrađen je potpuno neverovatno broj šoping molova i poslovnih zgrada.

Šta bi bilo najgore da se desi za ovaj deo grada?

Da se nastavi sa daljom izgradnjom. To bi inače trebalo zaustaviti, svuda. Razvoj, progres, to je sigurna katastrofa. Voleo bih da se više nijedna livada ili pustara ne zalije betonom, da se ne podigne nijedna nova benzinska pumpa, šoping mol, banka, poslovna zgrada, Opera. Da odumre sama funkcija grada. Drugim rečima, da grad, kao radni logor, nestane. Da sve malo potone u pesak i puzavicu. Mislim da bismo tek onda mogli da pričamo o životu. Ovo je ipak samo rintanje i snalaženje.

Intervju je vodila i priredila Rena Rädle
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meine „Lebensqualität“, auch wenn meiner Meinung Stadt und „Lebensqualität“ nicht zusammen gehen. Aber auch diese Absicht, dieses Thema ist verschwunden. Alles ist auf die ausgerichtet, die Geld haben, in bar oder für einen Kredit. Ich denke das Ideal ist auch weiter Dedinje²: ein Haus mit blühendem Garten – nur zu klein sollte es nicht sein.

Wenn man an die alte Stadt auf der anderen Seite der Sava denkt, die wer weiß wie oft zerstört und wieder aufgebaut worden ist, kann man sagen, dass Neu Belgrad eine Stadt ohne Vergangenheit ist. Wo heute Betonhochhäuser stehen, war bis in die 1950er Jahre noch Sumpfbereich. Denkst Du, dass die Geschichte eines Ortes auf die Menschen Einfluss hat, die dort leben?

Das stimmt nicht ganz. Auch Neu-Belgrad hat eine Vergangenheit, die Teil der Vergangenheit Belgrads ist. Jetzt hat es auch schon seine eigene Mythologie, seine Helden, seine besondere Mentalität, usw. Außerdem sind die ersten Einwohner von Neu-Belgrad, und auch die, die später gekommen sind, von irgendwo anders hergekommen; ich z.B. bin aus Zemun gekommen, und das ist so alt wie Belgrad, vielleicht älter. Aber wir leben nicht in diesen Umgebungen, das sind Abstraktionen. Wir leben in konkreten Verhältnissen und Beziehungen und in unseren persönlichen Geschichten. Aber es hängt auch etwas mit dem Ort zusammen. Wenn man in einer so großen Peripherie aufwächst, die in sich selbst eine Einheit bildet, wird man vielleicht unaufmerksam gegenüber dem, was sich im „offiziellen“ Zentrum abspielt. Dadurch entstehen gleichzeitig ein Minderwertigkeitskomplex und ein Überlegenheitsgefühl, was auch positive Auswirkungen haben kann. Zum Beispiel ist es leichter, etwas eigenes an-

zufangen, das von den offiziellen Standards und Regeln unabhängig ist, die das Zentrum diktiert – das politische, kulturelle, mediale Zentrum. Ich weiß nicht, vielleicht ist das etwas übertrieben, aber vielleicht stimmt es auch ein Stück weit.

Fehlt etwas in den Blocks?

Mir nicht, zumindest nicht auf der institutionellen Ebene und noch weniger auf dem Gebiet der kulturellen Produktion.

Was wäre das Schlimmste, das diesem Stadtteil passieren könnte?

Dass weiter gebaut wird. Das sollte man sowieso verhindern, überall. Entwicklung, Fortschritt, das führt mit Sicherheit in die Katastrophe. Ich würde mir wünschen, dass keine einzige Wiese oder Heide mehr betoniert wird, dass keine einzige Tankstelle mehr gebaut wird, keine Shopping Mall, keine Bank, kein Bürogebäude, keine Oper. Dass die Funktion der Stadt abstirbt. Mit anderen Worten, dass die Stadt als Arbeitslager verschwindet. Dass alles im Sand versinkt und mit Schlingpflanzen überwuchert. Ich denke, dass wir erst dann von Leben sprechen können. Hier geht es doch nur darum, zu schuften, zu überleben, irgendwie durchzukommen.

