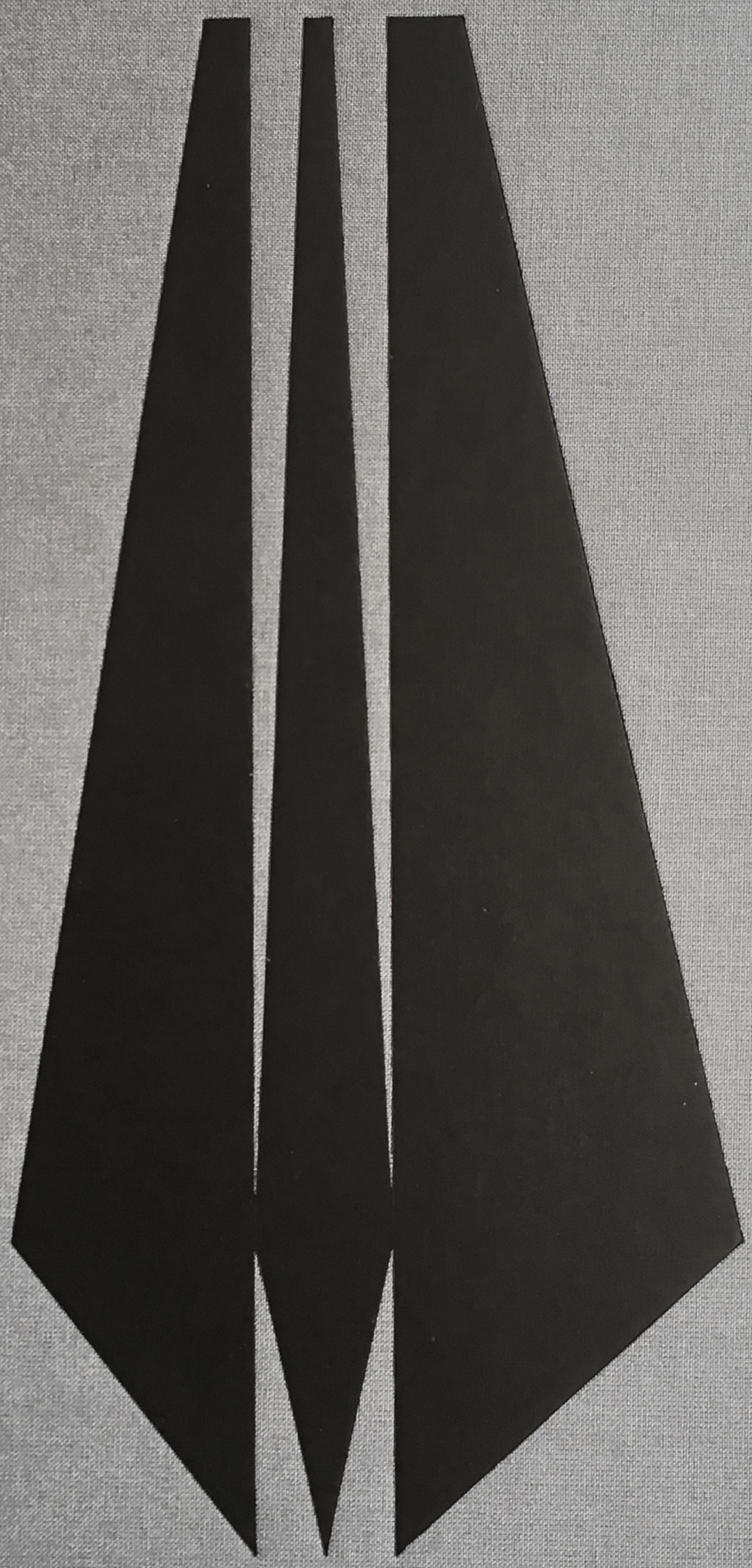
SPIELRAUM

Jasmina Cibic



DISTANZ

SPIELRAUM

Jasmina Cibic

PUBLISHED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE
MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART, BELGRADE

GENESIS



LIFE



DEATH



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FOREWORD: A THEATRE OF VOICES

Alessandro Vincentelli

The stories behind failed political systems and states provide the source and setting for Jasmina Cibic's larger artistic project. Hers is a practice that addresses the ways in which visual language, art, architecture and rhetoric are deployed and instrumentalised by political regimes, before investigating what happens to these fragments when the ideologies they endorse collapse.

Gathering together these symbols and iconographies, Cibic's projects present a synthesis of gesture, stagecraft and re-enactment. Realised in films and installations, her ongoing performative practice is an 'enacted' exercise in the dissection of statecraft. Her multilayered approach draws together primary sources and falsified narratives. This wilful overwriting creates shifting meanings and highlights historical uncertainties and untruths, especially in the gendering of the past. Cibic plays a double-game, at once decoding mechanisms of power whilst building her own allegorical structures. Tracing lines through history, she undertakes detailed research of official state archives and hidden repositories of authority. The conventions, apologues and narratives she turns her forensic gaze upon are drawn from various players involved in the contrivances of power, working in concert to forge common visions of the nation.

At the centre of *Spielraum* Cibic sites an investigation into the art and architecture deployed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a framework for its own visual presentation in the aftermath of the Second World War. Specifically, the design of its capital and government buildings, which were to host the inaugural conference of the international Non-Aligned Movement, a grouping of states that Josip Broz Tito was instrumental in. In the act of distancing itself from the Socialist Realism of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia looked to the West for aesthetic influences, developing a hybrid visual identity that served to distinguish it from the binary extremes that typified the Cold War.

In the trilogy of films and exhibitions that comprise *Spielraum*, Cibic addresses a series of historical moments tied intrinsically to the association of architecture with modernism, and the compelling belief systems that informed its utopian aspirations. It serves as a detailed look into the visual languages that were to endorse and give power to various ideological attempts at nation-building across Europe in the last century. Each chapter of *Spielraum* addresses a stage in the life of an imagined, ideologically charged building or monument, from its genesis in *The Nation Loves It*, to its use and life in *Give Expression to Common Desires*, and its death in *Tear Down and Rebuild*. Each chapter was staged in a different international art institution as an immersive installation in its own right.

The title *Spielraum* is taken from the writing of Karl Kraus, one of Europe's early modern satirical writers, specifically his eponymous essay of 1912, in which he protests in the strongest terms against the use of decoration in both language and architecture. It is an ambiguous word, slippery in translation. It means a place for play, but also room for manoeuvre; it means scope, but also margin. These layers of seemingly disparate yet associative meanings allow for the title to mobilise various devices across times and locations. It is a strangely disruptive unifier that binds these multiplatform projects.

With deft ambition Cibic asks the questions at the heart of unlocking layered aggregations of authority, culture, representation and identity. How is power made manifest? How does it come to be enacted? Who has the authority to frame and to speak? What kinds of coercion and complicity are required? Several of the contributors to this publication

allude to the operation of ‘soft power’ in the formation of the state, which is to say the persuasion of citizens that the norms or aspirations endorsed by the structure of power are to be desired. In contrast to the system of threat and reward exercised by hard power, soft power emphasises less tangible factors, such as the popularity of a state’s values and institutions. Joseph Nye succinctly defined it as the ability to get what you want through attraction, rather than coercion.[1] Seduction always wins out in the end.

This publication is intended to further an understanding of Cibic’s practice and methodologies, unravelling with archaeological precision in a number of directions at once. It is proposed as a reader, with incisive essays by critics, architects, theorists and curators. Whilst the historical root of *Spielraum* lies in the Non-Aligned Movement, the ambition of this book, as with the project, is far ranging. The essays here represent a considered feminist critique of the whole enterprise of nation-building, and of soft power and its modes of operation. These are consistent themes for the artist and can be traced back to her 2013 Venice Biennale project *For Our Economy and Culture*, which sought to interrogate the ways in which artists and architects have been put to work in the service of the state.[2]

Underpinning each of Cibic’s ambitious projects is an intense period of personal research, and collaborative interactions with performers, actors and curators. Time and again, her practice raises a lens to focus on rhetorical methods of presentation. In the act of dismantling these facades, her work invites critical engagement in the methodologies of social shifts and structural strategies. At a time of great uncertainty for Europe, in which its collective identity is once more thrown into doubt, Cibic’s work serves as an invaluable reminder of the relentlessly cyclical nature of history, and a warning against complacency.

1

Nye, Joseph S, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

2

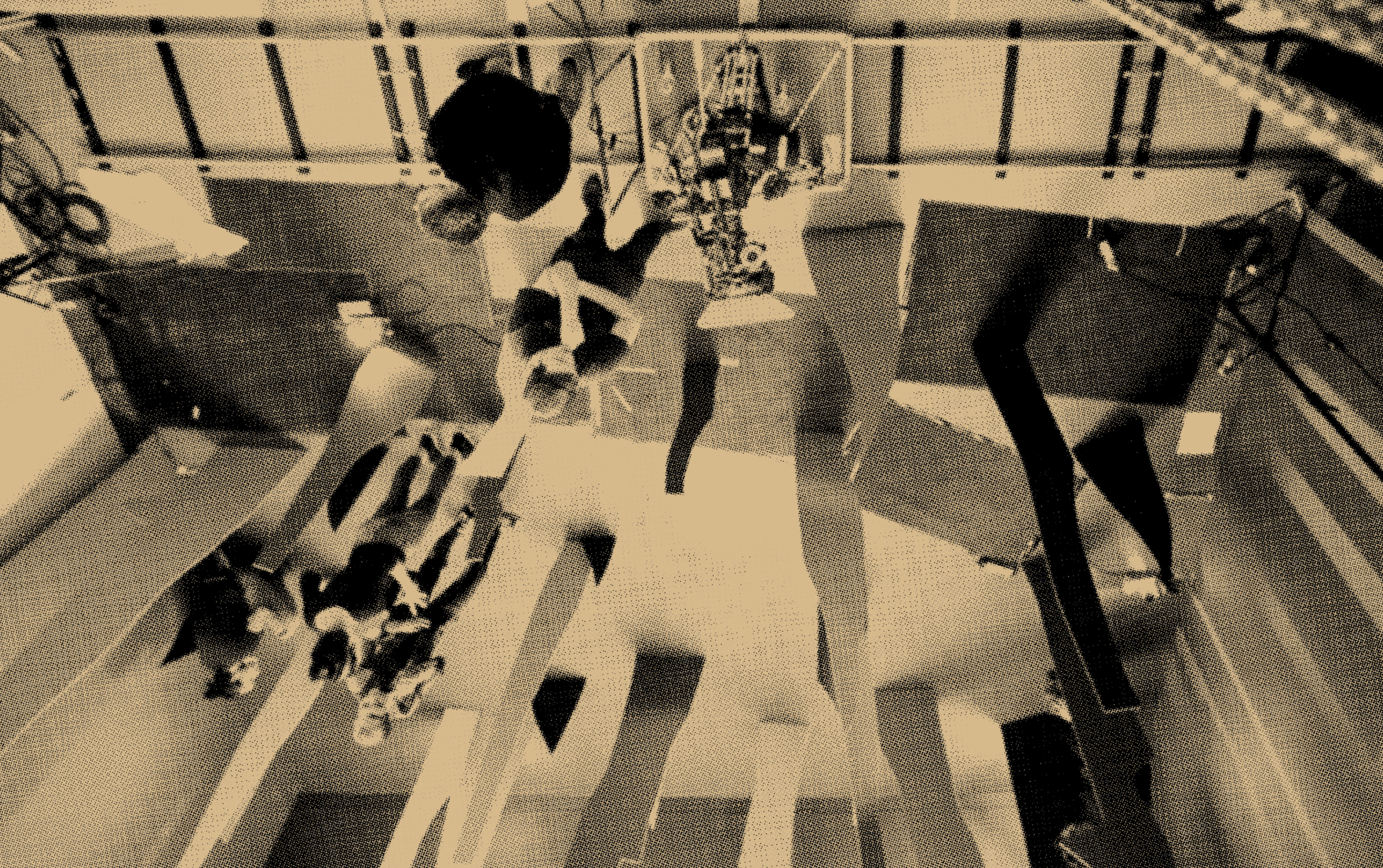
For Our Economy and Culture, exhibition catalogue, Pavilion of Slovenia at 55th Venice Biennale, Tevž Logar and Vladimir Vidmar eds, Ljubljana: Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, 2013.

GENESIS

THE NATION LOVES IT

SPIELRAUM

CHAPTER 1



CURATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Róna Kopeczky

The first chapter of the *Spielraum* project, titled *The Nation Loves It*, was presented at Ludwig Museum Budapest in January 2015 as an immersive environment comprising film, performance, sculpture and installation. Karl Kraus' term *Spielraum* not only lent its name to the exhibition, but also became the lens through which Cibic examines the programmatic application of linguistic and architectural decoration in strategies of nation-building, as exemplified in the redesign of the city of Belgrade for the occasion of the first conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961.[1] The conference set the stage for the Yugoslavian government to both redefine and redesign the city of Belgrade for the purpose of presenting a new political formation to the attending foreign delegates, while simultaneously rebranding the city to its citizens.

Spielraum's first chapter, *The Nation Loves It*, dissected and reassembled the idea of the patriotic spectacle, exploring the instrumentalisation of visual language and rhetoric in the construction of the State as spectacle, and investigating the ways in which art and architecture serve as soft power strategies of every political order. Through contextualising patterns characteristic of systems of power, *The Nation Loves It* reveals glaring contradictions that are inseparably connected with the transformations of national and cultural identities in the past as well as the present. *The Nation Loves It* was articulated in three main interdependent sections at the Ludwig Museum, built into one another, interfering with each other, echoing and mirroring each other's constitutive elements.

The first section addressed the construction of a new visual language that was to endorse a new political formation (the Non-Aligned Movement) via the study of the basic building blocks of its physical foundations. These building blocks took the form of two-dimensional shapes sourced from the architectural plans and designs for the city of Belgrade, developed for the occasion of the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement: the documents included sketches and proposals for the city's new pavilions, monuments and decorative elements, as well as interior design solutions for the monumental former Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. With the incorporation of these almost ornamental forms, they became the visual leitmotif spanning the entire exhibition, feeding into its rich scenography, entering the projected film in the form of props and costume patterns, and finally interacting with the exhibited two-dimensional art objects and sculptural forms.

1

The Non-Aligned Movement was founded by Jawaharlal Nehru (the first Prime Minister of India), Sukarno (the first President of Indonesia), Gamal Abdel Nasser (the second President of Egypt), Kwame Nkrumah (the first President of Ghana) and its chief leader, Josip Broz Tito (Marshal of Yugoslavia), who were also among the attendants at the first conference. While colonial regimes crumbled in the 1960s, the Non-Aligned Movement came to life planned and designed as an alternative 'third way' to the competing US and Soviet-led alliance structures of the Cold War, and a creation of several national leaders. In their own right, they advocated respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, struggle against imperialism, and an end to colonialism and neocolonialism. The birth of this power bloc called for a new ideological apparatus that had to be accompanied by distinguishable visual language in architecture and public space. The most notable examples were the inventions of a new style in art and architecture, and the increasingly inflamed rhetoric reflected in political speech and discourse, celebrated and accepted by the population and respected by the rest of the world. In order to achieve this, the new language had to be universal in its formal simplicity and made globally understandable by the use of internationally accessible concepts and values.

The building blocks first appeared as dark triangular forms painted on the walls in the entry room of the exhibition; then, growing out from their own shadows, they transformed into spatial objects of independent physical existence. This allowed them to be manipulated, moved from one place to another and combined as basic elements into larger and more complex structures. Their final application was their inscription as collages into landscape photographs sourced from the archives held at the Museum of Yugoslav History; the images were captured by Marshal Tito's official photographers during his travels and meetings with foreign dignitaries. From this archive, Cibic selected only the images depicting 'picturesque' and 'sublime' landscapes, images in which the state photographers / artists turned away from the political spectacle and, rather than focusing on the event itself, captured the environment: the scenery, rather than the scene, of the various protocol events that shaped the geopolitics of the post-Second World War world.

A narrow, dark corridor connected the first and second sections of the exhibition. Here, another of the appropriated shapes appeared in sculptural form. Its isolation elevated it to the status of a new icon, an icon that is to some extent decorative, yet articulates the experimental and ambitious programme established by the new visual vocabulary. The theatricality of the corridor space was further enhanced by the solemnity of a sole spotlight that singled out the icon, adding to the sense of gravity already generated by the physically oppressing, controlling and directing one-way passage. This transitory space functioned as an intimidatingly lit gateway to the second part of the exhibition, deliberately confronting the viewer with the visceral mise-en-scène of power and its *Raum*.

The second section of the exhibition focused on language and political rhetoric. It featured a 15-minute video in which an actress performs short concentrated actions, delivering snippets loaded with political significance. When she first appears on stage, she is seen moving geometric forms that run throughout the exhibition in an almighty manner, and as if they were pawns on a chessboard. Next we see her rehearsing a text in which she weighs her every word, measuring its impact and choosing the most adequate combination for the best rhetorical result. The different parts of this verbal mosaic represent extracts from political speeches from different times, spaces and political regimes,

uttered by a diverse range of politicians engaged in large-scale public and official state architectural developments, including Mussolini, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Truman, Tito and Khrushchev. Each of them conveyed the notion of a new state, nation or policy through different aesthetic and stylistic strategies. Beyond simply drawing on stock rhetoric of the most frequent terminology employed in such official, inaugural announcements, the rehearsed speech highlights various aspects in nation-building strategies, revealing how architecture is approached and used in the expression, representation, affirmation and diffusion of national identity. The strong figure of the woman represented in the video, unidentifiable yet universal, stands in as a recasting of Mother Nation, allowing us a glimpse of a new power taking shape behind the scenes: she is both the architect producing and the product of nation-building.

The third and final section of *The Nation Loves It* synthesised the visual language and the rhetorical systems of the previous two segments. It addressed both the interior and the exterior backdrops of power as well as its scenographic spectacle, and took the form of two large-scale artworks. The first was a velvet curtain, drawing its pattern from the tapestry adorning the monumental spaces of the former Palace of the Federation in Belgrade; the second a wallpaper mural depicting a fictional composite landscape, assembled from various photographic documents of Marshal Tito's political meetings, showcasing territories ranging from Africa, Europe and America to Asia. Woven into this fictional landscape were randomly scattered scrolls bearing political messages—symbolically demonstrating the tautological politicisation of spaces that each new birth of visual and rhetoric discourse requires. Also displayed in this section were iron rings adorned with sentences of nation-building rhetoric, reminiscent of the entrance gates to public architecture.[2] In these rings of different sizes, the rhetoric of leaders and its populist adaptation are once more brought together in the shaping of a new national discourse.

Within this third space, a series of original performances took place. Three dancers reactivated the artworks as backdrops and the sculptures as props, whilst two actresses performed a dialogue titled "Instructions", where a series of political quotes about how to build a new political structure was acted out as a looped durational performance.

2
Slogans on the iron rings read: "Do not tamper with high standards", "Solve tasks in the spirit of our needs" and "Draw back the curtain of the future".

SPEAKING ALLEGORIES

Giovanna Zapperi

Architecture plays a crucial role in establishing power relations and promoting processes of identification. In constructing a specific relation to the body, architecture is never neutral; on the contrary, it can be apprehended as a social construct in which identity formations take place. The constructed space actively participates in regulating human activities and interactions in ways that are profoundly informed by sexual difference. I would like to address Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum* from the point of view of a feminist critique of the interplay between power, architecture and the gendered body. *Spielraum* is a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (synthesis of the arts) comprising film, performance, sound, sculpture and installation, in which the artist explores the connection between the performative power of discourse and the architectural environment. Its central focus is an inquiry into the ways in which architecture can become the incarnation of national ideologies. By juxtaposing a montage of statements, inaugural speeches and other sources with a scenographic space inspired by modernist public architecture, Cibic interrogates the entwinement between language, decoration and the body.

Spielraum overturns the relation between speech and decoration, suggesting that buildings are not just a product of discourse but its own content. How can the relationship between nationalism and the realm of aesthetics be apprehended through its built manifestation? How can nationalism become an architectural spectacle? What is the role of sexual difference in the representation of a national community from which women are virtually excluded? Leaving aside the work's complexity, I will focus on the films that are at the centre of the three chapters which constitute the whole project, in order to examine how 'the building of a nation' is inevitably predicated on women's subordination.

The characters appearing in the *Spielraum* film trilogy are impersonated exclusively by female performers, a fact that first drew my attention to the connection between architecture, the nation and the female body. Cibic has stated that it related to the absence of women from the most visible aspects in the construction of the patriarchal spectacle of the state, as well as with the symbolic role of the feminine as allegory.[1] On the one hand, women are virtually excluded from the national community, while on the other, the image of the feminine is appropriated

1
E-mail conversation with the artist, 7 January 2016.

to represent a number of ideals whose role is to bind the community together: consequently, women are expelled from the realm of governance and find themselves relegated to representation.

The first part of the *Spielraum* trilogy deals precisely with the symbolic meaning of the feminine in the formation of the national community. Its title, *The Nation Loves It*, explicitly refers to the idea of birth and the role of woman in both the production and the reproduction of the (male) national community. The film revolves around a single female character impersonating Mother Nation, whose attire seems to be inspired by decorative elements from the surrounding environment. The film shows her rehearsing a speech of explicit and fragmented political content; this rehearsal is interspersed with scenes of her interaction with the sculptural and decorative elements. During her speech the woman almost merges into the scenography through the play of fabric, colour and forms. Her identification with Mother Nation coheres with her integration into the architectural environment: the woman's symbolic function connects her to the realm of aesthetics. However, the woman is speaking, and what she is saying seems to contradict her symbolic role, as she draws from speeches given by different political figures that shaped the history of the twentieth century, such as Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand and Nikita Khrushchev. The excerpts are edited in a way that exposes the ideological implications of public architecture. Thus, the impression is that the character is commencing the same speech again and again, without ever arriving at a definitive version, as if she were caught in an endless rehearsal.

The speech contradictorily identifies Mother Nation with the political leader or the charismatic persona whose role is parallel to, but distinct from, the one played by the feminine in modern national formations. In fact, the performance exposes an uncanny connection between the woman's symbolic role and her performance. Feminist political thinker Rada Iveković argues that the very idea of the nation is connected with the notion of birth, as it has to do with the way one's origin is constructed. On a symbolic level, the maternal body of Mother Nation represents the unity of a group in which the singularity of its members is denied for the sake of belonging and unity. Of course, Iveković continues, the nation is constituted by a male community of brothers converging towards their symbolic father (the father of the nation, the political leader, etc). It is the role of the symbolic Mother Nation to bring the community together. She is the symbolic father's visionary project, a possible figuration of the dream of totality. This is the reason why notions such as 'nation', 'homeland' and 'community' are strongly associated with images of the female body in the development of modern national discourses.[2] In Cibic's *The Nation Loves It*, Mother Nation's speech blurs the distinction between the gendered roles of the mother and the political leader. She ambivalently personifies both of them and exposes the connection between the production of gender identification within nationalist rhetorical strategies and the built environment, which is where gender hierarchies are represented and thus produced.

The speech is further fragmented by scenes in which we see the character interacting with a number of scenographic and sculptural elements installed in a space that recalls both a gallery and a theatre stage. This manipulation of the mise-en-scène resonates with the trilogy's following chapter, where different parts of the installation become integrated in a theatrical display in the form of a performance involving several dancers, male and female. The second film, *Give Expression to Common Desires*, which is much shorter than the previous one, includes two interrelated performances. Two female characters relay short instructions to one another whilst stitching a multicoloured stage curtain. The curtains hang closed while the women on stage are working on them, which positions them ambivalently between labour and performance. Their costumes and gestures also recall the ancient figure of the chorus, whose role was to introduce and comment on what was happening on stage. In addition, the fact that they are performing a traditionally feminine task contradicts the tone and content of what they are saying, which is, once again, based on a selection of speeches on architecture and monuments. There is no real dialogue between the two women, but a series of short, affirmative statements in which questions of authority and power come into play. The content of the exchange is often prescriptive, as if they were giving orders to each other. However, the actresses' performance modulates the dialogue's intensity in a way that oscillates between antagonism and collaboration, imposition and complicity. Here the contradiction is not so much between the two characters per se, but between their feminised role, posture and labour, and the set of gendered meanings that are conveyed by their declarations.

2

Iveković, Rada, *Le sexe de la nation*, Paris: Léo Scheer, 2003.

As the title of the trilogy, derived from Karl Kraus' 1912 essay, suggests, questions of architecture and language are entwined in their political meaning. As one of the crucial representatives of what has been termed 'anti-modern modernity', together with Adolf Loos, Kraus praised the separation between art and everyday life, and affirmed his opposition to what he perceived as confused, blurred or languid forms. As Jacques Le Rider has convincingly argued, Kraus' struggle against ornamentation takes the form of anti-feminist discourse, in which he affirms the need for a rigid separation between the sexes as the only way to secure social unity and order.[3] The *Spielraum* project, in its contradictory use of modernist forms and language, subtly undermines the gendered connection between the struggle against ornamentation and the construction of a homogeneous nationalist space.

The *Spielraum* trilogy also refers to the opposition between history and allegory as two distinctive and gendered modes of historical representation. In her symbolic function (Mother Nation), the woman belongs to the realm of allegory and, as such, she is identified with representation: she is silenced and petrified. History, on the other hand, is in the hands of the political leader and the male community: it entails narrative, action and conflicts involving the subjectivity of thought and action. Allegory, as Craig Owens has famously observed, is the "epitome of counter-narrative, for it arrests narrative in place", its structure is sequential and its result is not dynamic, but static, ritualistic, repetitive.[4] One could argue that this 'allegorical impulse' is at the core of the *Spielraum* trilogy, since its narrative structure appears constantly caught between repetitions and rituals.

This is examined further in the third part of the trilogy, entitled *Tear Down and Rebuild*, which takes place in the Palace of the Federation (now the Palace of Serbia) in Belgrade. The Palace was born out of Tito's ambition to provide a national building that could reflect the idea of a modern socialist republic. Following the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, the building has now become an icon of national heritage emptied of its potential for political representation.[5] The building's interior spaces are among the principal protagonists of Cibic's film, which features a conversation between four female characters impersonating respectively the Nation-Builder, the Pragmatist, the Conservationist and the Artist-Architect. Each character represents a different attitude towards architecture. The discussion revolves around buildings and monuments and their significance on a public and national level. This time, however, the focus is not so much on the inaugural moment, or the ideals connected to monumental endeavours, but rather on demolition, iconoclasm and transformation. Their dialogue is composed of a variety of quotes dealing with these issues, spanning across the twentieth and twenty-first century, from Albert Speer's plans for Berlin during the Third Reich, to Ronald Reagan's speech about the Berlin Wall, or ISIS' recent proclamations on the destruction of temples and monuments. The conversation takes place across several spaces in the Palace: the central conference room, the lobby and one of the salons.

There is in fact no real discussion in the film; instead, once again, there are a series of statements that are juxtaposed *as if* the women were engaged in a discussion. The conversation grows in intensity and becomes increasingly antagonistic as the impetus towards destruction, as opposed to conservation, becomes more tangible. The film repeatedly returns to the architectural and decorative elements of the Palace, with its modernist furniture, monumental frescos, tapestries and sculptures, which constitute the background against which the very idea of tearing down and rebuilding takes shape. The four women wear elegant monochrome dresses that reinforce the feeling that they are an integral part of the Palace's internal architecture. Their function is at the same time decorative and discursive, allegorical and narrational. The content of their declarations pertains to the role of architecture in historical processes, and they seem to act as if they were active historical subjects themselves. However, the conversation appears fractured, the fervour and the highly controversial content of the statements seem at odds with the metaphorical quality the four characters are supposed to represent. The relation that the film establishes between bodies and spaces constantly reframes the four women in the realm of symbols and allegories.

Tear Down and Rebuild escalates the contradictions between history and representation, which structure the entire trilogy, to a new level. Across the three films, this opposition emerges, in its entanglement with sexual difference, as the hidden basis upon which national ideals are produced and affirmed. If buildings (their construction, destruction and transformation) produce political meaning, they are also inextricably entangled with the contradictory forces that

3

Le Rider, Jacques, *Modernité viennoise et crise de l'identité*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990, pp 142–145.

4

Owens, Craig, "The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism", *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p 57.

5

The three films all make a reference to the architecture and urban planning associated with the first conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, held in 1961 in Belgrade, and to the Palace of the Federation (today Palace of Serbia), which was built between 1947 and 1961 in the same city (and which subsequently hosted the conference). This choice indicates that the historical background of Cibic's inquiry is the Cold War period, with its modernist utopias of internationalism and emancipation, even if the written sources she refers to exceed that context.

shape our present. The *Spielraum* film trilogy reflects upon the modern idea of the nation and its current transformation, in a time marked by the spectacular (and brutal) renewal of European nationalism, and by the crisis (and sometimes the collapse) of the modern state form, both within and outside the borders of Europe. Within these dramatic changes, the need to uncover nationalism's aesthetic and gendered foundations can become a useful way to start building a different future.

SPIELRAUM
CHAPTER 1:

THE NATION LOVES IT

Ludwig Museum Budapest
29 January 2015–8 March 2015
Curated by Róna Kopeczky









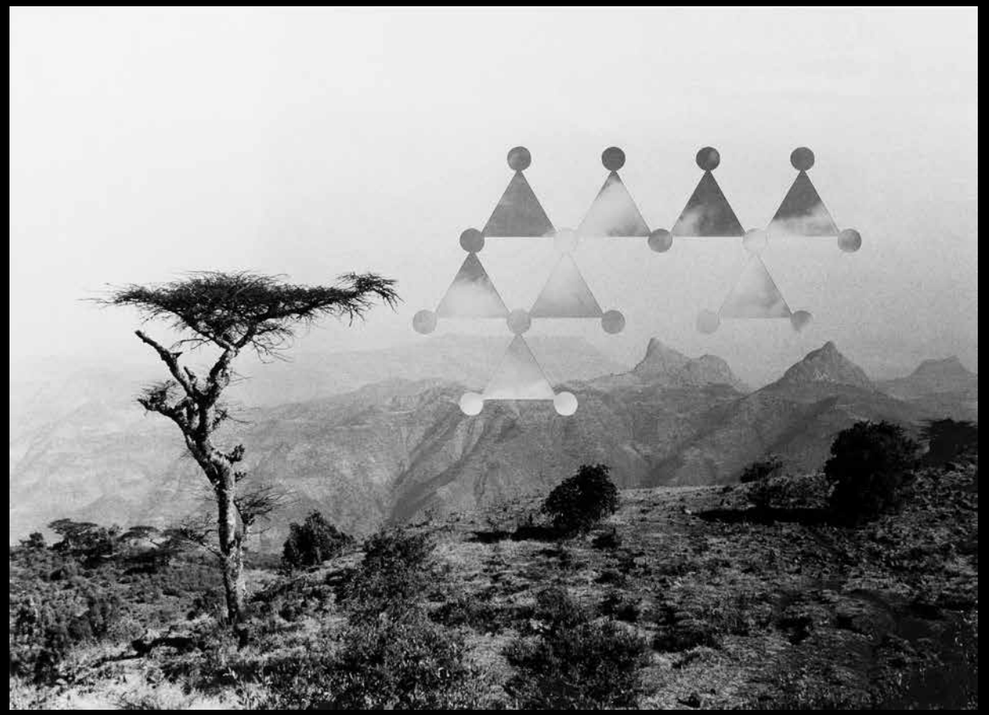
EXPRESS YOURSELF THROUGH THE FUNDAMENTAL
INGREDIENTS THAT DEFINE A GENUINE CIVILIZATION
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 48 × 60 cm



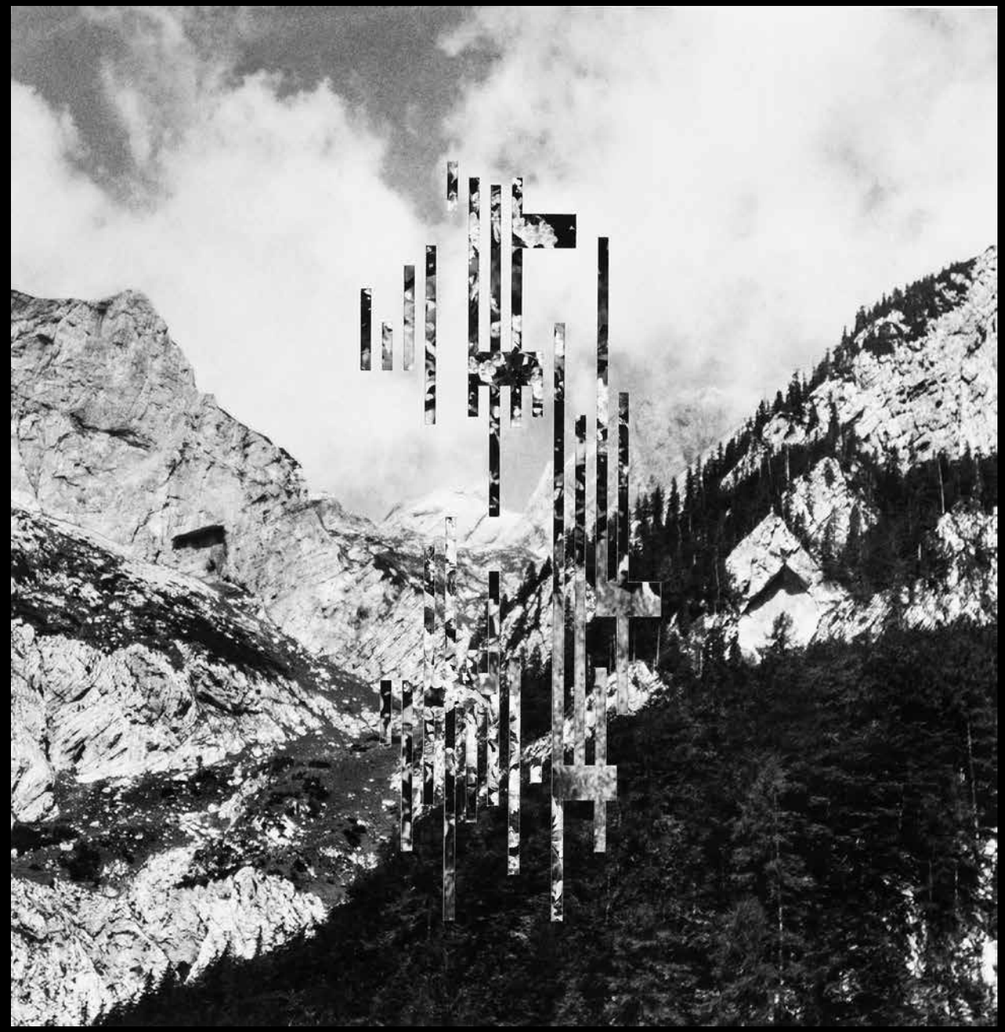
DO NOT DUMP THE LIMITED
HERITAGE YOU HAVE
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 40 × 28 cm



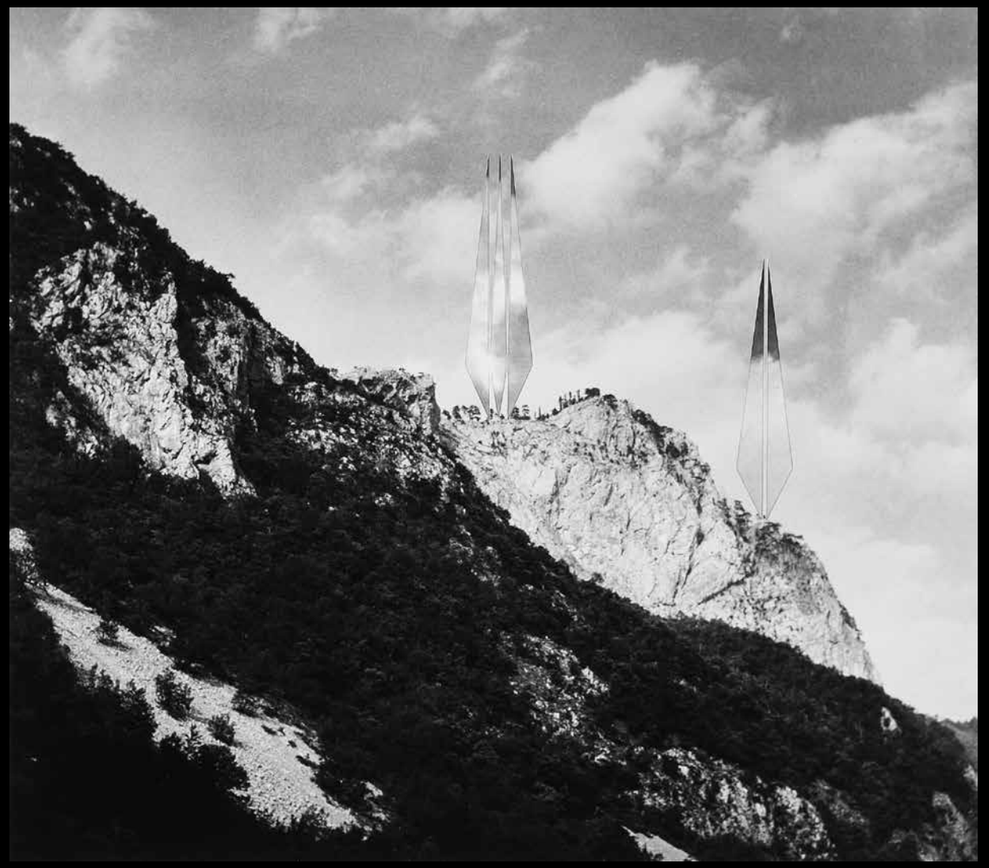
REMEMBER THAT QUALITY IS IMPORTANT
AS WELL AS MESSAGE
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 60 × 44 cm



STAND AGAINST SUPERFLUITIES
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 32 × 33 cm



DO NOT BUILD ABSOLUTELY UNJUSTIFIED TOWERS
OR PLACE PIECES OF SCULPTURE ON THEM
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 32.7 × 29 cm



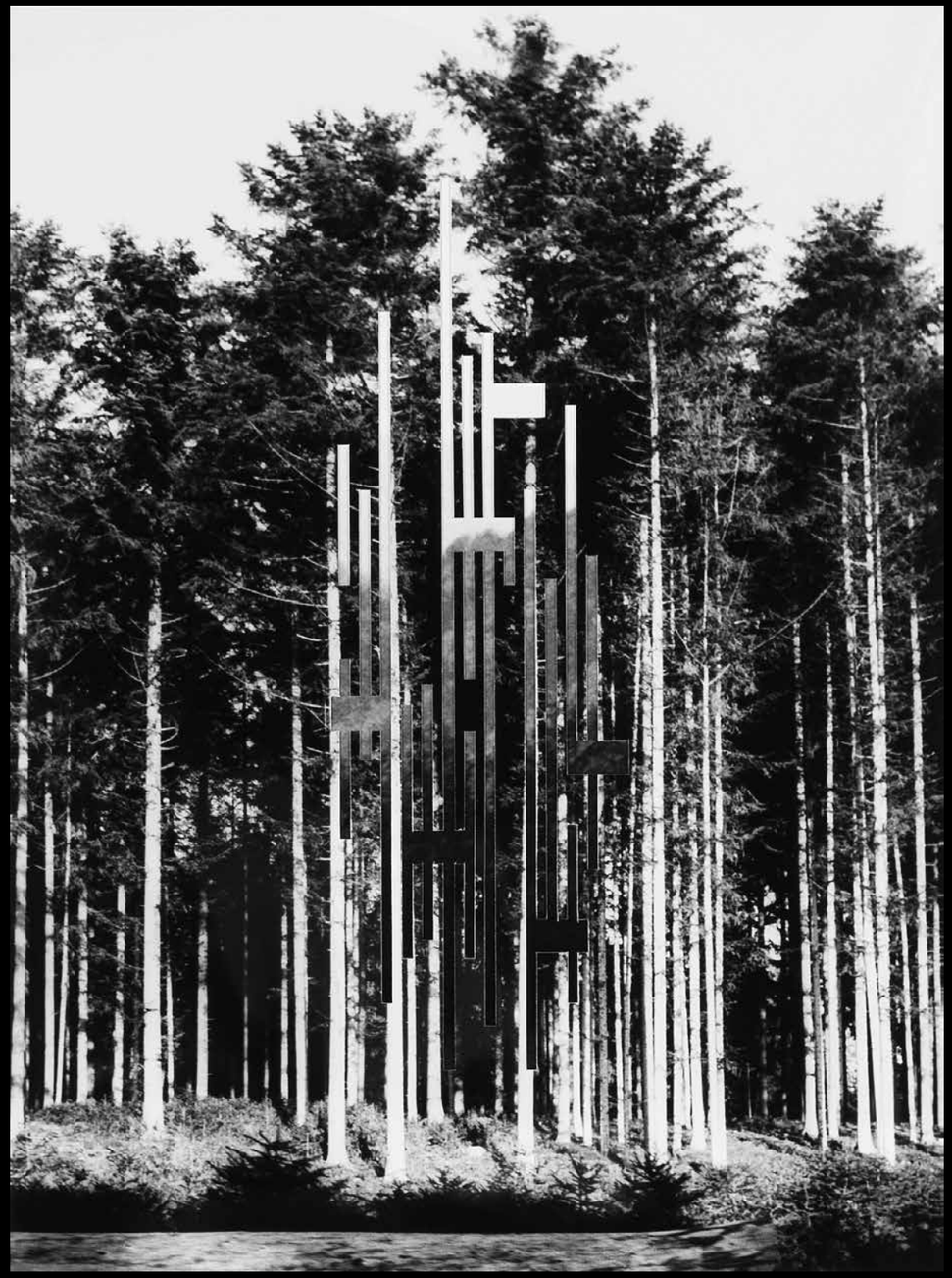
MAKE DECISIONS
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 40 × 27.2 cm



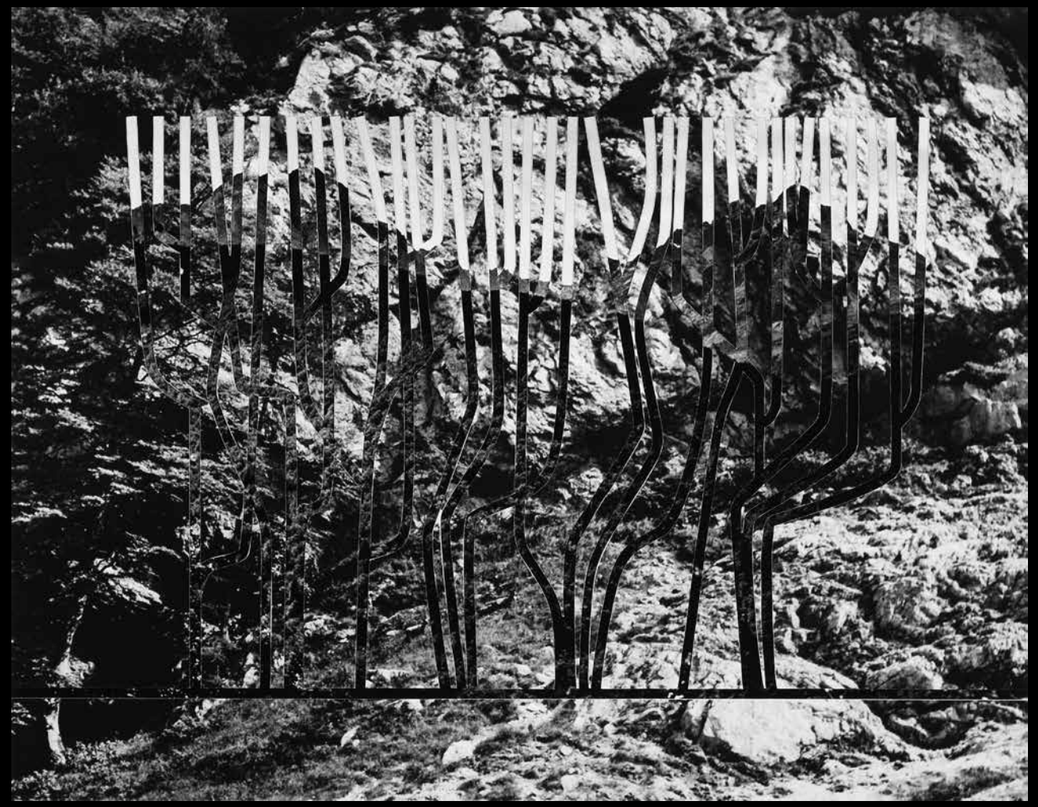
DON'T EMPLOY ONLY ORNAMENTS AND
VARIOUS DECORATIVE ELEMENTS
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 39 × 32 cm



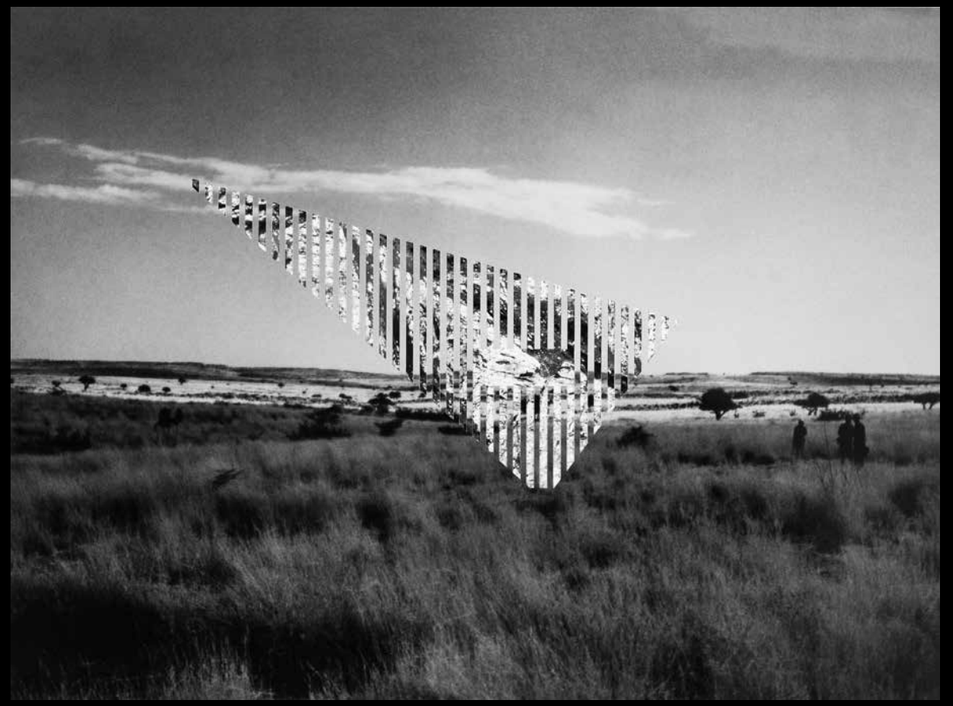
KNOCK THE THING DOWN
2015

Six archival black-and-white prints
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 22 × 30 cm



APPLY THE TIMELESS LESSONS OF THE PAST
AND A LOVE OF NATURAL FORMS
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 39.8 × 31 cm



CELEBRATE MORE THAN JUST
ECONOMIC VALUES
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 48 × 35.8 cm



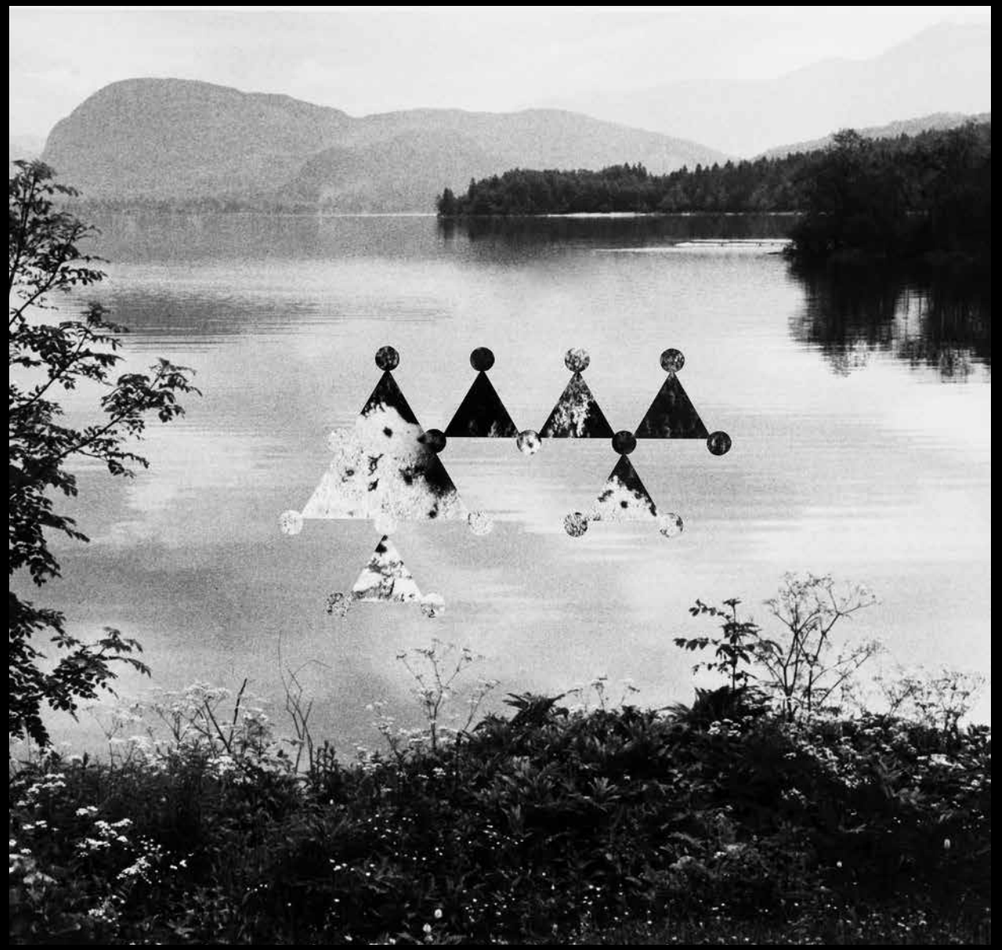
DESIRE TO BE DISTINCTIVE
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 40 × 29.4 cm



FIND THE ARTISTIC EXPRESSION
OF OUR TIMES
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 40.3 × 30.8 cm



STAND ON THE SHOULDERS OF
THOSE WHO GO BEFORE YOU
2015

Six archival black-and-white prints
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 60 × 56.4 cm



SEEK TO CONSERVE ALL
THAT IS BEST
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 37.7 × 30.2 cm



PERFORM WITHIN NATURE, BY NATURE AND OF NATURE
Detail
2015

Archival black-and-white print
on Hahnemühle Photo Rag paper,
collage, 60 × 56.4 cm






THE LAND IN WHICH A



SHOW THE LAND IN WHICH A WIDE SPACE
FOR NATIONAL PROGRESS IS ENSURED
2015

Gold paint,
Dimensions variable



WE WILL BE A CITY UPON A HILL
(UNTITLED I)
2015

Acrylic on carrara marble,
36.5 × 36.5 × 2 cm



WE WILL BE A CITY UPON A HILL
(UNTITLED II)
2015

Acrylic on carrara marble,
39.5 × 39.5 × 1 cm



WE WILL BE A CITY UPON A HILL
(UNTITLED III)
2015

Acrylic on carrara marble,
30.5 × 30.5 × 2 cm



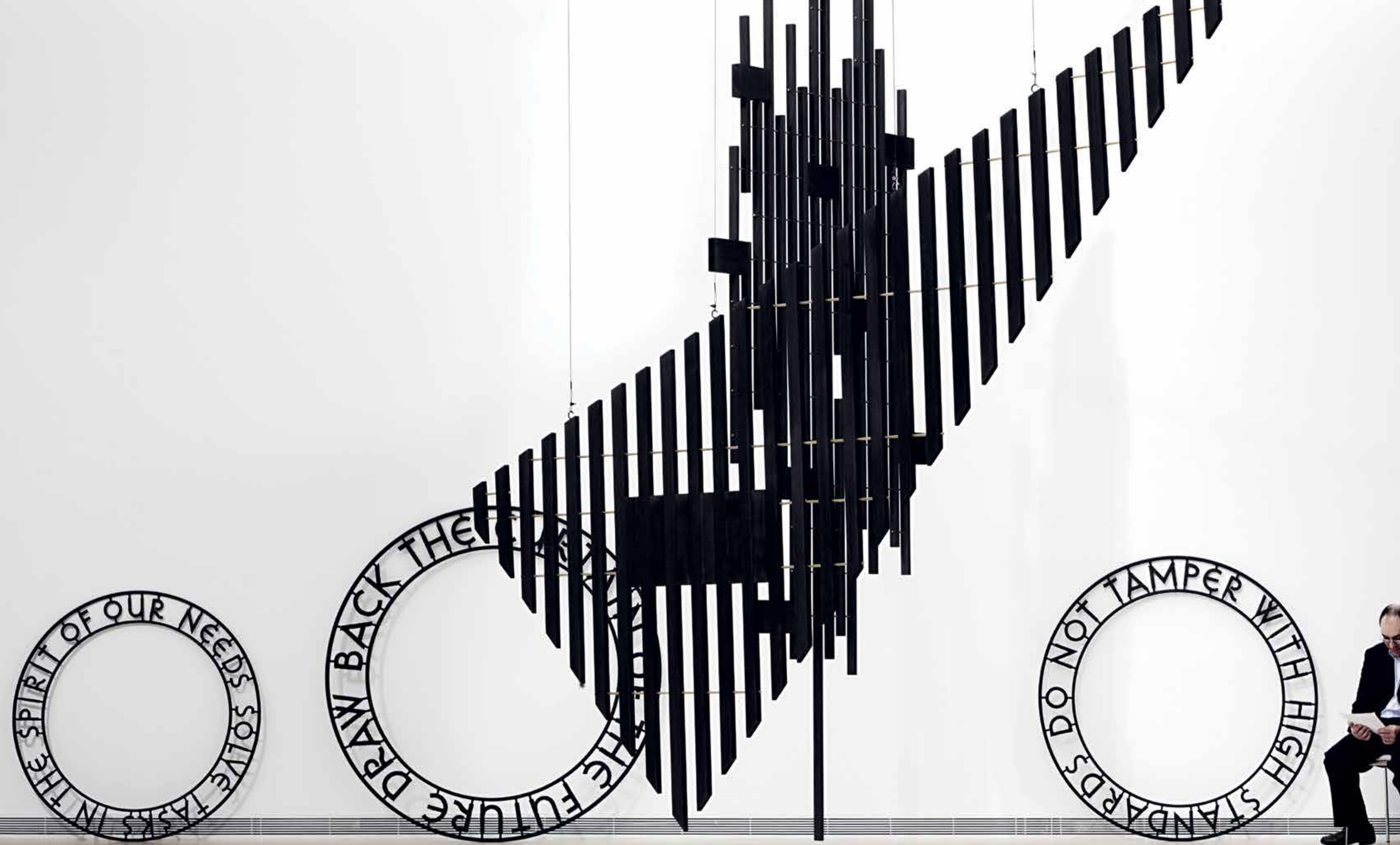
WE WILL BE A CITY UPON A HILL
(UNTITLED IV)
2015

Acrylic on carrara marble,
27 × 27 × 2 cm

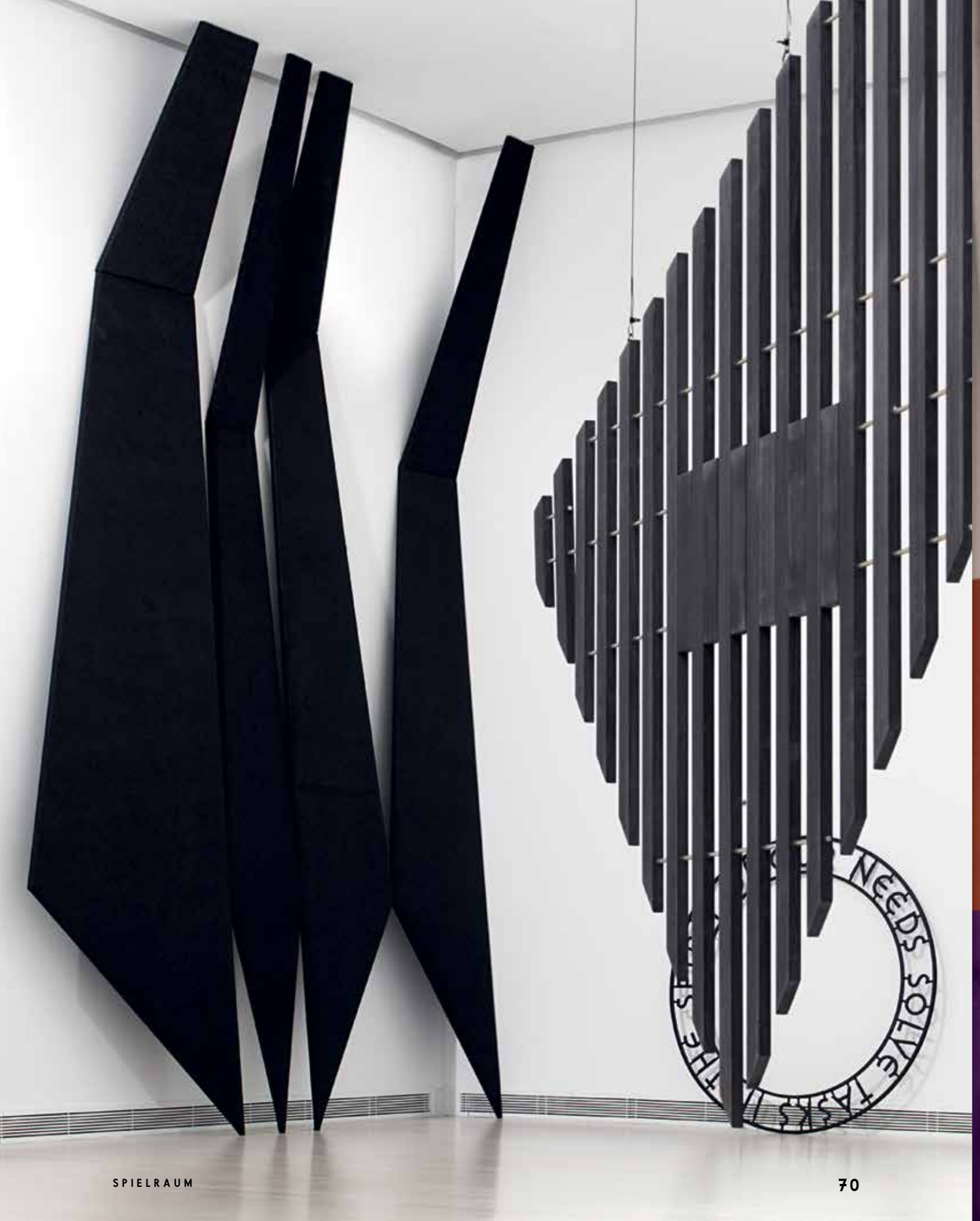


WE WILL BE A CITY UPON A HILL
(UNTITLED V)
2015

Acrylic on carrara marble,
30.5 × 30.5 × 2 cm


IN THE SPIRIT OF OUR NEEDS SOLVE TASKS
DRAW BACK THE
THE FUTURE
DO NOT TAMPER WITH HIGH STANDARDS


STRENUOUSLY
SEARCH FOR A NEW FORM


NEEDS SOLVE TASKS IN THE





ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE I
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE II
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE III
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE IV
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE V
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



ARCHITECT'S SILHOUETTE VI
2015

C-type print, collage,
50 × 50 cm



SPIELRAUM: THE NATION LOVES IT

single-channel HD video,
15 minutes 45 seconds, stereo, 2015

ACTRESS:
Cathy Naden
(Mother Nation)

DIRECTOR OF PHOTOGRAPHY:
Mark Carey

CAMERA ASSISTANTS:
Mike Bailey and
Carl Noble

GRIP:
David Manktelow

GAFFER:
Eamonn Freel

LIGHTING TECHNICIANS:
Zak Pinchin and
Nuno Rodrigues

SOUND RECORDIST:
Simon Koelmeyer

SOUND DESIGN:
Pip Norton

MUSIC:
Simon Fisher Turner

COSTUMES:
Sanja Grcić

HAIR AND MAKE-UP:
Erica Procopis

EDITOR:
Michelle Deignan

ONLINE EDITOR AND COLOURIST:
Sue Giovanni

PRODUCTION ASSISTANT:
Manca Bajec

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS:
Manca Bajec and
Jelica Jovanović

ART DEPARTMENT:
Verity Birt and
Nicola Duncan

CONTINUITY:
Manca Bajec

DIRECTOR:
Jasmina Cibic

Based on the script
“Starting” written by
Tim Etchells.

With thanks to:
Prolighting London,
Museum of Yugoslav
History, Museum of
Contemporary Art,
Belgrade, MAO Ljubljana,
Róna Kopeczky,
Simona Vidmar,
Tevž Logar,
Vladimir Vidmar
and Northern Film School
at Leeds Beckett University.

Produced by Waddington
Studios, London.

SPIELRAUM:
THE NATION LOVES IT
© Jasmina Cibic, 2015



The first film from the *Spielraum* film trilogy, *The Nation Loves It*, explores the birth of a new visual language personified by a fictitious building, designed to frame and represent newly founded political thought, states or ideological movement.

The script is based on the text "Starting", written by the artist Tim Etchells, which juxtaposes fragments taken from a number of inauguration speeches across the twentieth century, for various European architectural pieces and monuments of national importance (including the Louvre and the former Palace of the Federation), for the laying of cornerstones (the UN Building), for large national construction projects (Canary Wharf, London, New Belgrade), as well as national endorsement speeches for specific building styles and materials (Khrushchev's 'industrialised' speech, Churchill's address to the English Architectural Association).

The Nation Loves It explores some of the most iconic case studies of the intersections of architecture and political power in the contemporary European context. The textual fragments are juxtaposed to reveal the similarities in the linguistic and stylistic framing devices utilised by their original authors in order to endorse different, if not even opposing, aesthetic regimes. Etchells' writing intercuts and interchanges parts of these sentences, sometimes providing variations on similar thoughts: words and phrases coded in different colours provide alternative phrasings and digressions. In the completed film, the actress Cathy Naden delivers the text in the form of a rehearsal for a speech to be performed at the inauguration of a fictitious (and ambiguous) new monument or building.

"Starting" draws on the following speeches, addresses and announcements, interweaving fragments from them with original materials, rewritings and variations by Etchells:

Winston Churchill:
An Address to the English Architectural Association
London, 1924

Benito Mussolini:
Inauguration Speech for the First Fascist Governor of Rome
Rome, 31 December 1925

Benito Mussolini:
Announcement of the Liberation of the Mausoleum of Augustus
Rome, 22 October 1934

Vlada Zečević:
Speech at the Commencing of Works for New Belgrade
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, around 1947

Harry S Truman:
Address at the Cornerstone Laying of the United Nations Building
New York, 24 October 1949

Nikita Khrushchev:
Industrialised Building Speech, National Conference of Builders, Architects, Workers in the Construction Materials and Manufacture of Construction and Roads Machinery Industries, and Employees of Design and Research and Development Organisations
Moscow, 7 December 1954

Josip Broz Tito:
Address to the Association of Architects of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Belgrade, 2 February 1956

Willy Brandt:
Inaugural Address to the Bundestag, 'Two States, One Nation'
Bonn, 28 October 1969

HRH The Prince of Wales:
Speech at the 150th Anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Royal Gala Evening
Hampton Court Palace, 30 May 1984

Margaret Thatcher:
Speech Commencing Construction of Broadgate
London, 31 July 1985

François Mitterrand:
Speech for the Inauguration of the Louvre
Paris, 14 October 1988

Margaret Thatcher:
Speech Inaugurating Canary Wharf
London, 29 November 1989

HRH The Prince of Wales:
"Accent on Architecture" speech, The American Institute of Architects' Gala Dinner, the National Building Museum
Washington, DC, 22 February 1990

Jacques Chirac:
Inauguration Ceremony for the Louise Weiss Building, European Parliament
Strasbourg, 14 December 1999

Dmitry Medvedev:
Address to the Organisers, Participants and Guests at the International Architecture Festival
Moscow, 17 October 2008

François Mitterrand:
Speech at the Presentation of Decoration to His Highness the Aga Khan and Prince Amyn Aga Khan
Paris, 9 November 2010

Frank-Walter Steinmeier:
Speech at the Business Forum on Architecture, Planning and Construction
Berlin, 18 February 2014

If we look at the business of make a connection between politics and [that of] building, we find that they have a lot in common. In each of them after all case, first you have to clear the site—taking away the former buildings, ideologies, [arguments and other structures, clearing the rubble,] detritus and old ideas. Only once that part of the job is done can you [start to] lay firm foundations for the future, as is needed in times like these. Clearing the ground, and laying firm foundations; in my political career so far I believe I have had some more than enough experience of doing both of those things.

In any case, it is always exciting / Either way, it is always thrilling to be in at the start of a new development and we're here to mark the first steps in one of the most ambitious largest most significant building projects we have had made possible in our city for a long time. To see the empty site here, as it is now, and to know that we will have the chance to follow the whole project through thing to completion in the future is something very special. To follow that process closely—from plans and drawings to moving earth, bricks and mortar—is an experience that does not come to everyone and I'm very glad / thrilled / proud to be here for the breaking of the ground.

The building that will take its place here will be one of our most important / significant / prestigious, standing at the centre of our hope for peace, [prosperity] and a better life. This site, after all, is a place where we can work together in order to make those hopes, and others that we share, a reality. The laying of the cornerstone is an act of faith—a demonstration of our conviction / unshakable faith that we can accomplish the great tasks ahead of us. But we all know that ideas and ideals without action don't mean anything / 'faith without works is dead'. We have to make our devotion to our ideals as strong as the steel used in the construction of this building. We must pursue our objectives with a resolution that is as

firm as the rock on which this building rests. We must conduct our affairs in line with our ideals, in terms as true / consequent and undeniable as this cornerstone. It's my belief that if we do these things, if we do them well and with commitment, our nation will endure, and with it our blessings of peace and prosperity will also endure.

From our vantage here, at the very start of things, we can peer out, drawing back the curtain of the future, looking through the gap to the development that is to come / see what is to come. Soon the ground where we stand will be a building site full of teeming with people, excavators and cranes and we can easily imagine the scene that would greet us on arrival here in a month or two's time, walking through this great site to the place we are standing now, the air around filled with the sound of construction / and people working hard.

Our task is to create a building worthy of our past and yet which will do justice to the future; a building which expresses the spirit of our nation, the vitality of our economy and the talent and energy of our young people. Every nation / country / population, no matter how big or small, has its own unique and specific qualities that don't exist in other nations. These characteristics—expressed in the arts and above all in architecture [as well as other things]—represent the contribution of each nation to the common treasury / conversation of world culture, investments which complement and enrich our global heritage.

I hope that in future the building we are creating now will be seen as a monument to our times; to the / a celebration of the virility, vitality and beauty of our age, just as the great buildings of previous eras were seen many years ago. To achieve that goal requires that we work to the very highest standards, not only for proportions and beauty, but for something else too, because we are not only building architecture, we are preparing / breaking the ground for the commerce /economic growth and stability of the future. We are in an era of great

SCRIPT

opportunity and of great challenges, a time in which we have to balance the demands of growth with the realities of our political and economic situations / considerations about conservation and the environment.

Architecture doesn't serve only to address practical needs, but with its form, composition and visual language it depicts the life and culture of an era, expressing the beauty of a nation. On this spot we will build our building. And through that task, we will show demonstrate the greatness of our endeavours, which are now only at their beginning the start. Here, in this spot, we will face the hardships and struggles that we must overcome in order to secure the happiness and well-being of our nation. We may seek proportion and elegance, but we must not forget that we are also in an era of unprecedented technological change, which requires that the building we produce should use the very latest technology, as befits our developing commerce, and as befits a city like ours that leads the field in new development.

Our building, once completed, will be a personification of / personify our values—an outward symbol of our resistance, our persistence and our consistency in the task of reconstructing this country. A big and beautiful building full of life, the structure we are working together to create / build here will be like / [...] a road sign pointing to the future. It is no secret that the idea of unique cultural heritage has become vulnerable in this age of globalisation, but our building will be like the sun, shining clear and bright, warming our nation and those around us and of course it will be / [...] visible from a great distance, in much the same way that we want the voice of our nation, strong and with conviction, to be heard near and far throughout the world.



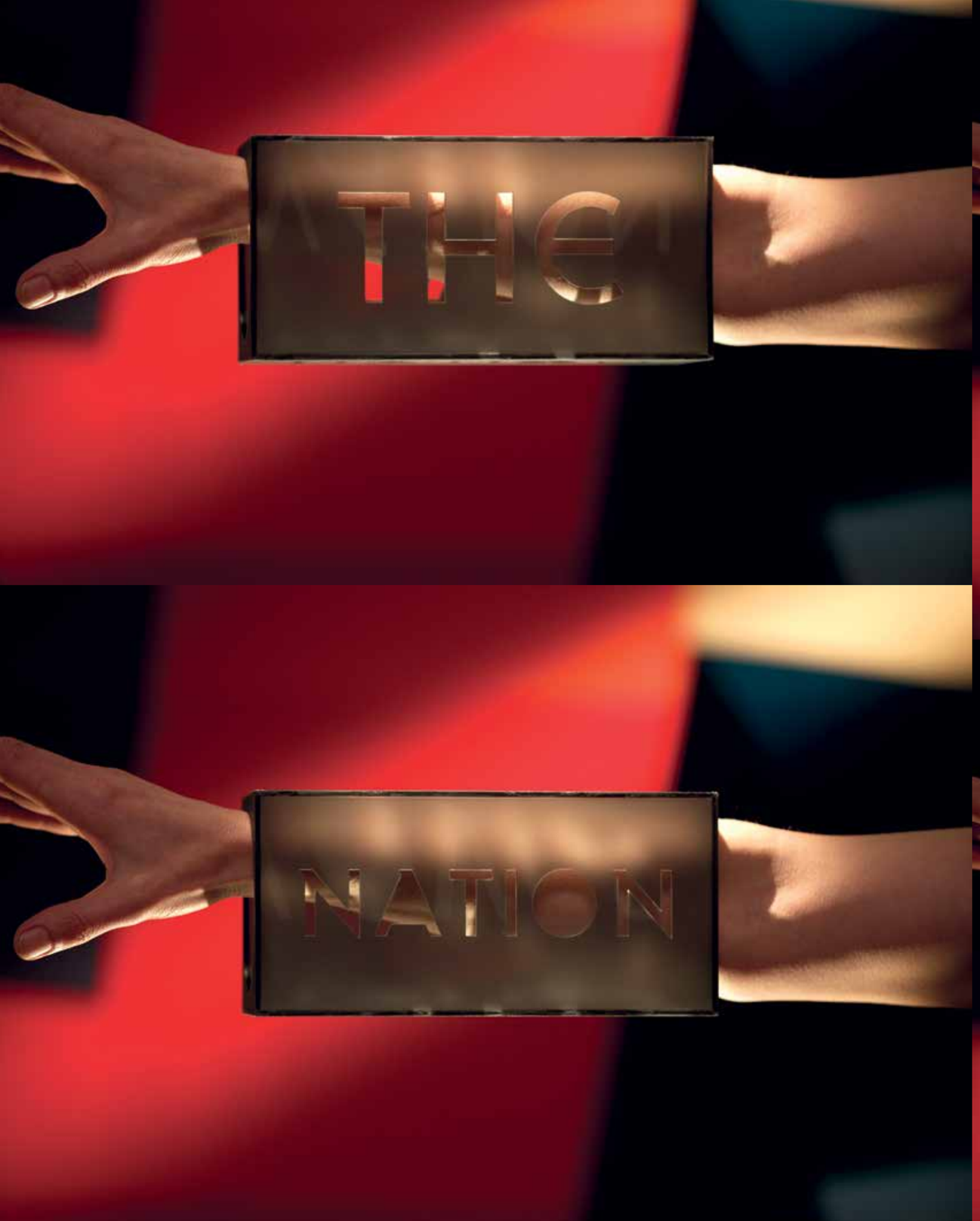


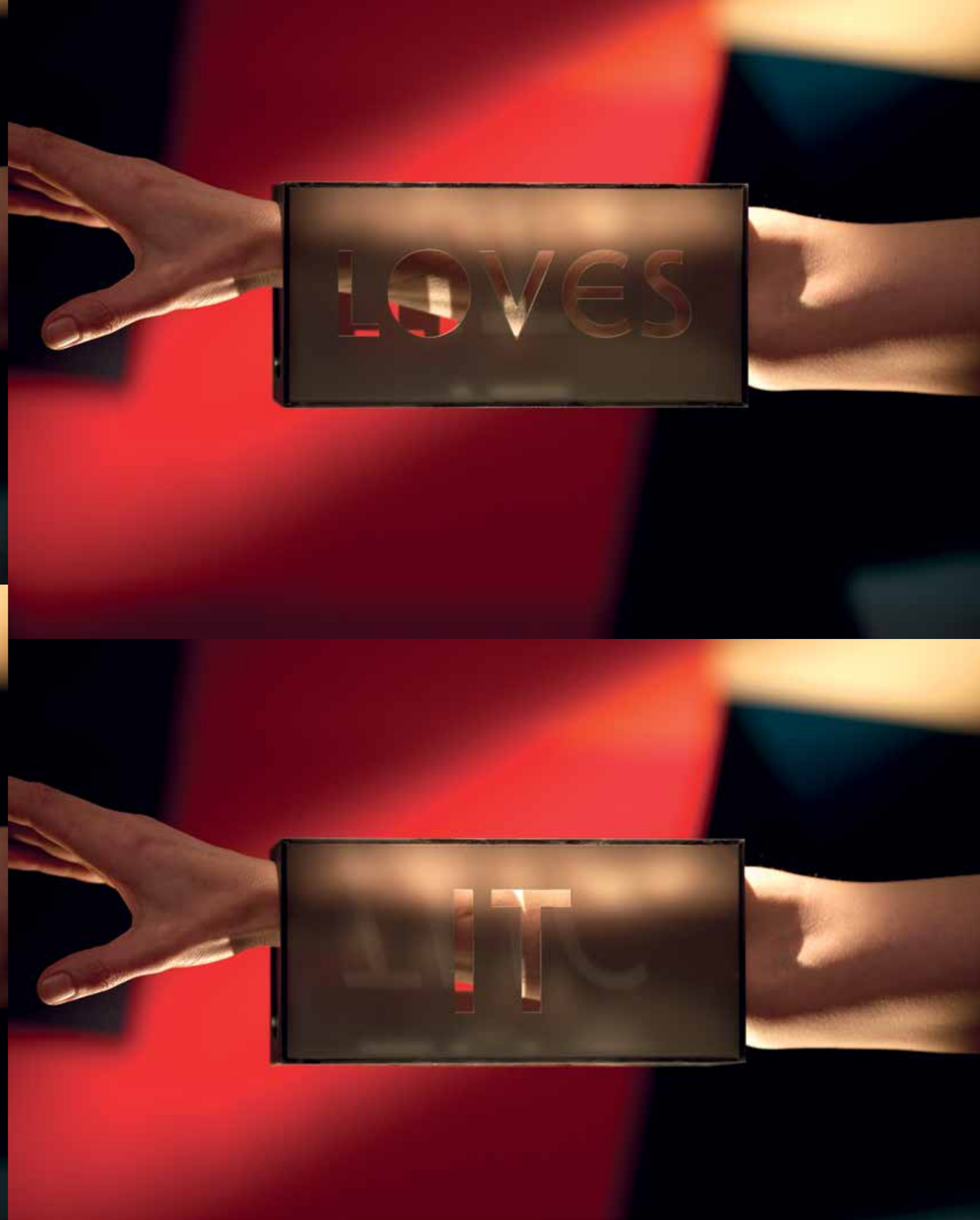









THE
NATION


LOVES
IT




TEAR


AND


DOWN


REBUILD





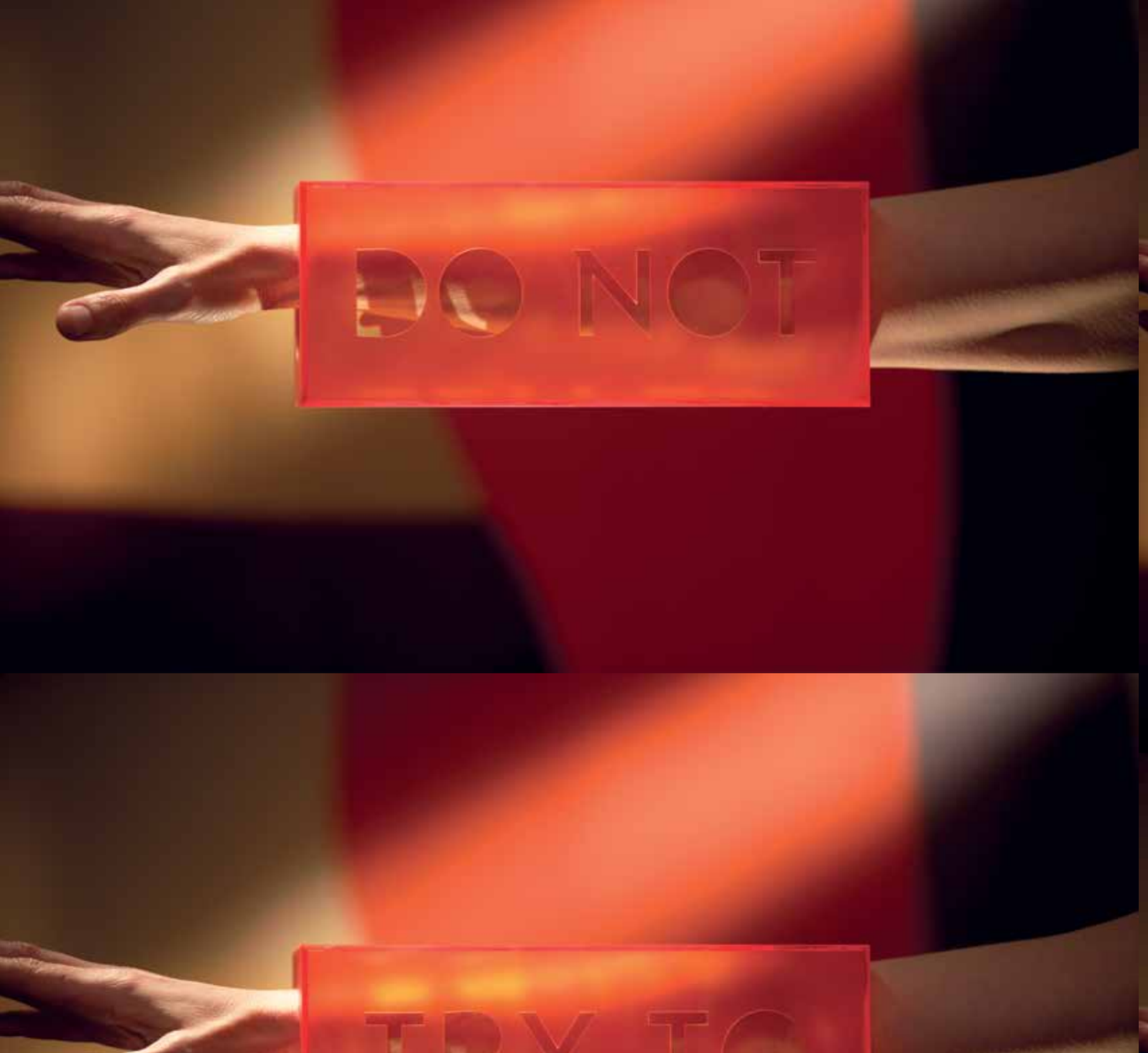


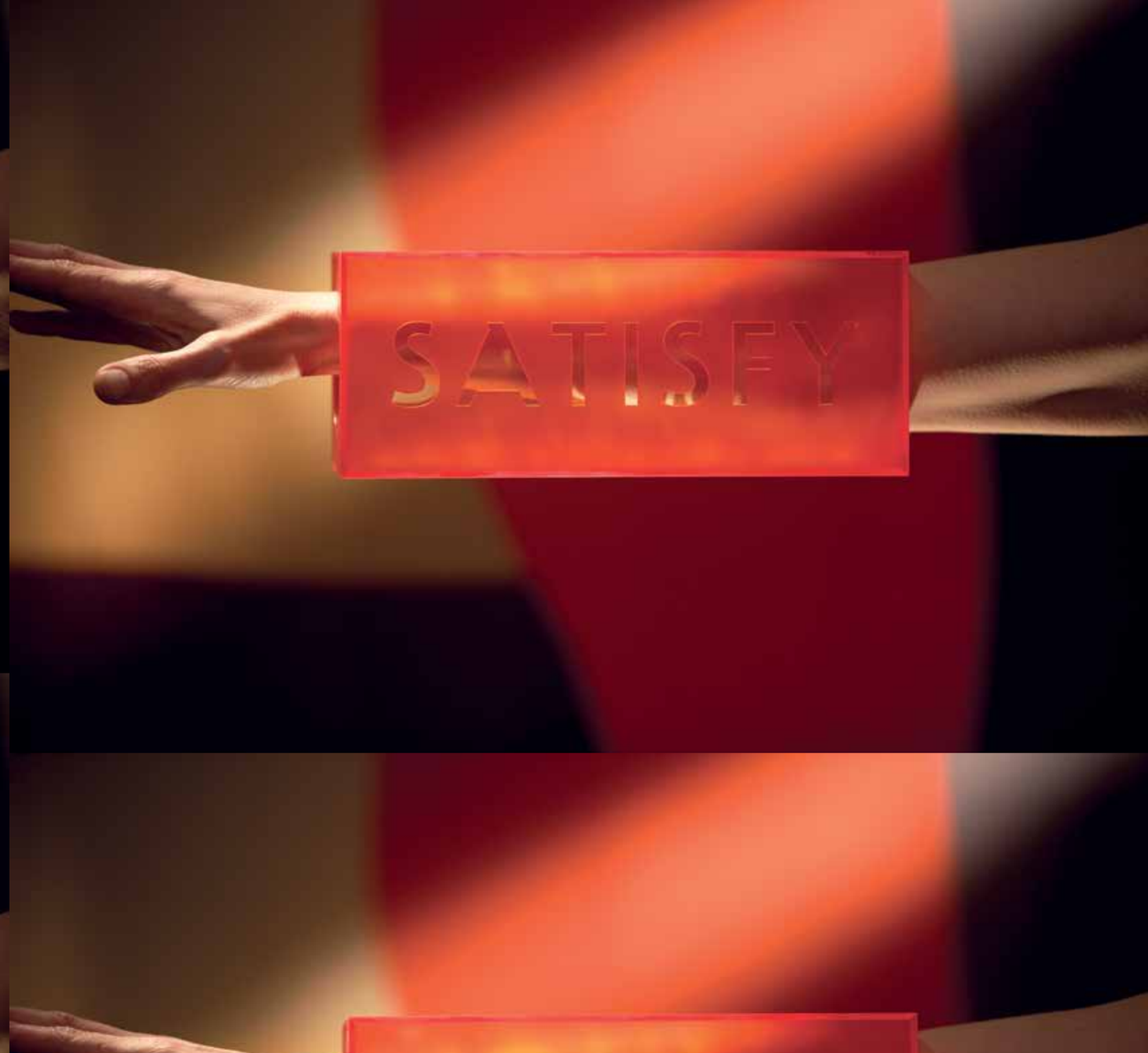









DO NOT
TRY TO


SATISFY
THE AUDIENCE






HOPES


ARE NOT


IDEALS


STATIC



LIFE

GIVE EXPRESSION TO COMMON DESIRES

SPIELRAUM

CHAPTER 2



CURATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Anna Gritz

Jasmina Cibic's installation *Give Expression to Common Desires* at MGLC Ljubljana forms the second chapter in the three-part exhibition series *Spielraum*, which was initiated at the Ludwig Museum Budapest in early 2015, and which concluded with its final chapter at the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade in late 2015. The subtitle of the exhibition, *Give Expression to Common Desires*, stems from the script "Starting", written for the film presented in the first chapter of *Spielraum* and edited by the artist and writer Tim Etchells. The text is an amalgam of excerpts from political speeches on art and architecture dating from the twentieth century, by key speakers such as Mussolini, Mitterrand, Thatcher and Tito, who employ the symbolism of architecture and architectural rhetoric to mask their political message.

In *Give Expression to Common Desires* Jasmina Cibic continues to draw references from the plans and designs for the inaugural conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade in 1961—a singular meeting of representatives of states without alignment to the major political power blocs of the time, with the aim to rethink international relationships and alliances outside of the Cold War binary. Cibic reconfigures selected visual elements taken from the original sketches, plans and drawings for the redesign of the city on the occasion of the conference, resulting in an eclectic architectural language that intended to redefine the image and political message of the city.

For the exhibition at MGLC Ljubljana, Cibic reconstructed one isolated architectural element in the exhibition space: the multicoloured stained glass ceiling from the grand staircase of the former Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. This architectural quotation is paired with a group of black sculptural elements in geometric shapes that double as movable gallery seating, and whose shapes derive from the same architectural programme conceived for the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. Presented in a flexible arrangement, the sculptures double as scores when activated by intermittent performances during which two dancers would push, pull and rearrange the fragments in a choreography that continuously repositions the objects like letters or words, suggesting that each new placement has the potential to generate an entire new set of meanings. In the second room at MGLC Cibic presented a new film that was shot in its entirety on the site of the previous chapter—within the exhibition setting at the Ludwig Museum

Budapest. The film, scored by musician Simon Fisher Turner, makes use of the sculptural and decorative elements in the exhibition and employs them as a semantic system that is acted out in performances across the galleries. Exhibition architecture and exhibited architecture are consciously confused in the film, resulting in the two exhibiting and framing one another. Staying within the interconnected logic of the exhibition series, the reconstructed stained-glass ceiling doubles as an architectural trailer or clue for the next chapter of *Spielraum*, taking place in the location of the Former Palace of the Federation itself and thereby closing the system of references.

Representative architecture has always functioned as a stage for political action and a vehicle for political thought. Architecture cannot be seen simply as a passive backdrop, since the buildings function as actors and settings, choreographing the action and interaction that will take place within them. Cibic's work, however, makes it apparent that the staging of a space is not only dependent on the stylistic characteristics of its architecture, but equally on the nature of the actions performed in it, as well as the way and the context in which they are mediated. The decision to appropriate and restage the stained-glass ceiling as an architectural fragment and ideological tool in the exhibition space questions what it means to represent one form of architecture inside another. Cibic identified the ceiling from the former Palace of the Federation as a crucial object in the building's identity, a signifier of the nature and mission of the space. The geometric colour blocks of pastel pink, blue, yellow and orange were rebuilt, fitted to the ceiling of the gallery space and illuminated by the existing lighting system, while the walls of the space were disguised by a grey curtain that enhanced the stage-like presence of the ceiling and the sculptural objects below.

The act of repeating the architectural quotation underneath the actual ceiling of the gallery space allows it to pose as a genuine structural element of the host architecture and therefore turns the fragment into an architectural costume, a mask or a form of drag in which one form of architecture masquerades as another. Although the function of the element remains the same—it is still a ceiling that is illuminated from above—the act of transporting a vital aesthetic component from its birthplace and liberating it from its original context results in a drastic change in its symbolic connotation. The art historian Steven ten Thije recognises an interesting spatial quality in the idea of the mask, identifying "a behind the mask and a before the mask".[1] It is a dichotomy that he sees quickly disintegrating once one becomes aware of what a mask conceals, much like the mask itself which consists of a "conglomerate of qualities" that make masking a blurry subject.[2] However, his suggestion to pay attention to the point where the mask and the masked meet is a fertile position for the analysis of Cibic's work as a strategy of decontextualising items infused with ideology and probing them for their ideological potential out of context and in conversation with the politics of another space. Two political systems, and two architectural languages, meet in this case in the exhibition space at the MGLC, a space that, while often assumed to be neutral, comes laden with its own set of dogmata.

The key to this chapter of the project, and perhaps to Cibic's work at large, is her play with fragmentation. Cibic identifies basic building blocks, be it in language, design or architecture, and represents them isolated from their former context, in the exhibition space. Upon encountering the quarantined fragments, the visitor cannot help but attempt to reconstruct them, to imagine them in their original formation, and in doing so attempts to reimagine the foundation of ideological and political thought attached to them. Each element speaks of its place of origin, infused with a variable effective half-life and charged with former ideologies that only slowly cool down over time. Cibic investigates these properties outside of their accustomed habitat and isolated from their reality as communicative mediums charged (and recharged) with meaning and political agenda.

In *Give Expression to Common Desires*, Jasmina Cibic focuses more closely on the theatrical properties of the patriotic spectacle. Through re-envisioning representative architecture as an isolated element, suspended between backdrop, prop, theatrical set, sculpture and mask, the exhibition invokes political enactments referencing protocol and ritual while reimagining their potential freed of the burden of context and political narrative.

1
ten Thije, Steven, "Reading (through) the Mask, Philosophical Reflections on the Masquerade", *(Mis)Reading Masquerade*, Fréderique Bergholtz and Iberia Pérez eds, Berlin: Revolver Publishing, 2010, p 50.

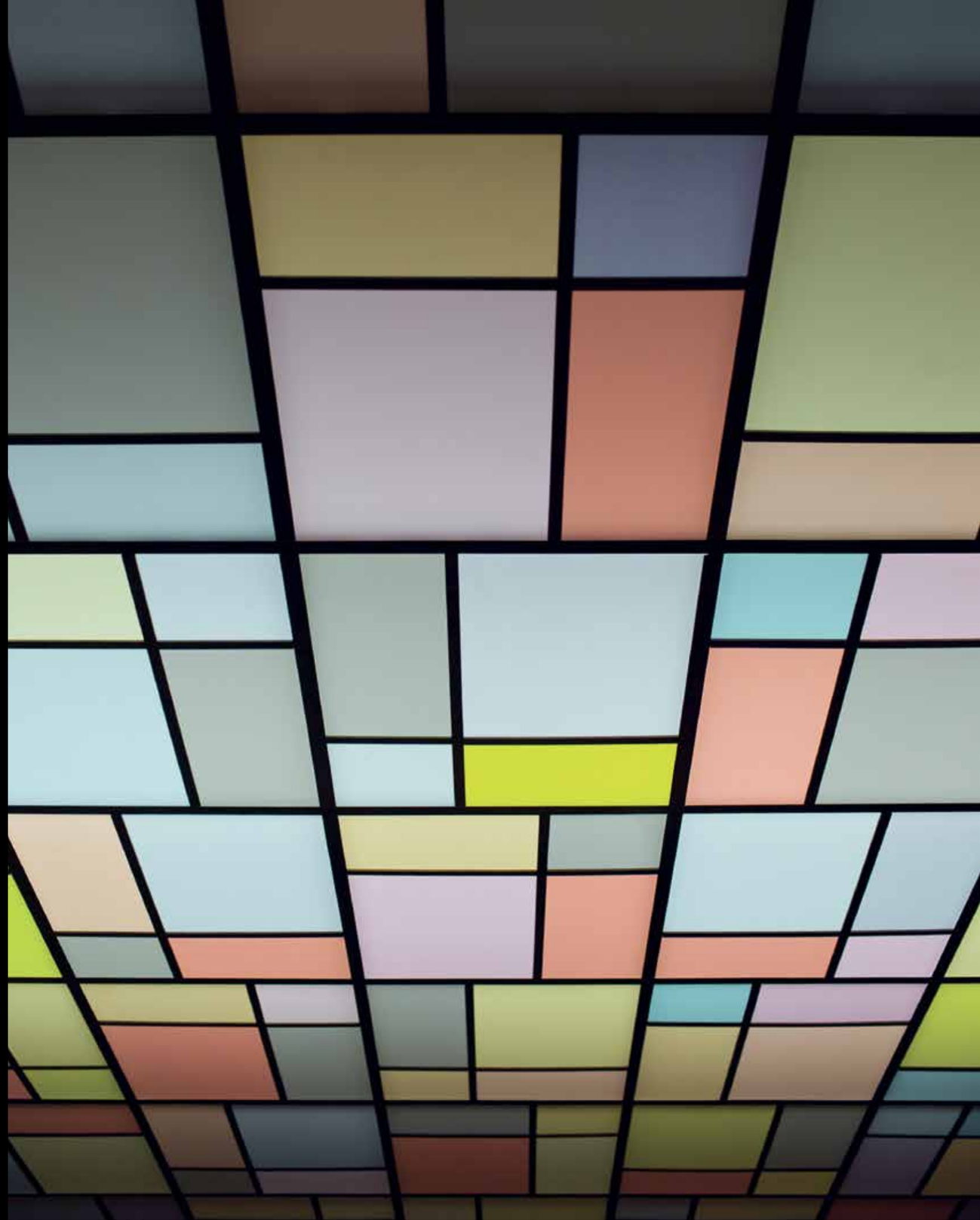
2
ten Thije, "Reading (through) the Mask", 2010, p 50.

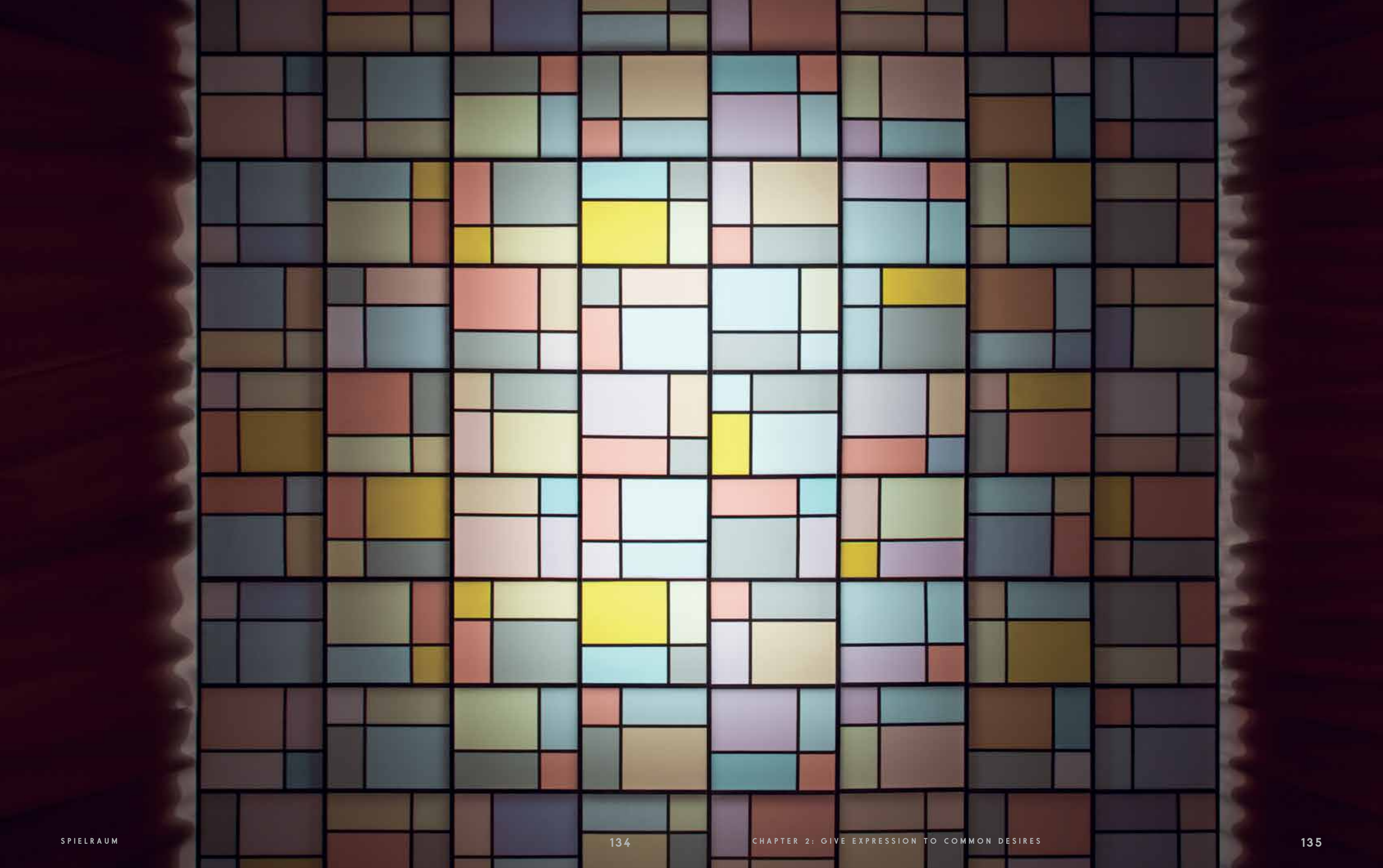
SPIELRAUM
CHAPTER 2:

GIVE EXPRESSION TO COMMON DESIRES

Exhibition at MGLC Ljubljana
24 March 2015–10 May 2015
Curated by Anna Gritz

Exhibition at
Esker Foundation, Calgary
17 September 2016–17 December 2016
Curated by Naomi Potter











SPIELRAUM: GIVE EXPRESSION TO COMMON DESIRES

single-channel HD video,
4 minutes 39 seconds, stereo, 2015

ACTRESSES:
Lucy McCormick and
Jennifer Pick

DANCERS:
Zoltán Grecsó, Beatrix
Simkó and David Mikó

DIRECTOR OF PHOTOGRAPHY:
Mark Carey

CAMERA ASSISTANTS:
Spencer Burke and
Carl Noble

GRIP:
Nobert Csontos

GAFFER:
Zsolt Ficsór

LIGHTING TECHNICIAN:
Szabolcs Sipos

SOUND RECORDIST:
Dániel Bőhm

SOUND DESIGN:
Peregrine Andrews

MUSIC:
Simon Fisher Turner

COSTUMES:
Sanja Grcić

HAIR AND MAKE-UP:
Tímea Nagy and
Júlia Szabó

EDITOR:
Michelle Deignan

ONLINE EDITOR AND COLOURIST:
Sue Giovanni

SCRIPT:
Jasmina Cibic

LOCATION MANAGER:
Róna Kopeczky

PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS:
Mateja Šetina and
Manca Bajec

CONTINUITY:
Manca Bajec

DIRECTOR:
Jasmina Cibic

Give Expression to Common Desires was filmed in Jasmina Cibic's exhibition *Spielraum—The Nation Loves It* at Ludwig Museum Budapest in January 2015.

With thanks to:
Ludwig Museum Budapest, Museum of Yugoslav History, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, MAO Ljubljana, MGLC Ljubljana, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, Northern Film School at Leeds Beckett University and Aksioma—Institute for Contemporary Art Ljubljana.

Produced by
Waddington Studios, London.

SPIELRAUM: GIVE EXPRESSION TO COMMON DESIRES
© Jasmina Cibic, 2015



The second film from the *Spielraum* trilogy, *Give Expression to Common Desires*, focuses on the theatrical properties of the patriotic spectacle. By re-envisioning representative architecture as an isolated element, the film invokes the workings and the rituals of political protocol and reimagines them free from the burden of political narrative. The second film functions both as a link between the first and the third, and as an architectural trailer for the installations that accompany all three films. It draws its specific aesthetic framework from the design and the architecture created for the inaugural conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, onto which it superimposes a constructed linguistic layer made up of snippets from a selection of speeches and statements given by politicians from different periods in the twentieth century who had a particularly active role in the field of built environment. Therefore, its impetus is in the basic units of language and form that delineate the stage for contemporary world politics. All of the elements in this chapter were drawn from a variety of personal and state archives, housing the works by artists and architects who were involved in the design of the relevant conference venues and the attendant decorative elements.

The entire film was shot within the exhibition space of the first chapter of *Spielraum* at the Ludwig Museum Budapest, where all of the exhibited artworks were used as props and scenography, activated and turned into a semantic system whose fragments were enacted by the performers across the galleries. The script for the film is based on the text "Instructions", originally composed by Cibic for the series of performances that took place within the exhibition. Returning to the medium of political speech, the artist compiled a set of instruction-like phrases excerpted from a wide range of political speeches across the twentieth century. The chosen sources were selected because they are indicative of the way their speakers imagined the listener / the audience should or might act in order for the political message of the speech to be realised. Cibic develops this concept further and illustrates it by handpicking imperative phrases that seem to be addressed to the actual 'builders' of the state—the artists and architects in its servitude, whose role was to illustrate and appropriately frame a specific political vision.

INSTRUCTIONS

Desire to be distinctive, rather than original.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Do not try to satisfy the audience.

Ostrogović, Kazimir, "Arhitektura SSSR 1917–1947. Povodom 30. godišnjice Oktobarske revolucije", *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 4–6, November/December 1947–January 1948, p 4.

Do not be carried away with architectural decorations and aesthetic adornment.

Khrushchev, Nikita, speech in 1954, quoted in Molnár, Virág, *Building the State: Architecture, Politics, and State Formation in Postwar Central Europe*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013, p 55.

Create a monument not to a period of time but to your People.

Hitler, Adolf, speech in Munich, opening of the 1937 Great German Art Exhibition, 19 July 1937, http://der-fuehrer.org/reden/english/37-07-19.htm.

Do not dump the limited heritage you have.

Walsh, Peter, Finance Minister of Australia on the 1927 Parliament House, quoted in Cope, Russell L, "Housing a Legislature: When Architecture and Politics Meet", *Papers on Parliament*, no 37, November 2001, p 32.

Add greatly to the attractiveness of the things you are showing.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Europe's Political Architecture", speech at The Hague, the Netherlands, 15 May 1992, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108296.

Do not employ ornaments or various decorative elements.

Khrushchev, Nikita, "On the extensive introduction of industrial methods, improving the quality and reducing the cost of construction" (the 'Industrialised Building Speech'), presented at the National Conference of Builders, Architects, and Workers in the Construction Materials, 7 December 1954, http://volumeproject.org/industrialised-building-speech-1954/.

Fight against formalisms.

Trotsky, Leon, *Literature and Revolution*, Rose Strunsky trans, first published 1924, New York: Russell & Russell, 1957.

Set tremendous standards.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Europe's Political Architecture", speech at The Hague, the Netherlands, 15 May 1992, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108296.

Build quickly, economically and efficiently.

Transcript of the architects' meeting with Tito, archive reference: 1954 – KPR II-2/93, 5 August 1955–4 February 1956 K42, FG k 54/58-59: Prijem delegacije Saveza društava arhitekata FNRJ, Belgrade, 2 February 1956.

Build boldly, build swiftly, build well.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech commencing construction of Broadgate", Broadgate, London, 31 July 1985, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106107.

Do not ignore the necessary devices of the past.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Give expression to common desires.

Truman, Harry, "Address in New York City at the Cornerstone Laying of the United Nations Building", New York, 24 October 1949, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13335.

Establish conditions for firm foundations.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech commencing construction of Broadgate", Broadgate, London, 31 July 1985, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106107.

Make a plan that can be effective in accomplishing its purpose.

Truman, Harry, "Address in New York City at the Cornerstone Laying of the United Nations Building", New York, 24 October 1949, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13335.

Solve tasks in the spirit of our needs.

A report from the 5th Congress of the Communist Party, published in *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 8–10, March/April/May, 1948, p 6.

Get rid of the elements that subvert our culture.

Hitler, Adolf, speech in Munich, opening of the 1937 Great German Art Exhibition, 19 July 1937, http://der-fuehrer.org/reden/english/37-07-19.htm.

First you have to clear the site.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech commencing construction of Broadgate", Broadgate, London, 31 July 1985, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106107.

Become a producer, not a parasite.

Mussolini, Benito, speech in Rome, headquarters of the Motor Transport Company, 19 January 1923.

Perform the basic sense of possession.

Ivor Indyk commenting on the colonnade as the sign of entrance, the mast declaring the place to be of national significance, quoted in Cope, Russell L, "Housing a Legislature: When Architecture and Politics Meet", *Papers on Parliament*, no 37, November 2001, p 32.

Draw back the curtain of the future.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech commencing construction of Broadgate", Broadgate, London, 31 July 1985, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106107.

Display things beautifully.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Europe's Political Architecture", speech at The Hague, the Netherlands, 15 May 1992, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108296.

Do not feel guilty about a preference for ornaments.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Royal Gala Evening at Hampton Court Palace, 30 May 1984, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-150th-anniversary-of-the-royal-institute-of.

Do not wipe the slate clean.

HRH The Prince of Wales, "Accent on Architecture", speech at the American Institute of Architects' gala dinner, the National Building Museum, Washington, DC, 22 February 1990, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-titled-accent-architecture-the-american-institute-of.

Constantly elevate the professionalism.

Second Congress of Engineers and Technicians of Yugoslavia, 1947.

Show the land in which a wide space for national progress is ensured.

Ostrogović, Kazimir, "Arhitektura SSSR 1917–1947. Povodom 30. godišnjice Oktobarske revolucije", *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 4–6, November/December 1947–January 1948, p 4.

Do not stop expressing the future.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Europe's Political Architecture", speech at The Hague, the Netherlands, 15 May 1992, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108296.

Remember that quality is important as well as the message.

Cope, