

# Društvena koreografija



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# Društvena koreografija

Bojana CVEJIĆ i  
Ana VUJANOVIĆ

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Jeroen  
van WIJHE

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# Uvodnik

Bojana CVEJIĆ i

Ana VUJANOVIĆ

● ● U svojoj knjizi

*Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Društvena koreografija: ideologija kao izvedba u plesu i svakodnevnom pokretu; Duke University, Durham, NC, 2005), teoretičar književnosti Andrew Hewitt uspostavlja koreografiju kao nov model postmarksističke kritičke analize ideologije. On izvodi koreografiju iz književnih tropa i plesnih tehnika kao pokušaj građanskog društva da se uspostavi putem plesa kao estetskog ideala i matrice za novi društveni poredak u književnosti, diskursima društvenih nauka i umetničkim praksama od 90ih godina 18. do 30ih godina 20. veka. Hewitt tvrdi da je građanstvo uspostavilo izvedben vid estetske ideologije, proizvodeći, usadujući, vežbajući i odražavajući društveni poredak izravno na razini tela, na ekonomskoj osnovi proizvodnih odnosa i snagâ, istovremeno materijalnih, društvenih i estetskih. Za istoriju ne samo oblikâ već i funkcijâ ideologije, društvena koreografija označava promenu u načinu rada ideologije, koja obuhvata danas i ekonomiju iskustva i afektivne materijalne proizvodnje. Društvena koreografija nudi otelovljenje kao mehanizam ideologije, umesto interpelacije; ona tvrdi da ideologija funkcioniše kao izvedba otelovljenih obreda, za čije vršenje nije potrebna vera.

Dok Hewitt svoje tvrdnje iznosi bez osvrta na studije plesa i izvedbe, pojedini koreografi i umetnici koriste termin „društvena koreografija“ u opisivanju svojih praksi ili političkih stavova. Štaviše, poslednjih nekoliko godina, svedoci smo kako se izraz „društvena koreografija“ pretvara u plesni ekvivalent umetnosti zajednice (*community arts*), društveno angažovane i – kako je to Claire Bishop rečito uočila – participativne umetnosti. Međutim, veza sa ideološkim registrom tog pojma ostaje bez izražaja u mnogim umetničkim projektima koji sebe opisuju kao društvenu koreografiju. Stoga, ostaje otvoreno pitanje kako pokret, kroz ples i svakodnevno društveno, javno ili privatno ponašanje označava i deluje politički ili ideološki. Nakon skorašnjih nereda i protesta, umetnici i teoretičari tragaju za paralelama između koreografije i društvenog pokreta, od kojih neka tumačenja olako pripisuju utopijsku političku dejstvenost telesnim

pokretima, gestovima, držanjima ili stanjima. Druga zapažanja pronalaze u istim telesnim izrazima politički ambivalentna značenja ili, pak, ubedljivu simptomatičnost pobune. Veze i nesporazumi koji nastaju spajanjem koreografije u umetničkom smislu s političkim nemirima u društvenom smislu zavređuju teorijsku pažnju. Potencijal koji tu postoji za postavljanje modela ideološke kritike tek treba proučiti.

Ovo izdanje časopisa *Tkh* donosi poseban niz tema, oblasti proučavanja i metoda u istraživanju društvene koreografije u savremenoj umetnosti, plesu i izvedbi, kao i u društvenim i političkim pojavama. Većina tekstova je posebno naručena za ovo izdanje, pri čemu se autori bave: odnosom između koreografije i društvenih pokreta kroz povest i u današnje vreme nereda i protesta; savremenim i povesnim izrazima koreografije kao oblika estetske ideologije; društvenom koreografijom u izvedbama javnog prostora (Milohnić, Vujanović); koreografijom, plesom i teatralnošću u proširenom vidu (Pristaš, Koruga). Dok neki od autora nastoje da primene ili prošire Hewittov pojam u teorijskom razmatranju protesta danas (Klein) ili analizi reprezentacije povesnih gestova (Wijhe), drugi kritički ispituju pojam društvene koreografije sa njegovih vlastitih marksističkih osnova (Kostanić) ili dalje razmatraju kako bi se on mogao primeniti u ekonomiji (Martin). Koreografija se takođe pojavljuje u analizi odnosa ratovanja i plesa (Cvejić, Hacham i Feder). Konačno, ovaj broj iznosi i kolaž stavova izravno iz koreografske i plesne prakse nekoliko evropskih autora koji promišljaju upotrebu pojma u odnosu na telesni pokret, javni prostor, zajednicu, političku mobilizaciju i dr. ■



# Tejlorizam, nacizam i Skitnica: Chaplinova kritika društvenih koreografija u *Modernim vremenima* i *Velikom diktatoru*

Jeroen van WIJHE • •

**Uvod** • Premijera filma *Moderna vremena* Charliea Chaplina 1936. označila je prekretnicu u njegovoj karijeri. Ovaj film je ne samo najavio njegov prelazak s nemog na zvučni film (simbolizovan poslednjom pojavom njegovog čuvenog lika Skitnice), već je postao i prvi u nizu Chaplinovih eksplicitno političkih filmova. *Moderna vremena* se bave uslovima života za vreme Velike krize. Film oslikava jedno društvo pod sve jačom vlašću kapitalizma, koji ga sve više destabilizuje, u kojem su ulice pune demonstranata, a fabrike radnika od kojih se traži da rade kao „šrafovi“ u industrijalizovanim mašinama. Chaplinov tada novi „politički glas“ pokazaće se i uticajnim i kontroverznim. Svojim

stavovima protiv liberalnog kapitalizma on je suštinski kritikovao vladajuću ideologiju razdoblja i zemlje u kojoj je tada živeo – Amerike 20. veka. Osim toga, pošto je bio jedan od najpoznatijih umetnika svog vremena, njegove političke poruke stizale su do svetske publike i uticale na nju. Chaplinov politički glas primetio je i FBI, koji je počeo da ga prati 1942. Po jednom članku poslatom J. Edgaru Hooveru 1944,

Ima ljudi i žena u dalekim delovima sveta koji nikada nisu čuli za Isusa Hrista; a ipak, svi oni znaju i vole Charlieja Chaplina. Stoga, kada Chaplin napravi film, njegove misli stignu do daleko šire publike nego novine, časopisi ili radio – i to rečima slikâ, koje svi razumeju. (Sbardellati i Shaw 2003, 500)

Chaplinov naredni film je takođe kritikovao jednu vladajuću ideologiju. U *Velikom diktatoru*, Chaplin koristi komediju da bi satirisao nacional-socijalistički režim Adolfa Hitlera. Kao i *Moderna vremena*, i *Veliki diktator* je bio kontroverzan i uticajan film. On je isprva zabrinuo američku i britansku vladu, koje su se bojale da će ugroziti njihovu politiku popuštavanja nacističkoj Nemačkoj (Brownlow i Kloft 2002; Friedrich 1986, 50). Međutim, sa eskalacijom rata, film je postao veoma popularan, zahvaljujući svojoj jasnoj antifašističkoj propagandnoj vrednosti. Mada ga je Hitler zabranio u Nemačkoj i svim okupiranim zemljama (Cole 2001, 149), *Veliki diktator* je postao Chaplinov komercijalno najuspešniji film, zaradivši dva miliona

tadašnjih dolara u Sjedinjenim Državama i pet miliona u svetu (Flom 1997, 145).

U *Modernim vremenima* i *Velikom diktatoru*, Chaplin koristi medij filma da bi otvorio snažnu kontra-perspektivu na dve istaknute ideologije svog vremena: liberalni kapitalizam i nacional-socijalizam. U žiži ovog rada je posebna strategija kojom je Chaplin iznosio svoje političke stavove. Mada je govor uveden u *Modernim vremenima* i utvrđen u *Velikom diktatoru*, Chaplinovi filmovi u velikoj meri opštē putem pokreta. U ova dva filma, često zastupljena tema je i upotreba i prilagođavanje određenih obrazaca telesnih pokreta u društvu. Ti se obrasci mogu objasniti pomoću pojma društvene koreografije (Hewitt 2005). Andrew Hewitt definiše društvenu koreografiju kao otepljenje i uvežbavanje ideologije kroz ples ili svakodnevno kretanje. Ovaj rad posmatra Chaplinovu kritiku liberalnog kapitalizma i nacional-socijalizma kroz prizmu dva slučaja društvene koreografije, koji se pojavljuju u *Modernim vremenima* i *Velikom diktatoru*. Tema prvog dela rada jeste liberalni kapitalizam u odnosu na „tejlORIZOVANE“ pokrete prikazane u *Modernim vremenima*. Drugi deo rada ispituje Chaplinov komentar na nacional-socijalizam s naglaskom na upotrebu nacističkog pozdrava u *Velikom diktatoru*.

## ● ● MODERNA VREMENA (1936.) I TEJLORIZAM

**TejlORIZAM** ● Ustankom u Parizu 1871, na vlast je došla francuska radnička klasa. Njihova vlada je postala poznata kao Pariska komuna i označila je prvu revoluciju radničke klase tokom Industrijske revolucije (Gould 1991). Američku vladu je Pariska komuna ispunila strahom od eskalacije klasnog sukoba i u Sjedinjenim Državama. Posle Građanskog rata, američko društvo se u velikoj meri bilo izmenilo. Industrijska revolucija je pospešivala rast američkih gradova i prevlast industrije nad poljoprivredom u američkoj privredi i društvu. Rasle su mogućnosti zapošljavanja, ali i jaz između bogatih i siromašnih. Takođe, sve veći priliv doseljenika iz Evrope upoznao je američku radničku klasu s novim ideologijama, poput marksizma i sindikalizma (Merkle 1980, 17). Radnici su počeli da zahtevaju veća prava, organizujući proteste i obustave rada i osnivajući prve sveameričke sindikate (Olzak 1989). Tokom ovog razdoblja, Odbor za rad i obrazovanje američkog Senata je aktivno istraživao uzroke nemirâ i tražio za rešenjima.

Jedno moguće rešenje rastućih nemira u američkoj radničkoj klasi predložio je Frederick Taylor. Po Taylorovom mišljenju, američka industrija je uglavnom služila interesima poslodavaca, na račun radnikâ. U svom manifestu, *Načelima naučnog upravljanja* (1910), Taylor je predložio sistem koji bi služio interesima i

poslodavaca i radnika, nudeći radnicima veće plate, a poslodavcima veću proizvodnju. Taj sistem je postao poznat kao „naučno upravljanje“ (*scientific management*) ili tejlORIZAM.

Glavno načelo tejlORIZMA je povećavanje efikasnosti rada zamenom starih pravila (koja je Taylor smatrao ostacima starog poljoprivrednog društva) naučnim načelima. Ta načela je trebalo da proizađu iz istraživanja upravljачkog tima. Shodno tome, autoritarnu figuru poslodavca zamenjuje upravljачki tim koji nadgleda razne aspekte proizvodnje. Taylor je tim rukovodiocima, poslovođama (*managers*) poverio četiri zadatka. Prvi zadatak bilo je razvijanje naučnog pristupa svakom elementu posla. Po tom načelu, primena statističke analize bi pre ili kasnije povećala produktivnost radnikâ. Na primer, Taylor tvrdi da se izračunavanje najdužeg mogućeg vremena tokom kojeg radnik može da radi pre nego što se iscrpi može upotrebiti u korist preduzeća. Uvođenjem predahâ i kraćeg radnog vremena može se bolje raspodeliti energija radnikâ. Drugi zadatak se tiče naučnog pristupa odabiru najpodesnijih radnika za neki posao. Nakon selekcije, te radnike treba naučiti kako da svoj posao obavljaju što efikasnije. Da bi to ostvarili, potencijalni kandidati bi morali da učestuju u nizu zadataka. Pošto bi statistički identifikovali najuspešnije radnike, rukovodioci bi svakom od njih poverili zasebne zadatke i pomogli im da ih izvršavaju na efikasan način. Na primer, Taylor tvrdi da su lopatarskim radnicima (pri Bethlehemskom preduzeću za čelik, gde je isproban Taylorov pristup) svakodnevno izdavana uputstva kakve pokrete treba da koriste i koje ciljeve da ispune svakog dana. Kao što se može nazreti iz drugog zadatka, naučno upravljanje naglašava saradnju između rukovodioca i radnika. Po trećem zadatku, da bi naučno upravljanje bilo delotvorno, upravljачki tim treba da primenjuje otkrića svojih naučnih istraživanja u obrazovanju i nadziranju svojih radnika. Kako je već opisano na primeru lopatarskih radnika, rukovodilac svakog dana svakom radniku izdaje zaseban zadatak, uz obećanje veće plate ako ga ispuni efikasno. Taylorova poslednja dužnost za rukovodiocima nalaže jednaku raspodelu zadataka među poslovođama i zaposlenima. Ovo načelo je čvrsto zasnovano na Taylorovom predubedenju da pojedini zadaci na radnom mestu odgovaraju ili radniku ili rukovodiocu. Po Tayloru, radnici bi teško mogli da razumeju naučna istraživanja. Njihov zadatak je stoga telesni rad, dok se rukovodiocima poverava istraživanje i organizacija. Neposredna posledica toga je izmeštanje stručnog znanja. Dok se u naučnom upravljanju od radnikâ traži samo telesni rad, stručno znanje se seli kod rukovodioca. Taylorovo obrazloženje ovog premeštanja je da se poljoprivredni radnici oslanjaju na pravila stečena iskustvom, dok Taylorovi rukovodioci svoje znanje temelje na naučnom istraživanju.

Do sada su načela naučnog upravljanja uglavnom služila interesima uprave, povećavajući učinak radnikâ. Za njih, privlačnost naučnog upravljanja počivala je u obećanim većim platama. Po Taylorovom mišljenju, radnici nisu bili dovoljno motivisani da rade zbog ustaljenih plata na sat. Drugim rečima, više rada bi značilo samo gubitak energije, a ne veću platu. Ekstremnija posledica ovakvog sistema nadoknade je pojava koju je Taylor nazivao „vojničkim otaljavanjem“ (*soldiering*): sklonost radnikâ da ulažu najmanji mogući napor, što daje i najmanju moguću produktivnost. Naučno upravljanje koristi obećanje većih plata da bi im podiglo motivaciju i produktivnost. Umesto ustaljenih plata na sat, naučno upravljanje koristi sistem plaćanja po komadu (učinku), gde se svaki radnik plaća za svaki uspešno obavljen zadatak. Prema tome, najveće plate dobijali su najefikasniji radnici, dok su neefikasni radnici ili zabušanti „kažnjavani“ manjim platama.

## TejlORIZAM kao oblik društvene koreografije ●

Dosadašnji deo rada opisuje načela tejlORIZMA. Da bi ispitao Taylorov sistem kao oblik društvene koreografije, naredni deo rada je usmeren na Hewittovu zamisao društvene koreografije, kako bi se pokazalo kako se i tejlORIZAM može posmatrati upravo kao društvena koreografija.

U svojoj knjizi *Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Društvena koreografija: ideologija kao izvedba u plesu i svakodnevnom pokretu, 2005), Hewitt opisuje koreografiju kao društvenu, nasuprot uskom modernističkom poimanju plesa oko metafizičkog subjektiviteta. Umesto toga, Hewitt ističe, koreografija se može sagledavati i u društvenom i političkom smislu. Kroz čitavu povest, koreografija se koristi za uvežbavanje načinâ ustrojanja društava, u isti mah služeći kao „shema“ organizacije društva. Dakle, društvena koreografija se odnosi na koreografiju kao estetski odraz, ali i kao sâm model ideologije.

Da bi ilustrovao svoju tezu, Hewitt ukazuje na engleski društveni ples 18. veka, koji bi se mogao čitati kao odraz dinamike društvenog ponašanja engleske građanske klase, ali i kao model društvenog ponašanja drugih nacija. Međutim, društvena koreografija nije ograničena na „umetničku“ koreografiju. Hewitt govori o estetskom kontinuumu društvene koreografije, od umetnosti plesa do svakodnevnog pokreta. Prema tome, kao što se engleski društveni ples može posmatrati kao oblik društvene koreografije, tako se mogu posmatrati i komunistički spektakli, u kojima je državna ideologija i uvežbavana i oblikovana pokretom (vid. Cvejić i Vujanović 2012). Ali, kako se tejlORIZAM kvalifikuje kao društvena koreografija? Ovo pitanje otvara još dva potpitanja: na koji način tejlORIZAM postoji kao koreografija i kako je tejlORIZAM „društven“?

Drugim rečima, koju ideologiju on izvodi? Slično Hewittu, teoretičarka plesa Susan Leigh Foster tvrdi da pojam koreografije nije ograničen na područje pozorišnog plesa, već da se odnosi na „planiranje ili orkestraciju tela u pokretu“ (Foster 2010, 15). U takvoj definiciji pojam koreografije postaje primenjiv na tejlorizam, koji od radničkog tela zahteva da izvodi predodređene obrasce pokreta, da bi bilo ocenjeno efikasnim.

Frank Gilbreth, jedan od izvora Taylorovog nadahnuća, razvio je način ocenjivanja efikasnosti pokreta u proizvodnji. Gilbreth je kamerom snimao radnike u proizvodnji, mereći vreme štopericom. Po okončanom snimanju, pažljivo bi analizirao efikasnost njihovih pokreta. Po izbacivanju svih nepotrebnih pokreta i sabiranju najefikasnijih pokreta, sledeći korak u Gilbrethovom metodi bilo je stvaranje jednoobraznog rečnika pokreta potrebnih za izvršenje nekog zadatka (Price 1989, 3). Dakle, kao u nekoj plesnoj koreografiji, od radnikâ se očekivalo da izvode istovetan aranžman, na osnovu istovetne sintakse predodređenih pokreta. Upravljački tim bi se onda mogao videti kao posrednik između jedne predodređene koreografije i njenih izvođača, ulivajući neki aranžman efikasnih pokreta u tela radnikâ.

Izgleda kao da je efikasnost ključni pojam naučnog upravljanja. I vreme i kretanje su bili pomno praćeni, da bi se obezbedio najviši mogući stepen efikasnosti u pokretima radnikâ, što bi donelo i veću produktivnost (Taylor 1911, 4–50). Ovaj citat iz Taylorovog manifesta pruža tačan prikaz njegove ideologije: „U prošlosti, čovek je bio prvi; u budućnosti, mašina mora biti prva“ (Taylor 1911, 2). Ova naklonjenost efikasnoj mašini umesto radniku odražava se na njegov sistem, koji zamenjuje poljoprivredna pravila naučnim načelima i gde pokret, kao mašine, postaje standardizovan, da bi obezbedio veću efikasnost i produktivnost. Uopšte, čini se kao da koreografija tejlorizma odražava ideologiju efikasnosti, pri čemu kolektiv radnikâ, koji obavljaju ekonomske pokrete, ostvaruje veću i bržu produktivnost. Osim odražavanja ove ideologije, naučno upravljanje je na posletku postalo i model jednog šireg stremljenja u američkom društvu. Tokom 1920ih godina, prihvaćena su tejloristička načela i u nekim drugim granama američkog društva, poput visokog obrazovanja i nacionalne politike. Ta pojava je postala poznata kao „pokret efikasnosti“, koji je tvrdio da nudi razuman poredak društvu uzdrmanom prelaskom sa poljoprivrede na industriju (Merkle 1980, 81). Krajem 40ih godina, pojam efikasnosti kao stabilizujućeg uticaja ponovio je teoretičar plesa Rudolf von Laban, mada u drugačijem kontekstu. Laban je proučavao potencijalne prednosti ekonomične raspodele ljudskog truda. Tvrdio je da efikasno korišćenje truda može dovesti do povećanja produktivnosti, blagostanja i „povratka

napretka“, posle razaranja Drugog svetskog rata (Laban i Lawrence 1947, xi). Dakle, kao i pobornici pokreta efikasnosti pre njega, Laban opravdava ubeđenje o koristi efikasnosti posleratnim političkim i društvenim uslovima. U oba slučaja, efikasnost je bila propagirana kao rešenje za hvatanje u koštac s radikalnim promenama u društvu, obećavajući svojim sledbenicima povratak stabilnosti i blagostanja, uprkos industrijalizaciji i, kasnije, posledicama rata.

**Moderna vremena** ● Nakon prvobitnog uspeha početkom druge decenije 20. veka, tejlorizam je postao meta nekoliko pravaca kritike. Jedan od najzastupljenijih tiče se Taylorovog poricanja pojedinačnih razlika među radnicima. Njegovo viđenje radnika kao osobe niske inteligencije i motivisane željom za dobiti bilo je jednoobrazno i pomalo uvredljivo. Osim toga, on podrazumeva da će svaki radnik reagovati podjednako dobro na bilo koji metod koji se pokaže naučno najefikasnijim. Međutim, takvo gledište ne uzima u obzir razlike u ličnosti, motivaciji i inteligenciji. Usled tih razlika, čak ni „najefikasnija“ praksa ne bi mogla jamčiti da će se svaki radnik pokazati podjednako dobro: nešto što je „efikasno“ za jednog radnika ne mora biti podjednako efikasno za drugog (Locke 1982, 18–22).

Još jedna istaknuta kritika tiče se Taylorovog „dekvalifikovanja“ (*deskilling*) rada. Usled raspodele profesija po različitim zadacima i razdvajanja stručnog znanja od rada, radnicima više nije bilo potrebno obrazovanje da bi svoj posao dovoljno dobro obavljali. To je omogućilo poslovođama da zapošljavaju neobrazovanu i stoga jeftiniju radnu snagu (Littler 1978, 188). Tejlorizam je tako redefinisao rad kao uspešno izvršavanje predodređenih obrazaca efikasnih pokreta, poistovećujući radnike s

mašinama. To je radnike učinilo lako zamenjivim drugim radnicima i, s napretkom tehnologije, prvim mašinama (Merkle 1980, 77).

Konačno, naučno upravljanje u praksi, izgleda, nije ispunilo vlastito obećanje jednakosti. Taylorov manifest počinje tezom da glavni cilj upravljanja treba da bude dostizanje najvećeg mogućeg napretka i za poslodavca i za zaposlene. Umesto povlašćivanja poslodavca, Taylor tvrdi, upravljanje treba da koristi obema stranama i podstiče saradnju između poslovođe, koji raspolaže znanjem, i zaposlenog, koji ga izvršava. U stvarnosti, međutim, najviše koristi je imala uprava. Dekvalifikujući radnika i određujući mu način rada, uprava praktično stiće kontrolu nad procesom proizvodnje (Braverman 1998, 94).

Ali Chaplin bi teško mogao da napadne taj aspekt tejlorizma. Izjednačavanje povlastica poslodavca i zaposlenog dovelo bi do ukidanja privatnog vlasništva. Međutim, Chaplin je i sam posedovao ličnu svojinu; sa partnerima je 1919. osnovao United Artists, filmski studio koji je producirao njegove filmove. Stoga, da je sledio tu kritiku, kritikovao bi i vlastiti položaj. Međutim, predstava da tejlorizam vodi ka poricanju pojedinačnosti i dekvifikovanju rada je veoma istaknuta u prvom delu *Modernih vremena*, u kojem pratimo lik Skitnice u izmišljenoj korporaciji Electro Steel. Prva scena *Modernih vremena* se izravno odnosi na goreopisanu kritiku Taylorovog poimanja radnika. Scena prikazuje nagurano stado ovaca, koje prati jednako nagurano „krdo“ radnika. Kao i ovce, i radnici se ponašaju kao stoka, dok ih po skupinama odvođe do fabrika gde se prema svima odnose na isti način, nezavisno od ličnih razlika među njima. Kritika dekvifikovanja rada je takođe prisutna u jednoj od prvih scena sekvence u fabrici, u

□ *Moderna vremena*, Charlie Chaplin, 1936.



dijalogu između jednog fabričkog poslovođe i jednog od radnika. Radnik je visok i mišićav i čini se sposobnim za težak telesni rad. Kasnije saznajemo, međutim, da se njegov posao sastoji samo od povlačenja poluga. U svetu naučnog upravljanja, on izgleda kao da je zalutao. Uprkos svojim očiglednim telesnim preimstvima, on obavlja posao koji bi mogao obavljati svako s dve zdrave ruke. Taj je čovek, možda simbol kvalifikovanog radnika poljoprivrednog doba, postao puki šraf u industrijskoj mašini.

Međutim, Chaplin iznosi svoj najupečatljiviji komentar na tejlorizam koristeći njegovu društvenu koreografiju, tj. načinom na koji nam skreće pažnju na nju. Veći deo fragmenta je usredsređen na Skitnicu dok radi za pokretnom trakom. Komičnost ove scene počiva na Skitničinom nesposobnosti da održi korak s pokretnom trakom. U toj jednostavnoj činjenici je sadržana Chaplinova strategija saopštavanja njegovog komentara na društvenu koreografiju tejlorizma. Skitničinom nesposobnošću da isprati brzinu pokretne trake Chaplin deregulise tu konkretnu koreografiju naučnog upravljanja. Deregulisujući tu koreografiju, on preseca vezu između pokreta i ideologije. Kada bi radnici za pokretnom trakom održavali postojanu brzinu, njihova bi koreografija činila ideološku estetiku kakvu bi tejlorizam želeo da izrazi; ta bi koreografija izražavala osećaj efikasnosti. Međutim, taj osećaj efikasnosti se gubi kada se pokret ne izvodi kako treba. Skitnica nije u stanju da pravilno izvede željeni (tejloristički) pokret i tako poništava osećaj efikasnosti koji bi njegovo kretanje trebalo da izražava.

„Rušenje“ veze između pokreta i ideologije u Chaplinovoj verziji tejlorističke koreografije omogućava premeštanje pažnje. U odsustvu koreografije kao izraza ideologije efikasnosti, žarište se sada premešta na svojstva pokreta koja podrazumeva tejloristička koreografija. Sada se primećuje mašinska isprekidanost pokreta zavrtnja koji Skitnica neprekidno mora da vrši. Ovo kretanje se čini još ekstremnijim kada Chaplin Skitnicu izmesti iz konteksta pokretne trake. Čak i prilikom kratkog predaha, čini se kao da tejloristička koreografija obuzima obrasce Skitničinog kretanja: dok hoda, on učestalo podiže laktove i trza glavom i najposle počinje da ponavlja i pokret zavrtnja. U fabrici, čini se da tejloristička koreografija tera Skitnicu da se ponaša kao mašina, ponavljajući kritiku tejlorizma i njegovog odnosa prema radniku kao delu mašinerije.

Najposle, Skitničina „mašinska svojstva“ postaju još ekstremnija kada ga mašina bukvalno usisa u sebe. Unutar ovog „mašinskog sveta“, njegov uslovljeni pokret zavrtnja ponovo postaje delotvoran, pošto ga koristi da bi zaustavio motor mašine. U svakodnevnom svetu, međutim, taj pokret ga u više navrata navodi da prekrši pravila društvenog ponašanja.

Najpre, Skitnica zavrne noseve i bradavice svojih saradnika, kojom prilikom ih i povredi. Zatim uplaši dve žene kada izgleda kao da će izvršiti isti zahvat i na dugmadima njihove odeće. Zbog svojih fabričkih pokreta, mašina-Skitnica više ne uspeva da se prilagodi društvu, odakle ga na kraju uklanjaju hapšenjem.

Uopšte, Chaplin se poigrava pojmom društvene koreografije da bi komentarisao tejlorizam u praksi. Odvajajući tejlorističku koreografiju od slike efikasnosti koju bi trebalo da pruži, Chaplin nam omogućava pogled izbliza na samu koreografiju i njene izvođače. Ovaj pojedinačni izvođač, Skitnica, predstavljen je u *Modernim vremenima* kao polumašina koja može valjano da funkcioniše samo za pokretnom trakom. Mada se Chaplin u predstavljanju ove disfunkcionalnosti najviše oslanja na telesno karikiranje, njegov prikaz radnika nije bio daleko od stvarnosti pravih radnika početkom 20. veka, pošto su radnici u to vreme bili među najizloženijima slomu živaca (Blom 2008, 343). Preusmeravajući pažnju na samu tejlorističku koreografiju, Chaplin pokazuje kako taj skup pokreta navodi radnika da se ponaša kao mašina. Štaviše, Skitničinom nesposobnošću da funkcioniše van svog radnog okruženja, Chaplin komentariše trajne učinke koje ova koreografija može imati na duševno zdravlje radnikâ. Prema tome, razotkrivajući idealističko obećanje tejlorizma o uređenom, efikasnom društvu kao obmanu, Chaplin osvetljava i njegovu tamnu stranu: zlostavljanje radnikâ, upravo onog sloja kojem je tejlorizam u početku izgledao naklonjen.

### ● ● VELIKI DIKTATOR (1940.) I NACISTIČKI POZDRAV

**Kvarenje pozdrava** ● Hewittovo poimanje društvene koreografije nije ograničeno na ideološko proučavanje pokreta kao čina. U poglavlju o čitljivosti gesta, Hewitt širi pojam društvene koreografije i na proučavanje gesta. On sučeljava gest i pokret, poistovećujući pokret s namernim izvođenjem kretanja, a gest s nekim spontanijim izrazom kretanja (Hewitt 2005, 82).

Naredni deo rada nudi analizu najosnovnijeg društvenog gesta: pozdrava. Međutim, u poređenju s Hewittovom definicijom, shvatanje pozdrava kao gesta postaje donekle problematično. U zavisnosti od formalnosti konteksta, pozdrav može biti i nameran i spontan. Stoga, ovaj deo rada se prevashodno tiče neformalnog, svakodnevnog pozdrava, koji uključuje i uobičajene izraze dobre volje prema primaocu pozdrava. U svojoj analizi nacističkog pozdrava, sociolog Tilmann Allert zaključuje da su svakodnevni oblici pozdravljanja u Nemačkoj pretrpeli radikalni društveni preobražaj (obaveznim) uvođenjem nacističkog pozdrava 1933. (Allert 2008, 30–70). Pre analiziranja dalekosežnih socioloških posledica ovog

pozdrava na stanovnike nacističke Nemačke, najpre ću se pozabaviti osnovnim sociološkim obrazloženjem pozdravljanja uopšte.

Po Allertu, jednostavni čin pozdravljanja drugoga je preduslov društvene interakcije kod ljudi. Razlikuju se tri zasebna koraka u pozdravljanju kao društvenom obredu. Najpre, osoba koja želi da uspostavi društveni kontakt ponudi pozdrav. Zatim, obred se nastavlja ako subjekt prihvati ponudu, uzvraćanjem pozdrava. Uspešna izvedba ovog obreda postavlja dve strane u zajedničku sociotemporalnost, u kojoj se društvena interakcija odvija sve dok se ne donese odluka da se društveni prostor napusti uz još jedan pozdrav. Dakle, pozdravljanje stvara zamišljen prostor u kojem pojedinci komuniciraju osećanja i informacije. Simetričnost odnosa dveju strana se često može videti u samom pozdravljanju; rukovanje obično označava jednakost, dok klanjanje ili celivanje stopala jednoj strani daje preimućstvo nad drugom (Lundmark 2009, 7–15). Međutim, bez obzira na te odnose moći, pozdrav uspostavlja uzajaman odnos između pojedinaca. Štaviše, pozdravljanje često saopštava dobru volju. Allert razlikuje tri norme koje se pojavljuju u većini oblika pozdravljanja: telesni čin pozdravljanja saopštava spremnost na saradnju i miroljubivost (gole ruke saopštavaju da je čovek nenaoružan) a usmeni iskaz često uključuje i želju za dobrim zdravljem ili ličnom dobrobiti. Dakle, čin pozdravljanja je uzajaman čin dobre volje, koji obrazuje prostor za odvijanje društvene interakcije između dveju strana.

Nasuprot tome, nacistički pozdrav je uveo jedan suštinski element koji je porazio tradicionalnu svrhu pozdravljanja. Ni gestom ni usmeno, korisnici nacističkog pozdrava više nisu pozdravljali jedan drugog; umesto toga, od njih je traženo da pozdravljaju Führera. Umesto bukvalnog stupanja u kontakt rukovanjem, od svakog građanina je sada zahtevano da podigne desnu ruku, u znak odanosti Hitleru. Štaviše, prateći uzvik „*Heil Hitler!*“ saopštavao je želju za dobrim zdravljem ili ličnom dobrobiti Führera, a ne primaoca pozdrava. Prema tome, Hitler je praktično postao treća strana, koja je posredovala u svakom opštenju. Subjektivno Trećeg rajha više nisu stupali u neposredan kontakt, već im je naređeno da se obraćaju jedan drugom u ime Hitlera. Preobražajem pozdravljanja u zakletvu Trećem rajhu i nametanjem te zakletve kao obavezne u svim oblicima društvenosti, taj najosnovniji vid društvenog opštenja postao je militarizovan. Tako je figura Führera stupila u sve aspekte nemačke javne sfere. To je pomoglo nacističku indoktrinaciju nemačkog stanovništva, pošto je Hitler postao bukvalno sveprisutan na svim razinama društva.

Pored toga, izmenjena dinamika pozdravljanja dovela je i do socioloških promena u stanovništvu i njihovom doživljaju figure Hitlera. Allert

opisuje razvoj „sfere nepoverenja“ u nemačkom društvu. Pozdravljanje više nije bilo gest u smislu Hewittove definicije. Ono više nije označavalo spontan izraz dobre volje i bezbednosti, već je postalo nametnut, mehanički pokret. Shodno tome, u nemačkom stanovništvu se razvio sve jači osećaj nepoverenja i izolacije. Istovremeno, nacistički pozdrav je figuri Hitlera davao nedostižno, božansko značenje. Jedina figura koja je posredovala u pozdravljanju kod Nemaca pre Hitlera bio je Bog. Štaviše, obraćanje jednoj odsutnoj figuri i podizanje ruke ka nebu kao da je prikazivalo Hitlera kao nadljudsku figuru, smeštenu u svetu bogova.

Najzad, nametanje nacističkog pozdrava pomagalo je i nacionalističkom osećanju koje je Treći rajh promovisao. Do 1933, Nemačka je poznavala nekoliko različitih pozdrava, što je odražavalo prisustvo različitih kulturnih identiteta. Nametanjem nacističkog pozdrava, Treći rajh je prisilio te različite kulture da se potčine jednoj nacionalnoj kulturi i njenom izrazu, kroz pokret.

**Veliki diktator** ● Posmatranjem nacističkog pozdrava kroz prizmu društvene koreografije može se nazreti totalitarna ideologija na kojoj je bio zasnovan, kao i jasan pokret kojim je ta ideologija izražavana. Pokret u društvenoj koreografiji nacističkog pozdrava obuhvata podignutu ruku i opšte ukrućivanje tela dok se pozdravlja. Izvođenje tog pokreta odražavalo je predaju subjekta vlasti Trećeg rajha i gradilo društvo u kojem je svako društveno opštenje moralo početi obraćanjem toj vlasti. Dakle, nacistički pozdrav se može posmatrati kao društvena koreografija zato što je odražavao i uvećavao društveni poredak koji je Hitlerov režim nametnuo kroz pokret.

U *Velikom diktatoru*, nacistički pozdrav je jedan od retkih nacističkih simbola koje je Chaplin ostavio netaknutim. Umesto toga, iskoristio je pozdrav u njegovom originalnom obliku, da bi ga kritikovao. Strategija koju je iskoristio u remećenju tejlorističke koreografije u *Modernim vremenima* ovde je poslužila remećenju ideologije nacističkog pozdrava. To postaje očigledno u uvodnoj sceni jednog od dvojice likova koje tumači Chaplin, tomanjskog diktatora Adenoida Hynkela. Kao i njegov model iz pravog života, Adolf Hitler, Hynkel pravi predahe tokom svojih govora, da bi omogućio svojoj publici da ga pozdravlja. Tokom jednog od tih predaha, kamera se sa Hynkela usredsređuje na publiku, koja ga pozdravlja nacističkim pozdravom. U ovoj sceni, međutim, pozdrav nije pravilno izveden; umesto da podigne desnu ruku i drže je ispravljenu, gomila neprestano ponavlja pokret podizanja ruke. Na taj način, Chaplin nacistički pozdrav izvrgava ruglu i lišava njegovog kvazireligijskog značenja. Opet, Chaplin to čini da bi skrenuo pažnju sa pozdrava kao izraza ideologije, te da bi



□ *Veliki diktator*, Charlie Chaplin, 1940.

otvorio druga značenja. Ova sekvenca predstavlja pozdrav ne kao veličanje polubožanskog bića, već kao predaju pojedinca koji ga veliča. U Chaplinovoj izvedbi, taj pokret ukida individualnost svojih podanika; njihovo istovremeno, vremenski tačno određeno podizanje ruku tomanjski narod čini pre nalik marionetama nego ljudima. Osim toga, pošto okupljena gomila nosi istovetne uniforme, posmatraču je teško da ih razlikuje kao pojedinačne subjekte. Ukupno, sekvenca pokazuje kako pozdrav objedinjuje Hynkelove podanike u homogenu masu, tako što ih tera da mehanički izvode isti pokret u isto vreme.

Osim menjanja njegovog značenja, Chaplin takođe koristi koreografiju nacističkog pozdrava da bi pokazao njegovu neuspešnost u smislu pozdravljanja. Kao što je već navedeno u prethodnom pasusu, nacistički je pozdrav narušio uobijačenu svrhu običaja pozdravljanja. Prilikom nacističkog pozdrava, dve strane nisu stupale ni u lični ni u telesni kontakt, umesto toga sasvim posvećujući svoj pozdrav Führeru. U drugoj polovini filma, Hynkel je lično podvrgnut nedelotvornosti nacističkog pozdrava, prilikom susreta sa svojim „bakterijanskim“ pandanom, Napaloniem (što je izvedeno od „Napoleon“ i imena figure čija je Napaloni, po svoj prilici, karikatura: Benita Mussolinija). Obojica pokušavaju da pozdrave drugoga nacističkim pozdravom, ali im ne polazi za rukom da uspostave kontakt; kako Hynkel podigne ruku, Napaloni hoće da se ruke i obratno. Na kraju, obojica diktatora napuste pozdrav i posluže se „starim običajem“ rukovanja. U tom trenutku društvena interakcija najzad može da počne. U ovoj sekvenci postoji naboj između zvaničnog nacističkog (ili, u Napalonijevom slučaju, rimskog) pozdrava i tradicionalnog obreda rukovanja. Sučeljavajući nacistički pozdrav i rukovanje, Chaplin pokazuje beskorisnost nacističkog pozdrava kao čina

društvenosti. Pošto dve strane ne mogu da ostvare telesni kontakt, društveni prostor ne može da nastane. Ovo ponovo pokazuje kako je nacistički pozdrav jačao sferu nepoverenja koju Allert pominje; pošto oni koji su koristili nacistički pozdrav nikada nisu uistinu mogli da pozdrave jedan drugog, već jedino zamišljenu figuru Führera, nacistički pozdrav nije mogao da stvori pravu društvenu interakciju niti bliskost. Takođe, možemo se zapitati zašto je Chaplin uopšte odlučio da Hynkela suoči s još jednim diktatorom. Štaviše, on ga suočava s diktatorom koji koristi isti pozdrav. Uvođenje Napaloniya dalje problematizuje rad nacističkog pozdrava; ako on treba da veliča neku višu vlast, kada se pozdravljaju Hynkel i Napaloni, čija se vlast veliča? Pošto oba diktatora koriste nacistički pozdrav da bi veličali sami sebe, njihovo sučeljavanje neizbežno vodi do borbe za prevlast. Kao što naredne scene pokazuju, Napaloni je jasan pobednik u toj borbi. Kada se on i Hynkel prikažu narodu, izuzetan je kontrast između njihovih zasebnih pozdrava: dok je Hynkelova ruka jedva podignuta, Napaloni svoju drži čvrsto ispruženu. Čim Napaloni podigne ruku, gomila počinje da mu kliče. Tako Napaloni praktično prisvaja ono što bi trebalo da budu Hynkelovi podanici. Chaplin podriva autoritet Hynkelove ličnosti i pozdrava sučeljavajući ga s diktatorom moćnijim od njega. Osim ovog sučeljavanja, Napaloni takođe odbija da koristi pozdrav kad god se odnosi na Hynkela. Kada ga pozdravi Hynkelov ministar propagande Garbitsch (aluzija na *garbage* – smeće – i Hitlerovog ministra propagande Josepha Goebbelsa), Napaloni odgovori tapkajući ga po trbuhu. Tim činom on odbija vlast i nacističkog pozdrava i Garbitscha, koji je, kao ministar propagande, neposredno odgovoran za nametanje nacističkog pozdrava.

Uopšte uzev, čini se kao da Chaplin na razne načine komentariše nacistički pozdrav. Slično odnosu prema tejlorističkoj koreografiji u *Modernim vremenima*, on napada ideološki aspekt pozdrava kao društvenu koreografiju, tako što osujećuje njegovu tačnu izvedbu. Pošto gomila ponavlja pozdrav, Chaplin ga lišava njegovog polubožanskog značenja, što mu dozvoljava da naglasi njegovo deindividualizujuće dejstvo na one koji ga izvode. Osim toga, u sceni na železničkoj stanici, Napalonijevo prisustvo sprečava tačnu izvedbu pozdrava na dva načina: neophodnost uzajamnog pozdrava nagoni dvojicu diktatora da napuste samoveličajuću prirodu pozdrava i prihvate tradicionalan gest, dok samoveličajuća funkcija pozdrava i sama postaje problematična kada obojica diktatora u međusobnom pozdravljanju koriste isti gest da bi veličali sami sebe. Na posletku, Chaplin na razne načine ismeva nacistički pozdrav, koji simbolizuje moć Trećeg rajha i njegovog vođu i najzad ga obara kada Napaloni „prisvoji“ gest u Hynkelovom vlastitom domenu.

**Zaključak** ● Dakle, kako se tačno Chaplinov politički komentar može objasniti preko društvene koreografije? Moglo bi se reći da Chaplin komentariše ambiciozne ideologije (u ovom slučaju ideologije tejlorizma i nacizma) parodirajući društvene koreografije koje ih izvode. U ovom slučaju, pojam parodije nije strogo povezan s parodiranjem nekog umetničkog proizvoda. Književni kritičar Simon Dentith parodiju određuje šire, kao „bilo koju kulturnu praksu koja se služi relativno polemičnim i uvijenim oponašanjem neke druge kulturne proizvodnje ili prakse“ (Dentith 2000, 9). U ovom slučaju, Chaplin „oponaša“ kulturnu praksu tejlorističke koreografije i nacističkog pozdrava i postavlja ih u okvir vlastitog komentara. Njegov komentar se ostvaruje slamanjem ideologije koju dotična društvena koreografija treba da prati, omogućavajući pogled izbliza na koreografiju. Na taj način se onda otvara prostor za ponovno osvetljavanje telesnih svojstava i znakovnog smisla te koreografije. Ova strategija se dalje može razraditi pomoću još jednog Hewittovog pojma, pojma saplitanja. Po Hewittu, saplitanje, spoticanje ili netačna izvedba nekog gesta otvara posmatrača prema komičnoj neispravnosti gesta. Da bi ilustrovao ovu tvrdnju, Hewitt pominje jednu anegdodu od Balzaca, koji razmišlja o prirodi hodanja pošto vidi čoveka kako se spotakne (Hewitt 2005, 6). Hewittovo poimanje spoticanja kao uvoda u „otkrovenje“ pokreta može se videti u oba slučaja primene Chaplinove strategije, o kojima je gore bilo reči. U *Modernim vremenima*, mehaničko, otuđeno svojstvo tejlorističkog pokreta postaje očigledno tek kada Skitnica ne uspe da ga izvrši. Isto tako, u *Velikom diktatoru*, Chaplin komentariše nacistički pozdrav tako što ga spotiče, što ga sprečava da širi svoji

ideologiju i omogućava Chaplinu da ga postavi kao predaju individualnosti i gest neupotrebljiv za uspostavljanje društvenog opštenja. ■

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# Društvena koreografija, ili društvena tenzija autonomije

**Marko KOSTANIĆ** ● ● Namjera ovog teksta preispitavanje je koncepta društvene koreografije iz perspektive analize društvene funkcije autonomije umjetnosti oslanjajući se na radove Claire Bishop i Stipe Ćurkovića. Pritom su dvije stavke ključne u tretmanu društvene funkcije autonomije. Prvo, neprestano treba imati na umu historijsko mjesto nastanka autonomije umjetnosti kao društvene činjenice, odnosno uspostavu kapitalističkog načina proizvodnje i najamnog rada i da je to i dalje dominantan način proizvodnje. Drugo, autonomija umjetnosti u društvenoj podjeli rada nije statične naravi. Drugim riječima, iz materijalističke perspektive nije presudno što smatramo umjetnošću u tehničkom, virtuoznom ili kunsthistorijskom smislu, već kojem tipu društvene aktivnosti pridajemo autonomiju.

Konceptu društvene koreografije koji je u raspravu uveo Andrew Hewitt (Hewitt 2005) možemo prići iz dvije valorizacijske perspektive. Prva je vezana uz širenje analitičkog aparata u pristupu plesu kao umjetnosti. Ne samo da nas iznabavljuje iz metafizičkih režima čitanja plesa, bilo kroz transcendentalno tijelo bilo kroz elaboracije autentičnosti – i onih strukturalističkih koji nivelirajući plesnu praksu na zatvorene znakovne strukture koje onemogućuju bilo kakve afirmativne proboje – situiranjem plesa i koreografskih obrazaca u društvenu

dinamiku i historijske odnose, Hewittov koncept nam omogućuje i razabiranje koreografskih mehanizama i u domeni "neplesnih" društvenih praksi. Dok neminovno unosi svježiji analitički vjetar u uže shvaćeno polje plesne ekspertize, druga naglašena analitička dimenzija nas vodi ka valorizacijskoj perspektivi koja se susreće s cijelim nizom kontradikcija. Hewitt denaturalizira i demistificira plesnu umjetnost, odnosno uvodi moment historijske kontingencije u proces institucionalizacije legitimne plesne umjetnosti. Ne samo iz pozicije propitivanja što je dopušteno, a što nije dopušteno smatrati se plesom, već i na obuhvatnijoj historijskoj razini korespondiranja i kolidiranja institucionalnog polja plesa s raznim društvenim, ekonomskim i političkim procesima. I tu dolazimo do tanke granice na kojoj postaje teško razlučiti socijalnu koreografiju kao analitički koncept od socijalne koreografije kao analitičkog simptoma. Tu granicu možemo odrediti kao socijalnu tenziju autonomije umjetnosti.

Ta granica nije plod nekakvog presudnog Hewittovog epistemološkog deficita, već efekt postojećih društvenih odnosa i društvene podjele rada koji se ne mogu zaobići teorijskim analizama, već jedino društvenim i političkim promjenama. Ukratko, problem se javlja u metodološkim postavkama koje Hewitt iznosi pridavajući konceptu kojeg elaborira interpretativnu snagu i van uže shvaćenog estetskog polja. To jest, socijalna koreografija

nam pomaže i kao analitičko oruđe plesa i u društvenoj analizi. I pritom Hewitt prvenstveno misli na osvježavanje funkcioniranja pojma ideologije. Polazeći od onog što smatra klasično marksističkim poimanjem ideologije, prvenstveno u polju analize umjetnosti, i pripisujući mu statičnost i mimetičnost u analitičkom manevru, okreće se koreografiji koja svojom intrinzičnom performativnošću dinamizira pitanje ideologije. Odnosno, ona ne samo da ilustrira određenu ideologiju, ili da ideološki prikazuje određenu stvarnost, ona tu stvarnost i proizvodi, odnosno služi kao povlašeno mjesto projiciranja neke nove stvarnosti. Tu logiku podvlači tezom o neodvojivosti političkog i estetskog, odnosno i da politika sadrži estetski moment koji je, štoviše, proizvodne naravi. Čini politiku kreativnom.

Tu možemo detektirati tri problematična aspekta. Iako spominje i sofisticiranije marksističke analize, Hewitt odveć grubo ocrtava marksističku teoriju ideologije. Da ne idemo sad u detaljniji historijat rasprava, samo ćemo napomenuti da ideologija ima funkciju reproduciranja sustava i da je neodvojiva od materijalne baze. Ne u smislu jednostavne monokausalne veze već u kompleksnoj historijskoj i političkoj dinamici. Nije potrebna intrinzična performativnost koreografije da bismo prikazali tu kompleksnost. Uvođenje ekonomije ili materijalne baze u analizu ideologije ne pojednostavljuje stvar svojom navodnom

inertnošću i grubom kauzalnošću, već upravo suprotno, društvene procese čini dodatno kompleksnim. Također, ovaj tip perspektive pretpostavlja ekonomiju kao neperformativnu i nepromjenjivu sferu ljudskog djelovanja, što u krajnjoj liniji evidentno korespondira s prokapitalističkim stavovima. To jest, implicira da sami ekonomski odnosi nisu i odnosi među ljudima i samim tim i ideološki odnosi čiji je stupanj promjenjivosti stupanj intenziteta klasne borbe. Da osvježimo priču usko vezanim primjerom – nedavna ekspanzija pojma koreografije u koreografskim krugovima van uže shvaćene plesne proizvodnje, vezana uz metaforički potencijal pojma, nedvojbeno je vezana uz manjak novčanih sredstava u produkciji i prisiljenost na proizvodnju soloa ili dueta, ukoliko do produkcije opće dođe. A još radikalniji fenomen u tom pogledu je inflacija ne-performativnih formata poput istraživanja, radionica, publikacija ili tzv. labova koji otvaraju prostor za imaginiranje koreografije kao univerzalno aplikabilnog pojma.

Drugi problemski aspekt je analitičko uspostavljanje kontinuuma između različitih oblika društvenog rada. Ne radi se pritom o vitalističkoj gesti koju Hewitt s pravom i elaborirano kritizira, već o metodološkoj postavci o premreženosti različitih radova, prvenstveno umjetničkog i političkog. Koliko to god bilo točno iz nekakve univerzalne perspektive ljudskog rada, to nam ništa ne govori o tome zašto u kapitalističkom društvu postoji ovakva podjela rada i koje su njene političke implikacije.

I tu dolazimo do trećeg aspekta koji se direktno nadovezuje – kroz koncept socijalne koreografije dolazi do miješanja dviju razina pristupa društvenim fenomenima. Prožimaju se analitički pristup određenom društvenom odnosu i politički potencijal nadilaženja tog odnosa. I sve u istom pojmu – socijalna koreografija, koja funkcionira i kao analitičko oruđe i kao mehanizam političkog iskupljenja umjetničkog djelovanja u rancièreovskom smislu. Funkcija iskupljenja nije eksplicitna i ne postoji Hewittova preskripcija u tom smislu, već implikacije njegove analize služe kao iznimno podatan resurs u političkim imaginacijama koreografa koji se u svom radu legitimiraju tim analizama. Nedvojbeno je da postoji direktna veza između društvene analize i perspektive društvene promjene analiziranog no ona iziskuje drukčiji pristup. Teza ovog teksta jest da kočnicu tom pristupu Hewittu predstavlja autonomija umjetnosti u društvenoj podjeli rada, odnosno stalna tenzija koju ta autonomija neprestano generira. U nastavku ćemo problemu pristupiti iz perspektive suvremene umjetničke proizvodnje koja koristi mehanizme socijalne koreografije

1 Hewitt analizira više koreografskih fenomena, od rada Isadore Duncan do američke komercijalne plesne trupe *Tiller Girls* iz 30ih godina prošlog stoljeća, koju analizira iz perspektive fordističkog režima rada.

u proširenom smislu kao alat umjetničke proizvodnje i eksploatacije navedene tenzije. Što je to socijalno koje se koreografira? Kako se valorizira taj pristup i po kojim kriterijima?

Zadatak davanja odgovora na to pitanje preuzela si je Claire Bishop, profesorica na odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti na CUNY Graduate Centeru u New Yorku, i pritom napisala knjigu *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, u kojoj odmah uspostavlja dijagnozu – umjetnost je unutar zadnja dva desetljeća doživjela "društveni obrat". Preciznije, društveni odnosi su postali njen medij ili objekt, društveno tkivo je postalo njen građivni materijal, bilo u svrhu njegova mijenjanja bilo ispitivanja, koreografiranja i eksperimentiranja. Neki od primjera participativne umjetnosti u lokalnom kontekstu, sa svojim specifičnostima, su recimo neke recentne predstave Montažstroja ili rad Kristine Leko s mljekaricama. Ključan naglasak je na tretmanu publike/javnosti/građana – ona više nije izvanjski promatrač, ona participira u proizvodnji umjetnosti ili se u krajnjoj varijanti ona proizvodi kao umjetnost. A taj tretman publike znan kao participativna umjetnost, tvrdi Bishop, postao je od 1990ih nadalje prihvaćen kao ultimativna politička umjetnost. I postavlja si zdravorazumska pitanja – zašto se to dogodilo? Čega je to simptom? I koji je najproduktivniji analitički pristup toj umjetničkoj praksi i kako ju trebamo valorizirati? Nakon postavljanja teorijskih osnova i vlastitog kritičkog pozicioniranja u uvodnom poglavlju Bishop kreće u povijesno istraživanje.

Kroz poglavlja koja završavaju analizom suvremenih praksi i projekata participativne umjetnosti Claire Bishop donosi historijski pregled praksi kroz 20. stoljeće. Uz kontekstualizaciju društveno-političke situacije u kojoj se javljaju i analizu teatarsko-izvedbeno-koreografskih mehanizama koji su korišteni Bishop postupno gradi narativ o društvenoj tenziji autonomije umjetnosti pritom pružajući vlastiti stav o produktivnom tretmanu te tenzije. Osnovni uvid historizacijskog procesa prepoznavanje je proliferacije praksi participativne umjetnosti u osvjet ili nakon perioda političkih previranja kao što su 1917, 1968. ili 1989. i drugačijih uloga i funkcija koje su te prakse imale u odnosu na političke aktere ovisno o političkom pokretu, snazi ili u nekim slučajevima vlasti koja je stajala iza njih. Osim turbulentnih političkih godina Bishop koristi i primjere iz političkih uređenja u kojima su javni prostor i javna sfera bili drukčije regulirani nego u poslijeratnim zapadnim demokracijama, kao što su vojne diktature u Južnoj Americi ili zemlje Istočnog bloka. Konkretnije, Bishop analizira talijanske futuriste, dadaističke performanse i postrevolucionarnu participativnu umjetnost u Sovjetskom Savezu, Situacionističku Internacionalu, *happeninge*

u Istočnoj Evropi i Argentini, Community Art (Umetnost zajednice) pokret u Velikoj Britaniji, kustoske prakse u 1990ima itd. Ključan teorijski ishod analiza koje Bishop poduzima – osim klasifikacije raznih dramaturško-izvedbeno-koreografskih modela korištenih u umjetničkim projektima – je prepoznavanje usloženosti participativne, a i bilo koje druge umjetnosti, u društveni kontekst u koji intervenira i političke odnose koji ga isprepliću. Kao osnovno teorijsko polazište Bishop uzima Rancièreove analize estetike, ne samo kao eksplanatorni alat već prvenstveno kao resurs za uspostavu vrijednosne procjene pojedinih umjetničkih projekata koji svojom logikom demontiraju i nadilaze dominante opreke u diskusijama oko participativne umjetnosti kao što su "aktivna" vs. pasivna publika ili singularno autorstvo naspram kolektivnog autorstva. I pritom elimiraju prosudbenu potku koja u maniri loše savjesti prati sve te projekte, kustoske legitimacije i birtijske rasprave – etiku. Bishop iz političkih razloga zagovara uvođenje estetičkih kriterija u tretman participativne umjetnosti. Jer, kako sama kaže u knjizi nekoliko puta, ako ih elimiramo, zašto u valorizaciji ne uspoređivati te projekte s drugim ne-umjetničkim, političkim projektima, zašto se skrivati u sigurnom utočištu autonomije umjetnosti ako ti je cilj mijenjati društvene odnose?

Zapravo, Bishop tvrdi da se prakse participativne umjetnosti, mogu umjetnički i politički – ili upravo u tenziji između političkog i umjetničkog – iskupiti jedino u perspektivi Rancièreovih teorijskih analiza:

Stoga, jedan od Rancièreovih ključnih doprinosa suvremenim raspravama oko umjetnosti i politike jeste ponovno osmišljanje termina „estetsko“ tako da označuje poseban modalitet iskustva, uključujući i samo lingvističko i teorijsko područje u kojemu se odvija mišljenje o umjetnosti. Po toj logici, sve tvrdnje koje se izdaju za „antiestetičke“ ili koje odbijaju umjetnost, i dalje funkcioniraju unutar estetičkoga režima. Estetičko za Rancièrea stoga signalizira sposobnost promišljanja proturječja: produktivnog proturječja odnosa umjetnosti prema promjeni društva, koje karakterizira paradoksnu vjeru u autonomiju umjetnosti i njenu neraskidivu vezu sa obećanjem boljeg svijeta koji će doći. Dok je ta antinomija očita u mnogim avangardnim praksama prošloga stoljeća, čini se posebno primjerenom analiziranju participativne umjetnosti i legitimizacijskih narativa koje ona privlači. Ukratko, estetsko ne treba žrtvovati na oltaru promjene društva, zato jer ono već-uvijek sadrži to obećanje poboljšanja. (Bishop 2012, 29)

Prema Rancièreu estetičkom režimu umjetnosti koji se pojavljuje u razdoblju prosvjetiteljstva, a u kojem živimo i danas, prethodili su etički i reprezentacijski režim. (Rancière 2005) Prvi pretpostavlja sadržaj istine

u slikama i njenu svrhu, odnosno efekte i ciljeve, a drugi logiku vizualnog režima u kojoj lijepe umjetnosti zauzimaju određenu hijerarhijsku poziciju koja korespondira društveno-političkim hijerarhijama. Unutar estetičkog režima, oslanjajući se na ishodišne analize Kanta i Schillera, Rancière prepoznaje intrinzičnu političnost umjetnosti kao alata za zamišljanje novog i promjenu postojećeg režima politike. Ukratko, sama inherentna neodlučnost estetskog iskustva postaje politički resurs imaginacije koja nam pomaže da shvatimo političku situaciju koju živimo kao promjenjivu. Dakle, umjetnost kao epistemski okidač za nadilaženje političkih čorokaka, aktivator poznatog rancièreovskog disenzusa kao drugog imena za politiku.

Osnovna motivacija prljanjanja uz Rancièreove analize, iako navodi određene probleme sa tako postavljenim analitičkim okvirom, za Claire Bishop se nalazi u razračunavanju s dijagnosticanjem političke umjetnosti koja ju takvom nalazi samo u trenutku kada ova napušta teren umjetnosti. Kada radi s "autentičnim" ljudima, kada vrši određene društvene aktivnosti koje spadaju u neke druge domene, poput domena koje su inače u nadležnosti institucija socijalnog rada ili ureda za urbanističko planiranje. Bishop pritom ne tvrdi da su takve prakse izlišne ili načelno politički problematične, već da ih se treba izvršavati umjetnički, to jest koristiti tenziju autonomije ili neodlučnost estetskog iskustva kao alat za njihovu političku artikulaciju, jer bez toga ne postoji nikakva unutarnja svrha pozicioniranja takvih praksi u domenu umjetnosti. Jer, ključno je pitanje koje smo već nagovijestili – iz koje perspektive onda valorizirati te prakse? Kako valorizirati priželjkivane političke efekte? Zašto se ti projekti ne odvijaju kao regularni političko-socijalni projekti bez umjetničke dimenzije?

Rancièreova analiza je korisna u smjeru u kojem ju Bishop koristi, ali potpuno prešućuje pitanje koje sama Bishop kasnije postavlja u kontekstu analize suvremenih oblika participativne umjetnosti. Koji su društveni uvjeti promjene umjetničkih režima? Kako promjene društvenih načina proizvodnje utječu na promjenu mjesta i funkcije umjetnosti u društvu, na logiku autonomije umjetničkog polja? Kako je uopće nastala autonomija umjetnosti unutar društvene podjele rada i kako se ona održava? Rancière na ta pitanja ne može odgovoriti ako želi zadržati koherentnost svoje teorije prema kojoj politiku prepoznavamo samo u disenzualnim proplamsajima političkog koji su rijetki i oskudni, a sav režim društvene reprodukcije je policija. U toj teoriji njemu su potrebni tenzija autonomije i neodlučnost estetskog iskustva kao resursi političkog jer svi dugotrajniji projekti i sudjelovanje u režimu društvene reprodukcije su izdaja. To jest, unutar njegovog teorijskog projekta nema mjesta za sagledavanje

autonomije kao društvenog problema i simptoma društvene podjele rada. Sam Kant u *Kritici moći suđenja* locira nastanak autonomije kao normativne opreke najamnom radu, tj. uspostavi kapitalističkih društvenih odnosa:

[...] lepa umetnost mora u dvostrukom smislu da bude slobodna umetnost: kako po tome da ona nije, kao najamni posao, neki rad čija veličina može da se oceni, iznudi ili plati prema nekom određenom merilu, tako i po tome da se duštenost u njoj, doduše, u njoj zapošljava, ali se pritom ipak oseća zadovoljena i probudena, ne očekujući ostvarenje neke druge svrhe (nezavisno od nagrade). (Kant 1975, 162)

Dakle, Rancière ne tretira autonomiju umjetnosti kao problem ili ishod širih društvenih procesa, već u njenoj kontradiktornoj naravi vidi potencijal političkog isklupljenja. Što predstavlja i zapreku u korištenju njegovih teorijskih polazišta kod Bishop. Do određene razine oni su iznimno produktivni u kritici diskursa glorifikacije političke autentičnosti, ali vode u opasnost da postanu preskriptivni upravo u kritici didaktičke preskriptivnosti određenih umjetničkih projekata i neintendirano služe kao faktor reprodukcije trenutne društvene podjele rada i funkcije autonomije umjetnosti koja često može biti društveno regresivnog karaktera. Regresivno se ovde ne odnosi na reakcionarne političke sadržaje, već naprimjer, na izbjegavanje prljanja ruku s konkretnim društvenim antagonizmima i navodno politički se baveći intrigama vlastite forme, pridonosi reproduciranju klasnih društvenih odnosa. U prvom redu kroz ideološku legitimaciju klasne distinkcije u burdjevskom smislu.

U tekstu "Heteronomija rada/autonomija estetskog" (Čurković 2012, 22-33) Stipe Čurković, oslanjajući se na analize Kantove teoretizacije poduzete od Petera Buergera i Paula Matticka jr.-a, iznosi ponešto drukčiji tretman kontradikcija autonomije. Čurković osnovni impuls autonomiziranja umjetničkog rada locira u reakciji na uspostavu kapitalističkog načina proizvodnje i najamnog rada. Pritom određuje taj impuls kao protopolitički, tj. kao ne do kraja artikulirani otpor kapitalističkom tržištu rada i kao zaziv slobodnoga rada van kapitalističke discipline i nepodložnog imperativu profitnog motiva. Povijest te autonomije se društveno artikulirala kroz umjetničke institucije koje su stalno bile u tenziji – s jedne strane kontinuirana prijetnja ekspanzije kapitalističkih odnosa, a s druge strane težnja umjetnika, prvenstveno utjelovljena u historijskim avangardama, za nadilaženje ograničenja autonomije i pretvaranje protopolitičkog impulsa u artikulirani politički stav nezaštićen enklavom autonomije i pripušten u nemilosrdnu dinamiku političkih antagonizama. Kao što znamo, ta težnja nije

uspjela u svom naumu, odnosno, očitima se čine strukturna ograničenja nadilaženja autonomije ako se ne dovede u pitanja kapitalistički sistem proizvodnje koji organizira društvenu podjelu rada i mjesto i funkciju umjetnosti u toj podjeli:

I prema imanentnim kriterijima, projekt uspostave autonomije umjetnosti ispostavio se dakle kao problematičan i kontradiktoran. Iz perspektive teze o njegovoj genezi kao dislocirane reakcije na problematiku supsumiranog rada, i uspjeh po imanentnim kriterijima ionako bi bio samo drugo naličje fundamentalnijeg poraza. Obećanje slobodnog rada koje se unaprijed limitira na ekskluzivnu i hermetično odijeljenu sferu i u slučaju svoje potpune realizacije bilo bi irelevantno u odnosu na razmjere problematike iz koje je proizašlo. Normativnu afirmaciju ideala slobodnog rada na kojoj projekt konstitucije autonomne estetske sfere počiva, ne možemo si priuštiti odbaciti. No, njezina realizacija na razini zadanog problema zahtijeva da ga se ne limitira na izdvojenu sferu umjetničkog rada, nego poopći na društveni rad u cjelini. A to je istoznačno s njegovim oslobađanjem iz supsumpcije pod kapital i emancipacijom od diktata njegove reprodukcije. Neovisno o ulozi koju će umjetnost pritom u budućnosti igrati, to je prije svega politički zadatak. (Ibid, 33)

Za razliku od Rancièreove perspektive ova ne nudi alat za vrijednosnu procjenu pojedinih umjetničkih praksi ili njihovu diferencijaciju, ali nudi produktivniji okvir za analizu umjetničkog polja kojeg pojedini radovi svojom društvenom pretenzijom problematiziraju. Pogotovo u epohalnim analitičkim zahvatima kakav je onaj Claire Bishop. Iako nigdje ne artikulira eksplicitno sličnu perspektivu Bishop koristi njene određene implikacije u analizi. Situirajući eksploziju popularnosti participativne umjetnosti od 1990ih naovamo kao zasebnog, uvjetno rečeno, žanra Bishop primjećuje dva presudna društveno politička fenomena koji su uvjetovali ili omogućili tu eksploziju. I oba su vezana uz raspad Istočnog bloka i postepeno demontiranje zapadne države blagostanja. U prvom slučaju se radi o kulturnoj politici New Laboura (Novog rada) pri dolasku Labour Party (Partije rada) na vlast u Velikoj Britaniji u drugoj polovici 1990ih koja se temeljila na ideologiji kreativnosti. Osim sad već klasičnog obrasca u kojem nastanjanje umjetnika i kulturnih radnika u određene radničke četvrti služi procesu gentrifikacije, odnosno povećanja cijene nekretnina kroz auru kreativnog i zabavnog prostora za život u svrhu iseljenja stanovnika slabije platežne moći, ideologija kreativnosti i participacije – oslonjena na narative o novoj nematerijalnoj ekonomiji i svi smo mi sada srednja klasa, jedino nas manjak aspiracije eventualno priječi – služila je i kao dimna zavjesa za presudnije retrogradne društvene procese. Kreativnost i

samosvjesnost pojedinaca alat je za snalaženje u momentu komercijalizacije zdravstva i školstva i prekarizacije radnih odnosa. Također, u cijeloj priči ne smijemo zanemariti niti uspon kreativnih industrija i ideološke profilacije kreativca kao prototipnog radnika u suvremenom kapitalizmu.

Drugi fenomen, možda još važniji, ali sigurno međupovezan, odgovara na već naznačeno pitanje – zašto umjetnički projekti preuzimaju određene eksplicitne političke agende? Odgovor je prilično jednostavan, ali analitički presudan – zato što ne postoje realne političke snage koje bi te agende zastupale. Kao što je svima dobro znano, zadnjih tridesetak godina svjedočimo potpunoj marginalizaciji i diskreditaciji ljevice, od sindikata do partija. Zašto bi se određene umjetničke grupe ili autori bavili pitanjima nezaposlenih žena ili devastacijom urbanog okoliša ako bi postojale jake političke snage koje bi se bavile tim problemom i nudile konkretna rješenja? To ne znači da se u toj konstelaciji umjetnici ne bi referirali na te probleme već bi njihov odnos bio potpuno drukčiji kao što je Bishop i pokazala na primjerima određenih avangardnih pokreta koji su bili eksplicitno svrstani uz političke partije ili bili dio određenog političkog pokreta. Današnja participativna umjetnost i diskurs koji se oko nje proizvodi sigurno ne bi izgledali tako da postoji drukčija konfiguracija političkih snaga u društvu. To se mora preuzeti kao ishodišna točka svake analize suvremene participativne umjetnosti. No, to i ne znači se na tome mora stati.

Knjiga *Artificial Hells* daje odličan i obuhvatan pregled umjetničke prakse participativne umjetnosti. Iznimno dobro analizira historijske putanje i kontekstualizira uvjete nastanka. Uvodi analitički produktivne pojmove poput delegiranja outsorsanja autentičnosti i prije svega odmiče raspravu od napornih pitanja etičkog karaktera pojedinog rada – što je problematičnije: ako je umjetnik samo facilitator, pa time i manipulator iz sjene, ili sa snažnim autorski pečatom "upravlja stvarnošću" i tako eksploatira uključene? Jedina teorijska zamjerka koja se može uputiti nalazi se u iznalaženju ravni na kojoj se rješavaju kontradikcije participativne umjetnosti i samim tim kontradikcije autonomije umjetnosti. Iako koristi analize kulturnih politika i šire političko-ekonomske situacije fundamentalna teorijska procedura sastoji se u rancièrevskoj gesti pretvaranja kontradikcije u politički potencijal. Kao što smo već naglasili, ta gesta do određene razine funkcionira, ali u jednom trenutku može služiti kao rješenje za svaku priliku, kao iskupljenje za svaki političko-umjetnički čin. Dovoljno je široko postavljena da gotovo pa da dopušta arbitrarnost u proizvodnji kriterija valorizacije. Bishop je svjesna problema teorijskog ishodišta kojeg odabire i u određenim analitičkim rukavcima ga i doslovno nadilazi, ali u ključnim trenucima mu se vraća kao sigurnom pribježištu. To jest, bilo bi produktivnije da je eksplicitnije

ukazala na limite Rancièreova pristupa, kojih je očito svjesna, ukazujući na adekvatnost s obzirom na ravan analize i cilj. S obzirom na stalnu maoističku dinamiku kontradikcija u kojoj živimo ako pristupamo kulturno-umjetničkom polju iz lijeve pozicije kroz stalna skakanja od razine umjetničke proizvodnje preko kulturne politike do opće politike potrebno je ustvrditi da nam kontradikcije autonomije umjetnosti i njene društvene tenzije neće riješiti određeni teorijski obrazac ma koliko god sofisticiran bio već jedino ishod političkih borbi. Što ne znači da unutar tih borbi umjetnost može biti ovakva ili onakva, naprotiv, kako Bishop i naglašava, rigorozni vrijednosni sudovi su nužni. Kako ćemo uspostaviti kriterije za te sudove je već političko pitanje. I tu nam je analiza Claire Bishop od velike pomoći. Za početak, kako ozbiljnije društvene promjene još nisu ni približno na vidiku, nudi nam rukavce u dva susjedna sektora, medijsko polje i obrazovni sustav, bez kojih je nemoguće započeti reartikulaciju umjetničke proizvodnje i kulturne politike. I to nikako drugačije ne može ići nego participativno. ■

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# Koreografije otpora

**Aldo MILOHNIĆ** ● ● U ovom tekstu iznosim prve utiske (i tek sporadično prva saznanja) o nekim fragmentima vrlo široke teme, koju bih uokvirio radnim naslovom „koreografije otpora“. Naravno da su i „koreografija“ i „otpor“ izrazi koji se mogu odnositi na razne, pa i vrlo stare, povijesne epohe i događaje, ali svoj trenutni istraživački interes u ovom tekstu ograničit ću na novije razdoblje, prije svega na 20. stoljeće i prve decenije novog milenija. Osim te vremenske odrednice, za ovu priliku o korištenim primjerima razmišljam kroz prizmu Hewittovog koncepta „društvene koreografije“ (Hewitt 2005), koji se čini osobito prikladan zbog njegovog razumijevanja koreografije kao pojma uklještenog između estetike i politike, ali i zbog njegove težnje da iskorači iz buržoaskog shvaćanja tzv. „autonome umjetnosti“. Da bismo došli do koreografije otpora, započnimo s onim što ona nije, odnosno ne bi trebala biti, dakle sa autonomnom umjetnošću.

**Autonomija umjetnosti i realnost ideologije** ● Da bismo uopće mogli razmišljati o „autonomnoj umjetnosti“ danas moramo se najprije vratiti nekoliko koraka natrag u prošlost. Autonomna umjetnost je naime kategorija buržoaskog društva s kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća. Prije pojave prosvjetiteljstva, umjetnička produkcija bila je u funkciji dvora, aristokracije i crkve. Jačanje buržoazije donosi sa sobom i oslobađanje ondašnjeg društva od feudalnih spona i stvaranje tržišta. U tome se ogleda revolucionarna uloga buržoazije, o kojoj pišu još Marx i Engels u *Komunističkom manifestu*. Velike promjene zadesile su sve dijelove društva pa tako i profesije na koje se je u feudalnom sistemu gledalo sa velikim strahopoštovanjem. Buržoazija je sve te nekada „uzvišene“ profesije, kao što su

1 Ono što ja zovem „koreografijom“ nije samo način razmišljanja o društvenom poretku; to je također način razmišljanja o odnosu estetike spram politike. Drugim riječima, kao performativ, koreografiju se ne može jednostavno poistovjetiti sa „estetičkim“ i postaviti u suprotnost s kategorijom „političkoga“ koju ona ili figurira ili predodređuje. (Hewitt 2005, 11)

npr. liječnici, pravnici, naučnici, umjetnici itd, najprije bacila na tržište, a potom ih pretvorila u svoje plaćene najamne radnike. Umjetnici su tako upravo zahvaljujući komodifikaciji umjetnosti dobili mogućnost da autonomno odlučuju o svojem stvaralaštvu. To je teza, koju su nakon Marxa razvijali još mnogi drugi materijalistički orijentirani teoretičari umjetnosti (Adorno, Attali itd). Taj strukturni momenat doveo je krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća do pojave *l'art-pour-l'artizma*, koji je umjetnost autonomizirao i u ideološkom smislu. Problem s autonomijom umjetnosti je međutim u tome da je – kako je još prije 30ak godina upozorio Rastko Močnik – taj modernistički trenutak emancipacije umjetničke prakse trajao vrlo kratko, jer je ideologija autonomne umjetnosti zasnovana na ideologiji razmjene, što neminovno vodi k tome da i umjetnost samu sebe počine shvaćati kao robu. Zato umjetničke avangarde u 20. stoljeću (historijska s početka stoljeća i neoavangarda s kraja 60ih) odbacuju ideju autonomne umjetnosti i teže k brisanju granica između umjetnosti i drugih „sfera“ društva.<sup>2</sup>

Ali problemu autonomne umjetnosti možemo pristupiti i tako da preispitamo njen odnos s ideologijom. Podsjetio bih na jedno opće mjesto iz Marxovog *Uvoda u kritiku političke ekonomije*, gdje Marx upozorava da materijal koji umjetnost koristi za svoje potrebe nisu neposredne društvene danosti (što je, možemo dodati, pogrešna pretpostavka realističkih i naturalističkih smjerova u umjetnosti), nego svoje svjetove gradi iz njihovih ideološki „prerađenih“, „prelomljenih“ predodžbi. Uzimajući za primjer klasičnu umjetnost, Marx kaže da „grčka umjetnost pretpostavlja grčku mitologiju, dakle prirodu i društvene oblike koje je već narodna fantazija preradila na nesvjesno umjetnički način“. (Marx 1978, 622) Ovu ideju

2 U osnovi je to ključno pitanje i danas. Oštra podjela na autonomizirane društvene „sfere“ (ekonomija, politika, kultura, znanost...) je već odavno prevaziđena i na životu je održavaju još samo partikularni interesi raznih establišmenata unutar tih sfera. Umjetnost u tom smislu nije nikakav izuzetak, zato je česti slučaj da se progresivne umjetničke prakse okomljavaju upravo na tu okoštalu strukturu institucije umjetnosti.

preuzima ruski teoretičar P. Medvedev 1920ih godina i uvodi je u svoju teoriju književnosti: prema njemu „život“ postaje fabula (ili tema, motiv...) umjetničkog djela tek nakon što se „prelomi kroz prizmu ideološke sredine“, odnosno dobije „konkretno ideološko tijelo“. (Medvedev 1976, 25-26) Na tom tragu je i Althusser kada kaže da umjetnost ne prikazuje neposrednu realnost, nego ideologiju „iz koje se rađa, u kojoj pliva, od koje se odvaja kao umjetnost i na koju aludira“. (Althusser 1980, 323) Umjetnost je dakle u nekom specifičnom odnosu prema ideologiji: ona je dio ideološke sfere, ali strogo uzevši sama nije ideologija. Upravo zbog tog njenog privilegiranog, relativno autonomnog statusa, umjetnost može uspostaviti odnos prema stvarnosti, a da se pri tome ne mora neposredno odnositi na tu stvarnost. Umjetnost nije ni odraz ni tumač realnosti; čak i onda kada imamo utisak da je ponašanje individua u umjetničkom djelu danost neke čiste realnosti, to je, kaže Althusser, ništa drugo nego samo i isključivo „spontano doživljavanje ideologije u njenom odnosu prema realnom“. (Ibid, 324) Iz toga možemo zaključiti da je jedina realnost, koju nam prikazuje umjetnost, realnost ideologije. Ako dakle uopće još možemo ustrajavati na konceptu autonomne umjetnosti, onda je moguće ishodište te strategije u traženju novih, inovativnih načina refrakcije ideološkog materijala, koji se gomila u svim sferama danas dominantnog kapitalističkog društva neoliberalnog tipa.

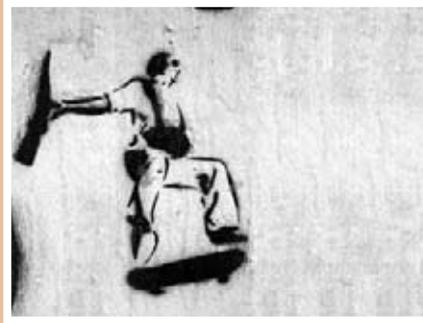
Iz autonomne umjetnosti izrasla je i dilema o tome kako odrediti granice „umjetničkoga“. Esencijalistički i supstancijalistički pristup građanske estetike ogleda se u njenom opsesivnom bavljenju ontološkim definicijama „umjetničkog djela“, „umjetnika“ ili „umjetnosti“, koje je slijepo za društveno-povijesne uvjete u kojima se ti pojmovi koriste i zato nužno zapada u aporije. Građanska estetika pristaje uz pretpostavku da umjetničko djelo ne proizvodi nikakav izvanestetski učinak, i to poricanje karakteristično je za „autonomiziranu“ sferu umjetnosti. Kako kaže Hewitt:



Kako je građanstvo težilo ideološkom i političkom oslobodenju od tutorstva apsolutističkih država u 18. stoljeću, umjetnosti je zajamčen određen stupanj slobode po cijenu onemogućavanja umjetnosti kao društvene snage. U nekim okvirima, u umjetnosti se moglo slobodno rasuđivati, zato jer se smatralo da umjetnost nema izravnog društvenog značaja. (Hewitt 2005, 16)

O tom povijesnom trenutku autonomizacije umjetnosti razmišljao je i Herbert Marcuse u eseju „O afirmativnom karakteru kulture“, u kojem je između ostaloga napisao da je „građansko društvo trpjelo ozbiljenje svojih vlastitih ideala i uzimalo ih ozbiljno kao opći zahtjev samo u umjetnosti“. Građansko društvo je doduše stvorilo „slobodne individue“, međutim, zaključuje na kraju Marcuse, oslobodilo ih je kao osobe „koje same sebe treba da drže u stezi“. (Marcuse 1977) Radikalnu materijalističku kritiku autonomne sfere umjetnosti proveo je Althusserov krug materijalističke teorije umjetnosti (Macherey, Balibar i drugi), koji je razvio drugačiji pristup promišljanju umjetničke prakse kroz teoretizaciju koncepta „estetskoga učinka“. Ako, naime, umjetničko djelo tretiramo u izolaciji, „kao da samo po sebi uspostavlja jednu *potpunu* stvarnost“ (Macherey 1966), ne možemo objasniti zbog čega se uopće pojavilo i kakvi su njegovi učinci. Osim toga, kako kaže Macherey, „umjetničko djelo nikada ne dolazi samo: uvijek ga određuje postojanje drugih umjetničkih djela“, koja mogu pripadati drugim sektorima produkcije. (Ibid.) Materijalistička analiza je osim toga izrazito kritična prema pojmu „umjetničko djelo“ i priznaje ga „samo kako bi ga razotkrila kao nužnu iluziju“ (Balibar i Macherey 1974). Estetski učinak je, naime, „i učinak na društveno određene pojedince, koji ih materijalno prisiljava da književne tekstove tretiraju na određeni način“. U slučaju književnog teksta koji je predmet Balibar-Machereyevе analize, to znači da ga *prepoznajemo* kao „književni“ tekst, da ga „estetski“ priznajemo.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Poznajemo, međutim, i brojne „granične slučajeve“, u kojima više nije sasvim jasno ima li tekst status fikcijske pripovijesti ili ne. Balibar i Macherey smatraju da je estetski učinak teksta ovisan o interpretacijskim praksama: „Književni tekst je onaj tekst koji je priznat kao književni, a priznat je kao književni upravo onoliko dugo i u onoj mjeri koliko praktički izazove interpretaciju, kritiku i ‘čitanja’. Upravo zato neki tekst sasvim realno može *prestat* biti



„Autonomno tijelo“ kao ideološka pretpostavka modernog plesa ● Bojni poklič avangardnih pokreta iz početka 20. stoljeća za ukidanjem razgraničenja između umjetnosti i svakidašnje životne prakse usmjeren je na potkopavanje (u radikalnijim izdanjima i na pokapanje) građanske institucije umjetnosti i njezine autonomije. Na području teatarskog plesa oštrica protesta usmjerena je prema baletu, njegovom fizičkom nasilju i psihičkom otupljivanju. Tako je, primjerice, Isadora Duncan, na samom početku stoljeća (oko 1902.) u eseju „Plesačica budućnosti“ pisala o kobnom utjecaju baleta na tjelesnu degeneraciju plesača i plesačica, a sve u svrhu stvaranja takvog plesnog tijela, koje bi bilo u stanju izazvati iluziju da za njega zakoni gravitacije ne postoje.<sup>4</sup> Balet se koristi pogrešnim metodama jer, tvrdi Duncan, „tijelo ne smijemo prisiljavati da pravi pokrete koji za njega nisu prirodni“. (Duncan 1988, 153) Zato je cijeli pokret modernog plesa propagirao povratak ka „prirodnom“ tijelu, koje više neće biti podvrženo baletnom drilu već će potražiti nove mogućnosti izraza u „slobodnom“ pokretu. Uz teoretsku (diskurzivnu) kritiku ideologije gracioznog i do virtuoznosti izdričanog baletnog tijela, moderni ples odupire se baletu i na nivou tjelesne ekspresije, same plesne prakse. To osobito dolazi do izražaja u ekspresionističkom plesu (*Ausdruckstanz*) Mary Wigman, učenice Emila Jacques-Dalcrozea i Rudolfa Labana. Kao i Isadora Duncan, Mary Wigman protiv se fanatičnoj virtuoznosti baleta, čije su „forme već postale toliko fine i sublimirane idealom čistoće, da se prečesto gubio ili zastirao umjetnički sadržaj“. (Wigman 1988, 180) Nasuprot tom izvještačenom baletnom izričaju stoji moderni ples kao „izraz mladosti i današnjice“. (Ibid, 182)

Kritika baleta iz pozicija modernog plesa bila je značajna za poticanje reformnih strujanja

.....  
književni tekst ili pak *postati* književni u odnosima kojih ranije nije bilo.“ (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Izraz moderne baletne škole, gdje je svaka radnja sama sebi svrhom, [...] jest izraz degeneracije, krajnje zapalosti. Svi su pokreti naše moderne baletne škole jalovi pokreti, jer su nepriradni: svrha im je da stvore iluziju kako zakon gravitacije za njih ne postoji. [...] Onima, međutim, koji još uvijek uživaju u tim pokretima, iz historijskih ili koreografskih ili bilo kojih razloga, njima odgovaram, da ne vide dalje od suknji i trikoa. Ali pogledajte – pod suknjama, pod trikoima plešu izobličeni mišići. Pogledajte još dalje – ispod mišića izobličene su kosti. Pred vama pleše izobličeni kostur. (Duncan 1988, 150)



u plesnoj umjetnosti 20. stoljeća. S druge strane, ne treba zaboraviti da odbacivanje „neprirodnog“ baletnog pokreta i slavljenje „prirodnog“ plesnog tijela u modernom plesu nije imuno na ideološku pozadinu, koja je zaista sasvim drugačija od one baletne, ali postoji i čini okosnicu nove doktrine „tjelesne kulture“ (*Körperkultur*), diskurza o „izražajnosti plesa“ i stavljanja naglaska na „kretanju iz nutrine“ da bi se, kako je voljela reći Martha Graham, „učinilo vidljivim unutrašnji krajolik“. U tom diskurzu modernog plesa „oslobođeno“ tijelo postaje središnji ideologem nove filozofije plesa; to tijelo „ne laže“, ono je dakle garant istine, autentično i, naravno, ekspresivno. To svakako jeste bio važan preokret u poimanju plesnog tijela, ali zbog toga nije bio manje imun na stvaranje novog mita o „autonomnom tijelu“<sup>5</sup> kao ideološkoj pretpostavci na kojoj se zasniva projekt modernog plesa. Na taj aspekt implicitne ideologizacije u teoriji i praksi modernog plesa upozorava i Hewitt:

Cijela jedna tradicija razmišljanja o tijelu u modernome plesu – od Françoisa Delsarta barem do Marthe Graham – dijeli vjeru da tijelo ne laže. Takvo je vjerovanje sama bit ideologije. Bol može poslužiti kao otjelovljenje kritike ideologije, ali njezina bit nikada ne može označavati poziciju ne-ideološke istine, zato što postvarivanje tijela, koje je neophodno da bi ga se ispetljalo iz društvenog okružja koje ono „kritikuje“, već uključuje jednu ideološku gestu. (Hewitt 2005, 18)

**Ratna fotografija: dokument ili koreografija za kameru?** ● Da li tijelo laže, da li je autentično u svom pokretu i u svojoj gesti, da li je koreografrano ili spontano reagira na podražaje iz okoline – to su značajna pitanja u raspravi o (spontanoj) ideologiji modernog plesa, ali ona mogu biti ključna i za ideološku borbu koja je sastavni dio svakog radikalnog sukoba, uključujući naravno i one oružane. Poučan primjer za razmatranje su fotografije ratnih reporterera, oko kojih se pletu razne kontroverze zbog njihovog visokog afektivno-ideološkog naboja, kojega jedna ili druga zaraćena strana

<sup>5</sup> O konceptu „autonomnog tijela“ iz početka 20. stoljeća piše Bojana Kunst u knjizi *Nemogoće telo* (Kunst 1999, 163-180), a u vezi sa modernim plesom i o „ekspresivnoj autonomnosti“: „Jedno od ključnih otkrića, o kojemu govore pjesnici, filozofi i plesači, je *ekspresivna autonomnost* odnosno *kinetička autonomnost* tijela.“ (Ibid, 172)

□ Uredništvo TKH poslalo je molbu za besplatnu reprodukciju fotografije „palog borca“ Roberta Capa organizaciji koja raspolaže njegovim autorskim pravima. Organizacija nije uvažila naše objašnjenje da je TKH neprofitna nevladina organizacija i da naša namjera da objavimo fotografiju nije rukovodena komercijalnim nego isključivo obrazovnim motivima i željom da našim čitaocima predočimo o kojoj fotografiji se radi u članku našeg saradnika Alda Milohnića. S obzirom na to da nismo u mogućnosti da platimo zahtevani iznos (a uz to, sam *TKH* časopis promovira slobodan i besplatan pristup informacijama i znanju), ne možemo objaviti fotografiju Roberta Capa nego samo nekoliko duhovitih primera parafraziranja njegovog „palog borca“. S obzirom na to da se radi o položaju tjela, koji je postao opšte mesto u istoriji fotografske umetnosti i popularne kulture, verujemo da našim čitaocima neće biti teško da se prisete na koju Capinu fotografiju se odnosi analiza u članku našeg saradnika. Na ovu zabelešku smo se odlučili zato da objasnimo zašto smo uz članak objavili sve druge ključne fotografije (za sve smo dobili ljubaznu dozvolu autora ili institucija u kojima su pohranjene njihove fotografije da ih smemo reprodukovati bez ikakve naknade) osim ove jedne, ali i zbog toga da i ovom prilikom ukažemo na bezobzirnost i potpunu socijalnu neosetljivost organizacija koje traju autorskim pravima i čija uloga nije u tome da štite prava autora nego je njihov jedini i isključivi motiv profit.

može iskoristiti u propagandne svrhe. Jedna od tih kontroverzi je pitanje autentičnosti snimljene fotografije: da li je snimljeni prizor dokumentarno svjedočanstvo autentičnog događaja ili je možda režiran/koreografin za objektiv fotoaparata? To pitanje postavilo se je već u slučaju historijski prve vojne fotografije, koja je nastala na samoj liniji fronte, a koju je snimio legendarni ratni reporter Robert Capa 1936, na samom početku španjolskog građanskog rata. Radi se o čuvenoj fotografiji republikanskog borca koji pada pogođen metkom ispaljenim od strane frankističkih pučista. Ubrzo nakon što je snimljena fotografiju je objavio francuski časopis *Vu*, a nakon njega i drugi, uključujući i *Life* godinu dana kasnije.

U vrijeme kad je nastala nitko nije postavio pitanje o nenoj autentičnosti i njeno objavljivanje u medijima ponukalo je dobrovoljce iz mnogih zemalja da se upute u Španjolsku kako bi pomogli legalno izabranoj ljevičarskoj vladi u obrani republike od fašizma. Puno kasnije, sredinom 70tih godina, pojavile su se prve sumnje u autentičnost fotografije; postavilo se je pitanje da li je Capa zaista uspio snimiti republikanskog vojnika u trenutku pogibije ili se možda radilo o odigranom prizoru. Mnogi ratni reporteri ponekad su naime fotografirali inscenirane prizore borbe kako bi njihove fotografije dobile na atraktivnosti, a često i na kvaliteti, koju je bilo znatno lakše postići u kontroliranim uvjetima režirane akcije nego u kaotičnim situacijama ratnih djelovanja.<sup>6</sup>

6 Prve ratne fotografije, koje je snimio Roger Fenton sredinom 19. stoljeća u vrijeme Krimskog rata, nastale su postupkom osvijetljavanja od čak 15 sekundi. Vojnici na slikama su mu morali pozirati, sastavljeni u svojevrsne *tableaux vivants*, žive slike ljudi zamrznutih pokreta, kako bi fotografiranje uopće bilo tehnički izvedivo. Fotografiranje prizora u trenucima borbe postalo je moguće tek nakon što su bili konstruirani laki prenosivi aparati, koji su se mogli koristiti bez stativa, a osvijetljavanje filma trajalo je vrlo kratko. Osim toga su te nove kamere (standardizirane Leica kamere od 1932.) koristile 35-milimetarske filmove, koje je bilo moguće osvijetliti čak 36 puta, nakon čega se je u aparat umetalo novu filmsku traku. Takvu kameru koristio je Robert Capa i upravo



□ Plesni solo Marte Paulin – Brine za partizanske borce Rapske brigade (Jože Petek, 1943.)

Poznato je (i dokazano) da se je tom metodom u nekim slučajevima koristio i Capa, ali sve do danas ostalo je otvoreno pitanje da li je tako bilo i u slučaju čuvene fotografije iz 1936. O upotrebi fotografije u propagandne svrhe i potrebi ratnih fotoreportera (ili njihovih cenzora) da prizore na fotografijama prilagode za pogled javnosti, piše Susan Sontag u svojoj zadnjoj knjizi *Regarding the Pain of Others* (0 patnji drugih). Između autorstva slike (ili crteža) i fotografije bitna je razlika u tome kako prosuđujemo autentičnost:

Za sliku ili crtež kažemo da je krivotvorina ako se ustanovi da ju nije nacrtao umjetnik, kojega se je smatralo njenim autorom. S druge strane, za fotografiju – ili snimljeni dokument, koji je dostupan na televiziji ili internetu – kažemo da je krivotvorina ako se ustanovi da prikazani prizor služi obmanjivanju gledaoca. (Sontag 2006, 43)

Za dokumentarnu fotografiju je ključna upravo autentičnost prizora, zato bi eventualni dokaz da je bio prizor na Capovoj fotografiji insceniran, smatra Sontag, imao razorni učinak na njezin status vjerodostojnog historijskog dokumenta.<sup>7</sup>

ta tehnološka novotarija bila je preduvjet da je njegova znamenita fotografija pogođenog borca uopće mogla nastati.

7 „Poanta „Smrti republikanskog borca“ je u tome da se radi o slučajno uhvaćenom trenutku realnosti; ako bi se ustanovilo da

Važnost fotografskog medija za dokumentiranje povijesti nije sporna i u tom smislu možemo dati za pravno Susan Sontag da prijepor o autentičnosti „Smrti republikanskog borca“ značajno utječe na dokumentarni status Capove fotografije. Ali pri tome ne treba smetnuti s uma, da je u međuvremenu ta slika postala ikonička, a položaj borčevog tijela u trenutku pogibije, kada je uhvaćen u objektiv fotoaparata, zadobio je status općeg mjesta, pa ga je bilo moguće, zbog njegove prepoznatljivosti, reproducirati u različitim kontekstima.<sup>8</sup> Capova fotografija tako danas nije više samo svjedočanstvo o žrtvama građanskog rata u Španjolskoj – o grozotama tog rata postoji uostalom obimna dolumentarna građa – , ona je postala simbol, a tijelo palog borca protiv fašizma nerazdruživo dio svjetske ikonoteke ratne koreografije.

### Partizanska koreografija ●

U ratovima se masovno gine, ali u njima se ponekad i pleše. Fotografije plesnih prizora znatno su rijede, a kada su ti prizori i uhvaćeni u objektiv nekog ratnog fotoreportera, onda se uglavnom radi o participativnim oblicima plesa, poput društvenih plesova, kola i slično, a vrlo rijetko o solo nastupima plesača/ica, pogotovo npr. modernog plesa. Zahvaljujući partizanskom ratnom fotografu Joži Peteku (koji nažalost nije preživio rat, ali njegove fotografije jesu i danas su pohranjene u Ljubljanskom Muzeju novije povijesti Slovenije) imamo nekoliko fascinantnih fotografija Marte Paulin, s partizanskim imenom Brina, koja pleše na travnatoj ledini pred brojnim borcima novoosnovane partizanske Rapske brigade.<sup>9</sup> Marta Paulin je bila 30tih godina učenica Mete Vidmar, koja je u Ljubljani osnovala školu modernog plesa, nakon što je 1927. uspješno završila plesnu školu Mary Wigman u Drezdenu.

je pali borac pozirao pred Capovim fotoaparatom, ta fotografija izgubila bi svu svoju vrijednost.“ (Ibid, 51) Upravo u tome treba tražiti razloge da se sve od 70tih godina do danas još uvijek vode žučne polemike o autentičnosti Capove fotografije, o čemu je prije nekoliko godina snimljen i dokumentarni film (*La sombra del iceberg*, 2007). Nedavno su bili otkriveni negativni fotografija, koje je Capa snimio u Španjolskoj, a za koje je sve do tada vjerovalo da su izgubljeni, ali među njima nije pronađen negativ te čuvene fotografije. Negativi su pohranjeni u Međunarodnom centru fotografije (International Center of Photography) u New Yorku, kojega je ustanovio Capov brat Cornell.

8 Kao uostalom i u slučaju mnogih drugih ratnih fotografija, čak i onih za koje je nesporno dokazano da su bile inscenirane, poput znamenite fotografije podizanja američke zastave na japanskom otoku Iwo Jima potkraj Drugog svjetskog rata, koju je snimio Joe Rosenthal, fotograf Associated Pressa. Od svog nastanka do danas fotografija je doživjela bezbroj reprodukcija i parafraza u mnogim medijima, uključujući i kazalište; osobno znam za barem jednu od njih – prije desetak godina taj se prizor pojavio u predstavi *Ribčeva / Rebri kao zeleni zidovi* kazališne grupe BADco. iz Zagreba.

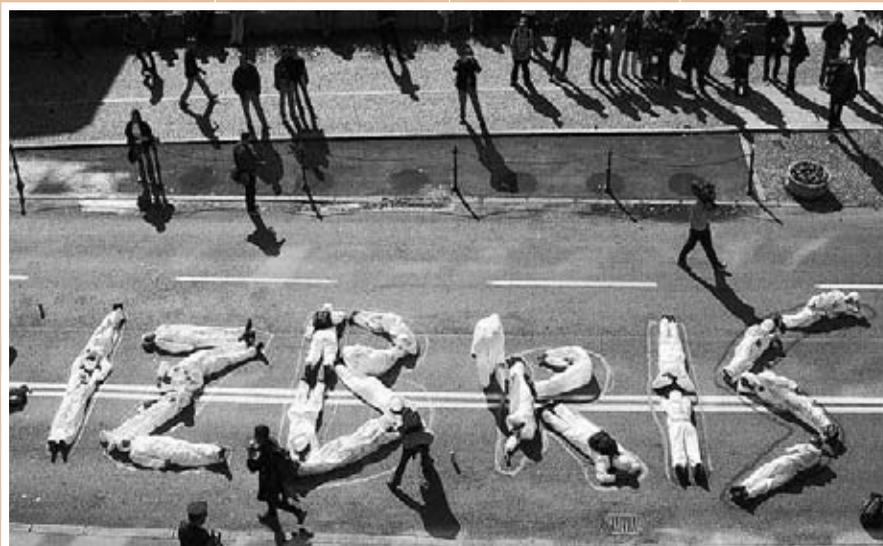
9 Brigada se zvala „Rapska“ jer je bila formirana od nekadašnjih zatočenika fašističkog koncentracijskog kampa na otoku Rabu, koji su tamo bili internirani do kapitulacije Italije u septembru 1943, a nakon toga su bili prebačeni većim dijelom u Sloveniju. Zbog iscrpljenosti boraca jedinica nije dugo djelovala kao samostalna brigada; nakon što je rasformirana njeni borci bili su raspoređeni u druge partizanske jedinice.

U augustu 1943. je otišla u partizane i postala članica kulturne grupe 14. divizije, u kojoj je bio njezin suborac, između ostalih, i legendarni slovenski pjesnik Karel Destovnik Kajuh. Marta Paulin se je tako opredjelila za sudjelovanje u revoluciji, u kojoj je mogla plesati, kako bi (vjerojatno) rekla Emma Goldman.<sup>10</sup> Svoje plesne nastupe u partizanima sama je opisala tridesetak godina kasnije u memoarskoj bilješci:

Postala sam plesačica na pozornici u prirodi. Umjesto na kazališnim daskama odjednom plešem gdje god bilo. Osjećaj ravnoteže ponovo je postao „problem“. Muskulatura je djelovala drugačije, jer je noga tražila uporište čias na kamenitom čias na mekom tlu. To je bilo prvo što sam primijetila. Ali nakon toga došlo je i drugo. Taj neizmjeri prirodni prostor daje mogućnost i traži velik razmah u pokretu. Iz malog pokreta u zatvorenom kazalištu nastane na otvorenoj prirodnoj pozornici cijeli pohod. Ako sam htjela savladati taj ogroman prostor i u njemu biti prihvaćena, plesni pokreti morali su postati veliki, jasni, široki. [...] Kada sam kao plesačica stajala sama pred mnoštvom boraca i postala svjesna da ću biti u stanju sa svojim plesnim darom i slabašnim tijelom izraziti ono što nas je povezivalo, da ću moći savladati čak i neizmjeri prirodni prostor, osjećala sam snagu u nogama dok sam gazila tvrdi zemlju. Ruke su osjećale širinu šume i penjale se preko vrhova stabala. U mojem plesu nije bilo nikakvog imitiranja, koje bi proizlazilo iz formalističkih pokreta. Odbacila sam skoro sve što sam se „naučila“ u godinama plesnog studija, tražila sam izvoran, svjež plesni izraz, koji proizlazi iz čovjekove životne potrebe da se kreće. (Paulin 1975, 25-26)

Marta Paulin – Brina, jedna od najtalentiranijih pionirki modernog plesa u Sloveniji, već nakon pola godine provedene u partizanima završila je nažalost svoju karijeru aktivne plesačice jer su joj se za vrijeme pohoda 14. brigade u Štajerskoj smrznule noge. Ali fotografije Jože Peteka zabilježile su na sreću barem neke prizore iz kratke karijere partizanske plesačice Brine i zato su od neprocjenjive vrijednosti za povijest slovenskog plesnog modernizma, koji je na sebi svojstven način (za)živio čak i u ekstremnim uvjetima partizanske borbe. Ta svojevrsna partizanska koreografija se je zbog

<sup>10</sup> Radi se naravno o poznatoj rečenici te čuvene feministkinje i anarhistkinje: „Ako ne mogu plesati, ne želim biti u vašoj revoluciji.“ (If I can't dance I don't want to be in your revolution.) Ali ni ta rečenica nema oslonca u povijesnim činjenicama, jer je Emma Goldman nikada nije ni izrekla ni napisala. Rečenicu je smislio (i iskoristio) je kao propagandni slogan, otisnut na T-majicama) američki anarhistički aktivist početkom 70tih godina kao moguću parafrazu odlomka iz njene autobiografske knjige *Living My Life*, što je iz prve ruke potvrdila Alix Kates Shulman prije dvadesetak godina u članku „Dances with Feminists“ (Shulman 1991). Kao i Robert Capa, Emma Goldman je učestvovala u španjolskom građanskom ratu i pomagala španjolskim anarhistima u širenju informacija o borbama s Francovim fašistima (npr. brinula je za korespondenciju na engleskom jeziku i uređivala englesko izdanje anarho-sindikalističkog biltena).



svoje sraslosti s narodnim pokretom otpora približila idealima avangarde, budući da se je, kako je primjetio povjesničar partizanske umjetnosti Miklavž Komelj, „u najprimitivnijim uvjetima tako zapravo ostvarilo ono za što se je zalagalo avangardno kazalište“ (Komelj 2009, 120), a to je neposredna i nerazlučiva povezanost izvođača i publike.<sup>11</sup>

Razdoblja u kojima dolazi do masovnih pokreta otpora, u kojima nerijetko sudjeluju i umjetnici najrazličitijih profila i provinijencija, kao što su npr. antifašistički pokreti (građanski rat u Španjolskoj, narodnooslobodilačka borba u Jugoslaviji itd), antikolonijalistički pokreti, u novije vrijeme i pokreti za zaštitu ljudskih prava raznih manjina, protesti protiv korumpiranih političkih elita, diktature kapitala i samodržaca raznih boja i usmjerenja itd, možda su ponajbolji primjeri onoga što Hewitt naziva performativnom (ili integrativnom) estetskom ideologijom, koju postavlja nasuprot (tipično buržoaskoj) mimetičkoj estetskoj ideologiji.<sup>12</sup> Do te performativne odnosno integrativne umjetnosti može se doći jedino putem radikalne reforme umjetničke sfere, ali problem je u tome da promjena položaja umjetnosti nije

<sup>11</sup> U izvještaju o svečanoj zakletvi Rapske brigade i kulturnom programu, u kojem je sa svojim solo plesnim nastupom sudjelovala i Marta Paulin – Brina, piše između ostaloga da je bilo raspoloženje boraca za vrijeme kulturnog programa „veličanstveno“ i da nije bilo razlike između „onih koji su nastupali i onih koji su gledali“. (Original izvještaja se nalazi u Vojnom arhivu u Beogradu, a ja navodim prema prijepisu u: Potočnik 1975, 278.)

<sup>12</sup> Mimetička bi estetička ideologija bila ona u kojoj umjetničko predstavljanje boljeg života služi da publiku oslijepi spram društvene stvarnosti u kojoj živi. [...] Estetičko nas zadovoljavanje pukim „simbolom“ društvene utopije odvraća od političke prakse nužne da bi se utopijsko stanje ostvarilo u stvarnosti. Umjetnost služi kao mrva utjehe za neostvareno političko djelovanje. [...] S druge strane, ono što nazivam izvedbenom ili integrativnom estetskom ideologijom jest ona u kojoj umjetnost čini više od samo lažnog predstavljanja, u palijativnom smislu, postojećeg društvenog poretka. Umjesto toga, estetičko tu postaje područjem u kojem se novi društveni poretci proizvode (a ne predstavljaju) i u kojem je moguća integracija svih članova društva. (Hewitt 2005, 21)

□ Akcija Izbris (Denis Sarkić, 2003.)

moguća u okvirima buržoaskog društva, jer je potrebna radikalna promjena tog društva i ne samo umjetnosti kao takve. O tome da radikalna reforma umjetničke prakse nije dovoljna ukoliko se istovremeno ne dogode i radikalne promjene u društvu, govore nam naime upravo iskustva avangardnih i neoavangardnih pokreta u 20. stoljeću. O tome nam govore i umjetničke prakse koje nastaju u turbulentnim situacijama društvenih promjena i koje su na neki sebi svojstven način uključene u ideološku borbu za pokretanje, postizavanje i interpretaciju tih promjena. Estetska profinjenost umjetnosti otpora je upravo u njoj neopterećenosti estetskim obzirima. Ako svatko može plesati, kako je tvrdio Laban, onda za svakooga mora biti mjesta i u koreografiji otpora, jer nikome ne smije biti uskraćeno pravo da revoluciju otplješ onako kako najbolje zna i može. Kada je u vrijeme opsade Sarajeva sredinom 90tih Haris Pašović pokrenuo Internacionalni filmski festival novinari su ga navodno pitali: „Zašto filmski festival za vrijeme rata?“, na što im je on odgovorio protupitanjem: „A zašto rat za vrijeme filmskog festivala?“ Sarajevski glumac Zoran Bečić, koji je također na vlastitoj koži iskusio život u ratnom Sarajevu, pokušao je objasniti u čemu je bio smisao tvrdoglavog igranja predstava pod kišom granata:

Ja nisam učestvovao u teatru koji je glorifikovao nekakvu politiku, nekakvu stranku, nekakvu platformu. Moj teatar se bukvalno borio za život, za život grada i građana, za život umjetničke kreacije.“ (Diklić 2004, 35)

**U takvoj umjetnosti oruđe umjetničkog izraza neminovno se pretvara u oružje otpora – u skladu s Brechtovim geslom: „Knjiga je oružje, uzmi je u ruke!“ i na način**

kako je svoj ples i poeziju njenog ratnog druga, pjesnika Kajuha, shvaćala partizanska plesačica Brina: „Kao stvaralac plesnog izričaja stala sam uz bok pjesniku, kojemu je bila poezija oružje.“ (Paulin 1975, 26)

Umjetnost koja samu sebe doživljava kao „oružje“ može biti samo ona umjetnost koja se je radikalno odrekla vlastitoj autonomiji i koja – ne nasuprot već upravo u skladu s tom pozicijom – ne tvrdi da može biti nadomjestak za oružanu borbu u vrijeme rata ili političku borbu u vrijeme mira. Osobito u trenucima rađanja masovnih pokreta otpora protiv militarističkog, fizičkog, verbalnog, strukturnog ili nekog drugog oblika nasilja, obično dolazi do organskog sraštavanja prethodno razdvojenih, „autonomiziranih“ sfera umjetnosti i politike, koje više ne možemo adekvatno imenovati starim, od naslaga tradicije i ideologije, opterećenim pojmovima. Kovanje novih ili hibridnih pojmova (poput mog pokušaja s „artvizmom“) vidljivi je izraz te teoretske frustracije i ujedno pokušaj da se otvori prostor za teoretsko promišljanje nečega što se događa ovdje i sada, pred našim očima, u što smo i sami na ovaj ili onaj način upleteni, i svjesni smo da iziskuje trenutačnu refleksiju, a nove, adekvatnije teoretske alate za njenu provedbu moramo tek iz(g)raditi. Ali to naravno nije nešto što bi bilo specifično samo za današnje oblike otpora, jer slične pokušaje opojmljavanja novih

performativno-političkih praksi nalazimo u okviru gotov svih velikih emancipatornih pokreta prošlog stoljeća, npr. „proletkult“ u vrijeme sovjetske revolucije, „urgentni teatar“ (*teatro de urgencia*) u španjolskom građanskom ratu, „frontovski teatar“ (*frontno gledališče*) slovenskih partizana u vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata itd.

#### Metoda subverzivne reaproprijacije u koreografijama otpora

● Na kraju ovog priloga, koji je, kako sam naglasio već u uvodu, tek preliminarno razmišljanje o koreografijama otpora, dakle o nečemu što u ovom ogledu ne može biti više od hibridnog konstrukta, želio bih barem naznačiti neke moguće paralele sa suvremenim aktivističko-performativnim praksama u Sloveniji. O nekima od njih već sam pisao u više navrata (cf. npr. Milohnić 2005 i 2013) i ovdje mogu samo ukratko upozoriti na ta ranija opažanja, a o nekima bi trebalo tek razviti detaljniju analizu u posebnom članku. Za ovu priliku izdvojio bih samo dva primjera koja su zanimljiva za promišljanje oblika koreografiranja otpora i zasnivaju se na duhovitom korištenju metode subverzivne reaproprijacije – prisvajanja ili posvajanja prvotno ozloglašavajućih, difamacijskih izraza ili prisprodoma, kojima su određene društvene grupacije prvotno bile napadnute, ali su ih same te grupacije vlastitim angažmanom uspjele

rekuperirati i vratiti ih kao bumerang onima, koji su ih izvorno odaslali u javnost kao ofanzivno konstruirane verbalne ili ikoničke degradacije.

Značajnu akciju takvog tipa izveli su izbrisani i drugi aktivisti prije sada već punih deset godina (8. oktobra 2003.) ispred zgrade slovenskog parlamenta u centru Ljubljane. Aktivisti i aktivistice odjeveni u bijele kombinezone, zauzeli su cestu ispred zgrade, legli na asfalt i vlastitim tijelima ispisali desetmetarski natpis „IZBRIS“. S obje strane su one koji su ležali na asfaltu od automobila štitili aktivisti koji su držali transparente s nacrtanim prometnim znakom zabrane zaustavljanja i natpisom: „Vozi dalje! Ne postojimo“. Akcija je bila isprovocirana izjavama nekih političara, uključujući i parlamentarne zastupnike, koji su tvrdili da izbrisani „ne postoje“, da su ih izmislili „neprijatelji slovenske državnosti“, da su se ti ljudi „sami izbrisali“ i slične političke budalaštine. Ovom akcijom aktivisti su upozorili na eklatantna kršenja ljudskih prava izbrisanih i to na način da su reapropriirali tvrdnje političara o „nepostojećim izbrisanim“. Izvornu poruku vratili su tim političarima u izokrenutom obliku i u skladu s autonomističkom tradicijom koja proizlazi iz koncepta upotrebe vlastitog tijela kao sredstva za neposredno političko djelovanje.

□ Ustanak „zombija“ (Miha Fras, 2013.)



Akcija *Izbris* bila je strukturirana kao gestični performativ koji neodvojivo povezuje gestu i izjavu ili, drugim riječima, tijelo i označitelja. Ako je klasična (Austinova) definicija performativa da „iskazati rečenicu (razume se, u za to podnesnim okolnostima) ne znači *opisati* ono što se čini, za šta bi onda trebalo reći kako tu već samo iskazivanje da se nešto čini ili pak tvrđenje da se to i to čini – znači to i to činiti“ (Austin 1990, 17), onda možemo reći da je uvođenje gestičnog performativa pokušaj širenja govornog čina na područje vizualnog: fizičkog i tjelesnog čina, geste, grafičnog i slično, ukratko neverbalnih ali još uvijek performativnih činova. Fizički čin stvara privid govornog čina: tijela aktivista koja izvorno djeluju u području izvođenja (*actio*), materijalnošću svojih tijela doslovno inkorporiraju izjavu i tako ulaze u područje izricanja (*pronuntiatio*) koje je inače neverbalno, ali unatoč tome rječitije. Ta akcionistička *corpografija* proizvede metaforičko zgušnjavanje: performativna dimenzija izjave „izbris“ je baš njezino iscrtavanje tijelima.

Apsurdnost položaja u kojem se našlo preko 25 tisuća stanovnika Slovenije, koje je birokratska pamet pretvorila u „mrtve duše“, ironično prikazuje transparent koji vozačima poručuje da se ne obaziru na događanje ispred zgrade parlamenta, jer njegovi akteri „ne postoje“. Drugim riječima (i u žargonu suvremene teorije performansa), poigravanje implicitnom metaforikom mrtvih duša aktivistima je omogućilo da su neki događaj (*performance*) označili kao nedogađaj (*afformance*): ako ključni akteri nekog događaja „ne postoje“, onda bi bilo moguće zaključiti da nema ni događaja kao takvog. Međutim, kako je za performativni čin karakteristično da izjava nije niti stvarna niti nestvarna moramo poći od pretpostavke da konstatirajuća razina izjave nema neposrednih posljedica na materijalnost čina pa stoga performativna priroda tako konstruirane situacije uspostavlja položaj u kojem čin već svojim postojanjem kao takvim stvara mogućnost vlastite negacije ili, drugim riječima, jamči konstelaciju u kojoj je i nedogađaj događaj. Kako tu okolnost spoznajemo već na intuitivnoj razini, izjavi „ne postojimo“ pripisujemo ironično značenje i odmah je razumijemo kao dosjetku koja upućuje na apsurdnost položaja izbrisanih i ujedno nudi ključ za čitanje cjelokupnog događaja.

Za direktnu akciju *Izbris*, kao i za druge slične akcije, ključna je upotreba tijela koje više nije reprezentativno, već konstitutivno i kao takvo upregnuto u suvremene prakse otpora. Slične *corpografske* upotrebe tijela poznajemo kako iz prošlih umjetničkih praksi, posebno u polju umjetnosti performansa (*performance art*) i akcionističkog slikarstva, tako i u novijim političkim inicijativama. U novije vrijeme došlo je do novog ustanka onih koji „ne postoje“,

ovoga puta to nisu bili (samo) izbrisani nego i svi oni koje desno usmjerena politička elita smatra „duhovima prošlosti“, komunističkim „živim mrtvacima“, ukratko, „zombijima“. Val masovnih ustanaka proti korumpirane političke elite krenuo je početkom zime 2012. u Mariboru kao protest protiv lokalnih vlasti na čelu sa gradonačelnikom Francom Kanglerom, protiv kojega je u toku više sudskih procesa zbog raznih sumnjivih poslova na štetu grada i u korist Kanglerovog džepa. Iz Maribora se je val masovnih demonstracija proširio po cijeloj Sloveniji, a nekoliko najmasovnijih održano je u Ljubljani početkom ove godine, gdje se je protestiralo protiv premijera desničarske vlade Janeza Janše i protiv samozvanog ljevičara (a zapravo jednog od većih tajkuna u Sloveniji), gradonačelnika Ljubljane Zorana Jankovića. Pod pritiskom javnosti i izvještaja Komisije za sprečavanje korupcije, u kojem su upravo ta dva političara bila osumnjičena da ne znaju objasniti izvor novca kojim su stekli pozamašnu imovinu (osobito Janković), raspala se Janšina vlada, a Janković je morao odustati od apetita da postane novi premijer. U to vrijeme na internetnoj stranici Janšine stranke SDS pojavila se tvrdnja da iza protesta stoji „komunistička internacionala“ i da se tu ne radi o ustanku naroda nego o „ustanku zombija“. Tu izjavu su učesnici protesta smjesta reapropriirali i krenulo je masovno kostimiranje u zombije, koji su već na idućim demonstracijama preplavili Ljubljanu.

Difamacijska psovka Janševе stranke pobudila je val *corpografske* i *koreografske* kreativnosti kod demonstranata, jer među njima valjda nema baš nikoga tko nije gledao bar jedan film o zombijima, kojih se od Romerove *Noći živih mrtvaca* (*Night of the Living Dead*, 1968) nakupilo za cijelu jednu filmografiju. A tu je još i cijeli niz artefakata iz riznice pop-kulture, od romana, kratkih priča i stripova, do TV serija i video-igara o zombijima, da niti ne spominjemo cijelu jednu mitologiju živih mrtvaca, koji još od srednjeg vijeka plešu svoje mrtvačke plesove na crkvenim freskama. Bivši slovenski premijer kao da je gubitkom vlasti podlegao maniji proganjanja od zombija, o kojoj u nedavno objavljenoj knjizi *Filozofija zombija* piše Jorge Fernández Gonzalo: „Zombi je onaj drugi, u njemu vidim sopstveni odraz, kužni odraz usled raspadanja tela. Minimalna razlika između jednog i drugog, uprkos maksimalnoj udaljenosti koja treba da se prevali između života i smrti.“ (Gonzalo 2012, 29) U drugoj deceniji 21. vijeka plašiti ljude zavjerama nekakvih fantomskih „komunističkih internacionala“ najviše govori paranoičnom umu onoga koji koristi takve kvalifikacije da bi diskreditirao političkog protivnika. Upravo te „zombijevske kategorije“, kako ih naziva Ulrich Beck, kao mrtvi konceptualni okviri pritišću mozgovе živih političkih mrtvaca, koji ih, zbog vlastitih ideoloških

potreba, pokušavaju vratiti u život kao, kako kaže Gonzalo, „senke jednog drugog doba, rasklimatane leševe lingvističkih konstrukcija koje su jedino odraz sivila proteklih vekova, paučine sopstvene beskorisnosti“. (Ibid, 97)

Umjesto nekog konkretnog i koherentnog zaključka, na kraju ovog još pomalo heterogenog teorijskog „djela-u-nastajanju“, želio bih samo izraziti nadu da predloženi koncept koreografije otpora ipak neće prebrzo završiti u katalogu zombijevskih kategorija, barem ne prije nego doživi temeljitiju i opsežniju eksplikaciju, za koju je prethodno potrebno izvesti istraživanje brojnih i inspirativnih koreografija otpora u 20. i u prvoj dekadi 21. stoljeća. ■

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# "Crni talas" jugoslovenskog sleta: Dan mladosti 1987. i 1988.

**Ana VUJANOVIĆ** • • Slet je oblik masovne priredbe koja se u doba socijalističke Jugoslavije izvodila raznim prigodama, a najpoznatiji i najspektakularniji među njima je slet za Dan mladosti, koji se održavao 25. maja na stadionu JNA u Beogradu. On je bio centralna i završna priredba Dana mladosti, kojoj je prethodila Štafeta mladosti. Štafeta bila je oblik ceremonijalnog masovnog trčanja, u kojem su od 1945. stotine hiljada omladinaca pretičavale svake godine desetine hiljada kilometara širom Jugoslavije, predajući iz ruke u ruku palicu sa rođendanskom čestitkom jugoslovenskom predsedniku, Titu.<sup>1</sup> Od 1957. na Titov predlog, njegov rođendan je postao Dan mladosti a Titova štafeta je preimenovana u Štafetu mladosti. Ipak, do kraja života, 1980. on je ostao „glavni slavljenik“ Dana mladosti – onaj koji je primao štafetu sa čestitkom i zauzimao počasno mesto u gledalištu stadiona.<sup>2</sup> Ovo direktno spajanje proslave Titovog rođendana i slavljenja mladosti deluje neobično ako se ima u vidu da on sam od početka te tradicije nije bio mlad – 1957. je napunio 65 godina – pa da je time mogao postati simbol mladosti. Razlog je, naravno, drugde i vodi direktno u istoriju sleta

<sup>1</sup> „Najmasovniji je bio događaj iz 1952. godine, kada je desetine glavnih i lokalnih štafeta nosilo preko 1.550.000 Jugoslovena koji su pretrčali 130.000km.“ (Grigorov 2008, 109)

<sup>2</sup> Sletovi za Dan mladosti nastavili su se i nakon Titove smrti, pod nazivom „I posle Tita – Tito“.

i objašnjenje njegove društvene funkcije. Pre svega, poznato je da je Tito veoma računao na „omladince“ i pokušavao da napravi direktnu vezu između sebe i njih, te ih je govorima interpelirao kao one koji će nastaviti tamo gde je starija, njegova generacija stala. No ne samo po sebi. Da bi omladinci mogli da nastave revolucionarnim putem, koji je uključivao i rad i odbrambeni rat, oni su morali biti zdravi, snažni i fizički i duhovno kultivisani i izdržljivi. A koliko su zdravi, snažni, kultivisani i izdržljivi najbolje su mogli pokazati spektakularnom samoizvedbom u sletu.

Slet je imenica slovenskog porekla koja označava sletanje ptica u jat, njihovo okupljanje na tlu i pre nego što je postala naziv za socijalističke masovne priredbe koristila se za sličan tip priredbe u okviru sokolskog pokreta u 19. i početkom 20. veka. Pokret je iniciran u Češkoj 1862, od strane filozofa i istoričara umetnosti Miroslava Tyrša, kao pokret nacionalnog buđenja koje je trebalo da vodi oslobođenju od Austrougarskog carstva. U osnovi dakle nacionalistički, pokret se ubrzo proširio ostalim teritorijama Austro-Ugarske naseljenim slovenskim stanovništvom i postao transnacionalni (panslavistički) emancipatorski i oslobodilački pokret. U Kraljevini SHS i Jugoslaviji Sokoli su postali popularni naročito u doba Kralja Aleksandra, čiji će sin, Kralj Petar II Karađorđević postati i sokolski starešina. Kralj ih je i simbolično podržavao i pomagao izgradnju

sokolana (gimnastičkih hala), jer je u Sokolskom pokretu prepoznao ideološki instrument svoje unitarističke politike integralnog jugoslovenstva. Ono što je za slet za Dan mladosti važno istaći kod sokolskih sletova jeste njihov, s jedne strane masovni, a s druge amaterski karakter. Iako je u Jugoslaviji nakon Drugog svetskog rata sokolski pokret zadugo bio rasturen, forma sokolske tradicije nošenja štafete vladaru i organizovanja sletova zadržana je, mada joj je ideološki smisao promenjen.<sup>3</sup> Pored Sokola, u istoriju sleta za Dan mladosti treba uključiti nemački gimnastički pokret *Turnverein* iz 19. veka, koji je inicirao gimnastički trener Friedrich Ludwig Jahn u Berlinu 1811, dok je svoj puni zamah dobio oko revolucionarne 1848. Iako je istorija pokreta bila veoma burna, mogli bismo reći da su nemački gimnastičari po svojoj nacionalističkoj matrici – koja bi kroz gimnastičke klubove i festivale trebalo da doprinese ujedinjenju Nemaca, kao i fizičkom i moralnom osnaženju naroda – ideološki bliski Sokolima. Treća linija geneze sleta za Dan mladosti odlazi od ovog romantičarskog okvira i vezuje ga preko štafete za jedan ideološki drugačiji devetnaestovekovni

<sup>3</sup> Pitanje kako je to moguće otvara i dalekosežno pitanje o relevantnosti socijalne koreografije ako se analitički fokus ne postavi izvan koreografije kao fenomena, u njen estetski kontinuum u kontekstu. Vid. o (dis)kontinuitetu sokolskog i socijalističkog sleta u Manojlović 2004, Grigorov 2008. i Jakovljević 2008.

pokret – pokret oživljavanja Olimpijskih igara. Nasuprot Sokolima i *Turnvereinu*, njegova ideologija je bila izrazito internacionalistička i ticala se univerzalnog čovečanstva, no ipak forma priredbe i palica (baklja/štafeta) su slične, što zadržavaju i današnje Olimpijske igre kao globalni sportsko-medijski događaj.

U ranom 20. veku, slet za Dan mladosti ima dva, opet ideološki oprečna prethodnika: komunističke priredbe i parade u Sovjetskom savezu i nacističke u Nemačkoj. Iako se jugoslovenska socijalistička ideologija ne može olako dovesti vezu ni sa jednom od ove dve, slet za Dan mladosti im duguje ideal mladosti, snage i fizičke i duhovne kulture i izdržljivosti kao otelovljenja revolucije i formu javne izvedbe kolektivizma. Pored toga, retorika sleta za Dan mladosti pa i Titovih govora tim povodom gotovo da ne odstupa od vitalističkog svetonazora koji je uveo Černiševski romanom *Šta da se radi?*, a čijim je „novim čovekom“ Lenjin bio toliko inspirisan da je i svoj čuveni pamflet naslovio isto. Pored usvajanja vizije novog čoveka, koji ostvarujući svoje fizičke a putem njih i duhovne potencijale postaje subjekt revolucije, vredno je pomena da je na tom svetonazoru u postrevolucionarnoj atmosferi SSSRa sport postao deo kulture. Tako je promovisana „fiskultura“, kao priprema omladine za rad i vojnu odbranu, a koja je zahvaljujući ideolozima Proletkulta opet rezultirala masovnim participativnim priredbama između sporta i umetnosti – nalik sokolskim sletovima.<sup>4</sup>

Na kraju ovog kratkog istorijskog osvrtu bih primetila da su ideološke razlike između različitih sletova velike (nacionalizam, internacionalizam, nacizam, komunizam), a njihove formalne sličnosti čine slet kolektivističkom i egalitarističkom izvedbom bilo koje društvene agende koja teži što monolitnijoj društvenoj podršci, jer se zasniva na masovnim koreografijama i unisonom izvođenju. Stoga, specifičnija estetska ideologija – od kolektivizma i egalitarizma – se iz sleta *en general* teško može artikulirati.<sup>5</sup> Kako sam istakla, sličnosti su: zamisao fizički i duhovno kultivisanog i snažnog čoveka kao telesnog nosioca društvene promene, oličena u mladim telima gimnastičara i fiskulturnika; ideje kolektivizma i egalitarizma, oličene u masovnim participativnim izvedbama; kao i svest o estetskom aspektu ideologije, oličena u javnom izvođenju sporta, umetnosti i retorike

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<sup>4</sup> Rezolucija ruskog Saveza mladih komunista, na Trećem sverskom kongresu sovjeta 1918. objavljuje: Fizička kultura mladež naraštaja suštinski je činilac u opštem sistemu komunističkog vaspitanja mladih ljudi, usmerenog ka stvaranju skladno razvijenih ljudskih bića, kreativnih građana komunističkog društva. [...] Danas, fizička kultura takođe ima izravne praktične ciljeve: (1) pripremu mladih ljudi za rad; (2) pripremu mladih ljudi za odbranu sovjetske vlasti. (prema: O'Mahony 2006, 15)

<sup>5</sup> Recimo, 1928. održana je Prva radnička spartakijada kao opozicija „zapadnjačkoj“ Olimpijadi, pa je forma sleta od ideološkog igrališta postala bojište sukobljenih ideologija. (vid. O'Mahony 2006, 30-37)



određene društveno-političke agende. No čini mi se da i pored toga ostaje čitav niz pitanja o sintaksi i semiotici određenog sleta, u odnosu na druge sletove i u odnosu na njegovo društveno okruženje, kako bismo iz razlika i odnosa došli do politički relevantnog zaključka. Ako je kolektivizam – koji kolektivizam, na čemu zasnovan i kolektivizam u čemu? Ako je u pitanju ostvarenje revolucionarnih ciljeva – koje revolucije, kada i u kom društvu? I tako dalje. Bez toga, bojim se da slet *en general* ni sa svim tačkama koje spajaju njegove varijacije ne može puno toga reći ni o sebi kao društvenoj koreografiji niti o koreografiji društva koju promovise i isprobava.

Radi preciznosti u analizi, iz svog dugogodišnjeg istraživanja ovde izdvajam slet za Dan mladosti, fokusirajući onaj održan 1987. i rez koji donosi poslednja priredba, 1988.<sup>6</sup> Sletovi za Dan mladosti mogu se uzeti kao ilustrativan primer društvene koreografije jer – svojom javnošću, masovnošću i repetitivnošću – doslovno demonstriraju kako se „ideologija upisuje direktno u telo“. Međutim, iako ilustrativan, ovaj primer sam po sebi na kraju ne objašnjava kako društvena koreografija funkcioniše. Naime, slet paradigmatički pokazuje kako se ideologija izvodi u javnom prostoru, pre svega u vidu promocije i probe državne ideologije, ali ne govori o njenom „estetskom kontinuumu“, tj. ni o odnosu sa društvenim poretkom unutar kojeg se realizuje, niti o telesnim praksama kroz koje se ta ideologija internalizuje i društveno ostvaruje. Iz tog razloga, u analizi

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<sup>6</sup> Kao izvore u analizi koristim integralne snimke TV prenosa iz Programskog arhiva TV Beograd.

□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1987.

poslednjih sletova obratiću podjednaku pažnju na koreografiju i njenu izvedbu, postavljajući ih u specifičan kontekst. Na taj način, pokušaću da pokažem: da slet kao društvena koreografija pokazuje ne kako je izgledalo jugoslovensko društvo već kako je jugoslovenska država predstavljala sebe u javnom prostoru kao model društvenog tela i da je izvedba sleta kao dinamičan sistem gestova koji otelovljuju taj model takođe i mesto kolapsa na kojem se pojavljuju nečitljivi pokreti, ne-gestovi, kao otelovljenje „koreografski nesvesnog“ sleta, koje očituje nemoć socijalističke države da postane jedno sa sopstvenim društvom.

Pri tome, želim da razjasnim teorijsku osnovu ovog postupka. Hewitt veliku pažnju posvećuje analizi buržoaskog gesta i određuje ga kao čitljiv i komunikativan pokret, pokret koji je jezički artikulisan, odnosno koji je, agambenovski rečeno, sama „otelovljena komunikacija“. (Hewitt 2005, 83) Međutim, on ne suprotstavlja buržoaski proleterskom gestu, tačnije, tvrdi da sam pojam gesta jeste buržoaski pojam te da proleterski i ne postoji. (Hewitt 2005, 80) Ja bih ipak rekla da sve i ako gest jeste buržoaski pojam, zaključak je preuranjen, jer iz toga ne proizlazi da proleterski gest ne postoji, mada je možda pojam „preuzet“. Društva realnog socijalizma bila su veoma ceremonijalizovana, od masovnih spektakala ideologije pa do svakodnevnih praksi – u školi, na radnom mestu, medijima i sl, i stvorila su čitavu lepezu prepoznatljivih i konvencionalnih gestova. Bez njih, alegoričnost sleta, o kojoj ću uskoro pisati, ne bi mogla da funkcioniše jer bi bila nečitljiva ili, obrnuto, ona se bazirala na pretpostavci

referentnih gestova u društvenom životu. Drugi aspekt analize tiče se „saplitanja” kao ne-gesta. Osnovna teza Hewittove kritičke studije gesta – u kojoj referira na Balzaca – je da se saplitanje kao gubitak gesta pojavljuje kao eksplozija gesta preko granica čitljivosti. Međutim, ako hodanju kao gestualnom samopredstavljanju prethodi saplitanje, ono je zapravo sam začetak gestovnog jezika. U njemu se konačno ogleda rad društvene koreografije jer taj još-ne-gest, to saplitanje „preko praga socijalnog posredovanja”:

...označava ne samo trenutak prelaska prirode u kulturu – kao kod Rousseaua, somatske izražajne gestove kako otkrivaju svoju komunikacijsku vrednost – već bilo koji trenutak kada jedan kulturni poredak, doživljavan – ili, zapravo, više ne doživljavan – kao prirodan, ustupa mesto nekom drugom. (Hewitt 2005, 87)

Sletovi za Dan mladosti – osim što su demonstrirali potencijal omladine da iznese još bolju budućnost – promovisali su ideal bratstva-jedinstva u multinacionalnoj Jugoslaviji i tekovine NOBa: antifašističku borbu i socijalizam kao državotvornu agendu. Uz to, oni su bili i proslava rođendana Josipa Broza Tita, mada su njegov lik i delo *tableaux vivants* na stadionu srazmerno retko tematizovali.<sup>7</sup> On ih je pre obeležavao svojim likom i „posmatrao”: sa porteta na sceni, a za života i fizički sa počasnog mesta na vrhu tribine, kao personifikacija i čuvar gorepomenutih ideja.

Sintaksički, sletovi su nalikovali baroknim festivalima – i tu se slažem sa Branislavom Jakovljevićem, koji ih dovodi u vezu pre sa barokom nego romantizmom (Jakovljević 2008) – na najmanje dva načina. Dramaturgija priredbe zasnovane na kombinaciji različitih disciplina, žanrova i medija (gimnastike, plesa, muzike, slogana i vojne parade) je fragmentarna i sastoji se od niza numera, koje se ponekad ukupnjavaju u „blokove”, tj. tematske ili žanrovske celine (1987: vojna parada, Glumište, folklorne igre, tematski blok „Bomba u grudima” itd). Pored toga i još bitnije, postupak kojim slet proizvodi značenje jeste alegorija, karakteristično barokni oblik ekspresije. U tom smislu, ono što izvodi kolektivno telo na stadionu može se tumačiti kao „masovni ornament” (Kracauer 1995) jer deluje kao zgusnuta ekspresija iskustva naroda, njegovog samopoimanja i poimanja sopstvene istorije. Međutim, alegoriju – kako ju je opisao Benjamin na kojeg se Jakovljević poziva – ne treba shvatiti tek kao konvenciju te ekspresije već kao sam izraz konvencije. Masovni ornament sleta su prema tome razvijeni reprezentacijski poredak, gde *tableau vivant* nije samo konvencionalan i statičan označitelj pojma (crvena petrokraka kao opšti simbol komunizma), nego ima i „dublje”,

<sup>7</sup> Oni su se obično pojavljivali u vidu Titovog „potpisa”: epolette, stvarnog potpisa, ključnih godina i sl.



□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1987.

dinamično značenje koje je čitava priča o jednom društvenom subjektivitetu i njegovoj istoriji (istorija razvoja socijalizma, politički značaj ideje bratstva-jedinstva, ključne bitke i mesta iz NOBa, istorija Saveza komunista, priča o JNA izrasloj iz partizanskog pokreta i sl). Modus njegove ideološke operacije je međutim cirkularan, jer za „čitanje” *tableau vivanta* kao alegorije, tj. kako bi se dokučilo njeno neočigledno značenje, potrebno je upravo biti deo zajednice, „jezičkog kolektiva” kojeg je ona pretpostavljeni izraz. Tek tako pročitano značenje postaje afektivno i ideologija dobija performativni karakter.

Još jedna karakteristika sleta za Dan mladosti koju bih istakla je masovnost i izvođača (oko 8.000) i publike, što na stadionu JNA (oko 60.000 gledalaca), što kao milionski auditorijum ispred TV ekrana, kasnije kada su uvedeni TV prenosi. U skladu sa idejama participativnosti i egalitarnosti, ti brojni izvođači sleta su bili različiti mladi: učenici, studenti, radnici, sportisti, pioniri, folklorni igrači, gorani, izviđači i vojnici, iz raznih krajeva zemlje. Ova plešuća masa bezimernih tela većinom je u izvođačkom smislu bila i amaterska (i prilično nevirtuozna), čime su granice između izvođača i publike postajale porozne a – ukoliko je reč o mlađoj publici – njihove pozicije zamjenjive. Ovaj aspekt značajno razlikuje slet za Dan mladosti i od nacističkih parada i od praške spartakijade, a posebno od severnokorejske masovne gimnastike.

U tom smislu, slet jeste bio društveno emancipatorski jer ovu najveću državnu priredbu u principu nisu izvodili ni do perfekcije uvežbani virtuozni, niti istaknuti pojedinci, već su je

izvodili obični ljudi za obične ljude. To pak nije ugrožavalo njenu ideološku performativnost, već je naprotiv pojačavalo cirkularnost na kojoj se zasnivala ideološka operacija ove priredbe. Ipak, moram dodati da nasuprot ideji participativnosti a u skladu sa onom o mladom, zdravom i snažnom telu kao nosiocu revolucije, među izvođačima nije bilo invalidnih niti ostalih „drugih” tela. Ovo napominjem ne samo zbog političke korektnosti, već i jer to pokazuje da je slet u osnovi bio racionalno koreografisana izvedba politički svesnog jugoslovenske države, pa u strogom smislu i nije kreirao Kracauerove „masovne ornamente”.<sup>8</sup> Osim toga, ova primedba polemiše i o običnosti „običnog čoveka”, na koju računaju brojne emancipatorske i kulturno-umetničke i društvene prakse, uvodeći argument o prethodnoj ideološkoj obradi same običnosti koja dolazi iz autentične i neposredne realnosti.

Sletovi 1987. i 1988. se po mnogo čemu razlikuju od prethodnih, a pre svega po tome što se socijalistička društvena koreografija u njima raspala i nestala naočigled jugoslovenske javnosti. Održani su sedam i osam godina nakon Titove smrti, u doba ekonomske krize u Jugoslaviji, kada su odnosi među republikama postali sve zategnutiji, u vreme političkog uspona Slobodana Miloševića i njegove „antibirokratske revolucije”, neposredno pred pad Berlinskog zida i uoči raspada SFRJ i ratova koji su ga pratili. Sa ovom naknadnom istorijskom pameću

<sup>8</sup> Koje karakteriše nesvesnost, pa: „Mesto koje neka epoha zauzima u istorijskom procesu može se upečatljivije iz analize njenih neupadljivih, površinskih izraza, nego iz sudova te epohe o sebi. [...] Površinski izrazi, međutim, zahvaljujući svojoj nesvesnoj prirodi, pružaju neposredan pristup osnovnoj građi stanja stvari.” (Kracauer 1995, 75)



□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1987.

deluje, barem na prvi pogled, zapanjujuće da su to bile zvanične državne priredbe.

Sletu 1987. prethodio je skandal izazvan usvajanjem postera Dana mladosti, koji je ironično predložila slovenačka grupa Novi konzervativizam (Neue Slowenische Kunst), a koji se zasnivao na aproprijaciji slike *Treći rajh* nacističkog slikara Richarda Kleina. Slovenački umetnici su, međutim, na slici promenili ideološka obeležja, pa je mišićavi mladić umesto nemačke zastave u ruci dobio jugoslovensku a orao je zamenjen golubom. O ovom slučaju je već mnogo pisano i on nije tema teksta, pa ću ga ovde zaključiti ponovo otvorenim pitanjem: Da li je promenom simbola zaista promenjeno sve, pa je skandal koji je izbio kada je otkrivena pozadina postera samo histerična reakcija paranoidne vlasti ili je sama estetika slike sa svojom politikom tela nosila ideološko breme, koje je uznemirujuće povezivalo jugoslovenski socijalistički sa nemačkim nacističkim sistemom? U svakom slučaju, neposredno pred polazak štafete, poster je zamenjen prikazom zelenog lista na crvenoj pozadini iz koje izranja crvena petokraka, koja kao da „nagrizla” list (koji simbolizuje mladost) – što je opet izazvalo dvoumljenje – dok je štafeta te godine bila glomazan valjak od pleksi glasa sa osam crvenih kapljica na vrhu – koje su kasnije pročitane kao kapi krvi pa time i najava jugoslovenskih ratova.

Sama predstava, ukovirena ovom ambivalentnom ikonografijom, bila je jedan hibridni, konfuzni i izblebeli socijalistički spektakl koji je izmešao pop kulturu, folklor, probleme svakodnevnog života i revolucionarnu retoriku.<sup>9</sup> Naslov sleta je bio prilično nerevolucionarni vapaj – *Upalite svetlo*, bez objašnjenja ko je u kakvom mraku i kome je molba/naredba upućena, pošto je to po cirkularnom kodu („ko zna, razumeće”) trebalo da je jasno. Na stadionu se nalazila plava pozornica čiji su popdizajnirani panoi neonima ocrtavali prizore iz života mladih (od sporta do rok muzike), dok su po njoj tokom sleta učesnici ispisivali privatne grafite. TV komentatori su je uporno nazivali „alternativnom”, verovatno želeći

da istaknu njenu savremenost i neopterećenost socijalističkom ikonografijom. Portet Tita ipak nije izostao, čak, ovog puta – nakon dužeg vremena – to nije bio portret Tita u civilu, već Tita kao borca, sa partizanskom kapom. Na bini su se smenjivali pevači i grupe koji su izvodili pop hitove tog vremena: „Seobe” grupe Kerber, „Za treću smenu” i „Stari orkestar” Đ. Balaševića, „K-15” (Radnička odmara se klasa) Prave kotke, „Bomba u grudima” grupe Džakarta itd. Pored njih, izvođene su i pesme koje populistički podsećaju na bratstvo-jedinstvo, poput „Hej, Jugosloveni” i „Cela Juža jedna avlija”, odnosno revoluciju, poput „Nije sloboda sa neba pala”.

Dok se veoma insistiralo na profesionalizmu, modernosti i tehničkim inovacijama,<sup>10</sup> izbledeost socijalističke socijalne koreografije primećuje se već u samim *tableauxima* koji su većinom bili ideološki slabi simboli: cvetno polje, srce, detelina s četiri lista ili prizor seoba, sa dve kućice, oblacima i pticama „koje lete na jug”. Međutim, ovaj slet ne bi bio toliko hibridan i konfuzan da usred te kič koreografske slikovnice nije nastupila JNA sa numerom „Armija naša narodna” K. Kovača u izvođenju J. Zlokić, M. Kovača i D. Topića. Iako je prethodnih godina slet demilitarizovan i postizan je dogovor s vojskom da ne nastupa samostalno, pa su gledaoci već 1979. imali prilike da vide kako vojnici nose pionire koji stavljaju cveće u cevi pušaka (Grigorov 2008, 114-115), JNA je ovog puta nastupila sama. Potpuno naoružana. I odlično uvežbana. Publici to nije delovalo uznemirujuće; nastup „vojnika sunca” i „vojske mira”, kako je samu sebe opisala, razgalio ju je i publika benevolentno počinje da peva i pljeska u ritmu koračnice obezbedivši tako vojsci performans produžen u gledalište. A uskoro i mnogo šire.

Međutim, ono što najviše upada u oči je da je koreografija sleta – osim nastupa JNA i folklornih ansambala [*sic!*] – neuobičajeno nemarno izvedena, pa su *tableaux vivants* narknjeni, iskrivljeni, nepravilnih kontura i ponekad dobro dođe objašnjenje TV komentatora da metež na stadionu „prevede” u cvetno polje. Ovaj estetički komentar potvrđuje ono na šta Hewitt ukazuje kada u analizi gesta ističe saplitanje, kao iskorak iz gesta i time njegovu osnovnu instancu. Taj nečitljivi pokret je ne-mesto gesta, negativitet iz kojeg se sam gest čita kao gest i koji time pokazuje rad društvene koreografije.

Na taj način se naročito mogu analizirati „telesne tehnike” samih izvođača. Jedno od rediteljskih rešenja TV prenosa sletova bila je smena širokih i krupnih planova. Ta praksa nije nova, još u *Trijumu volje* Riefenstahl je

<sup>10</sup> Osamdesetih godina, na mesto ljudi poput Paje Kulture [Spasoje Grdinić] došla je nova generacija mladih scenarista, sa modernim idejama, za koje je na prvom mestu bio tzv. profesionalizam, a lični momenti i emocije bili su više usputni. [...] Žarko Čigoja neprekidno potencira tehničke parametre ovog događaja. Bivši scenarista podvlači da je šou imao producente, muzičke urednike, koreografe. (Grigorov 2008, 115)



□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1987.

koristi kako bi monumentalnost *tableauxa* pokazala i u pojedinačnom izvođačkom zanosu i posvećenosti promovisanoj ideji. Istovremeno, socijalistički slet je fizikalnost učesnika programski tretirao ovako:

Pažljivo promišljeno razmeštanje telâ po stadionu bukvalno je pretvaralo ljudska bića u simbole i slova, tvoreći spektakularan masovni jezik tela. Taj jezik je imao svoju gramatiku, svoju tehniku, kako u fukoovskom smislu stvoriti „precizno čitljiva i poslušna” tela. Najpre, takva tehnika se usredsređivala na pojedinačno telo, rastavljajući ga na najmanje analitičke jedinice – pokrete delova tela. Pomoću ritma, ti delovi su zatim iznova komponovani, shodno matematičkim i geometrijskim obzirima. [...] Organizatori masovnih gimnastičkih prikaza pravili su posebne mreže, „žive slike” i svakom gimnastičaru dodeljivali tačno mesto na preseku apstraktnih x i y osa. Stojeći na svom označenom mestu na stadionu, gimnastičar više nije pripadao prirodnoj zajednici, nego je postajao analitička jedinica, koja se mogla usmeravati, kontrolisati i analizirati iz jednog centra. (Orsolja, Roubal 2001, b.p.)

Kod sleta 1987. sve ovo nije slučaj. Tela izvođača u krupnim planovima nisu više analitičke jedinice i nisu tekst. Izvođači deluju „privatno”: zbnjeni su, zvaću žvake, smeju se, gurkaju i domundavaju; koreografiju uglavnom izvode odsutno mehanički ili svako na svoj način, a nekad su i zatečeni jer ne znaju šta treba da rade; dok na njihovim licima nema revolucionarnog zanosu – ni konvencije izraza niti izraza konvencije ideologije. To je naravno i objašnjenje zašto su *tableauxi* na kraju trajali, što se zatim vidi u totalima. Kritika ipak verovatno nije bila namera TV ekipe, već je ovo rezultat pre jednog mehaničkog evidentiranja stanja stvari, pomešanog sa populističkim simpatijama prema izvođačima čija privatnost ispada iz socijalističke težnje je da ukine i učini i sam privatn život građana javnim. Kada je Makavejev 1962. snimio jedan od čuvenih filmova jugoslovenskog Crnog talasa, *Parada*, njegov se dokumentarac smatrao ozbiljnom društvenom kritikom jer je snimajući Prvomajsku paradu, umesto centralnog događaja na kome

<sup>9</sup> Vid. prethodnu, rudimentarnu analizu ovog sleta u Čvejić, Vujanović 2012, 69-70.

„sve štima“, pokazao raštimovani *backstage* radnika i učesnika, gde su tela prestala da budu tekstualna i socijalistički gest se raspadao upravo na ovaj način. S obzirom da je sada, 1987. taj *backstage* prenet na samu javnu cenu, ironično bih ovaj, kao i sledeći slet nazvala crnim talasom jugoslovenskog sleta.

Kolapsu socijalističke društvene koreografije tokom sleta 1987. doprinose i ambivalentni komentari TV komentatora, kao i aforizmi koji se projektuju na semaforu (koji TV gledaoci ne vide pa ih komentatori povremeno čitaju). Oni su uglavnom kritični i ironični što prema samoj priredbi što prema društvenoj stvarnosti, pa se oglašavaju poput kakvog neposrednog glasa naroda, dok su istovremeno predstavnici državne televizije:

K1: Odbrojavanje je počelo. Šta je to? Radnička klasa broji. Šta broji? Broji ostatak plate i pita se: mogla bi na more, a kako, ako mora – može li? ... Na more ću otići, a možda i neću, optimista sam, majko...

K2: Da, na semaforu piše upravo to: „Optimista sam, jer se ovako dalje ne može.“

Dva momenta su ključna u tom smislu. Jedan se tiče komentara koji prate numeru „Kakvo kolo naokolo“ u izvođenju folklornih ansambala, kojom se otvara prvi blok sleta, nazvan, opet zloslutno, „Bomba u grudima“. Muzika s folklornim temama jugoslovenskih naroda i narodnosti zasniva se na „Brankovom kolu“ romantičarskog srpskog kompozitora Josifa Marinkovića, komponovanom na tekst iz pesme „Đački rastanak“ takođe romantičarskog srpskog pesnika Branka Radičevića, dok se koreografija sastoji od varijacija kola. Kako ta duža i uzburkana numera dostiže krešendo, tako TV komentatori pojačavaju tenziju iz kontrapunkta. Otvoreno je čitaju kao simptom rastućeg nacionalizma i kritikuju izvođače koji se odvajaju i umesto zajedničkog, jugoslovenskog igraju osam nacionalnih kola:

K1: Kao što vidite, kolo je krenulo složno. ... Ali nešto počinje da se dešava.

K2: Dobro, gde je to ono složno kolo na početku? Zašto se kola, jedno po jedno, polako odvajaju?

K1: Evo, Srbija se odvojila, pa Hrvatska, Bosna i Hercegovina... Jedna po jedna republika i pokrajina se odvajaju.

K2: Zašto igramo osam različitih kola? Zašto igramo... zašto igraju kola na svoje nacionalno prepoznatljive melodije, a ne igraju zajedno?

K1: Čini se da nismo sjedinjeni kako bi trebalo da budemo. ... Ovo kolo upozorava na trenutnu situaciju.

Celov ovoj kakofoniji – ko (sve) tu govori kome i u čije ime – doprinose i aforizmi na semaforu rasuti kroz slet, poput: „Svaki nacionalizam jednako je opasan, čak i naš.“ ili „Ima toliko raskrsnica, a putevi nedostaju“. Osim što izgovaraju „javnu tajnu“ o rastućem nacionalizmu

u jugoslovenskom društvu krajem 1980ih, komentatori i aforizmi insistiraju na ekonomskoj i političkoj krizi tog vremena. Eklatantan primer uvođenja te teme u državnu priredbu je blok „Glumište“. Ne samo zbog komentara.

Glumište se pojavljuje kao jedna haotična didrovska pozorišna skupina, sastavljena od brojnih karaktera iz raznih društvenih slojeva, „od prosjaka do kraljevića“ i kostimirana u skladu sa epohom („istorijom Evrope“) iz koje dolazi. U smislu kritičnosti, najupečatljiviji deo bloka je numera „Stari orkestar“. Koreografija baletske koreografkinje Lidije Pilipenko netipična je za slet i slične masovne priredbe namenjene pogledu iz velike daljine i ptičje perspektive, jer je zapravo pozorišna ansambl scena. Pa dok plesači izvode dvorske poklone i razne plesove individualno, u duetima i manjim grupama, na stadionu se ne formira nikakav masovni ornament. Pesma Đorđa Balaševića za to vreme peva o starom orkestru koji ne silazi sa scene iako stalno svira istu besmisleni pesmu „tra la la la“. Numera referira na tadašnju političku elitu i jednopartijski sistem, u kojem se dugogodišnji funkcioneri Saveza komunista oglašuju o probleme društvene stvarnosti. No sve ovo Glumište izvodi kao fikciju, kao pozorišnu predstavu unutar sleta. Njihov nastup se zasniva na postupku „teatar u teatru“, koji – pošto je umetnost tj. fikcija – omogućava da se kaže „istina“ a da se za to ne snosi kazna. Tu zaštitnu auru pojačava i istorijska nepreciznost epohe, što iskaz Glumišta čini vanvremenskim i stoga zdravorazumskim u njegovoj univerzalnosti. TV komentatori i ovog puta pojačavaju tenziju, ali sada slaganjem sa onim što se izvodi na stadionu (K: „I, naravno, jedan stari orkestar koji treba zameniti.“) i konačno preuzimanjem refrena „tra la la la“ kojim komentarišu naredni aforizam, „Sve je prolazno, posledice su trajne“. Međutim, kada komentatori preuzmu „tra la la la“, ono izlazi iz fikcije Glumišta i postaje nova realnost sleta. I upravo je to njen efekat. Da bi pokrenulo ovaj mehanizam, Glumište kao teatar u teatru uvodi lom u reprezentacijski poredak sleta koji dok projektuje društvo teži da bude njegova ekspresija, čime se vraćamo na teren alegorije i ne-gesta splitanja. Postupak Glumišta je ciničan, jer teatar u teatru uzima slet „preozbiljno“, razotrivajući da je „car go“. Glumište je dakle „glupo“ i ne čita alegoriju, ono napušta mesto u pretpostavljenoj jezičko-ideološkoj zajednici – koju slet uzima i za referenta i za adresata u realnosti – i pojavljuje se odnekud drugde usred alegorije. Na taj način, Glumište kao fikcija fikcije konačno zahvata realnost, pokazujući da je slet promašuje. Ovaj postupak ukazuje i na poslednji korak potreban za punu cirkularnost ideološke operacije sleta, upravo time što ga Glumište ne izvodi: ne samo da treba biti član ideološko-jezičke zajednice da bi se pročitala alegorija, koja je njen pretpostavljeni izraz, već, istovremeno, da bi se postalo članom te zajednice, potrebno

je znati ispravno pročitati alegoriju. Zanimljivo je iz perspektive te „građanske neposlušnosti“ Glumišta primetiti da se njihov nečitljiv šum u vidu izostanka masovnog ornamenta može shvatiti kao osnovna instanca masovnog ornamenta u Kracauerovom smislu – a to je sama masa ljudi, njihova nestrukturirana telesnost, koja nesvesnošću o izrazu konvencije legitimizuje svoj iskaz kao autentičan izraz do tada nepredstavljenog naroda. Postupak Glumišta je istorijski poznat i po figuri dvorske lude. A njegov cinizam je u uceni: ja sam luda i stoga me nećeš uzeti za ozbiljno (ja ne pripadam poretku realnosti); a ako prekršiš dogovor i uzmeš me za ozbiljno (da jesam glas realnosti) onda si sam luda. Stoga ga je teško bilo kritikovati a da se time ne prizna fikcionalni karakter samog sleta, što su naknadne javne kritike upravo učinile.

Ipak, na kraju ostaje dalekosežno pitanje o kojem se iz ovog analitičkog okvira jedino može spekulirati: Da li je ono što se u raspadu koreografije sleta 1987. otvara – realnost? O kojoj je realnosti ovde reč? Da li je to autentičan izraz nepredstavljenih građana? Ili: odakle je ona generisana, čiji glas Glumište uvodi na javnu scenu? Ono što i Hewitt i, pre njega, brojni marksistički teoretičari o tome u načelu govore jeste da je zabluda u onome što kao ne-tekstualni šum prodire kroz naprsnuće gesta ili ideološkog okvira tražiti nekakvu neposrednu istinu, realnost i autentičnost jer, kako bi rekao Karl Popper, pre nego što osporimo hipotezu, obično već imamo drugu u rukavu.

Tako taj nečitljiv ne-gest koji se pojavljuje u naprsnicama sleta 1987. dobija svoju inteligibilnost već naredne godine, kada je održana poslednja priredba za Dan mladosti, ovog puta bez Štafete koja je u međuvremenu ukinuta. Te godine, na stadionu JNA se kao slet izvodi umetnička plesna predstava, sa jednom jedinom heroinom. Umesto estradno orijentisanih autora – ekipu sleta 1987. činili su scenaristi Slobodan Vujović i Žarko Čigoja i reditelj Mihailo Vukobratović – slet sada potpisuju poznati pozorišni stvaraoci: reditelj je Paolo Madeli, koreograf Damir Zlatar Frey, a glavnu ulogu igra Sonja Vukićević, baletska igračica i koreografkinja modernog plesa. Slet se zasniva na adaptaciji profesionalne predstave *Uro boros*, u produkciji Kulturnog centra „Novi Sad“, koja je prethodne godine sa velikim uspehom izvedena na festivalu Budva grad-teatar.

Cela priredba započinje nadahnutim govorom glumice Ivane Žigon, u slavu velikana pozorišne umetnosti 20. veka (od avangardista do Wilsona) i slobodnog ljudskog duha. Na stadionu je zatim mrak, u kojem vidimo jedino bezbroj baklji kako jure scenom. Nakon toga sledi dramatična i mračna predstava u žanru koreo-drame stadionskih razmera o destrukciji i regeneraciji, životu i smrti. Svojim asketskim



□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1988.

sportsko-plesnim telom, u beloj haljini, bosa i sa dugom kosom, Sonja Vukićević ekspresivno izvodi figuru rastzanog pojedinca, koji se bori sa preprekama i samim sobom, ali na kraju ipak ne predaje. Iako je stadion prepun izvođača<sup>11</sup> ona potpuno dominira scenom, čime se slet 1988. pretvorio u plesni solo, ogromnih dimenzija. Čitava koreografija i scenografija, sa naročito efektinim fokusiranim svetlom upošljena je da prvi put u istoriji sleta izdvoji jedno telo iz anonimne plešuće mase. Ono celu predstavu besomučno trči stadionom, poliva ga kiša, probija se kroz more, da bi se na kraju, doslovno izmučeno i iznemoglo ali još uvek uspravno pojavilo na uzdignutoj platformi u centru stadiona, oko koje se u koncentričnim krugovima u polumraku organizuje narod.

Istorijski kontekst predstave nije sasvim precizan; simbolički poredak sleta se odriče savremenosti i estetika prevashodno evocira srednjovekovnu atmosferu, pošto su izvođači kostimirani u seljane nalik feudalnim kmetovima. Tih 9.000 ostalih izvođača tako dobija (kvazi) tautološku ulogu naroda kao naroda, dok je među njima samo jedan, virtuozan pojedinac izdvojen, izuzetan i izuzet. Bio je to i sintaksički i simbolički slom sletovske ideologije „hajdemo svi zajedno“. Pa ako se teza Renate Salecl da u jednom trenutku u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji niko nije verovao u socijalizam nego su svi verovali da drugi veruju (Salecl 2010, min. 8.05-9.50) može oprimeriti sletom 1987, onda priredba iz 1988. pokazuje da tada niko više nije verovao ni da iko veruje, pa ni država sama. Međutim, taj slom ne treba smatrati kolapsom ideologije uopšte i prelaskom na postideološko i postistorijsko doba. Jer ono što smenjuje sletovski kolektivism i egalitarizam nije „ideološki neopterećeno“. Naprotiv, bez ideološke propagande kakvu smo videli prethodnih godina, slet 1988. suptilnijim, umetničkim sredstvima promovise individualizam kao novu ideološku matricu.

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<sup>11</sup> Prema svedočenstvu izvođačice sa njom, osim partnera, nastupa 9.000 omladinaca. Izjava je data u intervjuu autorke sa Sonjom Vukićević u okviru istraživanja plesne scene u Srbiji i video arhive Tigrov skok u prošlost, Saše Asentića i autorke, Beograd, 2007, <http://vimeo.com/16371324> (20. 10. 2013.)

Pre nego što kažem nešto o tom individualizmu, zadržacu se kratko na aspektu umetničkog. Kao što sam na početku teksta pomenula, u postrevolucionarnom SSSRu pojmom fiskulture izveden je transfer sporta u kulturu, što je po O'Mahonyju bila svojevrsna legitimizacija masovne radničke kulture nasuprot buržoaskoj, elitističkoj koja je radije veličala umetnost. Tako je socijalistički slet – od spartakijade, preko masovne gimnastike do sleta za Dan mladosti – nastao kao ideološki spektakl koji veoma insistira na estetskom, ali je to estetsko ovde shvaćeno u osnovnom smislu i ne znači nužno umetničko. Čak, sa umetničkim treba oprezno i vešto balansirati, kako bi se pojačali ideološki afekat i efekat ali bez skretanja u buržoaski elitizam, *l'art pour l'artizam* i dekadenciju. Glumište je svojim teatarskim blokom 1987. uvelo pukotinu u ovaj estetski poredak, kroz koju je 1988. izronila cela umetnička plesno-teatarska predstava na mestu sleta. Iz ideološko-političke perspektive sloma socijalizma i revitalizacije kapitalizma, odnosno sloma proleterskog i revitalizacije buržoaskog društva u Jugoslaviji simptomatično je uporediti ovaj zaokret sa savetodavno-naredbodavnim predavanjem koje je Kim Jong-il upravo 1987. održao organizatorima korejskih masovnih gimnastika uoči sleta za Dan sunca odnosno rođendan Kim Il-sunga, *Napredna džuč Koreja*. Preneću delove:

Naša masovna gimnastika je mešoviti oblik sveobuhvatnih telesnih vežbi, koje udružuju visoke ideološke sadržaje, umetnička svojstva i gimnastičke veštine. [...] Revolucionarni sadržaj teme nekog prikaza masovne gimnastike pojačava njegova ideološka i umetnička svojstva i obrazovni značaj. [...] Kada se od njih traži da usvajaju nove oblike pri pravljenju svakog prikaza masovne

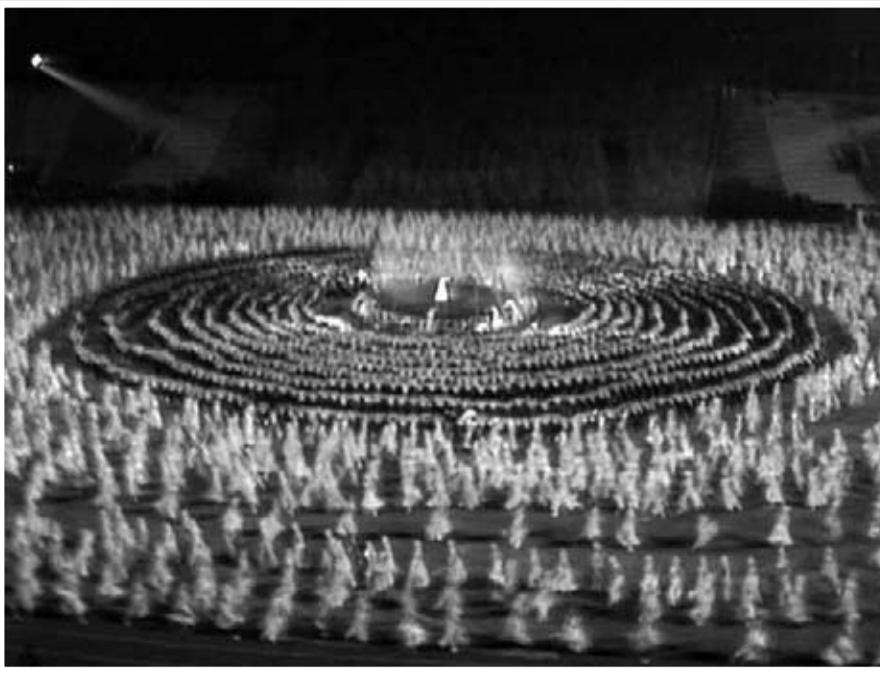
gimnastike, kreativni radnici pokušavaju da izrade i koriste umetničke ručne rekvizite i opremu, umesto gimnastičkih ručnih rekvizita i opreme. Zato, gimnastičkim izvedbama nedostaje snage i pokretačke sile i one počinju da liče na umetničke izvedbe. Od sada, za gimnastičke formacije se moraju praviti i koristiti gimnastički ručni rekviziti i oprema. [...] U praktičnom smislu, pozadinski prikazi i muzika su potrebni da bi izvedbe gimnastičara učinili laganijim. Potčinjavanjem muzike pokretima igrača, izbeći će se tendencija masovnih gimnastičkih izvedbi da liče na plesne ili umetničke izvedbe. [...] Ako se previše muzike koristi kao gimnastička muzika, masovna gimnastička izvedba može postati umetnička izvedba. To nije dobro. [...] Glavni nedostatak ovog dela [*Napredna džuč Koreja*] je u tome što liči na plesno i umetničko delo. (Jong-il 1987, b.p.)

Da se vratim na individualističku matricu sleta. Da je individualizam sleta 1988. ideološka kategorija podjednako koliko je to bio kolektivism, važna je teza u analizi društvene koreografije i savremenog plesa, zasnovanog za emancipaciji individualnog tela (iako se ona inherentno smatra antiideološkom). Dodatno, ova teza ga, specifičnije a nasuprot raširenoj tvrdnji, umesto za demokratsko, vezuje pre svega za kapitalističko društvo. Ranije sam o tome pisala, pa ću ponoviti deo argumentacije:

Prema tome, pojam „emancipacije individue“ (pripisan demokratskim društvima) nije suprotan ideologiji (pripisanoj nedemokratskim društvima), već je njen specifičan princip. A njegova (ideološka) suprotnost je „kolektivism“. Prvi je karakterističan za kapitalističko društvo i izranja iz ekonomskog principa privatnog vlasništva, kao njegova ideološka

□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1988.





□ Slet za Dan mladosti, 1988.

potpora. Drugi je deo socijalističke/komunističke ideologije i uzrokovan je principom društvene svojine. [...] Tako, u kapitalističkim društvima nailazimo na istoriju savremenog plesa kao umetničke prakse emancipacije individue, kroz oslobođenje tela, ekspresiju, kreativnost, autorsko ime itd. Na socijalističkom istoku, takva praksa je bila smatrana za buržoaski luksuz i, iz potrebe za socijalno i ekonomski učinkovitim kolektivom, zamenjena je plesom kao „hajdemo zajedno!“ i često gotovo anonimnim kulturnim praksama sleta, parade, amaterskog plesa, folkloru itd. [...] Metaforički govoreći, profesionalni-zapadni-savremeni-plesač je idealna slika nezavisnog, obrazovanog i veštog menadžera privatnog preduzeća, dok je istočnoma-masa-(polu)amaterskih-izvođača projekcija radničkih saveta, u kojima svaki glas ima podjednaku važnost i vrednost u strukturi radne snage koja pripada svima (u stvari, društvu). (Vujanović 2008, 38-39)

Međutim, ako koreografiju sleta 1988. shvatimo kao alegoriju ideologije individualizma, onda se kao i ranije mora preći na njenu specifičniju društvenu razinu. Moja ključna teza, kojom ću i završiti ovu analizu, je da je ta alegorija ovde dvosmislena, jer traži da se pročita na dva, naizgled kontradiktorna načina istovremeno. Po jednom, ona nakon kraha socijalističkog kolektivizma i njegovog ozloglašenog partikularizma, slavi sam pojam slobodne i nezavisne individue (što, trebalo bi, može biti svako u svojim specifičnostima, dakle kao singularnosti jedne množine), a po drugom, isprobava novi kolektivizam zasnovan na opet partikularističkom samozrtvovanju i ultimativnoj podršci (kom?) istaknutom pojedincu. Ova

politika tela pripada novom društvenom i ideološkom poglavlju Jugoslavije, ali pre toga retroaktivno postavlja pitanje i o društvenoj (dis)funkcionalnosti sleta za Dan mladosti. Naime, društvena funkcija sleta bila je da izvedbom i probom socijalističkog kolektivizma konstituiše identitet novog društvenog subjekta, sposobnog da očuva tekovine revolucije i nastavi revolucionarnim putem ka komunizmu. Za tu vrstu performativnosti identiteta, pisala je Judith Butler, nije svakako dovoljna jedna izvedba, potrebna je repetitivnost i duga vremenska perspektiva. I upravo je to ono što je slet radio, zajedno sa mnogim drugim priredbama i ritualima u ceremonijalizovanom jugoslovenskom društvu. Pored uvođenja fiskulture u redovnu nastavu od osnovne škole, slet je iz godine u godinu, punih 30 godina, javno izvodio, isprobavao i trenirao mlada tela za identitet budućih socijalističkih Jugoslavena. Ipak, slet 1987. pokazao je taj identitet kao klimav, porozan, društveno ne(više)utemeljen, da bi ga već 1988. zamenio potpuno drugačiji model: istaknuti pojedinac okružen masom. Pitanje je gde je nestalo ono društveno telo koje se 30 godina uvežbavalo za neku sasvim drugu sliku sveta: kako se tako brzo preoblikovalo ili se nije ni oblikovalo? Jedino je sigurno da je prekid njegovog estetskog kontinuuma izveden na spektakularan način u državnim samoizvedbama 1987. i 1988, kada novi identitet, sa svom dvosmislenošću simbioze istaknutog pojedinca i bezbojne mase, dobija društveno utemeljenje – pojavom vođa naroda u republikama i jačanjem nacionalizma kao identifikacionih uporišta građana koja ih oko njih okupljaju – i obeležice jugoslovensku društvenu stvarnost narednog perioda. ■

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# Kolektivna tela protesta: društvene koreografije i materijalnost društvenih figuracija

**Gabriele KLEIN** ● ●

**Sažetak** ● U žiži ovog teksta je jedna globalno i politički rovišta tema: pojava kolektivnih tela i društvenih koreografija u urbanom performans artu i pokretima protesta, koje obuhvataju, s jedne strane, interdisciplinarno preplitanje društvenih nauka i, s druge, filozofije umetnosti i studija ljudskih pokreta. Cilj teksta je da ispita estetske prakse i društvene figuracije estetskih i političkih intervencija u javnom prostoru, pomoću teorijskog pojma društvene koreografije.

**Estetizacija političkog** ● Poslednjih godina, nastala je jedna nova kultura političkog učešća, i u arapskim zemljama i u zapadnom svetu, pre svega u velikim gradskim središtima. Pomoću društvenih medija (interneta, Facebooka, Twittera, elektronske pošte, SMS poruka), razvile su se na prelazu iz jednog stoleća u drugo nove prakse i figuracije

kulture protesta u javnom prostoru, s ciljem da se uhvate u koštac s pitanjima zajedničkog postojanja izvan institucionalizovane politike i zvanično legitimne političke scene.

Nasuprot arapskom svetu, na Zapadu, koji je tema ovog teksta, protesti su u mnogim slučajevima poprimili estetske oblike. U svojim intervencijama u javnom prostoru, ove nove kulture protesta u zapadnom svetu svoje uzore traže u onim segmentima istorije umetnosti koji su zastupali šire razumevanje umetnosti. S jedne strane, tu su umetnički pokreti iz 1920ih godina, poput dadaizma, futurizma, pozorišne umetnosti Bauhauasa, nadrealizma i Situacionističke internacionale 60ih godina, kao i „spontni“ pokreti, koje su izazvali Kommune I, autonomizam u Italiji i akcije Spaßguerille 80ih godina. S druge strane, oni nastoje da se nadovežu na uličnu kulturu koja se u evropskim gradovima utvrdila u 19. veku i koja svakodnevnim situacije i kulturne

tradicije politizuje i seli u javni prostor (Kaschuba 1991): karnevalske povorke, ulično pozorište, izvedbe i (traktorske) parade, okupiranje kuća, raskrsnica, gradilištâ i železničkih pruga. *Flash mobs*, vezivanje ili kačenje na mostove, smelo i drsko lepljenje plakata, kampovanje u šatorskim naseljima i svlačenje i smrzavanje čine ne samo spektakularne slike, već, poput pokreta „Okupiraj“, u sklopu s društvenim medijima, i nove izvedbene formacije i figuracije protestnih kultura.

Kada je reč o tim kulturama, reč „pokret“ ne bi trebalo posmatrati samo metaforično, nego i doslovno, usled njegovih telesnih, scenskih i koreografskih činova, čime teorije društvenog pokreta tek treba na odgovarajuć način da se pozabave. Sa stajališta društvene koreografije, sociološki pristup telu – koji ga uglavnom posmatra u jedini – se širi tako što uključuje i sadejstvo telâ, koje se materijalizuje u scenskim praksama i oblicima koreografije.

**Politicizacija estetskog** ● U isti mah, u javnom prostoru se razvijaju i mnogi projekti izvođačkih umetnosti. Oni se poimaju kao *potrage za novim perspektivama političkog* ili kao *eksperimentalna polja društvenog*. Njihova su povesna porekla poznata i o njima se obimno pisalo: na primer, tu su *happening* (Kaprow), *nouveau réalisme* (Tinguely), Fluxus (Paik, Beuys), bečki akcionizam (Brus, Mühl, Nitsch) i umetnici performans arta u ranoj fazi (Horn, Naumann, Export, Ono, Abramović); od 60ih i 70ih godina, naročito se izvođačke umetnosti (vizuelne umetnosti, muzika, pozorište, ples) sve više zanimaju za javni život u gradovima, u isto vreme i reagujući na preobražaj gradova.

Od 90ih godina, savremena evropska umetnička izvedba i naročito koreografija razvijaju estetske pojmove za pristupanje kulturnom i političkom životu u javnom prostoru i ispitivanje pojma učešća u javnom životu (npr. Blast Theory, Forced Entertainment, Gob Squad, Lab of Insurrectional Imagination, La Pocha Nostra, Ligna, SheShePop, Turbo Pascal, Rimini Protokoll, Femen, Pussy Riot, Toyshop Collective, Space Hijackers).

Ali, njihov se umetnički rad odvija u drugačijem društvenom kontekstu, koji studije izvedbe, u saglasju s Hardtom i Negrijem (Hard & Negri 2005), tumače kao postfordistički (Virno 2004). S postfordističkim i neoliberalnim poimanjem rada, i sâm umetnički rad poprima drugačije društveno značenje: kreativnost, originalnost, improvizaciju, spontanost, inovativan entuzijizam, spajanje rada i življenja – sve ono što su bile istinske odlike umetničke avangarde sada postaje obavezna odlika rada u postfordističkim uslovima proizvodnje i neoliberalnim političkim pojmovima. Tu se umetnici smatraju pionirima (Boltanski i Chiapello 2005). Kreativnost je dospela do položaja upravljačkog mehanizma savremenih društava (Reckwitz 2012). Takođe, *preobražaj rada* (Klein i Kunst 2012) doveo je do promene u *društvenom značaju umetnosti*: dok je umetnost Novog veka svoj društveni legitimitet zasnivala na autonomiji i kritičkoj distanci, uloga umetnika se toliko izmenila da umetnost sada sve više određuje njena funkcija unutar društvenih polja obrazovanja, kulture i nauke.

Koreografski i izvedbeni projekti su takođe umešani u ovaj novi i veoma napeti umetnički sukob kritičke avangarde, inovativnih participativnih umetničkih projekata i ugovornog rada za razne naručioce (gradove, mesta, škole, vlasti, crkve, obrazovne i kulturne ustanove, udruženja). Reclaim the Streets (Povrati ulice) – protestni pokret za vraćanje javnog prostora, zatim izraelski izvođački kolektiv Public Movement (Javni pokret), pa Pink and Silver (Ružičasto i srebrno) i, na kraju, Volxtheaterkarawane (Karavan narodnog pozorišta), austrijski pokret protiv rasizma,

samo su neki od brojnih projekata koji ispituju figuracije društvene prakse u uzajamnom dejstvu sa umetničkim i participativnim tipovima delovanja.

U studijama izvedbe i plesa ostvaren je konsenzus da participativni umetnički projekti u gradskom prostoru nude alternativne poglede i perspektive na život u gradu i da svojim načinima rada stvaraju sredstva za ispitivanje raznih vidova javnog učešća. Pri tom, oni napuštaju uobičajene pozorišne prostore i sele se u javni prostor ili druga mesta po gradovima (npr. škole, bolnice, skloništa za beskućnike). Ili, proglašavaju i sâm pozorište mestom društvenog učešća, preznačujući ga u prostor društvenog opita i tako se suprotstavljajući tradicionalnim okvirima. Urbana umetnička izvedba i koreografija pokazuju se kao pogodna polja za iskušavanje mogućnosti da ljudi različitih kultura i miljea, životnih stilova i stavova opšte u javnom prostoru, putem i unutar telesnih praksi.

Ovi umetnički projekti obnavljaju politički zadatak i javni značaj umetničke izvedbe tako što prodiru u javni prostor i odnose se prema *svakodnevnoj politici kao otevljenoj politici moći*. Njih gone pitanja pozorišne teorije, poput ovih: koja su mesta za pozorište? Kakva je struktura odnosa između glumca i javnosti? Kako teatralnost svakodnevice odraziti estetski? Kako se uređuju odnosi među telima?

**Društvena koreografija** ● Po prvi put, izraz „društvena koreografija“ u većoj meri je iskoristio Andrew Hewitt (Hewitt 2005), u teoriji književnosti. Hewitt je proučavao dela pisaca od sredine 19. do početka 20. veka iz književnog ugla, usredsređujući se na njihovo korišćenje pojma koreografije kao metafore za moderno. U uvodu svoje istoimene knjige, Hewitt iznosi tezu o vezi između koreografije i društvenog, ističući da je estetsko svojstveno društvenom, ili društvenom poretku (Hewitt 2005, 12). U skladu s tim, Hewitt zaključuje da koreografski pogled na svakodnevne prakse treba da prati pre svega dve putanje:

jednu, koja iscrta načine na koje se estetizuje svakodnevno iskustvo (ples estetizuje najosnovnija i određujuća svojstva kretanja ljudske životinje), i drugu, koja iscrta načine na koje je „estetsko“ zapravo odsečeno i odvojeno kao zasebno iskustveno područje. To je ono što podrazumevam pod estetskim kontinuumom društvene koreografije. (Hewitt 2005, 19)

Hewitt tako određuje društvenu koreografiju u smislu veza između estetskog i društvenog, koje i drugi autori primećuju (npr. Martin 1997). Međutim, ostaje pitanje kako odrediti i ispitati koreografsko kao poseban oblik estetskog i društvenog. Tako, koreografsko se stanovište ne usredsređuje na „estetsko“, već na materijalnost

prostorno-vremenskih odnosa tela, njihovih ritmova, dinamike, figuracija i formacija.

U isti mah, Hewittov pristup još jedno pitanje ostavlja otvorenim, a to je osnovni sociološki problem odnosa makro- i mikrostruktura društvenoga, tj. društvenog poretka i društvene situacije, strukture i čina. Posebno tu, u spajanju mikro- i makrostruktura, smatram da je gledište koreografije korisno, naročito ako koreografiju razumemo u savremenom smislu, ne kao predodređen, ustaljen poredak kretanja, već kao pojam izvedbe, poredak koji nastaje u praksi, u smislu „komponovanja u realnom vremenu“, tj. u izvedbi (vid. dole).

Na toj osnovi nastojim da preformulišem pojam društvene koreografije iz ugla sociologije i studija plesa. Sa mog stanovišta, pojam društvene koreografije spaja pojam koreografije iz savremenog plesa, koji u osnovi označava organizovanje tela u prostoru i vremenu (koje se ponekad i zapisuje), sa sociološkim pojmom društvene figuracije (Norbert Elias). Elias je taj pojam uveo ne bi li rešio osnovni teorijski problem sociologije: istovremeno promišljanje mikro- i makrostruktura. Po Eliasovom poimanju, figuracija je „mreža međuzavisnosti“ činilaca unutar nekog društvenog poretka. Prema tome, pojam figuracije se može tumačiti iz Eliasovog ugla teorije izvedbe. Osim toga, pojam figuracije je od pomoći i pojmu društvene koreografije, pošto se bavi uzajamnim dejstvom tela i posmatra ga kao osnovu društvenog. To izdvaja figuracionističku sociologiju, ne samo unutar sociologije, od akcionističkih pojmova usredsređenih na radnje (*actions*) pojedinaca, kao i od strukturalističkih pojmova koji pretpostavljaju već postojeće poretke. To takođe otvara mogućnost za poimanje koreografije ne kao organizovane zbirke (*compilation*) pojedinačnih kretnji, zasnovane na posebnoj modernoj teoriji subjekta kao „homo claususa“ (Elias). Umesto toga, pojam figuracije opisuje međuzavisnost tela i njihovog kretanja kao temeljnu osnovu ponašanja pojedinaca i stoga i društvenog. Prema tome, pojam društvene koreografije razvija koreografsko gledište na društvene figuracije: on se usredsređuje na prakse telesnih sadejstava i materijalnosti figuracija. Iz tog ugla, društvena koreografija se tiče posebno prostornih i vremenskih figuracija organizovanja tela, materijalnosti i predmeta, koji se jedni prema drugima odnose na međudejstvene i međutelesne načine (npr. u saobraćaju, na demonstracijama, na plesnim podijumima).

Na prvom mestu, društvena koreografija posmatra društvene prostore kao koreografsane sredine, poput gradskog javnog prostora kao panoptičkog prostora, s makrostrukturama materijalizovanim kroz prostorno planiranje, saobraćajnu infrastrukturu i arhitekturu, koje upravljaju kretanjem i ponašanjem

ljudi a tako i obrascem društvenog opažanja i iskustva. Drugo, društvena koreografija posmatra društvene figuracije iz ugla njihovih poredaka kretanja, drugim rečima, njihovih unutrašnjih telesnih sadejstava.

U žiži pojma društvene koreografije jeste kombinovanje društvenog i estetskog. Njegova glavna i osnovna tvrdnja je ova: koreografski poredak društvenog sadrži i političku dimenziju, koja se ispoljava u poretku kretanja telâ. Prema tome, odnos između političkog, društvenog i estetskog veoma je značajan.

Dakle, pojam društvene koreografije bavi se odnosom makro- i mikrostrukture, poretka i pokreta, pri čemu se poredak, s jedne strane, može materijalizovati objektivno (u saobraćajnoj infrastrukturi, zgradama itd), dok, s druge strane, može pripadati i figuracijama koje ističu preplitanje pokretâ učesnikâ. Immanentni odnos poretka i pokreta u društvenim figuracijama pokazuje se dvosmislenim: s jedne strane, on vodi konvencionalisanju i standardizovanju društvenih normi i pravila, dok s druge strane pruža mogućnost za prekid i intervenciju. Način na koji se ova dvosmislenost ispoljava čini predmet mog istraživanja društvenih koreografija.

Društvene koreografije se tiču pitanjâ paralela i figuracija telesnih (1), pozorišnih (2) i koreografskih (3) figuracija političkog protesta i estetskog učestvovanja. Pitanje za nas je da li i kako nove kulture protesta, pre svojim estetskim praksama nego konkretnim zahtevima, remete, podrivaju i možda menjaju koreografski poredak javnog prostora i takođe najavljuju i stvaraju druge, alternativne vidove društvenog i političkog iskustva.

Gledište društvene koreografije sledi jednu kritičku društvenu teoriju moderne, koja oblikuje kulturni obrazac jednog društva, posebno u smislu njegovih svakodnevnih telesnih praksi, njegove mikropolitike. Ovde je posmatranje sadejstvujućih tela od ključnog značaja. Iz ugla društvene koreografije, telo nije samo sredstvo protesta u smislu nošenja znakova i simbola ili opasnosti u rizičnim radnjama. „Raz-meštanje“ i „uklanjanje“ tela koja leže na ulici, u lancima i koja se na kraju odvlače, pokazuje ranjivost ličnog i intimnog tela. To je već protest protiv javnog prostora kao panoptičkog prostora moći (Foucault). Osim toga, protest prevashodno nastaje putem koreografskog organizovanja telâ, drugim rečima, unutar materijalnosti jedne društvene figuracije. Ne pojedinačno već samo zajedničko telo može biti politički delotvorno u zauzimanju javnog prostora i podirvanju poretka. Pri tom, ti činovi su često kreativni i pozorišni, osmišljeni s puno šale i ironije; pomoću ovih pozorišnih praksi i njihovih prolaznih figuracija, oni sami zamagljuju razliku između estetskog i političkog.

Poredak pokreta u okviru društvenih koreografija protestnih kultura nije zamrznut, već se može izražavati i jezikom savremene

koreografije i razumeti kao regulisana i strukturisana improvizacija svakodnevnih prakse. Kao koreografije koje uspostavljaju kratkotrajne poretke, protestni pokreti pokazuju savremeno shvatanje koreografije, ne kao ustaljenog i iterabilnog poretka omeđenog pravilima, kojima se moramo prilagođavati, već kao zajedničkog procesa, jednog kontingentnog poretka u nastajanju, koji njegovi učesnici stvaraju ni iz čega. Tako piše i koreograf William Forsythe:

Koreografija nije nužno vezana za ples, niti je ples nužno vezan za koreografiju. Koreografija se tiče organizovanja telâ u prostoru, ili organizovanja telâ s drugim telima, ili jednog tela s drugim telima u nekakvoj organizovanoj sredini. (Forsythe 2010, 105)

Ova savremena definicija koreografije čini osnovu pojma društvene koreografije. Iz ugla savremene koreografije, jedan koreografsan protest može se posmatrati kao kompozicija nastala u hodu, tj. kao regulisana improvizacija koja se javlja kao koreografski poredak u trenutku izvedbe (ovde bi paradigmatičan primer bili *flash mobs*, čiji učesnici, na dogovoreni znak, zajedno izvode unapred osmišljen scenario). Usled nepredvidljivosti političko-protestnih koreografija u hodu, suštinski važne postaju odluke koje učesnici moraju donositi u toku izvedbe, njihova sposobnost da kreativno reaguju u politički rovim situacijama i „u cajntotu“, kao i da prate kretanje drugih i sadejstvuju s njima. Ovde nailazimo na jednu estetsku dvosmislenost, utoliko što se stvaralački procesi protestnih pokreta mogu tumačiti i kao otpor vladajućim normama, ali i kao deo postfordističkog poretka kreativnosti.

### Estetizacija u kulturama

**protesta** ● Na toj osnovi, moje stanovište je da te nove figuracije demokratske javnosti, naročito u neoliberalnom zapadnom svetu, ne bi trebalo posmatrati samo kao besperspektivne „antipokrete“, kao što se često čuje u javnosti. Umesto toga, trebalo bi se zapitati da li možda neki drugi oblik političkog, „umetnost slobode“ (Rebentisch 2012), može nastati u *samom procesu estetizacije*. Nasuprot kritikama estetizacije koje su počele 60ih godina, na primer, klevetanju uličnog pozorišta od strane austrijskog pisca Petera Handkea, po kome je ono bilo apolitičan „TheaterTheater“ (Handke 1968) i kritikama potkulture procesa estetizacije od strane raznih drugih teoretičara (Marcuse 1978), koji su zatim pustili u promet krilaticu „anestetizacija“, ovaj tekst se zalaže upravo za razumevanje estetizacije kao potrage za novim perspektivama političkog, za novim smernicama u demokratskoj politici, lokalnoj kao i globalnoj, kao i za novim oblicima suživota u multikulturnim gradovima i gradskim prostorima.

Nove protestne kulture mogu se razumeti kao izraz pozorišnosti javnog gradskog prostora, u kojem se protest uvek odvijao kao sastavni deo inscenacije javnog (*public staging*). Bilo kao pobune, ustanci, mirne demonstracije, ulične borbe, proslave, praznici ili obredi – javni skupovi moraju biti inscenirani da bi bili vidljivi. Prema tome, pozorišnost nije nikakav spoljni dodatak, već jedan aspekt protesta.

Estetizacija znači suštinsku promenu ne samog etičkog, već i političkog i društvenog. „Estetizacija“ je ključna reč koja prožima kulturnu kritiku tokom čitavog 20. veka: od dijagnoze Waltera Benjamina o „estetizaciji političkog života“ (Benjamin 2007.) do „društva spektakla“ Guya Deborda (Debor 2003.) i različitih stanovišta modernističke i postmodernističke kritike (Habermas 1988, Eagleton 1990, Bubner 1989, Boltanski i Chiapello 2005, Feri 1994). U žiži ovih različitih kritičkih usmerenja bio je odnos estetskog i neestetskog, pri čemu je estetsko, u vezi sa estetizacijom, shvatano kao nešto što dolazi spolja i razna područja vodi u krizu, poput politike, religije, etike i razuma, preispitujući i podrivajući njihove normativne temelje.

Poslednjih godina, međutim, razvijena su razna gledišta u poljima filozofije (Boehm 1995, Welsch 1993), religije i istorije (Vajt 2011, Kippenberg i dr. 1982–90, Lanwerd 2003), književnosti i istorije umetnosti (Bredenkamp 2007, Vogl 1999, Iser 2003, Rebentisch 2012, Brombach et al. 2010.) koja odbacuju ovaj diskurzivni obrazac u raspravi o estetizaciji i zalažu se za suprotstavljeno stanovište. Ona estetsko vide kao osnovan sastojak političkih, verskih, društvenih i epistemoloških praksi. Tako, estetizacija ne označava proces prekidanja (*disruption*), već se posmatra kao immanentan element koji doprinosi uspehu tih praksi. U isti mah, estetsko se prepoznaje kao ključan pojam za ispitivanje modernih pojmova znanja, političkog i religijskog. To je upravo zato što se nedostatak estetskog posmatra kao jedan od aspekata krize.

Po stanovištu kritičara, estetizacija vodi ka prevlasti privida, čime se svaki događaj pretvara u spektakularnu inscenaciju (*staging*), sadržaji u slike, radnje (*actions*) u izvedbe, samospoznaja u pozu, protest u spektakl, a društvene veze u estetske odnose. Tako, iz kritičkog ugla sociologije i filozofije, „opasnost“ estetskog leži u njegovom neintegrišućem uticaju na zajednicu. Nasuprot takvim stavovima, pojam društvene koreografije počiva na pretpostavci da je estetsko immanentan aspekt društvenog i političkog. Kao takvo, ono je dvosmisleno: može uticati na uništenje, ali i na obnovu.

Na osnovu tog spajanja estetskog i političkog, estetsko ne bi trebalo opisivati samo kao vid percepcije, niti ono uopšte može postojati van političkog. Umesto toga, ovo gledište počiva na pretpostavci da je estetsko ugrađeno u političke i društvene prakse i društvene figuracije –

upravo zato što te prakse i figuracije, sa svojim normama, pravilima i običajima, već upravljaju percepcijom tako što raspoređuju ljude u prostoru, dodeljujući im društveni i politički manevarski prostor i na taj način upravljaju društvenom percepcijom. Takođe, upravo ovde leže političke dimenzije telesnog (estetskog): u „kinestetičkoj politici“ (Lepecki 2006). To je politički pojam koji spaja fizičko i političko, određujući političko delovanje kao čulnu praksu koja pomera i vidljivim čini kulturne i društvene kodove – prkoseći onome što Jacques Rancière naziva „policijskim poretkom“ (Rancière 2010).

**Politika estetizacije** ● Iz ugla estetskog, pitanje nije samo kako oceniti participativno shvatanje demokratije pod političkim i društvenim uslovima jednog društva i njegovog političkog ustrojstva. Nove kulture protesta u demokratskim društvima takođe pokazuju da estetska dvosmislenost i izvedbena otvorenost demokratiju vide kao oblik koji je „na svome“ (*comes into its own*) (Derrida), koji se stalno mora obnavljati, a nikada ne može ostvariti ni u jednom posebnom obliku ostvarenja (Nancy 2000, Rancière 2011). Moja prva teza je da ove nove figuracije javnog protesta pokazuju jedno novo svojstvo, u sadejstvu političkog i estetskog, u istovremenoj estetizaciji političkog i politizaciji estetskog: dok politički protest postaje sve više estetski, umetnost u javnom prostoru postaje sve više politička. Prema tome, ne treba kriviti estetizaciju protestnih pokreta za njihovu navodnu besperspektivnost, već je treba sagledati kao unutarnju potragu za novim perspektivama političkoga, za novim smernicama u demokratskoj politici, lokalnoj kao i globalnoj, i za novim oblicima suživota, naročito u multikulturnim gradovima i gradskim sredinama. Moja druga teza je da estetsko nije preobražaj koji iskrivljuje političko, već nezaobilazan deo demokratske politike.

Moja treća teza je da estetizacija protestnih pokreta takođe menja odnos oblika i sadržaja: ciljevi su rasuti i možda moraju ostati rasuti, s jedne strane, zato što nastaju kao odgovor na postdemokratsku politiku, koja teži da deluje kao administrativna praksa koju legitimizuje ekonomska neophodnost, ne pripisujući više nikakvu odgovornost vlastima. S druge strane, pojedinačni činovi su usredsređeni na estetske prakse, tj. na poigravanje sa znacima, značenjima, iskrivljenjima, otuđenjima, citatima, drugim rečima, s tehnikama i postupcima koji odlikuju „(post)dramsko pozorište“ (Lehmann 2004) i „estetiku performativnog“ (Fischer-Lichte 2009).

Ovaj široki opseg tema i ciljeva takođe menja, po mojoj četvrtoj tezi, i društvene figuracije protesta: „mreže meduzavisnosti“ koje se materijalizuju kao zasebne prostorno-vremenske strukture i analiziraju u pogledu svojih telesnih, scenskih i koreografskih praksi. Krajem 19.

veka, radnici i sindikati su svoje demonstracije ustrojavali u redove ili blokove. Taj oblik koreografije su preuzeli zato što su želeli da se postave na različite strane: s jedne strane, buržoaziji su hteli da pokažu da su kadri da svoje političke zahteve javno iznose na miran i uređen način. S druge strane, pokreti u Nemačkoj su pruskoj državi želeli da dokažu da prihvataju njen militaristički koreografski obrazac i da se na taj način vidno odvoje od radikalne levice, prezrene kao ratoborne rulje. Danas, protesti se pojavljuju u sve kratkotrajnijim, neurednijim, spontanijim i nenajavljenim figuracijama. S jedne strane, to je izraz „tekuće modernosti“ (Bauman) i analogno je postfordističkim oblicima proizvodnje. S druge strane, ovi estetski oblici takođe utiču na trenutke, mesta i ritmove i dinamiku kretanja „kolektivnih tela protesta“.

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# Ples-rat

**Bojana CVEJIĆ** ● ● Kada je tadašnji američki predsednik Dwight D. Eisenhower 1954. izneo svoju „domino-teoriju“ da će usled izlaska Francuske iz Indokine i komunističkog ustanka u Vijetnamu ceo region „pasti“ pod komunizam, Američka nacionalna pozorišna akademija (*American National Theater Academy, ANTA*) poslala je Plesnu trupu Marthe Graham (*Martha Graham Dance Company*) na turneju po Jugoistočnoj Aziji. Američku nacionalnu pozorišnu akademiju je američki State Department (ministarstvo spoljnih poslova) bio zadužio da regrutuje ples za potrebe diplomatske misije. Inicijativa je bila preduzeta u saradnji sa Hitnim fondom za međunarodne poslove (*Emergency Fund for International Affairs*) koji je Eisenhower uspostavio iste godine da bi od Kongresa dobio dodatna sredstva za umetnost, uključujući i ples, u svrhu „suzbijanja slike o životu u Americi iz holivudskih filmova“ ili, kako je to rečito prokomentarisao dnevni list u Džakarti 1955. da bi razvejavao „javno mnjenje da Amerikanci žive u kulturnoj pustinji naseljenoj samo ljudima sa električnim aparatima i viršlama i atomskim bombama“ (Provost 1998, 50). A misija Marthe Graham je zaista uspela: čak i komunistički opredeljeni i antiamerički mediji i zvaničnici Indije, Burme, Tajlanda, Indonezije, Japana itd. pohvališe njen ples, kao i napore u kulturnoj diplomatiji. „Umetnici poput Marthe Graham veoma delotvorno mogu doprineti međunarodnoj dobroj volji i stoga predstavljaju moćnu snagu mira“, izjavio je predsednik burmanske vlade U Nu. *Hindustani Standard* je takođe primetio da „upoznajući nas sa ovim drugim licem njene velike zemlje, gđica Graham vidno unapređuje indo-američke odnose“ (Provost 1998, 50–51). Ključni činilac u dobijanju ove „bitke za srca i duše“ ideoloških neprijatelja Amerike u ovoj hladnoratovskoj aferi nije bio nikakav patriotski narativ epskog plesnog spektakla (u predstavama *American Document* [Američki dokument] ili *Appalachian Spring* [Apalačko proleće]), već one odlike američkog modernog plesa koje inkarniraju „slobodu“, svojstvo koje je trebalo da razdvaja američku od sovjetske kulture, naglašavajući „pojedince“ i žudnju za „stvarnim“, postavrene telima koja pokretom izražavaju osećanja. Lokalni su kritičari jedva nalazili reči da opišu entuzijastične reakcije



publike. „Mirnoća pa pokret, pokret pa spokoj... ta dva i po časa čitavoj su publici podarila duboka osećanja“ u koreografiji koja „slavi lepotu i stvarnost ljudskog tela, mada duboko zadire u ljudsko srce“ (japanski i malezijski kritičari, citirani u Provost 1998, 48–49).

## „Ples-rat“, oksimoron...

**Ne „rat-ples“** ● Ova priča o mobilisanju američkog modernog plesa kao instrumenta ideološke propagande, tobože u mirotvoračke svrhe a zapravo tek za još jedan vid borbe za hegemoniju u svetu podeljenom Hladnim ratom, predstavlja polazište mog istraživanja. Koje pojmove i odnose priziva spoj plesa i rata, takoreći, kroz čitav 20. vek? I, da bismo bliže odredili polje i razloge za ovakvo istraživanje, moramo se upitati: o kom plesu su ovde radi? U kom smislu govorim o ratu? Kako da shvatimo te pojmove i kako se oni uzajamno određuju? Priča o turneji Graham po Jugoistočnoj Aziji predstavlja vrhunac zapadnjačke, evro-američke tradicije pozorišnog plesa, u kojoj se „ples-rat“ na prvi pogled čini kao oksimoron: dva pojma označavaju protivrečne predstave udružene u suprotnosti. Od svog „rođenja“, koje je Isadora Duncan objavila u tekstu „I See America Dancing!“ (Vidim Ameriku kako pleše), moderni ples se vezuje za emancipaciju subjekta pod okriljem liberalne demokratije. Jezgro argumenta kojim je opravdavan kritički otklon modernog plesa od baleta i koji i dalje utiče na savremeni ples kao nasleđe ranog modernog plesa može se sažeti

□ Yvonne Rainer, foto: Lennart Laberenz

ovako: ples inkarnira slobodu kao univerzalnu i urođenu sposobnost ljudi za autoekspresiju, koja se najbolje ispoljava kinetičkim tokom ili, kako to André Lepecki naziva, biće-ka-kretanju (*being-toward-movement*). Moderni se ples može povezati sa ekspanzijom liberalne demokratije, slobodnog preduzetništva i tržišnog kapitalizma. To je pokretljivost pojedinca kao sklonost ka pokretu/promeni/toku/begu, ujedno shvaćen kao preduslov za ličnu autonomiju; emocionalna priroda pokreta, koja izražava psihički život pojedinca; ples kao mašina apstrakcija smisla koja ples esencijalizuje svodeći plesna značenja na metafore; opsesija stvarnim u telesnosti spona između tela i pokreta i trenutne prolaznosti pokreta. Filozofska utemeljenja tih predstava su nesporno vitalistička, jer slave intenzitet iskustva vlastite subjektivnosti u živoj slici ili, kao što, na primer, to nedavno slavi izložba posvećena plesu, *danser sa vie*.<sup>1</sup> Vitalizam ovde obuhvata i metafiziku 19. veka, u smislu *élan vital* Henrija Bergsona, zatim kasnije delezijanske predstave intenziteta i postajanja, kao i zdravorazumska shvatanja plesa kao prakse nadahnute životom, ujedno veličajući život, odnosno energiju, ljubav, entuzijizam, otvorenost/spremnost/raspoloživost (*readiness*)

1 *Danser sa vie* je naslov izložbe posvećene plesu i vizuelnim umetnostima 20. veku, koja je 2012. održana u Centru Pompidou.

i druge pozitivne, humanističke afekte. Očito, takvi su afekti protivrečni očiglednim predstavama rata: sukobljavanjem, nasiljem, uništavanjem i smrću. Ali u suprotnosti zapadnjačke umetnosti plesa i rata postoji još jedan činilac koji dodatno problematizuje njihovu povezanost, usled čega se ona manje kategorično čini oksimoronom.

Do emancipacije pokreta (*mobility*) pojedinca s pojavom modernog plesa u 20. veku, uvrežena je bila tradicija dvorskog plesanja od 16. veka iz koje će nastati balske igre krajem 18. veka kao izraz buržoaskog oponašanja plemstva. Osnovu za balske igre s kraja 18. veka, dakle, dao je dvorski balet kao javni spektakl, koji spaja dvorski kodeks ponašanja i božansko poreklo monarhije u isti poredak. Od dvorskog baleta do valcera, ta crta zapadnjačkog plesa neguje estetske ideale harmonije i gracioznosti u slici poretka zajednice. Sir John Davies, engleski pesnik iz 16. veka, je to opevao ovako:

Prava slika sklada u toj umetnosti sija  
Gde se muškarci razni i žene nižu  
I svako ulogu svoju pleše  
A ipak se svi kao jedan u meri slažu,  
Ravnomernost poštujući savršenu.  
I svi se skupa okreću, svi skupa kroče  
I jedni druge poštuju i grle. (Davies 1972)<sup>2</sup>

Oko 1789, estetska slika harmonije i gracioznosti u plesu se preobražava u sliku skladnog društvenog odnosa između pojedinca i zajednice, shodno usponu nove političke klase, građanstva. Prema arheologiji diskursa kojim ples ili pokret tela inkarnira i uvežbava društveni poredak, a koji opisuje Andrew Hewitt, Friedrich Schiller je bio taj koji je artikulisao spajanje društvenog i estetskog poretka, u jednom pismu iz 1793:

Ne mogu da zamislim bolju predstavu idealnog društvenog vladanja od engleskog plesa, koji se sastoji od mnogih složenih figura koje savršeno glatko teku. Gledalac sa galerije posmatra bezbrojne pokrete kako se haotično presecaju, i menjaju pravac brzo i bez reda ili razloga, a ipak se nikad ne sudaraju. Sve je uređeno tako da se jedan već sklonio kada drugi treba da nastupi; sve je tako vešto, no ipak prirodno udešeno u formi, da se čini kao da svi stupaju samo po svom nahodanju, a ipak niko nikoga ne ometa. To je simbol koji najsavršenije odgovara čuvanju vlastite slobode i poštovanju slobode drugih. (Hewitt 2005, 2)

.....  
2 *Concord's true picture shineth in this art  
Where diverse men and women ranked be  
And everyone does dance a several part,  
Yet all as one in measure do agree,  
Observing perfect uniformity.  
All turn together, all together trace  
And all together honour and embrace.*

Društvena koreografija koju Schiller opisuje čini se kao da naglašava umirujući osećaj sklada, virtuozne saradnje, bez sukoba. U isto doba, sklad plesanja, u svojim ranim, dvorskim oblicima, imao je pandan u vojnim marševima i manevrima, jednako važnim dvorskim obredima. Prema Williamu McNeillu, Louis XIV je namerno preuređio vojnu rutinu i dvorske plesove i *levées* da bi „plemstvo učinio mirnijim kod kuće i daleko pokornijim kraljevskoj volji“ (McNeill 1995, 134). Pa ako za trenutak zavirimo u istoriju vojne veštine i sagledamo oblike pokreta koji su uvežbavani od najranijih vremena, od građana-vojnika antičke Sparte ili, još ranije, njihovih pandana u Kini i Mesopotamiji, do gusto zbijenih vežbi današnjih profesionalnih vojski, oblik i značenje spoja plesa i rata postaje obratno. Umesto ples-rata sada možemo govoriti ratu-plesu, tj. o ulozi ratničkog plesa u ratu. Mirnodopski osećaj zajednice u ratu radikalizuje i militarizuje sklad i saradnju u grupnu solidarnost. „Skupa u korak“ je lakonski izraz za unisono poštovanje takta – skladno, ali ne nužno graciozno – i odnosi se i na marširanje i na plesanje i na horsko pevanje vojnika i, kasnije, u savremenim evropskim vojskama, na redovne vojne vežbe marširanja, manevrisanja i svečanog baratanja oružjem.

Dakle, ratnički plesovi odražavaju sasvim suprotne pojmove, raspoloženja i osećanja. „Društveno povezivanje mišićima“ (*muscular bonding*) učvršćuje euforično „osećanje drugarstva među borcima“ i podiže uzbuđenje dražeći i regulišući osećanja i motivaciju. Isprva, ovo se možda ne čini posebno novim ili provokativnim, već slično učinku sporta, gimnastike i masovnih pokreta na stadionima u sklopu priprema za rat. Ali McNeill dalje navodi da bič koji disciplinuje vojsku nije negativni aspekt straha od kazne, već naprotiv, „pozitivna sila“ koja vreba u „primitivnoj solidarnosti društvenog povezivanja mišićima“. <sup>3</sup> Odnedavno, njegova teza se razmatra i u kognitivnoj nauci, koja u sprezi s postdelezijanskom političkom teorijom afekata istražuje odnos između visceralnih i emocionalnih senzacija, hormonskih i drugih nervnih aktivnosti i stanja „pripravnosti za akciju“ (*action-readiness*) u raznim društvenim okruženjima (Protevi 2009). Naglasak je na odgonetanju bio-socijalnog sadejstva (*agencement*) pomoću kojeg se izaziva bes. Time se uvodi analitički metod koji se razlikuje i od društvenog konstruktivizma (gde kontekst određuje ponašanje), ali i od genetskog determinizma (tj. esencijalističkog

.....  
3 Ispod ciljeva i slave kojima su objašnjavani i pravdani evropski ratovi, krila se primitivna solidarnost vezivanja mišićima. Strah od kazne, mada sasvim stvaran u vojskama Starog poretka, bio je na dalekom drugom mestu iza pozitivne sile zajedničkog emocionalnog identiteta koji je rutinski, prirodno, neizbežno preovladavao među dobro uvežbanim vojnicima. (McNeill 1995, 132)

redukcionizma, gde ponašanje zavisi samo od opšteg genetskog sastava), jer insistira njihovom razvojnom sistemskom sadejstvu. Međutim, oba stanovišta u pogledu učinaka uloge pokreta u održavanju zajedničkog koraka – skladno i umirujuće samoupravljanje zajednice ili, s druge strane, vežbanje ratobornosti – plesu pripisuju moć ubedljivog izraza (*persuasive expression*). Otelovljenje (*embodiment*) postvaruje (*reifies*) i pokret i osećanja u ideologemu koja se može upotrebiti kao sredstvo različitih politika.

**Situacije sa istorijom** ● Najpre ću preispitati epistemološki okvir za uspostavljanje uporednih veza između rata i plesa kao dva zasebna područja znanja. Pripisivanje stabilnog značenja ili dejstva estetskoj formi plesanja bez obzira na njegov prvobitni kontekst ispostavlja se neodgovarajućim. Na primer, nije svako javno ispoljavanje masovno usaglašenog pokreta totalitarni *Gleichschaltung*. Uopštena semiotička tehnologija ne bi bila od pomoći pri analizi pojedinačnih situacija, zato što ne bi mogla da razluči njenu partikularnost, već bi samo potvrdila opšte načela označavanja. Sa svoje strane, i različiti konteksti mogu proizvesti izomorfne prakse pokreta, što dovodi u pitanje kontekst kao određujuću strukturalnu instancu, ali ne izjednačava položaj, ulogu, ni značenja tih praksi pokreta shodno njihovim formalnim sličnostima. Umesto toga, drugačija analitička dinamika je potrebna, koja neće dati prednost nijednoj od kategorija situacije: predmet, kontekst i perspektiva interpretacije. Nasuprot tome, takva dinamika bi težila da objasni *situaciju*, čiji bi raznorodni činiooci, istorijski, politički, estetski i tehnološki, obuhvatali razne parcijalne odnose umesto uzročno-posledičnih odnosa tri kategorije.

Usvajajući ovde „situaciju“ kao središnji sveobuhvatni pojam, pozivam se na epistemologiju prakse Isabelle Stengers, tj. na njen pojam „ekologije praksi“. To je takođe i stanovište *messages to bricklane* (*parade ground*) Francka Leibovicija, odakle i potiče ta metodologija, a o kojem će biti reči kasnije. Tu „situacija“ podrazumeva mrežu ili *milieu* raznih praksi i znanja, delovanja i sredstava, materijala i znakova, stvari i koncepata, kao i raznih odnosa s drugim mrežama i *milieus* (sredinama) izvan date situacije. Stengers ekologiju prakse određuje kao „sredstvo za promišljanje“ ili kao „sredinu (*milieu*) događanja“ (pri čemu je *milieu* igra reči koja označava i „sredinu“ kao središte i „sredinu“ kao okruženje). Ona naglašava da „instrumenti nikada nisu neutralni“ i da stoga ne mogu biti opšta sredstva, analitičke alatke, koje se mogu primeniti u bilo kojoj situaciji, već ih oblikuje ona ruka koja ih koristi (Stengers 2005, 185). Alatka (*tool*) je tehnologija koja se tiče moći situacije i aktuelizuje je, to jest, opisuje silu kojom se situacija razvija a praksa održava osnaživanjem



□ „...in a non-wimpy way“, video, Bojana Cvejić i Lennart Laberenz, prikaz sa izložbe *Danse Guerre* održane u Musée de la danse (Muzej plesa) u Renu, Francuska

i ispitivanjem u sadejstvu s drugim praksama. Epistemička prednost ovog metoda je u tome što podstiče misao kao opit, nagađanje (*speculation*) koje istraživača u sadašnjosti okreće ka budućnosti, sa obavezom da prihvati neizvesnost i rizik onoga što iz situacije ili njenih učesnika može da nastane. Međutim, ova metodologija ne uzima u obzir obavezu (*obligation*), da upotrebimo Stengersin izraz, prema istoriji, obavezu istraživača da zna kojoj istoriji pripada ili koja istorija utiče na njega, kao i koje istorije okružuju ili se nadmeću za shvatanje posmatrane situacije. Zahtev za istorizacijom ili narativizacijom istorije koja možda neće biti u *duru* (*major key*) nego u *molu* (*minor key*) izgleda nekompatibilnim s metodom ekologije prakse, zato što podrazumeva kritički pristup prošlosti, koji Isabelli Stengers malo znači. Ali ako rat i ples postavljaju problem koji izaziva mišljenje, taj problem takođe obuhvata i zasebne istorije rata i plesa, jer istorije igraju ulogu u prepoznavanju i opisivanju situacija u kojima se ples i rat odnose jedan prema drugom. Ovde istorizacija, pre nego postajanje (*becoming*), takođe podrazumeva prekid u preobražajima ratne veštine, te koncepta i diskurzivne kulture rata. Istorizacija takođe obuhvata i istorizaciju plesa i njegovih tehnologija.

Uopšteno govoreći, nastavak teksta ispituje koreografiju i ples kao alatke za opisivanje situacija u kojima se pojavljuju ili ističu rat ili ratovanje. Ako nude tehnologiju za objašnjavanje rata i ratovanja, prakse plesa i koreografije moraju zauzvrat dozvoliti da ih rat i ratovanje prekomponuju kao tehnologije vojne strategije, vojne istorije, političke istorije, kao i pravnih i drugih praksi koje zajedno nastanjuju i sadejstvuju u *milieuu* ples-rata.

Ples-rat podrazumeva da se uhvatimo u koštac sa otporom koji je urođen nasleđu posleratnog modernog plesa – koje sam gore opisala kao liberalno, humanističko i vitalističko nasleđe plesa. U primerima koje razmatram u nastavku rada, taj otpor nije nameran, nije stvar politike ni estetike, već pre ravnodušnosti, tišine ili odbijanja tih plesnih praksi da se postave u odnosu na rat kao na neposrednu političku okolnost njihovog staništa. Zato ću ispitati tezu da je rat *političko nesvesno* tih plesnih praksi. Koncept politički nesvesnog dugujem Fredricu Jamesonu, koji ga je razvio kao metod marksističke analize književnosti.

Jamesonova teorija politički nesvesnog nadograđuje Althusserovo tumačenje marksističkog modela baze i nadgradnje. Glavna teza je da Marxov hijerarhijski model na dve razine, koji je Althusser zadržao (mada oslabivši ekonomski determinizam baze), treba proširiti u vodoravnu strukturu međusobnih odnosa, pri čemu bi ekonomski i tehnološki vidovi proizvodnje (*modes of production*) bili u neposrednom odnosu s kulturom, ideologijom, sudskim i političkim, na taj način ukidajući uzročno-posledično određivanje nadgradnje ekonomskom bazom. U svojoj poststrukturalističkoj preradi Althusserovog modela, Jameson istoriju vidi kao odsutni uzrok na mestu strukture:

istorija nam je dostupna samo u obliku teksta [...] naš pristup k njoj i ka samom Realnom nužno prolazi kroz njenu prethodnu tekstualizaciju, njeno pretvaranje u pripovetku u političkom nesvesnom. (Džejmsom 1984, 38)

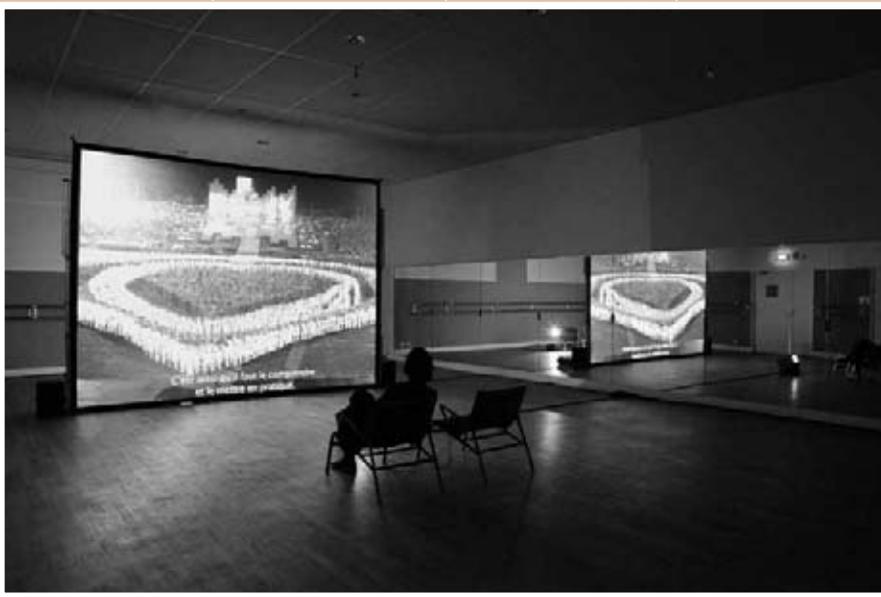
Kod Jamesona, politički nesvesno nekog teksta jeste protivrečnost koju taj tekst nastoji da nadomesti, izmesti ili potisne. Zato se on zalaže za istorijsku kontekstualnu analizu,

posmatrajući istoriju kao odsutni uzrok koji se mora ubrizgati u narativ da bi se objasnili odnosi zbog kojih u tekstu izbija politički nesvesno.

Kao i sa Stengers, ovde i promišljanje s Jamesonom zahteva metodološka prilagođavanja, koje se nekom mogu učiniti i kao razočaravajuća izdaja čvrstih, ortodoksnih ontopolitičkih stanovišta. Ono što iz Jamesonove teorije treba zadržati, mada to neće biti dovoljno za moj pristup, jeste njegova pretpostavka da ideologija postoji i deluje kroz ples snagom ubedljivog izraza, kako sam gore već opisala. Ali da bismo razumeli kako plesni izraz retorički prenosi predstave, značenja i vrednosti koje se odnose na neku političku stvarnost a bez ikakvog određenog značaja niti pokušaja da je menjaju, Jamesonova struktura se mora sagledati kao situacija s *milieuom*, gde nijedan činilac ni učesnik ne uživa uzročno-posledično prvenstvo niti ulogu odsutnog uzroka čije bi narativovanje moglo ponuditi prosvetljujuće razrešenje. Ono što bi se moglo dobiti ukrštanjem ove dve naizgled nespojive epistemologije – ekologije prakse Isabelle Stengers i Jamesonove ideološke kritike političkog nesvesnog – jeste raznovrsnije sagledavanje situacije, koje nudi oruđe mišljenja umesto da razotkriva slepe mrlje. Ovde želim da ukažem na to da bi sagledavanje uzajamnog dejstva između zasebnih praksi plesa i rata iz kritičkog ugla moglo da nas nauči *kako* se one materijalno odnose jedna prema drugoj u određenim povесnim situacijama. Usled toga, ples i rat bi se mogli iznova iscrtati (*re-cut, recouplement*), sklopiti (*re-assembled, re-agencé*) u uzajamnom određenju. Iako se čini kao da formulaciju političkog nesvesnog dugujemo tradiciji čitanja Marxa uz Freuda, politički nesvesno ovde nije ni psihološki ni ideološki pojam, već estetska figura. Time ne želim da kažem da su ples ili plesači politički nesvesni rata, već da je ples razvio sopstvene načine otelovljavanja i artikulisanja vlastite nemogućnosti da se bavi temom rata. To što ples nije mogao da učini u političkom smislu, mogao je da izmesti, nadomesti, potisne ili rekonfigurira u estetskoj formi koja se zasniva na protivrečju između estetskog izraza i neposrednog političkog konteksta. Raspakivanje tog protivrečja će zahtevati pravljenje i tehnologija i istorijskih narativa koji će ukazati na problem koji estetski predmet nije uspeo vlastitim (estetskim) sredstvima sam da reši.

#### **Milieu izložbe kao istraživanje** ●

Spajanje plesa i rata nastalo je na osnovu poziva da budem kustos jedne izložbe, koji mi se uputio Boris Charmatz, koreograf i direktor Nacionalnog koreografskog centra Rena i Bretnan, poznatog i kao *Musée de la danse*, po istoimenom Charmatzovom projektu. Impresioniran sofisticiranim preplitanjem arhitekture i drugih disciplina u studiji Eylala



□ Sa izložbe *Danse Guerre*, održane u Musée de la danse u Renu tokom septembra i oktobra 2013; *Watch Out for Gorillas in Your Midst!*, video instalacija Marte Popivode i Ane Vujanović

Weizmana o izraelskoj okupaciji Palestine (Charmatz 2013) i s željom da „vrati telo” u složene rizomske strategije prostora u savremenom ratovanju koje je pokazalo Weizmanovo istraživanje, Charmatz je odlučio da pri Koreografskom centru u Renu pokrene projekt izložbe na temu plesa i rata. Pozvao je rumunskog kustosa Cosmina Costinaša i mene da istražimo, osmislimo i ostvarimo izložbu pod naslovom *Danse-guerre* (Ples-rat). Ovaj tekst proizilazi iz istraživanja koje prevazilazi okvire izložbe, pošto je moj rad bio ne samo kustoski, već i teorijski i umetnički. Izložba koja je iz toga nastala obuhvatila je nove radove koje sam naručila od nekolicine koreografa, umetnika, video umetnika, filmskih stvaralaca i teoretičara, uključujući Shir Hacham i Ida Federa (Hacham & Feder 2013), Francka Leibovicija, Martu Popivodu i Anu Vujanović,<sup>4</sup> Noéa Souliera<sup>5</sup> i Lennarta Laberenzu, s kim sam saradivala na dva videa. Njihovi radovi izložbu čine koreografskim *agencementom* dokumenata, tekstova, crteža, zapisa, video snimaka, intervjuja i filmova, kao i drugih predmeta, poput rekvizita i alata (vid. slike ispod/iznad). Dakle, izložba je zamišljena kao mašina i medij raznih uvida, koncepata i tehnologija u *milieuu* koji sâm traži da bude nastanjen i isproban. Polazište i sastav izložbe počinjavu na dvostrukoj osnovi: prvo, u kojim je povесnim trenucima i estetskim figurama

<sup>4</sup> *Watch out for gorillas in your midst! (Faites attention aux gorilles parmi vous!)* (Pazite na gorile među vama!), video instalacija Marte Popivode i Ane Vujanović.

<sup>5</sup> *Corps formés*, instalacija s crtežima, tekstom i videom Noéa Souliera.

posleratnog plesa rat isplivao kao političko nesvesno plesa i drugo, koja sredstva ples, kao umetnička disciplina, i ratovanje mogu „priuštititi” (*afford*) da bi se međusobno opisali i analizirali? „Priuštititi” ovde ukazuje na pojam priušćivanja (*affordance*) svojstva nekog predmeta ili sredine koje im omogućava da vrše neku radnju; poreklo pojma je teorija priušćivanja kao „mogućnosti delovanja” koje leže sakrivene u datoj sredini (Gibson 1977).

**Igramo predstavu rata**<sup>6</sup> ● Kada nam neki slučaj dozvoli privid da se može početi „ispočetka”, istraživanje može široko zahvatiti dostupnu građu tako što će razgraničiti određeno polje istraživanja od susednih polja. Jedno od tih susednih polja koje ću ovde pomenuti i ostaviti po strani jeste uloga plesanja u praištorskim, antičkim, srednjovekovnim, vanevropskim i savremenim plemenskim praksama ratovanja, koje se tiču antropologije i istorije (Klastr 1994). Umesto toga, mene pre zanima da istražim istoriju modernog i modernističkog plesa ne bih li našla radove koji isti rat kao svoj glavni predmet ili temu. Temu rata u istoriji baleta i klasičnog plesa nalazimo u sinhronijskom reprezentacijskom poretku pripovedanja, pri čemu se slave vojne pobede svetkovinama koje su obuhvatale i plesanje (npr. *Ballet de la prospérité des Armes de France*, izveden samo jednom, 1641);<sup>7</sup> koriste antički i srednjovekovni mitovi i legende kao alegorije (npr. *Jeanne*

<sup>6</sup> „Ludimus effigiem belli” ili „Igramo predstavu rata” je početni stih pesme „Scaccia ludus” (Igra šaha) Marca Girolama Vide ili Marcusa Hieronymousa Vide (1485–1566) iz 1527.

<sup>7</sup> „Ballet de cour en 5 parties et 36 entrées, musique par F. de Chancy, livret attribué à Desmaret de Saint Solin, donné les 7 et 14 févr. 1641 au Palais-Cardinal à Paris, par les gentilhommes de la cour et quelques danseurs professionnels.”

*d'Arc*, s koreografijom Salvatorea Viganò, iz 1821; *Tancrède*, „ballet héroico-historique en cinq actes”, s koreografijom Charlesa Le Picqa, iz 1799.); koristi ples kao metaforu dvoboja i borbe (npr. *Agon* Georgea Balanchinea iz 1957), što se može porediti sa živim slikama (*tableaux*) iz klasičnog slikarstva i opere.

Tematizovanje rata na predstavljački način potencijalno sadrži politički i estetski odnos prema ratu, izvan programske posvećenosti temi. Nekoliko baleta Sergea Lifara, šefa baleta Pariske opere od 1930. do 1944. i od 1947. do 1958. godine, bile su neoklasicističke obrade herojskih narativa iz antike (npr. *Alexandre le Grand* iz 1937). Neoklasicizam je dostigao svoj vrhunac u predvečerje Drugog svetskog rata a tokom rata održavao klasičnu indiferentnost i otklon od politike. U skladu s tim, herojske teme Lifarovog neoklasicističkog baleta bile su uzvišene apstrakcije koje su ples sprečavale da se suoči sa svakodnevnim političkom stvarnošću, na taj način učestvujući u francuskom „povratku redu” (*retour à l'ordre*) koji je nastojao da potisne haos rata. Nešto što je preostalo kao relikv od *l'art en guerre*, kao u naslovu jedne skorašnje monumentalne izložbe umetnosti iz Drugog svetskog rata, jeste jedan pozorišni ritual koji je nastao u to vreme – *Grand défilé* Sergea Lifara.<sup>8</sup>

Ovaj spektakl, koji se i danas izvodi, ne samo u neobaroknoj Palati Garnier, već i na turnejama, „i dalje je jedan od najlepših i okrepljujućih prizora” koji izaziva divljenje, kako je opisan u jednom promotivnom tekstu. Defile plesača iz trupe i škole Opere slika je disciplinarnog aparata klasičnog baleta, netaknut u neoklasičnog estetici Lifarovih baleta iz Pariske opere. Red za redom – najpre učenici, zatim umetnici iz trupe, u složenoj hijerarhiji *étoiles*, *solistes*, *sujets*, *corps de ballet* itd. svečano marširaju uz muziku Berliozovog *Marša Trojanaca*. Njihov marševski raspored odraz je vojne parade: najpre pešadija, zatim konjica, pojedinačni zapovednici itd. (vid. sliku na sledećoj stranici). I dok je možda i zapanjujuće što Pariska opera ovaj obred održava već duže od jednog veka, možemo se zapitati i koji su to aspekti neoklasičnog povratka redu danas i dalje od značaja. Ne samo utočište visoke umetnosti, *Grand défilé* je takođe i mastodontski čuvar izomorfni paralela između klasičnog baleta i klasičnog ratovanja na način Clausewitzu i Jominija. Soulierova instalacija istražuje kako geometrija postaje, s jedne strane, žiža disciplinske obuke baletskih plesača i vojnika, a s druge, upravljanja kretanjem u prostoru, pomoću plesnih figura na podijumu kao i planova bitaka (vid. Soulierove crteže).

Treća i poslednja oblast povezana s temom rata u plesu tiče se odnosa nemačkog ekspresionističkog plesa (*Adsdrukstanz*) sa

<sup>8</sup> Lifarovom delu prethodi balet *Le Défilé* šefa baleta Pariske opere, Léa Staata iz 1926.



□ *Grand défilé* Sergeja Lifara, nepoznat izvor

usponom nacional-socijalističkog režima do 1936, kada Joseph Goebbels plesanje u javnim političkim svečanostima zamenjuje marširanjem. Studije plesa sa se već u znatnoj meri bavile političkim značajem i položajem Mary Wigman, Gret Paluccae i drugih koreografa i pedagoga koji su posle 1936. ostali u Nemačkoj i nastavili s radom, smatranim politički „neutralnim“ (Preston-Dunlop 1989, Manning 1989, Kew 1999, Toepfer 1997). Međutim, ova neutralnost deluje sumnjivo u poređenju sa otvoreno antiratnim stavovima iznetim u delu *Zeleni sto (Grüne Tisch)* Kurta Joossa, nastalog godinu dana pre Hitlerovog dolaska na vlast i, povrh toga, u svetlu Joosove odluke da napusti Nemačku kada je odbio da otpusti Jevreje iz svoje plesne trupe. Ekspresionističke teme, poput smrti i tužbalice palim žrtvama, proživale su nemački ekspresionistički ples 30ih godina, bez obzira na njegove političke stavove – saučesništvo, neutralnost ili pacifizam. Tako različiti slučajevi poput Jenny Geertz, Otta Zimmermanna, Martina Gleisnera, Haraldal Kreutzberga, Mary Wigman, Gret Paluccae, kao i poznatog kontroverznog plesa na otvaranju Olimpijskih igara 1936, *Vom Tauwind und der Neuen Freude* (O prolećnom vetru i novoj radosti; vid. Cvejić i Vujanović 2012, 67–68), pokazuju kako su metafora, simbol i arhetip pružali ideološki napete ali politički neodređene, ili barem dvosmislene, značenjske figure. Ono što ovi slučajevi takođe pokazuju je da tematizacije rata u plesovima nastalim u vreme rata, naročito u vreme Goebbelsovog „opšteg rata“, pozivaju koreografe da odgovaraju za političku umešanost, što može da bude moralna prepreka u pokušaju da se promišljenije analizira kako i zašto su ti plesovi bili važni i kakvu su poruku pokušavali da prenesu.

Redak primer koreografije, ako ne i jedini zabeležen u istoriji plesa na Zapadu koji eksplicitno ističe „rat“ u svom naslovu i to

velikim slovima jeste *WAR* Yvonne Rainer iz 1970. Izveden samo dva puta, kao „prateći događaj“ uz izvedbe *Grand Uniona*, *WAR* je kod kritičarâ uglavnom ostala neprimećena koreografija, a Rainer je nikada nije videla u javnoj izvedbi. Međutim, razna građa u vezi s njom – zapis i beleške, tekstovi, fotografije i crteži – pažljivo je sakupljena i objavljena u Rainerinoj knjizi *Work 1961–73*. Njenim rečima, *WAR* je bilo:

ogromno i široko netakmičarsko delo nalik igri za 31 osobu [...] rat dupetom unazad, u kojem su ljudi rado predavali zastave i birali ili da budu zarobljeni ili smrt. Fizičke metafore za rat bez motivacije. (Rainer 1974, 161)

Ovo me je nagnalo da istražim taj rad, o kojem sama autorka, 40 godina kasnije, izgleda, nema previsoko mišljenje. Otkrivajući Rainerin *WAR*, usredsredila sam se na odnos tog dela prema ratu i konkretnim političkim događajima u Vijetnamskom ratu 1970. Sva zapažanja koja slede nastala su iz razgovorâ koje smo Lennart Laberenz i ja vodili tokom juna i avgusta 2013. s Rainer i Pat Catterson, plesačicom koja je takođe učestvovala u nastanku i izvedbi koreografije *WAR* 1970. S njima dvema smo razgovarali za potrebe dva video filma koja smo zajedno napravili, *Yvonne Rainer's WAR* i *Judson Flag Show*.

Sastav 31 izvođača koreografije *WAR* otkriva njen kontekst: bila je to grupa sastavljena uglavnom od umetnika i filmskih stvaralaca kao i nekolicine plesača, koji su svi bili polaznici Rainerine radionice koja se bavila improvizacijom u njenom potkrovlju, „ljudi koje je zanimalo da dožive telesno iskustvo a mislim da nisu znali u šta se upuštaju“ (Catterson). Catterson nije mogla da se seti da li je Rainer ikada otvoreno rekla da će tema biti rat, kada je pozvala polaznike radionice da naprave i izvedu rad uz improvizacije *Grand Uniona* na Rutgersovom univerzitetu u Nju

Džersiju 6. novembra 1970. „Mislim da je rekla da će koristiti jezik rata, ratnih manevara i osmisliti pokret koji bi proizašao iz takvog jezika“ (Catterson), ali nije pominjala da će se u izvedbi takođe čitati tekstovi o ratu. Prema Catterson, u procesu stvaranja dela, nije bilo reakcija ni posebnih rasprava o temi rata, pošto su radili na „materijalu sličnom onom sa radionice“, to jest, na igrama koje su obuhvatale i grupnu improvizaciju, kao i zato što „se podrazumevalo da su svi tu bili protiv rata“. Ranije te godine, Rainer je učestvovala u protestima protiv američkog napada na Kambodžu, kada je iskoristila čuveni hod radnika iz *Metropolisa* Fritza Langa kao koreografsku sliku za protestnu šetnju u Sohos nekolicinom izvođača (vid. sliku desno).

Nakon koreografije *WAR*, Rainer je bila pozvana i na protest protiv cenzure u vezi sa upotrebom američke zastave u hepeningu *The People's Flag Show*, kada su ona i još pet plesača izveli *Trio A* nagi, sa zastavama vezanim oko vratova (9. novembar 1970, Judsonova memorijalna crkva).

Kada sam Rainer pitala koje je izvore koristila o vojnim manevrima, ponovila je tvdnju iz knjige *Work 1961–73*, da je čitala opise rata iz *Ilijade* i *Peloponeskih ratova*, ali nije navela nikakvu posebnu literaturu niti bilo kakve druge izvore. Partitura (*score*) sadrži termine koji upućuju na rat ali su ili namerno uopšteni i arbitrarni – vojni pojmovi poput „opkoljavanja“ i „ubrzanje pacifikacije“ i glagoli „agresivnog prizvuka“ (Rainer), poput „ubij i beži“, „traži i uništi“ – ili su određeni citati iz raznih povesnih opisa ratova, od kojih su dva najduža kritični komentari američkih operacija u Vijetnamu. Ali glavni cilj Rainerine istrage otkriva se u opštoj strukturi rada koja je struktura igre.

Imali smo pravila za dve ekipe: ako se desi ovo, onda se desi ono. Ako započneš taj manevar, onda drugi moraju da ti se pridruže ili, recimo, možeš da

budeš izviđač ili špijun ili da odeš kod drugih... Mogao si da budeš zarobljen. Svašta je moglo da se desi, predvideli smo velik opseg mogućih zadataka. (Rainer)

I te dve ekipe su bile generične, bez ikakvih znakova pripadnosti dvema zaraćenim stranama, dok je jedina uloga predvodnika bila da izvikuju zapovesti, poput „ubaci se“, ili nazive grupnih manevara, poput „Mary Wigman gomila“, što je zapravo bilo ekvivalentno zadacima u plesu. Na primer, jedan od ratnih manevara se zasnivao na balskim igrama: par plesača je plesao s jastukom između sebe i oboje „su na umu imali drugačiji balski korak“, pa „su bili u raskoraku“. Kako mi je Rainer ispričala: „To je bio sukob, je li tako? Nijedno nije moglo da prati drugo. Bili su svi uvrnuti (*strung out*) kao parovi“. Rainer je postavila disonancu ili trapavo plesanje u parovima kao doslovnju, telesnu metaforu rata. U skladu s njenim stilom činjenične (*matter-of-fact*) izvedbe, to je izvedeno „sasvim ozbiljno“ ali „nenametljivo... ne pokušavaš ništa da prodaš, nego gledaš svoja posla“ zato što „manevri govore sami za sebe“ (Rainer).

Utisak gledalaca o velikoj skupini ljudi koja se igra rata potvrdile su i Rainer i Catterson. Rainer je to nazvala „lažnom utakmicom“ u kojoj je svako mogao da bira da bude zarobljen

□ M Walk Protest in Soho, Yvonne Rainer's Papers, The Getty Research Institute

i nije bilo dramskog tumačenja uloga. Gledano unazad, njena uzdržanost u pogledu političkih značenja njene estetske politike – ili politike forme kao vladajućeg poretka i u koreografiji *WAR* i u drugim njenim radovima – ipak se čini kao da je računala na političko dejstvo otvorenog oblika, prožetog estetikom ravnodušnosti. To je objasnila u razgovoru s nama:

U igrama je takmičenje dobroćudno. Ovo je bilo kao simulacija antagonizma. Bilo je takmičenja u određenoj meri, ali nije bilo antagonizma. Možda čak ni u sportskom smislu, pošto nije bilo pobednika ni gubitnika.

Catterson objašnjava da su se igre igrale besciljno, često u vidu dugih manevara čije je razvijanje iziskivalo mnogo vremena, ali:

to je na neki način odgovaralo utisku koji je [Vijetnamski] rat odavao u to vreme... Bila je to samo kontinuirana igra mogućnosti koje su samo istrajavale. Bilo je to samo kao... rat... Oni zauzmu ovaj, onda onaj grad. Samo se nastavlja i nastavlja, ništa se ne menja, ništa se ne rešava.

Jedini element koji je pružao provokativnu oštricu granicama predstavljanja rata u *SAD* bila je upotreba američke zastave. Izvedba na Rutgersovom univerzitetu je trebalo da bude otkazana zbog sumnje da će oskrnaviti

zastavu, zbog čega je Rainer ubacila i prostirku od veštačke trave i kaput da bi ih postavila ispod zastave tako da ona ne dotakne zemlju. Ali američka zastava nije bila jedini rekvizit koji se mogao koristiti u igri „Zarobi zastavu“, koju je Rainer kao dete igrala na ulicama San Franciska. Bila je tu i zeleno-narandžasta replika Jaspere Johnsa, koja je, postavljena uz crvene, bele i plave zvezdice i pruge, imala dejstvo relativizovanja i neutralisanja „drečavog simbola ratnih huškača“ (Catterson).

Upitana da li je bila svesna političkog značenja Rainerinog zahvata u radu *WAR*, Catterson je zastala i zamuckujući, promislila pred kamerom:

Šta je tu bila Yvonnina namera? Šta je htela? To nam zapravo nije saopštila. Mi smo samo radili to što se od nas tražilo, baš kao na radionici. Za mene, ono što sam čula – tekstovi koje je Norma izvela... – bili su ... iz raznih bitaka koje je Yvonne sakupila... Nije mi to promaklo, sapostavljanje tih mladih ljudi – u... – igranju rata protiv tog veoma stvarnog glasa. Šta je on govorio, to ste mogli sami sebi da protumačite.

I, kao da je odgovarala na Cattersonino pitanje, Rainer nam je rekla: „Pa, u ratu je motivacija rodoljublje i vera da imate pravedan cilj... Ovde nije bilo takve pozadinske priče. Trebalo je samo reprezentovati efekte, znate, slikama“.

\*\*\*

Ovde nam Rainerin *WAR* pruža priliku da iznesemo još neka zapažanja o želji i sposobnosti koreografije i eksperimentalne umetnosti u *SAD* da se 70ih godina uhvate u koštac s pitanjem rata. Za većinu umetnika, pripadnika srednje klase, koji su mogli da izbegnu mobilizaciju jer su bili u braku ili na studijama, Vijetnamski rat se odvijao daleko, negde drugde. Pored toga, „dovođenje rata kući“, kako je Martha Rosler naznačila u svom istoimenom radu (*Bringing War Home*), podrazumevalo je osudu američke vlade zbog obmanjivanja svojih građana. To su bolje mogla da učine svedočanstva razočaranih veterana iz Vijetnama, nego umetničke prakse čiji je glavni cilj bio konceptualni rat protiv predstavljanja (*representation*).<sup>9</sup> Na estetskom području ispitivanja ma-kakvog-pokreta i ma-kakvog-metoda Judsonovog plesnog pozorišta, s posebnim naglaskom na svakodnevno, vojne

<sup>9</sup> Na primer, takva svedočanstva su se mogla čuti prilikom *Winter Soldier Investigation* (Istrage zimskih vojnika), medijskog događaja koje su organizovali Vietnam Veterans against War (VVAW, Vijetnamski veterani protiv rata), udruženje veterana Vijetnamskog rata koji su odlučili da javno progovore o zlodelima američke vojske u Vijetnamu, kao i o lažnom predstavljanju Vijetnamskog rata u medijima. Kako mi je rekao, Steve Paxton je odlučio da jednu svoju izvedbu u celini posveti prikazivanju dokumentarnog filma *Winter Soldier* iz 1971. o istoimenoj istrazi, ne bi li pružio još javnog prostora nečemu što u okviru filmskog polja nije dobijalo dovoljno pažnje. Rad koji je iz toga nastao nazvan je *Collaboration with Wintersoldier* (Saradnja sa Zimskim vojnikom, 1971).



running, squeezing, crawling, falling, catching,  
manoeuvring, etc

passing

push, grab, jerk, hold, press, jam, raise, support

wait

infiltrate

unite (converge)

subvert

liberate

capture

support (carry, aid)

invade

~~estrangle~~

hide

~~obscure~~

emerge

confront (interfere)

overthrow

challenge

lead

follow

depose

search

destroy

withdraw (retreat)

close

~~fit~~

pour

collapse

shatter

dissent

threaten

defend

attack

suppress

escalate

sweep

pursue

remove

swell

~~liberate~~

occupy

deploy

intercept

save

undermine

collapse

spread

harass

disrupt

abandon

mobilize

expand

confine

surround

outflank

escape

raid

penetrate

pin down

ambush to

operation

skirmish

battle

raid

seige

attack

treachery

invasion

offensive

restraint

conquer

ward off

call a halt

advance

withdraw

flee

decimate

founder

crush

overtake

slip away

reinforce

incursion

troop movements

formation

column

line

clump

flank

~~skirmish~~

battalion

unit

armada

garrison

patrol

skirmish

capitulate

resist

occupy

~~defeat~~

kill & split

(accelerated  
pacification)

WAR was a huge sprawling non-competitive ~~to~~ game-like piece ~~performed~~ <sup>for</sup> 31 people who <sup>had</sup> rehearsed with me for a month and a half. It was derived from terms of military tactics found in the Iliad, the Peloponnesian War, + newspaper accounts of the Vietnam war. List from yellow sheet

It was ~~not~~ <sup>first</sup> performed at Douglass College, N.J. simul- and later at Peabody Student Center. ~~tanonymally~~ (in another room) with the Grand Union (see page - ~~the form was~~ <sup>it had an</sup> ~~indefinite~~ <sup>repetitive</sup> ~~form~~, lasting about an hour. The rules governed things like ~~the nature of particular configurations; the~~ <sup>the nature of particular configurations; the</sup> ~~contingencies~~ <sup>contingencies</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>improving</sup> ~~rehearsals~~. I never saw the finished ~~piece~~ <sup>performance</sup> because I was busy <sup>improving</sup> with the Grand Union, but I heard that neither performance was as good as some of the rehearsals, where <sup>more</sup> ~~restraint~~ and sensitivity had operated. To give as many as 30 performers as many options as existed in WAR was ~~a hazardous under- taking~~ <sup>made</sup> especially so because the terms of performance by the Grand Union in the adjacent space were ~~so~~ diametrically different. ~~The Grand Union~~ the existence of ~~as many options~~ <sup>only later</sup> ~~this might make WAR~~ <sup>might be</sup> even more demanding ~~than~~ <sup>on the</sup> ~~to perform~~ <sup>as</sup> than had I totally pre-choreographed it, especially ~~on~~ those without much performing experience. It required tremendous concentra- tion, ~~and~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~almost~~ ~~a~~ ~~literal~~ <sup>rigorous</sup> interpretation of the instructions, ~~along with~~ and at the same time ~~an~~ <sup>imaginative</sup> relation to the materials. A lot to ask. <sup>playful</sup>

The rehearsals, however, were a huge amount of fun as we worked out the configurations. and I, formulated constantly

and re-formulated the rules. It was an ~~an~~-backwards-war, with people ~~opting~~ <sup>opting</sup> for capture and death, gladly willing-ly relinquishing the ~~big~~ ~~flag~~ orange + green flag.



taktike bi mogle da budu još jedan izvor građa za koreografska istraživanja. Možda je Rainer verovala da bi njena formalistička sapostavljanja

uopštenih ratnih manevara i jezičkih pojmova sa jednom zbnjujućom mešavinom ratnih događanja, uključujući i Vijetnamski rat, mogla da politički kastrira svako samo ne autoreferentno značenje (ples kao ples). Uostalom, američka je zastava bila glavni simbol i sredstvo ratnog huškaranja, što je kontekstualno pojačavalo dejstvo same upotrebe zastave, više nego što bi oni koji ne poznaju prilike u SAD 70ih godina mogli da pretpostave. Obradom ratnih manevara tehnikama improvizovanja pravila igre, Rainer je uspela da odgovori ujedno i na trenutak dnevne politike i na zahtev za modernističkim traganjem za autonomijom koreografije i izvedbe, čije čvrste strukture ni ratna građa ne bi mogla da naruši. Politički nesvesno tog zahvata leži u slikama koje nastaju u kontradikciji s Rainerinom estetskom politikom, zato što, uprkos svom ispražnjenom formalizmu, njen *WAR* ipak *predstavlja* rat kao igru. Važna razlika između rada *WAR* i tradicije ratnih igara – na primer, *Kriegsspiela* iz 18. veka, koji se koristio u strategijskoj obuci pruske vojske<sup>10</sup> ili njegovih kasnijih potomaka, kao

<sup>10</sup> *Kriegsspiel* su osmislili poručnik Georg Leopold von Reiswitz i njegov sin Georg Heinrich Rudolf von Reiswitz iz Pruske vojske.

*jeu de la guerre* Guya Deborda, koja liči na šah utoliko što joj je cilj vežbanje „dijalektike svih sukoba“ (Debord i Becker-Ho 1977) – jeste osećaj demotivacije, ravnodušnosti, čak i „razonode“ u Rainerinom radu, razigranosti nalik na „dečju igru“ (Catterson) koja prožima Rainerino koreografsko *igranje* rata.

#### Ne smemo se hojati proučavanja

**horbe** ● Kontaktna improvizacija (KI; *Contact Improvisation, CI*) nastaje paralelno sa zamiranjem antiratnog pokreta sredinom 70ih godina. Nakon 40 godina, KI je plesna tehnika i praksa koja u očima svojih zagovornika i dalje prenosi prvobitne pobude koje je imala kao društveni pokret (u smislu ravnopravnosti, emancipacije, istraživanja, antidiskriminacije, pozivanja na politički smisao spontanih i neposrednih telesnih radnji, nasuprot promišljanju itd). Ali ako uzmemo u obzir mišljenje onih koji ne dele entuzijazam „kontaktera“, kritike koje su još neki rani sledbenici upućivali unutar pokreta u međuvremenu su opravdane. Mada je imao ambicije da postane samonikla „narodna umetnost“, brzo je uočeno da pokret služi potrebama belih, liberalnih, fakultetski obrazovanih mladih pripadnika srednje klase („Kontakt nas čini celovitim i zdravim: uravnotežuje nas“, rekao mi je jedan plesač). Vremenom je razvio virtuoznu tehniku duetske

□ Steve Paxton (portret); foto: Lennart Laberenz

forme, gde prevladava kontakt kao dodir a znatno manje se uočava rizik skakanja, padanja i sudaranja u vazduhu. Zajednica praktičara KI se okuplja oko holističkog poimanja sopstva, koje, po Marku Pritchardu, nekadašnjem kontakteru, promovise „pasivan pogled na život“, „opuštanje“ kao prirodnije od napetosti, prepuštanje „toku prirodnih događaja, umesto pokušavanja da se tim događajima upravlja“ (Pritchard 1997, 197).

Pre nego što je postao meta kritika kao New Age palupska igra (*New Age shuffleboard*), „posthipijevsko utočište duše“, KI je bila sport-kao-umetnost (*art sport*) proizašao iz Paxtonovog poznavanja aikida i atletike, koji nastaje u isto vreme kada i njegovi eksplicitni radovi-akcije protiv Vijetnamskog rata i Nixonove administracije (npr. *Collaboration with Wintersoldier*, 1971. i *Air*, 1973). Pitanje koje me je nagnalo da preispitam genealogiju KI je aikido: šta je ta borilačka veština, poznata po preusmeravanju protivnikovih napada i stapanju s napadačem, učinila za kontaktnu improvizaciju u odnosu na rat i učešće u telesnoj borbi. Šta se desilo s robusnijim atletskim svojstvima ranih pokušaja, kao u predstavi *Magnesium* (1972), radu koji je uveo KI a koji je Paxton razvio s nekolicinom mladih muškaraca, ne plesača nego sportista na Oberlinovom koledžu? Kako mi je Paxton ispričao,

u prvih deset minuta ovog rada, radilo se samo o „grubom sudaranju u vazduhu i padanju na strunjaču“. Da li je bilo ikakve namerne ili skrivene veze između sirove grubosti KI kao umetničkog sporta 70ih godina i posleratnih političkih stavova, raspoloženja i stanovišta? U filmu *...in a non-wimpy way* koji sam napravila s Lennartom Laberenzom, Paxton se pozabavio ovim pitanjima.

Sasvim nasuprot mnogim plesnim izrazima koji naglašavaju uspravnost (npr. balet i Cunninghamova tehnika) ili hodanje (pešački stavovi i stilovi), KI uvodi padanje kao glavni pojam. Nancy Stark Smith, značajna plesačica iz prve generacije kontaktera, opisuje svoja iskustva iz doba kada je učila kako da pada:

Kada sam počela namerno da padam, uočila sam jednu slepu mrlju. Negde posle započetog padanja a pre kraja pada, zamračilo mi se. A onda je usledio pod. Srećom, u početku su tu bile strunjače. Ubrzo sam naučila da je kraj pada ujedno početak sledećeg pokreta, obično kotrljanja. To me je usmeravalo kuda da odem. Pa bih se otkotrljala. Na kraju jednog koluta, nastupio je još jedan, pa još jedan. Onda sam uočila još jednu slepu mrlju. Negde posle početka a pre kraja kotrljanja, bila je tama. Međutim, u toj tami sam osetila sam telo u pokretu, telo koje je jednostavno znalo kuda ide. (Stark Smith i Nelson 1997, 50)

Paxton ovo povezuje s kotrljanjem u aikidu, koje mu je dalo „ideju da možeš samo da odskočiš sa planete i ne brineš kako ćeš se spustiti“. Kolut u aikidu je „sjajan prikaz fizike padanja“ ali, što je još važnije, i vid zaštite od povrede: „Jer ako ćeš da padneš, ako se bacaš ka padu, onda imaš samo taj delić kontrole pada i možeš da promeniš pravac udesa tako da bude povoljan po tvoje telo i situaciju.“

□ franck leibovici, *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, prikaz sa izložbe održane u *Danse Guerre* Musée de la danse (Muzej plesa) u Renu, Francuska

U padanju i drugim situacijama koje je kasnije razvio u okviru KI, Paxton je uočio percepciju iz koje je želeo dalje da radi: telo je pod naletom adrenalina, „nešto ti se dešava što ne razumeš u potpunosti, što misliš da je možda opasno“, a to može biti i vrtoglavica ili dezorijentacija. Ali božan nastaje iz odsustva svesti o opasnosti, čemu je, po Paxtonovoj tvrdnji, moguće prilagoditi se. Ono što ga je privuklo aikidu bio je sam pokret, koji je smatrao „prelepim“, a tek kasnije je shvatio da ga je kod aikida zanimala njegova kontra-tehnika borbe:

Bila je to duboka promena, od plesanja u pokret aikida, gde *odjednom više niste imali umetnost kao razlog zašto se krećete na taj način, već ste se tako kretali da biste preživeli* [kurziv je dodat]... Na nasilje ste odgovarali harmonijom – neverovatno! Znači, zaštita svih umešanih strana je tu predstavljala veoma širok zamah mišljenja.

Mit o rođenju aikida prati otkrovenja njegovog osnivača i gurua, Moriheija Ueshibe. Ueshiba je svoje treće duhovno buđenje doživeo tokom vojne službe u Drugom svetskom ratu, kada je imao sledeću viziju:

Put ratnika se pogrešno shvata. To nije sredstvo za ubijanje i uništavanje drugih. Oni koji nastoje da se takmiče i nadvladaju jedni druge čine strašnu grešku. Razbiti, povrediti ili uništiti, to su najgore stvari koje ljudsko biće može da učini. Istinski Put ratnika je u sprečavanju tog krvoprolića – to je Veština mira, moć ljubavi. (Hyodo 2010, 76)

Osim utopijske uloge prikazivanja drugačijeg načina borbe, načina koji razrešava dvojni sukob tako što napadača štiti od povrede, Paxton aikido vidi i kao učešće u borbi, čega se, tvrdi, ne možemo bojati. Cilj izučavanja ovog pokreta je oslobađanje opasnosti od stradanja u napadu. Ako

ne zauzmete „samonanet položaj u odnosu na napad“ ili, drugim rečima, ako se „ne umlitavite“ u borbi, onda niste laka meta: „mnogo je teže da vas napadnu, zato što se ne dojmite kao žrtva“ (Paxton). To me je nagnalo da pitam, možda tendenciozno, da li se kontakteri mogu smatrati posebnom vrstom ratnika, opremljenih tehnikom za čuvanje i sebe i drugih? Paxton se nije složio:

Iako sam plesače obučavao pomoću borilačkih veština i izazova njihovom osećaju i orijentaciji i stvarnoj snazi i svemu tome, smisao je bio u tome da oni nisu ratnici. Smisao je bio u tome da, šta god da rade, pošto je to improvizacija i određena je najopštijim pojmovima, znate, Newtonove fizike, predlog (*the proposal*) ne opisuje nikakvu osobu. Ono što nedostaje je psihologija, osećanja, intelekt – mnogo toga što znamo da jesmo i da imamo.

Njegova definicija tipa subjektiviteta koji i dalje važi za KI krajnje je negativna: ona odriče bilo kakvo značenje i sadržaj kategorijama koje su neophodne za zauzimanje bilo kakvog stava. Još jedan deo Paxtonove obuke u KI od 70ih godina je njegov „Small Dance“, poslednjih pet minuta rada *Magnesium*, koji prikazuje muškarce kako samo stoje. Paxton to objašnjava kao metod „razobuke“ (*detraining*): „oslobađanje krinki koje nosimo, društvenih i formalnih krinki, sve dok se telesno ne dogodi po svom nahodanju“. Za Paxtona, razobuka znači guljenje društvenih, istorijskih, stilskih, formalističkih slojeva kože sa tela, da bi se došlo do „mase, kostiju, živaca i oseta“:

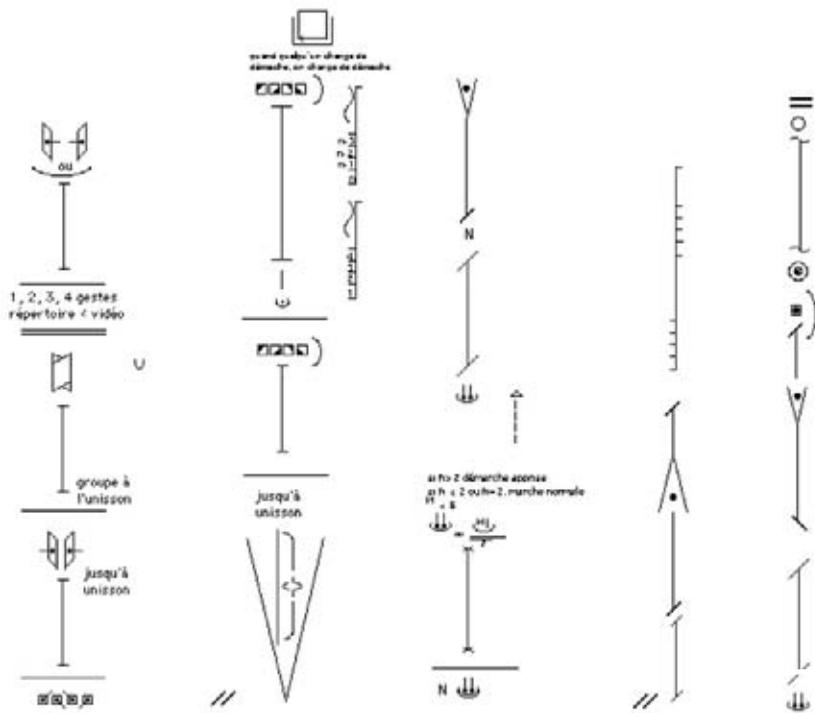
Naglašavam da su plesači u ovoj vrsti plesanja ljudi ne u društvenom smislu nego u životinjskom smislu, da ne treba da se osmehuju, da pogledi ne treba da im se sreću, da ne treba da govore, da treba samo da budu tamo kao životinje, snopovi živaca, mase i kostiju... da dodiruju druge snopove i dozvole da to bude rad. (Paxton 2004)

Negativno određenje subjektiviteta proizvedeno u okviru KI treba sagledati iz šire perspektive farme Mad Brook, smeštene u prelepom krajoliku severoistočnog Vermonta („Severoistočnog kraljevstva“), na koju su se, kako je dobro poznato, Paxton i još nekoliko drugova iz postvudstočkog post1969. naraštaja povukli i na kojoj smo obavili i razgovore s njim. Ova zajednica – nekada kolonija u hipi-stilu gde su se život i rad mešali do nerazdvojnivosti, a sada mesto za rad, uzgajanje vlastite organske hrane i mesto gde bi se ostarilo daleko od gradova i predgrađa SAD – čini se sasvim povučenom od društva.<sup>11</sup> Izolacija počiva na

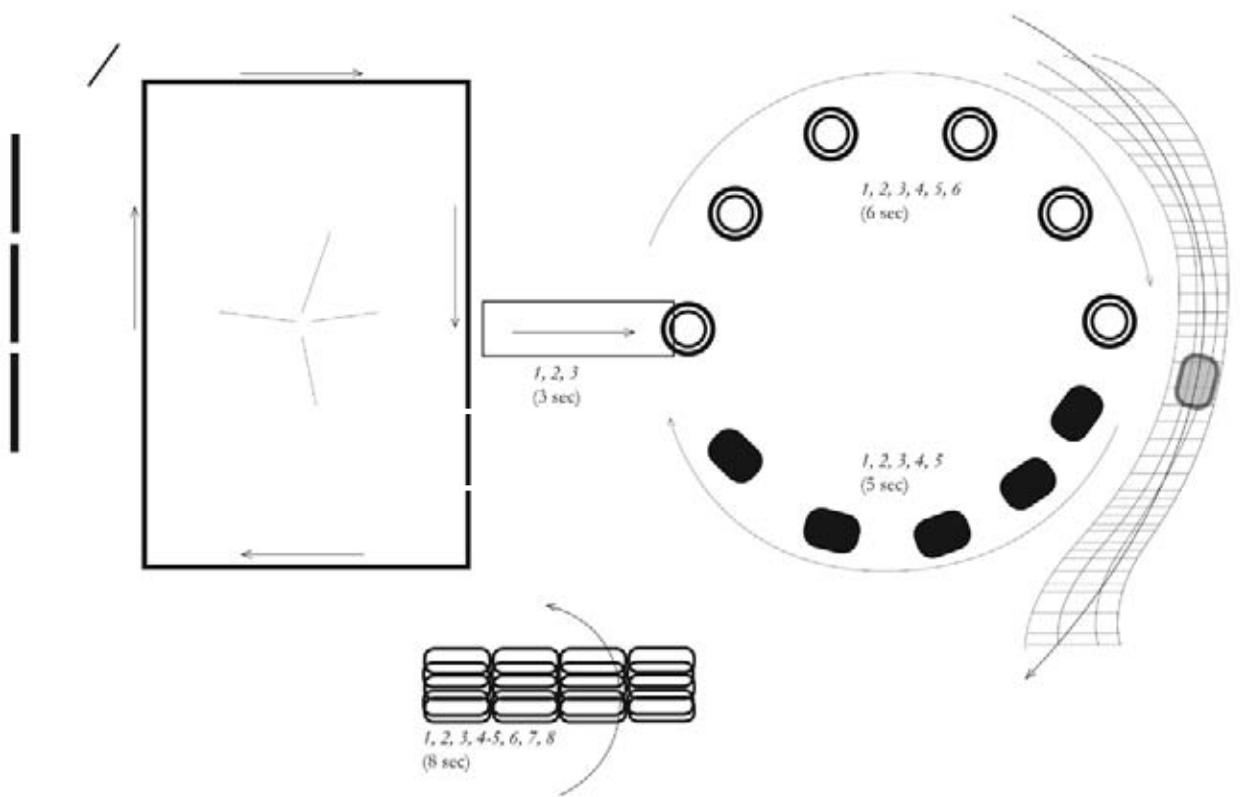
<sup>11</sup> Pola nacije je gojazno – šta to znači? Šta to znači u smislu naše proizvodnje hrane, našeg pripremanja hrane, naših života, mislim, depresivno je, znate, mislim da je to zamka, nisam mislio da bi ovako brzo moglo da usledi, mislio sam da jedno carstvo opada vekovima, a ne za samo jedan naraštaj. Nisam znao da možete jednostavno spasti s prestola, znate, i



transcription *laban*



message des professeurs français de ballet notation: hélène léaut, mai 2002



negaciji, unutrašnjem mehanizmu zaštite koji se može objasniti pomoću shvatanja *imunizacije* kod Roberta Esposito. Imunitet je odbrambeni aparat koji ima i biološki i sudski registar značenja: vakcinacija štiti telo od nekog virusa tako što ga inficira upravo tim virusom, da bi telo proizvelo odbrambenu vojsku antitela; u pravosuđu, imunitet znači izuzeće od krivičnog gonjenja. U političkom registru, imunitet znači izuzimanje subjekta od njegovih obaveza i odgovornosti koje bi važile pod uobičajenim uslovima i obavezivale ga spram drugih. Imunitet prožima život i moć kroz negativan oblik koji štiti i čuva život. Esposito piše da imunizacija:

spasava, obezbeđuje i čuva organizam, bilo pojedinačan bilo kolektivni, ali to ne čini izravno ni neposredno; naprotiv, ona organizam podvrgava stanju koje istovremeno poništava ili smanjuje njegovu sposobnost da se širi. (Esposito 2006, 24)

Zato je poništavanje moći do neke mere takođe i poništavanje života, ali je neophodno da bi se život sačuvao. Prema tome, Kl, u Paxtonovoj verziji, sadrži jedno savršeno ubedljivo protivrečje. Ako za one koji upražnjavaju Kl da bi imali znatno zdravije kičme od drugih ljudi vežbanje znači svodenje sebe na telesno biće i poništavanje svega što bi se u tom procesu moglo smatrati preprekom (intelekt, politička mišljenja, strasti itd), onda je plod takvog režima obuke beskičmeni privatni život subjekta koji je imun, ravnodušan ili nemoćan da se suoči s politikom izvan svoje vakcinisane zajednice – možda ne na mlitav način, ali je takav subjekt ipak mlitavac.

### Koreografija: sredstvo za pražnjenje ideologije

Ispitivanje Kl posle Vijetnamskog rata pokazuje ubedjivi izraz (*persuasive expression*) plesa koji nastoji da se vakciniše protiv rata i agresije, i u telesnom i u konceptualnom smislu. Ali njegova slika rata je slika borbe prsa u prsa, gde se agresija ispoljava u telesnom smislu. Rat, nekada urezan u mašti kao klasična, simetrična borba i izravno sučeljavanje na bojnopolju, ili „teatru operacija“, prograšen je mrtvim krajem 70ih godina (Paul Virilio), kada je zamenjen „nuklearnom verom“ u konačno oružje za odvratanje neprijatelja i nametanje potpunog mira. Paul Virilio taj mir vidi kao nastavak rata drugim sredstvima – veštinom odvratanja (*art of deterrence*), koje unedogled produžava „čist“, logistički rat, kroz beskrajne pripreme a bez izvršenja (Virilio i Lotringer 1997). Od 90ih godina a naročito od 11. septembra, „priroda“ rata se čini više „nečistom“ i asimetričnom,

□ franck leibovici, *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, labanotacija

□ franck leibovici, *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, tlocrt



pošto se usitnjavanje terorističkih građanskih ratova stapa s međunarodnim ratovanjem putem ekspeditivnih „humanitarnih“ vojnih intervencija. Borbe prsa u prsa između dve ili više zaraćenih strana zvanično u ratu zamenili su sukobi niskog intenziteta („low-intensity conflicts“), dugotrajne borbe državnih i nedržavnih učesnika, često u asimetričnim gerilskim sukobima, s civilnim žrtvama koje se najpre čine malim, ali vremenom rastu do razine koju poznajemo iz klasičnog ratovanja.

Franck Leibovici već neko vreme istražuje sukobe niskog intenziteta putem razne građe koja kruži javnim prostorom (propagandni filmovi, časopisi, uputstva, pesme itd), posmatrajući ih kao predmete koji „priušćuju“ funkcije, pokrete i idioritmove od kojih možemo saznati svašta o raznim registrima tih situacija. Leibovici svoje istraživanje sprovodi kroz niz miniopera za ne-muzičare, gde opera predstavlja promjenljiv raspored raznorodnih elemenata. U radu *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, ne-koreografiji za ne-plesače, Leibovici opisuje jedan video sa interneta, koji prikazuje obuku neke političke skupine u improvizovanom logoru. Njihovi rekviziti – gume, cevi, bodljikava žica, vreće s peskom – prizivaju duh gerilske improvizacije, kako ih reklamira jedan promotivni časopis – kako zategnuti mišići bez tegova. Shodno etosu gerilskog ratovanja, obuka se može odvijati bilo gde, kao i molitva, bez posredovanja. Ali u tom videu, obuka izgleda kao ples, čiji bi pokreti bili beskorisni u prvim borbama. Prema tome, moramo se zapitati o njihovoj upotrebnoj vrednosti danas, kada se ratovi sve više vode daljinski i automatski, pomoću bespilotnih letilica, otmica, bombaških samoubilačkih napada, snajpera itd. Leibovici

□ franck leibovici, *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, video kadar

primećuje: strunjača i bojno polje teško da mogu da se poklope. Osim toga, na videu vidimo i gledaoce kako sede po logoru, a obuka pre liči na hvalisavu paradu za rodbinu i prijatelje.

Leibovici koristi koreografska sredstva u snimanju i analiziranju pokreta te skupine. Dva stručnjaka ih zapisuju labanotacijom. Beleže ih i usmeno, simultanim komentarom. Tekst koji iz toga nastaje daje se ne-plesačima, koji onda treba da izvedu gestove na osnovu zapisa. U nizu ponovljenih opisa (*re-descriptions*), pokreti obuke postepeno gube na posebnosti i postaju sve raznorodniji i generičniji, neprepoznatljivi, lebdeći van konteksta. Ono što ovaj koreografski ponovljeni opis otkriva, piše Leibovici, jeste da:

vežbanje oblikuje tela kao i duhove. i samo bi javnost, gledaoci i kolektivi koje te **obuke** proizvode mogli da razlikuju pokrete koji su formalno istovetni. inače, kako bismo objasnili činjenicu da isti rekvizit nalazimo u vojnim logorima za obuku, zabavištima, šetnjama za rekreaciju, plesnim predstavama? vežba se ne može pročitati osim kroz svoje posledice. i samo će takvo shvatanje dozvoliti da razumemo da, iako možda koriste slične gestove, *bodymotionspaceshings* roberta morrissa ili *fact of matter* williamia forsythea pripadaju drugačijim svetovima, čije se javnosti razlikuju. ne postoje umetničke prakse, samo zasebne ekologije. (Leibovici 2013)

Iako predstavlja uzorak društvene koreografije, upotrebe pokreta koja liči na žanr ratničkog plesa čija je svrha da povezuje ljude mišićno, društveno i ideološki da bi ih tako

pripremila za rat, ples vojne obuke u ovom videu je samo parada, autoreferentna propagandna slika za internu mrežu koja nam malo govori o tome kako, zašto, kada i gde, u kojem smislu i za ko ga će se ti ratnici boriti. Ona propoveda već preobraćenima, kao što je to činio i WAR od Yvonne Rainer. Nasuprot Rainerinom radu, gde je cilj bio ispitati koreografiju zasnovanu na vojnoj taktici, Leibovici ovde koristi koreografiju da bi ispitao jednu situaciju, da bi dokumenta ponovo ispisao pojetičkim (*poietic*) sredstvima. Možda je političko dejstvo Leibovicijevih „poetičkih dokumenata“ u tome što banalizuju i „dovode kući“ jednu slabu sliku rata, nasuprot strahu koji prožima prikaze oružja za masovno uništenje i fanatičnih terorista. Ovaj *document poétique* je zbirka koreografskih oruđa koja gledaoca poziva da ih sagleda izvodački (*performatively*) – na primer, da pokrete izvodi pomoću priloženih rekvizita i vremenskih uputa. I, možda, vlastito izvodačko iskustva usporava razum, koji oblikuje mnjenje ili ostrašćenost u vezi sa događajima i učesnicima koji su daleko od gledaoca, a u kojima on ne učestvuje. Ovde, društvena koreografija nije primer estetske ideologije, nego sredstvo koje usporava ideološki sud. ■

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# Plesno telo koje daje legitimitet državi

## Ido FEDER i Shir HACHAM ● ●

Od samog početka, jedan od ključnih poduhvata cionističkog pokreta bilo je stvaranje novog tela za novog Jevrejina. Da bi se imala zemlja i nacija, mora se polagati pravo i na istinsko (*real*) telo – nacionalno, etničko, versko i građansko – kao i na fizičko telo kadro da oseti i tumači svoje okruženje. Jednom rečju, cionistički pokret za stvaranje jevrejske države-nacije zavisio je od postvarivanja njenog nacionalnog tela. To željeno telo više ne bi „išlo kao ovca na klanje“, kao što su Jevreji išli pod nacističkim režimom, niti bi se vratilo u „duhovni narod Svetog pisma“ koji je, usled previše učenja, završio zanemarena stasa. Novi Izraelac, budući Sabra, Jevrejin rođen u Izraelu, bio bi trnovit kao pustinski svet (Almog 2000), obrađivao bi zemlju i bio pionir i ratnik.

Tokom godina, izraelska umetnost i razne akademske discipline, poput sociologije, istorije umetnosti, političkih nauka, studija kulture itd. silno su se trudile da opišu novog građanina Izraela i stvaranje nove izraelske političke zajednice (*body politic*). Ta naučna nastojanja pokušavala su da shvate uopšteni čin *izmišljanja* kulture, u kojem je nova nacija morala da učestvuje. Kao takvo, istraživanje plesa u Izraelu bi moglo da osvetli procese otelovljenja narativne mašine koja je vredno radila kako bi proizvela nov izraelski etos. Izraelsko pesništvo je oživelo i iznova osmislilo (*reinvented*) hebrejski jezik (Harshav 1990); arhitektura je stvorila viziju zemlje koja svoje geopolitičke potrebe ispunjava preraspodelom stanovništva i prostora (Segal i dr. 2003); a ples je istraživao istinsko plesno telo koje bi moglo nešto da otkrije o oblikovanju novog tela za novog Jevrejina. Povrh toga, ta se pitanja lokalne plesne zajednice nije razvila iz nekog postojećeg izraelskog folklor, kao u evropskim kulturama, pošto nije bilo *folk*a pa ni folklor koji bi u istorijskom smislu bio od koristi u izgradnji nacije. Jedini kulturni, jezički i kontekstualni izvori

na raspolaganju bili su (1) biblijsko jevrejsko carstvo koje je postojalo pre 3000 godina i (2) noviji jevrejski identitet, ukorenjen u Dijaspori, izgnanstvu i raseljenim telima. Biblijske priče zbilja jesu često korišćene u umetnosti ali samo kao podrška navodnom izraelskom legitimnom pravu na zemlju i nisu bile čvrst temelj za novi jevrejski identitet. Identitet u izgnanstvu je, naravno, bio osuđen na brisanje, pošto nije mogao da posluži aspiracijama jevrejskog nacionalizma da prikaže sebe kao autonomnog, jakog i slobodnog, već je bio stalno posećanje na patnju i nesreću Jevreja. I tako, taj novi narod se morao sazvati i interpelirati sa ogromne prostorne i vremenske razdaljine, u isti mah se uključujući u stvaran proces otelovljenja u izgradnji „izraelskog jevrejstva“. Pomoću raznih tehnika fabulacije, uključujući i ples, jevrejska nacija je postavljena kao nova nacija jednog starog naroda, s večnim i božanskim legitimitetom koji će sada napokon postati činjenicom u regionu i spram njega.

Jedinstveno telo cionizma, ističući ovo novo nacionalno prisustvo u regionu, moralo je da pristupi drugim izvorima, koji više ne bi bili povezani s Vavilonskim ropstvom. Zato je preuzet zapadnjački pozorišni ples i regrutovan radi promocije novog, čvrstog i stvaralačkog tela koje je izraelski ples nastojao da razvije. Od samog početka, razni plesni stvaraoci koji su se odazvali cionističkom pozivu i doselili u Palestinu imali su umetničku i intelektualnu znatiželju u pogledu sposobnosti plesa da stvori „pravo“ ili „istinsko“ telo za buduću državu Izrael. Ovi modernistički stvaraoci, uglavnom nadahnuti nemačkim ekspresionističkim plesom, verovali su u moć plesa da otkrije i sačini legitimno i idealno telo koje bi ne samo predstavljalo već i ispoljavalo njihov socijalističko-cionistički ideološki san. Prirodno, njihova su istraživanja brzo usvojile nacionalističke snage, voljne da iskoriste ples u borbi za vidljivost, legitimitet i javno i društveno

iskazivanje moći koje je zahvatilo region pod Britanskim mandatom. Na primer, jevrejsko je vodstvo verno prihvatilo rad Barucha Agadatija, tada mladog plesnog stvaraoca i vizuelnog umetnika, notornog po purimskim balovima u Tel Avivu, koje je organizovao u sklopu svojih umetničkih istraživanja. Tako, nešto što je 1912. počelo kao Hebrejska bahanalija, 1928. je završilo kao nacionalistička parada pod naslovom *Deset godina za nacionalni dom*.<sup>1</sup>

Nacionalističko usvajanje plesa je nastavilo da se razvija, pa danas, 2013, možemo reći da izraelska država topla prihvata ples. Izraelsko ministarstvo kulture u svojim brojnim izdanjima doslovno ističe da je Izrael „carstvo plesa“.<sup>2</sup> Pa ipak, skorija povest je u više navrata nažalost pokazala da je Izrael, osim „carstva plesa“, takođe i jedno uzorno militarističko društvo – što je za carstva i uobičajeno. Prema tome, bila bi zabluda čitati izraelski ples odvojeno od njegovog militarističkog okruženja, zato što „plesno telo“ i „telo u borbi“ nisu dve zasebne celine, već jedna te ista, koja se istovremeno bori u ratu za legitimitet i pleše za prisustvo i vidljivost. Osim toga, želimo da pokažemo da obe prakse služe istom ontološkom i političkom zadatku bivanja i proizvodnje opravdane i legitime otelovljene nacije u regionu. Drugim rečima, grabljenje zemlje ratom, okupacijom i osvajanjem bilo je i ostalo stalni zadatak za novog Jevrejina pa prema tome i neodvojiv deo nacionalnog samopoiimanja, koji je i dalje prisutan u svim njegovim pregnućima. Ali, izraelska kultura nastavlja da poriče svoj problem legitimiteta: matični politički diskurs snažno poriče kolonijalističku tradiciju i istoriju koje su izrodile izraelsku državu i njeno stalno tlačenje Palestine. Zbog tog poricanja, vladajuće

<sup>1</sup> Za više informacija o Agadatijevim purimskim balovima i uopšte o ranoj povesti Tel Aviva, vid. Gross 2009.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.mcs.gov.il/Culture/activities/Dance/Pages/about.aspx> (na hebrejskom) (oktobar 2013.)



snage u Izraelu proizvode i ističu različite i konkurentske argumente, poput „bezbednosne pretnje“ ili sumnjivog prava na biblijske zemlje, ne bi li poduprle legitimitet Izraela i objasnile njegovu delovanje, tj. opravdale okupaciju Zapadne Obale i Gaze koja traje još od 1967.

Kao takve, ove dve otelovljene prakse – ples i rat – nisu suprotstavljene, već zapravo uklopive i uporedne u svojim usklađenim naporima. One otkrivaju da su politička i ontološka pitanja sa kojima se sreće cionistički pokret zapravo jedna te ista, kao što i igra legitimiteta i prisustva otkriva čin izmišljanja koji je postao činjenica u regionu. Prema tome, za nas su važna sledeća pitanja: kako razumeti ples u Izraelu ako proizlazi iz iste žudnje kao i izraelsko borbena telo? Koje diskurse (i zašto) bira izraelsko polje plesa, koji doprinose borbi za prisustvo u regionu? I šta je to u plesu što do te mere može da ojača legitimitet izraelskog nacionalnog tela da ga država tako zdušno prihvata?

Kao što smo već pomenuli, ples u Izraelu nije izrastao ni iz kakve postojeće lokalne tradicije. Naravno, bilo je raznih pokušaja da se iskoriste lokalni arapski i levantski uticaji, ali je njih na kraju odbacio evropski projekt koji je činio ideološku i kulturnu osnovu cionizma.<sup>3</sup> Ti su pokušaji žigosani kao „folklor“ i kao takvi izbačeni iz visoke umetnosti izraelskog plesa. Drugim rečima, oni su zadržavali nešto „lokalno“ ili neke odlike hibridnog identiteta Izraela i zato se ne smatraju pravim umetničkim kreacijama koje bi mogle postaviti neko novo telo. „Istinsko“ izraelsko plesno telo ne sme biti samo *melting pot* identitetâ i znakova raznih etničkih skupina

<sup>3</sup> Izrael i cionistički pokret imaju bogatu povest orijentalizma, pošto čak i u okviru jevrejskog stanovništva postoji jaka etnička hijerarhija Jevreja evropskog i vanevropskog porekla. Za više informacija, vid. Khazzoom 2003.

koje žive u Izraelu; osim toga, takva mešavina je odbačena kao ontološki i etnički slabija, uprkos zvaničnoj vladinoj doktrini asimilovanja svih jevrejskih doseljenika. Nasuprot tome, plesno telo je smatrano sposobnim da naciji pruži *poreklo* za sve što je gore navedeno, pošto nije prikazivalo ni „lokalnog divljaka“, niti se moglo smatrati stranim ni kolonijalističkim.

Prema tome, zapadnjački plesni kanon bio je plodna građa i tlo za taj postupak, pošto je doživljavan kao već globalan, univerzalan i izražajan jezik, poistovećen s nadmoćnim Zapadom, navodno nudeći legitiman metajezik koji bi sasvim odgovarao već započetoj nacionalnoj fabulaciji Izraela. Izraelski ples je iskoristio to svojstvo zapadnjačkog plesa – univerzalnost – da bi podržao želju za ratom za originalnost i opstanak u regionu. Ako je rat značio stvarnu sposobnost da se neprijatelj zbrise, onda je ples tom zadatku doprinio univerzalnom sintaksom modernog i klasičnog plesa. U tom smislu, rat je bio nesvesno izraelskog plesača, pošto je ta borba za osećajnost plesnog tela bila usklađena s borbom za ostvarenje sveopšteg poziva cionizma. Danas, baš kao što izraelska država nastavlja da ulaže napore i sredstva u vraćanje Jevreja „kući“ (što se zove *Aliya*, a bukvalno znači „uspon“), istaknute izraelske plesne skupine, poput Vertiga i Kibbutza, takođe daju svoj doprinos nudenjem stipendija jevrejskim plesačima širom sveta za pohađanje njihovih obrazovanih programa.<sup>4</sup> Kao što vidimo, plesno telo isporučuje legitiman položaj nacionalnog telu u njegovoj borbi za stvarno postojanje i moralni, društveni i povesni opstanak.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. <http://www.masaisrael.org/programs/vertigo-dance-company> i <http://www.masaisrael.org/programs/dance-journey>, – pristupljeno (oktobar 2013.)

□ Kyr, Ohad Naharin, Batsheva Dance Company, 1991; foto: Gadi Dagon

U istoriji, estetici i diskursu lokalnog plesa, legitimitet je pripisivan plesnom telu insistiranjem na njegovoj *originalnosti*. Naš stav je da je taj zadatak u nekom smislu obavljen kada je 1990. Ohad Naharin preuzeo vođstvo Plesne trupe „Batsheva“. Naharinov rad, međunarodno priznanje i umetnički razvoj pod okriljem trupe doveo je izraelski ples do uspeha, kako objavljuje i Ministarstvo kulture. Osim toga, Plesna trupa „Batsheva“ se ispostavila kao najunosnija kulturna organizacija u Izraelu. Uprkos smešno malom državnom budžetu za umetnost (oko 0,2% ukupnog budžeta) i naročito apsurdno malom udelu plesa u tom skromnom iznosu – Naharin je u Izraelu oživeo zanimanje za ples, ostvarivši nezapamćeno povećanje broja publike. U novčanom smislu, Batsheva je najuspešnija trupa u Izraelu, pošto privlači najviše gledalaca i ostvaruje visoke prihode od prodaje ulaznica, kao i privatnih donacija, državne pomoći za izvedbe u Izraelu i inostranstvu itd.<sup>5</sup> Osim toga, čini se kao da se pobjednički etos plesa u Izraelu u punoj meri pojavio tek u Naharinovom projektu. Zamisao je bila i ostala da je izraelsko plesno telo entitet koji nadilazi i sadašnjost i prošlost; drugim rečima, to je jedno univerzalno telo koje ne zavisi od lokalnog istorijskog položaja Izraela, već kanališe *činjeničnost bivanja telom pre svega drugog*.

Drugim rečima, ples je poslužio kao sredstvo usadivanja *originalnosti* u nacionalno telo. I zaista, povest plesa u Izraelu nam pokazuje da se on uvek iznova vraćao potrazi za originalnim

<sup>5</sup> Po podacima izraelskog instituta za istraživanja u kulturi „Pilat“. Njihovi izveštaji, koje naručuje Ministarstvo kulture, sadrže podatke za čitavo polje kulture u Izraelu. Podaci o plesu u 2011. dostupni su na <http://www.pilat.co.il/download/tarbut/mahol2011.pdf> (na hebrejskom). (oktobar 2013.)

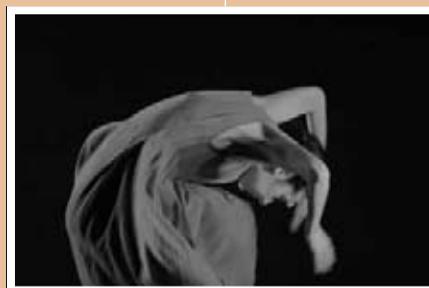
„izraelskim plesačem“, a ne bilo kakvim plesačem u Izraelu. Zadatak je bio dokazati ontološki legitimitet svojstva „izraelski“ pomoću posebnog načina shvatanja pokreta, koji je nudio ples. Kao takvo, plesno telo je sistematski brisalo hibridnu mešavinu identiteta, znakova i uslova koje je moralo da podnese. To je konačno završeno potpunim činom stvaranja – izmišljanja i prečišćavanja – novog plesnog tela, jedinstveno prepoznatljivog kao „izraelsko“ i u Izraelu i van njega i jedinstveno označenog sa *made in Israel*. Sistematska genealogija tog postupka prevazišla bi okvire ovog teksta. Umesto toga, samo ćemo je naznačiti a zatim se usredsrediti na Naharinove novije radove, koji sadrže zaštitne znake te marke.

Kada se Naharin pridružio Plesnoj trupi „Batsheva“, ona je već bila najistaknutiji akter na plesnoj sceni u Izraelu. U to vreme, Batsheva je bila repertoarska trupa i nisu je predvodile nikakve ključne koreografske ličnosti. Osim toga, to je bilo u skladu sa zamišlju njene britanske osnivačice, Baronice Batsheve de Rothschild, za koju je „zamisao bila početi s plesačima, ne s koreografima“ (Gluk 2006). Kao što smo već pomenuli, zadatak je bio pronaći i označiti novog izraelskog plesača, da bi se postavili i svetu pokazali sposobnost i prisustvo novog izraelskog tela. Ali Naharin je na prvom mestu koreograf, pa je njegov doprinos istoriji plesa u Izraelu „tradiciju plesača“ odveo korak dalje, mada je nastao kao neposredna posledica upravo te tradicije. Naharin je postao referentna tačka za neku vrstu dovršenja, nacionalnog i umetničkog uspeha izraelskog plesa, jer je pronašao način da *usadi željenu originalnost* u plesno telo, ali je to učinio crpeći univerzalne vrednosti zapadnjačkog pozorišnog plesa, upotrebljenog za beg od svakodnevnih teškoća života u nečemu što je vrlo brzo postalo režim sa „dva lica“: demokratijom i okupacijom između Sredozemnog mora i reke Jordan (Azoulay i Ophir 2008).

Paradoksalno, Naharin je i sam istaknut protivnik izraelskog režima. Na primer, kada je dobio Nagradu Izraela, najviše priznanje koje se dodeljuje građanima Izraela, požurio je da iskritikuje izraelsku okupaciju u intervjuu za jedne kanadske novine.<sup>6</sup> Iz šireg sociološkog ugla, treba pomenuti i da je Naharin Sabra, rođen 50ih godina, i pripada naraštaju koji je podignut da bi ostvario snove svojih roditelja doseljenika. Zapravo, Naharin i njegovi ispisi jesu ona tela koja je cionizam nastojao da proizvede. Sam Naharin je jedna uspešna priča: mlad, privlačan heteroseksualac, vojnik pa plesač, drugim rečima, subjekt koji je dostigao ideale i borbe i plesa u jednom te istom telu. Ali, njegov naraštaj je bio i prvi koji je kritikovao izraelski režim, naročito posle rata 1973. i usled rastuće svesti o izraelskoj

okupaciji koja je bila počela još 1967. Naharinova generacija je takođe pokrenula i razne cionističke levičarske pokrete, kao što je Mir sada, koji spajaju uopštenu veru u pravo Izraela da postoji sa samokritikom i ambicijom da čitav region povede ka stabilnosti i miru. Ipak, više autora je pokazalo da su ovo traumatično i lično iskustvo rata normalizovali upravo ti isti subjekti, kao potčinjeni činioци društva (npr. Lomsky i Feder 2004), što znači da ideološke neophodnosti države opstaju i obično odnose prevagu. Naharinov koreografski čin je duboko ukorenjen u njegovoj „generacijskoj priči“, pošto njegov rad poseduje sličnu sposobnost da kritikuje beskrajne varijacije ratobornih tela oko njega, slaveći individualno telo. Ali u isti mah, kritičan čin pojedinca na kraju neutrališe sam sebe, delimično i stoga što je „rat nesvesno plesa“ i što taj čin na kraju normalizuje telo, u ovom slučaju „originalno telo“ za kojim država toliko žudi.

Kada se Naharin pridružio Batshevi, nije bio zadovoljan markom „izraelskog plesača“, sposobnog da izvede ono najbolje iz zapadnjačke neoklasične tradicije. Želeo je da se bavi originalnim radom i zato je obučio „izraelskog plesača“ da bude sklon autorefleksiji i da pravi originalne koreografije a ne samo da ih izvodi, ali da bi to postigao, morao je da svuče nacionalističke uniforme s tela plesača. U jednom od njegovih zapaženih ranih radova, *Kyr* (1990), u jednom delu velika grupa plesača sedi u polukrugu i peva najpoznatiju pashalnu pesmu,<sup>7</sup> skidajući svoje vojne uniforme. Na taj način, Naharin je nesvesno plesa – rat – učinio svesnim, izneviši potrebu čišćenja tela od militarizma. Još jedan čuven Naharinov rad je *Tabula Rasa*, koju je *The New York Times* opisao ovako: „‘Tabula Rasa’ isijava jedno opšte osećanje gubitka“ (Kisselgoff 1987), što možda otkriva Naharinovu veru i potrebu za uspostavljanjem tela očišćenog od svih znakova. Pa ipak, Naharinovi poduhvati nisu bili tako hotimični kako se možda čine i izgleda kao da demilitarizacija proglašena u njegovim radovima zapravo nastavlja umešanost plesa kao discipline u fabulaciju nacionalnog tela. *Tabula Rasa*, što znači „neispisana ploča“ kao brisani prostor ili „bela stranica“, naslov koji otkriva stvaranje željenog plesnog tela, usavršavanjem sposobnosti plesa da izbriše određene odlike tela, ne bi li se pojavilo neko drugo, „istinskije“ i univerzalno telo. Usled toga, to stalno brisanje državi pruža telo očišćeno od svake moralne i političke odgovornosti, kao i od trenutnih teškoća. Drugim rečima, Naharinov rad je ovladao opsednutošću stvarnim i sposobnošću plesa da je izvede. Njegov rad, u velikoj meri oslonjen na njegova iskustva američkog modernističkog i evropskog neoklasičnog plesa, na primer u radovima Marthe Graham, Mauricea Bėjarta i Jiříja



□ *Tabula Rasa*, Batsheva Dance Company, 1993/1994; foto: Gadi Dagon

Kyliána, pokazao je da njegova tela lako prelaze i tumače to postojeće znanje, ali pre svega, ona simuliraju prisustvo *porekla* tog znanja. Zato je pod Naharinom Plesna trupa „Batsheva“, čiji su plesači bili poznati po svom „uglađenom izraelskom“ stilu izvedbe tehničkih visina neoklasičnima, u početku nastavila da izvodi svoji međunarodni repertoar. Ali, Naharin je iskoristio jezik plesa da bi pokazao svoju sposobnost da ga nadrase i postavi izraelsko plesno telo kao praiskonsku činjenicu, kadru da odbaci militarizam, dok tumači savremeni jezik plesa.

Ti se postupci na metodičniji i razrađeniji način pojavljuju u njegovim kasnijim koreografskim radovima, kao i u *Gagi*, njegovoj tehnici i jeziku plesa. Po našem mišljenju, njegov rad je kontinuiran proces desubjektivacije i designifikacije, što je kulminiralo u *Gagi*. Naharinov skup koordinata pokreta služi kao sredstvo za postavljanje i „istine“ plesa i kraja rata, postavljajući „rat“ ne kao agresivnu telesnu borbu na život i smrt koja zahteva uništenje neprijatelja, već kao večito stanje strastvenog etosa pokreta, usmereno ka stanju objavljenog originalnog prisustva i jedne beskrajne ekonomije zadovoljstva. Ovaj se proces može nazvati *demilitarizacijom* jevrejskog ratobornog tela, zato što potiskuje izraelska vojna označavanja (koja Naharin doživljava kao „gruba“ ili „prosta“),<sup>8</sup> ali zapravo, njegova ne-istoričnost poručuje da je rat već dobijen i da je izraelsko telo živo, dobro i na čelu – kao nova istaknuta činjenica u regionu. Njegove kritike i demilitarizacija su značajne i otkrivaju mnoge buduće poduhvate, ali takođe i artikulišu sposobnost plesa da ponudi svom telu i naciji legitimitet *bivanja činjenicom u svetu*. Ples nudi nešto mnogo korisnije od cionističke *melting pot* doktrine, zato što plesno telo nekako zadržava istinu – pošto je činjenica – novog tela i tako jamči da to novo telo nije hibridno, *usadujući mu originalnost*.

Na svojoj internet stranici, *Gaga* je određena ovako: „Jezik *Gage* potiče od vere u lekovitu, dinamičnu, uvek promenljivu moć pokreta“.<sup>9</sup> *Gaga* se predstavlja kao nov i savremen jezik pokreta koji, po Naharinu, treba da stoji sam za

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.kibush.co.il/show\\_file.asp?num=3808](http://www.kibush.co.il/show_file.asp?num=3808) (oktobar 2013.)

<sup>7</sup> Omiljeni jevrejski verski praznik, dobro uklopljen u državnu mitologiju, pošto obeležava izlazak, prelaz drevnog jevrejskog naroda iz ropstva u Egiptu u slobodu u Hanaanu.

<sup>8</sup> <http://e.walla.co.il/?w=274/1775822> (na hebrejskom) (oktobar 2013.)

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/gagapeoplecom> (oktobar 2013.)



□ Hora, Batsheva Dance Company; 2010, foto: Gadi Dagon

sebe, odnosno, odvojeno od njegovog autorstva, zbog čega ga je i nazvao „Gaga“, a ne, na primer, „Naharin“. Navodno, „Gaga“ ne znači ništa, to je besmislica, pa ipak, njena blagozvučnost podseća na novorođenčad, koja su jedino u stanju da govore, odnosno mrmljaju: „ga ga...“. U jednoj čuvenoj zgodi od pre deset godina, kada je Batsheva izvodila jedan rad Matsa Eka, Naharin je objavio da će od tada plesači „Batsheve“ koristiti jedino *Gagu* za svakodnevne vežbe, umesto klasične baletske obuke, u pripremi tela za rad. Kao diplomatski ustupak Eku, dozvolio je svojim plesačima jedan čas baleta nedeljno, ali sada, *Gaga* je jedina praksa vežbanja u Plesnoj trupi Batsheva. Vremenom, *Gaga* je postala dovoljno artikulisana da bi se mogla obraćati i široj javnosti i danas časove *Gage* pohađaju i plesači i neplesači u Tel Avivu i širom sveta. Širenje ovog znanja liči na franšizu, pošto samo Naharin može da odobri nove učitelje.

Časovi *Gage* obično traju jedan sat, tokom kojeg su učesnici nasumično razbacani u prostoru; oni ni u jednom trenutku ne prestaju da se kreću, izvodeći pokrete po širokom opsegu uputstava. Začudo, *Gaga* se zasniva na uputstvima koja prizivaju slike o bavljenju ekonomijom tela, ulaganjem energije, simulacijom tekstura i stanja materije, a ne estetskim formama niti slikovitošću (ogledala, na primer, nisu dozvoljena na časovima *Gage* niti u „Batshevinim“ plesnim studijima). Ali zapravo, kada pogledamo jednog prosečnog plesača Batsheve obučenog *Gaga* metodom, lako prepoznamo pojedine figure. Na primer, evo nekih prepoznatljivih odlika: ruke uvek lebde i nikada ne padaju; telo nikada ne dodiruje drugo prodiranjem; gotovo nikada nema spuštanja na pod. Uzrok ove uopštene sličnosti je jedno veoma važno ontološko svojstvo *Gage* – njen stalni poziv na ulazak u *potencijalno stanje samoosećaja*. Tako, *Gaga*

vas ostavlja da se pitate da li je njeno navodno otkriće originalnog plesnog tela zapravo samo još jedna romantična tvrdnja zapadnjačkog plesa.

Nešto u tom smislu je nagovestio sam Naharin na konferenciji za novinare prilikom premijere jednog od svojih novijih radova, koji je nazvao *Hora* (2009.) po istoimenom izraelskom nacionalnom folklornom plesu. Tom prilikom je rekao: „*Hora* otkriva nekoliko referentnih tačaka... ritam i unutrašnja logika rada nas pozivaju da ih posmatramo kao sled vrhunaca bez padova između njih”.<sup>10</sup> Naravno, „sled vrhunaca bez padova između njih“ ne može postojati, zato što nema vrhunaca bez padova i obratno. Stoga Naharinova izjava označava privid koji telo koje on proizvodi treba da stvori, a to je zapravo izraelski nacionalni folklorni ples. On pokazuje odbijanje bilo kakvih „padova“, uključujući i ekonomije nanošenja bola, nezadovoljstva i unakazivanja tela, a sve što ga zanima je objava euforije vlastitog uspeha.

Povrh toga, Naharinova izjava je savršen opis jezika *Gage* i toga što nudi svojim polaznicima: „sled vrhunaca bez padova između njih“. Na času *Gage*, od učesnikâ se ne traži da svojim telima tvore bilo kakve oblike, niti postoji bilo kakav poredak po kojem bi neki pokreti bili povlašćeni u odnosu na druge. Pa ipak, gledajući ili učestvujući u času *Gage*, lako prepoznamo četvrte pozicije, arabeske i slično, kao i da, kada učitelj kaže: „Lana“, to znači „u centar“ (što je deo Naharinovog sveukupnog nastojanja da smisli nove plesne izraze umesto starih, odomaćenih). Po vlastitom tvrdnju, *Gaga* se sastoji ne od sistema pozicija, kao balet, već od nehijerarhijskog sleda pokreta, vrhunaca i originalnih libidinalnih impulsa. Prema tome, osnovno načelo *Gage* je bezobličnost. Ili, možda to jednostavno nije jezik, već narečje ili izgovor

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<sup>10</sup> [http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles\\_item,698,209,34860,aspx](http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles_item,698,209,34860,aspx) (na hebrejskom) (oktobar 2013.)

onoga što ples „kao takav“ navodno jeste.

Uopšte, na času *Gage* se od tela ne traži da zauzima bilo kakve posebne položaje, već se koriste metafore, poput „zamisli da ti je kičma zmija“ ili „kupaj se u medu“ (neke od omiljenih metafora s časova *Gage*). Zadana slika vodi telo sve dok ono ne dostigne odgovarajuće ispoljenje slike. *Gaga* obitava u regionu povišenih frekvenci zadovoljstva i truda: od viška čulnog zadovoljstva do prekida i blagosti ruke koja ljušću kolevku. Sve se prihvata ako se poštuje uputstvo: „Uživaj!“. Zato bezobličnost *Gage* stvara tip izraza koji nosi protivrečnosti tako što ih razgraničava, pošto telo uopšte nije u obavezi da ima ikakvog smisla, već samo slavi navodno prvenstvo osećaja. Kao takvo, ono se pravi kao da je ravnodušno prema bilo kakvim znacima koje možda nosi ili, da kažemo to još jače, znaci se doživljaju kao mrlje koje mute vidljivost tela i čine ga nejasnim. *Gagino* stalno odricanje od bilo kakvog označavanja, koje je prvobitno pokrenuto da bi se izborilo sa onim što Naharin naziva „prostim“, obezbeđuje odsustvo bilo kakvih znakova, a naročito vojnih ili kakvih drugih etički sumnjivih ili ličnih znakova koji bi mogli da posvedoče o neuspehu ili pogrešnom ulaganju energije telesne mašine.

Zato *Gaga* prihvata *New Age* filozofiju života, neku vrstu ilogičnog naturalizma, koja se prodaje profesionalnim plesnim trupama po svetu kao jedan „zabavniji“ jutarnji čas ili kao način da što više ljudi pristupi potencijalu „osvajanja“ života uživanjem u telu u pokretu, umesto uključivanja tela u kritičko mišljenje. Po našem mišljenju, ova marka „izraelskog načina kretanja“ je još jedna sublimacija ratnog nesvesnog, jer se bavi nesvesnim poricanjem rata, umesto da promišlja ili pleše legitimitet ili odsustvo legitimiteta rata. Ipak, nije Naharin jedini: početkom veka, kada je počeo da koristi termin „Gaga“, bilo je i vreme propasti ideološke metastrukture cionističke levice, u kojoj je ona opstajala skoro 40 godina, posle talasa beznadežnosti koji je preplavio naciju

po ubistvu premijera Jicaka Rabina i navodnog neuspeha Sporazuma iz Osla. Njena osnovna načela (vera u pravo jevrejske države da postoji ali i u njenu sposobnost za samokritiku) nije mogla da izdrži njen spektakularni neuspeh u vidu Druge palestinske intifade (palestinske reči za „otpor“ ili „ustanak“), u kojoj je bilo nezapamćenog nasilja sa obe strane. U to vreme je skovana fraza „nema partnera za pregovore“ za Jasera Arafata i Palestinsku narodnu samoupravu. Osim toga, od početka 90ih godina, izraelsko društvo je pretrpelo ubrzan proces privatizacije i individualizacije, i neoliberalni kapitalizam je već cvetao u nekada jedinstvenoj socijalistički orijentisanoj zemlji. U takvoj kulturnoj i društvenoj klimi, Naharinov rad se sve više okretao sebi, sve više zatvarao u sebe, počivajući na telu koje više jednostavno nije moglo da podnese svoje protivrečno postojanje. Ali umesto da se uključi u otpor i kritiku, to telo je radije bežalo i poricalo vlastito postojanje. Čini se kao da je Naharinov projekt bio smišljen jednostavno da izađe iz društva u kojem je nastao, kao da bi nekako mogao bojkotovati kulturu tako što će je osuđivati kao „prostu“. Pod Naharinom, Plesna trupa „Batsheva“ se pretvorila u malu enklavu postavljenu da bi „grubost“ spoljnog sveta držala na odstojanju, a završila je držeći na odstojanju grubost njegovih tela u patnji, snova, nadâ i misli o promenama i otporu, i usvojila individualističke i *New Age* diskurse koji su ta tela ugušili još više.

Postoji još jedno mesto otelovljenog delovanja gde najveće moguće prisustvo tela ostaje blizu osećajnosti zadovoljstva, a to je seks. Zato ne čudi to što Naharin od svojih plesača traži da se povežu sa svojom seksualnom energijom, da „aktiviraju“ taj izvor kada plešu. Crpljenje pokreta iz takvih neograničenih i nagonskih sila omogućava mu da stvori vrstu plesanja slobodnu od ograničenjâ vremena i prostora, kao što je slobodna i od rodnih posebnosti i političkih dogmi, vezana samo za libido kao „životnu činjenicu“ i autoritet koji omogućava da razmnožavanje i zadovoljstvo obitavaju u jednom te istom gestu. To je ples koji ne nastanjuje samo „jedna misao“, jer on nastoji da iskoristi potencijal svake misli, svakog vremena i svakog prostora, kako se pojavljuju kroz puku činjenicu da imaju čulno a ipak uopšteno seksualno telo.

Konačno, *Gaga* je stvorila telo koje nosi donekle sterilnu univerzalnost, pošto ne pokazuje nikakvu sklonost ni predanost bilo kojem posebnom događaju, istorijskom ili aktuelnom. Ukratko, nastoji da uhvati „događajnost“, biće-u-događaju, koje nema nikakvu odrednicu i čak poriče bilo kakvu potrebu za njom.<sup>11</sup> Pokušaj nametanja

bilo kakvog razmišljanja *Gagi* ili objašnjavanja njenog izgleda smatrao bi se budalastim, naivnim ili jeretičkim. Ovo urođeno rastapanje smisla i odbijanje istoričnosti su najvažnije odlike *Gage*, pošto oblikuju njeno podirvanje plesne tradicije, hraneći se *činjeničnošću tela*. Zato je *Gaga* vesnik novog kapitalističkog *New Agea*, ali u sasvim bukvalnom smislu: jednog uvek „novog“ doba tela koje ne poriče ni prošlost ni budućnost, već njima jednostavno nije ni određeno ni ograničeno i umesto toga učestvuje samo u nekoj vrsti večne sadašnjosti, u *uprisutnjenom-sadašnjenu* (*presencing*).

Ipak, Naharin je od skora uronio u konkretnije *New Age* odrednice, nazivajući osnovne vrednosti *Gage* „univerzalnom etikom“ – čistom, „zelenom“, dostupnom. Te vrednosti su plod njegove želje da se odvoji od jezika pokreta iz 20. veka i, na neki način, „reši“ njihove probleme. Bezobličnost unutar oblika je zadužena da se suprotstavi bezobzirnoj disciplini „pravilno oblikovanih“ tela (*bodies “in shape”*). Mašta („zamisli da ti je kičma zmija“) treba da se bori s mehanističkom perspektivom plesne tehnike i tako dalje. Pa ipak, *Gaga* nastaje samo u tankom kontekstu svog samoosećaja, koji nastoji da bude platforma za poreklo sve refleksivnosti, ali je zapravo zaključan u jednom predrefleksivnom vidu postojanja. Možda nije slučajno što je Batsheva, čim je Naharin dovršio oblikovanje *Gage*, gotovo prestala da izvodi radove drugih koreografa i usredsredila se skoro isključivo na radove Naharina i njegove štićenice Sharon Eyal.<sup>12</sup>

Drugim rečima, *Gaga* telo odbija da prizna drugog, pošto nudi individualizujući događaj pre susretanja s drugim događajima. Kao takvo, *Gaga* telo je znak bivanja činjenicom, originalno znanje sačinjeno u Izraelu, ali u isti mah, ono je i *činjenica koja se zatvara u sebe*. Ne kažemo da se Naharin u svom radu ne dotiče društvene stvarnosti, već da ispraznost njegovih tela, koncepta *Gage*, postaje plodno tle za razgraničavanje smisla i brisanje drugih, za čim izraelska država toliko žudi. U zaoštreno političkoj situaciji Izraela i s velikom željom ne samo da kritikuje državnu politiku, već i da propeše kroz demilitarizaciju i prikazivanje oslobođenih tela, Naharin se otisnuo na putovanje kroz neprestanu transcendenciju bez premca: najpre iz grubog fizičkog postojanja jevrejskog ratobornog tela, a zatim iz povesne uslovljenosti svake izvedbe.

Na kraju, ta je mašina ipak opterećena zatvaranjem vlastite autoreferentnosti. Njena beskraina samoafektirajuća prezencija potvrđuje telo kao činjenicu a ne kao biće-u-svetu; kao podstrukturu koja podržava autonomiju, ali ne

kao prekinuto sopstvo. Naharinova nemogućnost da podnese jednu problematičnu stvarnost nagnala ga je da stvori telo podložno slavljenju svoje pobeđe ćutanja, dok on osmišljava prijatne plesove koji poriču svet oko sebe. Ta verzija tela se onda lako može priložiti raznim retorikama i propagandama, beskrainoj kulturnoj hermeneutici i, konačno, nalepnici „izraelski ples“. Ipak, unutar Naharinovog izuma, tog navodnog režima samoosećaja, i dalje kuca etički impuls: on teži stanju čiste potencijalnosti da se bude bilo šta („ti si tigar“), što Naharin doživljava kao potpuno osamostaljenje od zakona discipline i tehnike plesa i, konačno, poistovećuje kretanje s življenjem. Zato je *Gaga* primer vitalističke etike i način života, ali koji je izgubio svoje povesne koordinate, dok ga spoljašnjost duboko ne zanima.

Prema tome, *Gaga* je i dalje tesno povezana s poimanjem izraelskog tela kao moralno opravdanog i slobodnog i u tom smislu je poput nekakve eksteritorijalne utopije koja je izgubila svoju potrebu za smislom i dodirom s povešću, slično današnjoj postcionističkoj levici, u sklopu opšte krize levice. To „bebeće“ telo koje *Gaga* odgaja ostaje verno službi svih svetovnih snaga oko njega, koje ga usvajaju da bi se rasteretile kritičke misli i na kraju Izrael proglašile „carstvom plesa“. Mi, međutim, *Gagu* vidimo kao (zlatan) kavez *originalne činjeničnosti*, što joj je dozvolilo luksuz samoproglašanja univerzalnom istinom. *Gagin* eskapistički put potvrđuje da je rat nesvesno izraelskog plesa, dok se *Gaga* pridržava i potvrđuje državnu politiku Izraela. ■

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<sup>11</sup> Ovdje mislimo pomoću pojma *događaja* Alaina Badioua – istorijskog sleda koji iznosi neku sveopštu istinu i iznova određuje strukturu bića kao bića. Vid. Badiou 2005. Nasuprot tom poimanju, mi *Gagu* vidimo ne kao događaj, nego samo kao „događajnu“, zato što ona samo simulira da je u stalnom „događaju“; kao takva, ona zapravo ne dozvoljava pravom događaju da se pojavi.

<sup>12</sup> Sharon Eyal je godinama bila Naharinova „muza“, pošto je plesala u trupi od početka. Kasnije je postala njena matična koreografkinja. Nedavno je ostvarila uspeh na međunarodnoj sceni i, zapaženo, napustila Plesnu truppu „Batsheva“, osnivajući svoju, L-E-V. Međutim, i dalje ističe vezu sa *Gaga* praksom, npr. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rsebh20mdk> (oktobar 2013).

# Koreografija kao analitičko sredstvo za tumačenje društva u kontekstu pozorišta

**Igor KORUGA** ● ● Možda najaktuelniji – mada ne tako svež – problem u savremenom plesu jeste pojam proširene koreografije. Do sada je već izneto mnogo predloha u vezi s tim pitanjem. U sve više polja, reč „koreografija“ počinje da služi kao tehnički termin (npr. u biologiji, diplomatiji, politici, sociologiji, antropologiji itd). Zajedničko svim tim pristupima jeste sagledavanje koreografije kroz druge načine uređivanja vremena i prostora, promišljanje raznih praksi, okvira i pojmova koreografijom i viđenje koreografije kao uopštenog skupa oruđa u analizi. Osim toga, ti pristupi postavljaju pitanje: „Šta može koreografija da uradi?“, ali time ne umanjuju značaj pitanja „šta je koreografija?“. Stoga mi možemo pitati: a šta je s koreografijom i društvom? Kako upotrebiti koreografiju u analizi izvedbe u današnjem društvu – u njegovim strukturama, načelima kojima se uređuje, ulogama u komunikaciji i našem izvođenju tih

<sup>1</sup> Od zamisli razdvajanja koreografije od plesa (Mårten Spångberg), preko teze o iscrpljenju veze plesa s pokretom i usredsređivanju umesto nje na neprekidni kinetički tok kao suštinu plesa (André Lepecki), do stava da se prelaz iz otelovljenja u proceduralizam dešava usled prekida veze između tela i pokreta (Bojana Cvejić).

struktura, načelâ i uloga u našim svakodnevnim životima? Ako se koreografija menja iz temelja tako što prevazilazi svoju umetničku performativnost i prelazi u polje društvene performativnosti (kao u slučaju društvene koreografije, na primer), šta to otkriva ili govori o nama – izvođačima i nosiocima tih izvedbi? I kako nam to omogućava da menjamo javnu sferu ili interveniše u njoj? Da bih se pozabavio takvim viđenjem koreografije, u ovom radu ću se usredsrediti na komunikaciju u kontekstu autor-delo-gledalac u okviru dispozitiva pozorišta. Pozorište smatram javnim prostorom – okvirom za građansko delovanje u vezi s pitanjima javnog prostora (npr. obraćanje u javnosti, rad, politika, društvena saradnja, društvena komunikacija itd). U tom okviru želim da razmotrim viđenje koreografije kao prakse koja bi mogla da područja izvedbe i gledalaštva (*spectatorship*), koja su trenutno artikulisana i prepoznatljiva u okviru pozorišnog aparata, proširi u društvene poretke performativnosti. Takvo širenje bi koreografiju učinilo analitičkim oruđem za socio-antropološko, političko i umetničko tumačenje i intervenisanje spram načelâ društvene komunikacije, delovanja, vrednosti i verovanjâ, u

ljuskoj interakciji unutar javne sfere današnjeg (neoliberalnog i kapitalističkog) društva.

**KOMUNIKACIJA u izvođačkim umetnostima** ● Komunikacija između publike i umetnika u izvođačkim umetnostima je ključan i nezaobilazan predmet mnogih umetničkih koncepata, naročito od 60ih godina, avangardi i neoavangardi.<sup>2</sup> Kako primećuje

<sup>2</sup> Što se pojavilo usled nastanka raznih poststrukturalističkih teorizacija koje su, prema Ani Vujanović, dovele u pitanje strukturisanje komunikacije u izvedbi s publikom po konvencionalnoj shemi komunikacije: *pošiljalac – poruka (sa informacijom) poslata kroz komunikacijske kanale – primalac* ili, u izvedbi: *autor – poruka poslata kroz dramsku predstavu / izvedbu – publika* (Vujanović 2010, 2). Vujanović taj preobražaj objašnjava ovako. Ukratko, pojam *komunikacije kao jednostavne razmene* (uključujući radove umetnika iz istorijskih avangardi: Antonina Artauda, futurista, dadaista i dr. i neoavangardi od 60ih godina: Fluxusa, situacionista, Living Theatera, Augusta Boala, Yoko Ono, Petera Handkea itd), u vezi s pojmom otvorenog dela Umberta Eca, preobrazio je predstavljajuću strukturu izvedbe u participativni i provokativni događaj sada-i-ovde sa publikom koja zahteva odgovore. Zatim, pojam *ne-komunikacije* je uobličen u postmodernizmu (od 70ih do 90ih godina, u radovima Roberta Wilsona, Jana Fabrea, Richarda Foremana, Petera Greenwaya i Anne Terese de Keersmaecker), raznim izvođačkim praksama koje su ponudile nove poglede na otvoreno značenje, postavljajući iza izvedbe ne nekakvog *tvorca*, već „autora ravnodušnog prema komuniciranju: izvedba je otvorena za mnoštvo slobodnih i nasumičnih ‘čitanja’ od strane publike“ (Cvejić i Vujanović 2006, 9).

Ana Vujanović, nova stremljenja u izvođačkim umetnostima ukazala su na *insistiranje* ranijih participativnih i interaktivnih oblika pozorišta i izvedbe na komunikaciji, koje je počivalo na dvema pretpostavkama.<sup>3</sup> Prva se odnosi na zamisao aktiviranja gledaoca kroz razne oblike interakcije i nečesa u izvedbi koja bi mogla da prenese neku poruku ili sadržaj. Takvu pretpostavku, objašnjava Vujanović, teško je ostvariti zbog jaza koji razdvaja izvedbu od publike, koja je ujedno i "relativno apstraktna bezimena masa koja treba da deluje sa zajedničke komunikacijske osnove i mnogobrojni zasebni prostori gledalaca koji bi bili ograničeni samo kada bi autor bio upoznat sa svima njima i njihovom stvarnom strukturom, što je gotovo nemoguće". (Vujanović 2010, 3)

Druga pretpostavka se odnosi na težnje da se gledalac „aktivira“ i „osvesti“ svoje uloge u pozorištu. Ali kako se ispostavlja, gledalac se tu posmatra kao pasivni element komunikacije, što reprodukuje društvenu nejednakost (odvajajući one koji znaju od onih koji ne znaju, aktivne od pasivnih itd.) i takođe pojačava pritisak na gledaoca.<sup>4</sup> Mada nikakva procedura ne bi mogla da ukloni jaz između publike i izvedbe u kontekstu komuniciranja, Vujanović smatra da su savremene izvođačke umetnosti pokazale da se taj jaz ipak može posredovati – pomeranjem izvedbene komunikacijske sheme „od saopštavanja nečega publici (poruke, sadržaja) ka komuniciranju sa publikom, u težnji da značenje u tom procesu nastane, a ne da se prenese“ (Vujanović 2010). Jednostavnije rečeno, mada možda i ironičnije, Vujanović zapravo tvrdi da ono što se u savremenoj izvedbi saopštava nije ni značenje niti bilo kakva druga vrednost do same komunikacije, drugim rečima, želja za nastavkom komuniciranja, što postaje neka vrsta koda savremenosti. Osnova njene tvrdnje je bliska Agambenovo viziji komunikabilnosti, koja ne saopštava ništa drugo do sposobnosti jezika da saopštava. On to čini samo svojom praksom odnosno delovanjem, mogućnošću, kontekstom, operativnošću i razumljivošću. Pa ipak, jezik ne može da saopšti vlastitu komunikabilnost, već samo da je pokaže delujući kao medij ili proces komuniciranja (Agamben 1993).

U savremenim izvođačkim umetnostima i koreografiji ima konkretnih primera koji ispoljavaju gore iznetu tezu o komunikaciji, uključujući radove umetnika poput Xaviera

<sup>3</sup> Ta nova stremljenja odnose se na *ponovno institucionalno usredsređenje na komunikaciju* tokom 90ih i 2000ih godina, u radovima raznih oblika izvođačkih umetnosti, od autora poput, u oblasti savremene koreografije, Jérôma Bela, Xaviera Le Roya, Borisa Charnatza, Plischkea i Deuferta, Alice Chauchat, Mette Ingvarsen, Iva Dimčeva i dr; u dokumentarnom i *readymade* pozorištu: Christoph Schlingensiefel, Rabiha Mrouea, Rimini Protokolla i dr. u akcijama na razini zajednice: Shannon Flattery, Thomasa Hirschhorna, trupe Krétakór i dr.

<sup>4</sup> A što je kod Jacquesa Rancièrea kritička osnova alternativnog političkog načela emancipovanog gledaoca (Ransijer 2010).

Le Roya (*Project, low\_pieces, Retrospective*), Eszter Salamon (*Giszelle, nvsbl*), Christine De Smedt (9x9),<sup>5</sup> Tina Sehğala (*This Variation*) itd. Mada različiti u smislu oblika, sadržaja, kao i institucionalnog konteksta predstavljanja (pozorište naspram muzeja), svi ovi radovi ispoljavaju koreografsko shvatanje novih vizija gledalaštva. Proizavši iz tradicije „praksi mišljenja“, koje su se pojavile 90ih godina, ovakve koreografske zamisli autoreferentno problematizuju ples/koreografiju,<sup>6</sup> otvarajući umetničko delo mnoštvu čitanja, umesto da ga vezuju samo za čitanje jednog subjekta/ autora. Što je još važnije, ove prakse pitaju ko su gledaoci s kojima umetnici komuniciraju u izvedbi, nagoveštavajući da bi cilj umetnika, prema Vujanović, trebalo da bude da stvori „komunikacijsku zajednicu“ s gledaocem dok traje izvedba, kao „održivu osnovu komuniciranja, što nije nešto što već postoji“ (Vujanović 2010, 4). Drugim rečima, publika koja dolazi u pozorište nije već postojeća zajednica, već skupina pojedinaca koji se tu na kratko okupljaju dolazeći iz svojih različitih ličnih života. Stvaranje „komunikacijske zajednice“ u izvedbi zahteva usmeravanje komunikacije između umetnika, izvedbe i publike na zadatke, oblike i pitanja koji bi mogli da se tiču publike i na taj način je ubede da postane deo takve privremene zajednice. U tom smislu, želeo bih da razmotrim dve zamisli u vezi s „komunikacijskom zajednicom“ i njenim odnosom sa umetnicima i gledaocima u izvedbi. Moja prva zamisao bi bila da pojam „zajednice“ razdvojim od njegovog uopštenog i uobičajenog shvatanja, a druga da odredim na šta se odnosi pojam „procedure“ u stvaranju komunikacijske zajednice.

**Komunikacija i „zajednica“ u izvedbi** ● Kada je reč o komunikaciji umetnika i gledalaca, možda je neophodno naznačiti da je konvencionalni pojam „zajednice“ – strukturisanog ili hijerarhijski uređenog jedinstva/društva okupljenog oko zajedničkih vrednosti, zamisli, problema itd. – preuzak, jer počiva na odnosima moći, nejednakosti društvenih uloga i položaja, kao i na podelama u smislu statusa. Ono što se čini da nastaje u današnjim participativnim i interaktivnim praksama izvođačkih umetnosti jeste redefinisanje „zajednice“. Za sada ću samo pomenuti nekoliko primera, opet iz područja savremene koreografije: *On Trial Together* (Ana Vujanović i Saša Asentić), *The Entropic Institute* (Deufert i Plischke), *By Invitation Only* (Christina

<sup>5</sup> Ovaj projekt je pokrenula Christine De Smedt, a u njemu je učestvovalo još osam koreografa, uključujući, između ostalih, Märtana Spångberga, Mette Edvardsen i Tina Sehğala.

<sup>6</sup> Ispitujući i kritikujući sam aparat pozorišta, ulogu gledaoca, načela autorstva i načine proizvodnje u plesu i koreografiji, odnos tržišta umetnosti i ekonomije razmene, načela iza proizvodnje i podela znanja u plesu, saradnju i umrežavanje umetnikâ kao pojedinačnih autora i umetnikâ pri ustanovama itd.

Ciupke i Igor Dobričić), *9x9* (Christine De Smedt i još osam koreografa), *EIO & EIONometry* (Dragana Bulut, Eduard Gabia i Maria Baroncea) itd. Zajednička osnova ovih različitih projekata jeste njihovo preuređivanje „zajednice“ umetnika i gledaoca pomoću koreografskih zamisli zasnovanih na različitim poimanjima zajednice, uključujući nestrukturisanu, hibridnu, nastajuću i proto-zajednicu. Svi ti pojmovi, pozajmljeni iz socijalne antropologije, filozofije i studija izvedbe, stoje iza termina *communitas* – latinskog korena engleske reči *community*. To je i dalje kontroverzan terijski pojam, određen parametrima društvene interakcije koji se zasnivaju ili na istovetnosti/zajedništvu ili na drugosti.<sup>7</sup> Međutim, upravo nam ta protivrečnost dozvoljava da koristimo ovaj pojam kao metodološki termin za ispitivanje, kao i obustavljanje ili otpor spram poznatih i prepoznatljivih društvenih oblika i poredaka zajedničkog bića u kolektivnoj situaciji. Podsticanje hibridnih oblika „komunikacijske zajednice“ je društveno-politička i performativna intervencija, analiza, preobražaj, neizvesnost i potencijalna pretnja normativnim društvenim odnosima i porecima, koje prožimaju antagonistički mehanizmi našeg savremenog kapitalističkog društva komunikacije. Takav oblik zajednice se suprotstavlja suverenitetu poznatog društvenog poretka javnim izvođenjem nepoznatih, spontanih i nevidljivih alternativa ili skupova parametara/načela življenja i zajedničkog bivanja u ljudskoj interakciji. U kontekstu pozorišta i izvođačkih umetnosti, podsticanje hibridnih zajednica otvara igralište za određivanje i razvijanje načela komunikacijskog pregovaranja/posredovanja u (ne)jednakom, kontrapunktskoj komunikaciji između teritorija gledaoca, umetnika i umetničkog dela – kako su određene u praksama izvođačkih umetnosti u odnosu na pozorišni aparat, npr. u savremenom plesu i koreografiji. Osim toga, takvo pregovaranje pomera te teritorije, u cilju izazivanja i intervenisanja

<sup>7</sup> Kada je reč o teorijskim pristupima u vezi s britanskom antropologijom kulture iz druge polovine 20. veka (tačnije, sa interpretativnom i simboličkom antropologijom), autor koga bi trebalo pomenuti u vezi s pojmom *communitas* je Victor Turner. U svojim istraživanjima obreda, kriza, sukoba i njihovog značaja u stvaranju društvenih struktura u afričkim zajednicama, Turner je koristio pojam *communitas* za nestrukturisanu zajednicu, zajednicu u nastajanju tokom prelaznih razdoblja preuređivanja ili propadanja postojećeg društvenog poretka. Po Turnerovom shvatanju, *communitas* se pojavljuje u trenucima restrukturisanja poznate društvene strukture neke zajednice, kroz kolektivna i javna delovanja i pokrete telâ, ne samo retoriku. U takvim zajednicama u nastajanju, ti telesni pokreti se zasnivaju na načelima zajedništva i jednakosti među njenim pripadnicima/ljudima (vid. Turner 1982 i Turner 1989). Nasuprot njemu, filozof Roberto Esposito *communitas* tumači ističući da se zajednice zasnivaju na našim temeljnim drugostima u odnosu na nas same, na dugu i obavezi, a ne na zajedništvu. Za Esposito, zajednica nije kolektivna spona koja se u nekom trenutku pojavljuje da bi povezala pojedince. Naprotiv, to je „izlaganje nečemu što prekida i izvrće zatvaranje: vrtoglavici, sinkropi, grčenju u kontinuitetu subjekta“ (Esposito 2010, 7).

spram konvencionalnih vidova umetničke proizvodnje i potrošnje u kapitalizmu.<sup>8</sup>

### Proceduralnost i koreografija ●

Još jedno pitanje koje treba razmotriti u izgradnji „komunikacijske zajednice“ u pozorištu jeste njena proceduralnost. U tom smislu, počeo bih posmatranjem koreografije kroz savremene pristupe, od 90ih godina naovamo. Kao što sam gore pomenuo, ovaj paradigmatički obrt u umetnosti plesa i koreografije uveo je proceduralizaciju kao autoreferentno metodološko sredstvo za poimanje plesa. Pored zastupanja posebne obrazovne složenosti i konkretne političke i javne važnosti koreografije, proceduralizacija je, što je još važnije, odvojila koreografiju od zatvorenog pojma komponovanja.<sup>9</sup> Ipak, noviji teorijski pristupi – poput pristupa Bojane Cvejić – ispituju da li se naše konceptualno i funkcionalno bavljenje procedurama u koreografiji poslednjih godina (teorijski, u plesnom obrazovanju; primenjeno, kroz dramaturgiju u plesnoj praksi) okoštalo u normativna koreografska „know-how“ rešenja koja više ne propituju ulogu i svrhu same koreografije (vid. Cvejić 2013).<sup>10</sup> Ponavljanje procedura je problematično samo ako se neprestano čini bez povremenog analiziranja ili preispitivanja svrhe, funkcionalnosti i osnovnih doktrina. Pošto procedure određuju kako poimamo procese, činove, pojmove i stavove, kako ih doživljavamo, kako oni uređuju sisteme funkcionisanja, održavaju obrasce mišljenja, delanja i komuniciranja, spona između proceduralnosti i koreografije, kako pokazuje Cvejić, mogla bi se razmotriti i za još jednu namenu. Koreografija bi mogla da se usredsredi na ispitivanje načelâ svog proceduralnog rada, umesto na gotova proceduralna rešenja koja predlaže. Ispitivanje i artikulisanje načelâ koreografije moglo bi da izrodi nove, preobražujuće, intervenišuće i hibridne dimenzije, celine, modele, koji bi mogli da razotkriju, podriju

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**8** Jednostavno: umetnik se posmatra manje kao pojedinačan proizvođač zasebnih predmeta nego kao saradnik i proizvođač situacija; od konačnog, prenosivog predmeta koji se može pretvoriti u robu, umetničko delo se pretvara u dugoročan projekt ili rad u toku, s nejasnim početkom i krajem; a publika, ranije shvatana kao „posmatrač“ ili „gledalac“, sada se pretvara u saradnika ili učesnika. (Bishop 2012, 2).

**9** Prema Bojani Cvejić, koreografija je istorijski poistovećivana s kompozicijom ili upisivanjem formalnog reda u prostor i vreme putem pokretâ tela. Kako Cvejić naglašava, upisivanje pokreta u prostor i vreme je sasvim nejasan, prazan označitelj, ali regulativni pojmovi upravo tako i rade – oni ispunjavaju svoju normativnu ulogu upravo zahvaljujući neuhvatljivosti svog sadržaja. Prema tome, takav zatvoren pojam koreografije počiva na koreografiji i svodi je na sporazum („šta god bila tvoja kompozicija, mora se ticati pokreta tela i parametara prostora i vremena“) i hijerarhijskog aparata proizvodnje (koreograf prenosi znanje plesačima pomoću modela pokazivanja i kopiranja ili oblikovanja materijala). (Cvejić 2006)

**10** Ovo treba imati u vidu, naročito u svetlu neprestane proizvodnje priručnika, alata, notacija, metoda, protokola, manifestâ, intervjua, samo-intervjua i knjiga o kreativnosti u savremenoj koreografiji (vid. Cvejić 2013).

i preobrazu ovekovne i proceduralne elemente koji su postali uslužni ili normativni – ostatke starih intelektualizacija i praksi koje su oblikovale uverenja u obrazovanju, na tržištu umetnosti i u društvu po pitanju šta je to „normalno“ u koreografiji (vid. Cvejić i Vujanović 2012, 75).

Imajući u vidu činjenicu da umetnička metodologija nužno ne konstituiše gledalaštvo u pozorištu, neke aspekte teze Bojane Cvejić ipak nalazim korisnim, u razmatranju podsticanja „komunikacijske zajednice“ između publike i umetnika. Kada je reč o sponi proceduralizma i koreografije, zanimaju me konkretni načini upotrebe koreografije u pozorišnom aparatu radi komuniciranja s gledaocem o razotkrivanju, prekidanju i preobražavanju normativnih procedura našeg društvenog (sa)postojanja, delovanja i komunikacije, oko kojih je toliko lako složiti se i primeniti ih u današnjem neoliberalnom i kapitalističkom društvu.<sup>11</sup> Drugim rečima, kako komunicirati kroz koreografiju političko, socio-antropološko i umetničko preispitivanje načelâ koja pokazuju, na primer, „koje sile i aparati, nemetaforično i svakodnevno, koreografišu potčinjavanje, mobilisanje, pokoravanje i hapšenje“ (Lepecki 2012, 21)? Ta načela nije lako artikulirati ni razumeti u današnjoj ljudskoj interakciji i njenoj performativnosti u javnoj sferi (i prostoru). I dok naizmenično komponuje javnu sferu i ostaje ideološki, „estetski oblik kojim bi trebalo izraziti ta načela jeste neodređen i zahteva nedelotvorno duge ideološke rasprave u kolektivnom umu da bi se pretvorio u konkretne političke zahteve“ (Cvejić 2013, 75).

### KOREOGRAFIJA kao oruđe za tumačenje i slamanje društvenih normi ●

Upotreba koreografije za tumačenje društva podrazumeva sagledavanje koreografije kao neke vrste sheme društva koja se može analizirati. To bi povezalo koreografiju s pojmom izvedbe kao modela tumačenja društvenog i u javnoj i u privatnoj sferi.<sup>12</sup> Sagledana na taj

**11** Mada treba imati u vidu i to da je čak i takvo autoreferentno i kritičko preispitivanje postalo politički nedelotvorno ili, žižekovskim jezikom, „pseudo-aktivno“, usled tesne povezanosti sa savremenim modelima proizvodnje u postindustrijskoj eri, u kojoj „umetnost učestvuje u mreži predodređenih modela kritičnosti i promišljanja, kao 'razumna politizacija' ili izbor između već gotovih diskurzivnih mogućnosti“ (Kunst 2011, 128). Kako Bojana Kunst naglašava, usled tržišta umetnosti koje neprestano održava fleksibilnost neoliberalne kapitalističke politike nudenjem raznih političkih izbora i koje gledalaca zajednice stvara pomoću moralnih kategorija a ne političkom subjektivizacijom, čak i radikalne kritičke prakse izgledaju manje delotvorno i zahtevaju dublje preispitivanje.

**12** Pozajmljeni iz sociologije, antropologije i studija izvedbe, pojmovi koji odgovaraju takvom modelu pokazuju da posmatranjem javnosti kao pozorišta/izvedbe (kroz konkretne istorijske primere, od antičke Grčke, preko ere građanstva, do neoliberalnog društva), priznajemo da onog trenutka kada stupimo u javnost, mi zapravo izvodimo za druge i pred drugima. Evo nekih primera: teorija izvedbe (John McKenzie), društvena drama (Victor Turner), društvena koreografija (Andrew Hewitt), čovek kao glumac (Richard Sennett), tehnologije sopstva (Michel Foucault), *habitus* (Pierre Bourdieu), pojam društvenih uloga i izvedbe sopstva (Ervin Goffman), razlikovanje čina od izvedbe

način, koreografija se koristi kao društvena pojava za analiziranje izvođenja u savremenom društvu – u društvenim strukturama, porecima, komuniciranju i ulogama u našim svakodnevnim životima. Ali s jednog drugačijeg stanovišta, pitam se da li bi umetnički prilaz takvom pristupu koreografiji i njenoj primeni bio umetnički nadahnut da ispita ideološki koreografisanu performativnost društva u kontekstu gledalaštva i pozorišnog aparata, onda bi trebalo da sačini predlog koreografije, kroz koji bi uspostavio komunikaciju sa publikom (stvarajući komunikacijsku zajednicu s njom) i primenio ga kao analitičko oruđe za tumačenje i kritikovanje društvenoga, a možda i za intervenisanje u javnome.

Taj pristup se može prikazati kroz sledeći primer iz savremene koreografske prakse. Početkom prošle decenije, koreografkinja Christine De Smedt pokrenula je projekat *9x9* sa ciljem da promisli odnos individualnosti i zajednice i pojam umetnosti kao masovnog događaja. Radeći sa „amaterima“ ili, jednostavno, običnim ljudima iz raznih gradova u kojima je gostovala, De Smedt je istraživala kako se ljudi ponašaju u skupinama, kako obrazuju privremene skupine uprkos svojim različitim interesima i kako se one posle ponovo raspadaju. Koreografska struktura izvedena u Nantu u Francuskoj, kao jedna od predstava u okviru projekta, osmišljena je kroz razne društvene igre zasnovane na matematičkim načelima (npr. permutacijama), da bi nastao ureden kaos. Taj uredeni kaos je onda isprepletan s raznim društvenim situacijama (označenim određenim pod-društvenim koreografijama) koje su uvedene u izvedbu – diskoteka, rok-koncert, javno obraćanje i zapisi plesanja/pokreta. Fragmentarna struktura rada, koju je izveo pomešan skup profesionalaca i amatera, raštrkanih svuda po prostoru, bez jasnih granica između izvođača i gledalaca, razotkrivala je i ispitivala određene aspekte društveno koreografisanog ponašanja u javnosti. Jedan aspekt je bio ponašanje publike u odsustvu „poznatih“ procedura „konvencionalne“ pozorišne izvedbe. Publika se povukla, tj. pokazala strah i neprijatnost spram nekoliko svakodnevnih društvenih situacija prozirno prikazanih u pozorištu (usled straha od izvođenja, neznanja, neuspeha u „razumevanju“ savremenog umetničkog rada itd). Takve reakcije pokazuju potrebu da koreografijom ispitujemo javno ponašanje publike, u ovom slučaju njihovu spremnost da odlučuju da li će samo poštovati pravila ili će tokom izvedbe svojim prisustvom i učesćem nastojati da preobrazu već postojeći

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(Richard Schechner), izvođenje identiteta (Judith Butler), pojam otelevljenja (Thomas Csordas), govorni činovi (John Austin) itd. (Vid. Cvejić i Vujanović 2012).

(koreografski) predlog. Ili, konkretno, da li će gledalac plesati kao da je u diskoteci, na primer, ili reagovati na obraćanje kroz javni politički govor. Konačno, organizovanjem mase ljudi u prostoru pomoću telâ (izvođača) ispitano je još jedan aspekt društvenog ponašanja, pokazujući kako se gledaoci pojedinačno ponašaju i postavljaju u odnosu na takvu (ne)strukturisanu masovnu situaciju.

Ovaj kratak prikaz rada De Smedt nam dozvoljava da iznesemo dva zapažanja. Jedno je da se koreografija može upotrebiti kao analitičko oruđe za (umetničko) tumačenje društvenog (ponašanja, poretka, uloge itd), preko metodologije, procedura i struktura koje upravljaju predlogom/okvirom izvedbene situacije koja se stvara u komunikaciji sa publikom. Drugo zapažanje je da ova konkretna koreografija ne samo počiva na predstavljanju i razotkrivanju, već i prelama i ispituje koreografiju kao društvenu pojavu, ideološki oblikovanu našim raznim mikro- i pod-društvima i otelovljenu našim ponašanjem u javnoj sferi.<sup>13</sup> Ovaj primer pokazuje da upotreba koreografije kao sheme i analitičkog oruđa za umetnička tumačenja društva neizbežno počiva na postavljanju „komunikacijske zajednice“ kroz koju umetnik i gledalac mogu zajedno intervenisati u društvenom kontekstu, menjajući njegov sistem vrednosti, ideologiju i druge vladajuće sisteme. Ipak, takva upotreba koreografije se i dalje suprotstavlja popularnom teorijskom uverenju da umetnost treba da se oslobodi od „beskorisnog“ područja estetskog i vezuje samo uz društvenu praksu i promenu društva. Kako primećuje Claire Bishop, takvo razmišljanje poima participativnu/kolaborativnu umetnost samo kroz neoliberalna načela politike identiteta, favorizujući samo „jednu stranu“ – gledaočevu – i na taj način potvrđujući vrednosti poput poštovanja „drugog“, osnovnih sloboda, političke korektnosti itd. Shodno tome, ono zanemaruje i previda činjenicu da je „estetsko“ sposobnost promišljanja protivrečja. Rezimirajući Rancièroevu tezu o rehabilitovanju veze između estetskog i politike, Bishop smatra da estetsko nosi produktivnu protivrečnost odnosa umetnosti prema promeni društva, koju odlikuje upravo taj naboj između vere u autonomiju umetnosti i vere u umetnost kao neraskidivo vezanu za obećanje boljeg sveta koji će doći. (Bishop 2006, 183)

Ta promena društva ne počiva toliko na društvenom aktivizmu koliko na „političnosti“ umetničkog dela, koja se, prema Ani Vujanović, ogleda u načinima na koje to delo deluje i interveniše u javnom prostoru, u smislu rasprava i sukoba oko subjekata i objekata koji u njemu izvode, raspoređuju položaja i moći

<sup>13</sup> Ova zapažanja su još ubedljivija ako se ima u vidu činjenica da je rad 9x9 izvođen na međunarodnoj plesnoj sceni tokom razdoblja od 5–6 godina, sa 18 postavljenih verzija i tumačenjem različitih društvenih i javnih pitanja u svakom od konteksta u kojima je prikazan.

među njima, raspodele „čulnog“ i ideoloških diskursa koji oblikuju zajednički, simbolički i čulni poredak društva, koji oblikuje materijalnu društvenu strukturu. (Vujanović 2010)

### Osnove za uspostavljanje komunikacijskih zajednica pomoću koreografije

● Razmišljanje o upotrebi koreografije kao analitičkog oruđa za tumačenje i slamanje normi našeg pluralnog sapostojanja u savremenom društvu otvara sledeće pitanje: na kojim osnovama treba da počiva takav koreografski okvir? Naročito imajući u vidu da se to podstiče unutar pozorišnog dispozitiva, koji posreduje, pregovara, čak i raspravlja o jazu između utvrđenih teritorija umetnika i gledaoca, oblikujući društveni pluralitet koje „podigne kriterijume, problematizuje vladajuće vrednosti i stvara društvenu klimu za pružanje diskurzivnog prostora mnoštvo često disonantnih glasova“ (Deschooling Classroom 2013, 213). Možda nam par primera iz izvođačkih umetnosti mogu pomoći da nađemo neke odgovore.

Šestoro umetnika, uključujući i mene, koji smo već radili u polju savremenog plesa i izvedbe na beogradskoj nezavisnoj umetničkoj sceni, pokrenuli smo 2011. umetnički projekt i izvedbu pod nazivom *Temporaries* (Privremeni).<sup>14</sup> Ovu participativnu/kolaborativnu izvedbu organizujemo kao društveni događaj – piknik sa umetničko-zabavnim programom – u kojem se umetnici (kao voditelji) zajedno s gledaocima suočavaju sa i intervenišu u društvena i umetnička pitanja i načela uređivanja društva, naglašavajući uslove rada na lokalnoj i međunarodnoj nezavisnoj sceni izvođačkih umetnosti (kao što su privremenost, solidarnost, prekarnost, konkurencija, nastajanje (*emerging*) / umetnik u nastajanju, kolektivizam, samoostvarivanje, spremnost, političnost, različitost itd). Projekt teži da analizira i ispituje ova pitanja na mikrorazini, u posebnim kontekstima u kojima se izvodi. Sam događaj je zasnovan na dekonstruisanju piknika, pretvarajući ga od (poznatog) udobnog i prijatnog društvenog događaja u dugačku izvedbu sa složenim skupom pravila, koju postaje sve teže i teže razumeti i savladati. Koreografska struktura ili osnova komuniciranja sa publikom u ovom projektu počiva na naizmeničnoj upotrebi predstavljačkog/estetskog i društvenog vida izvođenja. Ta naizmenična upotreba obuhvata minijature predstavljačkog plesa/umetnosti (koje čine umetničku stranu događaja) i društvene igre koje ispituju razna načela društvene organizacije i kolektivnih/pojedinačnih odnosa koji dalje vode putanju događaja. Postupak počiva na podsticanju kolektivne vežbe suočavanja, tumačenja i raspravljanja o mehanizmima i načelima

<sup>14</sup> *The Temporaries* su: Ana Duplević, Dušan Bročić, Igor Koruga, Marko Milić, Jovana Rakić Kiselčić i Ljiljana Tasić. [www.temporaries.weebly.com](http://www.temporaries.weebly.com)

društvene organizacije, društvene interakcije u odnosu na proizvodnju umetnosti, razmenu znanja, marketing, subjektivitet umetnika u društvu itd. U tom smislu, predstavljanje projekta *Temporaries* u različitim društvenim kontekstima tokom protekle dve godine donelo nam je i različita iskustva. Na primer, u Berlinu je publika uglavnom poštovala pravila i strukture događaja, pa bi nam nakon predstave najčešće naglašavala osećaj bezbednosti svoje uloge gledalaca. Nasuprot Berlinu, u Beogradu i Kortrajku (Belgija), imali smo sasvim drugačije iskustvo – u oba grada, publika je pokušavala da poremeti predloženu strukturu izvedbe, insistirajući da promenimo pravila, osporavajući hijerarhiju i odnose moći između umetnika i gledalaca, promišljajući pojam demokratskog konsenzusa i način da ga postignemo u ovoj izvedbi, razmišljajući i o alternativama u procesu kolektivnog donošenja odluka itd.<sup>15</sup> Ova iskustva su za nas otvorila važno pitanje, koje se tiče davanja i uzimanja prostora – posredovanja, pregovaranja, kao i prekidanja i raspravljanja u određenim prilikama o pitanju ko ima pravo da uzme/dâ prostor u komunikaciji između umetnika i gledalaca prilikom izvedbe? Možda to pitanje ostaje značajno kao načelo izgradnje privremenog pluraliteta kolektivnog vežbanja aktivnosti u vezi s problemima javne sfere, u okviru pozorišta kao posebno ograničenog javnog prostora.

U sličnom sam se položaju našao na festivalu ImPulsTanz 2011, kada sam učestvovao u jednom događaju koji je u isti mah bio i izvedba i predstavljanje štampanih izdanja, pod naslovom *Tell Us the Future of the Nomad Dance Academy and Receive a Gift of 1,000 Euros* (Ispričajte nam budućnost Nomad Dance Academy i osvojite nagradu od 1000 eura).<sup>16</sup> Na tom događaju, predstavljena su izdanja NDA ili zajednička izdanja s partnerima (Alfirević i Tanurovska Kjulavkovski 2012), ali na nešto drugačiji način – publika je bila pozvana da dâ predloge u vezi s budućnošću NDA, pri čemu bi autor ili autori najnadahnutijeg predloga dobili nagradu od 1000 eura (koliko je iznio ceo budžet koji je festival dodelio programu). Uslovi ovog susreta bili su

<sup>15</sup> U tom smislu, ovaj događaj je u nekoj meri „proizvod sa istraživanjem“, pošto je pri svakoj izvedbi pod uticajem (naravno drugačijeg) konteksta. On nudi koreografiju kao model tumačenja društveno-kulturnih normi, vrednosti i ideologija otelovljenih u svakodnevnom delovanju, otvarajući nam prostor da ih ometamo i kolektivno doživimo nešto hibridno, neznanu, nepoznato itd.

<sup>16</sup> Te godine, Nomad Dance Academy je bila pozvana na ImPulsTanz, gde je organizovala rezidencijalni program da bi obezbedila vreme i prostor za eventualne događaje, razmenu znanja i razgovore. U tu svrhu, NDA je obrazovala Nomad Task Group (NTG), privremen kolektiv od 14oro ljudi na ovaj ili onaj način povezanih s prošlošću/sadašnjnošću/budućnošću Nomad Dancy Academy kao vida organizovanja. Jednu trećinu članova ovog tela činili su članovi Decision Making Body NDA (DMB), jednu trećinu bivši polaznici Akademije, a preostalu trećinu članovi izvan NDA. Učesnici rezidencijalnog programa bili su Dalija Aćin Thelander, Dragana Alfirević, Igor Dobričić, Aleksandar Georgiev, Emma Kim Hagdahl, Igor Koruga, Manuel Pelmus, Ana Schnabl, Dejan Srhoj, Iskra Šukarova, Johan Thelander, Sanja Tropp Frühwald, Angela Vadori i Rok Vevar.

odraz pokušaja učesnikâ festivala okupljenih oko NDA da pristupe problemu grupnog identiteta. Čitava izvedba trajala je osam časova u pozorištu Garage X u Beču. Tokom prvog dela, predstavljeni su predlozi a drugi deo je bio posvećen otvorenom, kolektivnom procesu donošenja odluke od strane učesnikâ rezidencijalnog programa NDA koji će predlog biti nagrađen. Pošto su predstavljeni predlozi, članovi NDA su kolektivno objavili važno načelo donošenja odluka koje se u razgovoru već pomaljalo:

Mogu da donosim odluke/izbore koji će važiti za mene, ali moje odluke/izbore nikada ne treba da ometaju mogućnost drugih da donose vlastite nezavisne odluke/izbore – umesto toga, treba da ih osnaže u vlastitom donošenju nezavisnih odluka/izbora. (Dobričić 2012, 33)

S tom objavom, počela su da se pojavljuju neka imena i predlozi koje su članovi NDA smatrali značajnim za budućnost NDA. Deset njih je stavljeno na papir i zatim je osmišljena sledeća procedura: jedna osoba je čitala imena sa spiska, jedno po jedno, a ostali je trebalo da odluče ko će ostati na spisku. „Ko je želeo da neko ime ostane na spisku, samo je trebalo da stane uz njega, svojim željama, stavovima i intuicijama; u protivnom, ništa. Kad god niko nije reagovao, to ime bi bilo izbrisano“. (Dobričić 2012, 33) Posle pet krugova, spisak se sveo na pet imena. Iako smo postupak više puta ponovili, spisak više nismo mogli da smanjimo. Pošto smo već svi bili umorni posle osam časova ove „izvedbe“, preostala imena smo stavili u jednu ImPulsTanz vreću. Iz te vreće je izvučeno ime osobe koja je dobila 1000 eura.

Prema normativnom određenju demokratskog legitimiteta, on zavisi isključivo od proceduralnosti procesa demokratskog donošenja odluka, bilo da počiva na savršenim ili nesavršenim normama i bez obzira na ishod (Cvejić i Vujanović 2012, 72–73). Imajući to u vidu, pitam se koliko je događaj iz pozorišta Garage X bio legitiman proces donošenja odluka, pošto je bio još širi nego što bi to konvencije demokratskog konsenzusa dopuštale.

To je proširenje postignuto kolektivnim usaglašavanjem načela kojime je uobličena i ja bih se čak usudio da kažem i koreografsana procedura koja je takođe kolektivno i izvedena, lagano se približavajući ishodu (jednoglasnom izboru pobjednika). Nažalost, cilj nije dostignut, zbog umora i nemogućnosti da se ode dalje. Ipak, osim pitanja da li se demokratija tiče davanja prostora drugome ili odgovornosti da se prostor uzme kada je to neophodno, iz ove lekcije o demokratiji proizašlo je još jedno zanimljivo zapažanje: o odnosu konsenzusa u demokratiji i proceduralnosti u uspostavljanju gledalaštva / komunikacijske zajednice u izvedbi. O ta dva problema bi se dalje moglo

raspravljati u vezi sa izvedbom u savremenom društvu i kontekstu pozorišta. Ali možda bi bilo još zanimljivije razmatrati ih u smislu potrage za prekidima u konvencijama (u demokratiji), što bi moglo da nam omogući da interвениšemo u izvedbi naših društava.<sup>17</sup>

\* \* \*

Sagledavanje koreografije kao analitičkog oruđa za tumačenje i intervenisanje spram društvenog može se povezati s više aspekata širenja. Na osnovu već usvojenog shvatanja da je kontekst promenljiv, ne zahvaljujući pojedincu, nego svima nama (Deschooling Classroom 2013, 213), na razini discipline i s jednog stanovišta, on počiva, između ostalog, na uključivanju umetnosti u društvo, zajednicu, saradnju, interakciju, osposobljavanje, delovanje – pojmove koji se tradicionalno možda pre vezuju za društvene nauke. Ta uključivanja bi koreografiju preoblikovala kao praksu artkulisanja/podsticanja/isprobavanja posebnih javnih rečnika društvenog uređenja ili demokratskih modela u savremenom društvu, što bi joj donelo i nov značaj u odnosu na savremenu umetnost. Ali, s drugačijeg stanovišta, takav pristup koreografiju ne bi trebalo da posmatra samo kao društvenu delatnost ili praksu. Koreografija bi takođe trebalo da ostane i simbolička praksa, te da artikuliše nove načine i strukture ometanja postojećih i predlaganja drugačijih vidova društvenih i ljudskih odnosa, umesto (samo) odnosa moći ili potrošnje, naročito ako je reč o aparatu pozorišta. Potencijal koji bi tako nastao obuhvatio bi zamisli, iskustva i mogućnosti proizašle iz ljudske interakcije, savezničkog učešća i zajedništva zasnovanih na drugim načelima a ne samo na istovetnosti i drugosti, konsenzusu i neslaganju. Tu koreografija ostaje posrednički predmet, pojam, slika ili priča, kao neophodna spona umetnika i publike. Ona nam omogućava da pozorište posmatramo kao javni prostor za isprobavanje, kao skup odnosa, društveni i komunikacijski entitet, kao sredstvo pre nego medij; kao okvir za bavljenje društvenim, političkim i antropološkim pitanjima i eksperimentisanje s njima. Parafrazirajući čuveni citat filozofa Denisa Diderota – „što god može da se desi u svetu,

.....

<sup>17</sup> Na primer, jedan od tih prekida bi mogao da se odnosi i na činjenicu da kao pojedinci raspolažemo sasvim različitim duševnim i telesnim moćima i sposobnostima. Prema tome, ovo su veći pitanja: kako (kojim načelima) da premostimo tu nejednakost u našem sapostojanju, i u poznatim i u nepoznatim, strukturisanim i tek nastajućim zajednicama i procesima zajedničkog donošenja odluka? Kako osmisliti političko predstavljanje različitih vrsta (ne)sposobnosti i mogućnosti u životu; telesnom zdravlju; telesnoj celovitosti; razvoju čula, mašte i misli; razvoju praktičnog rasuđivanja; razvoju pripadnosti – i neformalne, u porodici i prijateljstvu, i formalne, u političkim zajednicama; razvoju sposobnosti uspostavljanja odnosa i s drugim bićima itd. (Podrobnije rasprave o ovim pitanjima vid. u teoriji pravde i drugim delima Marthe Nussbaum.)

može i u pozorištu” – Goran Sergej Pristaš je na jednom skupu u Barceloni prošle godine rekao da „u pozorištu može da se desi sve što može i u svetu, jer ono što se dešava u pozorištu, već se dešava u svetu“. Njegova izjava nas na zanimljiv način dovodi do pitanja ostavljenog za kraj: koliko smo otvoreni za pogled sa strane, da bismo videli kako „čudovište“ radi i „učinili“ nešto povodom toga? ■

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# Dvostruka ekspozicija

Goran Sergej PRISTAŠ ● ●

Koliko nas je skupa, konačno? I tko govori u ovom trenutku? I kome? I o čemu?

Samuel Beckett, *Bezimeni*

Teatru je, u fizičkom smislu, najčešće uskraćena pozicija gledanja koja je već postala normalizirana u galerijama i muzejima – gornja perspektiva ili ptičja perspektiva, uglavnom, pozicija gledanja s mjesta na kojem se može vidjeti i samo gledanje. U suvremenim arhitektonskim muzejskim sklopovima često su to mostovi, galerije, transversale iznad izložbenih prostora koje omogućuju pogled na cjelinu prostora i postava. U povijesti arhitektonike teatra gledanje gledanja nije novo i poznato je da je u renesansnom teatru čin kraljevog gledanja, točnije, slušanja predstave morao biti viđen pa je kralj nerijetko zauzimao centralno mjesto u dvorani. Kako se spektakl micao sa kraljevske pojave na prizor, od Wagnerijanskog kazališta naovamo gašenje dvoranskog svjetla sve više prikriva gledanje, čime pojačava i njegov intenzitet i fokus. U galerijskim i muzejskim prostorima potreba za pogledom odozgo povećava se sa spektakularizacijom postava (najeksplicitniji primjer je, vjerojatno, instalacija Richarda Serre *The Matter of Time* (Pitanje vremena) u Guggenheimovom muzeju u Bilbao), odnosno pogled odozgo postaje čestom i doslovnom alatkom u tematizaciji medija galerije, odnosno konteksta izlaganja (školski povijesni primjer je izložba *Kontext Kunst. The Art of the 90s* (Kontekstualna umjetnost: umjetnost 90ih), Neue Galerie im Künstlerhaus, Graz, kustos Peter Weibel 1993).

U kazališnoj scenografiji gledatelj vidi singularne pojave koje se pomalaju na vidjelo u singularnim trenucima i videne su iz specifičnih perspektiva. Scenografija počiva na načelnom zakrivanju i povremenom objavljivanju. Čak i u crnoj kutiji koja je zapravo zatvorenost sama, uvijek postoji logika planova, prekrivanja i perspektivalnih razlika. Michel Serres kao suprotnu logici scenografije navodi *iknografiju*,

kao „skup mogućih profila, zbir horizonata. Ikonografija je ono što je moguće ili što se može saznati, ili proizvesti, ona je fenomenološki izvor, rupa, crna kutija“ (Serres 1995, 19).

Sjećanje na verziju izložbe *“Retrospective”* (Retrospektiva, 2012.) Xaviera Le Roya koju sam ja vidio u Antoni Tapiès Foundation u Barceloni započinje prvom podjeljivošću, *podjeljivošću pogleda* na pogled odozgo i na pogled iz prostora izvedbe. Ulazak u izložbu je odozgo, po stepenicama koje uvode u kotao, bijeli cilindar nalik na onaj iz Beckettovih *The Lost Ones* (Izgubljenih). Pogled odozgo doima se poravnavajućim, istovremenost izvedbe i čina promatranja ne pretjerano pojavno diferenciranih izvodača i gledatelja u istom kotlu naizgled ne sugeriira ništa, doima se tragom (*ichnos*) izvedbe i poziva nas prema dolje. Šum izvođenih fragmenata i ukrižanih pogleda, međutim, ubrzo zahtijeva odgovor na pitanje: Što je to? Izložba ili izvedba? I prije silaska niz stepenice očito je da netko izvodi nešto za nekoga. Međutim, u toj izvedbi gledatelj je eksponiran. Svojim gledanjem (u prostoru) izložbe, gledatelj je izložen (*exposed*) izložbi, ali ne i izložak (*exhibit*) na izložbi. Ova višestrukost ili druga podjeljivost, *vektorska podjeljivost gledatelja*, čini već samo gledanje situacijom. Gledatelj je promatrač, ali je i osvjetljen izvedbom, izložba kontinuirano zrači prema njemu, zrakasta je i orijentacija izvedbe prema centru prostora. Međutim, treća podjeljivost garantira stabilnost situacije gledatelj-gledano, a to je posljedica nesumjerljivosti pozicija gledatelja i izvodača. Iako pogled odozgo ukazuje na *mogućnosti* zamjene ili izjednačavanja, njihovo znanje o izvedbi je nesumjerljivo i na djelu je operacija *podjeljivosti aktera*.

Iako je očito da stalnim dolascima u prostor i izlascima izvodača, zamjenjivošću njihovih pozicija, kompozicijom istovremenosti i razmaka u izvedbi, izložba počiva na scenografskoj operaciji skrivanja i pojavljivanja, ikonografski prikaz izložbe, pogled iz ptičje perspektive pokazuje da temeljna operacija izložbe nije „ekshibicija“ izvodača nego ekspozicija izvedbe.

Ovdje netko nekome izlaže (*exposes*) izvedbu. Izbijanjem iz bijele pozadine, isturenosću prema gledatelju, izbijanjem u odnosu na apstraktnu bijelu pozadinu do *podjeljivosti izvedbe* na centrifugalni izvedbeni stroj i centripetalne izvedbene objekte. Izvedbeni način (*mode*) ponašanja sugeriraju tangencijalna utrčavanja i istrčavanja izvodača kroz izložbeni prostor, ali same izvedbene situacije ekstrahirane iz ranijih predstava Xaviera Le Roya ne tvore neku poopćavajuću logiku jedinstva izvedbe nego funkcioniraju anegdotalno, pojedinačno, ne stoje za multiplicitet, nego jedinstvenost problemskog obzora svakog koreografskog citata, dočim su kao cjelina investirani u svrhu koja je izvan njihovih pojedinačnosti. Svaki taj segment operacije jedan je vremenski sklop i ima svoju operativnu funkciju ili jest posljedica operacije same. Ti su sklopovi diskretne jedinice u istom operativnom teritoriju, u vremenu trajanja izložbe (dnevnom ili ukupnom), ali su istovremeno proizvodi s različitim genealogijama, odnosno, posljedice su strukturnih uzrokovanja u problemskom polju koje ima različite unutarnje vremensko-prostorne dinamike i materijalnu homogenost. Ovakvo vrijeme ne počiva na sistemskoj operaciji, nego na višestrukim „jediničnim operacijama“. (Bogost 2006)

Dakle, postav izložbe jest izvedba, poseban stroj sačinjen od „drugačijeg metala“, struktura malih diskretnih jedinica u kojoj niti jedna nije dominantna, ali niti suvišna. Stroj je kompleksniji od alatke ili od mehanizma koji su uvijek jednosmjerni. Ovdje je riječ o stroju čiji su dijelovi postavljeni prema svojim jasnim određenjima gotovo onako kako Althusser opisuje *apparatus*:

rječnička definicija također kaže da u „skupu elemenata“ nema suvišnih. Naprotiv, svi su oni savršeno prilagođeni svojoj namjeni, utoliko što su svi oni dio artikulirane cjeline označene kao „aparat“ [...] Dakle, to predviđa vrstu mehanizma u kojemu svi dijelovi, svi kotačići i zavrtnji, rade skupa ka istome cilju, koji je očito izvan aparata; kada ne bi bio, ni aparat ne bi bio „zaseban“. (Althusser 2006, 82–83)

Izvedba je tako ansambl diskretnih sklopova koji imaju svoje temporalne odrednice, ali i čiji međusobni susreti, zakrivljenja i stjecaji imaju svoje. (Ibid, 167) Na operativnoj razini, mogućnost da ovaj stroj bude i izvedba i izložba, samo su opcije susreta koji se mogu, ali i ne moraju dogoditi, čija zakrivljenja mogu, ali i ne moraju proizvesti serije novih susreta. Cijeli niz istraživača u okviru discipline studija izvedbe nalazio je u konstitutivnoj srži izvedbe njezinu efemeralnost, izričito postojanje u prezentu i postojanje kroz nestajanje. Međutim, ovdje je nešto drugo na stvari. Riječ je o teatru prekida, teatru koji će se prvo uvijek isprazniti, stvoriti prazninu i ne pitati o porijeklu nego forsirati susrete i sagledavati simptome, inzistirati na onome što je trag, onome što jest neki ostatak koji je zaživio, a mogao je i nestati, ostatak koji uvijek zadržava mogućnost da se teatar izokrene u neku drugu mašinu.

Dok gledatelj i njegovo gledanje jesu investirani u apstraktni stroj izvedbe, ono što čini svaki izvedbeni citat anegdotalnim, vremenski zgusnutim očitovanjem jedinstvenosti, jest Le Royeva koreografska tehnologija, na način na koji, u slučaju fotografske, Benjamin tehnologiju čini povijesnom varijablom magije:

Zbilja je drugačija priroda ona koja govori kameri od one koja se obraća oku; drugačija prije svega u tom smislu što se umjesto prostora kojim operira ljudska svijest, pojavljuje prostor na koji se djeluje nesvjesno. Moguće je, na primjer, ma kako grubo, opisati kako netko hoda, ali je nemoguće reći bilo što o djeljici sekunde kada osoba počne hodati. Po prvi put, fotografija osvještava optičko nesvjesno, baš kao što psihoanaliza otkriva nagonsko nesvjesno. [...] Fotografija tu otkriva materijalne fiziognomijske aspekte slikovnih svijetova, koji žive u najmanjim stvarima, opazivi ali ipak dovoljno skriveni da bi se mogli zaklanjati u sanjarenju, ali, uvećani i osposobljeni za formulaciju, oni pokazuju da je razlika između tehnologije i magije samo stvar povijesnih varijabli. (Benjamin 1980, 203)

Le Royeva koreografija je koreografija visoke rezolucije, koreografija koja ne radi na razini skladova i kompozicija nego na razini duge ekspozicije problema. Kao što u Benjaminovu slučaju kamera osvještava optičko nesvjesno, tako i Le Royeve koreografije izvlače iz drugih modusa kretanja i formalno organiziranih

1 Otuda oblik poretka i oblik bića, čije rođenje potiče to nagomilavanje, a koji su određeni strukturu susreta; otuda, kada se susret dogodi (ali ne prije), preimućstvo strukture nad njezinim elementima; otuda, konačno, ono što se može nazvati *afinitetom* i komplementarnošću (*complétude*) elemenata koji su u igri pri susretu, njihova „spremnost na sudaranje-zakačivanje“ (*accrochabilité*), da bi se susret „uhvatio“, to jest, da bi „uzeo oblika“, napokon izradio *Oblike i nove Oblike* – baš kao što se voda „hvata“ kada je led čeka, ili mlijeko kada se usiri, ili majoneza kada se emulzifira. Otuda preimućstvo „ničega“ nad svim „oblikom“ i *aleatoričnog materijalizma nad svim formalizmom*. (Althusser 2006, 191–192)

odnosa tijela u prostoru (onog životinja, sporta, koncerta itd.) koreografsko nesvjesno, ono što je potisnuto u slojevima funkcionalnosti i svrhovitosti tjelesnih praksi, ali svejednako organizira rasporede tijela u prostoru. U svom tekstu „Choreographic Unconscious“ (Koreografsko nesvesno) Marko Kostanić opisuje tu metodu na slijedeći način:

Artikulacija koreografije kao strukturnog momenta operiranja u drugim, neplesnim društvenim poljima, ne samo što baca drukčije svjetlo na mjesta iz kojih je ekstrahirana, već uspostavlja i okvir za drukčija ispisivanja povijesti plesa. Radi se dvostrukoj metodi ukidanja nesvjesnosti iz pretpostavljene odvojenosti koreografije i historijsko-socijalne stvarnosti – osim što se iz te stvarnosti iznose na vidjelo konstitutivni tragovi koreografije, iz samo koreografije kao autonomiziranog umjetničkog polja izvlače se nesvjesni socijalni i retorički uvjeti specifičnog legitimiranja procesa autonomizacije u odnosu na socijalnu hiperkodiranost baleta i gestikularnu ideologiju svakodnevice. (Kostanić 2011, 3)

Koreografija se, da parafraziram gore navedenog Benjamin, razotkriva u tim materijalnim fiziognomijskim aspektima tjelesnih odnosa koji, jednom uvećani i osposobljeni za formulaciju postupkom citatnosti, prekida, proizvode učinak reformulacije automatizirane funkcionalnosti tehnoloških korištenja tijela u „magiju“, potiče zadivljenost (onu o kojoj Aristotel kaže da rađa filozofiju). To je metoda „iz drugog pogleda“ (*double take*) poznata kako u antičkoj tragediji, tako i u Benjaminovoj interpretaciji epskog teatra.<sup>2</sup> Riječ je o serijalnoj igri divljenja/očudivanja i prepoznavanja/refleksije u kojima dolazi do šoka zbog naknadne, zakašnjele reakcije. U slučaju antičke tragedije dva su uređaja ključna za njezinu regulaciju: *peripeteia*, iznenadni, neočekivani obrat i *anagnosis*, prijelaz iz neznanja u znanje. U epskom teatru ti su uređaji prekid (*Unterbrechung*) i naknadno promišljanje (*Nachdenken*).

Međutim, rekao bih da ovdje imamo reverzibilnu situaciju koja nije nastala iz logike „drugog pogleda“ kao što je slučaj s Le Royevim predstavama, nego o koreografiji „dvostruke ekspozicije“. Ono što je izloženo nije koreografski objekt želje već refleksija te želje, ono što od želje ostaje po naknadnom promišljanju; izložena je refleksija koreografije. Iako se na prvu ne doima tako, pojmu „retrospektiva“ nije nasuprotan pojam perspektive kao „gledanja kroz“, nego prospekta kao „gledanja naprijed“. Prospekt je po riječničkoj definiciji mentalna slika zamišljene budućnosti. Iz te logike retrospektiva je upravo mentalna slika proizašla

2 Za temeljitiju argumentaciju „double take“ metode usp. Weber 2004, 295-312.

iz naknadnog ili retardiranog promišljanja prošlog događaja. „Retrospective“ stoga nije *exhibition* nego *exposition* u kojoj je na djelu „dvostruka ekspozicija“: ekspozicija gledatelja i ekspozicija mentalne slike prošloga, točnije izlaganje gledatelja mentalnoj slici prošloga.

Rekao bih i zaključio da „dvostruka ekspozicija“ dovodi do djeljivosti izložbenog prostora: kao prostor izlaganja on je mjesto izvedbe, ali izmještanje izloženosti sa objekta želje na gledatelja, izloženosti izvedbi koja je već refleksija, čini da se prostor teatralizira jer „se kazališnost pomalja tamo gdje se prostor i vrijeme više ne mogu podrazumijevati niti smatrati zaokruženima“. (Weber 2004, 300) Bivajući između izložbe i izvedbe, na granicama koja je iluzija, treperenje (*illudere*), *Retrospective* je točno između, *medium*, intervencija (*inter- 'između' + venire 'doći'*).

A medij kao intervencija nas ne drži u stanju, nego od nas traži držanje prema stanju (*Haltung*).<sup>3</sup> U slučaju „Retrospective“, riječ je o susretu u kojem držanje gledatelja obdržava ili gasi stroj izvedbe. Serija podjeljivosti ne omogućuje nam da se umjestimo na stabilnu točku u kojoj između nas i gledanog nema intervencije. Jedino što nam preostaje kao protuotrov pogonu stalnih prekida i medijacija jest pristupiti iskustvu iznova anegdotalno i fokusirati svaki detalj našeg i ponašanja izvedbe jer u svakoj od tih anegdota s kojima izlazimo s izložbe „i nesvjesno i društveni kodovi operiraju između motiva i odrednica“ (Cubitt 2013). ■

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3 Kao intervencija, ona izaziva podrtavanje granica sve nutrine – uključujući i granice samoga intervala. To „podrtavanje“ također isrcitava omogućavajuća ograničenja kazališne scene kao mjesta koje i razdvaja i spaja što god se nade skupa nade na njoj i oko nje. Takvo podrtavanje i potresi pozivaju publiku da radi više nego samo da čuje, gledatelj da rade više nego samo da vide, glumce da rade više nego samo da glume. Ono ih izlaže naknadnom promišljanju da, ipak, dijele to isto podrtavanje i isključenost. (Weber 2008, 113)

# Društvena koreografija: upotreba u umetničkim praksama\*

\* Urednice časopisa *TkH* br. 21 su zamolile nekoliko evropskih autora iz oblasti savremenog plesa i izvedbe da odgovore, u pisanom obliku, na sledeća pitanja:

Koristite li termin „društvena koreografija“ u Vašem radu? Ako ga koristite, šta on označava ili opisuje u Vašoj praksi i radovima? Da li je u bilo kakvom odnosu i ako jeste, u kakvom i na koji način, s telesnim pokretom, javnim prostorom, zajednicom, (političkim) mobilisanjem, ideologijom i izvedbom?

## 9x9 i društvena koreografija

**Christine De SMEDT** ● ● Termin „društvena koreografija“ upotrebljen je za jednu od mnogih koreografskih struktura koje smo razvili u okviru projekta 9x9. Ova „društvena koreografija“ nastoji da stvori društvenu situaciju na pozornici u kojoj

1 9x9 je bio koreografski projekt koji je pokrenula Christine De Smedt, a obuhvatao je izvedbe osmišljene sa još idealno 9x9=81 izvođačem. Pored De Smedt, u razvijanju osnovnih zamisli projekta, učestvovali su i: Márten Spångberg, Tino Sehgal, Lilia Mestre, Mette Edvardsen, Nuno Bizarro, Alexandra Bachzetsis i Steffan Eek. Kasnije, projektu su se u fazi realizacije pridružili: Maria-Clara Villa Lobos, Eva Meyer-Keller, Carlos Pez, Ivana Müller, Vera Knolle, Palle Irvdal, Hellen Vervondel, Harold Henning, Gerd Van Looy (svetlo), Vincent Malstaf (zvuk) i Bruno Pocheron (svetlo). Projekt je u produkciji Les Ballets C. de la B. premijerno izveden septembra 2000. Do 2005, 15 različitih izvođenja je napravljeno na različitim mestima, u raznim okruženjima i s raznim skupinama ljudi: Pariz – zaposleni pri Centru Pompidou; Gent (Belgija) – mladi stanovnici grada Genta, a još jedna verzija je izvedena u muzeju sa mladim pripadnicima (adolescentima) sve tri savezne zajednice Belgije; Rotterdam (Nizozemska) – bebe starosti 5–12 meseci i jedan roditelj; Glazgov (Velika Britanija) – stanovnici starosti 1–81 godine; Porto (Portugal) – stanovnici stariji od 50 godina; Berlin – dva izvođenja, jedno s profesionalnim izvođačima i drugo sa studentima; Amsterdam – s pevačima, u parku; Turnaut (Belgija) – građani iz raznih društveno-kulturnih udruženja; Montreal (Kanada) – s mladim ljudima od 15 do 25 godina starosti; Nant (Francuska) – stanovnici kraja i grada; Teksel (Nizozemska) – grupa ostrvljana, na plaži; Beč – fizički spremni građani i bivši plesači; Brisel – fotografi amateri.

učesnici izvode svoje društvene i političke sklonosti, u vidu „javne ispovesti“, tako što se okupljaju i obrazuju grupe. Društvena koreografija mobilize te grupe i izaziva spontane reakcije u pripremljenoj situaciji koja proizvodi određenu društvenu organizaciju.<sup>2</sup>

Koreografska struktura se zasniva na nizu pitanja koja se postavljaju izvođačima i menja se shodno kontekstu i učesnicima. Pripremili smo zasebne spiskove pitanja za različite grupe učesnika, starosti od tri do 81 godine i različitih profila; na primer, imali smo grupu fotografa, kao i grupu roditelja s bebama. Pitanja su grupisana u tematske blokove, po temama kao što su društveni odnosi, politika, ljubav, seksualna iskustva, zabava, masovni mediji, privatno i društveno ponašanje, položaj u društvu itd.

Izvođači na pitanja odgovaraju tako što se organizuju u odnosu na druge u prostoriji / na pozornici / u prostoru izvedbe. To prostorno organizovanje može da znači stajanje u vrsti u određenom poretku u odnosu na postavljeno pitanje, obrazovanje skupina, istupanje napred ili nazad, okretanje spređa ili pozadi itd.

2 Po prvi put, društvena organizacija je razvijena u pozorištu Schaubühne u Berlinu 2000, s profesionalnim izvođačima. U umetničkoj ekipi koja je osmislila berlinsku izvedbu bili su Márten Spångberg, Mette Edvardsen, Lilia Mestre, Tino Sehgal, Nuno Bizarro, Alexandra Bachzetsis, Steffan Eek, Maria Clara Villa-Lobos, Gerd Van Looy (svetlo), Vincent Malstaf (zvuk) i Sylvia Hasenclever (kostim).

Izvođačima su unapred objašnjeni okvir i pravila koreografije, ali pre početka izvedbe oni nisu upoznati sa sadržajem pitanja.

Na primer:

- ✦ Svi u prostoriji koji žive s više od petoro ljudi neka naprave jedan skup.
- ✦ Svi u prostoriji koji žive sami neka naprave jedan skup.
- ✦ Svi u prostoriji koji dele domaćinstvo neka naprave jedan skup.
- ✦ Svi u prostoriji koji žive s roditeljima neka naprave jedan skup.
- ✦ Svi u prostoriji koji su članovi nekog udruženja ili kluba neka naprave jedan skup.

U početku smo ovu propoziciju koreografije zvali „društveno organizovanje“ ali smo se onda opredelili za pojam društvene koreografije, da bismo identifikovali koreografsku vrednost ponašanja ljudi u različitim kontekstima.

Iako smo termin „društvena koreografija“ koristili za posebnu koreografsku strukturu, *9x9* se ticao društvene koreografije i u širem smislu. Konceptualno, projekt *9x9* je započeo istraživanjem šta označavaju mase, velike dimenzije, okupljanja svih vrsta, klupska kultura, demonstracije, masovne koreografije, sportske priredbe i procesije kada se posmatraju i razumeju kao koreografija. Od 2000. do 2005, napravili smo 15 različitih izvedbi zasnovanih na koreografskim načelima kadrirajući da proizvedu situacije u kojima su društveni odnosi deo samog predmeta rada: kako upravljati skupom ljudi u različitim kontekstima, kako ga organizovati, kako se on sam organizuje.

Ovde želim da citiram neke delove teksta Mårtena Spångberga,<sup>3</sup> napisanog 2003:

*9x9* je projekt u kojem se konvencije stvaranja i prepoznavanja jedne plesne izvedbe ispituju jednostavno njegovom veličinom, možda i nemogućnošću. Tri osnovna pitanja postaju oblik: telo kao masa i kako ispitati hijerarhije tela kao pojedinačnog i u saradnji s drugim telima različitih veličina, starosti, klasne i rodne pripadnosti itd; masovna koreografija sa svim svojim aspektima, od muzičke koreografije do parada, od nasumičnih koreografija kao što su koreografije grada, do krajnje strogih organizacija kao što su matematičke; pop i masovna kultura u smislu istraživanja koje koreografske strategije koriste te kulturne sfere i šta globalizacija, novi mediji itd. znače za promene ili njihov izostanak kod manjinskih koreografija, koreografija visoke umetnosti itd. Motivacija istraživanja za *9x9* nije bila stvaranje jednog linearnog materijala (predstave) već ulaganje u mnogostrukost i u procesu – stvaranje biblioteke u kojoj bi svaka i sve zamislili bilo koje vrste imale svoje mesto. Način rada koji takođe insistira na pronalaznju drugih vidova



□ *9x9*, Turnaut (Belgija), 2002. (pozivnica)

procesa razmišljanja, šta je materijal, šta koreografija znači i u smislu vremena, prostora, interakcije i iz kojih izvora joj dozvoljavamo da se napaja na sceni. [...]

Projekt *9x9* se predstavlja u velikom ospegu okvira koji, međutim, svi funkcionišu kao javni prostori, na taj način tvoreći određene vrste individualnog kao i skupnog i masovnog ponašanja. [...]

Važno je da izbor učesnika u svakoj situaciji bude određen kontekstom. U Tramwayu, muzeju/pozorištu u Glazgovu, bilo je važno naglasiti da je Tramway otvoren za svakoga u Glazgovu i da način da se bude u muzeju ima koliko ima i pojedinačnih posetilaca. Zato smo radili sa učesnicima svih godišta od 1918. do 2001, po jednom za svaku godinu. U Portu, da bismo naglasili uslove kulturnog kapitala, odlučili smo da pozovemo društvenu grupu koja je nosilac kulturnog mita i sećanja. Najmladi učesnici imali su 55 godina – a najstariji daleko više od 85. U Roterdamu, domaćin se zanimao za kulturalnu višestrukost. Umesto da prikazemo ljude svih boja, mi smo pozvali bebe (5–11 meseci starosti) da dovedu svoje roditelje odakle god da dolaze i tako smo dvostruko predstavili šta znači živeti, biti rođen i okupiti se u Roterdamu, u smislu stvaranja identiteta. [...]

Takođe, *9x9* je i društveni događaj, okupljanje ljudi raznih društvenih profila, starosti, gradskih konfiguracija, ali na prvom mestu, to je projekt u kojem svaki učesnik stvara vlastito društveno polje vezâ i dozvoljeno mu je da, na osnovu sopstvenih motivacija, propituje i jača svoj identitet, sliku o sebi, društvene sposobnosti i fizičku otvorenost. Za *9x9*, važno je da dozvoli sve vrste društvene interakcije s najmanje moguće ograničenjâ i didaktičkih ciljeva. Projekt *9x9* nudi radikalnu solidarnost svih svojih učesnika, ne insistirajući na jednom ili drugom, već na svakom ponaosob. ■

## Plesati skupa

**Benjamin POHLIG** ● ● Odnedavno me zaokuplja pojam plesanja skupa, zajedno (*dancing together*). Umesto da to nazivam društvenim plesanjem, što sasvim dobro opisuje praksu druženja plesanjem, u svom radu ja to nazivam „društvenom koreografijom“. Želim da iskoristim ovu priliku da objasnim, možda i samom sebi, zašto sam svoju praksu počeo da smatram „društvenom koreografijom“ a ne nečim drugim. Kao što sam već pomenuo, mene zanima plesanje skupa, što u mojoj izvođačkoj praksi znači pozivanje publike da mi se pridruži u kolektivnom plesanju, koje ja pokušavam da vodim rečima kao i sopstvenim telom. Za mene, plesanje skupa se podjednako tiče toga kako se okupljamo da bismo odigrali naše zajednice, koliko i igranja i izražavanja ideološkog okvira koji je zajednici potreban da bi opstala. Tu je reč o praktikovanju zajednice, kao čina i ideologije. Ovde zajednicu razumem u osnovnom smislu, prvo i pre svega kao skup telâ koja opažaju da su zajedno. Ali primeri toga su skoro svuda. Ultraši, dobro organizovani i ekstremistički fudbalski navijači, sjajan su primer. Međutim, u svojoj izvođačkoj praksi, želim da gledaoci iskuse i dožive potencijal bivanja zajedno bez napuštanja vlastite individualnosti. To iskustvo se tiče tela i telâ u interakciji. Telo je naše utopijsko jezgro, iz njega mi krećemo u svet i u interakciju s njim, usudujući se da ga menjamo na bolje. U odnosu na druga tela, mi nalazimo sopstvene granice i potencijalnosti. Kao plesni stvaralac koga se tiče telo, u koreografiji sam počeo da kombinujem telo s glasom, da bih se bavio zajednicom i utopijskim potencijalom bivanja skupa.

Pre nego što se vratim na gore izneta pitanja, u vezi sa onime što ja podrazumevam pod „društvenom koreografijom“, napraviću kratku digresiju, da bih objasnio zašto svoju praksu ne smatram „participativnom umetnošću“ (*participatory art*). To je nešto što se, rekao bih, u velikoj meri razlikuje od onoga što „društvena koreografija“ podrazumeva. Na prvom mestu, po mom uverenju, sva umetnost je participativna. Taj odnos između dela i njegovog primaoca je uvek nešto između, što zahteva saradnju. Značenje neke slike se uvek gradi u dijalogu s posmatračem. Isto tako, izvedba se ispoljava kroz odnos izvođača i publike. Shodno tome, nalazim da je nepotrebno tvrditi da je moja ili bilo čija umetnost participativna, pošto publika uvek-već učestvuje u proizvodnji njenog značenja.

Međutim, istina je i da moja izvođačka praksa ne bi uspeala ako niko iz publike ne bi želeo da uzme učešća u kolektivnom plesu. S druge strane, ja bih je smatrao i potpunim neuspehom ako bi svi želeli da se pridruže. Zapravo, moj predlog publici je da odluči, da se pridruži ili da se ne pridruži. Ako

<sup>3</sup> Tekst je napisan u sklopu prijave za sredstva, da bi se projekt nastavio i objavila knjiga o procesu nastanka projekta *9x9*.



usvojimo to da izvedbu obično čini odnos izvođača i publike, nadam se da moj predlog dodaje i treću kategoriju – kategoriju onog između, dijaloga između dela i posmatrača, publike koja izvodi. Publike koja izvodi, ne publike koja učestvuje. To drugo se ionako podrazumeva. Međutim, ta kategorija može postojati samo ako se zadrže odvojenim uloge izvođača i publike ili čak donekle i utvrde. Višestruko ponavljanje poziva ohrabruje publiku da uzme učešća u izvedbi, da izvede rad sa mnom. Ali, izvedbu u svakom trenutku i dalje vodi izvođač, čak i ako je odgovornost podeljena, a neuspeh istinska mogućnost. Publika izvodi, ali ne preuzima ulogu izvođača. U svakom trenutku, izvođač se, čak i ako usput mora da ga podešava, pridržava načelnog plana izvedbe i u tom smislu je, za razliku od publike, upućen. Međutim, publika je u stanju da iskusi izvođenje kao takvo samo zato što je za to vreme posmatra ostatak publike (koji je odlučio da ne izvodi). Ti gledaoci, koji su odlučili da se ne pridruže, da ne izvode, ipak učestvuju kao posmatrači, znajući da su isto tako mogli da odluče i suprotno. Ono što je ključno u plesanju skupa nije učestvovanje kao takvo, već doživljaj propustljivosti koji nastaje u odlučivanju, podelom odgovornosti i podrškom međusobnim iskustvima u raznim ulogama. Umetnost, ne kao pojedinačno iskustvo ili iskustvo pojedinca, već kao kolektivno iskustvo unutar nekog odnosa. Iskustvo same međuzavisnosti, čak. Za mene, prvi korak u ubacivanju vlastitog tela u neki odnos i iskustvo nije u činu učestvovanja, već izvršavanja jednog pojednostavljenog oblika delovanja (*agency*).

No, šta to znači za „društvenu koreografiju“? Ja samu koreografiju razumem kao režim koji uređuje odnose telâ u vremenu i prostoru. Mislim da nam to omogućava da paradigmu proširimo na mnoge društvene pojave i razumemo ulogu telâ i njihovog delovanja u odigravanju tih

□ *Dance Yourself Clean*, izvedba, Benjamin Pohlig; foto: Tomas Mutsaers

pojava. U stvari, svi tipovi odigravanja zajednice, bilo plesanje zajedno ili složeniji momenti bavljenja politikom, zahtevaju neku koreografiju. Zasedanje parlamenta zahteva istu količinu upravljanja i regulisanja protoka telâ koliko i jedna generalna skupština pokreta Okupiraj. Čak je i šetnja po tržišnom centru jedna visoko uređena koreografija telâ unutar jednog arhitektonskog dispozitiva. Zapravo, to je brižljivo satkana mreža intersubjektivnih odnosa i raspodele delovanja, ali ti režimi nisu uvek vidljivi, kao ni njima svojstvene ideologije. U koreografiji uvek postoji neko telo, kao što i u politici uvek postoji neka koreografija. Društvena koreografija je stoga koreografija skupnosti (*togetherness*), vidljivo odigravanje zajednice. To je sredstvo za kritičku analizu svih koreografija jedne zajednice. To sredstvo u samo jednom trenutku odigravanja zajednice može da učini vidljivim funkcionisanje društvenoga, njegovih međuodnosa i raspodele sposobnosti delovanja. Zato, vrsta zajedničkog plesanja koja mene zanima se, za razliku od društvenog plesanja, ne tiče druženja da bi se bilo skupa, već upotrebe telâ da bi se učinilo vidljivim odigravanje (*enactment*) same zajednice.

U mojoj izvođačkoj praksi, kolektivne plesove izvođač vodi rečima koliko i telom. Ne samo što predlažem razne igrice, već i kao pripovedač, pokušavam da uokvirim iskustvo zajedničkog plesanja tako što povezujem zadatak svake igre s nekim oblikom bivanja skupa. Na primer, postavljeni u krug, igramo se kopiranjem pokreta, gde svi učesnici dobijaju priliku da predlože neki pokret koji će onda cela grupa ponoviti. Kao pojednostavljen oblik delovanja, tu svi mogu da iskuse šta znači biti pod uticajem drugih tela i svojim telom uticati na druga tela, upravljati i

biti upravljani. Takvu radnju ponekad ispratim rečenicom poput: „Imajte na umu to da nijednu odluku ne donosi samo pojedinac, kao što nijednu odluku ne donosi samo kolektiv“. To je pokušaj vizuelizovanja odigravanja ideologije telima i odigravanja telâ ideologijom. Za sada, izvođač govori za zajednicu i o njoj. Dugoročno, vidim potrebu za razvijanjem izvođačke prakse koja će dati glasa i zajednici, da bi naglasila egalitarne namere kooperativnih igara koje zajedno plešemo.

Ali, ključnom mi se čini upotreba glasa, jer, zapravo, mislim da su sve koreografije telesna odigravanja ideologije, izražene jezikom. Čak bih otišao tako daleko i rekao da je jezik ideologija, koju telo odigrava pomoću glasa. Ne mislim da je jezik, jednostavno, sredstvo izražavanja ideologije, već da ideologija oblikuje sam jezik. Prema tome, za društvenu koreografiju kao čin kritičke analize, važno je ne samo da odigrava zajednicu plesanjem skupa, nego i da u isti mah izražava, glasom, jezik i ideologiju koju odigrava. Jezik je mesto gde se konkretnost telâ, posredstvom glasa, sastaje s predstavjačkim poljem politike. To je izraz zajednice telâ, njenog odigranog narativa i čini se važnim da saslušamo šta taj glas ima da kaže o sebi.

U knjizi *Ustanak (The Uprising)*, Bifo opisuje savremeni finansijski kapitalizam kao semio-kapitalizam, u kojem je jezik novca dostigao razinu apstrakcije koja mu omogućava proizvodnju vrednosti pomoću same vrednosti, bez ikakve veze s materijalnim dobrima. Neoliberalizam je ideološki glas semio-kapitalizma, koji proizvodi narativ za narativom, ne bi li opravdao surovu regulaciju društvenog tela, kako bi ono preko tržišta moglo da bude prisvojeno. Padom državnog komunizma u Evropi, čini mi se kao da smo izgubili najjači glas društvenog tela koje je izvodilo otpor glasu neoliberalizma. Za državnim komunizmom ne treba žaliti, ali vakuum koji je tako nastao, odsustvo drugačijeg glasa, glasa koji bi mogao da se nametne kao emancipatorsko i utopijsko telo, meni izgleda zastrašujuće, u trenutku kada još nismo u punoj meri sagledali sav gubitak koji će koreografija kapitalizma naneti društvenom telu.

Svoj rad nazivam društvenom koreografijom zato što ga vidim kao sredstvo analize koreografija i ideologija odigravanja zajednice. On podvlači značaj telâ u politici i usredsređen je na ideološki glas svake zajednice telâ. Ali kao oruđe, smatrao bih ga beskorisnim, ako se ne bismo usudivali da ga koristimo naivno, ističući njegovu sposobnost da raspodelu sposobnosti delovanja čini vidljivom i omogućava nam da vršimo i odigravamo zajedništvo kao konkretan i radikalni oblik društvenog utopizma, koji nam je, po mom mišljenju, preko potreban. ■

## Kako oblikujemo društveno tijelo

**Saša ASENTIĆ** ● ● Ovo je samo jedan moguć izbor odrednica, koji pokazuje kako sam u svom radu posljednjih sedam godina pristupao odnosu između pojedinca i društva i ko su bili neki od glavnih uticaja koji su mi pomogli da analiziram taj odnos i promišljam ga u smislu društvene koreografije. Odrednice su navedene hronološki.

U članku Ane Vujanović „Not Quite-Not Right Eastern Western Dance“ (Ne sasvim zapadna, ne baš istočna plesna scena) – koji sam pročitao 2007 – piše:

[...] ples, a to važi i za savremeni, nije emancipatorska praksa oslobođena ideologije, već tehnološko oruđe za oblikovanje individualnog tela kao društvenog tela. Tek odavde, možemo krenuti u razmatranje kvalitativnih razlika u namerama i ciljevima tog sredstva, kao i pokušaja otpora dominantnoj ideologiji određenih konteksta. (Vujanović 2007)

Ovo me je navelo na razmišljanje o tome kako su nefunkcionalni savremeni ples i utilitarni „slet“ zapravo bliski po pitanju društvene efikasnosti, te da ih zato ne možemo posmatrati ili porediti odvojeno od konkretnog društvenog konteksta.

Intervjui sa Dubravkom Maletić i Sonjom Vukićević, koje smo Ana Vujanović i ja uradili u okviru projekta *Tigrov skok u istoriju*, bili su ključni za moje dalje promišljanje odnosa plesa i društva. O plesačima kao jednim od graditelja društva, Dubravka Maletić kaže:

U to vreme svi smo mi bili uglavnom entuzijasti, radili smo besplatno jer smo imali tu jednu strahovitu želju da pomognemo našem društvu da što pre ostvari te visoke ciljeve.

Naši nastupi, naš rad i naš život su bili tako puni tog entuzijazma, svi naši nastupi su bili podjednako važni – i kada smo nastupali u fabrici, i na ulici, i na fudbalskom stadionu i Narodnom pozorištu. Znate, to je sve bilo jednako važno. Mi smo na taj način osećali da gradimo naše društvo, kao umetnički graditelji. Gradeći zemlju, mi smo gradili sebe. Svi smo bili u tom kolu zajedništva i to je bilo jedno jako lepo vreme.

Stići do modernog baleta je bio vrhunski cilj. Ples, slobodna igra, umetnički ples, moderan balet – nudili su mnogo više mogućnosti; mogao je da ih izvodi svako, svako ko je nosio želju za igrom, bilo u spletu mase tih igrača, bilo u nekoj grupi igrača ili na stadionu ili na nekoj maloj pozorišnoj sceni ili sceni kulturno-umetničkog društva. (Maletić, u: Asentić i Vujanović 2006-2010.)



Međutim, ovaj poredak se raspao u poslednjem sletu (1988), u kojem je učestvovala Sonja Vukićević, a koja je o tome rekla:

[...] to suštinski zatvara poslednji 25. maj, Dan mladosti. Ne znam ko je to odlučio, da ne budu ni vojska, ni deca, ni razne ne-znam-šta, i odlučili su da naprave pravu pozorišnu predstavu na stadionu, sa kružnom scenom.

I tu su zajedno sa mnom, potpuno moderno, igrali 4.500 dečaka i 4.500 devojčica. Prvo bi igrali oni, pa bih ja utrčala na scenu i odigrala bih *adagio*, imala sam partnera, pa onda opet oni, pa iz šume izlaze devojke, pa se donosi ogroman krug zemlje, pa tu igram *Bolero*, a oni su bili svi oko mene. Jedna stvarno ogromna koreografija.

Titova fotografija je bila sa leve strane i to su zamerili strašno. Desila se greška između dece koja su učestvovala, nisu se spojili na vreme i onda se stvorilo veliko „U“, a već se tada klimala država, već tada se naslućivalo da nešto nije u redu. Tako da su sve novine objavile da je to namerno napravljeno. (Vukićević, u: Asentić i Vujanović 2006–2010.)

Da se vratim na savremeni ples. Ove reference su me navele na razmišljanje o tome da li i kako savremeni ples može prestati jedino da reprodukuje postojeće društvene koreografije i reprezentuje ih na sceni i da li i kako može on postati mesto gde se one preispituju ili se u njih interveniše. Naročito u tom svetlu, kopiranje „poznatih“ plesnih taktika sa „internacionalne scene“ nema smisla, jer se njihovim kopiranjem kopira i prenosi i čitava njihova društvena koreografija, što u isto vreme prolazi neprimećeno.

Zato sam problemu kopiranja posvetio ceo rad *Moja privatna bio-politika*, da bih na kraju takođe odlučio da u nje ga uvedem „pukotinu“ za izlazak izvan pojedinačnog umetničkog rada

□ *Moja privatna bio-politika*, Saša Asentić, foto: Dieter Hartwig

u širu društvenu sferu gde bi se u masovnijem obliku preispitali uslovi rada u koreografiji ali i samo pitanje šta se našim radom izvodi. Takvu vrstu umetničkog (privremenog) samoukidanja ilustruje ovaj paragraf:

[...] Ovde, zajedno s mojim kolegama, želeo bih da otvorim pukotinu kroz koju ćemo privremeno pobeći iz originalne verzije ovog performansa, i kao rada u nastajanju [*work-in-progress*] i kao rada u nestajanju [*work-in-regress*].

Iza te pukotine, postoji i treća faza, u kojoj možete naći *Moju privatnu bio-politiku* kao i ceo projekt *Indigo ples* ne kao umetničke radove, „dela“, već kao diskurzivnu platformu. Ta platforma je zamišljena kao umetničko sredstvo ili metodološki alat koji želimo da podelimo sa umetnicima iz polja savremenog plesa i izvedbe koji žele da promišljaju svoje kontekste i javni rad. Kao i sa svima koji žele da govore o strukturi globalnog sveta savremenog plesa i izvedbe.

Stoga vas molim da ovaj performans shvatite tek kao moguću vlastitu demonstraciju ili aktualizaciju i kao deo jedne otvorene istraživačke platforme koja obuhvata i razgovore, metodološke igre, rasprave itd. (Asentić i Vujanović 2013.)

Potvrdu za ovu veru u potencijal umetnosti našao sam u intervjuu „Choreography Is a Way of Thinking about the Relationship of Aesthetics to Politics“ (Koreografija je način razmišljanja o odnosima estetike i politike), koji je Goran Sergej Pristaš uradio sa Andrewom Hewittom, a gde sam se prvi put i susreo sa pojmom „društvena koreografija“:

Andrew Hewitt: Moja metodologija „društvene koreografije“ zasniva se na pokušaju da estetsko promišljam u njegovom operisanju u samim temeljima

društvenog iskustva. Pojam društvene koreografije koristim da bih označio tradiciju razmišljanja o društvenom poretku koja svoj ideal crpi iz estetskog područja i nastoji da taj poredak usadi neposredno na razini tela. U svom najeksplicitnijem obliku, ta tradicija prati dinamične koreografske konfiguracije koje u plesu nastaju i nastoji da ih primeni na širu društvenu i političku sferu. U skladu s tim, takve društvene koreografije pripisuju temeljnu ulogu estetske u njegovom poimanju političkoga. (Pristaš 2007, 38–43)

Potvrdu mi je pružio naročito deo gde Hewitt kaže da je estetski domen (ples kao umetnost) upravo ideal po kojem se oblikuje društveno telo. Pomislio sam da je to odlično, jer ako smo ideal, onda i treba da to iskoristimo, ispitujemo, esperimentišemo i možda postanemo ideal nekog budućeg društva.

Pozorište me zanima kao mesto gde se različiti društveni odnosi mogu vežbati, ali i privremeno uspostaviti u odnosu na ideal budućeg društva. Takvo društvo ne postoji zagarantovano u budućnosti, nego mora danas da se pravi, a njegov obim nije merilo njegovog uspeha i relevantnosti – tako naprosto moramo delovati i dovoljno je početi sada kako bi se imao kontinuitet. Društvena koreografija koju zamišljam i sprovodim, kako u radu sa osobama sa invaliditetom tako i u autorskim umjetničkim projektima, kao što je i *Communitas na ispitu*, isprobava društvo koje

ukida procese marginalizacije ili ih svodi na minimum, ne meri sve jednim parametrom, niti primenjuje iste norme na sve ljude, nego polazeći od specifičnosti tih konkretnih ljudi otvara mogućnost formiranja društvene zajednice.

Performans *Communitas na ispitu* je hibridni javni događaj između pozorišne predstave, koreografije, društvene igre i hepeninga. Izvodi se u pozorištu, reafirmišući njegovu ulogu u simbolizaciji društvenog. Međutim, scena ovde postaje mesto u javnom prostoru gde građani raspravljaju o bitnim društvenim pitanjima i promišljaju moguću budućnost društva. Izvedba se zasniva na principima društvenih igara, otvorenih za učešće svih članova publike.

Publika je pozvana da kreira nekoliko fikcionalnih situacija, razvijajući i transformišući ponudene sižee, koji se odnose na goruća društveno-politička pitanja određenog konteksta.

Te priče i socijalna koreografija su privremene, promenljive i umnogome zavise od učesnika, odnosno same publike, čime svaka izvedba postaje jedinstven događaj (epizoda) u okviru otvorene serije čiji se rezultati ne mogu predvideti. Ovako postavljen, *Communitas na ispitu* je pozorišna priča koju pričamo o nama, sami sebi i koreografski spektakl koji stvaramo ni za čiji pogled. (Vujanović 2012)

Za formiranje takve zajednice, odnosno da bi ona ostala živa potrebno je da se ona

stalno reaktuelizuje i ne ostane „verna“ prethodnom poretku koji bi mogao da postane dekret i kanon. Nužno je da se ona reaktuelizuje jer su u pitanju uvek drugi ljudi u drugačijem stanju i novim odnosima.

Bojana Cvejić i Ana Vujanović u knjizi *Public Sphere by Performance* (Javna sfera kroz izvedbu) kažu:

[...] u društvenoj koreografiji se mogu izdvojiti tri operacije kojima se ona može pretvoriti od normativne prakse kao pojave u jedan kritički model. Prva operacija je prepoznavanje regulatornih postupaka koji društvenu koreografiju čine normativnom. Druga operacija je deregulacija, kojom se proceduralno znanje društvene koreografije instrumentalizuje za neki drugi cilj ili proces. [...] Treća operacija je intervencija, prekid postupaka i propisivanje (*prescription*) koje obuhvata izravnu i hitnu primenu načela umesto postupka. (Cvejić i Vujanović 2012, 75)

A ja bih završio time da je za mene ključno da je ovaj proces neprekidan i da ne sme da se završi na trećoj tački. Možda u tom smislu za mene i ne postoji idealna društvena koreografija, nego je idealna ona koja ili ne dozvoljava normativizaciju ili čim se novi principi normativizuju, otvara mogućnost ponovnog preispitivanja. ■

□ *Communitas na ispitu*, Ana Vujanović i Saša Asentić; foto: Nataša Murge Savić





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**Asentić, Saša i Vujanović, Ana**, „MY PRIVATE BIO-POLITICS: A Performance on the Paper Floor (Third phase)”, u Stefan Hölscher i Philipp Schulte (ur.), *Dance, Politics, and Community: Current Perspectives on Politics and Communities in the Arts*, diaphanes, Ciriš – Berlin, 2013, str. 233–249

**Vujanović, Ana**, *On Trial Together*, 2012, <http://www.tkh-generator.net/portfolio/on-trial-together/> (31. oktobar 2013.)

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**Vujanović, Ana**, „Not Quite-Not Right Eastern Western Dance”, 2007, <http://www.anavujanovic.info/#!/2011/11/not-quite-not-right-eastern-western-dance-on-the-contemporary-dance-scene-in-serbia/> (31. oktobar 2013.)

## Meka koreografija

**Mette INGVARSEN** ● ● Kažem „meka” jer ne želim da kažem „društvena”. Ali ono na šta zaista mislim je jedan drugačiji vid organizovanja izvedbe, koji ne bi počivao na jasnoj podeli na izvođače i gledaoce, pozornicu i gledalište, susret i konstruisan događaj.

Meka koreografija je suprotnost tvrde koreografije.

Tvrda koreografija znači: koreografija zapisana do najmanjih tančina, bez mnogo prostora za odstupanje. Izvedba koja ide sama od sebe. Ne menja se kada neko ustane i ode, niti se produžava samo zato što ljudi to žele. Zadržava svoju autonomiju, predmetnost (*object-hood*) i slabo šta može da je promeni. Može se izvoditi i bez gledalaca i njen zapis se ne menja bez obzira na to da li je iko gleda ili ne. (Kada takve izvedbe uspeju, obično se nazivaju remek-delima.)

S druge strane, meka koreografija je ona koja bez publike ne može da postoji. To je izvedba koja se realizuje u odnosu na posebne želje posebne skupine ljudi u neko određeno vreme. To je rizična izvedba, koja bi mogla i da se ne desi. To je krhka situacija koja od publike traži da podeli odgovornost za nju.

Ipak, iz toga ne proizlazi da ništa nije isplanirano ili da se ništa neće desiti. Umesto toga, u mekoj koreografiji, cilj je stvoriti uslove da do susretâ dođe.

Mekoća koreografije se odnosi ne samo na telesni pokret ljudi, već i na organizaciju prostora, organizaciju skupa ljudi u prostoru i njihovog ponašanja. Mekoća ima neko ubedljivo svojstvo. Nosi jedan zavodnički ali ne i seksualan prizvuk, pošto je zavodjenje deo kolektiva, čiji pripadnici dele određeno vreme i mesto, da bi zajedno nešto izgradili. Danas je zamisao kolektivnog tela utopijska zamisao. To je ideja koju naše individualističko društvo neprestano pokušava da poremeti, onemogućavajući svaki vid kolektivne mobilizacije i otpora. Nasuprot toj tendenciji, meka koreografija okuplja jedan skup ljudi, na jedan kratak, ali dragocen trenutak.

Prostor raste kada je nepodeljen, kada je kruženje u prostoriji otvoreno, kada su ljudi slobodni da se organizuju kako žele. Važno je da prostor može da se menja. Da nema samo jednu konfiguraciju, već da se u njemu mogu ostvariti i drugi potencijali. To znači omogućavanje ljudima da menjaju svoje aktivnosti a da zaista ne primete kada iz jednog stanja pređu u drugo.

Um mekša kada različiti vidovi bića počnu da se mešaju. Kada se kritičko promišljanje rastvori u lelujav osećaj zadovoljstva i onda se vrati, daleko oštrije i jasnije. Kada mentalna misao postane



pokret ili ton. Kada se ton pretvori u melodiju i postane usmena priča ili žustra rasprava.

„Interaktivno“, „kolaborativno“ i „participativno“, samo su neke od reči korišćenih za ovaj tip pozorišta. „Demokratsko“ je još jedna. I mada se medij plesa poslednjih godina vraća takvim pojmovima, obnavljajući utopije iz prošlosti (iz 60ih i 70ih), vreme je da opet pokušamo. Zbog previše tvrdoće na polju koreografije (a i u mom radu), hitno se moramo setiti i drugih načina da budemo zajedno u pozorištu. ■

## Ekologija umova

**Michael KLIËN** ● ● *...bavljenje društvom sa osetljivošću umetnika, pesnika, plesača i pri tom gajenje jednog ekološkog, prema tome i održivijeg (sustainable), društvenog tkiva...*

U mom radu, društvena koreografija je po prvi put došla do izražaja kada sam sarađivao s dramaturgom Steveom Valkom pri Ballett Frankfurtu (2001–2002), a potom je činila jednu od glavnih tema u mom umetničkom vođenju Plesne trupe „Daghda“ u Limeriku, Irska (2003–2011). Taj pojam oblikuje moj rad već preko deset godina i postaje jasniji u svakom narednom razgovoru i praktičnoj primeni.

*...traženje istine...* Društvena koreografija nastoji da opazi skrivene koreografije ljudi, *...prazna ploča (the empty slate)...* i podrži, otelovljenim znanjem, ulazak institucionalizovanog znanja u ples *...ekologija umova...* da bi omogućila društveno preobražajne procese. Ona nastoji da otključa društveni potencijal i društvenu fikciju da bi izazvala promenu i promovisala duševno zdravlje. *...društveni poredak u nastajanju...* Društvena koreografija pruža kontinuiran praktični diskurs o ulozi estetike (u gajenju) civilnih dužnosti (*citizenship*) i upravljanja (*governance*).

U mojoj koreografskoj praksi, taj termin je evoluirao i usled toga obuhvatio i svoja ranija značenja: od jednostavnog prenošenja nečijeg koreografskog načina na veće platno (npr. koreografisanje građana) do prakse svesne svog upisanog društveno-političkog načina rada (tj. koje društvene strukture *zaista* uvežbavamo kada sa bavimo koreografijom?), do prakse koja neposredno utiče na društvene stvarnosti, interakcije i politička shvatanja, uvođenjem otelovljenog znanja i „sisarske mudrosti“ u vidove svakodnevne organizacije.

U mojim radovima, poput *Sediments of an Ordinary Mind* (Naslage običnog uma; Kliën 2004), plesači su pozvani da kultivišu svoju pojedinačnu slobodu/fleksibilnost kao telo mišljeno u pokretu, dok se istovremeno bore i preuzimaju odgovornost za najveću moguću stabilnost kolektiva (podržavajući kretanje drugih, nudeći prostor, vreme, pažnju, učeći itd). Tokom nekoliko nedelja, taj proces se odvija bez obzira na jezik ili vladajuće racionalne strukture, pronicljivo svestan položaja svih članova kolektiva, oslanjajući se pre na otelovljeno znanje nego na autoritaran glas sa unutarnjim (*intrinsic*) očekivanjima kada, gde i kako se treba kretati. Ponekad, svoj koreografski rad opisujem kao okruženje za kolektivno učenje gde se jedna dijaloška i tačna koreografija (ne unapred fiksirana u prostoru ili vremenu,

nego privremeno održavana pomoću prećutnih društvenih dogovora) može nataložiti i razviti. Ovaj kontinuirani diskurs, preobražajan proces učenja, nalazi se u srži mog rada. Urođeni odnosni modaliteti ovih plesova u sazvučju tvore neka od načela uređivanja prostora probanja i izvođenja (prateći slična samoorganizaciona načela), kao što i odzvanjaju u opštim upravljačkim strukturama organizacije, kojima pojedinci primenjuju svoja otelovljena iskustva u odnosima s drugima. Zato društvenu koreografiju vidim kao povratan luk koji se proteže od telesnog diskursa do društvene organizacije, luk svesnih i nesvesnih vidova uređivanja, koji se proteže u odnosne i stoga institucionalne strukture.

U Plesnoj trupci „Daghdha“ (Kliën 2010), iskusio sam rast heterotopijskih društvenih stvarnosti kolektivnim prenošenjem osetljivosti plesa i plesanja u institucionalne okvire. U Daghdhi, činilo se kao da se one izražavaju kroz neobičan stepen otvorenosti ka drugosti i pojedincima koji otvorenije govore, istovremeno crpeći društvenu toplinu i potencijal. Ambiciozne veličine, taj rad je velikom broju ljudi pružio drugačiji društveni kontekst, opipljiv u načinu na koji su živeli i radili: plod rada društvene koreografije. Stoga, društvena koreografija sada označava jednu holističku somatsku praksu koja stvaranju društvenih situacija i nastanku struktura i poredaka donosi jednu duboku telesnu svest. Ona označava jednu politiku ukorenjenu u nepoznatom umesto u poznatom, na pupku svih snova, s vizijom gajenja jednog ekološkijeg i etičkijeg „bivanja sa“ i bivanja skupa. ■

#### Navedena dela:

**Kliën**, Michael, *Sediments of an Ordinary Mind*, koreografija, 2004, <http://vimeo.com/10381439> (29. novembar 2013.)

**Kliën**, Michael, *5 Years – Daghdha Space – Slideshow*, 2010, <http://vimeo.com/11810173> (29. novembar 2013.)

## Društvena koreografija: disciplina u evoluciji ka kulturnoj praksi

**Steve Valk** ● ● Stara predstava o ćeliji kao vreći punoj belančevina i raznih drugih dobrih stvari zamenjena je savremenim viđenjem ćelije i njene složene unutrašnje strukture pre nalik na strukturu nekog grada nego na strukturu vreće brašna [...]

Ali tačka na kojoj prava srž ove priče počinje da biva jasnijom je kada otkrijemo da upravo to zamrzavanje hemijskog sastava ćelije uspostavlja sasvim novu vrstu slobode, koju ja nazivam *semiotičkom slobodom*. Jer, čak je i jednoćelijski organizam znao za jedan mali trik, veoma delotvoran u ublažavanju rasta predvidljivosti. Bio je kadar da se opiše – ili čak, da opiše ključne aspekte sebe – u apstraktnoj šifri ugrađenoj u niz baza molekula DNK. Delovi tog šifrovanog samoopisa su se zatim mogli kopirati, ponekad pogrešno, i razmenjivati s drugim članovima iste vrste – ili čak, ponekad, s članovima drugih vrsta. Tako je pokrenut beskrajan sled „grešaka“ i „nesporazuma“ koji je oblike života na Zemlji doveo u stalno stanje previranja, sled koji nazivamo organskom evolucijom.

Jesper Hoffmeyer, *Znakovi značenja u svemiru (Signs of Meaning in the Universe)*

Iz rastuće svesti o sve širem jazu između „načina na koji čovek misli i načina na koji priroda radi“, koreografija, tradicionalno shvatana kao „umetnost pokreta u vremenu i prostoru“, sve se više odvlači od „idealnog sveta“ pozornice. U isti mah, nagnana je i na preispitavanje svog jezika pojmova i sistema obrazlaganja. Koreografija se pomakla iz arhitekture svog nepokretnog istorijskog sveta i pojavila se kao otelovljen čin ljudske svesti, više ne odvojen, već smešten u nesvodljivo, nepojmljivo složen sistem uređenja biološkog sveta.

Michael Kliën i Steve Valk, „Choreography as an Aesthetics of Change“ (Koreografija kao estetika promene)

Popadaše okviri slika, postolja kipova, stilovi arhitekture, kao što spada prašina s nogu putnika koji stiže na cilj svog putovanja.

Kuća, oslobođena estetičke tradicije, postala je živo biće.

Frederick J. Kiesler, *Manifesto on Correalism* (Manifest korealizma)

Pošto svet sada drugačije razumemo, trebalo bi da usledi nešto o tome kako upravljamo svojim poslovima u njemu.

Andrew Pickering, *Making another World* (Stvarajući drugi svet)

**Iskustveno znanje** ● Društvena koreografija svakako jeste pojam koji koristim u svom radu. Decembra 2012, uz podršku i saradnju dugogodišnje mreže transdisciplinarnih teoretičara, kulturnih radnika, partnera iz lokalne zajednice i prijatelja na lokalnoj, regionalnoj i međunarodnoj razini, osnovao sam prvi Institut za društvenu koreografiju, ovde u Frankfurtu (Nemačka). Razlozi za osnivanje takve ustanove bili su brojni i višeslojni. Prvo, to je potreba da se odredi i učini dostupnim i raspoloživim jedno polje u nastajanju, polje hitno značajnog društveno-kulturnog delovanja. Drugo, bilo je važno ustanoviti jedno „zvanično“ društveno telo koje će moći da govori, obraća se i na taj način vrši preobražajno dejstvo na formalizovano polje društveno-političkih odnosa. U svom svakodnevnom radu, Institut za društvenu koreografiju se specijalizuje za dubinska istraživanja u dramaturgiji, razvoj novih kulturnih formata i saradničkih mreža, kao i praksi društvene koreografije kao niza metoda za otkrivanje i ispoljavanje alternativnih obrazaca u ekologiji našeg kolektivnog iskustva. Partneri projekta su razni, od svih vrsta organizacija socijalnog rada, preko verskih organizacija, škola, fondacija, univerziteta umetnosti, izvedbe i dizajna, kreativnih agencija, pokreta Okpiraj, lokalnih i međunarodnih inicijativa u kulturi, muzeja, odsekâ za ples, do vladinih agencija. Prevashodni cilj je širenje, uvećavanje i uključivanje iskustvenog znanja, koje nastaje u vizuelnim i izvođačkim umetnostima, u sve aspekte građanskog i kulturnog života. Performativno eksperimentisanje je glavno metodološko načelo projekta.

#### Etičko-estetska paradigma ●

Moji lični rad, kao dramaturga i umetnika, pod dubokim je uticajem radova drugih, sa kojima pišem, delujem, promišljam i izvodim, i njihov doprinos i ovde, u ovom napisu, igra važnu ulogu. Moje veze s društvenom koreografijom me stoga obavezuju da delujem u mnogim disciplinama i društvenim sferama. Kao angažovan „koreograf“, nastanujem jednu otelovljenu dimenziju smeštenu u tačkama preseka između kreativnih praksi drugih. Stoga se tu, na primer, oslanjam na zamisli Félixâ Guattarija, kako ih u svom radu promišlja Claire Bishop:

Pri kraju svoje poslednje knjige, *Chaosmosis* (1993), Félix Guattari pita: „kako da oživite jednu učionicu, tako da bude kao da je umetničko delo?“. Za Guattarija, umetnost je beskrajno obnovljiv izvor vitalističke energije i stvaralaštva, stalna snaga mutacije i subverzije. On izlaže trodelnu shemu razvoja umetnosti, smatrajući da smo na ivici nove paradigme, u kojoj umetnost više neće dugovati Kapitalu. U tom novom stanju stvari, koje on naziva „etičko-estetičkom paradigmom“, umetnost bi trebalo da zauzme „ključno mesto u transverzalnosti

u odnosu na druge Svetove vrednosti", dovodeći do mutančnih oblika subjektiviteta i rehumanizujući disciplinske institucije. Za Guattarija, transverzalnost označava „militantno, društveno, nedisciplinovano stvaralaštvo"; to je crta pre nego tačka, most ili pokret, koju pokreće skupni Eros. (Bishop 2012, 273)

### Plesovi delovanja (*agency*) ●

Disciplinu kojoj pripadam vidim kao neku vrstu transverzalne kreativnosti putem pokušaja i pogreške (*trial-and-error*), koje po prirodi mora biti duboko ukorenjeno i spontano: nedisciplinovano delovanje koje nastaje iz neprekidne prakse. Mislim da je to na neki način srodno „vitalnosti" koju evolucija kodira u fenotipe svih živih bića; kreativnost kao način preživljavanja. Paradoksalno, upravo su na toj dubokoj epistemičkoj razini utemeljeni i neki od najrazornijih sistema verovanja i obrazaca ponašanja u našem društvu. Nova, proširena i hitno potrebna uloga koju umetnost i kultura moraju preuzeti je rad ka stvaranju alternativnih životnih disciplina i generativnih društvenih ekologija koje bi mogle doprineti preokretanju ciklusa sistemskog razaranja živih bića i životne sredine koji nam u smrtnom zagrljaju drže živote i budućnost ljudske vrste.

### Somatsko pisanje ●

Koreografija je „plesopisanje" (*dance-writing*). Ona nije samo komponovanje plesanja, već i plesanje radi komponovanja: zamena glave i trupa, kao u kognitivnoj zameni koju otepljuje T'ai Chi Ch'uan. Telo *misli* i vodi preterano razboritu glavu ka *plesanju*. Pisanje tela i pomoću tela upućuje glavu kako da ponovo *gestikulira* ukorak sa svojim sisarskim poreklom. U grčkom pozorištu, gde je, prema Aristotelu, glumac nekada istupao iz hora da bi iz ditiramba pokrenuo dramu, nastaje proza iz poezije i racionalnost (*logos*) iz osećanja i mašte (*mitosa*). Ali s razvitkom tragedije, nailazimo na Edipa, koga hor poziva da upravlja državnim brodom dok se ljulja po olujnom moru, koji otkriva da mu je za to neophodno Tirezijevo slepo savetovanje: somatska mudrost „vidovnjaka" bez vida koji je bukvalno bez „ideja" (pošto grčki izraz *idea* potiče od *idein*, „videti") ali je ipak obdaren proročkom *vizijom*. Edip mora da izgubi hegemoniju ideacije da bi ponovo otkrio svoju neizrecivu animalnost. Mora otkriti da je prekršio incest-tabu, Lévi-Straussov graničnik između prirode i kulture, i tako se suoči s vlastitim genomom: svojim nastankom, kao ljudskog bića, od majmunskog porekla. Kada svest pomerimo iz glave u trup, počinjemo da pišemo i državni brod izvodimo ka novoj perspektivi: pršetkivi kadroji da preobrazu ljudsko biće iz temelja. To je dobrobražajna umetnost društveno angažovane kulturne prakse.

Daniel White, u nedavnoj prepisci elektronskom poštom

### Društvena koreografija:

**rana povest / poreklo** ● Nastajući iz specifične konfiguracije umetničkog rada pri Ballett Frankfurtu krajem 90ih godina, koji je na kraju doveo i do promene paradigme, termin „društvena koreografija" je, po mom shvatanju, postao sinonim za novu participativnu/situacionu epistemologiju, proisteklu iz institucije i konceptualnih arhitektura savremenog plesa. Poreklo i odvijanje tog preobražaja, ovde u Frankfurtu, poklopilo s preseljenjem Ballett Frankfurta iz gradske opere i njenog proscenijuma („pred scenom", pozornicom...) u ogromne, utapajuće i otvorene prostore Bockenheimer depoa, s njegovim neposrednim pristupom, vizuelnim i arhitektonskim, okolnim ulicama, pločnicima i prolaznicima. U svojoj tadašnjoj ulozi glavnog dramaturga i umetničkog saradnika, verujem da je ta situaciona „promena scene" takođe promenila i pojmovne okvire i konvencije koje je delio s tradicionalnim institucijama savremenog plesa, kao i performativne arhitekture Ballett Frankfurta, donoseći radove poput *White Bouncy Castle* (Beli zamak za skakanje) i *Endless House* (Beskrajna kuća); velike participativne projekte poput *Schmalclub*, kada je, na primer, 250 ljudi prespavalo u pozorištu, ili *New Meaningful Public Space* (Novi smisleni javni prostor), dnevnu sobu koju su uređivali kustosi i koja je bila otvorena po četiri meseca tokom dve uzastopne godine.

### Kibernetička epistemologija ●

U tom razdoblju, razvijene su složene participativne mreže širom kraja, grada, čak i regiona. Bockenheimer depo je služio kao početna baza i orijentaciona tačka za šire društveno-kulturne događaje u stvaralačkoj zajednici Frankfurta i okoline. Radeći pod jednostavnom i smelo naivnom pretpostavkom da je pozorišna scena deo života kao takvog i da strategije koje se tu razvijaju imaju širi značaj, uključujući i preuređivanje društvene sfere, društvena koreografija kao polje u nastajanju, pokrenuto pri Ballett Frankfurtu i nastavljeno po njegovom zatvaranju 2004. po mestima kao što je Plesna trupa „Daghdha" u Irskoj pod vođstvom koreografa Michaela Kliëna (2003–2011), počela je da postavlja pitanja poput ovih: „Ko koreografiše šta u našem društvu?" i „Kako su stvari uređene i kakvi se okviri stvaraju da bi se dogodio pokret?". Termin „koreografija" je prenet u polje ljudskih odnosa, kao način sagledavanja i stupanja u odnos sa svetom, umetnost uzajamnog delovanja i ometanja... umetnost prelaženja... svakodnevnog upravljanja odnosima i dinamikom, izraženim kroz telesni pokret ili zamisli. Time je došlo do otvaranja nove i vitalne teritorije razumevanja i angažovanja, teritorije bez ograničenja, teritorije s potencijalom da stvara sponu i nalazi veze kroz čitavu društvenu sferu i na svakoj njenoj tački.

### Koreografija kao estetika

**promene** ● Polazeći od tog saznanja, mislim da Institut za društvenu koreografiju upravo ostvaruje dalje proboje u postavljanju koreografije kao discipline u evoluciji ka kulturnoj praksi. Njegovi projekti i praktična istraživanja koji su u toku nastavljaju da ispituju kako koreografska praksa može doprineti nastanku originalne politike u odnosu na odgovornu građanskost/nadziranje (*stewardship*), kao i na upravljanje složenim ljudskim sistemima i stvaranje fleksibilnih i odgovornih institucija. Institut za društvenu koreografiju nastoji da prepozna, osnaži i otvori nove političke dimenzije estetske prakse, ne predstavljajući ideologija, već stvaranjem uslova za nastanak originalnih društvenih odnosa izravno iz koreografske prakse. ■

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### Zahvalnost:

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# O plesu, derivatima, dekolonizaciji i kinestemama

**Randy MARTIN** ● ● Društvena koreografija postavlja otelovljen pokret „u same temelje društvenog iskustva“, prostor inače rezervisan za ekonomiju (Hewitt 2005, 2). Sada, na mesto ekonomije dolaze finansije, a padaju i same konvencije vrednovanja. Finansije funkcionišu pomoću tokova. One proizvodnju sele u promet. To je jedno prinudno kretanje, koje nalaže neprestano kretanje dalje, napred. Čak i posle krize, moramo nastaviti po svaku cenu. Cena te prinude je vera finansijskog sektora da vidi sve, ali ne zna kako se kreće, niti čak poseduje terminologiju za vlastito kretanje. Kada finansiranje stane, nastaju sveopšta kriza i propast. Kada opet krene, sve se zaboravlja i ples se nastavlja.

Kada se ovako koristi, pojam plesa je uvek sumnjiv. U konvencionalnoj politici, okarakterisati nešto kao ples znači smatrati ga nečim što vrda, što nije autentično, kao da se vrti oko teme, kao da je uhvaćeno u cajtnotu, nesposobno da utiče na napredak koji traži. Po Oksfordskom rečniku engleskog jezika, ovakva figurativna upotreba pojma plesa znači *voditi (u plesu)*, retko *plesati (s nekim)*; *fig. voditi (nekoga)* zamornom, zbunjujućom ili razočaravajućom putanjom; zadavati nekome napora ili brige bez odgovarajućeg ishoda.

Letimičnim pregledom preko digitalnog horizonta, nailazimo na izraze kao što su „Ples pomirenja“ (u vezi s politikom i kriminalom); „Divlje finansije: tamo gde plešu novac i politika“ (u vezi sa spasavanjem od bankrota); „Ples branilaca“ (u vezi sa upornošću rasizma u reakcijama na izbor Obame za predsednika

Sjedinjenih Država). U ovim primerima, ples je predigra pred donošenje pravih odluka; dalje, on je odvratan pažnje od onoga što bi zaista trebalo učiniti, samo kada bi neko jače sučeljavanje suparnike čvršće postavilo jednog prema drugom. Politička je pozornica već postavljena, njeni su rekviziti poznati, osobine, motivi i metodi dramskih lica već znani. Glumci zauzimaju svoja mesta, spremni da stvore istoriju čim muzika i taj ples što smeta budu stali.

U ovom moralističkom poricanju životnog značaja plesa, možemo čuti odjeke prikazivanja finansija kao bezumnog kretanja ili lukavog manevrisanja radi sticanja položaja, besciljne terevenke ili vrđanja koje odvrća pažnju od onoga što zbilja pokreće i potresa svet. Tu bi se između plesa i finansija mogla povući analogija kao između dve pojave koje su podjednako prolazne i sekundarne, koje nas podjednako ometaju da se usredsredimo na ono što je zaista stvarno, važno i što zahteva pažnju. Vreme je da okončamo tiraniju metafore, jer su plesanje i finansiranje (*dance and finance*) povezani čvršće nego samo rimovanjem i kreću se u istom ritmu. Njihov odnos nije mimetički i ne podrazumeva nikakav nastanak na jednom mestu, koji bi zatim zračio na spolja ili se kretao tragom anksioznog uticanja. Zapravo, odnos praksi pokreta preko raznih područja koja dele određene kinestetičke osobine je u biti izveden, derivatski (*derivative*). Prema legendi o postanju finansija, izvorne zamisli, prema kojima je sve kasnije ustrojeno, potekle su iz glava ljudi poput Irvinga .....

<sup>1</sup> Reprezentativni primeri posle državnog spasavanja banaka od bankrota mogu se naći u Thompson 2008, Big Tent Democrat 2009. i Cannon 2009.

Fishera ili gospode Blacka i Scholesa; međutim, genealogije, konteksti i vektori koji su odredili pojam finansija daleko su razliveniji i višeslojniji. Ritmovi i kadence telâ u pokretu i način na koji vrednost protiče kroz društvo dele međusobno konstitutivna načela povezivanja, čiji je jezik nedovoljno artikulisan i češće se objašnjava kao sled misli uzvišenih pojedinaca. Ovde, okret ka plesu treba da učini jezik društvenog pokreta čujnim, primetnim, osetnim i čitljivim.

Naravno, ples ima određenu povest, kanone mnogopoštovanih velikana i trenutke ekspanzivnih mogućnosti i disciplinskog potčinjavanja, ali takođe nudi i scenu za proizvodnju znanja i njegovih granica, koja može uticati na odvijanje pokreta u drugim poljima. Učiti od plesa ne znači insistirati da svi uče da plešu, niti tvrditi da je ples povlašćena praksa koja će nas sve odvesti do Obećane zemlje, kao što ne bi trebale uzimati zdravo za gotovo ni tvrdnje finansijskog sektora da nas vodi ka bogatstvu i sreći. Analitičko povlašćivanje plesa, kao kritičkog metoda, poziva na promišljanje unutar njegovih vlastitih uslova kretanja, sredstava kojima se tela okupljaju, a ne pojmova kojima se njihov uticaj ukida. Nalazeći se u plesu, postavljamo svoje repertoare angažovanja kao da su već u pokretu. A ta tela koja sama sebe proizvode, pokreću se različito, međuzavisno, višestruko. Čak i u pokretu unisono se može pročitati razlika. Koreografija otkriva kako vrvi mnoštvo iz jedinstvenog umetničkog rukopisa (*signature*). Ono što naizgled dolazi iz jednog tela zapravo počiva na usklađenom i međuzavisnom trudu mnogih i pruža priliku za samekspanzivnu društvenost (*sociality*). Ples je celina sastavljena

od više celinâ, postignuće vlastitog viška koji ostavlja jedno sudbonosno podsećanje, obećanje svim prisutnima koje nikada do kraja ne može biti apsorbovano. U tom smislu, ples se tiče viška koji se inače vezuje za ne-znanje.

Ples je bio ključno mesto kultivisanja tela, pri čemu je poverenje počivalo na civilizacijskoj misiji koja je mogla da delotvorno kolonizuje prirodu – ljudsku i geofizičku. Kultura (*calere*) je isprepletala ta dva zabrana ili kolonizacije primitivnih nagona, željâ, volje koja je ljudska tela mogla da preobrazi u izvore rada i prirode kao divljih i neukroćenih sirovina – od kojih su obe tražile disciplinovanost i usmereno upravljanje. U tom smislu, civilizacija je uvek bila nedovršen poduhvat, i zbog varvarskih sredstava kojima se služila u ostvarivanju svojih ciljeva i zbog neprestanog otpora potčinjavanju, koji je davao podstreka pobunama i revolucijama, ali i dovitljivosti i stvaralaštvu. U tom smislu, kultura bi se odnosila na ono što tela čini odgovarajućima, ali i na tela koja preoblikuju ono što je odgovarajuće, uređujući i preuređujući, kolonizujući i dekolonizujući. U tom najširem smislu, dekolonizacija zahteva rušenje poretka koji ograđuje, ali i stvaranje nečeg drugačijeg od njega, oslobođenje od ograničenog kretanja, mobilizaciju radi otvaranja i preobraženja.

Politiku danas pogađa kriza vrednovanja. Širom sveta, milioni su na ulicama, da bi srušili vlade, sakupljeni iz jednog prekarnog stanja, da bi uspostavili neko drugo prekarno stanje. Ali, nije tako lako dokučiti težnje onih koji su na terenu, sklonosti onih koji su zauzeli položaje vlasti, uslove ustanova koje izdaju zajmove i ucenjuju. U isti mah, političko se čini i kao problem viška i kao problem manjka. Svaki vid ljudskog pregnuća može se namerno osporavati, a ipak, svaka, ma kako žustra intervencija stvara osećaj da se nije uradilo dovoljno. Sveprisutno kretanje, krešenda nepostojanosti (*volatility*), vrtoglave promene pravca ostavljaju utisak nedostatka vremena ili izgubljenosti u prostoru. Neravnoteža koja je usledila pokazuje se dezorijentišućom za mišljenje i otežava snalaženje u gustišu praksi koje se kreću ovamo i onamo. Javna okupljanja, masovne okupacije se predstavljaju kao da nemaju zahteve ni zamisli, a mobilizacija kao neprijatelj zastupanja (*representation*).

Ali, probijanje kroz neravnotežu, pronalaženje puta kroz prostore neograničenih mogućnosti, svakako je ono u čemu je ples najbolji. Barem po zapadnjačkom modernističkom poimanju, ples se obično smatra pokretom radi pokreta.<sup>2</sup> Ipak,

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<sup>2</sup> Naravno, ovaj naboj između posebnosti plesa i njegovog univerzalizma prožima povesne i etnološke podstacije koji su oblikovali pristupe proučavanju plesa sve dok to proučavanje nije krenulo jednim više filozofskim i teorijskim pravcem. Na primer, vid. Martin 1965, Hanna 1987, kao i Foster 1986, tekst koji je pokrenuo studije plesa kao zasebno područje. Kao noviji primer filozofskog zaokreta u evropskim studijama plesa, vid. Sabisch 2011. Takođe, vid. Klein i Noeth 2011, noviji zbornik koji odražava taj zaokret.

njegova autonomija, tako teško stečena, nije mu uvek jamčila mesto pod suncem. Često se sa žaljenjem navode njegova prekarost, nestalnost, nestabilnost. Takođe, plesači teško zarađuju za život; prostori za prikazivanje plesa se muče, u inat smanjivanju podrške; publika se bori sa sve višim cenama karata. Da bi ples pokrenuo zaustavljeni razvoj političkoga, njegovo znanje kako se sakupljaju tela, podešavaju prostori i vremena, vrednuju uzajamne povezanosti, mora postati čitljivo i van granica koreografije. Isticanje analitike pokreta, kojom ples toliko odiše, može obezbediti bogatije vrednovanje onoga što se dobija političkom mobilizacijom. Za jednu bogatu a potcenjenu politiku, postavlja se pitanje: kako mobilisati ples da bi počeo da misli kroz sadašnjost?<sup>3</sup> Bez sumnje, ni sama sadašnjost nije jedna već više stvari. Svakako, politika je staza koja se probija kroz mogućnost, ona je ostvarivanje ciljeva u jednom spornom polju kretanja. Ono što nas pokreće izvan postojećih uslova i ograničenja obično podrazumeva pronalaženje puta između tvrdokornih suprotnosti koje prete da sasvim obuzmu maštu stvaralačkih i pokretnih društvenosti.

Eterično i avetijsko prisustvo, koje je možda najkonvencionalnije obličje plesača, naročito ženâ, pridaje se i plesu u celini, sa teškim posledicama po njegovo vrednovanje i podršku plesu kao nekoj vrsti nemoguće ekonomske anoreksije. Istovremeno, kod plesača se cene kreativnosti, prilagodljivost, odsustvo materijalnih potreba – oni mogu da rade i u praznim prostorijama, samo pomoću svojih tela, često bosî, navodno opstaju na veoma malo kalorija i, čak i među izvođačkim umetnicima, daju više za manje, jer su najmršavije plaćeni.<sup>4</sup> Njihova ljubav prema umetnosti subvencioniše njihovu težnju ka savršenstvu – čineći ih idealnim radnicima u idealizovanoj kreativnoj ekonomiji.<sup>5</sup> Ples je uhvaćen između odricanja od telesnosti radničkih tela i jednog modela rada bez sukoba, prigovora i opipljive nadoknade. Umesto prihvatanja ove opake dihotomije između realnog i fiktivnog, koja navodno razdvaja industrijsku proizvodnju od finansijskog opticaja novca, kao zasebne sektore ekonomije, mogli bismo sagledati ples kao ključno mesto za razumevanje načinâ kojima tela u pokretu stvaraju vrednost. Po starom shvatanju, fabrika je neko nepokretno mesto na kojem se tela znoje i dirinče, gde se stvara roba i kasnije te stvari otuđuju od svojih tvorca, kreću i kruže nadaleko i naširoko, posredstvom

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<sup>3</sup> Ovim pitanjem sam se već bavio u svom prethodnom radu. Vid. Martin 1990. i 1998.

<sup>4</sup> U Sjedinjenim Državama, gde ih ima ukupno 25.000, plesači predstavljaju najmanje rasprostranjeno zanimanje koje se zvanično prati u statistikama i u proseku zarađuju 27.392 dolara godišnje, naspram muzičara, koji zarađuju 27.558 i glumaca, koji zarađuju 30.254 (National Endowment for the Arts 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Ross to afektivno subvencionisanje umetničkog rada naziva „popustom u kulturi“ (Ross 2000). Vid. oštru kritiku prigovorâ kreativnih klasa u Pasquinelli 2009.

svoje vrednosti predstavljene sredstvima kreditiranja i zajmljenja, sve dok na kraju ne završe u nekom trenutku prijema ili potrošnje, kupovine i upotrebe. Nasuprot tome, za ples bi se moglo reći da opisuje jedno drugačije stanje, u kojem se optičaj u potpunosti nalazi unutar proizvodnje, gde se tela znoje na mestu i kreću kroz prostor, gde upotreba proizlazi iz razmene u trenutku izvedbe. Kredit za delo koje je zajednički priloženo i dug među telima izvođača i publike, koja su privremeno isprepletana, upravlja pažnju na neku prolaznu vrednost, ispunjava prazninu i oročava taj trenutak zarad nekakvog obećanja buduće razmene.

Na prvi pogled, ples bi se mogao postideti što deli svojstva derivata. Modernistički ponos mu nalaže da prigrlj originalnost, inovativnost i autonomiju kao ono što mu omogućava da bude gazda u svojoj kući i čuva svoja blaga. Međutim, ako to poverenje počiva na uslovima stvaranja plesa koji više ne prevladavaju, biće neophodno otkriti nova načela suvereniteta, da bi ples (kao, uostalom, i druge izvođačke prakse) ostvario svoju estetsku i političku vrednost. Ovde polazimo od toga da derivat, kada se posmatra kao društvena logika a ne samo kao finansijsko sredstvo, otkriva šta podrazumevaju ova izmenjena stanja suvereniteta. Derivati nam pokazuju moguće posledice naizgled neznatnih varijacija i načine kojima se delanje otelovljuje i širi, tako da mogućnosti upravljanja tokovima života, koje možda izgledaju osudno, rashodovano i neupotrebljivo, budu ponovo sagledane kao neka vrsta ples-obilja (*abundance*). Sagledavanje rada logike derivata u plesu nudi dva obećanja: da će nam omogućiti da uočimo ono što ples uopštava kao društveni život, izvan osnovne aktivnosti plesanja, kao i održiva načela i stvaralačke prakse koje su već nadohvat ruke, u nečemu što se inače čini, sa stajališta krize, kao svet u ruševinama.

Dalje, usredsređivanje na načine kojima se mali pokreti mogu ulagati radi većih dobitaka i praksa arbitraže su posebno ključne pozicije trgovca derivatima kao subjekta. Cilj objedinjavanja ovih intervencija nije da obuhvati čitavu osobu, nego da pokrene identitet, da pruži nešto što će se trenutno ukazati kao javni interes, u kojem velik broj kratkih poseta mestima i trenutaka pažnje ili pogodaka zajedno čini pogodak znatnog upliva. Nadajmo se da ovakvo viđenje derivata sada već postaje nešto telesnije, da bi ono prolazno upisalo u nekakvo opipljivo telesno kretanje. Finansijske se zaista u celini tiču prinudnog kretanja, obaveze da se ide i dalje, bez obzira na cenu, dalje u budućnost, bez opterećivanja povesnim zahtevima i potraživanjima. Ali ako finansijske šire pokret posvuda, one ne stvaraju jezik pokreta, nikakav senzibilitet u smislu naše sklonosti da idemo jednim putem a ne nekim drugim, nikakvu logiku po kojoj bismo mogli da razumemo kako smo pod upravom imperativa kretanja, kako nas

on usmerava, kako se mi njime usmeravamo, protiv njega, ka nekakvoj spoznaji kako bismo drugačije mogli da se krećemo i vladamo. Tišina i muk koji vladaju u srcu finansija jesu pozornica za okretanje plesu, za hvalu praksama koje slave telesnu zaduženost i nude beg kao uzlet kojim bi se mogla upoznati i neka prijateljska neba.

Najzad, smisao nije u uopštavanju od plesa ka drugim praksama, niti u prikazivanju plesa kao uzora ponašanja koji bi svuda trebalo oponašati, već u analitičkom povlašćivanju plesa kao prakse kadre da dešifruje kinestetičke dimenzije jedne društvene logike koja funkcioniše kao kretanje ali ne nudi sopstveni jezik kojim bi se obraćala iz perspektive telâ u pokretu. U plesnom smislu, možemo ukazati na logiku derivata koja teče između mreže i ustrojavanja putem pojmova mobilizacije i društvene kinestetike. Mobilizacija se odnosi na medij koji stvara posledice pokreta, koji čini opipljivima inače nestalne zahteve (*entailments*) vremena i prostora. Plesanje mobilise u jednom mestu-vremenu i prostoru, stvarajući kapacitete iz širih senzibiliteta, koji se raspršuju kroz vidove mnogih praksi pokreta kojima se tela zajedno kreću. Zapitati se od čega je ples i šta ples stvara osim sebe znači ukazivati na pitanja konteksta i prilike – gajiti jedan senzibilitet koji oštro zaseca, dok spaja ili razdvaja telesne pažnje i usmerenja – slično načinu na koji se shvata i uspon finansija.<sup>6</sup>

Kao i zamisli koje dolaze iz raznih kulturnih studija strukture osećanja, prepolitičke dispozicije, prečutnih ili virtuelnih društvenosti, moguće je zamisliti i materijalno okruženje telesne aktivnosti pre nego što se stvrdne u specifičan praktični izraz.<sup>7</sup> Društvena kinestetika se može razumeti kao usmerenje, senzibilnost ili predispozicija koja oblikuje pristupe pokretu, istorijski određena mikrofizika koja stvara energetska polja pokreta i upravlja njima. Posmatrano unutar mobilizacije, sve je umreženo, a iz ugla jedne društvene kinestetike uočljivo je neko organizaciono pravilo ili logika. Nijedan od .....

<sup>6</sup> Ovdje treba da pomenemo one okvire tradicije marksističke istorijske analize koji se oslanjaju na vremenske cikluse ili talase različitih razmera. Pojam dugih i kratkih ciklusa, kao način razumevanja istorijskih kretanja i preobražaja kroz krize, razvili su Fernand Braudel i njegove kolege iz škole *Annales* na osnovu radova ruskog ekonomiste Kondratijeva. Njihov rad je dalje unapredio Ernest Mandel, na čijim osnovama je Fredric Jameson došao do svoje sheme periodizacije postmodernizma, kao i Immanuel Wallerstein do svoje analize svetskih sistema. Što se finansija tiče, ove sheme je najupešnije objasnio Giovanni Arrighi (Arrighi 1994). Iako sve ove analize preuzimaju Braudelovo usredsređenje na ono što on naziva materijalnom civilizacijom, figura talasa ili ciklusa je neobično metafizička, to jest, nije jasno od čega se sam ciklus sastoji, šta podstiče njegovo kretanje kao takvo, osim predstave da određene faze traju određeno vreme. Moja namera ovdje je da upotrebim ples da bih odtelvorio ono što se inače shvata metaforično, u velikim obradama društvenih preobražaja i promena. Vid. Braudel 1992, Mandel 1976 i Wallerstein 1986.

<sup>7</sup> Struktura osećanja je pojam iz knjige *Marxism and Literature* Raymonda Williamsa (Williams 1977); prepolitičko je pojam za tek nastajuće senzibilitete radničke klase kod Edwarda Thompsona (Thompson 1963); pojam virtuelnog kao prečutnih normi koje upravljaju aktivnostima je razvio Erving Goffman u Goffman 2009.

ta dva pojma nije izvoran, već su oba derivati. Mobilizacije se stapaju na jednom mestu iz nečega što je već stvoreno i što će završiti negde drugde. Društvene kinestetike su višestruke i istovremene, u vidu polifonije silâ i tokova; one ne nameću nikakvu genealogiju uticaja, već niz bočnih veza, u kojima se različite prakse spajaju pomoću nečega (ali ne svega) što ih ustrojava. Ovaj rečnik je apstraktan koliko i rečnik finansijskih derivata. Treba ga utemeljiti u nekoliko praksi koje će učiniti opipljivim rad logike derivata u plesu i omogućiti nam da sagledamo načine kojima ples otelovljuje ono što bi derivati mogli da čine izvan finansijskih zdanja.

**Ka spletu okolnosti** ● U poimanju ekonomista, čak i onih kritičkog opredeljenja, poput Nouriel Roubinija, kriza je prenošenje poslovnog ciklusa na viši nivo. Ovdje, ekonomika treba da opravda poverenje tako što će pokazati da njena kretanja slede prirodne zakone. Šta god raste, mora na kraju pasti. Materijalnost ciklusa je jedan zamoran problem (šta, uostalom, čini jedan ciklus, šta čini njegove pravilnosti, otkud ponavljanje i zatvaranje ciklusa itd). Ipak, materijalnost nekog kulturnog stila unutar nekog razdoblja čini se još zamornijim problemom, pošto izgleda kao da protok vremena podjednako neobjašnjivo izaziva promene u izrazu i opredeljenju, umesto ispitivanja načinâ kojima se oblikuju određena načela kretanja i zatim i sama teku svojim svetom, menjajući ga. Ovdje je cilj da ne izgubimo iz vida veze između kulturnih i drugih društvenih odnosa i procesa, kao ni da odbacimo istorijske dimenzije određenih senzibiliteta. Naprotiv, ako te veze nisu predodređene nekom datom sličnošću ili odrazom, niti unapred zadatim trajanjem ili ciklusom, onda teret objašnjavanja pada na uverljivost veza koje se mogu povući. Stoga reći da je logika derivata prisutna u raznim kulturnim i finansijskim praksama ne znači dodeljivati posebna mesta u nekakvom arhitektonskom poretku (na čemu je bila zasnovana zamisao strukture), već odrediti načela kretanja koji povezuju čitav niz aktivnosti i tokove ljudi, ne prisiljavajući ih da se prilagode jednoj zamisli.

U tehničkom smislu, koji se koristi u finansijskim uslugama, derivati se obično shvataju kao ugovori o razmeni određene količine nečega u određenom trenutku u budućnosti, po unapred ugovorenoj ceni. Na primer, proizvođač nameštaja iz Evrope izrađuje stolove za prodavca iz SAD; isporučiće ih za šest meseci i naplatiti milion evra po kursu od dolar i po za evro. Ali ako se kurs promeni i evro apresira odnosno poraste prema dolaru, proizvođač će izgubiti novac kada stolovi budu gotovi, pa je zato spreman da plati još hiljadu evra za pravo da razmenu izvrši po unapred ugovorenom kursu, umesto da izgubi novac ako, na primer, evro poraste na 1,6 dolara za evro.

Sa druge strane „bare“, za kupca bi bila obratna situacija: stolove bi dobio za manje dolara, ali bi verovatno želeo da se zaštiti od apresijacije dolara prema evru. Sporazum o razmeni po fiksnom kursu služi kao zaštita od tog rizika. U tom smislu, rizik ili mogućnost devijantnog ali predvidljivog ishoda, takođe je uračunava u ugovor koji se dalje može razmenjivati i tako postati sredstvo ulaganja koje štiti od niza mogućih dobitaka ili gubitaka. U ovom slučaju, u opticaju su ugovori o derivatima zasnovani na istoj prodaji, za slučaj oscilacije vrednosti valute. Ali, brojni su rizici i prilike za stvaranje derivata, za razne mogućnosti koje proizlaze iz jedne te iste prodaje. Na primer, prodaja stolova može zavisiti ne samo od kursnih pomeranja, nego i od mogućeg otkazivanja prodaje, ili nemogućnosti banke da plati. Zato ukupna vrednost derivatnih ugovora daleko nadmašuje stvarnu ili osnovnu vrednost robe kojom se trguje. Kako je globalnih transakcija sve više, tako se uračunava i sve više vrsta rizika – od kursa i kamata, do temperaturnih promena i vremena.

Dok se derivatski ugovori u poljoprivredi prave već hiljadama godina, derivati u sadašnjem obliku postoje od 70ih godina, a u obimnoj trgovini na zvaničnim berzama od 90ih. Zbir svih derivata kojima se trguje javno manji je od ukupne vrednosti ugovorâ sklopljenih izravnom pogodbom. Razmena se ugovorima ne završava; samo mali postotak se isplaćuje po dospeću. Umesto toga, ugovori ostaju otvoreni ili se neprestano razmenjuju putem onoga što se zove kliring. Posledica toga je stalni opticaj sredstava zaduživanja i uključivanje lokalne proizvodnje u svetska tržišta i mogućnosti zarade u zavisnosti od kretanja cena na tim tržištima. Mada derivati trgovcima donose na desetine milijardi prihoda i vredeli bi, kada bi se unovčili, na desetine biliona (tačnije, 27 biliona dolara, što je i dalje manje od svetskog tržišta deonica i obveznica, koje se procenjuje na oko 200 biliona dolara, što je više od ukupnog svetskog društvenog proizvoda od 75 biliona dolara), nominalna vrednost svih derivatskih ugovora u 2012. iznosila je trilion i po dolara.<sup>8</sup>

Kapital je isticao ekonomiju kao zbirno ime za svoje društvene odnose; naš zadatak ovdje je da istražimo kakvu društvenu logiku otkrivaju derivati, koja bi mogla da objasni njihovo širenje i uticaj nezavisno od razmene radi dobiti ili pukog nastavljanja neprekinutog lanca sve delotvornijih poredaka akumulacije kapitala. Ovdje će „logika“ morati da bude polazište a ne cilj ili kraj, senzibilitet koji će povezati stvari na određen način, istovremeno se krećući dalje od sebe. Akumulacija kapitala takođe stvara obilje društvenih odnosa, uzajamnost i opterećenja, .....

<sup>8</sup> Banka za međunarodna poravnanja prati sve derivatske transakcije po tipu i vremenu. McKinseyevi izveštaji vode statistike o svetskim finansijskim tržištima, uključujući derivatske transakcije. Vid. Roxburgh i dr. 2011.

koje nije u stanju da poštuje. Ona beži od društvenosti koje stvara i kreće se ka onima od kojih želi samo po neki deo. Derivati nisu ništa drugačiji. Služe se svim oblicima vrednosti koji su već u pokretu, ako ne već i u rukama. Međutim, nezavisno od sveprisutnosti te pojave, postavlja se pitanje zašto je analitički i politički celishodno promišljati društveno kroz prizmu derivata. Pokazivanje tih različitih rezonanci zahtevaće širok pristup, ali već sada možemo izneti nekoliko početnih zapažanja. Prvo, mogli bismo reći da se logika derivata obraća onome što se inače podvodi pod usitnjavanje, rasejavanje, izolaciju, omogućavajući nam da prepoznamo načine kojima bi konkretne posebnosti, određena angažovanja, obaveze, intervencije koje podnosimo i trošimo mogli biti međusobno povezani, iako najpre ili najposle ne deluju kao jedna celina ili jedinstvo prakse ili perspektive. Drugo, derivati artikulišu ono što nastaje u pokretu, proizvodnju koja se odvija u opticaju i stoga nam pomažu da uočimo vrednost svog rada u uslovima opšte nestabilnosti. Treće, derivati funkcionišu putem arbitraže, malih intervencija kojima nastaju velike promene, generativnih rizika u svetlu opšteg neuspeha, ali u ime poželjnih ciljeva. Da bismo prepoznali i ostvarili ovu drugu vrstu dobitaka koji bi mogli proizaći iz jedne razvijene logike derivata, moramo je izvući iz krotina ekonomskog promišljanja, gde leže zakopana njena uobičajena značenja.

Posmatran iz ugla posledica pada Bretonvudskog sistema, derivat kao finansijsko oruđe koje kolonizuje kulturno iskustvo, kao ekonomsko ponovo utvrđuje epistemološko preimućstvo, čak i dok propada kao samostalna oblast. Ipak, ako se nalazimo u jednom stanju posle ekonomije, njegove osnove (*predicates*) treba tražiti ne samo u unutrašnjim ograničenjima tržišnih mehanizama, nego i u širem poretku društvenih procesa kojima ljudi oblikuju razna povezivanja i preplitanja, od kojih kapital neprestano teži da se oslobodi. Tu ćemo posmatrati društvenu logiku derivata kao posledicu tih raznih dekolonizacija; ukidanje nametnutih jedinstava i postrojavanja osoba i mesta zaduženih da prikupljaju bogatstvo za druge i podređuju nezavisnost, kao društvenost po sebi, zavisnosti od sila potčinjavanja. Dekolonizacija je ukidanje prirodnosti vladajućeg načela vlasti, nesvesnog prihvatanja nejednakih i neravnopravnih uslova razmene, kojima se želja trampica za dug sve manje vrednosti. Dekolonizacija je pomeranje od ovih zarobljavajućih oblika nacije, sopstva, mase, koji se izdaju za pojmove samostalnosti i slobode, ali zapravo otuđuju te iste pojmove oslobađanja u korist nekog neprobojnog autoriteta. Stoga, to kretanje od nije prosto beg od nekakve nepodnošljive sile, već sposobnost okupljanja, međusobne sklonosti i povezivanja – opticaja koji daje vrednost, a koji kapital uopšte i finansije posebno uvek privsavaju.

Finansijski rizik brine odstupanje od očekivanog opsega zarade, ali ne može da isprati sopstveni put kojim ostvaruje taj rast. Nesposobnost razlikovanja nelikvidnosti od insolventnosti govori o slabom razumevanju vrednovanja vlastitog unutaršnjeg kretanja i osuđenosti na stalne krize, kada god kretanje i muzika stanu, kao i na lažnu šokiranost činjenicom da se to opet dogodilo. Ova ravnodušnost prema onome što optičaj stvara, što pokreće vrednost ali što takođe vrednuje i pokret, ne može se odgonetnuti unutar samog pojma finansija, već zahteva i istraživanje samog načela povezivanja; zato je važno shvatiti istorijske procese dekolonizacije kao preusmeravanje načela suverenosti, kojima bi ljudi mogli vladati vlastitim kretanjem, kao i kako vrednovati ova povezivanja iznutra, pod njihovim sopstvenim uslovima. Sada se ovo objedinjavanje atributâ radi stvaranja vrednosti može pripisati i kulturnoj sceni, na kojoj se tumači svet, gde se vrednost pomera između onoga što se pravi za druge i onoga što sačinjava sopstva. Derivati funkcionišu na osnovu ovih rasutih i razdeljenih momenata načinâ na koje su ljudi naučili da se zajedno kreću, da deluju na osnovu određenih senzibiliteta i međuzavisnosti. Derivati se odnose na to kretanje, zato što apstrahuju samo one attribute koji zajedno mogu da teku, prepliću ih u odnosima koji funkcionišu i van svojih lokalnih ispoljavanja, omogućavaju nam da uočimo ritmove koji pokreću naizgled zasebna područja, mada smo i dalje svesni razlika koje kolaju našim društvenim žilama.

Kulturne scene čine ljudi u pokretu. Oni dolaze i odlaze, probijaju puteve, ostavljaju tragove, naseljavaju i napuštaju, pohranjuju i podižu svoja blaga. Delovanje stanovništva, nastanjivanje (*populate, popolare*), nosi to dvostruko značenje popunjavanja prostora ljudima i prepuštanja ljudi propasti. Takvo kretanje se opisuje kao pokretanje i zaustavljanje (u smislu istorijskih razdoblja), uspon i pad (u smislu ciklusa) i nadiranje i oticanje (u smislu talasa). Ipak, kretanje ne znači samo prisustvo ili odsustvo; određena svojstva, usmerenja, sklonosti i načela ustrojavanja mogu vladati pod pojedinim okolnostima. Kinestetika predstavlja načine kojima pokreti obuhvataju senzibilitete unutar nekog skupa tela. Ovi posebni senzibiliteti prema pokretu, koji prethode ili su opštiji od bilo kakvog posebnog stilskog ispoljavanja, čine ono što se može smatrati nekom društvenom kinestetikom. Ako epistema opisuje neki vid saznanja koji formuliše šta će se računati, vrednovati i šta će upravljati putanjom daljeg saznanja, društvena kinestetika stvara kinesteme ili otelovljene oblike suvereniteta ili vlasti. Dok epistema predstavlja skup pravila po kojima se vrednuje znanje ili pravilnost po kojima se ono stvara, kinestema predstavlja ustrojavanje telesnih praksi, moment moći kojom se tela pozivaju na

određene kretnje, ali kojom ona na te pozive i odgovaraju. Saznajno kretanje se promišlja kao vremenski sled prostorno ograničenih vidova saznanja, što je Michel Foucault, kao što je dobro poznato, opisivao kao arheologiju, poredak stvari iz kojeg se izvodi i sam pojam ljudskog. Klasična epistema, koja artikuliše sve što se može saznati u taksonomijama predstavljanja i koju sledi moderno, gde se apstrakcija uzdiže kao jezik, oslobođena je od predstavljanja i postmodernog, koje je Foucault predvideo ali nije imenovao, kao raskida sa tim uopštavajućim ideološkim shemama. Iako kinesteme takođe imaju povest, one stvaraju i zauzimaju jedan više prostoran razmeštaj. Kao takve, različite kinesteme mogu sa-postojati istovremeno, čak i na istom mestu.

Očito, ovo je veoma apstraktna i uopštena tvrdnja. Kao što savremena finansijska oruđa čine čitljivim razna sredstva kojima se ostvaruje derivatna vrednost, ples čini opipljivim ta oruđa zajedničkog kretanja, krupnije društvene kinestetike, čiji je određena izvedba pojedinačan slučaj. Plesnim konvencijama određenog razdoblja bi se obično pristupalo posredstvom njihovog zajedničkog stila, razvrstavanjem po izgledu i uticaju. Dobit od takvih formalističkih pristupa, očigledna u pionirskim delima istorije i kritike plesa, kao što su dela Johna Martina, ogleda se u uzdizanju plesa do vlastitog jezika i ispitivanja mogućnosti pokreta radi pokreta (Martin 1965). Ta perspektiva je zamenila uopštenije etnologije plesa, kao što su radovi Kurta Sachsa, koje su ples shvatale kao izraz osnovnih nagona, izraza zajedničke ljudske prirode (Sachs 1937).

Ovde bi akademski pristupi ponovili opšta mesta odražavanja nekakve osnovne prirodne stvarnosti ili formalne autonomije, koja su šire odlikovala rasprave o kulturi, prema antropološkim i estetskim zamislima tog pojma. Umesto shvatanja plesa kao odraza prirodnih nagona ili unutar vlastitog formalnog sveta, polaganje od društvene kinestetike omogućava ispitivanja načinâ kojima materijalnosti usmerenja pokreta u društvenom svetu postaju čitljive u i zahvaljujući plesu. Ne postaje stil nebitan, niti duži kontinuiteti usmerenja kretanja nepovezani, već mogućim postaje posmatrati kinestetičke odjeke između praksi koje nastaju veoma različitim stilskim svojstvima i kulturnim scenama i uslovima. Objedinjavanje srodnih svojstava pokreta iz različitih izvora objasnilo bi derivat u kinestetičkom smislu, otkrivajući njegovu logiku kao jedan društveni odnos.

Logika, pak, nije zakon, već težnja ka racionalizaciji onoga što je na snazi. Logika ne mora biti ni celovita, niti uspešna. Akumulacija kapitala uvek prekoračuje svoje granice, ne uspeva da ostvari vrednost koju je sakupila, izdaje svoje interese, ruši svoje navodno jedinstvo.

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9 Ovde su ključni tekstovi Foucault 1970. i Fuko 1998.

Društvena logika derivata nije ništa određenija ni sigurnija. Ovdje posmatran kao načelo povezivanja, međuzavisnosti i mobilizacije, ples se stavlja u službu artikulisanja unutrašnjeg kretanja na kojem počivaju finansije, ali to ne smeju izgovoriti. Ples se, kao ni bilo koja druga kulturna praksa, ne pravi jednostavnim poštovanjem pravila. Vežbanje je svakako jedan vid discipline, ali niko ne pleše samo disciplinom, niti bilo kakva kinestema može zaustaviti ono što se može stvoriti pomoću načelâ zajedničkog kretanja. Ples čitljivim čini jedno sredstvo otelovljenog senzibiliteta koje omogućava vrednovanje mobilizacijâ telâ u optičaju, koje stvaraju uslove i prilike za dalja okupljanja. Plesanje i bavljenje plesom izazivaju želju za još. Iako novac, prilike za izvedbu, trajanje karijere i izdržljivost i dugotrajnost tela svi skupa vezuju ples za oskudicu, svaki se pojedinačni slučaj izvedenog pokreta otvara ka onome što je izvan njega i što se ne može apsorbovati u trenutku izvedbe.

Ti prolazni trenuci, u kojima se sreću tela plesača i publike, jesu mediji kroz koje prolaze razdvojene veze i međusobna dugovanja koja se mogu plaćati, ali nikada isplatiti.<sup>10</sup> Nema izravne niti svršene razmene između onoga što plesači saopšte u izvedbi i onoga s čime publika napusti pozornicu. Mark Franko ističe da je za ples „metakinetička ‘razmena’ – prenos izraza i interpelacije na publiku – bio njegov rad“ i da je „ples takođe političan zbog načina na koje se njegovi modeli mogu širiom društvenog sveta“ (Franko 2002, 167).<sup>11</sup> Ono što izvedba izaziva jeste otelovljeno saosećanje, koje, kako ga Susan Foster opisuje,

pokazuje te različite načine kojima plesno telo u svojoj kinestetičkoj posebnosti formuliše poziv na razumevanje i osećanje različitih pogleda, podstičući ih da zajedno učestvuju u otkrivanju zajedničke osnove svog iskustva. (Foster 2010, 218)

Zajednička želja obeju strana za povratkom na tu scenu, za razvijanjem plesa, jeste osnova prokletog dela (*la part maudite*) u plesu, njegove verzije viška koji se ne može apsorbovati, koji ga približava pojmu neznanja Georgesa Bataillea (Bataille 2001. i 2012). Da se podsetimo, ovaj višak društvenosti se vraća telu, preplavljuje čula, pogađa ga kao smeh ili neki drugi afekt. Ples bi onda bio jedno od čvorišta za posmatranje povratnog dejstva ovog

<sup>10</sup> Pojam razdvojene estetike se obično tiče digitalnih medija i mrežnih kultura; ovdje, prelaz na otelovljene prakse izvedbe treba da omogućiti promišljanje kinestetike razdobe kao takve. Npr. vid. Gye i dr. 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Franko ovdje govori o posebnoj međusobnoj privlačnosti modernog plesa i radničkih pokreta u Sjedinjenim Državama 30ih godina, ali njegov pojam nereflektivne performativne ekonomije smeštene u odbijanje radnog tela da se potčini industrijskoj racionalizaciji nalazi odjeka u prilagodljivijem pristupu tumačenju plesnog rada pod raznim okolnostima.

bumeranga, mesto nagomilane kinestetičke vrednosti koja otkriva šta se dešava s čitavim tim viškom. Strašna figura zaraze, strane sile koja se munjevito širi stanovništvom, postaje otopliva u rasejavanju senzibilitetâ pokreta.

Plesovi nastaju u jednom širem polju, ali se predstavlja njihovu društvenu kinestetiku, ali se pravila i sile te scene ne mogu čitati kao takva. Ima, naravno, udžbenika o finansijama i koreografskih priručnika, ali nema nikakve legende ni mape društvene kinestetike. Njeni obrisi će morati da se izvuku iz konkretnih slučajeva. Za svaku od tri kinesteme, biće izabran reprezentativan primer koreografije. Ti primeri ne treba da budu ni tipski, ni arhetipski. Nema ustaljenog odnosa između konkretnog posebnog i apstraktnog opšteg. Pitanje šta vlada je proces selekcije i razvrstavanja praksi koje osnovano polažu pravo na autoritet ili suverenitet. Suverenitet se u tom smislu odnosi na telesne prakse koliko i na oblike valute – u oba slučaja mnogo toga je u optičaju, dok ono što se uzdiže do položaja praktičnog univerzalnog, što se u razmeni svuda prima, može biti veoma ograničeno. Zbilja, može se reći da suverenitet povezan s nekom kinestemom uređuje šta prolazi kao ples a šta ne, kao što finansijska sredstva za upravljanje rizicima uređuju šta se računa kao vrednost a šta ne. Polazjenje od ove ograničene ekonomije omogućava nam da uočimo šta se otkači i šta tvori kada jedan oblik suvereniteta opusti pred nekim drugim.

Ako kinesteme opisuju opštu arhitekturu kojom se vrednuju telesne prakse, dispozicije koje usmeravaju pokret u odnosu na određene sile autoriteta, način na koji plesači nastanjuju pozornice ukazuje na zauzimanje i rušenje određene scene. Rizici koje preuzimamo u tim neizvesnim trenucima ne zaustavljaju samo kretanje, nego mogu i da utiču na naše vrednovati od tih dugova i šta će izrasti iz ruševina. Zajedno i pomoću ovih kinestetičkih sredstava, suvereniteta valute, političke vlasti, kulturne scenografije, mogu se korisno artikulirati. Sapsustvo ovih različitih kinestema otkriva njihovu sposobnost da istovremeno podrže razne telesne suverenitete, jedno prostorno mnoštvo (*a spatial multiplicity*), ali i ukazuje na načine na koje granice koje razdvajaju jedno područje od drugog preplavljaju svoje obale, a njihove bujice probijaju još jedan put kojim se kretanje odvija. Kada se to ostvari za ples u užem smislu, može se otvoriti čitav svet pokreta, arhipelag društvenih koreografija. Scenografska zatvaranja u kojima se ples odvija tada će moći da budu dekolonizovana, a sa njima i društvena kinestetika decentrirana po uzoru na derivativ, tok koji prevazilazi svoje granice. ■

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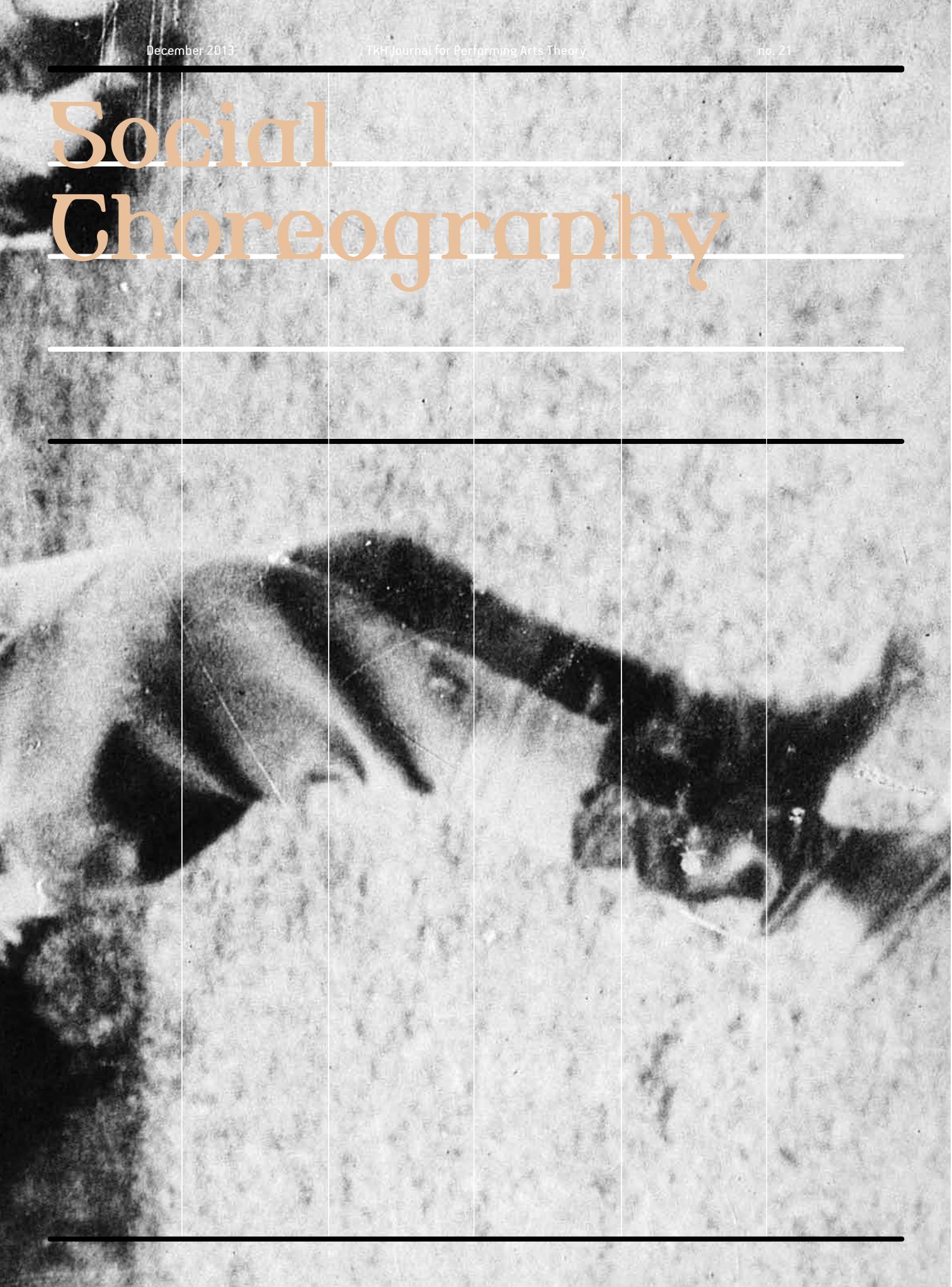


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# Social Choreography



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# Social Choreography

Bojana CVEJIĆ &  
Ana VUJANOVIĆ

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# Editorial

**Bojana CVEJIĆ &**

**Ana VUJANOVIĆ** ● ● In *Social*

*Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Duke University, Durham, NC, 2005), the literary scholar Andrew Hewitt proposes social choreography as a new model for a critical post-Marxist analysis of ideology. Tracing the literary tropes and choreographic techniques that posited dance as the aesthetic ideal of bourgeois society in literature, social science discourses, and art practices from the 1790s to the 1930s, Hewitt argues that the bourgeoisie established a performative mode of aesthetic ideology, producing, instilling, rehearsing, and reflecting the social order directly on the level of the body, at the economic base of the relations and forces of production, which are simultaneously material, social, and aesthetic. For a history of not only forms but also functions of ideology, social choreography marks a shift in ideology's mode of functioning that resonates with concepts from experience economy and affective immaterial production. Social choreography offers embodiment as the mechanism of ideology, replacing interpellation; it claims that ideology operates as the performance of an embodied ritual, without any belief involved.

Whereas Hewitt advances his claims without much reference to dance or performance studies, a number of choreographers and artists use the term "social choreography" to describe their practices or political concerns. Moreover, in the past few years we have witnessed how the term "social choreography" has come to stand for a dance equivalent of community, socially engaged, and – in Claire Bishop's eloquent discernment – participatory art. The link to the concept's ideological register remains unreflected in many art projects that describe themselves as social choreography, which gives rise to the question of how movement across dance and everyday social, public or private, behaviour signifies and acts politically or ideologically. In the wake of the recent riots and protests, artists and theorists have sought parallels between choreography and social movement, some of which are little more than wishful and unproblematic attributions of political agency to bodily movements, gestures, postures, or

states, while others may be ambiguous or even compelling symptoms of insurrection. The associations and misunderstandings that may arise from conjoining choreography in the artistic sense with political unrest in the social sense merit theoretical attention. The potential for thereby positing a model of ideology critique has yet to be theorised.

This issue of the *TkH* journal features a distinct variety of topics, areas of study, and methods in probing social choreography in contemporary art, dance, and performance, as well as in theorising social and political phenomena. Most of the contributions were specially commissioned for this publication, to address the following issues: the relationship between choreography and social movements in history and at this present time of riots and protest; contemporary and historical expressions of choreography as a form of aesthetic ideology; social choreography in performances of the public sphere (Milohnić, Vujanović); choreography, dance, and theatricality in the expanded sense of these terms (Pristaš, Koruga). While some writers seek to apply or extend Hewitt's conception in theorising protest today (Klein) or analysing the representation of historical gestures (Wijhe), others critically examine the concept on its own Marxist grounds (Kostanić) or further elaborate on how it might feature in economics (Martin). Choreography also figures in the analysis of the political unconscious of war in historical modernity and contemporary dance and forms of warfare (Cvejić, Hacham & Feder). Finally, we asked a number of practitioners in European contemporary dance and performance to reflect on "social choreography" and define the term as they use it to denote their own relationship to physical movement, public space, community, mobilisation, ideology, and performance. ■



# Taylorism, Nazism, and the Tramp: Charlie Chaplin's Critique of Social Choreographies in *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator*

Jeroen van WIJHE • •

**Introduction** • The release of Charlie Chaplin's motion picture *Modern Times* in 1936 marked a turning point in his career. Not only did it signal his transition from silent films to talking pictures (symbolised by the final appearance of his famous Tramp character), but also became the first in a series of explicitly political films by Chaplin. *Modern Times* examines the conditions of life during the Great Depression. It portrays a society increasingly dominated and destabilised by capitalism, where the streets are filled with protesting citizens and factories with workers required to function like "cogs" in industrialised machines. Chaplin's newly found "political voice" would prove to be both influential and

controversial. With his stance against liberal capitalism, he essentially critiqued the dominant ideology of the era and country he inhabited at the time – 20<sup>th</sup>-century America. Moreover, since he was one of the best-known artists of his time, his political message could reach and influence a global audience. Chaplin's political voice did not go unnoticed by the FBI, who started monitoring him in 1942. According to an article sent to J. Edgar Hoover in 1944,

There are men and women in far corners of the world who never heard of Jesus Christ; yet they know and love Charlie Chaplin. So when Chaplin makes a picture, his thoughts reach a far greater audience than do the newspapers, the magazines

or the radio – and in picture words that all can understand. (Sbardellati & Shaw 2003, 500)

Chaplin's next film would also critique a dominant ideology. In *The Great Dictator*, Chaplin uses comedy to satirise the national-socialist regime of Adolf Hitler. Like *Modern Times*, *The Great Dictator* was controversial and influential. The American and British governments were initially apprehensive about the film, fearing it would jeopardise their appeasement policy toward Nazi Germany (Brownlow & Kloft 2002; Friedrich 1986, 50). However, as the war escalated, the film became very popular, due to its clear anti-fascist propaganda value. While Hitler had the film banned in Germany

and all the occupied countries (Cole 2001, 149), *The Great Dictator* would become Chaplin's commercially most successful picture, grossing \$2 million in the United States and \$5 million worldwide (Flom 1997, 145).

In *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator*, Chaplin used the medium of film to create an influential counter-perspective to two ideologies prominent in his lifetime: liberal capitalism and national socialism. This essay is focused on a specific underlying strategy that Chaplin used to make his political statements. While speech was introduced in *Modern Times* and established in *The Great Dictator*, Chaplin's films communicate largely through movement. In those two films, a recurring theme is the use and adaptation of certain societal movement patterns. These patterns can be explained with the concept of social choreography (Hewitt 2005). Andrew Hewitt defines social choreography as the embodiment and rehearsal of an ideology through dance or everyday movement. In this essay, Chaplin's critique of liberal capitalism and national socialism is examined through the lens of two instances of social choreography, which are featured in *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator*. In the first section of the essay, his commentary on liberal capitalism is discussed with reference to the use of "Taylorised" movements in *Modern Times*. In the second section, his commentary on national socialism is examined with focus on the use of the Nazi salute in *The Great Dictator*.

### ● ● MODERN TIMES (1936) AND TAYLORISM

**Taylorism** ● In 1871, an uprising in Paris led to the assumption of power by the French working class. Their government became known as the Paris Commune and marked the first revolution of the working class during the Industrial Revolution (Gould 1991). The Paris Commune instilled the American government with fear of an escalation of class conflict in their own country. American society had changed greatly following the Civil War. The Industrial Revolution fuelled the growth of America's cities and the predominance of industry over agriculture in its economy and society. Work opportunities grew, but so did the divide between the rich and the poor. Furthermore, growing immigration from Europe introduced the American working class to new ideologies, such as Marxism and trade unionism (Merkle 1980, 17). Workers began demanding more rights, organising protests and strikes, and founding the first national labour unions (Olzak 1989). During this period, the Senate Committee on Labor and Education actively investigated the causes of the ongoing civil unrest and attempted to find a solution.

One possible solution for the growing unrest in the American working class was proposed by

Frederick Taylor. According to Taylor, American industry was mostly serving the interests of the employers, at the cost of the employees. In his manifesto, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), Taylor proposed a system that would serve the interests of both the employers and the employees, by giving the employees higher wages and the employers higher production outputs. The system became known as "scientific management" or Taylorism.

The main tenet of Taylorism is the raising of labour efficiency by replacing old rules of thumb (which Taylor describes as remnants of the old agricultural society) with scientific principles. These principles were meant to result from research pursued by a management team. Consequently, the authoritarian figure of the employer is replaced by a team of managers overseeing different aspects of production. Taylor charges these managers with four tasks. The first task is to develop a scientific approach to each element of the job. According to this principle, the application of statistical analysis would eventually enhance the workers' productivity. For example, Taylor states that calculating the maximum amount of time a worker can labour before exhausting himself can be used to the advantage of the company. By introducing breaks and shorter hours, the workers' energy could be distributed better.

The second task concerns developing a scientific approach toward selecting the most adequate workers for the job. When selected, these workers must be taught how to perform their jobs as efficiently as possible. To achieve this, potential candidates would have to participate in a selection of tasks. After statistically determining the most successful workers, managers would assign each of them to a specific task and help them perform it in an efficient manner. For instance, Taylor says that shovel workers (at the Bethlehem Steel Company, where Taylor's approach was tested) were given manuals on a daily basis, instructing them about proper movements and goals for each day. As can be inferred from the second task, scientific management emphasises cooperation between managers and workers. The third task states that, for scientific management to be effective, the management team must implement the findings of their scientific research by instructing and observing their employees. As described in the example of the shovel workers, the manager gives each worker a specific task to perform every day, with the underlying incentive of higher wages if they perform effectively. Taylor's final duty for managers prescribes an equal distribution of tasks among the managers and the employees. This principle is strongly based on Taylor's presumption that specific tasks in the working place are suited either to the worker or the manager. He states that

scientific research would be too difficult for workers to understand. Therefore, they are tasked with physical labour, while managers are charged with research and organisation. A direct consequence of this is a relocation of craft knowledge. Whereas workers in the scientific management system are only required to perform physical labour, the knowledge of the trade is relocated to the manager. Taylor's rationale for this relocation is that agricultural workers rely on rules of thumb, acquired through experience, while Taylorist managers base their knowledge on scientific research.

Thus far, the principles of scientific management have mostly served the interests of the management, by raising the output of the workers. For the latter, the attraction of scientific management lay in the promise of higher wages. According to Taylor, workers were not being motivated enough to work hard, due to fixed hourly wages. In other words, working harder would only result in a loss of energy, not in higher wages. A more extreme consequence of this system of remuneration is a phenomenon that Taylor dubbed "soldiering": the tendency of workers to invest the minimum amount of effort, resulting in minimum productivity. Scientific management uses the promise of higher wages to raise their motivation and productivity. Instead of providing fixed hourly wages, scientific management applies a piece-rate payment system, where workers get paid for every successfully accomplished task. As a result, the highest wages are awarded to the most efficient workers, while non-efficient or soldiering workers are "punished" by receiving lower wages.

**Taylorism as a Form of Social Choreography** ● The preceding section describes the principles of Taylorism. To examine Taylor's system as a form of social choreography, the present section focuses on Hewitt's notion of social choreography, to show how Taylorism might be viewed as such.

In his book *Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (2005), Hewitt describes choreography as social in reaction to the narrow modernist conception of dance, revolving around metaphysical subjectivity. Instead, he argues, choreography might also be viewed in social and political terms. Throughout history, it has been used to rehearse ways of organising societies, whilst serving, at the same time, as a "blueprint" for societal organisation. In sum, social choreography refers to choreography as an aesthetic reflection of, and an aesthetic model for, ideology.

To illustrate his thesis, Hewitt refers to the English ballroom dance of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which could be read as a reflection on the dynamics of the English bourgeoisie's social conduct, as well as a model for social conduct



□ Modern Times, Charlie Chaplin, 1936

in other nations. However, social choreography is not restricted to "artistic" choreography. Hewitt speaks of an aesthetic continuum of social choreography, ranging from the art of dance to everyday movement. So, while English ballroom dance could be viewed in terms of social choreography, the same would hold true for communist spectacles, where state ideology was both rehearsed and modelled through movement (see Cvejić & Vujanović 2012).

But how does Taylorism qualify as social choreography? Answering that question entails answering another two questions: how does Taylorism qualify as choreography and how is Taylorism "social"? In other words, what ideology does it perform? Similarly to Hewitt, dance theorist Susan Leigh Foster has argued that the concept of choreography is not confined to the realm of theatrical dance and that it refers to a "plan or orchestration of bodies in motion" (Foster 2010, 15). When defined as such, the notion of choreography is applicable to the practice of Taylorism, which requires the worker's body to perform preconceived movement patterns in order to be deemed efficient.

One of Taylor's inspirations, Frank Gilbreth, developed a method for assessing the effectiveness of motions used in production. Gilbreth filmed workers in production, whilst monitoring time with a stopwatch. After filming, he carefully analysed the efficiency of their movements. After eliminating all unnecessary movements and combining the most efficient movements, the next step in Gilbreth's method was to create a uniform vocabulary of movements required for the execution of a particular task (Price 1989, 3). So, as though in

a choreographed dance, workers were expected to perform an arrangement, based on a syntax of preconceived movements. The management team could then be seen as the mediator between a preconceived choreography and its performers, instilling an arrangement of efficient movements into the bodies of the workers.

Efficiency appears to be the key concept in scientific management. Both time and motion were closely monitored to ensure a maximum level of efficiency in the movement of workers, resulting in higher outputs (Taylor 1911, 4–50). The following quotation from Taylor's manifesto provides an accurate portrayal of his ideology: "In the past, man has been first; in the future, the machine must be first" (Taylor 1911, 2). This preference for the efficient machine over the worker is reflected in his system, which replaces agricultural rules with scientific principles and where movement, like machines, becomes standardised, to ensure higher efficiency and output. In sum, the choreography of Taylorism seems to reflect an ideology of efficiency, whereby a collective of workers performing economic movements results in higher and faster productivity. Besides reflecting this ideology, scientific management eventually became a model for a larger trend in US society. The 1920s saw the assimilation of Taylorist principles into other branches of American society, such as higher education and national politics. This development became known as the "efficiency movement" and purported to bring rational order to a society shaken by its transition from agriculture to industry (Merkle 1980, 81). In the late 1940s, the notion of efficiency as a stabilising influence was repeated by dance theorist Rudolf Laban, albeit in a different context. Laban studied the potential merits of an economic distribution

of human effort. He argued that an efficient use of effort may lead to higher productivity, greater wellbeing, and a "return of prosperity", in the wake of the devastation of the Second World War (Laban & Lawrence 1947, xi). So, like proponents of the efficiency movement before him, Laban connects the notion of efficiency to the psychological impact of world events. In both cases, efficiency was propagated as a way of coping with radical changes in society, promising its adherents a return of stability and wellbeing in the face of industrialisation and, later, in the aftermath of war.

**Modern Times** ● After its initial success of the early 1910s, Taylorism became the subject of several points of critique. One of the most prevalent points concerns Taylor's denial of individual differences among workers. He takes a singular, somewhat condescending view of the worker as a person endowed with low intelligence and a profit-oriented motivation. Furthermore, he implies that every worker will respond equally well to whatever method proves to be the most scientifically efficient. This view, however, fails to account for differences in personality, motivation, and intelligence. As a consequence of these differences, even the "most efficient" practice could not guarantee that every worker would perform equally well: what may be "efficient" for one worker may not be as efficient for another (Locke 1982, 18–22).

Another prominent point of critique concerns Taylor's "deskilling" of labour. Due to the compartmentalisation of professions into different tasks and the separation of trade knowledge from labour, workers no longer needed education in order to perform their jobs adequately. This allowed scientific managers to hire uneducated, and therefore cheaper labour (Littler 1978, 188). In Taylorism, labour came to be defined as a successful execution of preconceived patterns of efficient movements, making workers "machine-like". This made workers easily replaceable by other workers and, as technology progressed, by actual machines (Merkle 1980, 77).

Finally, the practice of scientific management didn't seem to live up to its promise of equality. Taylor opens his manifesto by asserting that the achievement of maximum prosperity for the employer and the employee should be the main goal of management. Instead of favouring the employer, he argues, management should benefit both parties and encourage cooperation between the knowledgeable manager and the executing employee. In reality, however, it was the management that benefited the most. By deskilling the worker and prescribing the manner in which he performed his work, the management effectively gained control over the production process (Braverman 1998, 94).

This last point would be hard for Chaplin to attack. Extending equal benefits to the employer and the employee would lead to the undoing of private property. Chaplin, however, owned private property himself; in 1919, he co-founded United Artists, the film studio that produced his motion pictures. So, accepting this point of critique would amount to critiquing his own status. However, the idea that Taylorism leads to a denial of individuality and the deskilling of labour is prominent in the first section of *Modern Times*, which features the Tramp character at the fictional Electro Steel Corporation. The first scene of *Modern Times* refers directly to the critique of Taylor's conception of the worker described above. In this scene, a cramped flock of sheep is shown, followed by an equally cramped "herd" of workers. Like the sheep, the workers behave like cattle, being driven in groups to their factories and each receiving the same treatment, regardless of their individuality. The critique of deskilling labour is also implicit in one of the early scenes of the factory sequence, where a dialogue takes place between a company supervisor and one of the workers. The worker is tall and muscular, and seems able to perform heavy physical labour. We learn, however, that the man's job consists only of pulling levers. In the world of scientific management, he seems out of place. Despite his obvious physical qualities, he performs a job that anyone with a working pair of hands could perform. The man, perhaps a symbol of the skilled worker of the agricultural age, has become a mere cog in the machine of industry.

However, Chaplin delivers his most striking commentary on Taylorism by way of its social choreography, or by the manner he draws attention to it. Most of the fragment focuses on the Tramp, working at the assembly line. The humour of this scene rests on the Tramp's inability to keep up with the pace of the assembly line. This simple fact contains Chaplin's strategy for delivering social commentary on the social choreography of Taylorism. By making the Tramp unable to follow the pace of the assembly line, Chaplin deregulates this specific choreography of scientific management. By deregulating that choreography, he severs its connection between movement and ideology. If all the workers at the assembly line kept a steady pace, the ensuing choreography would produce the ideological aesthetic that Taylorism wanted to express; the workers' choreography would express a sense of efficiency. This sense of efficiency is lost, however, when the movement is not performed as it should be. The Tramp can't correctly perform the desired (Taylorist) movement and thereby destroys the sense of efficiency that the movement ought to express.

The "collapse" of the link between movement and ideology in Chaplin's version of Taylorist choreography allows for a shift in attention.

Without choreography as an expression of the ideology of efficiency, the focus now shifts toward the qualities of movement implied in Taylorist choreography. One now notices the machine-like jerkiness of the screwing-in gesture the Tramp has to execute continuously. This manner of moving seems even more extreme when Chaplin removes the Tramp from the context of the assembly line. Even during a short break, the Taylorist choreography seems to have pervaded the Tramp's movement pattern: he repeatedly lifts his elbows and twitches his head whilst walking, and eventually begins to repeat his screwing-in gesture. At the factory, the Taylorist choreography appears to make the Tramp behave like a machine, echoing the critique of Taylorism as treating the worker as a mere part of machinery.

Eventually, the Tramp's "machine-like quality" grows more extreme, after he literally gets sucked into a machine. Inside this "machine world", his conditioned screwing-in gesture becomes effective again, since it is used to stop the engine. In the everyday world, however, it repeatedly leads him to violate the rules of social conduct. First, the Tramp screws in the noses and nipples of his co-workers and hurts them. Then, he scares a couple of women by apparently intending to perform the movement on the buttons of their clothes. As a result of his factory movements, the machine-Tramp can no longer adjust to society and is eventually removed from it by being incarcerated.

Overall, Chaplin plays with the notion of social choreography in order to comment on the practice of Taylorism. By detaching Taylorist choreography from the image of efficiency it is supposed to embody, he allows for a closer look at the choreography itself and those performing it. This particular performer, the Tramp, is presented in *Modern Times* as a semi-machine that can function properly only at the assembly line. Although Chaplin relies on physical exaggeration in his representation of this inability to function, his portrayal of the worker is not that far removed from the reality of actual workers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as factory workers at this time were among the most likely to experience nervous breakdowns (Blom 2008, 343). By redirecting attention at Taylorist choreography itself, Chaplin shows how the arrangement of movements makes the worker behave like a machine. Moreover, he comments on the lasting effects that this choreography can have on workers' mental health, by making the Tramp unable to function outside of his working environment. So, by painting Taylorism's idealistic promise of an orderly, efficient society as a sham, Chaplin sheds light on its darker side: the maltreatment of workers, the very group whom Taylorism initially seemed to favour.

## ● ● THE GREAT DICTATOR (1940) AND THE NAZI SALUTE

### The Corruption of a Greeting ●

Hewitt's concept of social choreography is not limited to the ideological study of movement as action. In his chapter on the legibility of gesture, Hewitt expands his notion of social choreography to include the study of gesture. He juxtaposes gesture and gesticulation by identifying the former as an intentional performance of movement and the latter as a more spontaneous expression of movement (Hewitt 2005, 82).

What follows involves an analysis of the most basic social gesture: the greeting. However, describing the greeting as a gesture becomes somewhat problematic when compared to Hewitt's definition. Depending on the formality of the context, a greeting can be intentional as well as spontaneous. Therefore, this section is focused primarily on the informal, everyday greeting, which involves a habitual expression of goodwill toward the receiver of the greeting. In his analysis of the Nazi salute, sociologist Tilman Allert concludes that the everyday forms of greeting in Germany underwent a radical social transformation with the (compulsory) introduction of the Nazi salute in 1933 (Allert 2008, 30–70). Before analysing this particular greeting's far-reaching sociological implications for the people of Nazi Germany, I will presently look at the underlying sociological rationale of greeting in general.

Allert argues that the simple act of greeting another person is a prerequisite for human social interaction. It can be seen as a social ritual, involving three distinct steps. First, a person wishing to establish social contact offers a greeting. Then, the ritual continues if the subject of the greeting accepts this offer. Finally, the subject responds to the offer by returning the greeting. A successful performance of this ritual places the two greeting parties in a shared socio-temporality, where social interaction takes place until a decision is made to leave that social space by saying goodbye. So, greeting creates a fictional space where individuals share feelings and information. The symmetry of the relation between greeters is often implicit in the greeting itself; a handshake often signals equality between them, whilst bowing signals inequality, with one greeter signalling humility or submission to the other (Lundmark 2009, 7–15). Regardless of implicit power relations, however, a greeting establishes a reciprocal relation between individuals. Furthermore, greeting tends to signal goodwill. Allert distinguishes between three norms that appear in most forms of greeting; the physical act of greeting signals willingness to cooperate and a pledge of non-aggression (bare hands signal that the greeter is unarmed)

and the oral pronunciation often involves a wish for good health or personal integrity. In sum, the act of greeting is a reciprocal act of goodwill, which creates a space where social interaction between the greeters can take place.

By contrast, the Nazi salute introduced one essential element that defeated the traditional purpose of greeting. In gesture and recitation, users of the Nazi salute no longer greeted each other; instead, they were required to greet the Führer. Rather than literally engaging in contact by shaking hands, every citizen of Germany was now required to raise their right hand in an upward direction, as a pledge of allegiance to Hitler. Furthermore, the accompanying exclamation "Heil Hitler!" signalled the wish of good health or personal integrity to the Führer, not to the other greeter. In sum, Hitler effectively became the third party through whom all communication was mediated. The subjects of the Third Reich no longer engaged in direct contact, but were ordered to address others in the name of Hitler. By transforming the greeting into a pledge to the Third Reich and making the pledge compulsory in all forms of sociality, the most basic form of social intercourse became militarised. As a result, the figure of the Führer entered every aspect of the German public sphere. This aided in the indoctrination of the German population by the Nazis, since Hitler was now literally omnipresent at every level of society.

Furthermore, the changed dynamics of the salute led to a sociological change in the population and their perception of the figure of Hitler. Allert describes the development of a "sphere of mistrust" in German society. Greeting was no longer a gesture in the sense of Hewitt's definition. It no longer signalled a spontaneous expression of goodwill and safety, but had become a superimposed, mechanical move. As a result, a growing sense of mistrust and isolation developed in the German population. Meanwhile, the Nazi salute gave the figure of Hitler an elusive, divine connotation. The only figure that had mediated German greetings before Hitler was God. Furthermore, addressing an absent figure and raising one's arm toward the heavens seemed to portray Hitler as a superhuman figure, residing in the realm of the gods.

Finally, the superimposition of the Nazi salute aided the nationalist sentiment the Third Reich sought to promote. Before 1933, Germany knew several different salutes, which reflected the presence of diverse cultural identities. By imposing the Nazi salute, the Third Reich forced these different cultures to yield to one national culture and its expression through movement.

**The Great Dictator** ● Viewing the Nazi greeting through the lens of social choreography, one can discern a distinct underlying ideology



and a clear movement used to express it.

The movement in the social choreography of the Nazi salute is the raised arm and overall stiffening of the body whilst delivering the greeting. Performing this movement reflected the surrender of the subject to the authority of the Third Reich and constructed a society where every social intercourse had to begin by addressing this authority. In sum, the Nazi salute can be seen as social choreography because it reflects and rehearses the social order imposed by Hitler's regime by means of movement.

In *The Great Dictator*, the Nazi salute is one of the few Nazi symbols Chaplin left intact. Instead, he used the salute in its original form in order to critique it. The strategy he had used to derail Taylorist choreography in *Modern Times* was now applied to the ideology of the Nazi salute. This becomes apparent in the introductory scene of one of the two characters Chaplin plays, the Tomanian dictator Adenoid Hynkel. Like his real-life counterpart Adolf Hitler, Hynkel takes pauses during his speeches in order to allow his audience to salute him. During one of these pauses, the focus shifts from Hynkel to the audience, who are greeting him with the Nazi salute. In this shot, however, the salute is not performed properly; instead of raising their right arms and holding them stretched out, the crowd repeat the arm-raising movement. By having them repeat the salute, Chaplin makes it look comic and lose its quasi-religious connotation. Again, Chaplin does this to divert attention from the salute as an expression of ideology, to open up other connotations. The framing of this sequence presents the salute not as the celebration of a semi-divine being, but as the surrender of the individual performing the celebration. In Chaplin's rendering, the movement undoes the individuality of its subjects; the simultaneous, precisely-timed raising of their arms renders the Tomanian people

□ The Great Dictator, Charlie Chaplin, 1940

more puppet-like than human. Furthermore, having the crowd wear identical uniforms makes the spectator unable to differentiate between individual subjects. Overall, the sequence shows how the salute unifies Hynkel's subjects into a homogeneous mass by having them perform the same movement mechanically, at the same pace.

Apart from modifying its connotations, Chaplin also uses the choreography of the Nazi salute to show how it fails as a greeting. As noted in the previous paragraph, the salute corrupted the common purpose of the custom of greeting. Greeters engaged in neither personal nor physical contact, instead entirely devoting their greeting to the Führer. In the second half of the film, Hynkel personally experiences the ineffectiveness of the Nazi salute as he meets his "Bacterian" counterpart, Napaloni (a portmanteau of "Napoleon" and the figure whose caricature the character seems to be: Benito Mussolini). Both men try to greet each other using the salute, but fail to establish contact; as Hynkel raises his arm upwards, Napaloni offers a handshake and vice versa. Eventually, both dictators abandon the salute and resort to the "old custom" of shaking hands. As a result, social interaction can finally take place. In this sequence, there is tension between the official Nazi salute (or, in Napaloni's case, the Roman salute) and the traditional ritual of the handshake. By juxtaposing the salute and the handshake, Chaplin shows how the salute becomes useless as an act of sociality. Because the saluting parties cannot make physical contact, the social space required cannot be created. This again shows how the salute reinforced the sphere of mistrust that Allert has noted; because those saluting never truly greeted each other, but only the

imaginary figure of the Führer, the salute could not create true social interaction or intimacy.

One may also wonder why Chaplin decided to confront Hynkel with another dictator. Moreover, he confronts him with a dictator who uses the same salute. The introduction of Napaloni further problematises the working of the salute; if it is meant to glorify a higher authority, when Hynkel and Napaloni greet each other, whose authority is that? Since both dictators use the salute to glorify their own person, their confrontation inevitably leads to a power struggle. As it turns out in subsequent scenes, Napaloni clearly wins this struggle. When he and Hynkel present themselves to the people, the contrast in their respective salutes is remarkable: Hynkel barely raises his hand, while Napaloni has his arm firmly outstretched. As soon as Napaloni raises his arm, the crowd starts cheering him. Thus Napaloni effectively appropriates what are supposed to be Hynkel's subjects. Chaplin undermines the authority of Hynkel's persona and salute by directly confronting him with a more powerful dictator. Beside this confrontation, Napaloni also resists using the salute whenever it is addressed to Hynkel. When Hynkel's minister of propaganda, Garbitsch (a pun on "garbage" and an allusion to Hitler's minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels), salutes him, he responds by patting him on the belly. With this act, he defies the authority of the salute and that of Garbitsch, who, as minister of propaganda, is directly responsible for reinforcing the Nazi salute.

In sum, Chaplin seems to comment on the salute in various ways. Similarly to his treatment of Taylorist choreography in *Modern Times*, he attacks the ideological aspect of the salute as a social choreography by not allowing it to be performed correctly. By having the crowd repeat the salute, Chaplin strips the salute of its semi-divine connotation, which allows him to highlight its de-individualising effect on those performing it. Furthermore, in the train station scene, Napaloni's presence prevents a correct execution of the salute in two ways: the necessity of greeting each other forces the dictators to abandon the self-glorifying nature of the salute and adopt a more traditional gesture, while the self-glorifying function of the salute becomes problematic itself when the dictators use the same salute to glorify themselves. In the end, Chaplin mocks the Nazi salute, which symbolises the power of the Third Reich and its leader, in various ways and finally masters it by having Napaloni "appropriate" the gesture in Hynkel's own domain.

**Conclusion** ● So how exactly might one account for Chaplin's political commentary by means of social choreography? One might say that Chaplin comments on ambitious ideologies (in this case the ideologies of Taylorism and

Nazism) by parodying the social choreographies that accompany them. In this case, the notion of parody is not strictly linked to the parodying of an artistic product. Literary critic Simon Dentith has defined parody more inclusively, as "any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemic allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice" (Dentith 2000, 9). In this case, Chaplin "imitates" the cultural practice of Taylorist choreography and the Nazi salute and reframes them with his own commentary. This commentary can be effectuated by breaking with the ideology that the social choreography in question is meant to accompany, allowing for a closer physical look at the choreography. This then opens up space to shed new light on the physical qualities and semantic connotations of that choreography. This strategy can be further elaborated by another concept discussed by Hewitt: the act of stumbling. According to Hewitt, stumbling, or failing to perform a gesture correctly, opens the perceiver to the comical malfunctioning of the gesture. To illustrate this claim, he refers to an anecdote by Balzac, who reflected on the nature of walking after seeing a man stumble (Hewitt 2005, 6). Hewitt's conception of stumbling as a prelude to a "revelation" of movement can be seen in both applications of Chaplin's strategy, discussed above. Only when the Tramp fails to execute Taylorist movement in *Modern Times* does the mechanistic, detached quality of the movement become apparent. Likewise, Chaplin comments on the Nazi salute in *The Great Dictator* by having it stumble, which prevents it from propagating its ideology and allows him to frame it as a surrender of individuality and an untenable gesture for establishing social intercourse. ■

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# Social Choreography, or the Social Tension of Autonomy

**Marko KOSTANIĆ** ● ● The purpose of this text is to re-examine the concept of social choreography from the perspective of analysing the social function of the autonomy of art, relying on works by Claire Bishop and Stipe Ćurković. With regard to the social function of autonomy, there are two key notions. First, one must always bear in mind the historical locus of the emergence of the autonomy of art as a social fact, that is, the establishment of the capitalist mode of production and wage labour, as well as that it remains the dominant mode of production. Second, the autonomy of art in the social division of labour is not static. In other words, from a materialist perspective, it is not crucial what we consider art in terms of technique, virtuosity, or art history, but to what types of social activity we ascribe autonomy.

We may approach Andrew Hewitt's concept of social choreography (Hewitt 2005) from two perspectives of evaluation. The first is tied to expanding the analytical apparatus in approaching dance as an art. Not only does it rescue us from metaphysical regimes of reading dance, whether predicated on the transcendental body or elaborations of authenticity, as well as from those structuralist regimes that, by reducing dance practice to closed semiotic structures, prevent affirmative inroads of any

kind, which might situate dance and patterns of choreography in social dynamics and historical relations, but Hewitt's concept also enables us to discern choreographic mechanisms in the domain of "non-dance" social practices as well. Whilst inevitably blowing some fresh analytical air into the field of dance expertise proper, the second highlighted analytical dimension takes us to a perspective of evaluation that encounters a whole series of contradictions. Hewitt denaturalises and demystifies the art of dance, that is, introduces the moment of historical contingency into the process of the institutionalisation of legitimate dance art, not only from the position of examining what is allowed and what is not allowed to be considered dance, but also on the broader historical level of the correspondences and collisions between the institutional field of dance and various social, economic, and political processes. And there we reach the thin line where it becomes difficult to distinguish social choreography as an analytical concept from social choreography as an analytical symptom. We may define that line as the social tension of the autonomy of art.

That line is not a result of some damning epistemological deficit on Hewitt's part, but rather an effect of the existing social relations and social division of labour, which no amount of theoretical analysing may avoid, but only

social and political change may adequately address. Briefly, the problem emerges in the methodological postulates that Hewitt puts forward, assigning interpretative power to the concept he seeks to elaborate, even beyond the proper field of the aesthetic. That is, social choreography is meant to help us both as an analytical tool of dance and in social analysis. Above all, what Hewitt has in mind is to refresh the functioning of the concept of ideology. Starting from what he considers the classical Marxist conception of ideology, primarily in the domain of analysing art, and viewing it as static and mimetic in its analytical manoeuvring, Hewitt turns to choreography, whose intrinsic performativity is meant to revitalise the issue of ideology. That is, choreography not only illustrates a certain ideology, or ideologically represents a certain reality, it also produces that reality, that is, serves as a privileged site of projecting a new reality. Hewitt emphasises that logic by claiming that the political is inseparable from the aesthetic, or that politics, too, contains an aesthetic moment that is, furthermore, also productive. It makes politics creative.

At this point, we may detect three problematic aspects. Although he does mention some more sophisticated Marxist analyses, Hewitt's sketch of the Marxist theory of ideology is just too crude. Without delving here into a detailed

history of various related debates, let us just point out that ideology performs the function of reproducing the system and that it is inseparable from its material base, not in terms of a simple mono-causal connection, but within a complex historical and political dynamic. Demonstrating that complexity has no use for choreography's intrinsic performativity. Introducing the economy or material base into analysing ideology, with its alleged inertness and crude causality, does not simplify the matter, but quite to the contrary, exposes social processes as additionally complex. Also, Hewitt's and similar outlooks, which neglect the economy, assume it as a non-performative and fixed sphere of human activity, which effectively corresponds to pro-capitalist views. That is, it implies that economic relations themselves are not relations between people and thus also ideological relations, whose degree of variability corresponds with the intensity of class struggle. To liven up this story with a closely related example: the recent expansion of the concept of choreography in choreographic circles beyond the narrow domain of dance production, linked to the concept's metaphorical potential, is undoubtedly also linked to the lack of funding in production and the inevitability of producing solos and duets, if anything is produced at all. And an even more radical phenomenon in that regard is the inflation of non-performative formats, such as researches, workshops, publications, and so-called labs, which generate space for imagining choreography as a universally applicable concept.

The second problematic aspect is Hewitt's analytical establishment of a continuum between different forms of social labour. This concerns not the vitalist gesture that Hewitt rightly and elaborately criticises, but his methodological postulate of intertwining different types of labour, first of all the artistic and the political. However accurate that may be from some universal perspective of human labour, it tells us nothing as to why such a division of labour exists in capitalist society in the first place and what sort of political implications it carries.

And thus we come to the third aspect, directly linked to the foregoing: the concept of social choreography conflates two levels of approaching social phenomena. It combines an analytical approach to a certain social relation and the political potential of transcending that relation. And all of that in a single concept – social choreography, functioning both as an analytical tool and a mechanism for politically redeeming the pursuit of art in Rancièrian terms. The redeeming function is not explicit and Hewitt offers no prescriptions in that regard, but the implications of his analysis serve as an

1 Hewitt analyses a number of choreographic phenomena, ranging from Isadora Duncan's work to the Tiller Girls, a commercial American dance troupe from the 1930s, whom he analyses from the perspective of the Fordist regime of labour.

exceptionally pliable resource in the political imaginations of choreographers who use those analyses to legitimise their work. To be sure, there is a direct link between social analysis and the prospect of a social change in the analysed, but it requires a different approach. The thesis of this text is that Hewitt is inhibited from developing such an approach by the notion of art's autonomy in the social division of labour, that is, the constant tension that this autonomy incessantly generates. In what follows, we shall approach the problem from the perspective of the contemporary production of art that uses mechanisms from social choreography in a broader sense, as a tool in the production of art and exploitation of that tension. What is that social that is choreographed? How does one evaluate such an approach and on what criteria?

Claire Bishop, a professor at the CUNY Graduate Center Art History Department, has taken up the task of answering that question, which resulted in a book, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (2012). The book begins with a diagnosis straightaway: over the last two decades, art has undergone a "social turn". More specifically, social relations have become its medium or object, social tissue has become its construction material, whether for the purpose of changing it, or examining or choreographing it, or experimenting with it. In our local context, examples of participatory art might include some recent performances by Montažstroj, or Kristina Leko's work with milkmaids. The key focus is on the treatment of the audience/public/citizens – they are no longer observers from without, but participate in the production of art or are, in the final instance, produced as art. And since the 1990s, that treatment of the audience, also known as participatory art, Bishop claims, has become accepted as the ultimate political art. And Bishop asks, quite commonsensically, why did it happen? Of what is that a symptom? And what might be the most productive analytical approach to that artistic practice and how can we evaluate it? After setting up her theoretical foundations and her own critical position in the introductory chapter, Bishop begins her historical exploration.

In a series of chapters that ends with an analysis of contemporary practices and projects in participatory art, Bishop offers a historical overview of relevant practices throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Along with contextualising the socio-political situation in which they emerged and analysing the theatre-performative-choreographic mechanisms that were used, Bishop gradually constructs a narrative about the social tension of art's autonomy, without neglecting to offer her own stance concerning a productive way to address that tension. The basic insight of her historicisation process is her recognition of the proliferations of participatory

art practices that preceded or accompanied periods of political upheaval, such as 1917, 1968, or 1989, and those practices' different roles and functions in relation to political actors, depending on what political movement they belonged to, its strength, and, in some cases, the authorities that stood behind them. Beside politically turbulent years, Bishop also uses examples from political orders where the public sphere and public space were not regulated in the same way as they are in post-war Western democracies, such as the military dictatorships of South America and countries of the Eastern Bloc. In concrete terms, Bishop analyses the Italian Futurists, Dadaist performances and post-revolutionary participatory art in the Soviet Union, the Situationist International, happenings in Eastern Europe and Argentina, the Community Art movement in Great Britain, the curatorial practices of the 1990s, etc. The key theoretical result of Bishop's analyses – besides classifying various dramaturgic-performative-choreographic models used in art projects – is her recognising of the grounding of participatory art, or any other art for that matter, in the social context in which it seeks to intervene and the political relations pervading it. As her basic theoretical starting point, Bishop takes Rancièrian analyses of aesthetics, not just as an explanatory tool, but primarily as a resource for assessing the values of individual artistic projects whose logics dismantle and transcend the dominant obstacles in discussions of participatory art, such as "active" vs. passive audience, or singular authorship as opposed to collective authorship. In addition, they also eliminate the pattern of judging that, like a guilty conscience, accompanies all of those projects, curatorial legitimisations, and drunken brawls – ethics. Bishop advocates introducing aesthetic criteria into the treatment of participatory art, for political reasons. For, as she repeatedly points out, if we eliminate them from our evaluations, why not compare those projects with other non-artistic, political projects, why hide in the sanctuary of art's autonomy, if the aim is to change social relations?

In fact, Bishop argues that the practices of participatory art may artistically and politically – or precisely in the tension between the political and the artistic – be redeemed only from the perspective of Rancièrian theoretical analyses:

One of Rancièrian's key contributions to contemporary debates around art and politics is therefore to reinvent the term "aesthetic" so that it denotes a specific mode of experience, including the very linguistic and theoretical domain in which thought about art takes place. In this logic, all claims to be "anti-aesthetic" or reject art *still function within the aesthetic regime*. The aesthetic for Rancièrian therefore signals an ability to think contradiction: the productive contradiction of art's

relationship to social change, which is characterised by the paradox of belief in art's autonomy *and* in it being inextricably bound to the promise of a better world to come. While this antinomy is apparent in many avant-garde practices of the last century, it seems particularly pertinent to analysing participatory art and the legitimating narratives it has attracted. In short, the aesthetic doesn't need to be sacrificed at the altar of social change, because it always already contains this ameliorative promise. (Bishop 2012, 29)

According to Rancière, the still ruling aesthetic regime of art that emerged in the Enlightenment was preceded, respectively, by the ethical and representational regimes (Rancière 2005, 115). The first privileged the truth content in images and its purpose, that is, effects and aims, whereas the second privileged the logic of a visual regime whereby the fine arts assumed specific hierarchical positions in line with socio-political hierarchies. It is in the aesthetic regime, relying on the originary analyses of Kant and Schiller, that Rancière recognises the intrinsic politicality of art as a tool for changing the existing regime of politics and conceptualising new ones. In brief, it is precisely the inherent indecision of the aesthetic experience that becomes the political resource of an imagination that helps us to grasp our lived political situation as changeable. Thus art is an epistemic trigger for transcending political dead ends, the activator of the familiar Rancièrian *dissensus* as another name for politics.

For Claire Bishop, the basic motivation for going with Rancière's analyses, although she does point out certain problems with his analytical framework, lies in breaking with diagnosing political art as such precisely when it leaves the terrain of art, when it works with "real" people, when it engages in certain social activities that belong in some other domains, such as those in the purview of social welfare institutions or bodies entrusted with urban planning. However, Bishop is not suggesting thereby that such practices are redundant or politically problematic in principle, but only that they should be performed artistically, that is, by using the tension of the autonomy or indecision of the aesthetic experience as a tool for their political articulation, because without it, there is no inherent purpose in positioning such practices in the domain of art. For, the crucial question is one that we've already hinted at: from what perspective should we then evaluate those practices? How to evaluate their desired political effects? Why not pursue such projects as regular socio-political projects without artistic dimensions?

Rancière's analysis is useful in the way Bishop uses it, but it remains quite silent on an issue that Bishop herself raises later on, in the context of

analysing contemporary forms of participatory art. What are the social conditions for changing the regimes of art? How does changing the social modes of production affect changes in the place and function of art in society, the logic of the autonomy of the art field? How did the autonomy of art emerge in the social division of labour in the first place and how is it maintained? Rancière cannot answer those questions if he wishes to maintain the coherence of his theory whereby we recognise politics only in dissensual outbursts of the political that are few and far between, whereas the entire regime of social reproduction comes under the rubric of the police. In that theory, he needs the tension of art's autonomy and the indecision of the aesthetic experience as political resources, because every prolonged project or participation in the regime of social reproduction amounts to treason. That is, his theoretical project cannot accommodate viewing art's autonomy as a social problem and symptom of the social division of labour. In the *Critique of Judgement*, Kant himself locates the emergence of autonomy as a normative obstacle to wage labour, i.e. to the establishment of capitalist social relations:

fine art must be free art in a double sense: it must be free in the sense of not being a mercenary occupation and hence a kind of labor, whose magnitude can be judged, exacted, or paid for according to a determinate standard; but fine art must also be free in the sense that, though the mind is occupying itself, yet it feels satisfied and aroused (independently of any pay) without looking to some other purpose. (Kant 1987, 190)

Rancière does not treat the autonomy of art as a problem or consequence of wider social processes, but sees in its contradictory nature a potential for political redemption. Which does make it harder for Bishop to accept his theoretical standpoints. Up to a degree, they are exceptionally productive in critiquing the discourse of glorifying political authenticity, but risk turning prescriptive precisely in their didactic prescribing of certain kinds of artistic projects and then unwittingly serve as a factor of reproducing the current social division of labour and function of the autonomy of art, which can often be regressive in its social character. Here, "regressive" refers not to reactionary political contents, but, for instance, to avoiding getting its hands dirty with concrete social antagonisms by dealing with intrigues concerning its own forms, which is supposed to be political, but only assists in reproducing social relations of class, primarily by ideologically legitimating class distinction in Bourdieu's sense.

In his text "Heteronomija rada / autonomija estetskog" (The Heteronomy of Labour / The

Autonomy of the Aesthetic; Ćurković 2012), Stipe Ćurković, relying on Peter Bürger's and Paul Mattick Jr.'s analyses of Kant's theorisation, offers a somewhat different treatment of the contradictions of art's autonomy. Ćurković locates the basic impulse of the autonomisation of artistic labour in reacting to the establishment of the capitalist mode of production and wage labour. Further, he defines that impulse as proto-political, i.e. not quite articulate resistance to the capitalist labour market and an invocation of free labour, outside the discipline of capitalism and immune to the motivational imperative of turning a profit. The history of that autonomy has been socially articulated through art institutions, which have always been ridden with tension – between, on the one hand, the constant threat of expanding capitalist relations and, on the other hand, the striving of artists, embodied primarily in the historical avant-gardes, for transcending the limits of autonomy and turning that proto-political impulse into a fully articulate political position, unprotected by the enclave of autonomy and released into the ruthless dynamic of political antagonisms. As we know, that enterprise has failed, that is, the structural limits of transcending autonomy seem obvious, unless one challenges the capitalist system of production, which organises the social division of labour as well as the place and function of art in that division:

Measured even by its own immanent criteria, the project of affirming the autonomy of art has thus proved deeply problematic and contradictory. From the perspective of the proposition that its genesis constitutes a dislocated reaction to the problematic of subsumed labour, however, even its successful realisation according to its immanent criteria would merely represent an aspect of a far more fundamental defeat. A promise of liberated labour that limits itself in advance to an exclusive and hermetically closed separate sphere would be irrelevant even if successful, if judged by the scope of the problematic to which it constitutes a response. The normative affirmation of the ideal of liberated labour on which the project of the constitution of the autonomy of the aesthetic ultimately rests, is one we cannot afford to discard. But its realisation at the level at which the problem is located demands that it be not limited to the separate sphere of artistic labour, but be generalised to social labour as a whole. That, however, is tantamount to its freeing from the subsumption under capital and the emancipation from the dictates of its reproduction. Regardless of the role art may or may not in the future play in this, it is first and foremost a political task. (Ćurković 2012, 46)

Unlike Rancière's, this view offers no tools for differentiating or assessing the value of certain artistic practices, but it does offer a more productive framework for analysing the art

field, which some works problematise with their social aspirations especially in groundbreaking analytical procedures such as Clair Bishop's. Although she never explicitly articulates a similar view, Bishop does employ some of its implications in her analysis. Situating the explosion in popularity of participatory art as a, so to speak, distinct genre since the 1990s onwards, Bishop notices two crucial socio-political phenomena that conditioned or enabled that explosion. And both are linked to the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the gradual dismantling of the Western welfare state. The first concerns the New Labour cultural policies, based on the ideology of creativity and instituted in Great Britain when the Labour Party came to power in 1997. Beside the by now classical pattern of moving artists and cultural workers into certain working-class neighbourhoods in order to gentrify them, that is, increase their real-estate market value with the aura of a creative and fun place to live, so as to make poorer residents move out, the ideology of creativity and participation – relying on narratives about the new immaterial economy and that we are all middleclass now and only our lack of ambition may keep us back – served as a smokescreen for some more crucial retrograde social processes. Individual creativity and self-awareness are tools for getting by in the face of a wholesale commercialisation of healthcare and education and the precarisation of labour relations. Also, in this whole story we must not neglect the rise of the creative industries and the ideological profiling of the creative as the prototypical worker in contemporary capitalism.

The second phenomenon, certainly related and perhaps even more important, answers another question raised above: why are artistic projects taking over certain explicitly political agendas? The answer is simple, but analytically crucial: because there are no real political forces to represent those agendas. As we all know, for some 30 years now, we have witnessed an utter marginalisation and discrediting of the left, from the labour unions to the parties. Why would some artistic groups or authors take up issues such as unemployment among women or the devastation of urban environment, if there were strong political forces addressing those problems and offering concrete solutions? This does not mean to say that in such a constellation, artists would not be referring to those problems at all, but their relationship would be completely different, as Bishop shows with the examples of certain avant-garde movements that were explicitly affiliated with certain political parties or movements. Today's participatory art and its surrounding discourse would certainly not appear as they do, if there were a different configuration of political forces in society. That must be taken as the starting point of any

analysis of contemporary participatory art. But that does not mean one must stop there.

*Artificial Hells* provides an excellent and comprehensive view of the artistic practice of participatory art. It analyses its historical trajectories and contextualises the conditions of its emergence exceptionally well. It introduces analytical productive concepts such as delegating and outsourcing authenticity and above all moves the debate away from tiring questions revolving around the ethical character of a given work – which is the more problematic: if the artist is only a facilitator, thereby also a shadow manipulator, or if she “controls the reality” with her strong authorial signature and thus exploits the involved? The only theoretical criticism that may be levelled at Bishop's book concerns finding a level where the contradictions of participatory art and thereby also those of the autonomy of art are solved. Even though she uses analyses of cultural policies and the broader politico-economic situation, Bishop's fundamental theoretical procedure consists of the Rancièrian gesture of turning contradiction into a political potential. As already emphasised above, that gesture is really functional up to a degree, but at one point it starts serving as a solution for every occasion, as redemption for every political-artistic act. It is set up broadly enough that it almost allows for arbitrariness in the production of evaluating criteria. Bishop is aware of the problem of the theoretical starting point she has chosen and in certain analytical offshoots she literally transcends it, but at key times she returns to it as though to a safe refuge. That is, it would be more productive if she more explicitly pointed to the limits of Rancièr's approach, of which she is obviously aware, highlighting its adequacy with regard to her book's level of analysis and objectives. Given the constant Maoist dynamic of contradictions that we inhabit if we come to the cultural-artistic field from the left, leaping constantly from the level of artistic production via cultural politics to politics in general, it is important to say that no theoretical pattern, no matter how sophisticated, will solve for us the contradictions of the autonomy of art and its social tensions; only political struggle may accomplish that. Which does not mean that in that struggle art may be anything at all – on the contrary, as Bishop herself asserts, rigorous value judgements are necessary. How we are going to establish the criteria for those judgements is already a political issue. And there, Claire Bishop's analysis can help us a great deal. For starters, since more serious social change is not even on the horizon, it offers us outlets into two adjacent sectors, the media field and the education system, without which no re-articulation of artistic production and cultural politics may occur. And it may occur in no other way but participatory. ■

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# Choreographies of Resistance

**Aldo MILOHNIĆ** ● ● In this text I put forward my first impressions (and, only sporadically, first and preliminary conclusions) about some fragments of a very broad topic, which I would posit under the working title of “choreographies of resistance”. Of course, both “choreography” and “resistance” are terms that may refer to various, including very old, historical time periods and events, but in this text, I will limit my research interest to a more recent period, chiefly the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the opening decades of the new millennium. Apart from that time scope, on this occasion I will reflect on the examples discussed below through the lens of Andrew Hewitt’s concept of “social choreography” (Hewitt 2005), which seems especially suitable due to Hewitt’s understanding of choreography as a term wedged in between aesthetics and politics,<sup>1</sup> as well as his striving to move beyond the bourgeois understanding of so-called “autonomous art”. To get to resistance choreography, let us start with what it is not, or should not be: autonomous art.

**The Autonomy of Art and the Reality of Ideology** ● In order to think about “autonomous art” today at all, we must first venture a few steps back into the past. Namely, autonomous art is a category of late-18<sup>th</sup>- and early-19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois society. Before the onset of the Enlightenment, artistic production served the court, aristocracy, and church. Among other things, the rise of the bourgeoisie brought about the liberation of society from its feudal bonds and the emergence of the market. This was the bourgeoisie’s revolutionary role, discussed by Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*. Great changes befell all parts of society, including the erstwhile venerated professions of the feudal system. The bourgeoisie first put all of

those previously “exalted” professions, such as doctors, lawyers, scientists, artists, etc., on the market and then turned them into its own paid wage workers. Thus precisely owing to the commodification of art, artists were enabled to decide autonomously about their own creative work. Following Marx, this thesis has been further developed by many other materialist-oriented theorists of art (Adorno, Attali, etc.). Toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that structural moment led to the emergence of *l’art pour l’art*, which autonomised art in ideological terms as well. However, as Rastko Močnik observed 30 years ago, the problem with the autonomy of art is that this modernist moment of the emancipation of art practice lasted very briefly, because the ideology of autonomous art was based on an ideology of exchange, which inevitably caused it to view itself as a commodity. That is why the 20<sup>th</sup>-century artistic avant-gardes (the historical avant-garde from the early years and the neo-avant-garde of the late 1960s) rejected the idea of autonomous art and strove to erase the boundaries between art and other “spheres” of society.<sup>2</sup>

But we may also approach the problem of autonomous art by re-examining its relationship with ideology. I would remind us of a commonplace from Marx’s *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, where he warns that the materials that art uses for its purposes are not immediate social givens (which was, we might add, wrongly assumed by realist and naturalist art), but builds its worlds out of its ideologically “processed”, “refracted” perceptions of them. Invoking the example of classical art, Marx says that “Greek art presupposes the existence of Greek mythology, i. e. that nature and even the form of society are wrought up in popular fancy in an unconsciously artistic fashion” (Marx

<sup>2</sup> Basically, this remains a key issue today as well. A strict division between autonomised social “spheres” (economy, politics, culture, science...) became obsolete a long time ago and has been kept alive only by the particular interests of various establishments within those spheres. In that sense, art is no exception at all, which is why progressive art practices often attack precisely this ossified structure of the institution of art.

1904, 311). This idea was taken up by Russian theorist Pavel Medvedev in the 1920s, who included it in his theory of literature: according to Medvedev, “life” becomes the story (or theme, motive...) of a work of art only “once it has been refracted through the prism of the ideological environment, only once it has taken on concrete ideological flesh” (Medvedev 1973, 17). Althusser was on the same track when he argued that art showed not unmediated reality, but ideology, “wherefrom it is born, in which it is immersed, wherefrom it separates as art and to which it alludes” (Althusser 1980, 323). Art is thus in a specific relationship with ideology: it is part of the ideological sphere, but strictly speaking, it is not ideology itself. Precisely due to its privileged, relatively autonomous status, art can establish a relationship with reality, without thereby directly relating to that reality. Art neither reflects nor interprets reality; even when we are under the impression that the behaviour of individuals in a work of art is a given of a pure reality, it is, Althusser says, nothing but only and exclusively “spontaneous experiencing of ideology in its relationship with the real” (Althusser 1980, 324). Thus the only reality that art shows is that of ideology. Therefore, if we may at all still insist on the concept of autonomous art, then a possible starting point of that strategy might be in searching for new, innovate ways of refracting ideological materials, which are accumulating in all spheres of the currently dominant, neoliberal society.

Autonomous art also gave rise to the dilemma of how to determine the boundaries of “the artistic”. The essentialist and substantialist approach of bourgeois aesthetics is reflected in its obsessive dealing with ontological definitions of “art”, “the artist”, and “the work of art”, with no regard for the socio-historical conditions of using those terms and therefore doomed to keep ending up in aporias. Bourgeois aesthetics accepts the assumption that the work of art produces no extra-aesthetic effect and this denial is characteristic of the “autonomised” sphere of art. In Hewitt’s words:

<sup>1</sup> What I am calling “choreography” is not just a way of thinking about social order; it has also been a way of thinking about the *relationship* of aesthetics to politics. In other words, as a performative, choreography cannot simply be identified with “the aesthetics” and set in opposition to the category of “the political” that it either tropes or predetermines. (Hewitt 2005, 11)

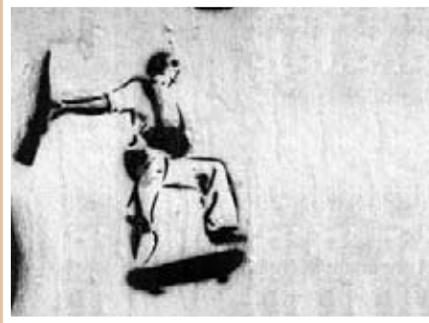


As the bourgeoisie sought ideological and political liberty from the tutelage of absolutist states in the eighteenth century, art was guaranteed a degree of freedom at the cost of its disempowerment as a social force. Within limits one could reason freely in art because it was agreed that art was without direct social consequence. (Hewitt 2005, 16)

Herbert Marcuse likewise reflected on that historical moment of the autonomisation of art, in his essay on "The Affirmative Character of Culture", where, among other things, he wrote that "only in art has bourgeois society tolerated its own ideals and taken them seriously as a general demand" (Marcuse 2007, 100). Admittedly, Marcuse notes, "[b]ourgeois society has liberated individuals, but as persons who are to keep themselves in check" (Marcuse 2007, 101). A radical critique of the autonomous sphere of art was carried out by Althusser's circle of materialist art theory (Macherey, Balibar, *et al.*), who developed a different approach to the consideration of art practice by means of theorising the concept of "aesthetic effect". Namely, if we treat an artwork in isolation, as though it were "a reality complete in itself" (Macherey 2006, 60), we can explain neither its effects nor why it exists at all. Besides, Macherey argues, "the work never 'arrives unaccompanied'; it is always determined by the existence of other works, which can belong to different areas of production" (Macherey 2006, 113). Furthermore, materialist analysis is extremely critical of the concept of "artwork" and recognises it "only to expose it as a necessary illusion" (Balibar and Macherey 1974, 37). Namely, aesthetic effect is "also an effect on socially determinate individuals, which materially forces them to treat literary works in a certain way". Concerning the literary text, which is the subject of Balibar and Macherey's analysis, this means that we *recognise* it as a "literary" text, that we acknowledge it "aesthetically" (Balibar and Macherey 1974, 45).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> However, we are familiar with numerous "border cases" as well, where it is no longer entirely clear whether the text has the status of a fictional narrative or not. Balibar and Macherey maintain that the aesthetic effect of a text depends on practices of interpretation:

A literary text is a text that is recognised exactly for as long and inasmuch as it provokes different interpretations, reviews,



### The "Autonomous Body" as an Ideological Assumption of Modern Dance

The early-20<sup>th</sup>-century avant-garde movements' battle cry for removing the boundaries between art and everyday life practice aimed to undermine (and, in its more radical guises, to bury) the bourgeois institution of art along with its autonomy. In the domain of theatre dance, the protest's cutting edge was aimed at ballet, its physical violence and mental numbing. Thus Isadora Duncan, for instance, at the very beginning of the century (around 1902), wrote in her essay "The Dancer of the Future" on the fatal impact of ballet in terms of causing the bodies of dancers to degenerate, all for the sake of creating a dancing body that might generate the illusion that the laws of gravity did not apply to it.<sup>4</sup> Ballet was using wrong methods, because, Duncan argued, "we must not force [the body] to make movements which are not natural to it" (Duncan 1992, 126). That is why the entire world of modern dance advocated a return to the "natural" body, which would no longer be subject to the ballet drill, searching instead for new possibilities of expression in "free" movement. Alongside its theoretical (discursive) critique of the ideology of the gracious body of ballet, drilled to virtuosity, modern dance opposed ballet in terms of bodily expression as well, its dance practice itself. This was especially prominent in Mary Wigman's expressionist dance (*Ausdruckstanz*), a student of Émile Jacques-Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban. Similarly to Isadora Duncan, Mary Wigman likewise opposed the fanatical virtuosity of ballet, whose "forms had become so refined, so sublimated to the ideal of purity, that the artistic content was too

.....  
and "readings". Precisely for that reason may a given text quite plausibly *cease* to be a literary text or *become* one in relations that did not exist before. (Balibar and Macherey 1974, 45)

<sup>4</sup> The expression of the modern school of ballet, wherein each action is an end, [...] is an expression of degeneration, of living death. All the movements of our modern ballet school are sterile movements because they are unnatural: their purpose is to create the delusion that the law of gravitation does not exist for them. [...] To those who nevertheless still enjoy the movements, for historical or choreographic or whatever other reasons, to those I answer: They see no farther than the skirts and tricot. But look – under the skirts, under the tricot: are dancing deformed muscles. Look still farther – underneath the muscles are deformed bones. A deformed skeleton is dancing before you. (Duncan 1992, 124)



often lost or obscured" (Wigman 1983, 306). This affected expression of ballet was meant to be contrasted by modern dance, "an expression of youth and of today" (Wigman 1983, 305).

The critique of ballet from the positions of modern dance was important in terms of stimulating reform currents in 20<sup>th</sup>-century dance art. On the other hand, one must not forget that the rejection of the "unnatural" movement of ballet and the celebration of the "natural" dancing body of modern dance are likewise not immune to their own ideological backgrounds, which were indeed quite different from that of ballet, but existed and constituted the skeleton of the new doctrine of "body culture" (*Körperkultur*), the discourse of the "expressivity of dance", and the emphasis on "moving from within", in order to, as Martha Graham liked to say, "reveal the inner landscape" (Graham 2008). In this discourse of modern dance, the "liberated" body becomes the central ideologue of a new philosophy of dance; this body "doesn't lie", therefore it discloses the truth, authentically and, of course, expressively. This was certainly an important turn in the perception of the dancing body, but not for that reason any more immune to the creation of a new myth of an "autonomous body"<sup>5</sup> as an ideological assumption that predicated the project of modern dance. Andrew Hewitt has likewise warned us about this implicit ideologisation in modern dance theory and practice:

An entire tradition of modern dance thinking about the body – from François Delsarte through at least as far as Martha Graham – shares the belief that the body cannot lie. Such a belief is the very essence of ideology. Pain might serve as the embodiment of a critique of ideology but its absence can never mark a position of non-ideological truth, for the reification of the body necessary to disentangle it from the social milieu it "critiques" involves an ideological gesture. (Hewitt 2005, 18)

.....  
<sup>5</sup> Bojana Kunst has written about the early-20<sup>th</sup>-century concept of the "autonomous body" in *Nemogoče telo* (The Impossible Body; Kunst 1999, 163–180); here is Kunst on modern dance and "expressive autonomy": "A key discovery, discussed by poets, philosophers, and dancers, concerns the *expressive autonomy* or *kinetic autonomy* of the body" (Kunst 1999, 172).

□ The *TkH* editorial board had written to the organisation that owns the rights to Robert Capa's works, to ask for their permission to reproduce Capa's photograph of the "fallen soldier" free of charge. The organisation did not accept our explanation that TKH is a non-profit nongovernmental organisation and that our intention to publish the photograph was guided not by commercial but only educational motives and the desire to show our readers the photograph discussed by our contributor Aldo Milohnić. Since we are unable to pay the required amount (besides, the *TkH* journal itself promotes free and open access to information and knowledge), we cannot publish the photograph, but only a few witty examples of paraphrasing his "fallen fighter". Since the photograph features a body position that has become a commonplace in the history of photographic art and popular culture, we trust that our readers won't find it difficult to remember the Capa photograph analysed in our contributor's article. We decided to include this note in order to explain why we published all other key photographs in the article (for all of which we received a kind permission from their authors or proprietary institutions to reproduce them without any compensation) except this one, as well as to use this opportunity to highlight the ruthlessness and utter social insensibility of organisations that trade in copyright, whose purpose or motivation is not protecting the intellectual property of authors but only and exclusively making money.

### Wartime Photography: A Document or a Piece of Choreography for the Camera? ● Whether the body lies or not, whether it is authentic in its movement and gesture, whether it is choreographed or spontaneously reacting to external stimuli – these are important questions in any discussion of the (spontaneous) ideology of modern dance, but may also be crucial in ideological struggle, an integral part of any radical conflict, including, of course, armed conflicts. Instructive examples may be found in photographs made by war reporters, which are often at the centre of various controversies, due to their high levels of affective-ideological tension, which either side may use for propaganda purposes. One of those controversies concerns the question of a photograph's authenticity: is the photographed scene a documentary testimony of an authentic event, or was it perhaps merely staged/choreographed for the camera? This question arose already regarding the first military photograph in history that was taken right at the front, by Robert Capa, the legendary war photographer, in 1936, at the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War. This is the famous photograph of a republican fighter falling from a bullet from the Francoist rebels. Shortly afterwards, the photograph was published by the French magazine *Vu* and then by others as well, including *Life* magazine a year later.

At the time of its emergence, no one questioned the authenticity of the photograph and its publication in the media spurred volunteers from various countries to travel to Spain and help its legally elected leftist government to defend the republic from fascism. Much later, in the mid 1970s, the first doubts emerged as to the photograph's authenticity; the question arose whether Capa really managed to photograph the republican soldier at the precise moment of his death, or

the photograph was staged. In fact, many war photographers sometimes photographed staged scenes of fighting to render their photographs more attractive, and sometimes to enhance their quality as well, which was much easier to accomplish in the controlled environment of staged action than in chaotic situations of war operations.<sup>6</sup> It is well known (and documented) that Capa used the same method on a number of occasions, but the question remains whether the famous 1936 photograph was one of them. The use of photography for propaganda purposes and the urge of war photographers (or their censors) to adapt the photographed scenes to the public gaze was discussed by Susan Sontag in her final book, *Regarding the Pain of Others*. An important difference between the authorship of a painting (or drawing) and that of a photograph concerns how we judge their authenticity:

A painting or drawing is judged a fake when it turns out not to be by the artist to whom it had been attributed. A photograph – or a filmed document available on television or the internet – is judged a fake when it turns out to be deceiving the viewer about the scene it purports to depict. (Sontag 2003, 38)

The authenticity of the photographed scene is crucial in documentary photography and thus a hypothetical revelation that the scene depicted in Capa's photograph was staged, Sontag maintains, would be devastating for its status as an authentic historical document.<sup>7</sup>

The importance of the photographic medium in documenting history is not disputed and in that sense we may agree with Sontag that the controversy surrounding "The Death of a Republican Soldier" significantly affects the documentary status of Capa's photograph. But one should not forget that in the meantime, the .....

6 The first photographs of war, made by Roger Fenton in the Crimean War, during the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, were produced with exposure times as long as 15 seconds. To enable Fenton to photograph them at all, in technical terms, the soldiers in his photographs had to pose, arranged in, so to speak, *tableaux vivants* – living, frozen images. Photographing fleeting scenes of fighting was made possible only by the development of light, portable cameras that could be used without stands or long exposure times. In addition, these new cameras (Leica cameras, standardised in 1932) used 35mm film, which could accommodate as many as 36 shots, before easily replacing the film. Such a camera was used by Robert Capa as well and it was precisely this technological innovation that enabled his photograph of the falling soldier to be made at all.

7 "The point of 'The Death of a Republican Soldier' is that it is a real moment, captured fortuitously; it loses all value should the falling soldier turn out to have been performing for Capa's camera" (Sontag 2003, 44). This was precisely the cause of fierce debates that started in the 1970s and are still on, concerning the authenticity of Capa's photograph, the topic of a relatively recent documentary film as well (*La sombra del iceberg*, 2007). The negatives of Capa's photographs made in Spain have recently been recovered, but the negative of that famous photograph was not among them. These negatives are now kept at the International Center of Photography in New York, founded by Capa's brother Cornell.



□ Solo dance by Marta Paulin – Brina for Yugoslav partisans, anti-Nazi resistance movement during WWII (Jože Petek, 1943)

image became iconic and the position of the soldier's body at the time of death, when it was captured by the camera, attained the status of a commonplace, which enabled its reproductions in various contexts, due to its recognisability.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, today, Capa's photograph is no longer just a testimony to the casualties of the Spanish Civil War – after all, the horrors of that war are amply documented anyway – but has also become a symbol and the body of the fallen fighter against fascism an inseparable part of the global archive of war photography.

**Partisan Choreography ● In wars, there is killing on a massive scale, but sometimes there is also dancing. Photographs of dance scenes are much fewer and when a war photographer does capture such a scene, then it .....**

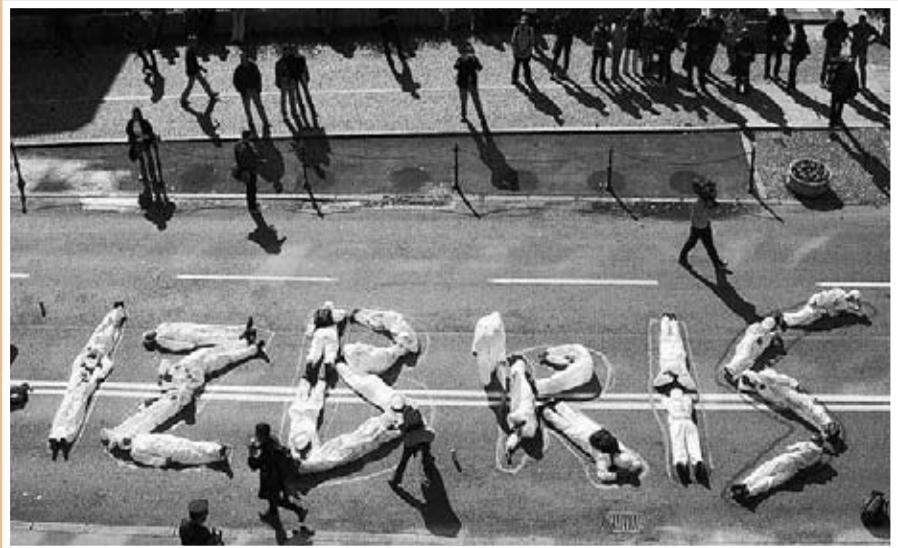
8 As was the case, after all, with many other photographs of war, including those that have been incontrovertibly demonstrated as staged, such as the famous photograph of the raising of the American flag on the Japanese island of Iwo Jima toward the end of the Second World War, shot by Joe Rosenthal, then a photographer working for the Associated Press. Ever since it emerged, the photograph has undergone a myriad of reproductions and paraphrases in a variety of media, including theatre; I know of at least one of them from personal experience – about ten years ago the Zagreb-based theatre group BADCo. featured the scene in their performance *Ribcage / Rebno kao zeleni zidovi* (A Rib as Green Walls).

is usually a participatory form of dancing, such as social dancing, round dances, and the like, and only extremely seldom solo performances by dancers, especially of modern dance, for instance. Thanks to Partisan war photographer Jože Petek (who, unfortunately, did not survive the war, but his photographs did and are now kept at the Slovenian National Museum of Contemporary History in Ljubljana), we have a few fascinating photographs of Marta Paulin, whose Partisan *nom de guerre* was Brina, dancing in a grassy meadow in front of a large number of fighters of the newly founded Rab Brigade.<sup>9</sup> During the 1930s, Marta Paulin had studied with Meta Vidmar, who had founded a school of modern dance in Ljubljana, after successfully completing her own studies at Mary Wigman's school in Dresden in 1927. In August 1943, she joined the Partisans and became a member of the 14<sup>th</sup> Division's cultural group, which, among others, also included her comrade in arms and legendary Slovenian poet Karel Destovnik Kajuh. Marta Paulin thus decided to take part in a revolution in which she could dance, as Emma Goldman would (probably) say.<sup>10</sup> Some 30 years later, she described her Partisan dance performances herself, in a memoir note:

I became a dancer on outdoor stages. Instead of dancing on the boards of a theatre stage, suddenly, I was dancing anywhere. The feeling of balance was once again a "problem". The musculature felt different, because the legs had to find support now on stony, now on soft ground. That was the first thing I noticed. But after that, there was the other thing, too. That boundless natural space enables and demands much more sweeping movements. On an outdoor stage, a small move from an indoor theatre turns into a whole march. If I was going to master that huge space and be accepted in it, my dancing moves had to become big, clear, broad. [...] Standing, by myself, before a multitude of fighters and realising that I could express, with my gift of dancing and my feeble body, that which connected us, that I could master even that boundless natural space, I felt power in my feet, whilst treading the hard earth. My arms could feel the

<sup>9</sup> The brigade was named after the island of Rab because it comprised inmates from the fascist concentration camp on that island, who were interned there until the surrender of Italy in September 1943 and thereafter mostly evacuated to Slovenia. Due to the exhaustion of its fighters, the unit was not active as a separate brigade for long; when it was disbanded, its fighters were assigned to a number of other Partisan units.

<sup>10</sup> Of course, this is a reference to a well known line by that famous feminist and anarchist: "If I can't dance I don't want to be in your revolution". But that statement is not grounded in historical facts either, because Emma Goldman never actually said or wrote it down. The line was conceived (and used as a propaganda slogan, printed on t-shirts) by an American anarchist activist in the 1970s, as a possible paraphrase of an excerpt from her autobiography, *Living My Life*, which was confirmed first hand by Alix Kates Shulman some 20 years ago in "Dances with Feminists" (Shulman 1991). Like Robert Capa, Emma Goldman took part in the Spanish Civil War and assisted the Spanish anarchists in spreading news of the fighting with Franco's fascists (e.g. she took care of their correspondence in English and edited the English edition of the anarcho-syndicalist newsletter).



breadth of the woods and climb over the trees. There was no imitation in my dancing, which would stem from formalist moves. I rejected almost all that I had "learnt" in my dance studio years, I was looking for genuine, fresh dance expression, which stems from the vital human need to move. (Paulin 1975, 25–26)

Sadly, Marta Paulin Brina, one of the most talented pioneers of modern dance in Slovenia, finished her career in modern dance after only six months with the Partisans, because her legs froze during a campaign that the 14<sup>th</sup> Brigade undertook in Styria. But fortunately, Jože Petek's photographs have preserved at least a few scenes from the all too short career of Brina the Partisan dancer, which makes them an invaluable source in the history of Slovenian modern dance, which in its own peculiar way took hold even in the extreme conditions of the Partisan struggle. Thanks to its fusion with a people's resistance movement, this peculiar Partisan choreography came close to the ideals of the avant-garde, by accomplishing, as noted by Partisan art historian Miklavž Komelj, "what avant-garde theatre stood for, in the most primitive of conditions" (Komelj 2009, 120) – a direct and unbreakable bond between the performer and the audience.<sup>11</sup>

Times that give rise to mass resistance movements, often also involving artists of most diverse profiles and backgrounds, such as antifascist movements (the Spanish Civil War, the National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslavia, etc.), anti-colonial movements, more recently movements for protecting various minorities' human rights, protests against corrupt political

<sup>11</sup> A contemporary report on the solemn pledge of allegiance taken by the Rab Brigade and the accompanying cultural performance, which also featured Marta Paulin Brina's dance solo, states, among other things, that the fighters' spirit during the cultural performance was "magnificent" and that there were no differences between "those performing and those watching". (Quoted from Potočnik 1975, 278; the original report is kept at the Military Archive in Belgrade.)

□ Action „Izbris“ / „Erasure“ (Denis Sarkič, 2003)

elites, the dictatorship of capital and autocrats of various political colours and ideological persuasions, etc., are perhaps the best examples of what Hewitt calls the performative (or integrative) aesthetic ideology, as opposed to the (typically bourgeois) mimetic aesthetic ideology.<sup>12</sup> This performative or integrative kind of art may be reached only by means of a radical reform of the art sphere, but the problem is that the status of art cannot be changed under the auspices of bourgeois society, because it would entail a radical change of that society as a whole, not only that of art as such. The experiences of 20<sup>th</sup>-century avant-garde and neo-avant-garde movements show precisely that no reform of art practice, however radical, will suffice without simultaneous radical changes in society. That is likewise suggested by art practices that emerge in turbulent situations of social change and participate, in their own peculiar ways, in the ideological struggle to incite, achieve, and interpret those changes. The aesthetic sophistication of resistance art lies precisely in its freedom from all aesthetic concerns. If anyone could dance, as Laban claimed, then there has to be room for everyone in the choreography of resistance, because no one may be denied their right to dance the revolution as best they can. When in the mid 1990s, during the Siege of Sarajevo, Haris Pašović initiated the Sarajevo

<sup>12</sup> A mimetic aesthetic ideology would be one in which the artistic representation of a better life serves to blind the audience to the social realities in which they live. [...] Aesthetic satisfaction in the mere "symbol" of a social utopia distracts us from the political praxis necessary to bring that utopian condition about in reality. Art serves as a sop for unrealized political action. [...] What I am calling the performative or integrative aesthetic ideology, meanwhile, is one in which art does not simply misrepresent, in a palliative manner, an existing social order. Instead, the aesthetic now becomes the realm in which new social orders are produced (rather than represented) and in which the integration of all social members is possible. (Hewitt 2005, 21)

Film Festival, journalists allegedly asked him: "Why a film festival in the midst of war?" and he responded by asking them in return: "But why a war in the midst of a film festival?". Zoran Bečić, an actor from Sarajevo who likewise tasted life in wartime Sarajevo on his own skin, has tried to explain the rationale of stubbornly performing theatre plays under constant shelling:

I was not part of a theatre that sought to glorify any sort of politics, party, platform. My theatre was literally fighting for life, for the life of the city and its citizens, for the life of artistic creation. (Diklić 2004, 35)

In such art, tools of artistic expression inevitably turn into weapons of resistance – in line with Brecht's motto: "Reach for the book: it is a weapon" and the Partisan dancer Brina's understanding of dance and the poetry of her comrade in arms Kajuh: "As a creator in dance expression, I stood side by side with a poet who used poetry as a weapon" (Paulin 1975, 26).

An art that perceives itself as a "weapon" may be only one that has radically renounced its autonomy and that – not despite but precisely in line with that stance – does not claim to compensate for armed struggle in times of war, or political struggle in times of peace. Particularly at times that give rise to mass movements of resistance against military, physical, verbal, structural, and other forms of violence, the erstwhile separate and "autonomised" spheres of art and politics usually coalesce in an organic way and then we may no longer denote them using the old terms, burdened with sediments of tradition and ideology. Coining new or hybrid terms (such as my own attempt with "artivism") is a visible expression of that theoretical frustration, as well as an attempt

to open up space for theoretical reflection on what is happening here and now, before our eyes, which indeed involves us, in one way or another, aware that it demands instant reflection, whereas new, more adequate theoretical tools for realising it have yet to be constructed [iz(g)raditi]. But of course, none of this is restricted to contemporary forms of resistance, since one finds similar attempts at conceptualising new performative-political practices in almost all the emancipation movements of the previous century, e.g. *Proletkult* of the Soviet Revolution, the "urgent theatre" (*teatro de urgencia*) of the Spanish Civil War, the "frontline theatre" (*frontno gledališče*) of the Slovenian Partisans during the Second World War, etc.

### The Subversive Re-appropriation Method in Choreographies of Resistance

● Toward the end of this text, which, as I already pointed out in the introduction, is only a preliminary reflection on choreographies of resistance, that is, something that presently could not amount to much more than a hybrid construct, I would like to at least outline some possible parallels with contemporary activist-performative practices in Slovenia. I have already written about some of them on several occasions (e.g. Milohnić 2005 and 2013) and here I may only point to those earlier observations, some of which should be analysed in more detail in a separate essay. On this occasion, I would single out only two examples that might be interesting in reflecting on various forms of choreographies of resistance. They are predicated on a witty employment of the subversive re-appropriation method – appropriating or adopting previously infamous or defamatory expressions or

□ Uprising of zombies (Miha Fras, 2013)

metaphors, initially used to attack certain social groups, but then recuperated by those very groups, by means of their own engagement, and turned back, like a boomerang, at those who had originally sent them into the public, as offensively constructed verbal or iconic degradations.

Ten years have passed since a significant act of this type was performed by a group of the Erased<sup>13</sup> and other activists on 8 October 2003 outside the Slovenian parliament building at the centre of Ljubljana. Dressed in white overalls, the activists occupied the road in front of the building, lay down on the road, and arranged their bodies in a 30-foot configuration that read "IZBRIS" (ERASURE). They were protected from incoming traffic by activists holding banners that featured the No Standing Anytime sign and an inscription that said "Keep driving! We don't exist". The action was provoked by statements made by certain politicians, including members of parliament, claiming that the erased "don't exist", that they were made up by "enemies of Slovenian statehood", that those people had "erased themselves", and similar inanities. The activists were thereby warning about blatant violations of the erased citizens' human rights, by re-appropriating the politicians' claims about "the non-existent erased". They were thus throwing back their original message to those politicians in the reverse form and in line with the autonomist tradition stemming from the concept of using one's own body as a means of direct political action. *Izbris* was structured as a gestic performative that irrevocably links gesture and utterance, or, in other words, the body and the signifier. If, according to the classic (Austin's) definition of a performative, "to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to describe my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it" (Austin 1962, 6), then we may say that introducing a gestural performative is an attempt to extend the speech act into the domain of the visual: physical and bodily acts, gestures, graphisms, and the like, in a word – non-verbal but nonetheless performative acts. A physical act generates an illusion of a speech act: the activists' bodies, originally acting in the domain of performance or action (*actio*), are literally incorporating a statement by means of the materiality of their bodies and thus enter into the domain of utterance or pronunciation (*pronuntiatio*), in a non-verbal, but nonetheless eloquent manner. This actionist *corpography* produces a metaphoric condensation: the performative dimension of the utterance of "izbris" lies precisely in using the activists' bodies to make it.

<sup>13</sup> The Erased are a group of over 25,000 citizens of Slovenia whose names the government of Slovenia erased from the public register of permanent residents in 1992, thereby depriving them of their legal, political, and social rights – Translator's note.



The absurdity of the predicament of over 25,000 citizens of Slovenia, turned into "dead souls" by bureaucratic thinking, is ironically shown in the banner, which tells drivers to disregard what is going on outside the parliament building, because its actors "don't exist". In other words (and in contemporary performance theory jargon), playing with the implicit metaphor of dead souls enabled the activists to label an event or *performance* as a non-event or *afformance*: if the key actors of an event "don't exist", then one might conclude that the event as such does not exist either. However, given the characteristic feature of every performative act that the utterance it makes is neither true nor false, we must begin by assuming that the constative aspect of the utterance bears no direct consequences on the materiality of the act; therefore, the performative nature of the resulting situation establishes a position where the act, merely by existing as such, generates the possibility of its own negation, or, in other words, guarantees a constellation where a non-event is also an event. As we perceive that circumstance already on an intuitive level, we attribute an ironic meaning to the statement "we don't exist" and immediately understand it as an intentional contradiction that refers to the absurdity of the position of the erased and, at the same time, offers a key for reading the entire event.

For *Izbris* and other similar, direct actions, what is key is using the body not as representative anymore but as constitutive and, as such, mobilised into contemporary practices of resistance. We are already familiar with similar *corpographic* uses of the body, both from past artistic practices, especially in the field of performance art and action painting, as well as in more recent political initiatives. Lately, there has been another uprising of those who "don't exist" in Slovenia; this time, it was not (only) the Erased, but also all those whom Slovenia's right-leaning political elite regards as "ghosts from the past", the communist "living dead", in a word – "zombies". This wave of mass uprisings against the corrupt political elite began in early winter of 2012, in Maribor, as a protest against the local authorities headed by the then mayor Franc Kangler, now the defendant in a number of court cases concerning shady deals at the expense of the city and benefiting Kangler's own pockets. From Maribor, this wave of mass demonstrations spread across Slovenia and several of the most massive protests were held in Ljubljana at the beginning of this year, against the leader of Slovenia's then rightwing government Janez Janša and Zoran Janković, a self-proclaimed leftist (but really one of Slovenia's biggest tycoons) and mayor of Ljubljana. Under much public pressure and due to a report published by the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption, which accused precisely those two politicians for failing to

account for their considerable personal fortunes (especially Janković), Janša's government fell apart and Janković had to give up on his appetite to become the next prime minister. Around that time, on the Internet page of Janša's Slovenian Democratic Party there emerged a claim that the protests were staged by the "communist international" and that they were not an uprising of the people, but an "uprising of zombies". The protesters immediately re-appropriated that statement and started dressing up as zombies, which saw all of Ljubljana crowded with zombie-like creatures at the very next protest.

Janša's party's defamatory quip thus incited a wave of corpographic and choreographic creativity on the part of the protesters, because there was probably no protester who had not seen at least one zombie film, a genre that, starting with Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), might make for an entire filmography all by itself. And there was also the wealth of pop-cultural artefacts, ranging from novels, short stories, and comics, to TV series and zombie video games, not to mention an entire mythology of the living dead, dancing their *danses macabres* on church frescoes since medieval times. Since losing power, it seems as though the former prime minister of Slovenia had succumbed to a zombie persecution mania, recently discussed by Jorge Fernández Gonzalo in his recently published book, *Filosofía zombi*:

A zombie is the other, I see my own reflection in him, the putrid reflection of bodily decomposition. A minimal difference between one and the other, despite the maximum distance that must be covered between life and death. (Gonzalo 2012, 29)

Trying to terrify people with alleged conspiracies of some phantom "communist internationals" well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century speaks volumes about the paranoid minds of those who use such qualifications to discredit their political opponents. Precisely those "zombie categories", to borrow Ulrich Beck's term, are weighing, as dead conceptual frameworks, on the brains of the political living dead, who are trying to revive them for their own ideological purposes, as, in Gonzalo's words, "shadows of another time, the tottering corpses of linguistic constructions that are only a reflection of the greyness of centuries gone by, of the cobwebs of their own futility" (Gonzalo 2012, 97).

*In lieu* of a concrete and coherent conclusion, at the end of this still somewhat heterogeneous theoretical "work in progress", I would only express my hope that the proposed concept of the choreography of resistance will not end up to soon in a catalogue of zombie categories, at least not before it receives a more thorough and comprehensive explication, which will first entail researching the many inspiring choreographies of resistance of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century. ■

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# The “Black Wave” in the Yugoslav *Slet*: The 1987 and 1988 Day of Youth

**Ana VUJANOVIĆ** • • *Slets* were a form of mass events that were staged in socialist Yugoslavia on a variety of occasions. The most famous and spectacular *slets* were staged on the Day of Youth, every May 25<sup>th</sup>, at the Yugoslav People’s Army Stadium in Belgrade. The *slet* was the central and final event of every Day of Youth, preceded by the Relay of Youth. The Relay was a form of ceremonial mass run organised every year beginning in 1945 and involving thousands of youths, who would run for dozens of miles across Yugoslavia, carrying a baton with a birthday card for Josip Broz Tito, the president of Yugoslavia.<sup>1</sup> In 1957, upon Tito’s suggestion, his birthday was made the Day of Youth and Tito’s Relay was renamed the Relay of Youth. Still, for the rest of his life, until 1980, he remained the “birthday boy” of the Day of Youth – every year, he received the baton, along with the card, and occupied the place of honour at the stadium.<sup>2</sup> This direct association of Tito’s birthday with celebrating youth seems odd, given that at the time, he wasn’t young anymore, not even at the beginning of the tradition – in 1957, he was already 65 – so could not really symbolise youth. Of course, the

<sup>1</sup> “The most massive was the 1952 event, when over 1,550,000 Yugoslavs relayed tens of national and local batons for some 80,000 miles.” (Grigorov 2008, 109)

<sup>2</sup> The Day of Youth continued to be celebrated even after Tito’s death, under the motto of *I posle Tita – Tito* (Even After Tito – Tito).

association was made for other reasons, which take us directly into the history of the *slet* and its social functions. First of all, it is well known that Tito seriously counted on Yugoslavia’s “youth” and tried to forge a direct link between them and himself, and that he used his speeches to interpellate them as those who would eventually take over and continue down the same path, where their elders – Tito’s own generation – were obliged to stop. But that couldn’t happen just like that. To continue down the path of revolution, which included labour as well as defensive warfare, Yugoslavia’s youth had to be healthy, strong, and physically and spiritually cultivated and robust. And the spectacular self-performance of a *slet* was the best way to show just how strong, cultivated, and robust they were.

*Slet* is a noun of Slavic origin, signifying a landing flock of birds and their assembly on the ground; before it came to denote socialist mass events, it was applied to a similar type of rallies organised by the *Sokol* (Falcon) movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The movement was initiated in Prague in 1862, by philosopher and art historian Miroslav Tyrš, as a national revival movement, meant to facilitate the Czechs’ liberation from Austria-Hungary. Thus originally a nationalist movement, it soon spread across other Slavic-populated areas of the Austro-

Hungarian Empire and became a transnational (Pan-Slavic) movement of emancipation and liberation. In the SCS Kingdom and Yugoslavia, the movement became especially popular under King Alexander, whose son, the future King Peter II Karađorđević, was made the national head of the Yugoslav *Sokol* movement. The King supported the movement, in both symbolic and real terms, by building *sokolane* (gymnasias), because he recognised the movement as an ideological tool of his centralist policy of an integrated Yugoslav identity. What is important to emphasise about *Sokol slets* in relation to the later Day of Youth *slets* is their mass character, on the one hand, and on the other, their amateurism. Although the Yugoslav *Sokol* movement was disbanded after the Second World War and remained so for a long time, the *Sokol* tradition of holding relay races and staging *slets* to honour the sovereign was maintained, although its ideology changed.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the *Sokol* movement, the prehistory of the Day of Youth *slet* should also include the 19<sup>th</sup>-century *Turnverein* gymnastics movement, initiated by gymnastics educator Friedrich Ludwig Jahn in

<sup>3</sup> The question of how and why that was possible opens the far-reaching issue of the relevance of social choreography unless we move our analytical focus beyond choreography as a phenomenon, to its aesthetic continuum in context. On the (dis)continuity between *Sokol* and socialist *slets*, see Manojlović 2004, Grigorov 2008, and Jakovljević 2008.



Berlin in 1811 and reaching its full momentum around the revolutionary year of 1848. Although the movement had a rather turbulent history, we might say that members of the *Turnverein* were ideologically close to the *Sokols*, on account of their nationalist matrix – the founding of clubs and festivals devoted to gymnastics in order to facilitate the unification of the Germans, as well as their physical and moral empowerment. A third line in the genesis of the Day of Youth *slet* leaves this romanticist framework and binds it, by way of the relay race, to an ideologically different 19<sup>th</sup>-century movement: the Olympic revival. In contrast to the *Sokol* and *Turnverein* movements, its ideology was extremely internationalist and concerned the whole of humanity, but its forms of an organised rally and a relay race (featuring the Olympic torch, or a baton), which still feature in today's Olympic Games as a global sport and media event, bring it close to *Sokol slets*.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Day of Youth *slet* had another two ideologically opposed predecessors: the communist rallies and parades of the Soviet Union and similar Nazi events in Germany. Although neither could be easily linked to the socialist ideology of Yugoslavia, the Day of Youth *slet* was indebted to them for its ideals of youth, strength, and physical and spiritual culture and persistence as an embodiment of the revolution and a public performance of collectivism. Furthermore, the rhetoric at the Day of Youth *slets* and even Tito's speeches delivered on those occasions seldom strayed from the vitalistic worldview introduced by Chernyshevsky in his novel *What Is to Be Done?*, whose "new man" inspired Lenin so much that he lent the same title to his own famous pamphlet. In addition to adopting this vision of a new man, who becomes a subject of the revolution by realising his

□ *Slet za Dan mladosti, 1987.*

physical and then also spiritual potentials, it is also worth mentioning that the same worldview prescribed sports as part of culture, in the post-revolutionary fervour of the USSR. That is how *fiskultura* (physical culture) came to be promoted, as preparing the Soviet youth for work and defence, which in turn resulted, thanks to Proletkult ideologues, in massive participatory events that stood somewhere in between sports and the arts – not unlike the *Sokol slets*.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of this brief historical overview, let me just note that the ideological differences separating these different kinds of *slets* were great (nationalism, internationalism, Nazism, communism), whereas their formal similarities define the *slet* as a collectivist and egalitarian performance of any social agenda that seeks monolithic social support – the more so, the better – because it rests on mass choreographies and performing in unison. Therefore, *en général*, it would be difficult to articulate any aesthetic ideology of the *slet* that would be more specific than collectivism and egalitarianism.<sup>5</sup> As I have already noted, the similarities were the following: the idea of a

<sup>4</sup> Hence the following announcement in a resolution of the Russian Union of Young Communists, promulgated at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Soviets in 1918: "The physical culture of the younger generation is an essential element in the overall system of communist upbringing of young people, aimed at creating harmoniously developed human beings, creative citizens of communist society. [...] Today, physical culture also has direct practical aims: (1) preparing young people for work; and (2) preparing them for military defence of Soviet power" (quoted in O'Mahony 2006, 15).

<sup>5</sup> For instance, 1928 saw the First Workers' Spartakiad as opposed to the "Western" Olympics, which turned the *slet* from an ideological playground into a battleground of opposing ideologies. (see O'Mahony 2006, 30–37)

physically and spiritually cultivated and strong man as the bodily carrier of social change, epitomised in the young bodies of gymnasts and *fiskulturniks* (physical culturalists); the ideas of collectivism and egalitarianism, embodied in mass, participatory performances; and an awareness of the aesthetic aspect of ideology, epitomised in public performances of sports, the arts, and the rhetoric of a specific socio-political agenda. But still, it seems to me that there remains a whole series of questions to address, regarding the syntax and semiotics of a particular *slet*, in relation to other *slets* and its own social environment, so that we may draw a politically relevant conclusion from their mutual differences and relations. If it was collectivism, then what kind of collectivism, founded on what, and collectivism in what terms? If it was the realisation of revolutionary aims, then what revolution, when, and in what society? And so on. Without addressing those and similar questions, I'm afraid that the *slet en général*, with all of its variations and their points of contact, may not tell us much about either itself as social choreography, or those social choreographies that it promoted and rehearsed.

To be precise in my analysis, I will single out, from many years of research, the Day of Youth *slets*, focusing on the one from 1987 and the break brought on by the last *slet*, held in 1988.<sup>6</sup> The Day of Youth *slets* may be taken as an illustrative example of social choreography, because they explicitly demonstrate – by virtue of their publicity, massive scale, and repetitiveness – how "ideology is inscribed directly into the body". However, though illustrative, this example by itself cannot ultimately explain the work of social choreography. Namely, the *slet* paradigmatically demonstrates the performance of ideology in public space, first of all in terms of promoting and rehearsing the state ideology, but remains silent regarding its "aesthetic continuum", i.e. relationship with the social order in which it is realised, or the bodily practices serving to internalise and socially realise that ideology. Therefore, in my analysis of the two final *slets*, I will pay equal attention to the choreography and its performance, in their specific contexts. That way, I will try to show the following: that the *slet* as social choreography did not show the Yugoslav society as it was but as the Yugoslav state sought to present itself in public space, as the model of the social body, and that the performance of the *slet*, as a dynamic system of gestures that embodied that model, was also the site of its collapse, where illegible moves and non-gestures emerged as an embodiment of a "choreographically unconscious"

<sup>6</sup> My sources comprised integral footage from the Programme Archive of TV Belgrade.

*slet*, a manifestation of the socialist state's inability to become one with its own society.

At the same time, I want to clarify the theoretical grounding of this procedure. Hewitt devotes a lot of attention to analysing bourgeois gesture, defining it as legible and communicative movement, a movement that is linguistically articulated, that is, according to Agamben, "embodied communication" itself (Hewitt 2005, 83). However, he does not juxtapose the bourgeois with proletarian gesture, arguing, in fact, that the very notion of gesture is a bourgeois notion and that therefore there is no such thing as proletarian gesture (Hewitt 2005, 80). But I would say that although gesture may be a bourgeois concept, Hewitt's conclusion is still premature, because it does not follow that there is no such thing as proletarian gesture, even if the notion may have been "borrowed" from bourgeois discourse. The societies of real socialism were extremely ceremonialised, their ceremonies ranging from mass ideological spectacles to everyday practices, at school, at work, in the media, etc., and generated an abundance of recognisable and conventional gestures. Without them, the allegorical quality of the *slet*, to be discussed shortly, could not work, because it wouldn't be legible, or, conversely, it rested on the assumed existence of referential gestures in social life. Another aspect of my analysis concerns "stumbling" as a non-gesture. The main thesis of Hewitt's study of gesture – with reference to Balzac – is that stumbling, as a loss of gesture, emerges as an explosion of gesture beyond the borders of legibility. However, if walking, as gestural self-representation, is preceded by stumbling, then stumbling itself forms the very beginning of the language of gesture. Finally, it reflects the work of social choreography because that not-yet-gesture, that "stumble over the threshold of social mediation [...] marks not just the moment of nature's transition into culture – as in Rousseau, the somatic expressive gestures discovering their communicative value – but any moment at which one cultural order, perceived – or no longer perceived, in fact – as natural, makes place for another. (Hewitt 2005, 87)

Besides demonstrating the youth's potential to bring forth an even better future, the Day of Youth *slets* also promoted the idea of brotherhood and unity in multiethnic Yugoslavia and the legacy of the People's Liberation Struggle: the struggle against fascism and socialism as the state agenda. In addition, they were also Josip Broz Tito's birthday celebrations, although his life and achievements were relatively seldom the topic of the *tableaux vivants* at the stadium.<sup>7</sup> Rather, he

<sup>7</sup> They usually emerged in the form of Tito's "signature": his epaulets, actual signature, the key years of his life, etc.



□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1987

marked them with his own figure and "observed": from a huge portrait mounted onstage and, in life, physically, from the place of honour at the top of the stand, as the personification and guardian of those ideas. Syntactically, they resembled baroque festivals – and in that regard, I agree with Branislav Jakovljević, who links them to baroque rather than to romanticism (Jakovljević 2008) – in at least two ways. The dramaturgy of an event based on a combination of various disciplines, genres, and media (gymnastics, dance, music, slogans, and a military parade) is fragmentary and comprises a series of items, sometimes amalgamated into "blocks", i.e. thematic or generic wholes (1987: military parade, *Glumište* (open-air theatre), folk dances, the thematic block "A Bomb in My Chest", etc.). Furthermore, and more importantly, the procedure with which the *slet* generated meaning was allegory, a characteristically baroque form of expression. In that sense, what the collective body performed at the stadium could be interpreted as a "mass ornament" (Kracauer 1995), because it appeared to be a condensed expression of the people's experience, its self-conception, and that of its own history. However, allegory – as described by Benjamin, invoked by Jakovljević – should not be grasped as merely a convention of that expression but as the very expression of the convention. Therefore, the mass ornaments of a *slet* are a developed order of representation, whereby a *tableau vivant* is not only a conventional and static signifier of a notion (the five-pointed star as a symbol of communism), but also carries a "deeper", dynamic meaning, a whole story about a social subjectivity and its history (the history of the development

of socialism, the political significance of the idea of brotherhood and unity, key battles and places in the People's Liberation Struggle, the history of the League of Communists, the story of the Yugoslav People's Army and its origins in the partisan movement, and the like). However, the mode of its ideological operation is circular, because to "read" a *tableau vivant* as an allegory, i.e. to grasp its unobvious meaning, one must precisely be part of the community, the "linguistic collective", whose assumed expression it is. Only then does the grasped meaning become affective and ideology receive its performative character. Another feature of the Day of Youth *slets* were the masses of performers (around 8,000) and audience, including those present at the Yugoslav People's Army Stadium (around 60,000 spectators) plus several million at home, upon the introduction of live TV broadcasts. In line with the ideas of participation and egalitarianism, performers included various kinds of young people: schoolchildren, students, workers, athletes, Pioneers, folk dancers, *Gorani*,<sup>8</sup> scouts, and soldiers from across the country. In performing terms, this dancing mass of nameless bodies was amateurish (and quite un-virtuosic), which meant that the borders between the performers and the audience were porous and the latter – if it was a younger audience – were interchangeable with the performers. This aspect constitutes a significant difference between the Day of Youth *slets* on the one hand and Nazi parades and Prague Spartakiades on the other, and especially the mass gymnastics of North Korea's *Arirang* games. In that sense, the *slets* were indeed an exercise

<sup>8</sup> Members of an eponymous youth organisation dedicated to preserving and expanding Yugoslavia's forests – Translator's note.



□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1987

in social emancipation, because these events, the state's greatest, were performed neither by virtuosi, trained to perfection, nor by prominent individuals, but by ordinary people for ordinary people. That, however, did not jeopardise their ideological performativity; rather, it enhanced the circularity at the basis of their ideological operation. Admittedly, I must add that, contrary to the idea of participation but in line with the idea of young, healthy, and strong bodies as the carriers of the revolution, there were no disabled or any other kind of "other" bodies among the performers. I am inserting this remark not just out of political correctness, but also because it shows that the *slet* was basically a rationally choreographed performance of the politically conscious of the Yugoslav state and that therefore, strictly speaking, did not engender Kracauer's "mass ornaments" after all.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this remark also problematised the ordinariness of the "ordinary man", relied upon by numerous emancipatory cultural-artistic and social practices, introducing the argument about the preceding ideological treatment of ordinariness itself, coming from an authentic and unrepresentative reality.

In many ways, the *slets* of 1987 and 1988 were different from all previous *slets*, above all because in these two events, the socialist social choreography collapsed and disappeared right in front of the Yugoslav public. They were held, respectively, seven and eight years after Tito's death, in the midst of an economic crisis in Yugoslavia, at a time when the relations between its constituent republics were growing ever more tense, during the political rise of Slobodan Milošević and his "anti-bureaucratic revolution", shortly before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the breakup of Yugoslavia, and the wars that followed. With the benefit of hindsight, at least

<sup>9</sup> Which are characterised by unconsciousness, thus: "The position that an epoch occupies in the historical process can be determined more strikingly from an analysis of its inconspicuous surface-level expressions than from that epoch's judgments about itself. [...] The surface-level expressions, however, by virtue of their unconscious nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental substance of the state of things" (Kracauer 1995, 75).

on the face of it, it seems inexplicable that these were official events sponsored by the state.

The 1987 *slet* was preceded by a scandal provoked by the adoption of an ironic proposal for that year's Day of Youth poster, submitted by the Slovenian group called New Conservatism (Neue Slowenische Kunst) and based on an appropriation of *The Third Reich*, a painting by Nazi painter Richard Klein. However, the Slovenian artists changed the painting's ideological features, replacing the Nazi flag in the muscular youth's right hand with a Yugoslav flag and the eagle with a dove. A lot has been written about this case and it is not the topic of the present text, so I will leave it here with an open question: did the switch of symbols really change everything, rendering the ensuing scandal just a hysterical reaction on the part of a paranoid establishment, or did the very aesthetic of the image, with its politics of the body, carry an ideological burden that linked, rather disturbingly, the Yugoslav socialist system with that of Nazi Germany? Be that as it may, shortly before the start of the relay, the poster was replaced with another one, this time featuring a green leaf against a red background, with a red five-pointed star emerging from it and "biting" into the leaf (which presumably symbolised youth) – another source of confusion – while that year's baton was a cumbersome Plexiglas cone with eight red drops on the top side – which were later interpreted as drops of blood and thus announcing the Yugoslav wars.

The show itself, framed by this ambivalent iconography, was a hybrid, confusing, and washed-out socialist spectacle that conflated pop culture, folklore, the problems of everyday life, and revolutionary rhetoric.<sup>10</sup> The title was a rather un-revolutionary cry – *Upalite svetlo* (Turn On the Lights) – with no explanation as to who was languishing in what kind of darkness or who was supposed to turn on the lights, presumably because it was meant to be clear, following the circular code of *sapientia sat*. The stadium featured a stage set painted in blue, with pop-designed billboards showing scenes from youth life (ranging from sports to rock music), as well as personal graffiti sprayed on it by the event's participants during the show. The two TV commentators kept referring to it as "alternative", probably to highlight its contemporaneity and absence of socialist iconography. Nevertheless, a portrait of Tito was still there, this time, even – after a considerable hiatus – not a civilian portrait but one of Tito as a guerrilla fighter, complete with a *titovka*, the side cap worn by the Yugoslav Partisans. One after another, the stage hosted singers and groups

<sup>10</sup> See an earlier and rudimentary analysis of this *slet* in Cvejić and Vujanović 2012, 69–70.



□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1987

performing the pop hits of the time: "Seobe" (Migrations) by Kerber, "Za treću smenu" (For the Night Shift) and "Stari orkestar" (The Old Orchestra) by Đorđe Balašević, "K-15 (Radnička odmara se klasa)" (The Working Class on Holiday) by Prava kotka, "Bomba u grudima" (A Bomb in My Chest) by Džakarta, etc. In addition, there were also populist songs to remind the audience of brotherhood and unity, such as "Hej, Jugosloveni" (Hey, Yugoslavs) and "Cijela Juga jedna avlija" (All of Yuga, One Playground), and the revolution, such as "Nije sloboda sa neba pala" (Freedom Didn't Come out of the Blue).

While the creators of the show clearly insisted on professionalism, modernity, and technical innovation,<sup>11</sup> the washed-out quality of its socialist social choreography could be noted already in the *tableaux*, which for the most part comprised ideologically weak symbols: a field of flowers, a four-leaf clover, and a migration scene, with two little houses, clouds, and birds "flying south". However, the *slet* would not have been so hybrid and confusing, if its kitsch choreographic storybook had not been interrupted by a Yugoslav People's Army performance, "Armija naša narodna" (Our People's Army) composed by Kornelije Kovač and performed by Jasna Zlokić, Mišo Kovač, and Dado Topić. Even though the Day of Youth *slet* had been demilitarised over the preceding years and there was an agreement with the Army that it would not perform by itself, which meant that, for instance, already in 1979, the audience watched soldiers carrying Pioneers, who were stuffing their guns with flowers (Grigorov 2008, 114–115), this time, the Yugoslav People's Army performed alone. Fully armed. And well-trained. The audience did not find it disturbing; the performance of "the soldiers of the Sun" and "the army of peace", as the Army styled itself, thrilled the spectators and they benevolently chimed in with the goose-stepping soldiers, singing and clapping, and

<sup>11</sup> In the 1980s, the likes of Paja Kultura [Spasuje Grdinić] were replaced by a new generation of young writers with modern ideas, for whom so-called professionalism came first, whereas personal aspects and emotions were incidental. [...] Žarko Čigoja keeps stressing the technical parameters of this event. The former script writer asserts that the show had its producers, music editors, choreographers. (Grigorov 2008, 115)

thus extending the Army's performance onto the stands. And soon far beyond the stands, too.

However, what is most conspicuous is that the performance of the choreography of the *slet* – except the performances of the Army and the folk ensembles (*sic!*) – was unusually sloppy, resulting in faulty, crooked, and failing *tableaux vivants*, which made one grateful to the TV commentators for their explanations, "translating", for instance, the chaos on the pitch as "a field of flowers". This aesthetic commentary affirms what Hewitt suggests in his analysis of gesture when he highlights stumbling as a step out of gesture and thus its basic instance. This illegible move is the non-place of gesture, a negativity wherefrom the gesture itself is read as such and thus points to the work of social choreography.

In this way one may especially view the "bodily techniques" of the performers themselves. A production practice often used in TV broadcasts of the *slets* was to alternate between close-ups and extreme long shots. The practice was not new; Leni Riefenstahl had used in her *Triumph of the Will* to show the monumentality of the *tableaux* at Nuremberg, both in terms of individual performing zeal and the performers' commitment to the idea. At the same time, the socialist *slet's* programme treatment of its performers' physicality proceeded along the following lines:

The sophisticated distribution of the bodies at a stadium literally turned human beings into symbols and letters creating [a] spectacular mass body language. This language had its grammar, its technique, how to create in Foucault terms "precisely legible and docile" bodies. First, such technique concentrated on [the] individual body, breaking it down into the smallest analytical units – movements of body parts. By the help of rhythm these parts were then recomposed according to the mathematical and geometrical considerations. [...] The organizers of mass gymnastic displays created a special grids [*sic*], "tableau [*sic*] vivants", and assign [*sic*] every gymnast an exact place on the intersection of abstract axes x and y. A gymnast standing on his mark at the stadium was no longer part of the natural community, but became an analytical unit, which could be directed, controlled and analyzed from one center. (Orsolya and Roubal 2001)

None of this was the case in the 1987 *slet*. Close-up, the bodies of the performers are no longer analytical units or text. The performers look "private": they are confused, with chewing gum in their mouths, giggling and poking into each other; they perform the choreography absentmindedly, mechanically, or each in their own way; at times, even, some of them seem lost, because they don't know what they're doing; finally, there is no revolutionary fervour on their faces – no convention of expression or expression of the convention of ideology. Of course, that

explains the flimsiness of the *tableaux*, clearly visible in the long shots. Still, the TV crew probably did not intend to be critical; rather, their implicit critique results from their mechanic documenting of the state of affairs, mixed with populist sympathies for the performers, whose privacy was out of joint with the socialist striving to abolish the privacy of private life and make it public. When Dušan Makavejev, back in 1962, made one of the famous films of the Yugoslav Black Wave, *Parada*, this documentary was considered a serious critique of society because instead of the central event of that year's Mayday Parade, where everything worked like a charm, Makavejev recorded the shabby backstage of workers and other performers, where their bodies ceased to be textual and the socialist gesture was falling apart precisely in this manner. Since in 1987 that backstage became the main stage, I would ironically dub this *slet* and the following one the black wave of the Yugoslav *slet*.

The collapse of the socialist social choreography in the 1987 *slet* was also aided by the TV commentators' rather ambivalent comments, as well as aphorisms shown on the scoreboard (invisible to the TV audience and therefore occasionally read out by the commentators). They are mostly critical and ironic with regards to the show itself, as well as the larger social reality, and therefore sound as though they were the immediate voice of the people, whilst, in fact, representing the state television:

TV Commentator 1: The countdown is on. What is it? The working class is counting. What are they counting? They're counting what remains of their wages this month and wondering; we could go to the seaside, but how? And if we have to, can we? ... I will go to the seaside, though maybe I won't, I'm an optimist, mother...

TV Commentator 2: Right, that's exactly what the display's saying: 'I'm an optimist, because it won't do like this anymore'.

There are two key points in this regard. One concerns the two commentators' comments accompanying the folk dance "Kakvo kolo naokolo" (What a Dance All Around), which opens the first block of the *slet*, under the ominous title of "Bomba u grudima" (A Bomb in My Chest). The music, comprising motives from various national folk-music traditions of Yugoslavia's many constituent nations and nationalities,<sup>12</sup> was based

<sup>12</sup> In Serbo-Croatian, *narod* i *narodnosti*. According to its constitution, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia comprised six constituent nations (*narod*) – the Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Macedonians, Slovenes, and Montenegrins, each of whom formed a majority (in some cases, though, only relative) in their own constituent republic (federal unit) – and a number of nationalities (*narodnosti*; in effect, national minorities), including, most prominently, the Albanians, Hungarians, and Italians, among others, scattered in some or all of Yugoslavia's six constituent republics – Translator's note.

on the dance "Brankovo kolo" (Branko's Round Dance) by Serbian romanticist composer Josif Marinković, a musical setting of the poem "Đački rastanak" (Schoolfriends' Farewell) by another Serbian romanticist author, the poet Branko Radičević, while the choreography comprised a medley of round dances. As the lengthy and tumultuous dance reaches a crescendo, the two TV commentators seek to match it with a counterpoint of their own. They openly read it as a symptom of growing nationalism and criticise the performers for splitting apart and dancing in eight separate national round dances, instead of one, common Yugoslav dance:

TV Commentator 1: As you may see, the dance started together. ... But something's happening.

TV Commentator 2: Right, what happened to that harmonious dance from the beginning? Why are they, one by one, slowly drifting apart?

TV1: There, Serbia's on its own now, then Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina... One by one, the republics and the provinces are drifting apart.

TV2: Why are we dancing in eight different round dances? Why are we... why are they dancing to their own nationally recognisable melodies, and not together?

TV1: It seems we're not united, as we should be. ... This dance is a warning about the current situation.

This whole cacophony – who's speaking and on whose behalf? – is further enhanced by the aphorisms sprinkling from the scoreboard, such as: "Svaki nacionalizam jednako je opasan, čak i naš" (Every nationalism is equally dangerous, even our own) and "Ima toliko raskrsnica, a putevi nedostaju" (So many crossroads, but so few roads). Besides speaking out on the "open secret" of growing nationalism in Yugoslav society at the end of the 1980s, the commentators and aphorisms also insist on the economic and political crisis of the time. A striking example of introducing this topic into a state rally is the block "Glumište" (Open-air Theatre). And not just on account of the commentators.

"Glumište" emerges as a chaotic Diderotesque theatrical agglomerate, comprising a large number of characters from various social strata, "from the beggar to the prince", and costumed in line with their respective time periods ("the history of Europe"). In terms of its critical content, the most striking part of the block is the item titled "Stari orkestar" (The Old Orchestra). Ballet choreographer Lidija Pilipenko's choreography was atypical for a *slet* and similar mass events meant to be observed from a great distance and high above, because it was actually a theatre ensemble scene. So, while the dancers were performing courtly bows and various dances individually, in pairs and small ensembles, no mass ornament could be seen on the pitch. Meanwhile, the eponymous song by Đorđe



□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1988

Balašević addressed an old orchestra that won't leave the stage, even though it keeps playing the same meaningless song, "tra la la la". Balašević's song was a reference to Yugoslavia's then political elite and one-party system, in which veteran cadres of the League of Communists routinely turned a deaf ear to the problems of Yugoslavia's social reality. But "Glumište" performed all of that as fiction, as a theatrical play within the *slet*. Their performance was based on the procedure of "a play within a play", which – being art, i.e. fiction – allows one to say the "truth" without bearing the consequences. That protective aura was further enhanced by the historical imprecision of the time period depicted, which rendered "Glumište"'s statements timeless and therefore commonsensical in their universality. Once again, the TV commentators sought to up the tension, but this time by concurring with what was being performed on the pitch (TV Commentator: "And, of course, an old orchestra that needs to be replaced.") and finally by taking up the chorus "tra la la la", in their commentary on the following aphorism: "Sve je prolazno, posledice su trajne" (Everything is ephemeral, only the consequences are permanent). However, when the two commentators take over the "tra la la la" chorus, it leaves the fiction of "Glumište" and becomes real. And that is exactly its effect. To get this mechanism going, "Glumište" as a play within a play makes havoc in the representational order of the *slet*, which, whilst projecting Yugoslavia's society, seeks to be its expression, which takes us back to the domain of allegory and the non-gesture of stumbling. The procedure of "Glumište" is cynical, because this play within a play treats the *slet* itself as theatre, exposing the truth of "the emperor's new clothes". "Glumište" is therefore "stupid" and won't read the allegory; it abandons its allotted slot in the assumed linguistic-ideological community – which the *slet* treats as both the referent and addressee in reality – and appears from someplace else, in the midst of the allegory. This way, as fiction within fiction, "Glumište" finally catches up with the reality, showing that the *slet* doesn't. This procedure points to the final step required to complete

the circularity of the *slet*'s ideological work, precisely because "Glumište" does not perform it: not only does one need to be a member of the ideological-linguistic community to read the allegory, which is its assumed expression, but also, at the same time, to become a member of that community, one must know how to read the allegory correctly. From the perspective of this "civil disobedience" on the part of "Glumište", it is interesting to note that its illegible noise, in terms of the lack of a mass ornament, may be understood as a basic instance of mass ornament in Kracauer's sense – the mass of people itself, their unstructured corporeality, whose unawareness of the expression of convention legitimises its utterance as an authentic expression of the hitherto unrepresented people. The procedure of "Glumište" is also familiar from history, as that of "the king's fool". And the fool's cynicism relies on blackmail: I'm the fool and therefore you won't take me seriously (I don't belong in the order of reality); but if you break the contract and do take me seriously (that I am the voice of reality), then you're a fool yourself. Therefore, "Glumište" was difficult to criticise without thereby acknowledging the fictional character of the *slet* itself, which is precisely what subsequent critiques ended up doing.

Still, at the end, there remains a far-reaching question, concerning which we may only speculate in the present analytical framework: was it reality that the collapse of the 1987 *slet*'s choreography opened? What was that reality? Was it an authentic expression on the part of unrepresented citizens? Or: wherefrom was it generated, whose voice was it that "Glumište" put on the public stage? What both Hewitt and numerous Marxist theorists before him have

generally pointed out in this regard is that it is a fallacy to search for some immediate truth, reality, or authenticity in what shines through a crack in a gesture or ideological framework, because, as Karl Popper might say, even before contesting a hypothesis, we usually already have another one up our sleeve.

Thus, that illegible non-gesture, which had emerged through the cracks in the 1987 *slet*, acquired its intelligibility barely a year later, which saw the last Day of Youth event, this time without the relay race, which had been discontinued in the meantime. That year, the *slet* at the Yugoslav People's Army Stadium took the form of an artistic dance performance, with a single heroine. The pop-culture-oriented authors of the 1987 *slet*, the script writers Slobodan Vujović and Žarko Čigoja and director Mihailo Vukobratović, were replaced by well-known theatre makers: the 1988 *slet* was directed by Paolo Magelli, choreographed by Damir Zlatar Frey, and the main role was performed by Sonja Vukićević, a ballet dancer and modern dance choreographer. The *slet* was based on an adaptation of *Uro boros*, a professional play produced by the Novi Sad Cultural Centre and performed the previous year, with much success, at the Budva Theatre City festival in Montenegro.

The event began with an inspired speech by actress Ivana Žigon, celebrating some of the great figures of 20<sup>th</sup>-century theatre (from the avant-garde to Wilson) and free human spirit. Then, the stadium was plunged into darkness, broken only by countless torches roaming across the pitch. This was followed

□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1988

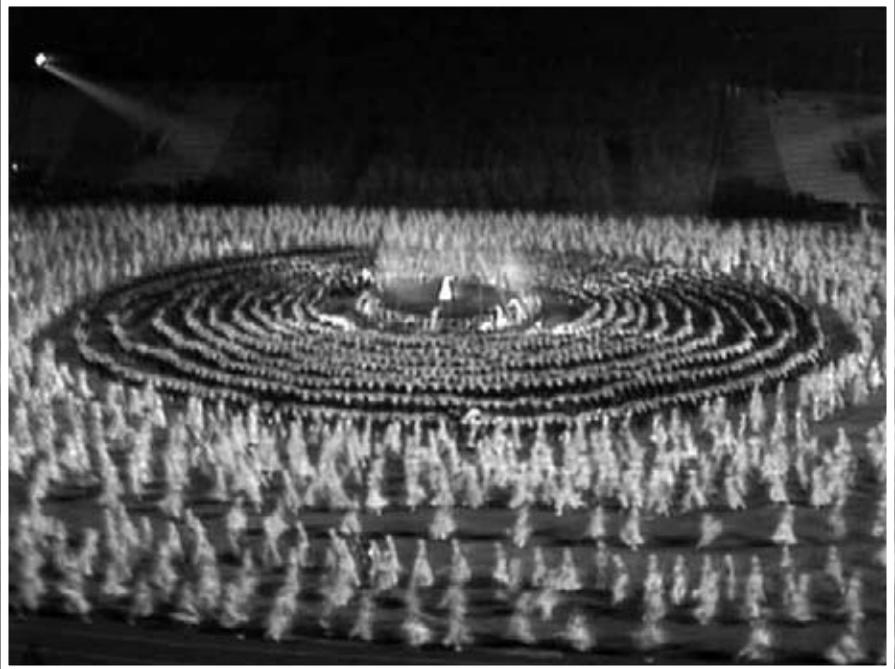


by a dramatic and dark dance performance in the genre of a stadium-sized choreo-drama about destruction and regeneration, life and death. With her ascetic, dance-athletic body, wearing a white dress, unshod, and with her long, unbound loosely swinging hair, Sonja Vukićević, with much expression, performed the figure of a torn individual, struggling against various obstacles and herself, but still not succumbing in the end. Even though the pitch was crowded with performers,<sup>13</sup> she completely dominated the scene, which turned the 1988 *slet* into a dance solo, of gigantic proportions. The entire choreography and the entire set, with especially effective focused lighting, were mobilised to single out, for the first time in the history of *slets*, a single body from the anonymous dancing mass. Throughout the event, that body kept running relentlessly, up and down the pitch, drenched in rain, crossing a sea, to emerge at the end, literally battered and exhausted but still standing, on an elevated platform in the middle of the stadium, surrounded by people in semi-darkness, organising themselves in concentric circles around her.

The play's historical context was less than precise; the symbolic order of the *slet* renounced contemporaneity and its aesthetic primarily evoked a medieval kind of atmosphere, with the performers costumed to look like serfs from feudal times. Those 9,000 other performers were thus given the (quasi-)tautological role of the people *qua* people, while only one virtuosic individual was singled out from their midst, exceptional and exempt. It was a syntactic and symbolic collapse of the *slet* ideology of "All together now!". Thus, if the 1987 *slet* might illustrate Renata Salecl's claim that in socialist Yugoslavia no one eventually believed in socialism anymore, but everyone believed that everyone else still believed (Salecl 2010, min. 8.05-9.50), the 1988 event shows that a year later no one shared that belief either, not even the state itself. Still, one should not view that collapse as that of ideology in general and a transition into a post-ideological and post-historical era. On the contrary, stripped of the kind of ideological propaganda that we witnessed in the preceding years, the 1988 *slet* merely used more subtle artistic devices to promote individualism as the new ideological matrix.

Before discussing that individualism, I will briefly address the aspect of the artistic. As I mentioned at the outset, in post-revolutionary USSR the concept of *fiskultura* facilitated the

13 According to Vukićević, apart from her partners onstage, she was accompanied by another 9,000 youths. She told me that when I interviewed her for *Tigrov skok u prošlost* (A Tiger's Leap into the Past), an exploration and video archive of Serbia's dance scene, co-authored with Saša Asentić, Belgrade, 2007 <http://vimeo.com/16371324> (20 October 2013).



□ Day of Youth *slet*, 1988

transfer of sports into culture, which was, according to O'Mahony, a sort of legitimisation of mass, working-class culture, as opposed to bourgeois, elitist culture and its glorification of the arts. The socialist *slet* – from the Spartakiades, via mass gymnastics, to the Day of Youth *slets* – thus emerged as an ideological spectacle with a strong insistence on the aesthetic, but aesthetic in its basic sense and therefore not necessarily artistic. Indeed, one had to be rather careful and deft in balancing the artistic, to enhance the ideological affect and effect, but without straying into bourgeois elitism, *l'art pour l'art*, or decadence. In 1987, with its theatrical block, "Glumište" opened a crack in this aesthetic order, which in 1988 gave birth to an artistic dance-theatrical play *in lieu* of a *slet*. From the politico-ideological perspective of the collapse of socialism and revitalisation of capitalism in Yugoslavia, or the collapse of its proletarian and revitalisation of its bourgeois society, it is symptomatic to compare this turn with an ostensibly advisory but really obligatory lecture given by Kim Jong-il in 1987 to the organisers of mass gymnastics on the eve of *Prosperous Juche Korea*, a mass rally to mark the Day of the Sun, Kim Il-sung's birthday. Here are some excerpts:

Our mass gymnastics are a mixed form of comprehensive physical exercises, which combine high ideological content, artistic qualities and gymnastic skills. [...] The revolutionary content of the theme of a mass gymnastic piece enhances its ideological and artistic qualities and its educational significance. [...] When told to adopt new forms

each time they create mass gymnastics, the creative workers try to make and use artistic hand props and equipment, instead of gymnastic hand props and equipment. In consequence, gymnastic performances lack vigour and driving force and are beginning to resemble art performances. From now on, gymnastic hand props and equipment must be designed and used for gymnastic formations. [...] To all intents and purposes, backdrops and music are needed to add relief to the performances of the gymnasts. Subordinating music to the movements of the players will avoid the tendency of mass gymnastic performances becoming like a dance or an art performance. [...] If too much of it is used as gymnastic music, the mass gymnastic performance may become an art performance. This is not good. [...] The major shortcoming of this work [*Prosperous Juche Korea*] is that it resembles a dance and an art work. (Kim 1987)

Back to the individualistic matrix of the last Yugoslav *slet*. That the individualism of the 1988 *slet* was an ideological category every bit as much as collectivism had been is an important thesis regarding the social choreography of contemporary dance, based as it is on emancipating the individual body (even though this emancipation is considered inherently anti-ideological). In addition, this thesis, more specifically and contrary to the common view, links it with capitalist rather than democratic society. I have already written about this, so here I will reiterate some of the argumentation:

Accordingly, [the] "emancipation of the individual" (attributed to democratic societies) is not reverse to ideology (imputed to non-democratic regimes), but its guiding principle. And its reverse on the

other ideological side is "collectivism". The former concept is specific to capitalist societies and basically derives from the economic principle of private ownership, as its ideological foundation. The latter was adopted from the socialist-communist ideological vocabulary, and refers to its milestone concept of public ownership. [...] Therefore, what we encounter in capitalist societies is a history of contemporary dance as a high art practice of [the] emancipation of the individual – rendering a singular autonomous subject through [the] liberation of the individual body, expressiveness, creativity, and authorship. On the other hand, in socialist countries such practice was perceived as a bourgeois luxury – what was required was a socially and economically efficient collective – being replaced by dance as an "all together now!" activity, and [the] nearly anonymous cultural practices of rallies, parades, amateur or folk dances etc. [...] Metaphorically speaking, a professional-Western-contemporary-dancer is an ideal image of an independent, well-educated and accomplished self-entrepreneur, while an-Eastern-mass-of-(semi-)-amateur-performers is a projection of a Workers' Council wherein each voice claims equal importance and value in a workforce structure that belongs to all of them (in fact, to the whole society). (Vujanović 2008, 39–40)

However, if we understand the choreography of the 1988 *slet* as an allegory of the ideology of individualism, then, as before, we must move to its more specific social level. My key claim, with which I conclude this analysis, is that the allegory here is ambiguous, because it demands to be read at once in two seemingly contradictory ways. According to one of them, following the collapse of socialist collectivism and its notorious particularism, the allegory celebrates the very notion of a free and independent individual (which, presumably, anyone could be, in his or her specificities, thus as a singularity of a plurality) whereas according to the other, it rehearses a new collectivism based again on particularist self-sacrifice and ultimate support to a prominent individual (but who is that individual?). This politics of the body belongs in a new social and ideological chapter in the history of Yugoslavia, but first, it retroactively enquires about the social (dys)functionality of the Day of Youth *slet*. Namely, the social function of the *slet* was to constitute, by performing and rehearsing socialist collectivism, the identity of the new social subject, able to preserve the legacy of the revolution and continue down the revolutionary path toward communism. That kind of performativity of identity, Judith Butler has written, certainly requires more than one performance: it requires long-term repetitiveness. And that is precisely what *slets* did, along with many other similar events and rituals in Yugoslavia's ceremonialised society. In addition to adding physical culture to the

curriculum starting in primary school, every year for 30 years, the *slets* publicly performed, rehearsed, and trained young bodies to take up the identity of future socialist Yugoslavs. However, the 1987 *slet* revealed that identity as flimsy, porous, socially not grounded (anymore), only to be replaced, already in 1988, by an entirely different model: that of a prominent individual surrounded by the masses. The question is what happened to that social body that had spent 30 years training for an entirely different picture of the world: how did it change shape so quickly, or was it ever shaped at all? The only certainty is that the breakdown of its aesthetic continuum was performed in a spectacular way in the 1987 and 1988 self-performances of the state, when a new identity, with all the ambiguity of a symbiosis between an individual and the colourless masses, acquired its social grounding – in the emergence of national leaders in each of the six republics and the growth of nationalism as anchors of identification for those citizens who assembled around them; this new identity would mark the social reality of Yugoslavia in the ensuing period. ■

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# The Collective Bodies of Protest: Social Choreographies and the Materiality of Social Figurations

**Gabriele KLEIN** ● ●

**Abstract** ● The text focuses on a globally and politically volatile topic: the emergence of collective bodies and social choreographies in urban performance art and protest movements, involving, on the one hand, an interdisciplinary interweaving of the social sciences, and, on the other, the philosophy of art and human movement studies. The objective is to examine the aesthetic practices and social figurations of aesthetic and political interventions in public space, using the theoretical concept of social choreography.

**The Aestheticisation of the Political** ● In recent years, a new culture of political participation has emerged, both in Arab countries and the Western world, above all in large urban centres. Enabled by social media (the Internet, Facebook, Twitter, e-mail, text messaging), new practices and figurations of a protest culture in public space

have developed at the turn of the century, seeking to negotiate questions of common existence beyond institutionalised politics and the officially legitimate political stage.

In contrast to the Arab world, in the West, which is the focus of this text, protest has in many instances taken an aesthetic form. With their interventions in public space, these new protest cultures in the Western world have sought their role models in art history, who championed a broader definition of art. On the one hand, they have turned to various artistic movements from the 1920s, such as Dadaism, futurism, the theatre art of the Bauhaus, surrealism, and the Situationist International of the 1960s, as well as the “Sponti” movements, triggered by Kommune I, the Autonomism movement in Italy, and the Spaßguerilla actions of the 1980s. On the other hand, they have sought to build on the street culture that had established itself in

European cities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that transfers everyday situations and cultural traditions into public space and politicises them (Kaschuba 1991): carnival-like processions, street theatre, performances and (tractor) parades, occupying houses, street junctions, building sites, and railway tracks. Flash mobs, chaining oneself to or abseiling from bridges, boldly hanging posters in dangerous places, camping in tent cities, and stripping and freezing not only make for spectacular images, but have also ensured, like the Occupy movement together with social media, new performative formations and figurations of protest cultures.

In these protest cultures, the word “movement” should not be seen only metaphorically, but also, thanks to its corporeal, scenic, and choreographic actions, literally, which has yet to be adequately addressed in theories of social movement. The perspective of social choreography, so the argument goes, expands the

sociological approach to the body, which treats "the body" primarily in singular, by including the interactivity of bodies, which materialises in stage practices and choreographic forms.

### The Politicisation of the

**Aesthetic** ● At the same time, numerous performance art projects have developed in public space. They see themselves as *searching for new perspectives of the political* or as *experimental fields of the social*. Their historical origins are well-known and have been thoroughly discussed: examples include the Happening (Kaprow), Nouveau Réalisme (Tinguely), Fluxus (Paik, Beuys), Viennese Actionism (Brus, Mühl, Nitsch), and the early performance artists (Horn, Naumann, Export, Ono, Abramović); since the 1960s and '70s, the performing arts (visual arts, music, theatre, dance) in particular have been increasingly concerned with urban public life, simultaneously and in reaction to the transformation of the cities.

Since the 1990s, contemporary European performance art and choreography, in particular, have developed aesthetic concepts to address cultural and political life in public space and experiment with participation in public life (e.g. Blast Theory, Forced Entertainment, Gob Squad, Lab of Insurrectional Imagination, La Pocha Nostra, Ligna, SheShePop, Turbo Pascal, Rimini Protokoll, Femen, Pussy Riot, Toyshop Collective, Space Hijackers).

But their artistic productions operate in a different social context, which performance research, in line with Hardt and Negri (Hardt & Negri 2000), interpret as post-Fordist (Virno 2003). With the post-Fordist and neoliberal concept of labour, artistic work itself has acquired a different social meaning: creativity, originality, improvisation, spontaneity, innovative enthusiasm, the combination of work and life – what used to be a genuine feature of the artistic avant-garde has now become a required characteristic of labour in post-Fordist conditions of production and neoliberal political concepts. In this, artists are seen as pioneers (Boltanski & Chiapello 2005). Creativity has advanced to become the guiding mechanism of contemporary societies (Reckwitz 2012). Also, the *transformation of labour* (Klein & Kunst 2012) has brought about a change in the *social importance of art*: whereas art in the modern period derived its social legitimacy from its autonomy and critical distance, the role of the artist has changed so much that art is increasingly defined by its function within the social fields of education, culture, and science.

Choreographic and performance projects are also involved in this new, highly charged artistic conflict between the critical avant-garde, innovative artistic participatory projects, and contract work for different clients

(cities, communities, schools, authorities, churches, educational and cultural institutions, associations). Reclaim the Streets, protest movements to reclaim public space; the Israeli performance collective Public Movement; Pink and Silver; and Volxtheaterkarawane, an Austrian art project against racism, are only a few of a large number of many projects that test figurations of social practice in an interplay with artistic and participatory types of action.

There is consensus in performance and dance studies that participatory art projects in urban space provide alternative views and perspectives on urban life and, in their work methods, devise tools to test various modes of public participation. In the process, they have abandoned the customary space of the theatre and moved into public space or other urban places (e.g. schools, hospitals, homeless shelters). Alternatively, they have declared the theatre itself a place of social participation, reinterpreting it as a space for social experimentation and thus challenging its traditional frameworks. Urban performance art and choreography are proving to be suitable fields for experiencing through and in bodily practices whether and how communication in public space may occur between people from different cultures and milieus, with different lifestyles and attitudes.

These artistic projects are recreating the political task and public relevance of performance art by penetrating public space and addressing everyday politics as incorporated power politics. They are driven by issues in theatre theory, such as the following: What are the places of theatre? What is the structure of the relationship between the actor and the public? How can the theatricality of the everyday be reflected aesthetically? How are relationships among bodies organised?

**Social Choreography** ● The term "social choreography" was used prominently for the first time in literary studies, by Andrew Hewitt (Hewitt 2005). Hewitt studied the writings of authors from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century from a literary perspective, focusing on their use of "choreography" as a metaphor for the modern. In his introduction, Hewitt formulates his thesis on the connection between choreography and the social, by asserting that the aesthetic is inherent in the social itself, the social order (Hewitt 2005, 12). Accordingly, he concludes that a choreographic perspective on everyday practices should above all follow two paths:

one tracing the ways in which everyday experience might be aestheticized (dance aestheticizes the most fundamental and defining motor attributes of the human animal); and another tracing the ways in which "the aesthetic" is, in fact, sectioned off and delineated as a distinct realm of

experience. This is what I mean by the aesthetic continuum of social choreography. (Hewitt 2005, 19)

Hewitt thus defines social choreography in terms of connections between the aesthetic and the social, which other authors have noted as well (e.g. Martin 1997). However, the question remains as to how to define and examine the choreographic as a specific form of the aesthetic *and* the social. Thus a choreographic viewpoint would not generally concentrate on "the aesthetic", but on the materiality of the time-space relationship of bodies, their rhythms, dynamics, figurations, and formations.

At the same time, another issue that remains unclear in Hewitt's approach concerns the central sociological question regarding the relationship between macro- and micro-structures of the social, i.e. between social order and social situation, structure and action. Especially here, in merging micro- and macro-perspectives, I believe the choreographic perspective offers further benefits, especially if we understand choreography in the contemporary sense, not as a prescribed, fixed order of movement, but rather as a performative category, an order that is generated in practice, in the sense of "real-time composition" simultaneous with performance (see below).

From this background, I have sought to reformulate the concept of social choreography from a sociological and dance-studies perspective. In my perspective, the term combines the concept of choreography from contemporary dance, which basically denotes organising bodies in space and time (sometimes fixed in notation), with the sociological concept of social figuration (Norbert Elias). Elias introduced the concept to solve the basic theoretical problem of sociology: how to think micro- and macro-structures together. In Elias's understanding, a figuration is an "interdependence network" of agents immanent to a social order. Therefore, they do not precede their figuration, but are created by their interdependent actions. The concept of figuration can thus be interpreted from Elias's performative-theoretical perspective. In addition, the term is also helpful with regards to the concept of social choreography, as it addresses the interaction of bodies and takes this as a basis for the social. This distinguishes figurational sociology, not only within sociology in general, from action-theory concepts that focus on individuals' actions, as well as from structural-theory concepts that suggest pre-existing orders. It also opens the prospect for a concept of choreography not as an organised compilation of individual actions, founded in a specific modern theory of the subject *qua* "homo clausus" (Elias). Rather, the concept of figuration describes the interdependence of bodies and their movements themselves

as the fundamental basis for the actions of individuals and thus for the social as well. Therefore, the concept of social choreography develops a choreographic perspective on social figurations: it focuses on the practices of bodily interactions and the materiality of figurations.

From this perspective, social choreography refers to the specifically spatial and time-based figurations of organising bodies, materialities, and objects, relating to each other in an interactive and inter-corporal manner (e.g. in traffic, at demonstrations, on dance floors).

First, social choreography treats social spaces as choreographed environments, such as urban public space as a panoptical space, with its macro-structures objectified by means of urban planning, transport infrastructure, and architecture, which regulate the movement and behaviour of people and thus also the pattern of social perception and experience. Second, social choreography addresses social figurations from the perspective of their orders of movement, in other words, of their inherent bodily interactions.

The concept of social choreography focuses on combining the social and the aesthetic. Its central and fundamental claim is this: the choreographic order of the social contains a political dimension, which is manifested in the order in which bodies move. Therefore, the relationship between the political, the social, and the aesthetic is highly relevant.

Therefore, the concept of social choreography addresses the relationship between macro- and micro-structures, order and movement, whereby order, on the one hand, may materialise objectively (in traffic infrastructure, buildings, etc.), while on the other hand, it may be part of figurations highlighted by the intertwining of the participants' movements. The immanent relationship between order and movement in social figurations proves to be ambivalent: on the one hand, it leads to a conventionalisation and standardisation of social norms and rules; on the other hand, it provides a potential for disruption and intervention. The manner in which this ambivalence is revealed is the central object of my research in social choreographies.

Social choreographies touch upon the question of the parallels and figurations of 1) the corporeal, 2) the theatrical, and 3) the choreographic figurations of political protest and aesthetic participation. The question is whether and how the new protest cultures, by means of their aesthetic practices rather than concrete demands, disturb, undermine, and possibly change the choreographed order of public space and also announce and engender other, alternative modes of social and political experience.

The perspective of social choreography follows a critical social theory of modernity, which informs the cultural pattern of a society,

especially in its everyday bodily practices, its micro-politics. Here the perspective of interacting bodies is of paramount interest. From the perspective of social choreography, the body is not only a medium of protest in the sense that it serves as a bearer of signs and symbols or is endangered in risky actions. The "dis-placement" and "de-positioning" of bodies lying in the street, chained up, and dragged away, demonstrates the vulnerability of the private and intimate body. This in itself is a protest against public space as a panoptical space of power (Foucault). In addition, the protest only comes about in the first place by means of a choreographic organisation of the body, in other words, in the materiality of a social figuration. Not a single but only a collective body may be politically effective in occupying public space and undermining its order. Furthermore, these actions are often creative and theatrical, conceived with much humour and irony; by means of these theatrical practices and their ephemeral figurations, they themselves blur the difference between the aesthetic and the political.

The movement order of protest cultures' social choreographies is not fixed, but may instead be phrased in the language of contemporary choreography and understood as a regulated and structured improvisation of an everyday practice. As choreographies that produce ephemeral order, protest movements demonstrate a contemporary understanding of choreography, not as a fixed, repeatable order governed by rules, to which one must adapt, but as a common process, an emerging and contingent order, created from scratch by its participants. Choreographer William Forsythe thus writes:

Choreography is not necessarily bound to dance, nor is dance bound to choreography. Choreography is about organizing bodies in space, or organizing bodies with other bodies, or a body with other bodies in an environment that is organized. (Forsythe 2010, 105)

This contemporary definition of choreography forms the background of the concept of social choreography. From the perspective of contemporary choreography, a choreographed protest may be seen as a real-time composition, i.e. a regulated improvisation, occurring as a choreographed order at the moment of its performance (flash mobs would be a paradigmatic example here, with actors, upon an arranged signal, simultaneously following a score). Due to the unpredictability of real-time political-protest choreographies, the situational decisions that the actors must make and their ability to act creatively in a politically volatile situation and under "time pressure", as well as tracking the movements of others and interacting with them, grow fundamentally important. Here we see an aesthetic ambivalence,

inasmuch as the creative practices of protest movements may be interpreted not only as resisting the ruling norms, but also as part of the post-Fordist regime of creativity.

### Aestheticisation in Protest

**Cultures** ● Against this background, the argument presented here is that these new figurations of a democratic public, especially in a neoliberal Western world, should not be seen only as "anti-movements", lacking in perspective, as is often claimed in public debate. Instead, we should be asking whether another form of the political, an "art of freedom" (Rebentisch 2012), may appear *in the process of aestheticisation itself*. In contrast to critiques of aestheticisation that began in the 1960s, for example, Austrian writer Peter Handke's defamation of street theatre as an apolitical "TheaterTheater" (Handke 1968) and various theorists' critiques of the subculture of the process of aestheticisation (Marcuse 1969), who then circulated the catchphrase "anaesthetisation", this text argues that precisely aestheticisation itself may be understood as a search for new perspectives of the political, for new guidelines in democratic politics, local and global alike, and new forms of common existence in multicultural cities and urban spaces.

The new protest cultures can be understood as an expression of the theatricality of public urban space, where protest has always occurred as an integral element of public staging. Whether a revolt, uprising, ordered demonstration, street battle, celebration, festival, or a ceremony – public gatherings must be staged in order to be visible. Therefore, theatricality is not something added from without, but rather a genuine part of protest.

Aestheticisation means a fundamental change not only of the ethical, but also the political and the social. "Aestheticisation" is a keyword that pervaded the field of cultural criticism throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century: from Walter Benjamin's diagnosis of an "aestheticisation of political life" (Benjamin 2008) to Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (Debord 1994), and the various positions of modern and postmodern criticism (Habermas 1990, Eagleton 1990, Bubner 1989, Boltanski & Chiapello 2005, Ferry 1993). The focus of these various lines of criticisms was the relationship between the aesthetic and the non-aesthetic, whereby the aesthetic, relating to aestheticisation, was understood as something entering from the outside and driving different areas, such as politics, religion, ethics, and reason, into crisis, questioning and subverting their normative foundations.

In recent years, however, various positions have developed in the fields of philosophy (Boehm 1995, Welsch 1993), religion and history (White 1973, Kippenberg 1982–90, Lanwerd 2003), literature and art history (Bredenkamp

2007, Vogl 1999, Iser 2003, Rebentisch 2012, Brombach *et al.* 2010), which refuse to follow this discursive pattern of the aestheticisation debate and advocate an opposing standpoint. They view the aesthetic as constitutive for political, religious, social, and epistemological practices. Aestheticisation thus denotes not a process of disruption, but is seen instead as an immanent element that contributes to the success of these practices. At the same time, the aesthetic is recognised as a key term for testing modern concepts of knowledge, of the political and the religious. This is precisely because a lack of the aesthetic is seen as an aspect of the crisis.

In the perspective of its critics, aestheticisation leads to the domination of appearance, whereby every event becomes a spectacular staging, contents become images, action becomes performance, self-perception becomes a pose, protest becomes a spectacle, and social connections become aesthetic relations. Thus in the critical outlook of sociology and philosophy, the 'danger' of the aesthetic lies in its non-integrative impact on the community.

In contrast to these positions, the concept of social choreography rests on the assumption that the aesthetic is an immanent moment of the social and the political. As such, it is ambivalent: it can contribute to destruction, as well as to a renewal.

Against this background of combining the aesthetic and the political, the aesthetic should not be described only as a form of perception, nor can it exist at all outside of the political. Rather, this perspective is driven by the assumption that the aesthetic is embedded in political and social practices and social figurations – precisely because these practices and figurations, with their norms, rules, and customs, already control perception by spacing people socially, allocating them social and political manoeuvring space, and thus regulating social perception. Also, this is precisely where the political dimensions of the corporeal (aesthetic) lie: in "kinesthetic politics" (Lepecki 2006). It is a political term that combines the physical and the political, defining political activity as the sensual practice of shifting and making visible cultural and social codes – in defiance of what Jacques Rancière calls the "police order" (Rancière 2010).

### The Politics of Aestheticisation

In the perspective of the aesthetic, the question is not only how to evaluate the participative understanding of democracy under the political and social conditions of each society and its political system. The new protest cultures in democratic societies also demonstrate that aesthetic ambiguity and performing openness see

democracy as a form that "comes into its own" (Derrida), which must constantly be reinvented and ultimately cannot be realised in any specific form of realisation (Nancy 2000, Rancière 2011).

My first thesis is that a new quality can be seen in these new figurations of public protest, in the interaction between the political and the aesthetic, in the simultaneous aestheticisation of the political and politicisation of the aesthetic: while political protest is becoming increasingly aesthetic, art in public space is becoming more political. Therefore, the aestheticisation of protest movements should not be blamed for their alleged lack of perspective, but should be seen, as I argued earlier, as an internal search for new perspectives of the political, for new guidelines for democratic politics, local and global alike, and for new forms of coexistence, especially in multicultural cities and urban environments. My second thesis is that the aesthetic is not a transformation that distorts the political, but rather a necessary part of democratic politics.

My third thesis claims that the aestheticisation of protest movements also changes the relationship between form and content: the objectives are diffuse and perhaps must remain diffuse, on the one hand, because they are a reaction to post-democratic politics, which tends to act as an administrative practice legitimised by economic necessity, no longer ascribing any responsibility to the government. On the other hand, the actions concentrate on aesthetic practices, i.e. on playing with signs, meanings, distortions, alienation, citations, in other words, with the techniques and procedures that characterise "(post)dramatic theatre" (Lehmann 2006) and an "aesthetic of the performative" (Fischer-Lichte 2008).

This wide scope of topics and objectives also changes, thus my fourth thesis, the social figurations of protest: the "interdependence networks" that materialise as specific space-time structures and are analysed with regard to their corporeal, stage, and choreographic practices. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, workers and labour unions organised their demonstrations in rows or blocks. They took this choreographic form because they wished to position themselves on different sides: on the one hand they wanted to show the bourgeoisie their ability to make their political demands publicly in an ordered and controlled manner. On the other hand, movements in Germany wanted to demonstrate to the Prussian state their acceptance of its militaristic choreographic pattern and thus visibly demarcate themselves from the radical Left, which had been disparaged as a militant mob. Nowadays, protests appear in increasingly fleeting, disordered, spontaneous, and unannounced figurations. On the one hand, this is an expression of a "fluid modernity" (Bauman) and an analogy to post-

Fordist forms of production. On the other hand, these aesthetic forms also affect and change the moments, places, and rhythms and dynamics of the "collective bodies of protest". ■

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# Dance War

**Bojana CVEJIĆ** ● ● In 1954, when US president Dwight D. Eisenhower spelled out his “domino” theory that the exit of France from Indochina and the communist insurgency in Vietnam would cause the entire region to “fall” to communism, the American National Theater Academy (ANTA) sent the Martha Graham Dance Company on a tour of Southeast Asia. The ANTA was assigned to recruit dance in a diplomatic mission by the State Department. The initiative was in concert with the Emergency Fund for International Affairs that Eisenhower set up that same year, in order to get Congress to assign more funds for the arts, including dance, for the purpose of “counteracting the impression of life in America as shown in the motion pictures”, or, as a Jakarta-based newspaper eloquently put it in 1955, to dispel “the prevalent notion that Americans live in a cultural wasteland peopled only with gadgets and frankfurters and atom bombs” (Prevots 1998, 50). And Martha Graham’s mission was indeed successful: even communist-oriented and anti-American media and officials in India, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Japan, etc. praised her dance for its cultural-diplomacy efforts with much enthusiasm. “Artistes like Miss Graham can very effectively contribute towards international goodwill and therefore they are a potent force for peace”, Burma’s Prime Minister U Nu stated. The *Hindustani Standard* likewise commented that “in introducing us to this other face of her great country, Miss Graham is visibly raising Indo-U.S. relations to a higher level” (Prevots 1998, 50–51). Key to winning the “battle for the hearts and minds” of America’s ideological adversaries in this Cold War affair wasn’t the patriotic narrative of an epic dance spectacle (as in some other pieces by Graham, such as *American Document* or *Appalachian Spring*), but those characteristics of American modern dance that epitomised “freedom”, a quality meant to distinguish American from Soviet culture by emphasising the “individual” and the “real”, reified in bodies expressing emotion in movement. Local critics grappled with words to describe the vehement approval of Graham’s audiences: “calmness to motion, motion to serenity... those two and a half hours gave whole audience deep emotion” in a choreography that “celebrates the beauty and reality of the human body, even as it claws deep



into the human heart” (Japanese and Malaysian critics, quoted in Prevots 1998, 48–49).

**“Dance-war”, an Oxymoron... Not “War-dance”** ● This story about a deployment of American modern dance as an instrument of ideological propaganda, ostensibly for peace-making purposes, but in fact merely as another form of the struggle for hegemony and influence in a world divided by the Cold War, is the starting point of my enquiry. What terms and relations does the conjunction of dance and war, as it were, throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century invoke? And, in order to specify the field and motivation of such an enquiry, can we ask: which dance, which war? In what sense should one consider those terms and how might they reciprocally determine each other? The story of Graham’s tour of Southeast Asia is the apogee of the Western, Euro-American tradition of theatre dance, in which “dance-war” seems, at first sight, like an oxymoron, where two terms denote contradictory notions joined in opposition. Since its “birth”, exclaimed by Isadora Duncan in “I See America Dancing!”, modern dance has been associated with the emancipation of the individual in the framework of liberal democracy. The core of the argument that justified modern dance’s critical departure from ballet, and that still informs contemporary dance as the legacy of early modern dance, may be summarised as follows: dance embodies freedom as the universal and inherent human capacity for self-expression,

□ Yvonne Rainer’s WAR, photograph by Lennart Laberenz

best manifested in the kinetic flow, or, as André Lepecki calls it, in “being-toward-movement”. Several founding notions of modern dance can link its genealogy with the expansion of liberal democracy and free-enterprise market capitalism: individual mobility as a propensity for movement/change/flow/flight as well as a condition for autonomy; the emotional nature of movement, expressing the inner life of an individual; dance as an abstracting machine that reduces form to essence and signification to metaphors; the obsession with the real in the physicality of the body-movement bind and in a fleeting moment of the present. The philosophical underpinnings of these notions are incontrovertibly vitalist, for they celebrate the intense experience of one’s own subjectivity in a living image, or, in the celebratory title of a recent exhibition on dance, *danser sa vie*.<sup>1</sup> Vitalism here comprises both 19<sup>th</sup>-century metaphysics, as in Henri Bergson’s *élan vital*, and the later Deleuzian notions of intensity and becoming, as well as a commonsense register of dance that views itself as a practice equally inspired by and extolling and inspiring life, energy, love, enthusiasm, readiness, and other positive, humanistic affects. Obviously, such affects are at odds with the manifest notions of war: conflict,

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<sup>1</sup> *Danser sa vie* is the title of an exhibition dedicated to 20<sup>th</sup>-century dance and visual art held at the Centre Pompidou in 2012.

violence, destruction, and death. But there is yet another element to the seeming opposition between the Western art of dance and war, which further problematises their conjunction, making it seem less categorically an oxymoron.

Prior to the emergence of individual mobility in 20<sup>th</sup>-century modern dance, Western theatre dance followed the tradition of courtly dance from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward, which later spawned ballroom dancing as a bourgeois counterfeit of the aristocracy's participation in (or observing of) dance as a public spectacle of both social etiquette and the divine order of the monarchy. From *ballet de cour* to waltz, this line of Western dance entertains the aesthetic ideals of harmony and grace in the order of community. Sir John Davies, an English poet from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, put it in verse:

Concord's true picture shineth in this art  
Where diverse men and women ranked be  
And everyone does dance a several part,  
Yet all as one in measure do agree,  
Observing perfect uniformity.  
All turn together, all together trace  
And all together honour and embrace.  
(Davies 1972)

Around 1789, dance's aesthetic image of harmony and grace mutated into a harmonious social arrangement between an individual and the community, conforming to the rise of the bourgeoisie as a new political class. According to Andrew Hewitt's archaeology of the discourse whereby dance or physical movement embodied and rehearsed the social order, it was Friedrich Schiller who articulated the conflation of the social and aesthetic orders, in a letter from 1793:

I can think of no more fitting image for the ideal of social conduct than an English dance, composed of many complicated figures and perfectly executed. A spectator in the gallery sees innumerable movements intersecting in the most chaotic fashion, changing direction swiftly and without rhyme or reason, yet never colliding. Everything is so ordered that the one has already yielded his place when the other arises; it is all so skillfully, and yet so artlessly, integrated into a form, that each seems only to be following his own inclination, yet without ever getting in the way of anybody else. It is the most perfectly appropriate symbol of the assertion of one's own freedom and regard for the freedom of others. (Hewitt 2005, 2)

The social choreography that Schiller describes above seems to reassert a pacifying sense of harmony, virtuosic, yet conflict-free cooperation. At the same time, the harmony of dancing, in its early, courtly forms, had its counterpart in military marches and manoeuvres, equally prominent courtly rituals. William McNeill has noted that Louis XIV deliberately reordered

military routines and courtly dances and *levées* to "make the aristocracy more peaceful at home and far more obedient to the royal will" (McNeill 1995, 134). So, if we, for a moment, peek into military history and observe forms of movement exercised from earliest times, from the ancient citizen-soldiers of Sparta, or, earlier still, from those of China and Mesopotamia, to the close-order drills of today's professional armies, the form and meaning of the conjunction are finally inverted and we may speak of the role of war-dances in warfare. The sense of community in times of peace radicalises and militarises harmony and cooperation into group solidarity in times of war. "Keeping together in time" is a laconic phrase for unison conforming to the beat – in harmony, but without necessarily grace – comprising marching, dancing, and singing together of soldiers and, later, in modern European armies, the military drills of marching, manoeuvring, and formal handling of arms performed at close intervals.

Hence, a converse set of ideas and affects is sustained in war-dances, a "muscular bonding" that consolidates a euphoric "fellow-feeling among the fighters" and heightens excitement as it stimulates and regulates emotion and motivation. At first, this might not seem like anything new or provocative, but, indeed, quite in line with the role of sports, gymnastics, and stadium mass movement in preparation for war. But McNeill goes on to suggest that it isn't the negative aspect of fear of punishment in a disciplinary structure such as an army that fuels warfare, but conversely, the "positive force" lurking in the "primitive solidarity of muscular bonding".<sup>2</sup> Recently, his thesis has been revisited by cognitive science, which, in tandem with a post-Deleuzean political theory of affects, investigates the relationship between visceral and emotional sensations, hormonal and other neural activities and states of "action-readiness" in sundry social environments (Protevi 2009). The emphasis is on deciphering the bio-social *agencement*, whereby rage is triggered in order to promote a method of analysis that would rest neither on social constructivism (whereby context produces behaviour) nor in genetic determinism (or essentialist reductionism, whereby behaviour depends only on a common genetic make-up), but on their developmental systemic interaction. However, both positions regarding the effects of the role of movement in keeping together in time – the harmonious pacifying self-regulation of a community or, conversely, the training of belligerence – attribute dance the power of persuasive

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<sup>2</sup> Beneath the goals and glories that explained and justified European wars, lurked the primitive solidarity of muscular bonding. Fear of punishment, though real enough in Old Regime armies, was a pale second to the positive force of the shared emotional identity that routinely, naturally, inevitably prevailed among well-drilled troops. (McNeill 1995, 132)

expression. Embodiment reifies both movement and emotion into an ideologeme, which may be deployed as an instrument of divergent policies.

**Situations with History** ● First, I will reconsider the epistemological framework within which one may draw relations between war and dance as two distinct domains of knowledge. It proves insufficient to attribute a stable meaning and effect to any aesthetic form of dancing without reference to its original context. Thus not every public manifestation of unison movement *en masse* suggests totalitarian *Gleichschaltung*. A general semiotic technology wouldn't help in the analysis of any particular situation, as it couldn't discern or discriminate this particularity, which might afford more knowledge than a confirmation of the general principle of signification. And, in turn, dissimilar contexts might produce isomorphic movement practices, which would question the determining structural instance of context, but wouldn't equate the status, function, or meanings of these movement practices due to their formal resemblances. Instead, a different analytical dynamic is required, one that will not operate upon the relationship between the object, context, and interpretative perspective, categories extracted from the *situation* in question. By contrast, such a dynamic would try to account for the *situation*, whose heterogeneous components, historical, political, aesthetic, and technological, comprise different partial relations *in lieu* of a unilateral determination of cause and effect.

By taking "situation" here as the central comprehensive concept, I am referring to Isabelle Stengers's epistemology of practice, or what she calls "an ecology of practices". It is also the standpoint of one of the works discussed below, Franck Leibovici's *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, to which I owe this particular methodology. Here, "situation" implies a network or a *milieu* of divergent practices and bodies of knowledge, activities and tools, materials and signs, things and concepts, as well as divergent relations with other networks and *milieus* outside this situation. Stengers defines an ecology of practice as a "tool for thinking through" or "in the middle [*milieu*] of what is happening" (using *milieu* as a pun to denote both "middle" and "environment"). She asserts that "a tool is never neutral" and is therefore not a general means that one may deploy in any situation, but is transformed by the hand that uses it (Stengers 2005, 185). A tool is a technology that addresses and actualises the power of the situation, that is, describes the force whereby a situation develops and a practice sustains itself through empowering and experimenting together with other practices. The epistemic advantage of this method is that it fosters thought as experiment, a speculation that orients the researcher in the present



□ "... in a non-wimpy way", video by Bojana Cvejić and Lennart Labrenz, a view of *Danse Guerre*, exhibition held at Musée de la danse, Rennes, France

toward the future, with an obligation to accept the uncertainty and risk of what the situation, or its actors, might become. However, what remains unaccounted for in this methodology, is an obligation, to use Stengers's own term, to history, or to knowing to what history the researcher belongs or what history affects her, and what histories embed, or vie for, grasping an observed situation. The imperative to historicise, or produce a narrative that might not be in a *major* but in a *minor* key, might seem incompatible with the ecology of practice method, as it implies a critical approach to the past, the usefulness or inventiveness of which is too little for Stengers. But if war and dance pose a problem that makes us think, this problem also includes the respective histories of war and dance, which play a role in identifying and describing the situations in which they relate to each other. Historicisation, rather than becoming, here also implies a discontinuity in transformations of warfare and the concept and discursive culture of war. It also includes the historicisation of dance and its own technologies.

In sum, choreography and dance I will test as tools that describe the situations in which war or warfare is emergent or prominent. If choreography and dance offer a technology for accounting for war and warfare, the practices of dance and choreography must in turn allow war and warfare to recompose them as technologies of military strategy, military history, political history, as well as juridical and other practices that cohabit and interact in the *milieu* of dance-war. The latter implies taking into account the resistance inherent in the legacy of post-war modern dance – which I described above as the liberal, humanist, and vitalist heritage of dance.

In the cases examined below, this resistance isn't deliberate, a matter of a politics of aesthetics, but more of indifference, silence, or refusal to position these dance practices in relation to war as an immediate political circumstance of their habitat. Therefore, I will probe the thesis that war figures as the *political unconscious* of these dance practices. The concept was proposed by Fredric Jameson who coined it as a method of Marxist literary analysis.

Jameson's theory of the political unconscious is a revision of Althusser's version of the base-superstructure model of Marxism. Its main claim is that the hierarchical two-level model that Althusser retained from Marx (albeit by weakening its economic determinism) should be expanded into a horizontal structure of mutual relationships, whereby the economic and technological mode of production would immediately relate to culture, ideology, the juridical, and the political, thus undoing the unilateral causal determination of the superstructure by the economic base. In his poststructuralist reconfiguration of Althusser's model, Jameson views history as an absent cause *in lieu* of structure,

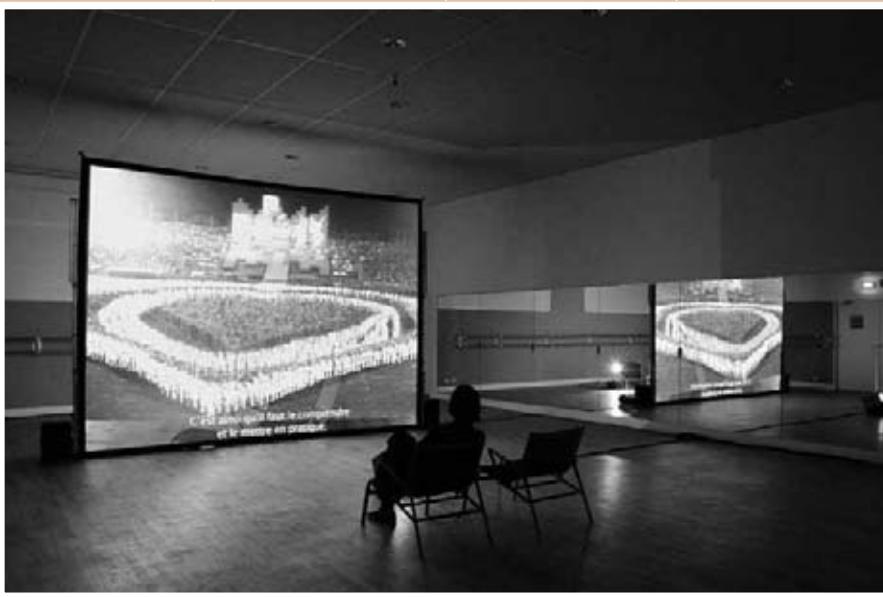
inaccessible to us except in textual form, and [...] our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious. (Jameson 1981, 20)

In Jameson, the political unconscious of a text is a contradiction that the text seeks to compensate, displace, or repress. This is why he advocates the historical contextual analysis, where history as an absent cause is a produced narrative which explains the relationships that give rise to its political unconscious.

Just like thinking with Stengers, thinking with Jameson here will entail a methodological adjustment or modification, which might be viewed as a disappointing betrayal of hard, orthodox onto-political standpoints. What should be retained from Jameson's theory, though it won't suffice for my approach, is his assumption that ideology exists and acts through dance by the power of persuasive expression, as discussed above. But in order to understand how dance expression rhetorically conveys ideas, meanings, and values that relate to a given political reality without any explicit significance or attempting to act upon it, Jameson's structure must be seen as a situation with a *milieu*, where no component or actor has causal priority, or the function of an absent cause whose narrativisation might prove enlightening. What might be gained from hybridising these two seemingly incompatible epistemologies – Stengers's ecology of practice and Jameson's ideology critique of the political unconscious – is a more varied account of the situation, producing thinking tools rather than disclosing blind spots. Simply, what I am suggesting here is that observing the interaction between the respective practices of dance and war from a critical standpoint might teach us about *how* they relate materially in particular historical situations. As a result, dance *and* war could be mutually re-cut (*recoupelement*), re-assembled (*re-agencé*). Although its coinage seems indebted to the tradition of reading Marx alongside Freud, the political unconscious I am mobilising here isn't a psychological or ideological term, but an aesthetic figure. It doesn't mean to say that either dance or dancers are politically unconscious of war, but that dance has developed its own proper ways of embodying or articulating its inability to address war. What dance couldn't do politically, it could displace, compensate, repress, or reconfigure in an aesthetic form that bears on the contradiction between aesthetic expression and its immediate political context. Unpacking the contradiction will entail producing both technologies and historical narratives that will demonstrate what an aesthetic object couldn't resolve by itself.

### The Milieu of an Exhibition qua Research ●

The conjunction of dance and war arose from a commission to curate an exhibition that I received from Boris Charmatz, choreographer and director of the National Choreographic Centre of Rennes and Brittany, also known as the *Musée de la danse*, after an eponymous project by Charmatz. Impressed by Eyal Weizman's sophisticated intertwining of architecture and other disciplines in his study of Israel's occupation of Palestine (Charmatz 2013) and curious about "putting the body" back into the complex rhizomatic spatial strategies of contemporary warfare, demonstrated in



□ From *Danse Guerre*, exhibition held at Musée de la danse, Rennes, September–October 2013; *Watch Out For Gorillas In Your Midst!*, video installation by Marta Popivoda and Ana Vujanović

Weizman's research, Charmatz initiated an exhibition project related to those topics at the Choreographic Centre in Rennes. He asked Romanian curator Cosmin Costinaş and myself to research, curate, and realise an exhibition under the title of "Danse-guerre". This text is a result of the work I conducted both within and beyond the scope of the exhibition, as my preoccupations were not only curatorial, but also theoretical and artistic. The resulting exhibition involves new works I commissioned from a number of choreographers, artists, video artists, filmmakers and theorists, including Shir Hacham and Ido Feder (Hacham and Feder 2013), Franck Leibovici, Marta Popivoda and Ana Vujanović,<sup>3</sup> Noé Soulier,<sup>4</sup> and Lennart Laberenz, with whom I collaborated on two videos. Their works make up the exhibition as a choreographic *agencement* of documents, texts, drawings, scores, video clips, interviews, and films, as well as other objects, such as props and tools (see the images above/below). Hence, it is conceived as a machine and medium for assembling diverse insights, concepts, and technologies in a *milieu* that itself asks to be inhabited and tried. The exhibition's starting point and composition rest along a double axis: one, what were the historical moments and aesthetic figures in post-WWII dance where war surfaced as the political unconscious of dance?, and two, what instruments do dance, as an art discipline, and warfare "afford" for their own

<sup>3</sup> *Watch out for gorillas in your midst ! (Faites attention aux gorilles parmi vous !)*, video installation by Marta Popivoda and Ana Vujanović.

<sup>4</sup> *Corps formés*, installation with drawings, text, and video by Noé Soulier.

mutual description and analysis? Here, "afford" points to the notion of affordance, a quality of an object or environment that allows it to perform an action; the term originates from James Gibson's theory of affordances as "action possibilities" latent in a given environment (Gibson 1977).

### We Play a Representation

of War<sup>5</sup> ● When an occasion permits the illusion of beginning "from scratch", research can make broad sweeps into available material by delimiting a particular field of enquiry from its adjunct fields. One such adjunct field I recognise and leave aside is the role of dancing in prehistoric, ancient, medieval, non-European and contemporary tribal practices of warfare, which concerns anthropology and history (Clastres 1994). I am more interested in scanning the history of dance for works that feature war as a theme or subject matter. The history of ballet and classical dance has thematised war in a synchronic representative regime of narration, by celebrating victories in festivities that included dancing (e.g. *Ballet de la prospérité des Armes de France*, performed only once in 1641),<sup>6</sup> by using classical and medieval myths and legends as allegories (e.g. *Jeanne d'Arc*, choreographed by Salvatore Viganò in 1821; *Tancredi*, "ballet héroico-historique en cinq actes", choreographed by Charles Le Picq in 1799), and by using dance as a metaphor for duels and combat (e.g. George Balanchine's *Agon* from 1957), comparable with tableaux in classical painting and opera.

<sup>5</sup> "Ludimus effigiem belli" or "We play a representation of war" is the opening verse of the poem "Scaccia ludus" ("The Game of Chess") by Marco Girolamo Vida or Marcus Hiernymous Vida (?1485–1566), written in 1527.

<sup>6</sup> "Ballet de cour en 5 parties et 36 entrées, musique par F. de Chancy, livret attribué à Desmaret de Saint Solin, donné les 7 et 14 févr. 1641 au Palais-Cardinal à Paris, par les gentilhommes de la cour et quelques danseurs professionnels."

Thematising war in the representative manner potentially entertains a political and aesthetic relation to war, beyond a programmatic engagement with the topic. Several works by Serge Lifar, ballet master of the Paris Opera from 1930 to 1944 and from 1947 to 1958, were neoclassical undertakings of heroic narratives from Antiquity (e.g. *Alexandre le Grand* from 1937). As neoclassicism culminated on the eve of WWII and maintained a classical disinterest in and distance from politics during the war, the heroic themes of Lifar's neoclassical ballet were lofty abstractions that kept dance away from engaging with everyday political reality, thereby participating in the *retour à l'ordre* that sought to repress the chaos of war. What remains as a relic of *l'art en guerre*, as in the title of a recent monumental exhibition of WWII art, is a theatrical ritual that originated at the time, Serge Lifar's *Grand défilé*.<sup>7</sup> Still performed today, not only at the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Palais Garnier, but also on tour, this spectacle "remains one of the ballet world's most handsome and vivifying sights", inspiring awe, as a promotional text describes it. The parade of dancers from the company and school of the Opéra displays the disciplinary apparatus of classical ballet, which remains untouched in the neoclassical aesthetics of Lifar's Paris Opera Ballet. Row after row – the pupils first, then the artists of the troupe, in a sophisticated hierarchy of *étoiles*, *soloists*, *sujets*, *corps de ballet*, etc. solemnly march to the music of Berlioz's *March of the Trojans*. Their marching configuration mirrors that of an army parade: infantry first, then cavalry, individual commanders, etc. (see the image on page 38). While it might be astonishing that the Paris Opera has perpetuated this ritual for almost a century now, it makes one wonder just what aspects of the neoclassical *retour à l'ordre* still matter today. Not only a refuge of high art, the *Grand défilé* is also a mastodon-like guardian of a number of isomorphic parallels between classical dance and classical warfare à la Clausewitz and Jomini. Soulier's installation explores how geometry becomes, on the one hand, a focal point of the disciplinary training of ballet dancers and soldiers and, on the other hand, of organising movement in space, in dance floor patterns and battle plans alike (see Soulier's drawings).

The third and last area associated with the thematisation of war in dance concerns the relationship between German expressionist dance (*Ausdruckstanz*) and the expansion of the National Socialist regime until 1936, when Joseph Goebbels dismissed dancing from public political manifestations in favour of marching. A substantial body of dance scholarship has been debating the political significance and

<sup>7</sup> Lifar's creation was preceded by *Le Défilé*, a 1926 ballet by the Opéra ballet master Léo Staats.



□ *Grand défilé* by Serge Lifar, unknown source

position of Mary Wigman, Gret Palucca, and other choreographers and pedagogues who remained in Germany after 1936 and continued their work, deemed politically “neutral” (Preston-Dunlop 1989; Manning 1989; Kew 1999; Toepfer 1997). However, this neutrality seems dubious when compared to the explicit anti-war statements of Kurt Jooss’s *The Green Table*, made one year before Hitler came to power, and, moreover, in light of Jooss’s decision to flee Germany when he refused to dismiss Jews from his dance company. Expressionist topics, such as death and mourning, pervaded German expressionist dance in the 1930s, regardless of its political positions – complicity, neutrality, or pacifism. Such disparate cases as Jenny Geertz, Otto Zimmermann, Martin Gleisner, Harald Kreutzberg, Mary Wigman, Gret Palucca, as well as the notorious opening dance of the 1936 Olympics, *Vom Tauwind und der Neuen Freude* (Of the Spring Wind and the New Joy; see Cvejić and Vujanović, 67–68), demonstrate how metaphor, symbol, and archetype offered ideologically charged but politically indeterminate, or at least ambiguous, figures of signification. What these cases also show is that thematising war in dances that were made in times of war, especially those of Goebbels’s “total war”, invites judgement on the political involvement of the choreographers, which might impede a more sophisticated analysis of how and why those dances mattered and what kind of message they tried to impart.

A rare, if not the only, choreography recorded in the history of dance in the West that explicitly foregrounds “war” in its title and in all capital letters, is Yvonne Rainer’s *WAR* from 1970. Performed only twice, as a “side event” accompanying a performance by the Grand Union, the work largely went unnoticed by the critics, while Rainer herself never even saw it in performance. However, its

various materials – the score and notes, texts, photographs, and drawings – were meticulously collected and published in Rainer’s *Work 1961–73*. In Rainer’s own words, *WAR* was

[a] huge sprawling non-competitive game-like piece for 31 people [...] an ass-backwards war, with people willingly relinquishing the flags and opting for capture and death. Physical metaphors for war without motivation. (Rainer 1974, 161)

This prompted me to investigate this work, of which the author herself, forty years on, apparently didn’t think much. In my unearthing of Rainer’s *WAR*, I focused on the ways in which this choreography treats war and relates to concrete political events of the Vietnam War in 1970. All further observations result from the interviews Lennart Laberenz and I conducted in June and August 2013 with Rainer and Pat Catterson, a dancer who took part in creating and performing *WAR* in 1970. We interviewed Rainer and Catterson for the purposes of two video films we made, *Yvonne Rainer’s WAR* and *Judson Flag Show*.

The composition of the 31 performers of *WAR* reveals its context: it was a group comprising mostly artists and filmmakers and a few dancers, who all took Rainer’s improvisation class in her loft, “people interested in having physical experience and I don’t think they knew what they were getting into” (Catterson). Catterson couldn’t recall if Rainer had ever explicitly said that it was going to be about war, when she invited the participants of her class to make a piece and perform it side by side with the Grand Union’s improvisations at Rutgers University, New Jersey, on 6 November 1970. “I think she said she was going to use language from war, war maneuvers, and create movement that would come out of this language” (Catterson), but she didn’t mention that the performance would also include reading texts about war. According to Catterson, there were

no reactions to or deliberate discussions of the topic of war in the creation process, as they were working on “similar material [as] in class”, that is, games involving group improvisation, and because “it was just a given that everybody there was against the war”. Earlier that year, Rainer took part in a week of protests against the Cambodian Incursion, using the famous walk of workers from Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* as a choreographic image for a protest walk in SoHo with a group of performers (see the image on page 39). After *WAR*, Rainer was also invited to protest against censorship concerning the use of the American flag in the *People’s Flag Show* event, where she and another five dancers performed *Trio A* in the nude, wearing only flags tied around their necks (9 November 1970, Judson Memorial Church).

When I asked Rainer about her sources on military manoeuvres, she restated her claim from *Work 1961–73* that she had read descriptions of war in the Iliad and the Peloponnesian War, but did not refer to any literature in particular or any other sources. The score contains references to war that are either deliberately generic and arbitrary – lists of military terms such as “encirclement” and “accelerated pacification” and verbs with “an aggressive cast” (Rainer) such as “kill and split”, “search and destroy” – or specific quotations from various historical accounts of war, the two longest among them conveying critical commentary on US operations in Vietnam. But the main objective of Rainer’s quest there is revealed in the indeterminate

structure of the piece [which] overall was a game structure. The two groups had rules: if this happened, then that happened. If you initiated these maneuvers, others had to join in or you could, like, be a scout or a spy, or go to the others... You could be captured. There were a lot of contingencies based on a big list of possibilities. (Rainer)

The two groups were generic, too, bearing no particular signs of being two opposing parties at war, while the only function of the leaders was to shout commands, such as “infiltrate”, or names of group manoeuvres, such as the “Mary Wigman clump”, which were effectively equivalent to dance tasks. For instance, one of the war manoeuvres was based on ballroom dancing, where a couple had a pillow between them and each “had in mind a different ballroom step”, so “they were at odds”. As Rainer told me: “It was a conflict, right? Neither could follow the other. They were all strung out like twenty couples”. Rainer used dissonance or clumsy dancing in couples as a literal, physical metaphor of war. In line with her style of matter-of-fact, neutral performance, this was done “in all seriousness” but “low-key... where you don’t do a hard sell, you go about your own business” because “the maneuvers speak for themselves” (Rainer).

The audience’s impression of a large group of people playing war was confirmed by both Rainer and Catterson. Rainer referred to it as a “faux contest”, where one could choose to be captured and there was no dramatic interpretation of roles. In retrospect, her reservations about the political meanings of her politics of aesthetics – or the politics of form as the regime that governs

*WAR* and her other pieces alike – still seems to suggest that she counted on a political impact of the open form, imbued with the aesthetic of indifference. She explained this in the interview:

Games have a benign competitiveness. This was like a simulation of antagonism. There was a certain amount of competitiveness but it wasn’t antagonistic. Maybe not even related to sport, because there was no winner or no loser involved.

Catterson explains that the games were played without objectives, often in long manoeuvres that took time to develop, but which

was kind of fitting to how the war felt at that time... It was just an ongoing play of these possibilities that just persisted. It was just like the... war... They take this city, and that one. It just goes on and on, nothing changes, nothing gets resolved.

The only element that provided a provocative edge to the limits of representing war in the US was the use of the American flag. The performance at Rutgers University was going to be cancelled on suspicion of desecrating the flag, which is why Rainer introduced an artificial grass mat and an overcoat to put under the flag so it wouldn’t touch the ground. But the American flag wasn’t the only prop that could be used in “capture-the-flag”, a game Rainer told me she played as a child on the streets of San Francisco. There was also Jasper Johns’s green and orange replica, which, when juxtaposed with the red, blue, and white stars and stripes, had

the effect of relativising and neutralising the “garish symbol of warmongers” (Catterson).

Asked if she was aware of the political significance of Rainer’s operation in *WAR*, Catterson reflected and stammered in front of the camera:

What was Yvonne’s intention with this? What did she want? That wasn’t really conveyed to us. We were just doing what we were asked to do, just like in class. For me, what I heard – texts performed by Norma ... – they were ... from different kinds of battles that Yvonne had collected... It wasn’t lost on me, this juxtaposition of these young people – in... – playing the war against this very real voice. What was it saying, you could interpret for yourself.

And, as though answering Catterson’s question, Rainer told us: “Well, in a war the motivation is patriotism and belief that you have a righteous cause... There was no such backstory here. It was simply a matter of representing the effects, you know, pictorially”.

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Here, Rainer’s *WAR* provides an occasion to make another few points about the concern and capacity of choreography and experimental art in the US to engage with the issue of war in the 1970s. For most middleclass artists who were able to avoid the draft due to their marital or student status, the Vietnam War was going on in a remote elsewhere. Furthermore, “bringing the war home”, as Martha Rosler indicated in her eponymous work, entailed denouncing the US government for lying to its citizens. Testimonies of disillusioned Vietnam veterans could do it better than art practices whose main objective was to wage war against representation.<sup>8</sup> In the aesthetic realm of investigating the Judson Dance Theater’s any-movement-whatever and any-method-whatever, focusing particularly on the everyday, military tactics could be yet another source of material for choreographic exploration. Perhaps Rainer was confident that her formalist juxtapositions of generic war manoeuvres and verbal references with a confused mixture of concrete war events, including the Vietnam War, could have the political impact of emasculating all but self-referential meaning. After all, the American flag was the main symbol and means of the warmongering, which contextually amplified the effect of just using the flag, beyond the

<sup>8</sup> For instance, this would include the *Winter Soldier Investigation*, a media event sponsored by Vietnam Veterans against War (VVAW), an organisation of Vietnam veterans who decided to speak in public about atrocities committed by the US in Vietnam, as well as the misrepresentation of the Vietnam War in the media. As Steve Paxton told me, he decided to devote a performance of his to a screening of *Winter Soldier*, a 1971 documentary about the Investigation, in order to give more publicity to what wasn’t getting enough attention in cinema. The resulting performance was called *Collaboration with Wintersoldier* (1971).

□ M Walk Protest in SoHo, Yvonne Rainer’s Papers, Getty Research Institute



running, squeezing, crawling, falling, catching,  
 manoeuvring, etc

passing

push, grab, jerk, hold, press, jam, raise, support

wait

infiltrate (converge)  
 unite  
 subvert  
 liberate  
 capture  
 support (carry, aid)  
 invade  
~~estrangle~~

hide

~~obscure~~  
 emerge  
 confront (interfere)  
 overthrow  
 challenge  
 lead  
 follow  
 depose  
 search  
 destroy  
 withdraw (retreat)  
 close  
~~stool~~  
 pour  
 collapse  
 shatter  
 dissent  
 threaten  
 defend  
 attack

suppress  
 escalate  
 sweep  
 pursue  
 remove  
 swell  
~~liberate~~  
 occupy  
 deploy  
 intercept  
 save  
 undermine  
 collapse  
 spread  
 harass  
 disrupt  
 abandon  
 mobilize  
 expand  
 confine  
 surround  
 out flank  
 escape  
 raid  
 penetrate  
 pin down  
 ambuscade

operation  
 skirmish  
 battle  
 raid  
 siege  
 attack  
 treachery  
 invasion  
 offensive  
 restraint

conquer  
 ward off  
 call a halt  
 advance  
 withdraw  
 flee  
 decimate  
 founder  
 crush  
 overtake  
 slip away  
 reinforce

incursion  
~~troop~~ movements  
 formation  
 column  
 line  
 clump  
 flank  
~~skirmish~~  
 battalion  
 unit  
 armada  
 garrison  
 patrol  
 skirmish

capitulate  
 resist  
 occupy  
~~defeat~~  
 Kill & split  
 (accelerated  
 pacification)

WAR was a huge sprawling non-competitive ~~role~~ game-like piece ~~performed~~ <sup>for</sup> 31 people who <sup>had</sup> rehearsed with me for a month and a half. It was derived from terms of military tactics found in the Iliad, the Peloponnesian War, + newspaper accounts of the Vietnam war. List from yellow sheet

It was ~~not~~ <sup>first</sup> performed at Douglass College, N.J. simul- and later at Peabody Student Center. Lanequally (in another room) with the Grand Union (see page - ~~the form was~~ <sup>it had an</sup> indeterminate <sup>repetitive</sup> form, lasting about an hour. The rules governed things like ~~the nature of particular configurations; the~~ <sup>the nature of particular configurations; the</sup> ~~use of the 24 flags; gross, tolerances; contingencies.~~ <sup>contingencies.</sup> ~~and restrictions.~~ I never saw the finished piece performance because I was busy <sup>improving</sup> with the Grand Union, but I heard that neither performance was as good as some of the rehearsals, where ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> restraint and sensitivity had operated. To give as many as 30 performers as many options as existed in WAR was ~~a hazardous under-~~ <sup>a hazardous under-</sup> taking, ~~made~~ especially so because the terms of performance by the Grand Union in the adjacent space were ~~so~~ diametrically different. ~~The Grand Union~~ the existence of ~~so many~~ <sup>only later</sup> options ~~this~~ <sup>on the</sup> might make WAR ~~might be~~ even more demanding ~~than~~ <sup>on the</sup> to perform than had I totally pre-choreographed it, especially ~~on~~ those without much performing experience. It required tremendous concentration, ~~and~~ ~~it~~ <sup>rigorous</sup> almost a ~~literal~~ interpretation of the instructions, ~~along with~~ and at the same time as ~~imaginative~~ <sup>imaginative</sup> relation to the materials. A lot to ask. <sup>playful</sup>

The rehearsals, however, were a huge amount of fun as we worked out the configurations and I, formulated constantly

and re-formulated the rules. It was an ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup>-backwards war, with people ~~opting~~ <sup>opting</sup> for capture and death, gladly willingly relinquishing the ~~big~~ <sup>big</sup> orange + green flag.



perception of outsiders in the context of the 1970s US. By running war manoeuvres through her techniques of rule-game improvisation, Rainer tied a sense of being-in-tune with daily politics to a modernist quest for affirming choreography and performance, whose structures no material could perturb. The political unconscious of this operation lies in the resulting imagery as a contradiction in Rainer's politics of aesthetics, because, despite its void formalism, Rainer's *WAR* represents war as a game. An important difference between *WAR* and the tradition of war games – for instance, the 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Kriegsspiel*, which served in the strategic training of the Prussian army,<sup>9</sup> or its more recent descendents, such as Guy Debord's *jeu de la guerre*, which resembles chess in its attempt to rehearse “the dialectics of all conflicts” (Debord and Becker-Ho 1977) – is the sense of demotivation, indifference, and even “fun” in Rainer's piece, a playfulness akin to “kids playing” (Catterson) that underscores Rainer's choreographic *gaming* (with) war.

### To Study Fighting Is Something We Can't Be Afraid to Do

● The emergence of Contact Improvisation (CI) coincided with the demise of the antiwar movement in the mid .....

<sup>9</sup> *Kriegsspiel* was devised by Lieutenant Georg Leopold von Reiszwitz and his son Georg Heinrich Rudolf von Reiszwitz of the Prussian Army.

1970s. Forty years on, CI is a movement practice and training technique that in the eyes of its advocates still conveys its original motives as a social movement (egalitarian, emancipatory, explorative, non-discriminative, claiming the political meaning of spontaneous immediate physical action, as opposed to deliberative thinking, etc.). But according to those who do not share the “contacters”'s enthusiasm, the early criticism that some of its practitioners raised inside the movement has been vindicated. While it aspired to become a grassroots “folk art”, it was recognised early on as serving the needs of white, liberal, middleclass, college-educated, young people (“Contact makes ourselves whole: it balances us”, a dancer told me). Over time, it has developed a virtuosic technique of a duet form, with the emphasis on contact outweighing the risks of jumping, falling, and colliding in midair. The CI community gathers around a holistic conception of the self, which, according to Mark Pritchard, an ex-contacter, promotes a “passive perspective on life”, “relaxation” as more natural than tension, going “with the flow of natural events, rather than attempting to shape those events on one's own” (Pritchard 1997, 197).

Before it came to be criticised as a New Age shuffleboard, “a post-hippie suburb of the soul”, CI was an art-sport that emerged from Steve Paxton's training in aikido and

□ Steve Paxton (portrait), photograph by Lennart Laberenz

athletics, which coincided with his explicit action-pieces against the Vietnam War and the Nixon administration (e.g. *Collaboration with Wintersoldier*, 1971 and *Air*, 1973). The question that prompted me to re-examine the genealogy of CI was aikido: what this martial art, known for redirecting attacks and blending with the attacker, did for Contact Improvisation in relation to war and engagement in physical struggle. What happened to the more robust athletic qualities of the early attempts, such as those of *Magnesium* (1972), the inaugural piece of CI that Paxton developed with a class of young men, not dancers but athletes at Oberlin College? As Paxton told me, the first ten minutes of this performance comprised “roughly colliding in the air and falling on a wrestling mat”. Was there any deliberate or latent connection between the roughness of CI as an art-sport in the 1970s and post-war political attitudes, moods, and positions? In *...in a non-wimpy way*, a film I co-authored with Lennart Laberenz, Paxton addresses these questions.

In stark contrast to many dance idioms that emphasise verticality (e.g. ballet and the Cunningham technique) or walking (pedestrian attitudes and styles), CI introduces falling as its central notion. Nancy Stark Smith, a notable

dancer from the first generation of contacters, describes her experience of learning how to fall:

When I first started falling by choice, I noticed a blind spot. Somewhere after the beginning and before the end of the fall, there was darkness. And then the floor. Luckily, there were mats at first. Soon I learned that the end of the fall was the beginning of another move, usually a roll. That gave me somewhere to go. So I rolled. At the end of that roll was another roll, and at the end of that, another. Then, I noticed another blind spot. Somewhere after the beginning and before the end of the roll, there was darkness. In that darkness, however, I noticed a body moving, a body that knew just where to go. (Stark Smith and Nelson 1997, 50)

Paxton associates it with the aikido roll, which gave him “the idea that you could just jump off the planet and not worry about how you were coming down”. The aikido roll is “a brilliant demonstration of the physics of falling”, but even more importantly, it is a way to save oneself from injury:

Because if you’re going into the fall, if you’re projecting into the fall, then you have just that little fraction of control of the fall and you can change the direction of the accident into one that’s favorable to your body and its situation.

In falling and other situations that he later developed in CI, Paxton detected a perception he wanted to use to work from within it: the body is highly adrenalised, “something is happening to you that you don’t quite understand, that you think might be dangerous”, or it can also be dizziness or disorientation. But the apprehension arises from not being aware of danger, which, he maintains, is something one can adapt to.

□ franc leibovici, *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, a view from *Danse Guerre*, exhibition held at Musée de la danse, Rennes

What attracted him to aikido was the movement alone, which he found “beautiful” and only later realised that his interest in aikido had to do with its counter-technique of fighting:

It was a profound shift from dancing to go into aikido movement and *suddenly not have art be the reason you were moving the way you were, but you were moving the way you were for survival* [emphasis mine]... You were responding with harmony to the violent – unbelievable! The preservation of all concerned, you know, is just a very broad sweep of thinking there.

The myth of aikido’s birth follows the revelations of its founder and guru, Morihei Ueshiba. The third spiritual awakening occurred to Ueshiba during his service in WWII, when he had the following vision:

The Way of the Warrior has been misunderstood. It is not a means to kill and destroy others. Those who seek to compete and better one another are making a terrible mistake. To smash, injure, or destroy is the worst thing a human being can do. The real Way of a Warrior is to prevent such slaughter – it is the Art of Peace, the power of love. (Hyodo 2010, 76)

Apart from the utopian function of showing another way of fighting, one that dissolves bipolar conflict by protecting the attacker from injury, Paxton views aikido as engaging in struggle, which, he contends, one can’t be afraid to do. The aim of studying this movement is to liberate one from potentially falling victim to an attack. If you don’t take a “self-inflicted position relative to aggression”, or, in a word, if you don’t “wimp out” in a fight, you are not an easy target: “it’s much more complex for people to attack you because you’re not presenting yourself as a victim” (Paxton). This prompted

me to ask, perhaps tendentiously, if contacters could be regarded as a special kind of warriors, equipped with a technique for the preservation of themselves and others? Paxton disagreed:

Even though I was training the dancers with martial arts and with challenges to their perceptions and their orientation and their actual strength, and all of that, the point of it was that they aren’t warriors. The point of it is, that whatever they’re doing, because it’s an improvisation and because it’s one which is defined in almost the most general terms of, you know, Newtonian physics, there isn’t a person described in the proposal. What’s absent is psychology, emotions, intellect – lots of the stuff that we know we are and have.

His definition of the type of subjectivity engaged in CI is adamantly negative: it denies all meaning and content to categories that are necessary for constituting any kind of position. Another part of Paxton’s CI training since the 1970s is his “Small Dance”, comprising the final five minutes of *Magnesium* and featuring men just standing still. Paxton explains it as a method of “detraining”: “getting rid of the masks that we have, the social and formal masks, until the physical events occur as they will”. For Paxton, detraining means peeling off the social, historical, stylistic, formalist skin-layers of the body, in order to reach the “masses, bones, nerves, and sensations”:

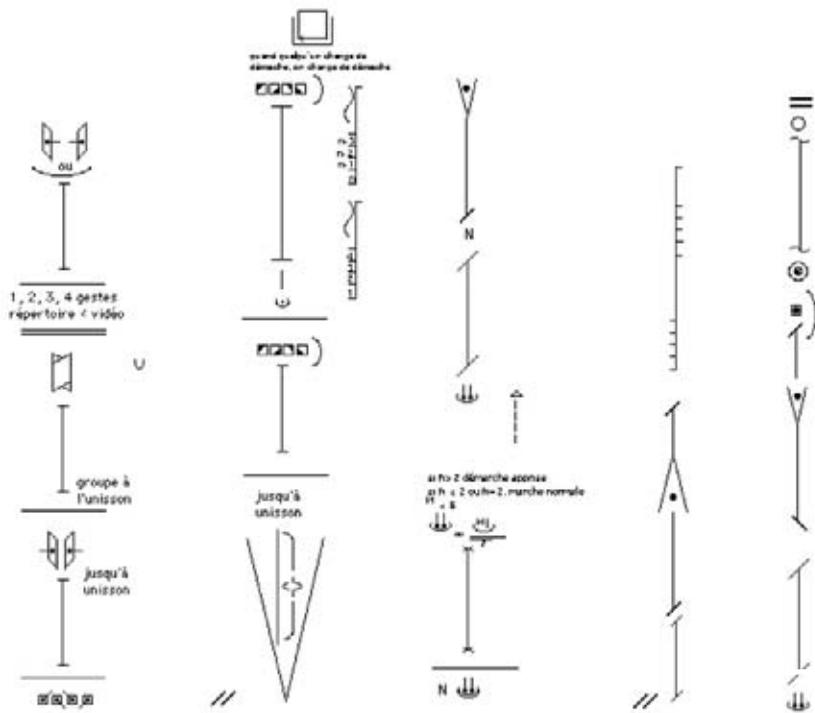
I stress that the dancers are people not in the social sense but in the animal sense in this kind of dancing, that they should not smile, should not make eye contact, should not talk, that they should just be there as animals, as bundles of nerves, as masses and bones . . . touching the other bundle and letting that be the work. (Paxton 2004)

The negative definition of subjectivity produced in and by CI should be taken in the broader perspective of the Mad Brook Farm, situated in the beautiful scenery of northeast Vermont (the “Northeast Kingdom”), where Paxton and several other comrades from the post-Woodstock, post-1969 generation famously retreated, and where our conversation took place. This community, once a hippie-style colony merging life and work and now a place to work, grow one’s own organic food, and grow old, far from the cities and suburbs of the US, seems quite withdrawn from society.<sup>10</sup> Seclusion rests on negation, an internal .....

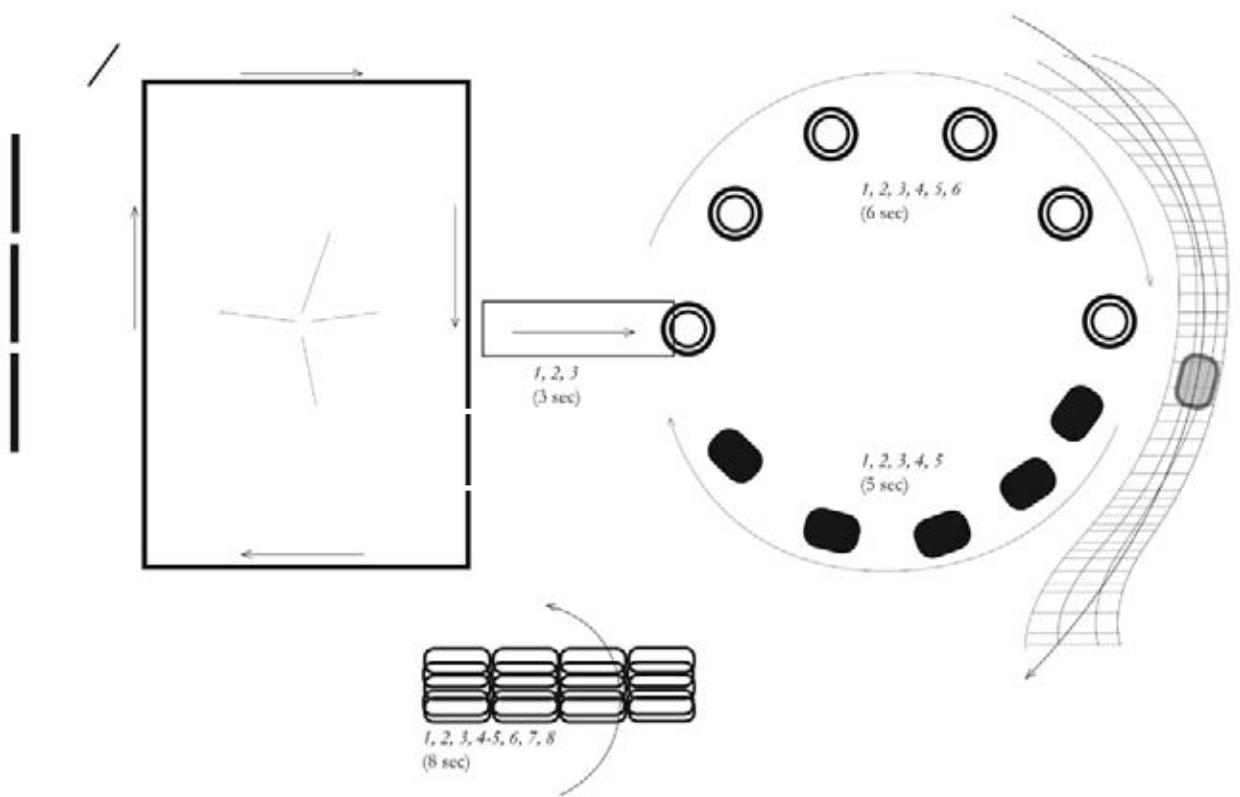
<sup>10</sup> Half the nation is overweight, what does that mean? What does that mean in terms of our food production, our food preparation, our lives, I mean, I’m depressed, you know, I think it’s a trap, I didn’t possibly think it could happen this fast, I thought it took centuries for empires to decline, not a generation. Didn’t know you could just kind of fall off your throne, you know, and flail helplessly, trying, you know, that used to be – I used to be up there but now I – I somehow can’t seem to get up, you know. That – I – something like that seems to be happening, whether we will fall off entirely and not be able to get up, I don’t know. (Steve Paxton in ...in a non-wimpy way)



transcription *laban*



message des professeurs français de ballet notation: hélène léaut, mai 2002



mechanism of protection that could be explained by way of Roberto Esposito's understanding of *immunisation*. Immunity is a defensive apparatus that has both biological and juridical registers: vaccination protects the body from a given virus by infecting it with that same virus, so that the body produce an army of antibodies in defence; in law, immunity means being exempt from prosecution. In a political register, immunity means exempting the subject from his/her obligations and responsibilities that would apply under normal circumstances and bind him/her to others. It intertwines life and power through a negative form that protects and preserves life. Esposito contends that immunisation

saves, insures, and preserves the organism, either individual or collective, but it doesn't do so directly or immediately; on the contrary it subjects the organism to a condition that simultaneously negates or reduces its power to expand. (Esposito 2006, 24)

This is why the negation of power is also to an extent a negation of life, but is necessary in order to preserve it. Therefore, CI, in Paxton's account, implies a perfectly cogent contradiction. If for most of those who practise CI to have a much healthier spine than other people, training means reducing oneself to a physical being, negating all that might be considered an obstacle in this process (one's intellect, political ideas, passions, etc.), then the gain in such a training regimen is the private spineless life of a subject who is immune, indifferent, or powerless in the face of politics outside of her/his own immunised community – in a non-wimpy way, perhaps, but still a wimp.

**Choreography: An Instrument for Voiding Ideology** ● Examining CI in the aftermath of the Vietnam War demonstrates the persuasive expression of dance, seeking to immunise itself from war and aggression, which it attempts to do both physically and conceptually. But its image of war is one of body-to-body fighting, where aggression is manifested in bodily terms. War, erstwhile fixated in the imagination as a classical, symmetrical struggle and direct confrontation on the battlefield, or "theatre of operations", was declared dead in the late 1970s (Paul Virilio), when it gave way to the "nuclear faith" in an ultimate weapon, meant to deter the enemy and impose total peace. Paul Virilio sees this peace as a continuation of war with other means – with the art of deterrence, which perpetuates a "pure", logistical war through infinite preparation without execution

□ franck leibovici, messages to bricklane (parade ground), Laban notation

□ franck leibovici, messages to bricklane (parade ground) floorplan



(Virilio and Lotringer 1997). Since the 1990s and especially after 9/11, the "nature" of war has appeared to be more "impure" and asymmetrical, as the fragmentation of terrorist civil wars has fused with the international warfare of expedient military, "humanitarian" interventions. Hand-to-hand fighting between two or more warring sides in an officially declared war, has been replaced by low-intensity conflicts, protracted struggles involving state and non-state actors, often in asymmetrical guerrilla warfare, with civilian casualties that at first seem low but over time amount to the sort of numbers familiar to us from classical warfare.

Franck Leibovici has been investigating low-intensity conflicts through various materials circulating in the public domain (propaganda films, magazines, manuals, songs, etc.), treating them as objects that "afford" functions, movements, and idiorhythms that may teach us about various registers of these situations. He has pursued his research in a series of mini-operas for non-musicians, where opera stands for a variable configuration of heterogeneous elements. In *messages to bricklane (parade ground)*, a non-choreography for non-dancers, he re-describes a video found on the Internet, which shows a political group undergoing military training in an improvised camp. Their props – tyres, tubes, barbed wire, sandbags – evoke the spirit of guerrilla improvisation, as a promotional magazine advertises it, how to get in shape without weights. According to the ethos of guerrilla warfare, exercise can happen anywhere, like a prayer, without mediation. But in the video, the group's training looks like dancing, composed of movements that would be useless in actual fighting. Thus one must wonder

□ franck leibovici, messages to bricklane (parade ground) video still

about their usefulness today, when wars are increasingly waged remotely and automatically, with drones, hijacks, suicide bombs, snipers, etc. Leibovici remarks: the training mat and the battlefield can hardly coincide. Additionally, in this video we see an audience sitting around the camp, and the training session seems more like an ostentatious parade for family and friends.

Leibovici uses choreographic tools to record and analyse the group's movements. Two experts transcribe it by means of Labanotation. They also notate it orally, by means of running commentary. The resulting text is then given to a group of non-dancers, who are asked to derive gestures on the basis of the transcription. In a series of re-descriptions, the training movements gradually lose specificity and grow increasingly heterogeneous and generic, unrecognisable, floating context-free. What this choreographic re-description uncovers, Leibovici writes, is that:

exercise shapes bodies as well as spirits. and only the public, audiences and collectives produced by those *trainings* could distinguish between movements that are formally identical. if not, how could we explain that the same props can be found in military training camps, in kindergarten, in health walks, in dance shows? an exercise cannot be read but through its consequences. and only this kind of understanding will allow to grasp that although they might use similar gestures, robert morris' *bodymotionspacesthings* or william forsythe's *fact of matter*, are nonetheless attached to different worlds, whose publics are distinct. no artistic practices exist, only distinct ecologies. (Leibovici 2013)

Although a sample of social choreography, of utilising movement that resembles the genre of war-dance, whose purpose is to bond people muscularly, socially, and ideologically in preparation for war, the military training dance in this video is only a parade, a self-referential internal-network propaganda image that says little about how, why, when and where, in what sense, and for whom these warriors will fight. It preaches to the converted, like Rainer's *WAR* did. By contrast to Rainer's work, where the aim was to probe a choreography based on military tactics, here, Leibovici uses choreography to inspect a situation, rewrite documents with poetic means. Perhaps the political effect of Leibovici's "poetic documents"<sup>11</sup> is that they banalise and "bring home" a weak image of war, in contrast to the fear that underlines images of weapons of mass destruction and fanatical terrorists. This *document poétique* is an assembly of choreographic tools that invites the spectator to use them performatively – for instance, to execute movements with props and timings provided. And, perhaps, one's performative experience decelerates reason, which forms opinions or strong passions about events and actors who are far removed from the spectator, who isn't entangled in them. Here, social choreography is not an instance of aesthetic ideology, but an instrument that slows down ideological judgement. ■

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# A Dancing Body Offers Legitimacy to the State

**Ido Feder & Shir Hacham** ● ● One of the key endeavours of the Zionist movement right from the start was to constitute a new body for the new Jew. To have a land and nation of one's own, one must also claim a real body – national, ethnic, religious, and civic – as well as a corporeal body that could sense and make sense of its environment. In a word, the Zionist movement for the constitution of a Jewish nation-state depended on the reification of its national body. This desired body would no longer be “sheep at the slaughterhouse”, as the Jewish people were in the hands of the Nazi regime, nor would it revert to the “spiritual people of the Holy Scripture”, who, due to excessive study, ended up with a neglected physique. The new Israeli, the future Sabra, the Israeli-born Jew, would be thorny like the desert planet (Almog 2000), work the land, be pioneer and warrior.

Over the years, Israeli art and various academic disciplines, such as sociology, art history, political science, cultural studies, etc., have all extensively sought to describe the new Israeli citizen and the creation of the new Israeli body politic. These scholarly attempts have tried to understand the general act of *fabricating* culture, in which the incipient nation had to partake. As such, an enquiry into dance in Israel might shed light on the embodiment processes of the fabulatory machine that worked hard to produce a new Israeli ethos. Israeli poetry revived and reinvented the Hebrew language (Harshav 1990); architecture envisioned a land serving its geopolitical needs by redistributing population and space (Segal *et al.* 2003); and dance investigated an authentic dancing body that could reveal something about the constitution of the new body of the new Jew. Moreover, this quest on the part of the local dance community didn't develop from an existing Israeli folklore, as was the case in European cultures, because

there was no *folk* present at hand, and thus no folklore that could be historically useful for nation-building. The only available cultural, linguistic, and contextual sources were (1) the Biblical Jewish kingdom that had existed 3,000 years ago and (2) the more recent Jewish identity, rooted in the Diaspora, exile, and dispersed bodies. The Biblical stories were indeed often used in the arts but only to support Israel's claim of legitimacy over the land and were not a solid foundation for the new Jewish identity. The exiled identity, of course, was condemned to erasure, as it couldn't serve the aspirations of Jewish nationalism to appear as autonomous, strong, and free, but instead was a constant reminder of Jewish suffering and misfortune. And so, this new folk had to be summoned and interpellated from vast spatial and temporal distances, whilst at the same time engaging in an actual process of embodiment in constructing “Israeli Jewishness”. Using different techniques of fabulation, including dance, the Jewish nation was now posited as a new nation of an old people, with timeless and divine legitimacy that would now, finally, become a fact in and of the region.

The unique body of Zionism, asserting this new national presence in the region, had to access other sources, which would no longer be associated with the Babylonian Captivity. Hence, Western theatrical dance was co-opted and recruited for the sake of promoting the new, tenacious, and creative body that Israeli dance aspired to develop. Right from the start, various dance makers who had heeded the Zionist call and immigrated to Palestine were artistically and intellectually curious about the ability of dance to constitute a “true” or “authentic” body for the future state of Israel. These modernist dance makers, most of whom were inspired by German expressionist dance, believed in the power of dance to unveil and constitute a legitimate and

ideal body that would not just represent, but also manifest their Zionist-socialist ideological dream. Naturally, these explorations were quickly adopted by the nationalist agenda, which happily used dance as a tool in the competition for visibility, legitimacy, and the public and social demonstration of power that engulfed the region under the British Mandate. For example, the work of Baruch Agadati, then a young dance maker and visual artist, notorious for his Purim balls in Tel Aviv, which he organised as part of his artistic explorations, was loyally adopted by the Jewish leadership. Thus, what had begun in 1912 as Hebrew Bacchanalia, ended up in 1928 as a nationalist parade under the title of “Ten Years for the National Home”.<sup>1</sup>

This nationalist affirmation of dance kept developing and thus today, in 2013, we may say that the Israeli state warmly accepts dance. The Israeli Ministry of Culture unequivocally states in their various publications that Israel is an “empire of dance”.<sup>2</sup> Yet, unfortunately, recent history has repeatedly demonstrated that besides being an “empire of dance”, Israel is an exemplary militaristic society – as empires tend to be. Thus, to read Israeli dance in isolation from its militaristic environment would be a misconception. This is because the “dancing body” and the “body in combat” are not two different entities, but rather one and the same, simultaneously fighting a war for legitimacy and dancing for presence and visibility. Moreover, we hope to show that both practices serve the same ontological and political mission of being and producing a valid and legitimate embodied nation in the region. In other words, seizing land by means of war, occupation, and

<sup>1</sup> For more on Agadati's Purim balls and early Tel Aviv in general, see Gross 2009.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.mcs.gov.il/Culture/activities/Dance/Pages/about.aspx> (Hebrew) – accessed in October 2013.

conquest was and still is a constant task for the new Jew and thus an inseparable component of the national imagination, still present in all its endeavours. But Israeli culture continues to deny its legitimacy problem: mainstream political discourse forcefully rejects the colonialist tradition and history that gave birth to the Israeli state and its constant oppression of Palestine. Due to this denial, the hegemonic forces in Israel produce and emphasise various and competing arguments to shore up Israel's legitimacy and account for its actions, such as the "security threat" or its dubious claims on ancient Biblical land, when trying to justify the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, ongoing since 1967.

As such, these two embodied practices – dance and war – are not opposed, but in fact compatible and parallel in their concerted efforts. They reveal that the political and ontological issues encountered by the Zionist movement are in fact one and that the game of legitimacy and presence reveals the act of invention that became a fact in the region. Thus, the important questions for us would be the following: how to understand Israeli dance if it transpires from the same desire as the combat body? What discourses are

chosen (and why) in the Israeli dance field that contribute to the struggle for presence in the region? And what is it in dance that can reinforce the legitimacy of the Israeli national body to such an extent that the state so eagerly adopts it?

As mentioned before, Israeli dance didn't grow out of an existing local tradition. Of course, there were many attempts to use local Arabic and Levantine influences, but these were ultimately rejected by the European project that was the ideological and cultural basis of Zionism.<sup>3</sup> Those attempts were branded as "folklore" and were thus expelled from the high art of Israeli dance. In other words, they retain something of the "local" or some traits of Israel's hybrid identity and thus are not regarded as real artistic creations that might postulate a new body. A "genuine" Israeli dancing body shouldn't be just a "melting pot" of the identities and signs of its many ethnicities; moreover, this kind of mixture was dismissed as ontologically and ethnically inferior despite the official government doctrine of assimilating

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<sup>3</sup> Israel and the Zionist movement have a rich history of orientalism, as even within the Jewish population there is a major ethnic hierarchy between Jews of European and those of non-European descent. For further information, see Khazzoom 2003.

all Jewish immigrants. By contrast, the dancing body was considered apt to provide the nation with an *origin* to all of the above, since it was neither a depiction of the "local savage", nor could it qualify as foreign or colonialist.

Thus the Western dance canon was a fertile material and ground for this procedure, as it was perceived as an already global, universal, and expressive language, identified with the superior West and supposedly offering a legitimate meta-language that was well suited to the ongoing national fabulation of Israel. Israeli dance instrumentalised this attribute of Western dance – universality – to support the desire to fight the war for originality and survival in the region. If war meant the actual competence to erase the enemy, then dance contributed to this mission with the universal syntax of modern and classical dance. In that sense, war was the unconscious of the Israeli dancer, as this struggle for acquiring the sensibility of a dancing body was aligned with the struggle to fulfil the universal call of Zionism. Nowadays, just like the State of Israel

□ *Kyr* by Ohad Naharin, Batsheva Dance Company, 1991. Photograph by Gadi Dagon.



continues to invest efforts and funds in bringing the Jews “back home” (the process known as *Aliya*, which literally means “ascending”), distinguished Israeli dance companies such as Vertigo and Kibbutz are also contributing by offering scholarships to Jewish dancers from all over the world to participate in their educational programmes.<sup>4</sup> As we can see, the dancing body delivers a legitimate position to the national body in its struggle for factual existence and moral, social, and historical survival.

In local dance history, aesthetics, and discourse, legitimacy was attributed to the dancing body by claiming it to be *original*. We believe that this mission was in some respects accomplished when Ohad Naharin took over the leadership of the Batsheva Dance Company in 1990. Naharin’s work, international recognition, and artistic development in the company led Israeli dance to success, as proclaimed by the Ministry of Culture. Additionally, the Batsheva Dance Company has proved to be one of the most lucrative cultural organisations in Israel. Despite the State’s ridiculously low budget for the arts (about 0.2% of the total budget) and especially the absurdly small percentage that dance receives out of that modest sum – Naharin has revived the interest in dance in Israel, which has experienced an unprecedented increase in its audience reach. Financially, Batsheva is the most successful company in Israel, as it attracts the greatest number of viewers and receives high revenues from ticket sales, as well as private donations, state support for performances in Israel and abroad, etc.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it seems that the winning ethos of dance in Israel appeared fully only in Naharin’s project. The idea was and still is that the Israeli dancing body is an entity that transcends both the present and the past; in other words, a universal body that isn’t contingent on the local historical situation of Israel, but instead channels the *facticity of being a body prior to anything else*.

In other words, dance served as a tool for instilling *originality* into the national body. And indeed, Israeli dance history shows us that a recurrent notion was its quest for the original “Israeli dancer” and not just any dancer in Israel. The mission was to prove the ontological legitimacy of the attribute of “Israeli” by means of a specific way of understanding movement, which the practice of dance offered. As such, the dancing body systematically erased the hybrid mixture of identities, signs, and conditions that it had to endure. It was finally completed

<sup>4</sup> See: <http://www.masaisrael.org/programs/vertigo-dance-company> and <http://www.masaisrael.org/programs/dance-journey> – accessed in October 2013.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Israeli cultural research institute Pilat. These reports, commissioned by the Ministry of Culture, contain data for the entire cultural field in Israel. The data regarding dance in 2011 are available at <http://www.pilat.co.il/download/tarbut/mahol2011.pdf> (Hebrew) – accessed in October 2013.



in a total act of the creation – fabrication and purification – of a new dancing body, uniquely identifiable as “Israeli” both inside Israel and abroad, and singularly branded as “made in Israel”. A systematic genealogy of this procedure would exceed the scope of this text. Instead, we shall give an indication of it and then focus on Naharin’s more recent work, as it reveals the brand’s trademark features.

When Naharin joined the Batsheva Dance Company, it was already the most prominent actor in the Israeli dance field. At the time, Batsheva was a repertoire company and had no key choreographic figures directing it. Moreover, this was in line with the conception of its British founder, Baroness Batsheva de Rothschild, for whom “the idea was to start with dancers, not with choreographers” (Gluck 2006). As mentioned earlier, the mission was to find and brand the new Israeli dancer, in order to posit and show the world the capability and presence of the new Israeli body. But Naharin was first and foremost a choreographer, thus his contribution to Israeli dance history took the “tradition of dancers” a step further, despite being a direct result of it. Naharin became a reference point for a kind of completion, national and artistic success of Israeli dance, as he found a way to *instill the desired originality* into the dancing body, yet he did so by tapping into the universal values of Western theatre dance, used as a line of flight from the everyday hardships of living in what very soon became a “two-faced” regime: democracy and occupation (between the Mediterranean Sea and River Jordan (Azoulay and Ophir 2008)).

Paradoxically, Naharin himself is a proclaimed critic of the Israeli regime. For example, after winning the Israel Prize, the highest honour bestowed on citizens of Israel, he rushed to

□ *Tabula Rasa*, Batsheva Dance Company, 1993/1994. Photograph by Gadi Dagon.

criticise the Israeli occupation in an interview for a Canadian newspaper.<sup>6</sup> In a broader sociological perspective, one should mention that Naharin is a Sabra, born in the 1950s, and belongs to a generation that was brought up to actualise their immigrant parents’ dream. In fact, Naharin and his peers were the bodies that Zionism aspired to produce. Himself, Naharin is a success story: a young, handsome, heterosexual soldier turned dancer, in other words, a subject who has attained the ideal of both combat and dancing in one and the same body. But in fact, his generation was also the first to criticise the Israeli regime, especially after the 1973 war and the rising awareness of the Israeli occupation that had begun in 1967. Naharin’s generation also initiated various Zionist leftist movements, such as Peace Now, which combine the general belief in the right of Israel to exist with self-criticism and an aspiration to lead the region towards stability and peace. Nonetheless, a number of scholars have shown that this traumatic and personal experience of war has been mostly normalised by those very same subjects, who are subordinate agents of society (e.g. Lomsky & Feder 2004), which means that the ideological necessities of the state persist and usually get the upper hand. Naharin’s choreographic act is deeply rooted in his “generational story”, as his work has a similar ability to criticise the endless variations of militant bodies around him by celebrating the individual body. But at the same time, an individual’s critical act still ends up neutralising itself, precisely because

<sup>6</sup> [http://www.kibush.co.il/show\\_file.asp?num=3808](http://www.kibush.co.il/show_file.asp?num=3808) – accessed in October 2013.



□ *Hora*, Batsheva Dance Company, 2010. Photograph by Gadi Dagon.

“war is the unconscious of dance” and the act ultimately normalises the body, in this case the “original body”, so desired by the state.

When Naharin joined Batsheva, he was not content with the “Israeli Dancer” brand, able to perform the best of the Western neoclassical tradition. He wanted to do original work and so trained the “Israeli Dancer” to be self-reflective and construct original choreographies and not just perform them, but in order to accomplish that, he had to strip the dancers’ bodies of their nationalist uniforms. One of his early notable works, *Kyr* (1990), included a section in which a big group of dancers were sitting in a semi-circle and singing the most famous Passover song,<sup>7</sup> whilst taking their army uniforms off. Naharin thus made the unconscious of dance – war – conscious, professing a need to cleanse the body of militarism. Another famous early piece by Naharin was *Tabula Rasa*, described by *The New York Times* as follows: “*Tabula Rasa*’ radiates a general sense of loss” (Kisselgoff 1987), possibly revealing Naharin’s belief in, and desire for, establishing a body cleansed of all signs. Yet, Naharin’s actions were not as intentional as they may seem and the demilitarisation proclaimed in his work actually seems to be continuing the involvement of dance as a discipline in the fabrication of the national body. *Tabula Rasa*, literally meaning “a blank slate”, is a naming that reveals the constitution of the desired dancing body, perfecting the ability of dance to erase certain features of the body in order for another, “truer” and universal body to appear. As a result, this constant erasure provides the state with a body that is cleansed from its moral and political

<sup>7</sup> The most celebrated religious Jewish holiday, well-incorporated into the mythology of the state, as it commemorates the Exodus, the ancient Jewish people’s transition from slavery in Egypt to freedom in Canaan.

responsibilities, as well as from its present difficulties. In other words, Naharin’s work has mastered the obsession with the real and the ability of dance to perform it. His work, heavily reliant on his experiences of American modernist and European neoclassical dance, such as the work of Martha Graham, Maurice Béjart, and Jiří Kylián, showed that his bodies could easily traverse and reinterpret this existing knowledge, but most of all, they simulated the presence of the *origin* of this knowledge. That is why at first the Batsheva Dance Company under Naharin continued to perform its international repertory, with its dancers known for their “smooth Israeli” style of performing the technical feats of neoclassicism. Yet Naharin used the language of dance to demonstrate his ability to transcend it and posit the Israeli dancing body as a primordial fact, able to shed militarism as it reinterprets the contemporary language of dance.

These procedures appear in a more methodical and elaborate way in his later choreographic works, as well as in *Gaga*, his dance technique and language. In our view, his work is an ongoing process of desubjectification and de-signification, which culminated in *Gaga*. Naharin’s set of movement coordinates serves as a vehicle for positing both the “truth” of dance and the end of the war, by positing “war” not as an aggressive bodily fight for life and death that requires the destruction of the enemy, but as a perpetual state of a passionate ethos of movement, directed toward a state of a declared original presence and an endless economy of pleasures. This process can be called a *demilitarisation* of the Jewish militant body, because it downplays Israeli militaristic significations (which Naharin perceives as “rough” or “vulgar”),<sup>8</sup> but in fact, its a-historicity suggests that the war has been

<sup>8</sup> <http://e.walla.co.il/?w=274/1775822> [Hebrew] – accessed in October 2013.

won and that the Israeli body is alive, well, and in control – a new prominent fact in the region. His criticism and demilitarisation are meaningful and revealing of many endeavours to come, but they also fully articulate the ability of dance to offer its body and nation the legitimacy of *being a fact in the world*. Dance offers something much more useful than the Zionist melting pot doctrine, because the dancing body somehow keeps the truth – its being a fact – of the new body, and therefore ensures that it’s not hybridised, but instead *instils originality into it*.

*Gaga*’s website defines it as follows: “The language of *Gaga* originated from the belief in the healing, dynamic, ever-changing power of movement”.<sup>9</sup> It’s professed as a new and contemporary language of movement that, according to Naharin, should stand on its own, that is, detached from his authorship, which is why he named it “*Gaga*” and not, for example, “Naharin”. Supposedly, “*Gaga*” means nothing, it’s gibberish, yet its euphony alludes to a newborn baby, who is only able to say: “ga ga...”, a kind of mumble. Famously, a decade ago, when Batsheva performed a piece by Mats Ek, Naharin declared that from then on, the Batsheva dancers would use *Gaga* as their everyday practice, to prepare their bodies for work *in lieu* of classical ballet training. In a diplomatic concession to Ek, he allowed his dancers to take one ballet class a week, but now, *Gaga* is the company’s only training practice. Over time, *Gaga* has grown articulate enough to address the general public as well and *Gaga* classes are now taught on a daily basis to dancers and non-dancers in Tel Aviv and around the world. The dissemination of this knowledge resembles a franchise, as only Naharin may authorise new teachers.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/gagapeoplecom> – accessed in October 2013.

A typical *Gaga* class lasts for an hour, during which the participants are randomly scattered in space; they never stop moving, performing from a wide range of guidelines. Oddly enough, *Gaga* is based on instructions that invoke images about how to deal with the body's economy, investment of energy, simulation of textures and states of matter, and not with aesthetic shapes or visibility (mirrors, for example, are not allowed in *Gaga* classes or the Batsheva Dance Studios). But, in fact, when we look at an average Batsheva *Gaga*-trained dancer, we can easily identify a specific figure. For example, some recognisable features include the following: the arms are always floating and never drop; the body is never engaged in a penetrating touch with another body; the floor is hardly ever accessed. The reason for this generic resemblance is the most important ontological trait of *Gaga* – its constant invitation to engage in a *potential state of self-sensing*. Thus, *Gaga* leaves you pondering whether its purported discovery of the original dancing body is just yet another romanticising claim of Western dance.

Naharin himself offered a hint at a press conference before the première of one of his recent pieces, which he named *Hora* (2009) after the eponymous Israeli national folk dance. Naharin said: "*Hora* unfolds several points of reference... the rhythm and inner logic of the piece invite us to view them as a sequence of climaxes without low points between them".<sup>10</sup> Obviously, there is no such thing as "a sequence of climaxes without low points between them", since there cannot be climaxes without low points in between and vice versa. Hence Naharin's statement indicates the illusion that the body he is manufacturing is meant to create and that this illusion is in fact the Israeli national folk dance. It demonstrates the denial of any kind of "low" points, including the economies of inflicting pain, displeasure, and the disfiguring of the body, and it is only interested in proclaiming the euphoria of its own success.

Moreover, Naharin's statement is a perfect description of the *Gaga* language and what it offers its practitioners: "a sequence of climaxes without low points between them". In a *Gaga* class, participants are not instructed to make any shapes with their bodies, nor is there a declared hierarchy of privileging one movement over another. Yet, watching or participating in a *Gaga* class, one easily recognises the way one uses a fourth position, how one attempts an arabesque, and that when the teacher says "Lana", it means "centre" (as part of Naharin's wholesale attempt to re-coin popular dance phrases). *Gaga* claims to consist not of a system of positions, like ballet, but of non-hierarchical

sequences of movements, climaxes, and original libidinal impulses. Therefore, the fundamental principle of *Gaga* is shapelessness. Or maybe it's simply not a language, but a dialect or accent of what dance "as such" supposedly is.

In general, a *Gaga* class does not instruct the body to assume any particular positions, but uses metaphors instead, such as "imagine your spine as a snake" or "bathe in honey" (preferred metaphors in many *Gaga* classes). The image guides the body until it reaches a suitable manifestation of it. *Gaga* inhabits a region of heightened frequencies of pleasure and effort: from the excess of sensual pleasure to the suspension and gentleness of a hand rocking a cradle. All is accepted if the instruction "Enjoy!" is followed. That is why *Gaga*'s formlessness creates a type of expression that can carry contradictions by delimiting them, as the body is by no means obliged to make any sense whatsoever, but simply celebrates the alleged primacy of sensation. As such, it pretends to be indifferent to any signs that it may wear, or, to put it in even stronger terms, signs are perceived as stains that blur the visibility of the body and render it opaque. *Gaga*'s constant disavowal of any kind of signification, which was initially set in motion to fight what Naharin calls "vulgarity", makes sure there are no signs at all, especially not military signs or any other questionable moral or personal signs that would attest to a failure or error in the body machine's investment of energy.

That is why *Gaga* embraces a New Age philosophy of life, a kind of illogical naturalism advertised around the world as selling a more "fun" morning class to professional dance companies, or as a way for more and more people to gain access to the potential of "winning" life by enjoying the moving body, rather than engaging it in critical thinking. In our view, this "Israeli way to move" brand is another sublimation of the unconscious of war, as it engages in an unconscious denial of war, instead of deliberating or dancing the legitimacy of war or lack thereof. And yet, Naharin wasn't the only one: the 2000s, when Naharin started using the term "*Gaga*", saw the beginning of the collapse of the Zionist Left's ideological meta-structure, in which it had subsisted for almost 40 years, following a wave of hopelessness that struck the nation after the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and the supposed failure of the Oslo Accords. Its set of basic principles (the belief in the right of the Jewish state to exist but also in its ability to criticise itself) couldn't stand its spectacular failure in the outbreak of the Second Palestinian Intifada (the Palestinian term for "resistance" or "uprising"), which saw unprecedented levels of violence on both sides. In those days, the phrase "no partner for negotiations" was coined to describe Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. Besides, since the early 1990s, the

Israeli society has undergone an accelerated process of privatisation and individuation, and neoliberal capitalism was already blossoming in what was once a unified socialist-oriented state. In this cultural and social climate, Naharin's work increasingly turned to the self, slowly closing on itself, as it was predicated on a body that simply couldn't bear its contradictory existence. But instead of engaging in resistance and criticism, this body preferred to escape and deny its existence. It seems as if Naharin's project was conceived simply to exit the society that had given birth to it, as though it could somehow boycott the culture by denouncing it as "vulgar". Under Naharin, the Batsheva Dance Company turned into a small enclave set up to keep the "roughness" of the outside world at bay, whereas it ended up keeping at bay the roughness of its suffering bodies, dreams, hopes, and thoughts of change and resistance, and appropriated individualistic, and New Age discourses that suppressed those bodies even further.

There is another site of embodied activity where the maximum presence of the body remains close to the sensibility of pleasure, and that is sex. Therefore, it is no surprise that Naharin asks his dancers to connect to their sexual energy, to "activate" that source when dancing. Extracting movement from such boundless and instinctive forces allows him to create a kind of dancing that is free from the limitations of external time and place, just as it is free from gender specificities and political dogmas, bound only to the "fact of life" and authority of the libido, which allows procreation and pleasure to reside in a single gesture. This is a dance that is not inhabited by "one thought", because it seeks to harvest the potential of every thought, every time, and every place, as they appear by the mere fact of having a sensual yet generic sexual body.

Finally, *Gaga* has created a body that carries a somewhat sterile universality, since it shows no affinity for, or commitment to, any particular, historical, or actual events. In short, it strives to capture "eventuality", being-in-event, which has no reference and even renounces any need for reference.<sup>11</sup> Trying to force any sort of thinking on *Gaga* or provide an explanation for its appearance would be considered foolish, naïve, or heretical. This innate liquefaction of sense and refusal of historicity are *Gaga*'s most important characteristics, as they inform its subversion of dance tradition, tapping into the *facticity of the body*. That's why *Gaga* heralds a kind of capitalist New Age, but in a very literal

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<sup>11</sup> We are thinking here with Alain Badiou's concept of *event* – a historical sequence that states a universal truth and redefines the structure of being *qua* being. See Badiou 2005. Contrary to this conception, we see *Gaga* not as an event, but only as "evental", because it's only a simulation of being in a constant "event"; as such, it doesn't allow a real event to appear.

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<sup>10</sup> [http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles\\_item,698,209,34860,aspx](http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles_item,698,209,34860,aspx) [Hebrew] – accessed in October 2013.

sense: an ever "new" age of a body that denies neither the past nor the future, but is simply not determined or limited by them and takes part in a kind of eternal present, in a *presencing*.

Nevertheless, lately, Naharin has immersed himself in more concrete "New Age" references, calling *Gaga*'s basic set of values "a universal ethics" – clean, "Green energy", availability. Those values are a product of his wish to detach himself from 20<sup>th</sup>-century languages of movement and, in a way, to "resolve" their problems. Shapelessness within shapes is supposed to counter the ruthless discipline of bodies "in shape". Imagination ("imagine your spine as a snake") is supposed to fight the mechanistic outlook of dance technique, and so on. And yet, *Gaga* only appears in the thin context of its self-sensing, which aims to be a platform for the origin of all reflexivity, but is in fact locked in a pre-reflexive mode of being. Maybe it is no accident that as soon as Naharin completed his formulation of *Gaga*, the company almost stopped performing pieces by other choreographers and focused almost exclusively on works by Naharin and his *protégée*, Sharon Eyal.<sup>12</sup>

In other words, the *Gaga* body denies the recognition of others, as it offers an individuating event before encountering any other events. As such, the *Gaga* body is a signature of being a fact, an original piece of knowledge made in Israel, but at the same time, it is a *fact that closes upon itself*. We are not saying that Naharin doesn't touch on social reality in his work, but that the vanity of his bodies, the concept of *Gaga*, becomes a fertile soil for delineating sense and erasing others, which is so desired by the Israeli state. In the contrasted political situation of Israel, and with a great will not only to criticise the politics of the state, but also to dance his way through a demilitarisation and exhibition of liberated bodies, Naharin has embarked on a journey of constant and unparalleled transcendence: first, out of the crude physical existence of the Jewish militant body and then, from the historical contingency of any particular performance.

Still, at the end of the day, this machine is burdened with the closure of its own self-referentiality. In other words, its endless self-affecting presence affirms the body as a fact and not as a being-in-the-world; as the substructure that sustains autonomy, but not as a ruptured self. His inability to bear a problematic reality led Naharin to engender a body prone to celebrate its own victory of silence, as he designs a pleasurable dance that denies the world around

<sup>12</sup> Sharon Eyal was Naharin's "muse" for many years, as she danced in the company from the beginning. Later on, she was made the company's resident choreographer. Recently, she has won international success and famously left the Batsheva Dance Company and established her own, L-E-V. However, she still associates herself with *Gaga* practice, e.g. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rsebh20mdk> – accessed in October 2013.

it. This version of the body can then easily be submitted to different kinds of rhetoric and propaganda, endless cultural hermeneutics, and finally to the branding of "Israeli Dance".

Nonetheless, Naharin's invention, this alleged regime of self-sensation, still has an ethical impulse beating in it: it aims for a state of pure potentiality to be whatever ("you are a tiger"), which Naharin perceives as a total emancipation from the law of discipline and technique of dance, and ultimately identifies moving with living. That's why *Gaga* is a specimen of vitalist ethics and a way of life, but one that has lost its historical coordinates and is deeply uninterested in its outside.

Therefore, *Gaga* is still closely tied to the conception of the Israeli body as morally justified and free and in that sense it's like an ex-territorial utopia that has lost its need to make sense and touch history, similarly to the post-Zionist Left today that resonates with the crisis of the Left everywhere. This "baby" body that *Gaga* nourishes remains in the good service of all the earthly forces around it, which appropriate it so they can unburden themselves from critical thought and ultimately declare Israel an "empire of dance". However, we see *Gaga* as a (golden) cage of *original facticity*, which has allowed it the false luxury of announcing itself as a universal truth. *Gaga*'s escapist route confirms that war is the unconscious of Israeli dance, as *Gaga* complies with and reaffirms the state politics of Israel. ■

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# Choreography As An Analytical Tool For Interpreting Society In The Context Of Theatre

**Igor KORUGA** ● ● Perhaps the most current – though not that fresh – concern in contemporary dance is the notion of expanded/extended choreography. There are already many proposals regarding this issue.<sup>1</sup> In an increasing number of fields the word “choreography” now serves as a technical term (e.g. in biology, diplomacy, politics, sociology, anthropology, etc.). What all of those approaches share is viewing choreography through other ways of organising time and space, thinking various practices, frames, and concepts through choreography, and perceiving choreography as a generic cluster of tools to be used in analysis. Moreover, they ask: “What can choreography do?”, but without thereby alleviating the urgency of another question: “what is choreography?”. Therefore, one might ask: what about choreography and society? How to use choreography to analyse performance in society today – in its structures, principles

<sup>1</sup> These range from the idea of disconnecting choreography from dance (Mårten Spångberg), via the thesis concerning the exhaustion of dance’s relation to movement and focusing instead on uninterrupted kinetic flow as the essence of dance (André Lepecki), to the view that the shift from embodiment to proceduralism is happening due to a rupture in the bind between the body and movement (Bojana Cvejić).

of organisation, roles in communication, and how we perform those structures, principles, and roles in our everyday lives? If choreography is reinventing itself by exceeding its artistic performativity and merging into the realm of social performativity (as in the case of social choreography, for instance), what does that expose or articulate about us – the actors and vehicles of those performances? And how does it enable us to transform or intervene in the public sphere? To consider such a view of choreography, in this paper I will focus on communication in the author-artwork-spectator aggregate in the apparatus of theatre. I regard theatre as a public space – a frame for realising activities of citizenship related to concerns in the public domain (e.g. public speaking, labour, politics, social collaboration and cooperation, social communication, etc.). In that framework, my wish is to discuss a view of choreography as a practice that might expand the sections of performance and spectatorship that are currently articulated and recognisable in the apparatus of theatre into social regimes of performativity. Such an expansion would constitute choreography as an analytical tool for socio-anthropological,

political, and artistic interpreting and intervening into the principles of social communication, agency, values, and beliefs, in the interaction of humans in the public sphere of today’s (neoliberal and capitalist) society.

## COMMUNICATION in the Performing Arts

● The communication between the audience and the artist in the performing arts has been a key and unavoidable subject in many artistic concepts, especially since the 1960s and the avant-gardes and neo-avant-gardes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This was due to the emergence of various critical post-structural theorisations that, according to Ana Vujanović, challenged structuring the process of communicating with the audience in performance according to the conventional scheme of communication: *sender – message (containing information) conveyed through channels of communication – receiver*, or, in performance: *author – message conveyed through a dramatic play / performance – audience* (Vujanović 2010, 2). Vujanović explains this transformation as follows. In brief, the concept of *communication as straightforward exchange* (including works by artists from the historical avant-garde: Antonin Artaud, the Futurists, Dadaists, etc., and from the 1960s neo-avant-garde: Fluxus, the Situationists, Living Theater, Augusto Boal, Yoko Ono, Peter Handke, etc.), in relation to Umberto Eco’s concept of the open work, transformed the representational structure of performance into a participatory and provocative here-and-now event with an audience demanding answers. Then, the concept

As noted by Ana Vujanović, new tendencies in the performing arts pointed out those earlier participatory and interactive forms of theatre and performance, which were based on the *insistence* on communication, grounded in two assumptions.<sup>3</sup> The first assumption relates to the idea of activating the spectator through various forms of interaction and participation in performance that might communicate a certain message or content. Such an assumption, as Vujanović explains, is hard to realise due to the gap that separates a performance from its audience, defining the latter as

a relatively abstract anonymous mass that is supposed to act from a common communicational ground, and numerous particular spaces of spectators that would be finite if only the author would be familiar with all of them and their actual structure, which is virtually impossible. (Vujanović 2010, 3).

The second assumption relates to tendencies to "activate" the spectator and make her "aware" of her role in theatre. As it turns out, the spectator is thereby treated as a passive element in communication, thus reproducing social inequality (separating those in the know from the rest, separating the active from the passive, etc.) and also increasing the pressure on the spectator.<sup>4</sup> Though no procedure could close the gap between the audience and the performance in their communication context, Vujanović argues that contemporary performing arts practices have demonstrated that it can be mediated – by shifting the communication scheme in performance "from communicating something to the audience (a message, content) towards communicating with [the] audience, trying to produce the meaning in this process, rather than conveying it" (Vujanović 2010). More straightforwardly, if also ironically, Vujanović effectively suggests that what is communicated in contemporary performance is neither meaning nor any other value, but communication itself, in other words, the desire to keep communicating, which becomes a sort of code of .....

of non-communication was articulated in postmodernism (between the 1970s and the 1990s, in works by Robert Wilson, Jan Fabre, Richard Foreman, Peter Greenaway, and Anne Teresa de Meersmaecker), through various performance practices that offered new perspectives of open meaning, putting not a *mastermind* behind the performance, but "an author indifferent towards communication: the performance is open to a multitude of free and arbitrary 'readings' on the part of the audience" (Cvejić & Vujanović 2006, 9).

<sup>3</sup> These new tendencies relate to the *institutional re-focusing of communication* in the 1990s and 2000s, in works related to different forms in the performing arts, by authors such as, in contemporary choreography: Jérôme Bel, Xavier Le Roy, Boris Charmatz, Plischke and Deufert, Alice Chauchat, Mette Ingvartsen, Ivo Dimčev, etc.; in documentary and readymade theatre: Christoph Schlingensiefel, Rabih Mroué, Rimini Protokoll, etc.; and in community-based actions: Shannon Flattery, Thomas Hirschhorn, the Krétakör troupe, etc.

<sup>4</sup> This became the basis for Jacques Rancière's alternative political principle of the emancipated spectator (Rancière 2009).

contemporaneity. The principle behind Vujanović's claim could also be linked to Agamben's vision of communicability, which communicates nothing but the capacity of language to communicate. It does it only by means of its praxis or acting, its contingency, context, operativity, and intelligibility. And yet, language can't communicate its communicability, but only demonstrate it by acting as a communicable medium or process (Agamben 1993).

There are concrete examples from the performing arts that manifest the above-described thesis concerning communication, in contemporary dance and choreography, including works by artists like Xavier Le Roy (*Project, low pieces, "Retrospective"*), Eszter Salamon (*Giszelle, Nvsbl*), Christine De Smedt (*9x9*),<sup>5</sup> Tino Sehgal (*This Variation*), etc. Though different in form, content, as well as institutional context of representation (theatre vs. museum), all of these works have a choreographic outlook on new visions of spectatorship. Stemming from the tradition of "thought practices", which emerged in the 1990s, such choreographic ideas self-referentially problematise dance/choreography,<sup>6</sup> opening the artwork to a plurality of propositions, rather than tying it only to those of a single autonomous subject/author. More importantly, these practices ask who are the spectators with whom artists communicate in performance, implying that the artist's concern in art should be to form, in Vujanović's words, a "communicational community" with the spectator for the duration of the performance, as a "viable basis for communication, which isn't something that already pre-exist [*sic*]" (Vujanović 2010, 4). In other words, the audience that comes to the theatre is not a pre-existent community, but a group of individuals briefly coming together from their own private lives.

To form a "communicational community" in a performance requires focusing the communication between the artist, performance, and the audience on tasks, forms, and issues that might concern the audience and thus persuade them to become a part of such a temporary community. In that sense, I would like to reconsider two notions regarding the concept of "communicational community" as it relates to artists and spectators in performance.

My first notion would be to detach the term "community" from its general and conventional understanding and the second would be to .....

<sup>5</sup> This project was initiated by Christine De Smedt and involved nine other contemporary dance choreographers, including, among others, Mårten Spångberg, Mette Edvardsen, and Tino Sehgal.

<sup>6</sup> By examining and critiquing the theatre apparatus itself, the role of the spectator, the principles of authorship and modes of production in dance and choreography, the relation between the art market and the economy of exchange, the principles behind the production and distribution of knowledge in dance, collaboration and networking among artists as individual authors and artists affiliated with institutions, etc.

define to what the notion of "procedure" in forming a communicational community refers.

**Communication and "Community" in Performance** ● When considering communication between artists and spectators, it might be necessary to indicate that the conventional concept of "community" – a structured or hierarchically organised unity/society gathered around common values, ideas, concerns, etc. – is too narrow, because it rests on power relations, the inequality of social roles and positions, and status divisions. What seems to be arising in today's participatory and interactive performing arts practices is a redefinition of "community". For now, I will only mention a few examples, again from contemporary choreography: *On Trial Together* (Saša Asentić & Ana Vujanović), *The Entropic Institute* (Deufert & Plischke), *By Invitation Only* (Christina Ciupke & Igor Dobričić), *9x9* (Christine De Smedt & nine other choreographers), *EIO & EIONometry* (Dragana Bulut, Eduard Gabia, and Maria Baroncea), etc. The common ground of these various projects is their re-configuration of the "community" of the artist and spectator by means of choreographic ideas based on different concepts of community, including unstructured, hybrid, emerging, and proto-communities. All of those concepts, borrowed from social anthropology, philosophy, and performance studies, are behind the term *communitas* – the Latin root of "community". It remains a rather controversial theoretical concept, defined by parameters of social interaction that are based either on sameness/commonness or alterity.<sup>7</sup> It is exactly this contradiction that allows us to use this concept as a methodological term for examining, as well as resisting or suspending, the familiar and recognisable social forms and orders of being together in a collective situation. Stimulating hybrid forms of "communicational community" is a sociopolitical and performative .....

<sup>7</sup> With regard to theoretical approaches related to British cultural anthropology of the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (more accurately, interpretative and symbolic anthropology), a specific author who should be mentioned in relation to *communitas* is Victor Turner. In his exploration of rituals, crises, conflicts, and their relevance in the constitution of social structures among African communities, Turner used the term *communitas* for an unstructured/becoming community, emerging during the transitional period of the reorganisation or collapse of an existing social order. In Turner's view, a *communitas* appears at moments of restructuring the familiar social structure of a community, through collective public bodily activities and movements, not only in rhetoric. These bodily movements in such a becoming community are based on the principles of togetherness, commonness, and equality among its participants/people (see Turner 1969 and 1982). By contrast, philosopher Roberto Esposito interprets *communitas* on completely opposite principles, arguing that our communities are founded on our constitutive alterities with respect to ourselves, a debt and obligation, not commonness. For Esposito, community is not a collective bond that comes at a certain point to connect individuals. On the contrary, it is an "exposure to what interrupts the closing and turns it inside out: a dizziness, a syncope, a spasm in the continuity of the subject" (Esposito 2010, 7).

intervention, analysis, transformation, uncertainty, and potential threat to the normative social relations and orders, marked by the antagonistic mechanisms of our contemporary capitalist communicational society. Such a form of community antagonises the sovereignty of the familiar social order by publicly performing unfamiliar, spontaneous, and invisible alternatives or sets of parameters/principles of living and being together in human interaction. In the context of theatre and the performing arts, stimulating hybrid communities opens a playground for defining and developing principles of communicational negotiation/mediation in the (un)equal, contrapuntal communication between the territories of the spectator, artist, and the artwork – as they are established in the performing arts practices related to the theatrical apparatus, e.g. contemporary dance and choreography. Moreover, such a negotiation shifts those territories, aiming to challenge and intervene in the conventional modes of artistic production and consumption under capitalism.<sup>8</sup>

**Procedurality and Choreography**

● Another notion to reconsider in the construction of a “communicational community” in theatre is the procedurality behind such a constitution. In that regard, I would start by viewing choreography through contemporary approaches to it, from the 1990s on. As I mentioned above, this paradigmatic turn in the art of dance and choreography introduced proceduralisation as a self-referential methodological tool for conceptualising dance. Besides claiming for choreography a specific educational complexity and concrete political and public relevance, more importantly, it dissociated choreography from the closed concept of composition.<sup>9</sup> Still, more recent theoretical approaches – such as that of Bojana Cvejić – examine whether our conceptual and functional concern with procedures in choreography over the past years (theoretical, in dance education, and applied through dramaturgy in dance practice) has

<sup>8</sup> To put it simply: the artist is conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of *situations*; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or long-term *project* with an unclear beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as a “viewer” or “beholder”, is now repositioned as a co-producer or *participant*. (Bishop 2012, 2).  
<sup>9</sup> According to Bojana Cvejić, choreography has been historically identified with composition or the inscription of a formal order in space and time through the movement of bodies. As Cvejić notes, “the inscription of movement in space and time is a rather vague, empty signifier, but that is exactly how regulative concepts function: they fulfil their normative functions precisely because their contents are so elusive.” Thus, “such a closed concept of choreography rests on and reduces choreography to an agreement (whatever your composition is, it necessarily has to pertain to bodily movement and parameters of space and time),” and a hierarchical apparatus of production (choreographer transferring knowledge to dancers by show-copy model or material molding). (Cvejić 2006)

calcified into normative choreographic “know-how” solutions that stopped questioning the function and purpose of choreography itself (see Cvejić 2013).<sup>10</sup> Reproducing procedures remains problematic only if operating continuously without analysing or re-examining from time to time its purposes, functionality, and underlying doctrines. Since procedures define how processes, actions, concepts, and attitudes make sense to us, how we experience them, how they organise systems of functioning, maintain patterns of thinking, agency, and communicating, the bond between procedurality and choreography, as Cvejić indicates, could be considered for another purpose. Choreography should therefore focus on examining the principles of its procedural operation, rather than readymade procedural solutions it proposes. Examining and articulating the principles of choreography could spawn new, transformative, intervening, and hybrid dimensions, entities, models, which might expose, subvert, and transform perpetuated and procedural elements that have become servile or normative – residues of past intellectualisations and practices that informed beliefs in education, the art market, and society about what is “normal” in choreography (see Cvejić & Vujanović 2012, 75).

Keeping in mind that artistic methodology doesn’t necessarily constitute spectatorship in theatre, I still find certain aspects of Cvejić’s thesis fruitful, considering the stimulation of a “communicational community” between the audience and the artist. Regarding the bond between proceduralism and choreography, I’m intrigued about concrete ways of using choreography in the apparatus of theatre to communicate with the spectator about exposing, disrupting, and transforming the normative procedures of our social (co-)existence, agency, and communication, so easy to agree upon and operate through in today’s neo-liberal and capitalist society.<sup>11</sup> In other words, how to communicate through choreography a political, socio-anthropological, and artistic examination of principles identifying, for example, “what forces and apparatuses, non-metaphorically and daily,

<sup>10</sup> This should be borne in mind especially in light of the incessant reproduction of manuals, toolboxes, scores, methods, protocols, manifestoes, interviews, self-interviews, and books on creativity in contemporary choreography (see Cvejić 2013). See comment above.

<sup>11</sup> Keeping in mind, though, that even such self-referential and critical re-examining has become politically ineffective or, in Žižekian terms, “pseudo-active”, due to its close connection to contemporary models of production in the post-industrialised era, where “art participates within a network of pre-established models of criticality and reflexivity, as a sort of ‘politicisation with reason’ or a choice between ready-made discourse possibilities” (Kunst 2011, 128). As Bojana Kunst asserts, due to an art market that continuously mirrors the flexibility of neoliberal capitalist politics by offering various political choices and where spectator communities are formed by moral categories rather than political subjectivisation, even radically critical practices seem less effective and require stronger re-consideration.

choreograph subjection, mobilization, subjugation and arrest” (Lepecki 2012, 21)? These principles aren’t easy to articulate or comprehend in human interaction today and its performativity in the public sphere (and space). While alternatively composing the public sphere and remaining ideological, the “aesthetic form in which these principles should be expressed is undetermined and requires inefficiently long ideological debates in the collective imagination to turn into concrete political demands” (Cvejić 2013, 75).

**CHOREOGRAPHY as a Tool for Interpreting and Breaking Social Norms**

● Using choreography to interpret society implies viewing choreography as a sort of blueprint of society that may be analysed. That would link choreography to the concept of performance as a model for interpreting the social in the public and private sphere alike.<sup>12</sup> Seen in those terms, choreography is used as a social phenomenon for analysing performance in contemporary society – in social structures, orders, communication, and roles in our everyday lives. But from another point of view, I’m wondering if adapting this choreographic approach in artistic sense and henceforth applying it in the apparatus of theatre might set choreography to work as an analytical tool in interpreting society as well? In other words, if a choreographer/author is artistically inspired to examine the ideologically choreographed performativity of society in the contexts of spectatorship and the theatre apparatus, then s/he could come up with a choreographic proposal, communicate it with the audience (thus creating a communicational community), and use it as an analytical tool to interpret and critique the social, and possibly intervene with it in public.

That approach may be illustrated with the following example from contemporary choreographic practice. In the early 2000s, choreographer Christine De Smedt initiated *9x9*, a project aimed to reflect on the relationship between individuality and community and the notion of art as a mass event. Working with “amateurs” or just ordinary citizens of the various cities that hosted her, De Smedt explored how people act in groups, how they form temporary groups despite their divergent

<sup>12</sup> Borrowed from sociology, anthropology, and performance studies, concepts pertaining to such a model show that by framing the public as theatre/performance (in concrete historical instances, ranging from Ancient Greece, via the bourgeois era, to neo-liberal society), we acknowledge that the moment we step into the public, we’re performing for and before others. Here are some examples: performance theory (John McKenzie), social drama (Victor Turner), social choreography (Andrew Hewitt), man as actor (Richard Sennett), technologies of the self (Michel Foucault), *habitus* (Pierre Bourdieu), the concept of social roles and performance of the self (Erving Goffman), the distinction between doing and performing (Richard Schechner), performing identity (Judith Butler), the concept of embodiment (Thomas Csordas), speech acts (John Austin), etc. (See Cvejić & Vujanović 2012).

interests, and how those groups then fall apart again. A choreographic structure performed in Nantes (France), as one of the performances in the project, was devised by means of various social games based on mathematical principles (e.g. permutations) in order to create organised chaos. This organised chaos was intertwined with various social situations (marked by certain sub-social choreographies) appropriated into the performance – a nightclub, a rock concert, a public speech, and dance/movement scores. The fragmentary structure of the work, performed by a mix of professionals and amateurs scattered across the space, without clear boundaries separating the performers from the audience, exposed and examined certain aspects of socially choreographed behaviour in public. One was the audience's behaviour in the absence of the "familiar" procedures of "conventional" theatre performance. The audience withdrew, i.e. reacted with fear and embarrassment to several everyday social situations transparently exposed in theatre (out of fear of performing, of not knowing, of failing to "understand" a contemporary work of art, etc.). Such reactions demonstrate the need to use choreography to probe the public behaviour of audiences, in this case their willingness to decide whether to follow the rules or use their presence and participation to transform a pre-existing (choreographic) proposal in performance. Or, in concrete terms, whether the spectator should follow the rules and dance as though at a nightclub, for instance, or respond to a political speech. Finally, another aspect of social behaviour was examined by organising a mass of people in space by using bodies (those of the performers), which showed how spectators individually act and position themselves in relation to such an (un)structured mass situation.

This short account of De Smedt's performance allows us to make two observations. One is that choreography can be used as an analytical tool, for an (artistic) interpretation of the social (behaviour, order, roles, etc.), by way of its methodology, procedures, and structures governing the proposal/framework of a performance situation communicated with the audience. The other is that this concrete choreography not only rests on representation and exposure, but also breaks and examines choreography as a social phenomenon, ideologically shaped by our various micro- and sub-societies, and embodied through our behaviour in the public sphere.<sup>13</sup> This example shows that using choreography as a blueprint and analytical tool in artistic interpretations of society necessarily rests on setting up a

<sup>13</sup> These observations grow even more compelling if one considers that 9x9 was performed on the international dance scene for 5–6 years, with 18 staged versions, artistically interpreting different social issues and public matters specific to the contexts in which they were presented.

"communicational community", whereby the artist and spectator might intervene together into the social context, affecting its value system, ideology, and other dominant systems. Using choreography in that way still confronts the popular theoretical belief that art should extract itself from the "useless" domain of the aesthetic and associate only with social practice and social change. As noted by Claire Bishop, such thinking conceptualises participatory/collaborative art only through the neo-liberal principles of identity politics, favouring "one side" – that of the spectator – and therefore affirming values like respect for "the other", fundamental liberties, political correctness, etc. Consequently, it neglects and ignores the fact that the "aesthetic" is the ability to think contradiction. Summarising Rancière's thesis on rehabilitating the connection between the aesthetic and politics, Bishop argues that the aesthetic carries "the productive contradiction of art's relationship to social change, characterized precisely by that tension between faith in art's autonomy and belief in art as inextricably bound to the promise of a better world to come". (Bishop 2006, 183)

Such social change in art relies less on social activism than on the "politicality" of the artwork, which, according to Ana Vujanović, addresses

the ways it acts and intervenes in public space, in regard to discussions and conflicts around the subjects and objects that perform on it, the arrangement of positions and powers among them, the distribution of the "sensible", and the ideological discourses that shape a common, symbolic and sensorial order of society, which shape [the] material structure of the society. (Vujanović 2010)

#### Grounds for Establishing Communicational Communities by Means of Choreography

Considering how choreography could be used as an analytical tool for interpreting and breaking the norms of our plural co-existence in contemporary society raises the following question: on what grounds should such a choreographic framework be based? Especially keeping in mind that it's stimulated in the theatre apparatus, mediating, negotiating, and even discussing the gap between the established territories of the artist and the spectator, forming a social plurality that "raises the criteria, problematises the dominant values, and creates a social climate that will provide discursive space for a multitude of often dissonant voices" (Deschooling Classroom 2013, 213). Perhaps two examples from the performing arts can help us find some answers.

In 2011, six artists, including myself, who had been working in the field of contemporary dance and performance on the independent performing arts scene of Belgrade, initiated an artistic

project and performance called *Temporaries*.<sup>14</sup> This participatory/collaborative performance is organised as a social event – a picnic with artistic entertainment – in which the artists (as moderators) along with the spectators confront and intervene in social and art issues and principles of social organisation, focusing on the work conditions on the local and international independent performing arts scenes (such as temporality, solidarity, precarity, competition, emergence/emerging artists, collectivism, self-realisation, readiness, politicality, diversity, etc.). The project strives to analyse and examine these issues on a micro-level, in specific contexts in which it is performed. The event itself is based on deconstructing a picnic, turning it from a (familiar) comfortable and pleasurable social event into a long performance with a complex set of rules, which become harder and harder to grasp and navigate. The choreographic structure or basis of communicating with the audience in this project rests on switching between the representative/aesthetic and social mode of performing. The switching involves miniatures of representative dance/art (which constitute the event's artistic side) and social games that examine various principles of social organisation and collective/individual relations that further guide the trajectory of the event. The procedure rests on stimulating a collective exercise in encountering, interpreting, and discussing mechanisms and principles of social organisation, social interaction in relation to art production, knowledge exchange, marketing, the artist's subjectivity in society, etc. In that sense, presenting the *Temporaries* project in different social contexts gave rise to sundry experiences. For instance, in Berlin, the audience mostly followed the rules and structures of the event, thus emphasising to us after the performance the feeling of safeness in their roles as spectators. By contrast, in Belgrade (in 2011) and Kortrijk (Belgium), we had an entirely different experience – in both cities, the audience sought to disrupt the proposed structure of the performance, insisting that the authors change the rules, challenging the hierarchies and power relations between the artists and the spectators, reflecting on the notion of democratic consensus and how to reach it in this performance, thinking about alternatives in a collective decision-making process, etc.<sup>15</sup> In that regard, a relevant question arose for us,

<sup>14</sup> The *Temporaries* include Ana Dubljević, Dušan Bročić, Igor Koruga, Marko Milić, Jovana Rakić Kiselčić, and Ljiljana Tasić. [www.temporaries.weebly.com](http://www.temporaries.weebly.com)

<sup>15</sup> In this sense, the event is something of "a product *cum* research", since every time it is performed, it's always affected (differently, of course) by the context. It proposes choreography as a model for interpreting the socio-cultural norms, values, and ideologies embodied in everyday agency, opening up space to disrupt them and collectively encounter something hybrid, unknown, unfamiliar, etc.

concerning the matter of giving and taking space – mediating, negotiating, as well as disrupting and discussing at certain times who is entitled to take/give room for the communication between the artists and spectators in a performance? Perhaps this question remains important as a principle constituting the temporary plurality of a collective exercise of activities related to concerns in the public domain, within theatre as a specifically framed public space.

I found myself in a similar situation at the 2011 ImPulsTanz Festival, when I took part in a publication-promotion-performance-event called *Tell Us the Future of the Nomad Dance Academy and Receive a Gift of 1,000 Euros*.<sup>16</sup> The event featured presentations of publications (co-)issued by the NDA (Alfirević & Tanurovska Kjulavkovski 2012), performed in a slightly different format – the audience was invited to make proposals regarding the future of the NDA, with the individual/group that made the most inspired proposal receiving a gift of €1,000 (which was the entire budget of the residency, provided by the Festival). The conditions that set up this encounter reflected an attempt of the participants gathered around the NDA at the festival to approach the problem of group identity. The entire performance lasted for eight hours at the Garage X theatre in Vienna. The first part featured the presentations of the proposals and the second a public, open collective decision-making process involving the participants of the NDA residency, to decide which proposal would win the award. Once the proposals had been presented, the members of the NDA collectively articulated an important principle of decision-making that had started playing out in the conversation:

I can only make decisions/choices valid for myself, but my decisions/choices should never obstruct the ability of others to make their own independent decisions/choices – rather, they should empower them to make independent decisions/choices of their own. (Dobričić 2012, 33)

With this statement, a selection of names and proposals that the NDA members found relevant for the future of the NDA emerged. Ten of them were put on paper and then the

<sup>16</sup> The Nomad Dance Academy was invited to that year's ImPulsTanz and organised a residency to provide time and space for possible events, knowledge exchange, and discussions. For that purpose, the NDA formed a Nomad Task Group (NTG) comprising a temporarily assembled collective of 14 people who were in different ways related to and connected with the past/present/future of the Nomad Dance Academy as a mode of organisation. One third of the participants comprised members of the NDA's Decision Making Body (DMB), one third consisted of former students of the Academy, and the remaining third of participants not affiliated with the NDA. The participants of the residency were Dalija Aćin Thelander, Dragana Alfirević, Igor Dobričić, Aleksandar Georgiev, Enma Kim Hagdahl, Igor Koruga, Manuel Pelmus, Ana Schnabl, Dejan Srhoj, Iskra Šukarova, Johanna Thelander, Sanja Tropp Frühwald, Angela Vadori, and Rok Vevar.

following procedure was devised: one person kept reading the names from the list, one by one, while the others had to decide who would stay on the list. "If one wanted to keep a name on the list, one only had to stand by it, with ones [sic] desires, opinions, and intuitions, or otherwise do nothing. When nobody reacted, the name would be crossed out" (Dobričić 2012, 33). After going for five rounds, the list got down to five names. Though we kept repeating it over and over, we couldn't reduce the list any further. As we were all getting exhausted after almost eight hours of this "performance", we placed the remaining names in an ImpulsTanz bag. The name of the person who won the €1,000 was drawn from that bag.

The normative definition of democratic legitimacy prescribes that whether set on perfect or imperfect norms and regardless of the quality of the outcome, legitimacy in a democracy depends only on the procedural nature of the democratic decision-making process (see Cvejić & Vujanović 2012, 72–73). With that in mind, I wonder how much the event that unfolded at Garage X was a legitimate decision-making process, since it was even broader than the conventions of a democratic consensus would allow. It was an extension achieved by a collective articulation of a principle that constituted, and I would even dare to say choreographed, a procedure likewise performed collectively, slowly approaching its outcome (naming the winner by consensus). Unfortunately, the goal itself wasn't reached, due to exhaustion and the inability to proceed any further. Still, an interesting reflection resulting from this lesson in democracy, beside the question of whether democracy is about giving space to the other or one's responsibility to take space when necessary, concerns the relation between consensus in democracy and proceduralism in establishing spectatorship / a communicational community in performance. These two problems could be further discussed in relation to performance in contemporary society in the context of theatre. But more intriguingly, perhaps one might consider them with regard to the search for ruptures in conventions (in democracy), which might enable us to intervene in the performance of our societies.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For example, one of those ruptures could relate to the fact that as individuals, we are quite unequal in our mental and physical powers and abilities. So the everlasting questions are: how (through what principles) do we bridge that inequality in our co-existence in either familiar or unfamiliar, structured or emerging kinds of communities and communal decision-making processes? How do we conceive of the political representation of different kinds of (dis)abilities and capabilities in life; physical health; bodily integrity; the development of the senses, imagination, and thought; the development of practical reasoning; the development of affiliations – both informal, in the family and in friendship, and formal, in political communities; the development of our ability to relate to other creatures, etc. (For more information, see works by Martha Nussbaum and her theory of justice.)

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Considering choreography as an analytical tool for interpreting and intervening in the social relates to several aspects of extension. Based on the already agreed notion that context is changeable, not due to any individual, but due to us all (Deschooling Classroom 2013, 213), on a disciplinary level and from one point of view, it rests, among other things, on engaging art with society, community, collaboration, interaction, empowerment, agency – concepts that are perhaps traditionally more at home in social science. These engagements would redefine choreography as a practice of articulating/stimulating/exercising specific public vocabularies of social organisation or models of democracy in contemporary society, assuming new relevance for choreography with regard to contemporary art. But, from another point of view, such an approach shouldn't treat choreography only as a social activity or practice. Choreography should also remain a symbolic practice, articulating new ways and structures for disrupting existing and proposing other modes of social or human relations, instead of (only) power or relations of consumption, especially if considering the apparatus of theatre. The resulting potential would comprise ideas, experiences, and possibilities stemming from the human interaction, allied participation, and togetherness resting on principles other than commonness and alterity, consensus and disagreement, focusing more on the meaning of what such interaction produces and communicates. This is where choreography remains the mediating object, concept, image, or story, as the necessary link between the artist and the audience. It enables one to treat theatre as a public space for testing, as a set of relations, a social and communicational entity, an instrument rather than a medium; a frame for addressing social, political, and anthropological issues and for experimenting with them. Paraphrasing a famous line by philosopher Denis Diderot – "there's nothing that can happen in the world that cannot happen in the theatre" – Goran Sergej Pristaš said at a conference in Barcelona last year that "[t]here's nothing that can happen in the theatre that cannot happen in the world, because what happens in the theatre already happens in the world". This reformulation intriguingly takes us to the last remaining question, left for the end: how open are we to take a look from aside, to see how the "monster" works and "do" something about it?

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# Double Exposure

Goran Sergej PRISTAŠ ● ●

How many of us are there altogether, finally? And who is holding forth at the moment? And to whom? And about what?

Samuel Beckett, *The Unnameable*

In physical terms, theatre is usually deprived of a position of observation that has already become normal in museums and galleries – the bird's-eye-view, at any rate, observing from a position that enables one also to observe observing itself. In contemporary museum architecture, these are usually bridges, galleries, and traverses overlooking exhibition areas and offering views of the entire space and exhibition. In theatre architecture history, the watching of watching is not new: in renaissance theatres, the act of the king's watching, that is, listening to the performance had to be seen, so the king often assumed the central position in the hall. As the spectacle moved from the king to the performance, from Wagnerian theatre onwards, the dimming of the lights in the hall increasingly obscured watching, thereby enhancing its intensity and focus. In gallery and museum spaces, the need for observing from above has grown with the spectacularisation of exhibits (the most explicit example is probably Richard Serra's installation *The Matter of Time* at the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao), that is, observing from above has become a frequent and explicit tool in thematisations of the gallery medium or exhibition contexts (a textbook historical example would be *Kontext Kunst: The Art of the 90s*, a 1993 exhibition curated by Peter Weibel at the Neue Galerie im Künstlerhaus Graz, Austria).

In theatre *scenography*, the spectator sees singular phenomena appearing at singular moments and seen from specific perspectives. Scenography rests on hiding things in principle and displaying them at specific times. Even in the black box, which is containment itself, there is always some logic of upfront and background, of covering, and of differences of perspective. Michel Serres juxtaposes scenography with

*ichnography*, as "the ensemble of possible profiles, the sum of horizons. Ichnography is what is possible or knowable, or producible, it is the phenomenological well-spring, the pit, the black box" (Serres 1995, 19).

My memory of Xavier Le Roy's "*Retrospective*" exhibition (2012), that is, the version I saw at the Antoni Tàpies Foundation in Barcelona begins with the first divisibility, the *divisibility of view* into viewing from above and viewing from inside the exhibition space. One enters the exhibition by descending a staircase into a large boiler, a white cylinder similar to the one from Beckett's *The Lost Ones*. Observing it from above seems equalising, the simultaneity of the performance and the act of watching the performers and the spectators, not too phenomenally differentiated in that boiler, seemingly suggest nothing and appear to be a trace (*ichnos*) of the performance, inviting us to come down. However, the noise of the fragments performed and views crossed soon demands an answer to the following question: What is it? An exhibition or a performance? Even before descending that staircase, it is obvious that someone down there is performing something for someone else. But in this performance, it is the viewer who is exposed. By means of her viewing the exhibition (or viewing inside the exhibition), the viewer does not become an exhibit of the exhibition, but is exposed to the exhibition. This multiplicity or second divisibility, the *vectorial divisibility of the viewer*, renders viewing itself a situation. The viewer is an observer, but she is also highlighted by the exhibition, the exhibition is continuously radiating at her, and its orientation toward the centre of the space is likewise radial. However, a third divisibility guarantees the stability of the viewer-viewed situation – a consequence of the incommensurability between the respective positions of the viewers and the performers. Even though viewing from above suggests the *possibility* of a switch or equalisation, their respective levels of knowledge of the performance are incommensurable and thus an operation of the *divisibility of actors* is at work.

Although it is obvious that the exhibition rests on the scenographic operation of hiding and showing, with performers constantly entering and leaving the space, swapping their positions, and with the composition of simultaneity and distance in the performance, the ionographic display of the exhibition, the bird's-eye-view, shows that its basic operation is not to "exhibit" the performers but to expose a performance. Here, someone is exposing a performance to someone else, by coming out against a white background, by protruding toward the viewer, by emerging on an abstract white background, up to the *divisibility of performance* into a centrifugal performing machine and centripetal performing objects. The performers' tangential running in and out of the exhibition space suggests a performative mode of behaviour, but the performed situations themselves, extracted from Xavier Le Roy's earlier performances, generate no generalising logic of a unity of the performance, but instead function anecdotally, individually, standing not for a multiplicity, but for the unity of the problem horizon of every choreographic quotation, all of them invested, as a whole, into a purpose beyond their individualities. Each segment of the operation is a time set and has an operative function of its own, or is a consequence of the operation itself. These sets are discrete units within one and the same operative territory, for the (daily or total) duration of the exhibition, but at the same time, they are also products with different genealogies, that is, consequences of structural causations in a problem field that has different internal spatiotemporal dynamics and material homogeneity. This kind of time rests not on a systemic operation, but on multiple "unit operations" (Bogost 2006).

Thus, the exhibit of the exhibition is a performance, a special machine made of a "different metal", a structure of small, discrete units, none of which are either dominant or superfluous. A machine is more complex than a tool or mechanism, which are always unidirectional. This is a machine whose parts are oriented toward



their clear determinations, almost exactly as Althusser describes an apparatus:

the dictionary definition also says that, in the "ensemble of elements", none is superfluous. On the contrary, all are perfectly well adapted to their end, in so far as all are parts of the articulated whole designated as the "apparatus" [...]. This therefore presupposes a sort of mechanism in which all the parts, all the wheels and cogs, work together to the same end, which is obviously external to the apparatus; if it were not, the apparatus would not be "separate". (Althusser 2006, 82–83)

The performance is thus an ensemble of discrete sets that have their own temporal determinations, but whose mutual encounters, deflections, and junctures also have temporal determinations of their own (Althusser 2006, 167). In operational terms, the possibility that this machine be both a performance and an exhibition are only two options of encounters that may or may not occur, whose deflections may or may not generate series of further encounters.<sup>1</sup> A whole series of researchers in dance studies have located its ephemerality in the constitutive essence of performance, its

<sup>1</sup> *When the form of order and the form of beings whose birth is induced by this pile-up, determined as they are by the structure of the encounter; whence, once the encounter has been effected (but not before), the primacy of the structure over its elements; whence, finally, what one must call an affinity and a complementarity (complétude) of the elements that come into play in the encounter, their "readiness to collide-interlock" (accrochabilité), in order that this encounter "take hold", that is to say, "take form", at last give birth to Forms, and new Forms – just as water "takes hold" when ice is there waiting for it, or milk does when it curdles, or mayonnaise when it emulsifies. Hence the primacy of "nothing" over all "form", and of aleatory materialism over all formalism.* (Althusser 2006, 191–192)

explicit existence in the present and emerging by vanishing. Here, however, there is something else at stake. That something is a theatre of interruption, a theatre that will always first clear out, create a void and ask not about origins but force encounters and survey the symptoms, insist on that which is a trace, a remnant that held on but could have vanished, a remnant that always retains the possibility of turning theatre into a different kind of machine.

While the viewer and her viewing are invested into the abstract machine of the performance, what makes each performative quotation an anecdotal, temporally condensed manifestation of uniqueness is Le Roy's choreographic technology, in the same way that, in the case of photography, Benjamin viewed technology as a historical variable of magic:

It is indeed a different nature that speaks to the camera from the one which addresses the eye; different above all in the sense that instead of a space worked through by a human consciousness there appears one which is affected unconsciously. It is possible, for example, however roughly, to describe the way somebody walks, but it is impossible to say anything about that fraction of a second when a person starts to walk. Photography makes aware for the first time the optical unconscious, just as psychoanalysis discloses the instinctual unconscious. [...] Photography uncovers in this material physiognomic aspects of pictorial words which live in the smallest things, perceptible yet covert enough to find shelter in daydreams, but which, once enlarged and capable of formulation, show the difference between technology and magic to be entirely a matter of historical variables. (Benjamin 1980, 203)

Le Roy's choreography is a high-resolution choreography that operates not in terms of harmonies or compositions but in terms of a long exposure time of a problem. Just as in Benjamin's case the camera makes aware the optical unconscious, so do Le Roy's choreographies extract the choreographic unconscious from other modes of moving and formally organised relations of bodies in space (pertaining to animals, sports, concerts, etc.), that which is repressed in layers of the functionality and purposefulness of bodily practices, but nonetheless organises orders of bodies in space. In his text on the "Choreographic Unconscious", Marko Kostanić describes that method as follows:

Articulating choreography as a structural moment of operation in other, non-dance social fields not only casts a different light on those places from which it has been extracted, but also establishes a framework for different ways of writing the history of dance. It is a double method of cancelling the unconscious in the supposed detachedness of choreography from the historical and social reality – but what is brought into light from that reality are the constitutive traces of choreography, whereas from choreography as an autonomized artistic field it is the unconscious social and rhetorical conditions of the specific legitimization of the autonomizing process with respect to the social hyper-codification of ballet and the gestural ideology of everyday life. (Kostanić 2011, 3)

**Choreography is uncovered, to paraphrase Benjamin, quoted above, in those material physiognomic aspects of bodily relations that, once enlarged and enabled to be formulated by means of citationality and interruption, produce the impact of reformulating the automated**



functionality of using the body technologically into “magic”, engendering amazement (of the kind that, according to Aristotle, gives rise to philosophy). That is the “double-take” method, familiar to us from Greek tragedy as well as from Benjamin’s interpretation of epic theatre.<sup>2</sup> It is a serial game of amazement/estrangement [očuđivanja] and recognition/reflection, which shock by means of a delayed, belated reaction. In Greek tragedy, two devices are crucial for its regulation: *peripeteia*, a sudden, unexpected turn, and *anagnorisis*, the transition from ignorance into knowledge. In epic theatre, those mechanisms are interruption (*Unterbrechung*) and afterthought (*Nachdenken*).

However, in this case, I think it is a reversible situation, not stemming from the logic of the “double take”, as is the case with Le Roy’s performances, but a “double exposure” choreography. What is exhibited is not a choreographic object of desire but a reflection of that desire, what remains of desire after the afterthought; what is exhibited is a reflection of choreography. Although at first it does not seem that way, the opposite of the concept of retrospective is not the concept of perspective as “looking through”, but the concept of prospect as “looking ahead”. According to its dictionary definition, a prospect is a mental image of an imagined future. Following that logic, a retrospective is precisely a mental image stemming from a delayed or retarded consideration of a past event. Therefore, “*Retrospective*” is not an exhibition but an exposition, where a “double exposure” is at

work: that of the viewer and that of a mental image of the past, that is, an exposure of the viewer to a mental image of the past.

In conclusion, I would argue that “double exposure” leads to a divisibility of the exhibition space: as an exposition space, it is a place of performance, but displacing exposure from the object of desire to the viewer, her exposure to a performance that is already a reflection, renders the space theatrical, because “theatricality emerges where space and place can no longer be taken for granted or regarded as self-contained” (Weber 2004, 300). Being in between an exhibition and performance, at a border that is a trembling illusion (*illudere*), “*Retrospective*” is precisely in between, a *medium*, an intervention (*inter*, “between” + *venire*, “to come”).

And a medium *qua* intervention does not hold us in a condition, but demands that we hold up in the face of that condition (*Haltung*).<sup>3</sup> In “*Retrospective*”, it is an encounter where the viewer’s behaviour keeps the performance machine running or shuts it down. Its series of divisibilities does not allow us to settle in a stable spot, where there would be no intervening between us and the observed. The only thing that remains as an antidote to the drive of constant interruptions and mediations is to approach

<sup>3</sup> As intervention, it causes the borders of all interiority – and be they those of the interval itself – to tremble. This “trembling” also delineates the enabling limits of the theatrical stage as a scene that both separates and joins whatever comes together in and around it. Such trembling and tremors summon its audience to do more than merely hear, its spectators to do more than merely see, its actors to do more than merely act. It exposes them to the afterthought that, after all, they share the same trembling space of singularity. It is a space not of *Einführung* but of *Exponierung*, of exposure to the possibility of separation and detachment. (Weber 2008, 113)

□ “*Retrospective*” by Xavier Le Roy. Photograph by Lluís Bover. (next page also)

our experience anew, anecdotally, and to focus on every detail of the exhibition’s and our own behaviour, because in each of those anecdotes with which we leave the exhibition “both the unconscious and social codes operate between motives and determinants” (Cubitt 2013). ■

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<sup>2</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the double-take method, see Weber 2004, 295–312.



# Social Choreography: Denomination from Art Practices\*

\* The editors of the TkH journal asked a few practitioners of European contemporary dance and performance to respond, in writing, to the following questions:

Do you use the term "social choreography" in your work? If yes, what does it denote or describe in your practice and your works? Does it bear any sort of relationship and if yes, how and in what manner, to physical movement, public space, community, (political) mobilisation, ideology, or performance?

## 9x9 and Social Choreography

**Christine De Smedt** ● ●

The term "social choreography" was used for one of the many choreographic structures developed during 9x9.<sup>1</sup>

1 9x9 was a choreographic project initiated by Christine De Smedt, comprising performances created with ideally 9x9=81 performers. The basic concepts of the project were created in collaboration with Mårten Spångberg, Tino Sehgal, Lilia Mestre, Mette Edvardsen, Nuno Bizarro, Alexandra Bachzetsis, and Steffan Eek. Later on, others joined in the realisation stage of the project: Maria-Clara Villa Lobos, Eva Meyer-Keller, Carlos Pez, Ivana Muller, Vera Knolle, Palle Irvdal, Hellen Vervondel, Harold Henning, Gerd van Looy (light), Vincent Malstaf (sound), Bruno Pocheron (light). The project, a production of Les Ballets C. de la B., had its première in September 2000. Until 2005, 15 different performances were created at different venues, with a variety of groups and settings: Paris, France – employees of the Centre Pompidou; Ghent, Belgium – young residents of the city of Ghent, with another version performed in a museum with adolescents from each of Belgium's three federal communities; Rotterdam, the Netherlands – 5–12-month-old babies and one parent; Glasgow, Great Britain – residents between 1 and 81 years of age; Porto, Portugal – a group of residents over the age of 50; Berlin, Germany – two performances, one with professional performers and another with university students; Amsterdam, the Netherlands – singers, in a park; Turnhout, Belgium – residents from diverse socio-cultural associations; Montreal, Canada – young people between 15 and 25 years of age; Nantes, France – residents from the neighbourhood and the city; Texel, the Netherlands – a group of islanders, on the beach; Vienna, Austria – physically fit residents and ex-dancers; and Brussels, Belgium – amateur photographers.

This "social choreography" seeks to create a social situation onstage in which the participants perform their social and political preferences, "publicly confess" by coming together and forming groups. It mobilises the groups and provokes spontaneous reactions in a prepared situation that produces a certain social organisation.<sup>2</sup>

The choreographic structure is based on a series of questions put to the performers and changes according to the context and the participants involved. We prepared separate lists of questions for different groups of participants, ranging in age between three and 81 years and comprising such diverse profiles as, for instance, a group of photographers and a group of parents with their babies.

The questions are grouped in a number of thematic blocks, treating topics such as social relationships, politics, love, sexual experiences, entertainment, mass media, private and social behaviour, position in society, etc.

2 For the first time, a social organisation was developed at the Schaubühne in Berlin in 2000, with professional performers. The artistic crew for conceptualising the Berlin performance included Mårten Spångberg, Mette Edvardsen, Lilia Mestre, Tino Sehgal, Nuno Bizarro, Alexandra Bachzetsis, Steffan Eek, Maria Clara Villa-Lobos, Gerd Van Looy (light), Vincent Malstaf (sound), and Sylvia Hasenlever (costumes).

The performers answer the questions by organising themselves in relation to the others in the room / on the stage / in the performance area.

This spatial organisation might mean forming a line in a certain order relative to the question posed, or forming groups, or taking a step forward or backward, or turning front or back, etc.

The performers are informed about the framework and rules of the choreography beforehand, but they do not know the contents of the questions before the performance starts.

For example:

- ✦ Individuals in the room living together with more than five people, form one group.
- ✦ Individuals in the room living alone, form one group.
- ✦ Individuals in the room sharing a household, form one group.
- ✦ Individuals living with their parents, form one group.
- ✦ Individuals in the room who are members of an association or a club, form one group.

At first, we called this choreographic proposal "social organisation" but then we shifted to the notion of social choreography, in order to identify the choreographic value of how we behave in different contexts.

Although we used the term "social choreography" for a specific choreographic structure, *9x9* was concerned with social choreography in a broader sense as well.

Conceptually, the *9x9* project began by researching what masses, large sizes, crowds of all kinds, the club culture, demonstrations, mass choreographies, sports events, and processions signify when observed and understood as choreography. Between 2000 and 2005, we created 15 different performances based on choreographic principles that might produce social situations where social relationships are part of the concern itself: how to govern a group in various contexts, how to organise a group, how a group organises itself.

I want to quote here some fragments from a text by Mårten Spångberg<sup>3</sup> written in 2003:

*9x9* is a project where conventions for how to create and how to identify a dance performance are questioned simply by its size, and perhaps impossibility. Three basic issues became form: body as mass and how we can question hierarchies of the body as singular and in collaboration with other bodies of different size, age, social class, gender etc., mass choreography in all its facets from musical choreography to parades, from choreographies of



□ *9x9 Turnhout, 2002* (invitation)

chance such as the ones of a city, to extremely strict organisations such as the ones of mathematics, pop or mass culture in the sense of researching what choreographic strategies these cultural spheres use and what the globalisation, new media etc. imply for the change or not of minority choreographies, high art choreographies etc. The motivation of the research undertaken for *9x9* not to create a linear material (a show) but to invest in a multiplicity also in the process – to create a kind of library where any and all ideas of whatever kind could be given their own place. A way of working that also insists on finding other modes of thinking process, what material is, what choreography means in respect of time, space, interaction and from what sources we allow to bring it onto the stage. [...]

*9x9* is presented in a large range of frameworks which all however function as public spaces and thus creating certain kinds of individual as well as group and mass behaviour. [...]

It is important that the choice of participants in each situation is contextually dependent. In Tramway, a museum/theatre in Glasgow, it was important to emphasise that Tramway was open to every individual in Glasgow and that there are as many ways of being in a museum as there are individuals. We therefore used one participant of each year of birth from 2001 to 1918. To emphasise the conditions of cultural capital, in Porto, we decided to invite the group in society that carry cultural myth and memory. The youngest participants in the performance were 55 years old – the oldest far beyond 85. In Rotterdam the presenter took an interest in the cultural multiplicity. Instead of showing people of all colours, we instead invited babies (5–11 months) to bring their parents wherever they happen to come from, thus presenting a double fold of what it implies to live, to be born and to come together in Rotterdam, in respect of how to create identity. [...]

*9x9* is also a social event, a coming together of people from different social backgrounds, age, city configurations, but most of all it is a project where each participant creates his/her own social field of connections and is allowed, with his/her own motivation, to question and strengthen his/her identity, self-image, social abilities and physical openness. It is important for *9x9* to allow all kinds of social interaction with a minimum of restrictions and didactic goals. *9x9* offers a radical solidarity between all of its participants by not insisting on one or another, but on each and every one. ■

## Dancing Together

**Benjamin Pohlig** ● ● Lately I have become preoccupied with the notion of dancing together. Rather than calling it social dancing, which quite aptly describes the practice of socialising by means of dancing, in my work I refer to it as "social choreography". I want to take this opportunity to explain, perhaps to myself as well, why I have come to regard my practice as "social choreography" and not as something else. As I already mentioned, I am interested in dancing together, which in my performance practice means extending an invitation to the audience to come together in a collective dance that I try to guide verbally as well as with my own body. For me, dancing together is as much about how we come together to enact a community as it is about enacting and expressing the ideological framework that a community requires to persist. It is about doing community, as action and as ideology. Here I understand community in rudimentary terms, first and foremost as a group of bodies that perceive their being together. But one finds instances of that almost everywhere. The Ultras, well-organised and extremist football fans, are a splendid example. In my performance practice, though, I want the audience to experience the potential of being together without abandoning their individuality. This experience pertains to the body and to bodies in interaction. The body is our utopian kernel, from it we venture forth into the world to interact with it and dare change it for the better. Relating to other bodies, we find our limits and potentialities. As a dancer-maker concerned with the body, I have come to combine embodiment with voice in choreography, to tackle the question of community and the utopian potential of being together.

Before returning to the issues raised above, in relation to what I understand as "social choreography", I want to make a brief digression and explain why I don't consider my practice "participatory art". It is something that, I would say, differs greatly from what "social

<sup>3</sup> The text was written as part of an application for funds to continue the project and to produce a book on the process of *9x9*.



choreography" implies. First of all, I believe that all art is participatory. The relationship between a work and its recipient is always an in-between that demands collaboration. The meaning of a painting is always constructed in dialogue with its observer. Likewise a performance manifests itself through the relationship between the performer and the audience. Consequently, I find it unnecessary to state that my or anyone's art is participatory, when the audience is always-already active in the production of its meaning.

It is, however, true, that my performance practice would fail if no audience members were willing to participate in the collective dance. On the other hand, I would consider it a complete failure, too, if everyone did join in. What I really propose to the audience is to make a decision, to join or not to join. If we assume that a performance normally consists of the relationship between the performer and the audience, I hope that my proposition adds a third category – that of the in-between, of the dialogue between the work and the observer, of the performing audience. A performing audience, not a participating audience. The latter is a given anyway. However, this category can only exist when the roles of the performer and the audience are upheld, almost reinforced. By means of repeated invitations, the audience is encouraged to participate in the performance, to perform the work with me. But at all times, the performance is still led by the performer even if the responsibility is shared and failure is a real possibility. The audience performs but does not take over the role of the performer. At all times, the performer is, even if adapting on the go, adhering to a rough plan for the performance and thus is, unlike the audience, in the know. However, the audience is only able to experience performing as such because it is being watched by other members

□ *Dance Yourself Clean*, performance, Benjamin Pohlig, photograph by Tomas Mutsaers

of the audience (who decided not to perform), at the same time. Those members of the audience who decide not to join in, not to perform, are still participating as observers, knowing they could have made the opposite decision just as well. What is crucial in dancing together is not participation as such but the experience of permeability that making a decision provides, by sharing the responsibility and supporting each other's experience in varying roles. Art not as an experience made individually or by individuals but collectively and in a relationship. An experience of interdependency itself, even. For me, the first step in throwing one's body into a relationship and a community is not in the act of participating but executing a simplified form of agency.

Now what does that mean for "social choreography"? I understand choreography itself as a regime that organises the relationships of bodies in time and space. This, I think, allows us to extend the paradigm to a large number of social phenomena and comprehend the role of bodies and their agency in enacting them. In fact, all types of enacting a community, be it dancing together or even the more elaborate moments of making politics, require some choreography. A parliamentary session needs as much management and regulation of the flow of bodies in time as does a general assembly of the Occupy movement. Even a stroll through the shopping mall is a highly orchestrated choreography of bodies within an architectural apparatus. In fact, it is a neatly woven net of intersubjective relationships and the distribution of agency, but these regimes are not always visible, nor are their inherent ideologies. There is always a body in choreography and always a choreography

in politics. "Social choreography" is then the choreography of togetherness, the enactment of a community rendered visible. It is an instrument for a critical analysis of all the choreographies of a community. In a single moment of enacting a community, it can make visible the functioning of the social, its interrelations and the distribution of agency. Therefore, the kind of dancing together that interests me is, unlike social dancing, not about socialising in order to be together, but about making visible the enactment of a community itself by means of bodies.

The collective dances of my performance practice are as much bodily as verbally guided by the performer. Not only do I propose small games, but like a storyteller, a narrator, I also attempt to frame the experience of dancing together by relating the tasks of each game to a form of being together. For example, positioned in a circle, we might play a game of copying movement, whereby each participant has a chance to propose a move to the group to imitate. As a simplified form of agency, everyone can experience being affected and affecting other bodies with their own, governing and being governed. I might accompany such an action by saying something along the lines of "keep in mind that not a single decision is made just by an individual, just as not a single decision is made just by a collective". It is an attempt to visualise how bodies enact ideology and how ideology enacts bodies. At the moment, the performer speaks for and of the community. In the long run, I see a need to develop a performance practice that will lend a voice to the audience as well, to highlight the egalitarian intent of the cooperative games that we dance together.

But using voice seems crucial to me, because in fact, I think that all choreographies are bodily enactments of ideology, which finds expression in language. I would go as far as to say that language is ideology, enacted by the body through its voice. I don't think that language is simply a means of expressing ideology but that language is shaped by ideology itself. Consequently, it is important for "social choreography" as an act of critical analysis not just to enact a community through dancing together, but also to express, simultaneously, through voice, the language and ideology that is being enacted. Language is where the concreteness of bodies meets the representational field of politics by means of the voice. It is the expression of a community of bodies, its narrative enacted and it seems relevant to listen to what that voice has to say about itself.

In *The Uprising*, Bifo describes contemporary finance capitalism as a semio-capitalism in

which the language of money has reached a level of abstraction that enables the production of value through value itself completely disconnected from material goods. Neoliberalism is the ideological voice of semio-capitalism, producing narrative after narrative to justify its harsh regulation of the social body so it may be appropriated through the market. With the fall of state communism in Europe, it seems to me that we have lost the strongest voice of a social body that enacted opposition to the voice of Neoliberalism. The demise of state communism should not be mourned, but the resulting vacuum, this lack of another voice, a voice that could assert itself as an emancipatory and utopian body seems frightening at a time when we have yet to see the full extent of the toll that the choreography of capitalism will take on the social body.

I call my work "social choreography" because I see it as a tool for analysing the choreographies and ideologies of enacting a community. It stresses the importance of bodies in politics and focuses on the ideological voice of every community of bodies. But as a tool, I would consider it useless, if we did not dare to use it naively, asserting its ability to render the distribution of agency visible and enable us to practise and enact togetherness as a concrete and radical form of social utopianism, which, I think, we badly need. ■

## How do we shape the social body?

**Saša ASENTIĆ** ● ● This is one possible selection of references that shows how I have dealt in my work with performing the relationship between the individual and society over the last seven years. It also lists some of the main influences that have helped me to analyse that relationship and reflect on it in terms of social choreography. Those references are organised chronologically.

In 2007 I read "Not Quite-Not Right Eastern Western Dance", a text by Ana Vujanović, in which she writes:

I would infer that dance as a cultural-artistic practice (and this implies contemporary dance as well), is never [a] practice of human emancipation disengaged from ideology, but a tool for shaping the singular body as the social body. I propose this as a base for a social way of thinking about dance, as a critical-theoretical platform from which we could and should start addressing the aesthetic differences and particular purposes of this tool, as well as its complicity with or resistance toward the dominant ideologies of certain social contexts. (Vujanović 2007)



This made me think about how the non-functional contemporary dance and the utilitarian *slet*<sup>4</sup> are in fact close in terms of their social efficiency, which means that we cannot observe or compare them in isolation from their concrete social contexts.

The interviews with Dubravka Maletić and Sonja Vukićević which Ana Vujanović and I conducted as part of the project *Tiger's Leap into the Past* were crucial in my further reflections on the relationship of dance and society.

On dancers as society builders, Dubravka Maletić says:

At the time we were all enthusiasts, we worked for free because we had it within ourselves, we had that strong desire to help our society reach that higher goal.

Every performance was equally important to us, be it in a factory, in the streets, on a football stadium, in National Theater.

In that way we got the feeling that we were helping in building the society, we were like artistic builders. That is how we felt, we considered that our contribution to this development was great. By developing the country, we were developing ourselves. We were all in that circle of unity and those were really good times.

Getting to modern ballet was the highest objective – dance, free dance, artistic dance, modern ballet, offered many more possibilities – it could be performed by anyone, anyone who had the desire to dance, whether in a mass of dancers, or just in one group, at a stadium or on a single stage, on a small theater stage, on the stage of a university culture club, or in a theater. (Asentić & Vujanović 2006–2010)

<sup>4</sup> A *slet* was a type of mass parade frequently held in socialist countries, including the former Yugoslavia – Translator's note.

□ *My Private Bio-politics*, Saša Asentić, photograph by Dieter Hartwig

However, this order fell apart in the final *slet*, which featured Sonja Vukićević. This is what she told us about the event:

...the last Celebration of May 25th, The Youth Day. I don't know who decided that there should be neither [the] military, nor children, nor I-do-not-know-what event and decided to make a real theater performance at the stadium, one figure, with a circular stage.

There were 4,500 boys and 4,500 girls dancing in a very modern way. First they would dance, then I would fly out and dance adagio, with a partner, then again they would dance, then some girls would come out of the forest, then someone would bring in a huge circle of earth where I would dance Bolero, and all the others would be around me; that was one really huge choreography. Tito's photo was on the left side and this caused a lot of turmoil. The kids who did the choreography had made a mistake, they didn't join on time and a large U<sup>5</sup> was created, and the country was in a tentative state at that time, one could feel that something was amiss. So, all the newspapers spread the news that this was done on purpose. (Asentić & Vujanović 2006–2010)

Going back to contemporary dance. This made me think about whether and how contemporary dance might stop merely reproducing and representing existing social choreographies onstage and become a place of re-examining or intervening in them. Especially in that light, copying "familiar" tactics makes no sense

.....  
<sup>5</sup> In the former Yugoslavia, the letter U was and still is often interpreted as symbolising the *Ustaše*, the Croatian Nazi collaborators from the Second World War who committed mass atrocities against the civilian population, especially the Serbs, Jews, Romani people, and left-oriented civilians of all ethnicities – Translator's note.

because by copying them, one copies and transmits their entire social choreography, which at the same time remains unnoticed.

That is why I devoted the whole of *My Private Bio-politics* to the problem of copying. Eventually, I decided to open a crack in it for getting out of an individual artistic work into the wider social sphere, where in a larger setting we might re-examine the conditions of work in choreography, as well as what our work itself performs. This kind of artistic (temporary) self-suspension is illustrated in the following paragraph:

[...] Here, together with my colleagues, I would like to open a gap through which we temporarily escape both from the original version of this performance as work-in-progress and from the later phase as work-in-regress.

Beyond this gap, there is a 3<sup>rd</sup> phase in which you can find *My private bio-politics* and the whole *Indigo Dance* project not as an art work, a "piece" but as a discursive platform.

The platform is meant to be an artistic means, or a methodological tool which we wish to share with contemporary dance and performance artists, who are willing to reflect their contexts and public work. And also to all who have something to say about the structure of the global World of contemporary dance and performance.

So, please consider this performance only as

its own possible demonstration or actualization, and as a part of an open research platform that includes also talks, methodological games, discussions, etc. (Asentić & Vujanović 2013, 238)

I found support for this belief in the potential of art in an interview that Goran Sergej Pristaš had done with Andrew Hewitt. That was the first time I encountered the concept of social choreography:

Andrew Hewitt: My methodology of "social choreography" is rooted in an attempt to think the aesthetic as it operates at the very base of social experience. I use the term social choreography to denote a tradition of thinking about social order that derives its ideal from the aesthetic realm and seeks to instill that order directly at the level of the body. In its most explicit form, this tradition has observed the dynamic choreographic configurations produced in dance and sought to apply those forms to the broader social and political sphere. Accordingly, such social choreographies ascribe a fundamental role to the aesthetic in its formulation of the political. (Pristaš 2007, 44–50)

I felt especially supported at the point where Hewitt says that the aesthetic domain (dance as an art) is precisely the ideal that shapes the social body.

I thought it was great, because if we are the ideal, then we should use, examine, experiment with that, until maybe we become the ideal of some future society.

I'm interested in theatre as a place where one can rehearse various social relations, as well as temporarily establish them in relation to the ideal of a future society. Such a society is not guaranteed to exist in the future but must be made today and its extent is not a criterion of its success or relevance – we simply must act like that and it's enough to start now to maintain continuity. The social choreography that I imagine and realise, both in my work with disabled people and my own original artistic projects, including *On Trial Together*, rehearses a society that abolishes marginalisation processes or reduces them to a minimum, does not use just one parameter to measure everything, nor applies the same norms to all people, but starting from the specificities of those concrete people, opens the possibility of forming a social community.

*On Trial Together* is conceived as a hybrid public event between [a] theatre play, choreography, social game, and happening. It takes place in a theatre venue, thereby reaffirming the role of theatre in the symbolization of the

□ *On Trial Together*, Ana Vujanović and Saša Asentić, photograph by Nataša Murge Savić (next page also)





social. However, the stage is reappropriated and transformed into a place in public space where citizens discuss issues important in their society and speculate about its future through fictional constructions. The authors base this performance on principles of social, live action and role-playing games, open for all audience members to take part in.

[...] Content-wise, the departure point lies with a few fictional situations that refer to burning socio-political issues in a certain context. They are drafted in advance and left to the players to develop and transform them through the process of playing, at the same time narrating the stories of a possible social organisation and relations. Structured in this way, the performance is a kind of "deep play": a theatrical story we tell ourselves about ourselves, and a choreographic spectacle we create for no one's eyes. Those stories and its social choreography are temporary, changeable, and they largely depend on us. Thus, *On Trial Together* becomes a theatrical story we tell ourselves about ourselves, and a choreographic spectacle we create for no one's eyes. Each performance is a unique event (episode) that starts off with the situation created in the previous event in the chain, thus constructing an open series with unpredictable results. (Vujanović 2012)

To come into being and remain alive, such a community must constantly be re-actualised and upon every re-actualisation must not remain "faithful" to the preceding order, which otherwise might become a decree and canon. It must be re-actualised because it is always different people in different conditions and new relations.

In *Public Sphere by Performance*, Bojana Cvejić and Ana Vujanović argue that

[...] it is possible to distinguish three operations in social choreography by which it can be transformed from normative practice as a phenomenon into a critical model. The first is the recognition of regulatory procedures by which social choreography

is normative. The second is deregulation, where procedural knowledge of a social choreography is instrumentalized for another goal or process. [...] The third is intervention, the rupture of procedures, and prescription that involves a direct and urgent application of a principle rather than a procedure. (Cvejić & Vujanović 2012, 75)

And I would conclude by saying that for me, it is crucial that this process be continuous and that it do not end with the third operation. In that sense, maybe there is no ideal social choreography for me, or maybe an ideal social choreography would be one that does not allow normalisation to occur, or, as soon as new principles turn into norms, opens the possibility of re-examining them anew. ■

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## Soft Choreography

**Mette INGVAERTSEN** ● ● I say "soft" because I do not want to say "social". But what I really mean is another kind of organisation of performance that would not rely on a clear separation between the performers and the spectators, the stage and the auditorium, an encounter and a constructed event.

Soft choreography is the opposite of hard choreography.

Hard choreography means: a choreography written down to the smallest detail without much space for deviance. A performance that can run all by itself. It does not change when someone gets up and leaves, nor does it expand just because people want it to. It keeps its autonomy, its objecthood, and not much can shake it. It can be performed without people observing it and its

writing does not change whether there is anyone watching or not. (When such performances succeed, they are often called masterpieces.)

On the other hand, a soft choreography is one that cannot exist without an audience. It is a performance carried out in relation to the specific desires of a specific group of people at a certain time. It is a risky performance that might as well not happen. It is a fragile situation that asks the audience to share the responsibility for it.

That said, it does not follow that nothing is planned or that nothing will take place. Rather, the desire in soft choreography is to arrange conditions for encounters to occur.

The softness of choreography applies not only to human physical movement, but also to the organisation of space, the organisation of a group in space and of its behaviour. The softness carries a persuasive quality. It has a seductive but not sexual undertone, the seduction of being part of a collective, sharing a certain time and space, in order to construct something together. Today, the idea of the collective body may be a utopian idea. It is an idea that our individualist society is constantly trying to disrupt by making any kind of collective mobilisation and resistance impossible. Contrary to this tendency, soft choreography brings a group of people together, for a short, but precious moment in time.

The space grows soft when it is undivided, when the circulation in the room is open, when people are free to organise as they like. It is important that the space be able to change. That it do not have only *one* configuration, but that other potentials may be realised in it as well. This means enabling people to change their activities without necessarily noticing when they pass from one state into another.

The mind grows soft when different modes of being start to intermingle. When critical reflection dissolves into a drifting sensation of pleasure and then returns, much sharper and clearer. When a mental thought becomes a movement or tone. When a tone turns into a melody and becomes a verbal narrative or a heated debate.

"Interactive", "collaborative", and "participatory" are only a few of the words that have been used for this type of theatre. "Democratic" is another. And even though the medium of dance has been revisiting such concepts in recent years by reconstructing utopias from the past (the 60s and the 70s), it's time to give it another try. Too much hardness in the field of choreography (and in my own work) makes it urgent to think of other ways of being together in the theatre. ■



## An Ecology of Minds

**Michael KLIËN** ● ● ...engaging society with the sensibility of an artist, a poet, a dancer and in the process cultivating an ecological, thereby more sustainable, social fabric...

In my work, social choreography first came to the fore when I collaborated with dramaturge Steve Valk at Ballett Frankfurt (2001–2002) and then formed one of the overarching concerns of my artistic direction of Daghdha Dance Company in Limerick, Ireland (2003–2011). The concept has informed my work for over ten years now and gained in clarity with each subsequent conversation and practical application.

...truth-finding... Social choreography strives to perceive the hidden choreographies of humans, ...the empty slate... and support, through embodied knowledge, the entry of institutionalised thinking into a state of dance ...an ecology of minds... in order to enable socially transformative processes. It seeks to unlock the social potential and social fiction to effect change and promote mental health. ...emerging social order... Social choreography provides an ongoing practical discourse on the role of aesthetics in (the cultivation of) citizenship and governance.

In my practice as a choreographer the term has evolved and enveloped earlier meanings in its wake: from a simple transposition of one's choreographic mode to a larger canvas (i.e. choreographing citizens) to a practice aware of its inscribed socio-political *modus operandi* (i.e. what social structures are we *really* rehearsing when choreographing?), to a practice that directly affects social realities, interactions, and political understandings by introducing embodied knowledge and "mammalian wisdom" to the modes of everyday organisation.

In my works, such as *Sediments of an Ordinary Mind* (Kliën 2004), dancers are invited to cultivate their individual freedom/flexibility as a body thought in movement, whilst simultaneously negotiating and taking responsibility to ensure the greatest possible stability of the collective (supporting the movement of others, giving time, space, attention, learning, etc.). Over a period of several weeks this process unfolds with little reference to language or predominant rational structures, perceptively aware of one's positioning in the collective, relying on embodied knowledge rather than an authoritarian voice with intrinsic expectations of when, where, and how to move. At times, I describe my choreographic work as a collective learning environment where a dialogic and fluid choreography (not pre-fixed in space or time but temporarily maintained

□ Choreography for *Blackboards*, 2010. Photograph by Christina Gangos

through unspoken social agreements) can sediment and unfold. This ongoing discourse, a transformative learning process, is at the heart of my work. The intrinsic relational modes of these dances resonate to form some of the organising principles of the rehearsal and performance space (following self-similar self-organising principles), as well as reverberate into the overall managerial structures of the organisation, whereby individuals apply their embodied experiences in relating to others. Therefore I identify social choreography as a recursive arc that spans from bodily discourse to social organisation, an arc of conscious and unconscious modes of ordering, which extends organically into relational and therefore institutional structures.

At Daghdha Dance Company (Kliën 2010), I experienced the growth of heterotopian social realities through collectively transposing sensibilities of dance and dancing into institutional frameworks. At Daghdha, they seemed to express themselves through an unusual degree of openness toward otherness and individuals speaking more freely, whilst harnessing social warmth and potential. Ambitious in scale, the work gave a large number of people a different social context, palpable in the way they lived and worked: an outcome

of social choreography at work. Hence, social choreography has come to signify a holistic somatic practice that brings a deep bodily awareness to the creation of social situations and the emergence of structures and orders. It signals a politics rooted in the unknown rather than the known, at the navel of all dreams, with a view of cultivating a more ecological and ethical "being with" and being together. ■

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## Social Choreography: A Discipline Evolving toward a Cultural Practice

**Steve VALK** ● ● The old idea of a cell being like a sack full of proteins and all sorts of other good things has been supplanted by the contemporary view of the cell as having a complex inner structure that bears more resemblance to the structure of a city than to the structure of a sack of flour [...]

But the point at which the true focus of this account starts to become clear is when we discover that it is precisely this freezing of the cell's chemical make-up which institutes a totally new kind of freedom, one which I call *semiotic freedom*. Because even the single-celled organism knew a little trick which proved most effective in tempering the growth of predictability. It was able to describe itself – or at least key aspects of itself – in an abstract code embedded in the string of DNA molecule bases. Fragments of this coded self-description could then be copied, sometimes wrongly, and traded with other members of the same species – or even, on occasion, with members of another species. The never-ending sequence of "mistakes" and "misunderstandings" that put life-forms on Earth into a constant state of flux, the sequence which we call organic evolution, was set in motion.

Jesper Hoffmeyer, *Signs of Meaning in the Universe*

Out of a growing awareness of the ever-widening gap between "the way man thinks and the way nature works", choreography, traditionally understood as "the art of movement in time and space", has found itself being drawn away from "the ideal world" of the stage. At the same time it has been driven to undergo a re-examination of its conceptual language

and explanatory systems. Choreography has moved beyond the architecture of its stationary historical universe and has emerged as an embodied act of a human consciousness no longer separate from, but embedded within, the irreducible, unfathomably complex ordering system of the biological world.

Michael Kliën and Steve Valk, "Choreography as an Aesthetics of Change"

The frames of paintings, the pedestals of statues, the styles of architecture fell, as dust falls from the feet of the traveler who has reached the end of his journey.

The house, freed from aesthetic tradition, became a living creature.

Frederick J. Kiesler, *Manifesto on Correalism*

Having understood the world differently, something should follow for how we conduct our affairs in it.

Andrew Pickering, *Making another World*

**Experiential Knowledge** ● Social choreography is indeed a term I use in my work. In December 2012 – with the support of, and in collaboration with, a longstanding network of local, regional, and international trans-disciplinary theorists, cultural workers, civic partners, and friends – I founded the first Institute of Social Choreography here in Frankfurt, Germany. The reasons for founding such an institution were numerous and multifaceted.

First, there was the need to define and make accessible and available an emerging field of urgently relevant socio-cultural activity. Second, it was important to establish an "official" social body that could speak, engage, and thereby have a transformative effect on the formalised field of sociopolitical relations. In its daily activities, the Institute of Social Choreography specialises in deep dramaturgical research, the development of new cultural formats and collaborative networks, and the practice of social choreography as a set of methods for discovering and manifesting alternative patterns in the ecology of our collective experience. The project's partners range from social-service providers of all kinds, religious organisations, schools, foundations to art, performance, and design universities, creative agencies, the Occupy movement, local and international cultural initiatives, museums, dance departments and government agencies. Its primary aim is to expand, extend, and integrate experiential knowledge, attained in the visual and performing arts, into all aspects of civic and cultural life. Performative experimentation is its central methodological principle.

#### The Ethico-aesthetic

**Paradigm** ● My own work as a dramaturge and artist is deeply affected by the work of others with whom I write, interact, reflect, and perform, and their contributions feature here as well, in this essay. My ties to social choreography thus oblige me to act across many disciplines and





social spheres. As an engaged "choreographer", I inhabit an embodied dimension situated at the interstices of others' creative practices. So, here, for example, I rely on ideas of Félix Guattari, as reflected in the work of Claire Bishop:

Near the end of his last book *Chaosmosis* (1993), Félix Guattari asks: "how do you bring a classroom to life as if it were a work of art?" For Guattari, art is an endlessly renewable source of vitalist energy and creation, a constant force of mutation and subversion. He lays out a tripartite schema of art's development, arguing that we are on the brink of a new paradigm in which art is no longer beholden to Capital. In this new state of affairs, which he names the "ethico-aesthetic paradigm", art should claim "a key position of transversality with respect to other Universes of value", bringing about mutant forms of subjectivity and rehumanising disciplinary institutions. Transversality, for Guattari, denotes a "militant, social, undisciplined creativity"; it is a line rather than a point, a bridge or a movement, motored by group Eros. (Bishop 2012, 273)

**Dances of Agency** ● I see my discipline as a kind of transversal, trial-and-error creativity, which by its nature must be deeply ingrained and spontaneous: undisciplined action arising out of relentless practice. In a way, this is akin, I think, to the "vitality" that evolution encodes in the

phenotype of all living creatures; creativity as a mode of survival. Paradoxically, it is also at this deep epistemic level that many of our society's most destructive belief systems and behavioural patterns are anchored. A new, expanded, and urgently necessary role that arts and culture must play is to work toward creating alternative life disciplines and generative social ecologies that might assist in reversing the habitual cycles of systemic creaturely and environmental destruction that currently have a death-grip on our lives and the future of the human species.

**Somatic Writing** ● Choreography is "dance-writing". It is not only composing designs for dance but also dancing to compose: the inversion of the head with the torso as in the cognitive reversal embodied in Tai Chi Ch'uan. The body *thinks* and guides the overly ratiocinative head to *dance*. The writing of and by the body instructs the head how to *gesture* again in step with its mammalian origins. In the Greek theater, where as Aristotle recounts the actor once stepped forth from the chorus to initiate the drama out of the dithyramb, the emergence of prose out of poetry and of rationality (the *logos*) out of emotion and imagination (*mythos*) began. But as Greek tragedy develops we find Oedipus, hailed by the chorus to steer the ship of state as it rolls in tempestuous waters,

□ "Understanding Workshop #2": memorial design project with German and American high school students. Photograph by Lena Dittlmann

□ *7 Steps to a Creative City: Workshop for Civic and Cultural Leaders*. Dancer: Kristina Veit. Photograph by Astrid Korntheuer (previous page)

discovering that to navigate he needs the blind counsel of Tiresias: the somatic wisdom of the unsighted "seer" who is literally without "ideas" (as the Greek term *idea* comes from *idein*, an infinitive form of the verb "to see") but endowed nevertheless with prophetic *vision*. Oedipus must lose the hegemony of ideation in order to rediscover his unspeakable animality. He must discover that he has broken the incest taboo, Lévi-Strauss's boundary marker between nature and culture, and so encounter the somatic writing of his own genome: his emergence as a human being out of simian ancestry. When we shift our consciousness from the head to the torso, we begin to write, and to steer out the ship of state, from a new perspective: one that can transform the human being from her/his foundations. *This* is the transformative art of socially engaged cultural practice.

Daniel White, in a recent e-mail

**Social Choreography: Early History / Origins** ● Emerging from a specific historical configuration of transformative and ultimately paradigm-shifting

artistic work at Ballett Frankfurt in the late 1990s, the term "social choreography" has, in my understanding, become synonymous with a new participatory/situational epistemology emanating from the institution and conceptual architectures of contemporary dance. The origins and unfolding of this transformation, here in Frankfurt, coincided with Ballett Frankfurt's move from the city's opera house and its proscenium ("in front of the scenery", stage...) to the vast, immersive, and open expanses of the Bockenheimer Depot, with its unmediated access, both visual and architectural, to the neighbourhood streets, sidewalks, and passersby. In my role as Head Dramaturge and Artistic Collaborator at the time, I believe that this situational "change-of-scene" also changed the Frankfurt Ballett's performance architectures, bringing forth works like *White Bouncy Castle* and *Endless House*. It also altered the conceptual frameworks and conventions the Frankfurt Ballett shared with traditional institutions of contemporary dance, bringing about large-scale participatory projects like *Schmalclub*, where, for example, 250 people slept overnight in the theatre, or *New Meaningful Public Space*, a curated public living room that remained open for four months in two consecutive years.

**Cybernetic Epistemology** ● During this period, elaborate participatory networks were developed throughout the surrounding neighbourhood, the city, and even the region. The Bockenheimer Depot served as a home base and point of orientation for wider socio-cultural developments happening in the creative community in and around Frankfurt. Working under the simple and boldly naive assumption that the theatrical stage was a part of life as such and that the strategies developed there had a wider relevance, including the reordering of the social sphere, the emerging field of social choreography that began at the Ballett Frankfurt and continued after its closing in 2004 in places like Ireland's Daghdha Dance Company under the direction of choreographer Michael Kliën (2003–2011), began asking questions like "Who choreographs what in our society?" and "How are things ordered and what frames are created for movement to take place?". The term "choreography" was transposed to the field of human relations, as a way of seeing and engaging with the world, an art of interacting and interfering with... an art of traversing... the everyday governance of relations and dynamics, expressed in physical movement or ideas. The result was the opening of a new and vital territory of understanding and engagement, a territory without limits, a territory with the potential to forge links and find connections throughout and at any point in the social sphere.

**Choreography as an Aesthetics of Change** ● Taking this awareness as its point of departure, I believe the Institute of Social Choreography is in the process of making further inroads into positing choreography as a discipline evolving toward a cultural practice. Its ongoing projects and practice-based research continue to investigate how choreographic practice may help the emergence of original politics with regards to responsible citizenship/stewardship and also the management of complex human systems and creation of flexible and responsive institutions. The Institute of Social Choreography aims to identify, strengthen, and open new political dimensions of aesthetic practice, not by representing ideologies, but by creating the conditions for original social relations to arise directly out of choreographic practice. ■

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# Of Dance, Derivatives, Decolonization, and Kinesthemes

**Randy MARTIN** ● ● Social choreography situates embodied movement “at the very base of social experience”, a space conventionally reserved for economy (Hewitt 2005, 2). Now, economy has been displaced in favor of finance, and the very conventions of valuation have been upended. Finance works through flows. It moves production inside of circulation. It is a kind of compulsory movement that mandates going forward. Even after crisis, we must keep going at all costs. The price paid for this compulsion is that finance claims to see everything but has no knowledge of how it moves, or has no language for its own movement. When it stops, all is crisis and ruin. When it lurches forward again all is forgotten and the dance resumes.

When used in this way, dance is always suspect. In conventional politics, to characterize something as a dance is to see it as evasive, a field of authenticity, swirling around its object, somehow caught out of time and unable to affect the progress it seeks. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, this figurative invocation of dance suggests

*to lead, rarely give (a person) a dance; fig. to lead (him) in a wearying, perplexing, or disappointing course; to cause him to undergo exertion or worry with no adequate result.*

A casual scan across the digital horizon would yield such phrases as “The Reconciliation Dance” (on politics and crime); “Wild Finance: Where Money and Politics Dance” (on the financial bailout); “The Dance of the Apologists”

(on the persistence of racism in response to Obama’s election).<sup>1</sup> Dance, in these examples, is a prelude to real decisions taken; moreover, it is a distraction side-stepping what really needs to get done if only a more muscular encounter could plant antagonists firmly before one another. The political stage is already set, its props familiar, the characteristics, motives, and methods of its *dramatis personae* already known. The actors take their places, ready to make history once the music stops and the distracting dance comes to an end.

In this moralistic dismissal of the salience of dance to life, we can detect echoes of finance portrayed as mindless movement, or cunning jockeying for position, aimless revelry, or a subterfuge that distracts from what is really moving and shaking the world. In this, dance and finance could be analogized as equally ephemeral, diversionary, epiphenomenal to what is really real, what actually matters and should be cared about. It is time to break the tyranny of metaphor, for dance and finance share more than rhyme – they move by the same rhythm. The relation is not mimetic, not of an origin that starts one place and emanates outward or proceeds through a trail of anxious influence. Rather, the relationship of movement practices across disparate sites that share certain kinesthetic attributes is derivative in character. The founding fables of finance are that the originary ideas upon which all is modeled sprung fully grown from the minds of an Irving Fisher or Messieurs Black

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1 For representative examples after the financial bailout, see Thompson 2008, Big Tent Democrat 2009, and Cannon 2009.

and Scholes, yet in actuality the genealogies, contexts, and vectors of determination are far more diffuse and multi-layered. The rhythms and cadences of bodies in motion and the manner in which value circulates through society share mutually constitutive principles of association whose language is poorly articulated and more readily explained as a succession of ideas from exalted individuals. The turn to dance here is meant to make this language of social movement audible, perceptible, sensible and legible.

Dance, of course, has a specific history, populated casts of venerated characters and moments of expansive possibility and disciplining submission, but it also provides a scene for the production of knowledge and its limits that can inform how movement happens in other domains. To learn from dance is not the same as insisting that all learn to dance, it is not a claim that dance could be the privileged practice that leads us all to the Promised Land, any more than the claim of finance to lead us to wealth and happiness should be taken at face value. To privilege dance analytically, as a critical method, invites thought from within its own conditions of movement, from the means through which bodies are assembled and not by the terms through which their impact is brought to an end. To find ourselves in dance is to locate our repertoires of engagement as already in motion. And these self-making bodies move variously, interdependently, multiply. Even in unison, difference is legible. Choreography discloses multiplicity under an artistic signature. What seems to issue from one body rests upon the coordinated and interdependent effort of so many and occasions a self-expansive

sociality. Dance is an ensemble of ensembles, an accomplishment of its own surplus that bequeaths a fateful remainder, an unabsorbable promise to all in attendance. In these respects, dance comports with the generalized excess associated with nonknowledge.

Dance was a key site for the cultivation of the body where confidence lay in a civilizing mission that could effectively colonize nature – human and geophysical. Culture (*colere*) braided these two enclosures or colonizations of the primitive drives, desires, will that would transform human bodies into sources of labor and nature as the wild and untamed raw materials – both of which were in need of disciplined and directed mastery. Civilization in this respect was always an incomplete project, both for the barbarous means it deployed to achieve its ends and for the unceasing resistance to subordination that fueled rebellion and revolution, as well as invention and creativity. Culture would in this sense pertain to making bodies fit, but also apply to bodies remaking what fits, ordering and reordering, colonizing and decolonizing. Decolonization in this most general sense entails breaking from enclosing rule but also making something different out of what is broken, an emancipation from restricted movement and through an opening and transformative mobilization.

Politics today suffers a crisis of evaluation. Millions the world around have taken to the streets to depose governments, gathered from one state of precarity to enact another. But the tendencies of those on the ground, the dispositions of those who assumed positions of authority, the conditions of the institutions issuing debt and demanding ransom have not been so easy to figure out. The political appears at once as a problem of too much and too little. No aspect of human endeavor or expression is beyond deliberate contestation and yet each spirited intervention can leave the sense that not enough was done. Movement everywhere, crescendos of volatility, vertiginous shifts in direction leave an impression of being out of time or adrift in space. The ensuing disequilibrium has proven disorienting to thought and made it difficult to discern direction amidst a thicket of practices moving this way and that. General assemblies, mass occupations are posited as lacking demands or orienting ideas, mobilization is posed as the enemy of representation.

But surely, moving through disequilibrium, divining ways through spaces made for infinite possibility is what dance does best. Dance, at least in its Western modernist formulation, is conventionally considered movement for itself.<sup>2</sup> Yet such hard won autonomy has not

2 Of course, this tension between dance's particularity and its universalism runs through the historical and ethnological impulses that had constituted the conventional approaches to the study of dance until dance studies undertook a more philosophical

always secured it a place in the world. Precarity, ephemerality, instability are frequently voiced as lamentations. Dancers, too, struggle to make a living; presentation venues strain against diminished support; audiences contend with escalating ticket prices. For dance to move the political beyond arrested development, its knowledge of how bodies are assembled, of how space and time are configured, of how interconnections are valued must be made legible beyond the ends of choreographic endeavor. Foregrounding the analytics of movement so redolent in dance can make for a richer evaluation of what is generated through political mobilization. For a politics that is abundant and undervalued, the question becomes, how can dance be mobilized to think through the present?<sup>3</sup> No doubt the present itself is not one thing but many. Indeed, politics is the pathway forged through possibility, the realization of purpose in a contentious field of movement. What moves us beyond existing conditions and constraints usually consists of finding a way between obdurate oppositions that threaten to subsume the imagination of generative and fluid socialities.

The ethereal sylph-like presence that is perhaps the most conventional casting of dancers, especially women, has been applied to dance itself at great cost to the ways in which it has been valued and supported in a kind of impossible economic anorexia. At the same time, dancers are prized for their creativity, flexibility, absence of material needs – they can make work in spare rooms with nothing more than their bodies, often unshod, can purportedly subsist on few calories, and even among performing artists deliver more for less by garnering the most meager wages.<sup>4</sup> Their love of art subsidizes their pursuit of perfection – making them the ideal laborers in an idealized creative economy.<sup>5</sup> Dance is caught between the disavowal of the corporeality of laboring bodies and as a model of work without strife, complaint or much by way of recompense. Rather than accepting this nefarious dichotomy between the real and the fictitious said to distinguish industrial production from financial monetary circulation as separate sectors of the economy, dance might be taken as a key site to grasp the ways in which bodies in movement make value. In the old conception,

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and theoretical turn. See, for example, Martin 1965, Hanna 1987, and Foster 1986, the text that initiated the distinctive domain called dance studies. For a recent instance of the philosophical turn in European dance studies, see Sabisch 2011. For a recent compilation reflective of this turn, see Klein & Noeth 2011.

3 This question has informed my previous work on dance. See Martin 1990 and 1998.

4 At under 25,000, dancers in the United States are the fewest in number of the listed arts occupations and average \$27,392 in annual salary as opposed to \$27,558 for musicians and \$30,254 for actors (National Endowment for the Arts 2011).

5 This affective subsidy of artistic labor is what Andrew Ross has called the "cultural discount" (Ross 2000). For a trenchant critique of creative class appeals see Pasquinelli 2009.

the factory floor is a fixed local where bodies sweat and toil, commodities are made, and subsequently those things are alienated from their makers, move or circulate far and wide through representations of their worth manifest as instruments of credit and debt, and finally wind up at some moment of reception or consumption where they are purchased and put to use. Dance could be said to describe a different condition where circulation is fully inside of production, where bodies sweat in place and move through space, where use transpires in exchange through a moment of performance. Credit for a creation collectively tendered and debt among bodies of performers and audience entangled for a particular duration assemble attention to a transient value, fill a void, and leverage that moment to some promise of further exchange.

Dance might, at first blush, be embarrassed to take on the mantle of the derivative. Modernist pride would dictate an/the embrace of originality, innovation, autonomy as what makes dance capable of ruling its roost and securing its treasures. If, however, that confidence belongs to conditions of dance-making that no longer prevail, other principles of sovereignty will need to be divined if dance (or other performative practices for that matter) is to realize its esthetic and political value. The point of departure here is that the derivative, when treated as a social logic and not only a financial instrument, discloses what these altered conditions of sovereignty entail. The derivative brings to notice what potential impact issues from seemingly minor variations and how agency is incorporated and dispersed such that the capacities to direct the flows of life, which might have appeared scarce, broken-down, and useless, are reappraised as a kind of abun-dance. Seeing how a derivative logic operates in dance holds the double promise of giving notice to what dance generalizes as social life beyond the underlying activity of dancing and what sustainable principles and creative practices may already lie to hand in what otherwise appears from the perspective of crisis as a world in ruins.

Further, the focus on the ways in which small movements can be leveraged to larger gains and the practice of arbitrage are specifically the key subject positions of the derivatives trader. By aggregating these interventions, the idea is not to capture the whole person but to set identity in motion, to deliver what will momentarily stand as a public interest in which so many brief site visits and moments of attention or hits add up to a hit with significant impact. Hopefully, this account of the derivative is beginning to get a bit more physical, to inscribe the ephemeral in some tangible corporeal animation. Finance is indeed all about compulsory movement, the obligation to keep going at all costs, to go forward into the future unencumbered by historical claims. But if finance spreads movement everywhere,

it generates no language of movement, no sensibility regarding how we are disposed to go one way and not another, no logic by which we might grasp how the imperative to move rules us, how we are oriented by it, through it, against it toward some realization of how else we might be moved and by what we might rule together. This silence and stillness at the heart of finance stages the turn to dance, a jubilee of practices that sing the praises of bodily indebtedness and provide flight patterns by which friendly skies might be known.

The point finally is not to generalize from dance to other practices or to offer it as a model of behavior that should be imitated elsewhere, but, rather, to privilege it analytically as making legible the kinesthetic dimensions of a social logic that operates as movement but does not provide its own language of account from the perspective of bodies in motion. In dance terms, we can expose the derivative logics that course between network and organization through the concepts of mobilization and the social kinesthetic. Mobilization pertains to the medium generating consequences of movement that render tangible the otherwise ephemeral entailments of time and space. Dancing mobilizes in one place-time and space, making capacities that draw from wider sensibilities and are dispersed through aspects of many movement practices by which bodies move together. To inquire into what dance is made of and what it makes besides itself is to refer to questions of context or conjuncture – to cultivate a sensibility that slices through as it conjoins or cleaves bodily attentions and orientations – in parallel fashion to the manner in which the ascent of finance has itself been understood.<sup>6</sup>

Like the ideas that come from various cultural studies of a structure of feeling, a pre-political disposition, tacit or virtual socialities, it is possible to imagine the material surround of corporal activity before it crystallizes as a specific practical expression.<sup>7</sup> A social kinesthetic can

<sup>6</sup> Here we would want to refer to those frameworks in the tradition of Marxist historical analysis that rely on differently scaled temporal cycles or waves. The notion of long and short cycles as a way of understanding historical movement and transformation through crisis was developed by Fernand Braudel and his peers in the Annales School based upon the work of the Russian economist Kondratieff. This work was furthered by Ernest Mandel, upon whom Fredric Jameson based his periodization scheme for postmodernism, as well as the World Systems Analysis of Immanuel Wallerstein. The most accomplished articulation of these schemas for finance in particular can be found in Arrighi 1994. While all of these analyses continue Braudel's focus on what he calls material civilization, the figure of the wave or cycle is strangely metaphysical, that is, it is not clear what the cycle itself is composed of, what generates its movement as movement besides the notion that certain phases last for a particular duration. Here my efforts are to use dance itself to ground what is otherwise treated metaphorically in large-scale treatments of societal transformation and change. See Braudel 1992, Mandel 1975, and Wallerstein 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Structure of feeling is a term from Raymond Williams's *Marxism and Literature* (Williams 1977); the pre-political describes the emergent sensibilities of the working-class in Thompson 1963; the idea of the virtual as tacit norms that govern activity is developed by Erving Goffman in Goffman 1963.

be understood as the orientation, sensibility, or predisposition that informs approaches to movement, the historically specific microphysics that generates and governs motional force fields. From within mobilization all is networked and from the perspective of a social kinesthetic an organizational rule or logic is discernable. Neither term is originary, both are derivative. Mobilizations coalesce in one place from what has been made and will wind up elsewhere. Social kinesthetics are multiple and simultaneous, a polyphony of forces and flows; they do not impose a genealogy of influence but a series of lateral connections where disparate practices are joined through some (but not all) of what organizes them. This vocabulary is as abstract as that of financial derivatives. It needs to be grounded in a few practices that will make tangible the operation of a derivative logic in dance and that might allow us to see the ways in which dance fleshes out what a derivative might do beyond the halls of finance.

**Toward Conjuncture** • Crisis in the economists' formulation, even of a critical cast like Nouriel Roubini, is an enactment of the business cycle at a larger scale. Here, economics is to establish its bona fides by showing that its own movements follow natural laws. What goes up must come down. The materiality of a cycle is a nettlesome problem (what, after all, they are made of, what makes for their regularities, why the closure and repetition of a cycle, etc). Yet that of a cultural style drawn into a period would seem more so, as the movement of time would seem just as inexplicably to produce changes in expression and affiliation, rather than inquiring into the ways in which certain principles of movement are formed and how these in turn might circulate in and transform their world. The point here is not to lose sight of the relation between the cultural and other social relations and processes, nor to jettison the historical dimensions of particular sensibilities. On the contrary, if these relations are not predetermined by a given resemblance or reflection, nor by a pre-established duration or cycle, then the burden of explanation falls upon the credibility of connections that can be drawn. To suggest therefore that a derivative logic is present across cultural and financial practices is not to assign particular places in an architectural order (which was what the idea of structure was based upon), but to identify principles of movement that associate an array of activities and flows of people, without forcing them to conform to a singular idea.

In the technical sense that obtains within financial services, derivatives are conventionally understood as contracts to exchange a certain amount of something at a determinate future time at an agreed upon price. For example, a

furniture manufacturer in Europe is making tables for a US retailer that will be ready in six months and will charge a million euros at an exchange rate of a dollar and a half to the euro. But should that rate change if the dollar appreciates or goes up against the euro, the manufacturer stands to lose money when the tables are ready for shipment and so is willing to spend a thousand euros for the right to exchange at the agreed upon rate, rather than losing more money if the exchange rate becomes say, 1.6 dollars to the euro. On the other side of the pond, for the purchaser, the impact would be reversed; they would get the tables for fewer dollars but might readily want to protect themselves from an appreciation of the dollar against the euro. The agreement to exchange at a fixed rate acts as insurance that hedges against this risk. By so doing, the risk, or possibility of a deviant but predictable outcome is also priced through a contract that can be exchanged and therefore becomes an instrument of investment that hedges against a range of possible gains or losses. In this case, there are derivative contracts in circulation for currency fluctuations in both directions based on the same sale. But risks and occasions to create derivatives for various eventualities that emanate from a single exchange abound. For example, the sale of tables can be subject not only to currency fluctuations, but also to the possible cancellation of the order, or a bank's inability to pay. As a consequence, the sum total of all derivative contracts far exceeds the actual or underlying price of the assets being traded. As global transactions have increased, more and more kinds of risk are priced – from exchange and interest rates, to changes in temperature and the weather.

While derivative contracts for agricultural prices have been in existence for thousands of years, derivatives in their current guise date from the '70s and began to be traded extensively on formal exchanges in the 1990s. The quantity of publicly traded derivatives is exceeded by over-the-counter contracts made directly between parties. The contracts do not terminate the exchange; only small percentages are actually paid when they are due. Rather, the contracts are kept open or in ongoing exchange through what are called clearinghouses. The result is a continuous circulation of debt instruments and an integration of local production into global markets and chances to make money whether prices on those markets rise or fall. While derivatives reap tens of billions in revenue for traders and if cashed in would be worth tens of trillions (specifically at \$27 trillion, still less than stock and bond markets, which globally have a market capitalization of some \$200 trillion, still more than the annual global gross domestic product of some \$75 trillion), the face

or notional value of all derivative contracts in 2012 was one and a half quadrillion dollars.<sup>8</sup>

Capital had claimed economy as the name of its social relations; the task here is to explore what social logic is disclosed through the derivative that would account for its expansion and impact beyond profit-taking exchange or as a mere succession in an unbroken chain of ever more effective regimes of accumulation. Here “logic” will need to be a point of departure not closure or completion, a sensibility that draws things together in a particular way while moving beyond itself. Capital accumulation has also generated an abundance of social relations, mutualities and encumbrances that it could not abide. It flees the socialities it engenders and moves toward those it wants but a part of. The derivative is no different. It draws upon all manner of value forms that are already in motion if not already to hand.

Beyond the pervasiveness of the phenomenon, however, the question arises as to why it is useful analytically and politically to think the social through the lens of the derivative. Demonstrating these various resonances will require a wide-ranging approach, but a few provisional points can be made at the onset. First, we could say that a derivative logic speaks to what is otherwise balefully named as fragmentation, dispersion, isolation, by allowing us to recognize ways in which the concrete particularities, the specific engagements, commitments, interventions we tender and expend might be interconnected without first or ultimately needing to appear as a single whole or unity of practice or perspective. Second, derivatives articulate what is made in motion, how production is inside circulation, and as such how to notice the value of our work in the midst of volatility. Third, derivatives work through the agency of arbitrage, of small interventions that make significant difference, of a generative risk in the face of generalized failure but on behalf of a desired end. To recognize and realize these other kinds of gains that might issue from a more fully elaborated social logic of the derivative, we must pull it from the wreckage of the economic where its conventional meanings are interred.

Seen from the perspective of the aftermath of Bretton Woods’ fall, the derivative as a financial instrument that colonizes cultural experience, as economic reasserts epistemological priority even as it is undone as an autonomous realm. Yet if we are in a condition after economy, the predicates of this situation need to be located not only in the internal limitations of market mechanisms, but in a wider array of social processes through which people craft various associations and entanglements from which capital continues

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 8 The Bank of International Settlements (BIS) maintains records on aggregate derivative transactions by type and over time. McKinsey Reports maintains statistics on global financial markets, including derivatives transactions. See Roxburgh *et al.* 2011..

to seek emancipation. The move here will be to treat the social logic of the derivative as a consequence of these various decolonizations; an undoing of imposed unities and alignments of persons and places meant to gather wealth for others and subordinate interdependence as a sociality in its own right to a dependency on forces of subordination. Decolonization is about the unmaking of the naturalness of dominating principles of rule, of an unconscious embrace of terms of exchange that are uneven and unequal, where desire is traded for a depreciating debt. Decolonization is a movement away from these encapsulating forms of nation, selfhood, mass, that pose as terms of autonomy and freedom, but that alienate these very concepts of liberation to an impregnable authority. This movement away, therefore, is not simply an escape from some intolerable power, but a capacity of assembly, affinity and association – a value-giving circulation that capital in general and finance in particular always claims as its own.

Financial risk is concerned with the departure from an expected magnitude of return, but it cannot trace its own path of how it achieved this appreciation. The inability to discern illiquidity from insolvency speaks to the paucity of understanding of how to evaluate its own internal movement and therefore being condemned to persistent crisis when the movement and the music stop, and the feigned shock that it had happened again. This indifference to what circulation creates, to what moves value but also what values movement cannot be divined from finance itself but requires exploring the principle of association for itself; this is why it is important to grasp the historical process of decolonization as re-orienting the principles of sovereignty, by which people might rule their own movements, and of how to value these associations from within, on their own terms. This bundling of attributes to generate value can now be applied to the scene of the cultural, where sense is made of the world, where value shifts between what gets made for others and what is constitutive of selves. The derivative operates on these dispersed and distributed moments of ways that people have learned to move together, to act upon certain sensibilities and interdependencies. The derivative references that movement, because it abstracts only those attributes which can flow together, entangles them in relations that operate beyond their local manifestations, allows us to notice the rhythms that animate seemingly separate domains while still recognizing how differences continue to course through our social veins.

Cultural scenes are made from people in movement. They come and go, etch pathways, leave traces, inhabit and abandon, deposit and withdraw their treasures. The action of population, to populate (*populare*), bears this

double meaning to fill spaces with people and leave them to ruin. Such movements have been described as starting and stopping (as in a historical period), rising and falling (as in a cycle) or ebbing and flowing (as in a wave). Yet there is more to movement than presence or absence; certain qualities, orientations, dispositions, and organizing principles may reign under particular circumstances. Kinesthetics are the ways in which movements incorporate sensibilities among some aggregate of bodies. These particular sensibilities toward movement, prior to or more general than any specific stylistic manifestation, constitute what can be considered a social kinesthetic. If an episteme describes a way of knowing that frames what will count, be valued, and direct the trajectory of further knowledge, social kinesthetics forms kinesthemes or embodied forms of sovereignty or rule.

Whereas an episteme is an array of rules by which knowledge is validated, or regularities within which it is produced, a kinestheme is the regularization of bodily practices, the moment of power by and through which bodies are called – but also devise responses – to move in particular ways. Epistemic movement has been thought in terms of a temporal succession of a spatially delineated way of knowing, what Michel Foucault famously described as an archaeology, an order of things from which the very category of the human would be derived. The classical episteme, which articulates all that is knowable in representational taxonomies, followed by the modern where abstraction ascends as language, is emancipated from representation and the postmodern, which Foucault anticipates but does not name, as the rupture from these universalizing ideological schemas.<sup>9</sup> While kinesthemes also have a history, they generate and occupy more of a spatial configuration. As such, various social kinesthetics can co-exist at the same time, or even in the same place.

Clearly, this is a very abstract and general claim. Just as contemporary financial instruments make legible various means through which derivative value is realized, dance makes tangible these means of moving together, the larger social kinesthetic of which a concrete performance is the particularization. Dance conventions of a particular period would typically be approached as sharing a given style, grouping them together by appearance and influence. The gain of these formalistic approaches, evident in the seminal works of dance history and criticism such as those of John Martin, is that dance ascends to its own language and interrogates the possibilities of movement for its own sake (Martin 1965). This perspective replaces more universalizing dance ethnology, such as that of Kurt Sachs, which views dance

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 9 The key texts here are Foucault 1970 and 1972.

as expressing underlying impulses expressive of a shared human nature (Sachs 1937).

Here, scholarly approaches to dance would recapitulate the tropes of reflection of an underlying natural reality, or formal autonomy that characterized the discussion of culture more broadly according to the anthropological and esthetic conceptions of the term. Rather than treating dance as a reflex from natural dictates or in a formal world of its own, starting with a social kinesthetic makes it possible to inquire into the ways the materialities of movement orientations in the social world are made legible in and through dance. It is not that style becomes irrelevant, or longer continuities of movement orientation incoherent, but rather it becomes possible to look at the kinesthetic resonances between practices that are generated with very different stylistic attributes and cultural scenes and circumstances. The bundling of cognate movement attributes from disparate sources would make sense of a derivative in kinesthetic terms, disclosing its logic as a social relation.

A logic is not a law, but a tendency towards rationalization of what is in force. A logic is not necessarily complete or successful. The accumulation of capital forever oversteps its bounds, fails to realize the value it has assembled, betrays its interests, undoes its purported unity. The social logic of the derivative is no less certain or secure. Treated here as a principle of association, interdependence and mobilization, dance is being deployed to articulate the inner movement that finance rests upon but cannot speak. Dance, no more than any other cultural practice, is not simply produced by following rules. Training for sure is a form of discipline, but no one dances by discipline alone, nor does a kinestheme arrest what can be made of principles for moving together. Dance makes legible a means of embodied sensibility which allows for a valuing of mobilization of bodies in circulation that produce conditions and occasions for further assembly. Dancing and attending to dance each engender the desire for more. While the cash nexus, opportunities for performance, career duration and durability of the body all link dance to scarcity, each instance of performed movement opens to what is beyond it and what cannot be absorbed in the moment of performance.

These ephemeral moments whereby the bodies of dancers and audience encounter one another are the media through which pass the distributed links and mutual debts that may be paid for but can never be repaid.<sup>10</sup> There is no direct and contained exchange between

what dancers impart in performance and what audiences leave the scene with. Mark Franko insists that for dance, "metakinetic 'exchange' – the transfer of expression and interpellation to its audience – was its labor" and that "dance is also political because of the ways in which its models proliferated throughout the social world" (Franko 2002, 167).<sup>11</sup> What is engendered in performance is an embodied empathy, which, as Susan Foster describes it,

demonstrates the many ways in which the dancing body in its kinesthetic specificity formulates an appeal to views to be apprehended and felt, encouraging them to participate collectively in discovering the communal basis of their experience. (Foster 2010, 218)

The desire on both parts to return to this scene, to further dancing, is the basis for the accursed share in dance, its own version of unabsorbable excess that aligns with Georges Bataille's notion of nonknowledge (Bataille 1991 and 2001). Recall that this surfeit of sociality comes back to the body, overwhelms the senses, hits it as laughter or some other affect. Dance would be one node to observe this boomerang effect in reverse, a site of accumulated kinesthetic value that discloses what happens to all this excess. The dreaded figure of contagion, of an alien force that rapidly spreads through a population, becomes palpable in the dispersion of movement sensibilities.

Dances emerge from a larger field that is their social kinesthetic, yet the rules and powers of this scene are not legible as such. There are, of course, textbooks on finance and manuals for choreographic composition, but there is no legend that maps the social kinesthetic. Its contours will need to be derived from concrete instances. For each of the three kinesthemes, an exemplary choreographic instance will be selected. These are meant neither to be typical nor archetypal. There is no fixed relation between the concrete particular and the abstract general. The question of what rules is a process of selection and sorting of what kinds of practices can make a legitimate claim to authority or sovereignty. Sovereignty in this regard applies to bodily practices as much as it does to forms of currency – in both cases much is in circulation while what ascends to the status of a practical universal, what is embraced for exchange everywhere can be rather circumscribed. Indeed it might be observed that the sovereignty linked to a given kinestheme is regulatory of what can

pass as dance, in the same way that financial instruments for risk management are regulatory of what counts as value. Beginning with this restricted economy allows us to see what has come undone and what has been opened up when one form of sovereignty yields to another.

If kinesthemes describe the general architecture through which bodily practices are valued, the dispositions that orient movement in relation to certain forces of authority, the way that stages are peopled by dancers gestures toward the occupation and ruination of a particular scene. The risks taken at these precarious moments do not simply bring movement to an end, but can also shift how we move together, what we value of those debts, and what can rise from the ruins. Sovereignities of currency, of political authority, of cultural scenography can profitably be articulated together and through these kinesthetic means. The co-presence of these various kinesthemes discloses a capacity to sustain various bodily sovereignities at once, a spatial multiplicity, but also points to the ways in which the boundaries that separate one domain from another overflow their banks, a flood that ushers in another pathway by which movement transpires. Once this has been accomplished for dance in the restricted sense, a world of movement, an archipelago of social choreographies, can be opened up to emergent sensibilities. The scenographic closures where dance takes place can be decolonized and with it the social kinesthetic decentered along the lines of the derivative, a flow that exceeds its boundary. ■

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<sup>10</sup> The notion of a distributed aesthetics is typically referenced to digital media and network cultures; the shift here to embodied performance practices is meant to enable consideration of the kinesthetics of distribution as such. See, for example, Gye et al. 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Franko is here speaking of the particular affinity between modern dance and labor movements in the 1930s of the United States, but his notion of a non-reflective performative economy located in a refusal of a laboring body to submit to industrial rationalization resonates with more supple approach to discerning the work of dance in a range of circumstances.

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