Das Interview führte Rena Rädle
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² Reichenviertel in Belgrad

Art Intervention in Digital Media Space:

Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle

Episodes: Fifth Park (5:50 min) and Gazela Settlement (5:25 min)

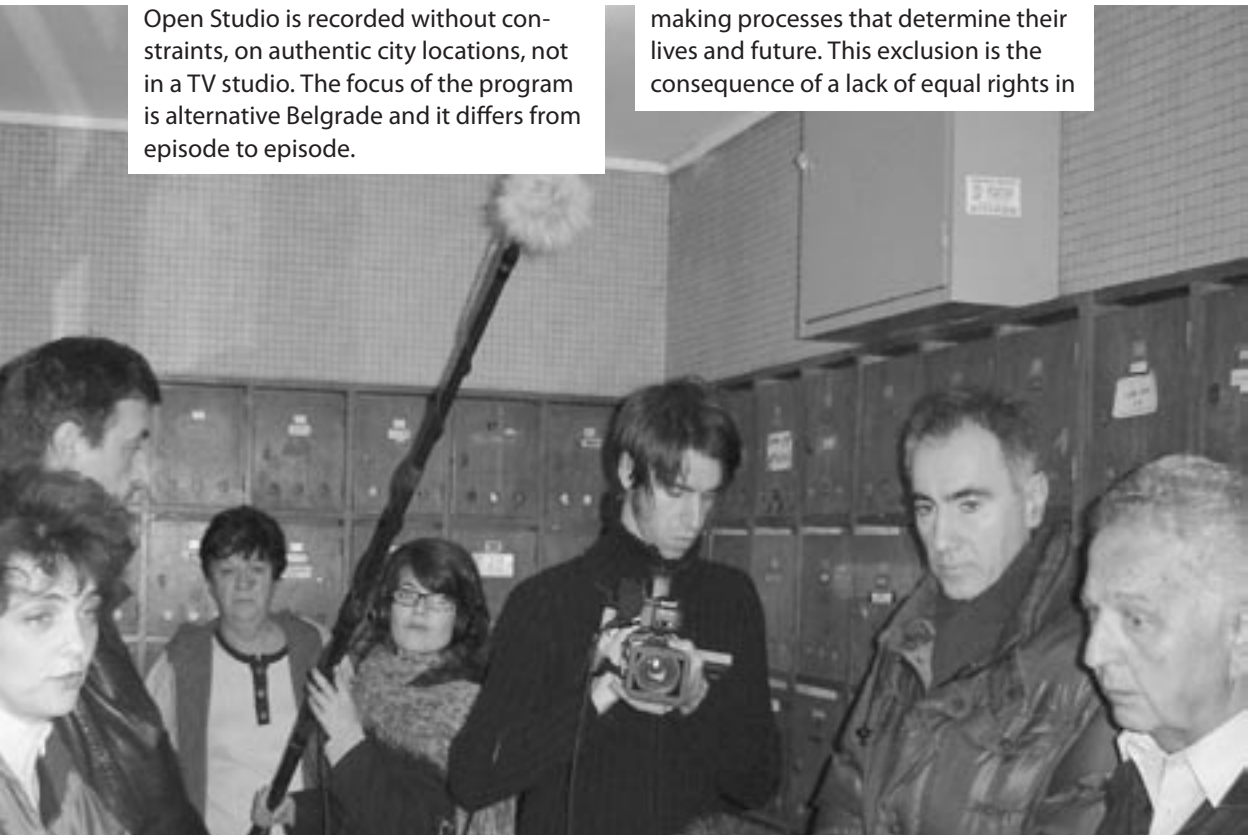
Director/ author of the TV program: Tanja Ostojić

Camera: David Rych

TV series, 2007

Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle is a TV series consisting of short programs, lasting between five and six minutes each. The program refers to the well known Belgrade Chronicle, its collage structure and its cultural-entertainment-communal-informative character, including guests. The novelty is that the Open Studio is recorded without constraints, on authentic city locations, not in a TV studio. The focus of the program is alternative Belgrade and it differs from episode to episode.

Intending to portrait citizens of Belgrade and the city itself as a lively and varied international environment, Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle is focused on alternative values and marginalized persons and groups, who have restricted access to the media and are often excluded from the decision making processes that determine their lives and future. This exclusion is the consequence of a lack of equal rights in



society and a lack of representatives to support them in political, economic and media structures.

Although the series does not focus on discrimination itself, it deals with social groups that are in reality victims of daily racism and in many cases also victims of discrimination by law and media. The programs have the intention to help overcoming the xenophobia that the majority of the population suffers from by offering the material for understanding of the other.

The program Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle analyses the following issues: alternative architecture, recycling, Roma community, gay and lesbian community, gender equality, alternative ways of living, alternative nurture, vegetarianism, alternative economies, citizens ini-


tiatives, the Chinese minority in Belgrade, alternative medicines, as well as concepts opposing main stream consumers' society, homeless etc.

All contributions are appreciated. You are welcome to send suggestions for program issues to: tanja@diplomats.com and to join the blog at: <http://tanjaostojic.blogspot.com>

Tanja Ostojić

The TV series Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle has been broadcasted on TV Politika, Belgrade, Serbia (February 28, 2007 at 20h), and on BHTV1, Sarajevo Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Kitchen SCCA/pro.ba TV show (April 2007). The material has been shown as well in several art spaces in Belgrade and Skopje.

The first two TV series of the "Open Studio of New Belgrade Chronicle" were realized in collaboration with the independent TV production VIN - Weekly Independent News www.vin.co.yu



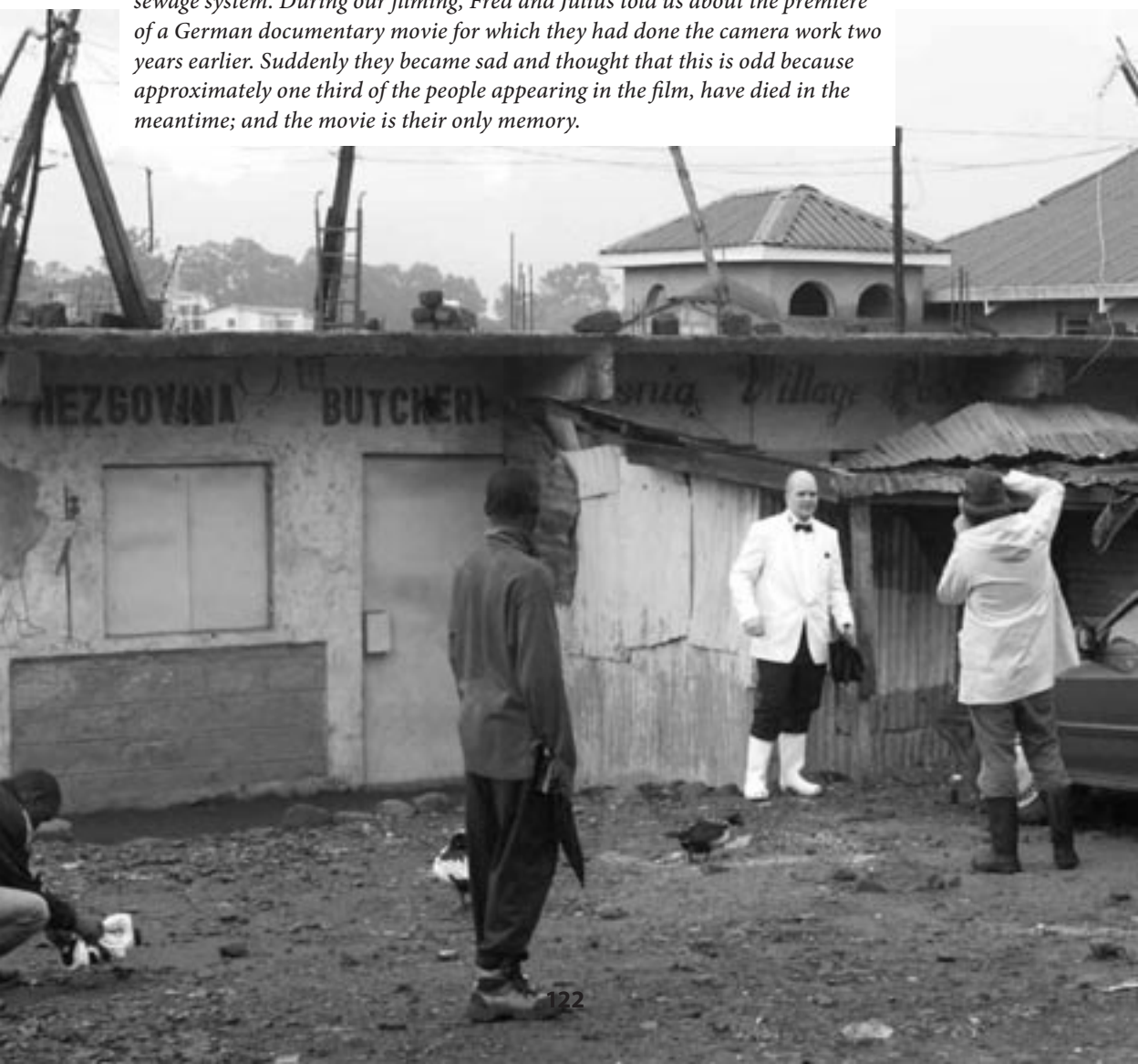
Tanja Ostojić (Serbia, 1972) studied art in Belgrade and Nantes. She is an independent interdisciplinary artist and cultural activist based in Berlin and Belgrade. She has been active in the art scene in the former Yugoslavia since 1994 and internationally since 1997. Ostojić includes herself as a character in situationist performances and uses diverse media in her artistic research, thereby examining social configurations and relations of power. She predominantly works from the migrant woman's perspective and the approach in her works is defined by political position, humour and integration of the recipient.

She performed and exhibited recently in: "Global Feminisms" at Brooklyn Museum, NY; "Shrinking Cities, Interventions", Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig; "Normalisation" Rooseum Malmö; "In Transit" Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; "Plateau of Humankind", 49th Venice Biennale; "Manifesta 2" Luxembourg; ICA London... www.kultur.at/howl/tanja

SLUM-TV

Lukas Pusch and Alexander Nikolić
<http://www.slum-tv.info/>

In 2006, during our stay in Kenya in the framework of the Group-exhibition “Economy Class” at the Alliance Francaise in Nairobi (<http://economyclass.sonance.net/>) we managed to establish a very productive cooperation with the artists and photographers Sam Hopkins, Fred Otieno and Julius Mwelu. Together we documented and realised Lukas Pusch’s Performance “Vienna Voodoo”, which was done in Mathare. Mathare is the biggest slum in Kenya with approximately 700 000 inhabitants without electricity, running water and a sewage system. During our filming, Fred and Julius told us about the premiere of a German documentary movie for which they had done the camera work two years earlier. Suddenly they became sad and thought that this is odd because approximately one third of the people appearing in the film, have died in the meantime; and the movie is their only memory.



The foundation of SLUM-TV

SLUM-TV wants to document the lives of the people in the slum and to re-evaluate these lives through the camera. A camera always attracts attention. Our partners from the slum film and document the life in Mathare. The small movies are then shown in public places in Mathare, like a newsreel. In Mathare, there exist a variety of self-established cinemas. Mostly American and African films and European football is shown there. Analogous to weekly news-shows in the early age of television our partners want to show their contributions in these cinemas, and maybe to charge a small entree fee in order to finance videotapes and other material. Copies of the videos are sent to Vienna. We will also try to distribute them under "Creative Commons" licenses. That means non-profit orientated community TV's could use material for free, but has to name authors. All other users would have to pay. From the proceeds the manufacturers in the slums benefit again.

Technical infrastructure + Workshop

Our next goal is to purchase two video-cameras, a computer and a video-projector, and to donate the technical infrastructure to our partners (Fred Otieno, Julius Mwelu und Sam Hopkins). A two-weeks-workshop shall follow in order to teach the editing and cutting of digital video.

Digital archive and European partners

The results of the Workshops will be presented in Vienna, and also streamed in the internet. From April 2007 on we will develop a digital video-data base which will be organised as a network of local contributors; i.e. users from Mathare can upload their videofiles, and organise their own archive to control and build it. The transfer of the video-documents will be

handled through normal snail mail. As these goals are still a perspective for the future this process might take a few years to work out.

Our local partners and their local context

In Mathare Julius Mwelu and Fred Otieno are active in the MYSA Organisation (Mathare Youth Sport Association). MYSA is an outstanding organisation in Mathare that has been active for more than 20 years. Its major task is to organise and offer a multiplicity of activities. The most successful project is football, with approx. 1200 soccer teams a quarter of which are woman teams. With soccer the whole MYSA Project started, and meanwhile many players managed to be nominated and to play for the Kenyan National Soccer Team. Besides the fact that young people get an opportunity for sports and many people from Mathare can make a living out of the professionally organised Soccer Team some players were even sold to the French Premiere League lately; retired players work as coaches and are responsible for the youth's teams. There are many other positive side effects as sports also serves as one of the best Aids preventions. And the successful participation of the women's soccer team at the World Championship in Norway where they ranked third raised their prestige within Mathare. It made the young women prouder and as they are well trained, men's behaviour towards them changed significantly. This year a team from the MYSA-project won the Street-Soccer-WM in Berlin. Since a few years the agenda of the MYSA office has been extended to include also art, dance, theatre and music sections. Similar projects are going to be set up in Botswana, Tanzania and other African countries which makes it a very appropriate partner for the SLUM-TV project.

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In December 2004 a group of people met to explore together the city. Walks and talks opened new perspectives for guests and hosts. The unconventional ways of making contact with Belgrade reached its peak in a surprising encounter with the people living under the bridge Gazela.

Authors: Stephan Kurr, Predrag Miladinović, Ivana Ranković, Tanja Ostojić, Rena Rädle, Vladan Jeremić, Maja Ćirić, Dr Agan Papić, Zorica Jovanović, David Rych.

U decembru 2005. grupa ljudi se susrela da zajedno istražuje grad. Šetnje i razgovori otvorili su domaćinima i gostima nove raznolike perspective. Nekoventcionalno približavanje gradu Beogradu dostiže svoju kulminaciju u iznenađujućem susretu sa ljudima koji žive ispod mosa Gazela.

Autori/ke: Stephan Kurr, Predrag Miladinović, Ivana Ranković, Tanja Ostojić, Rena Rädle, Vladan Jeremić, Maja Ćirić, Dr Agan Papić, Zorica Jovanović, David Rych.

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Under the Bridge, 2005, DVD, Novi Sad

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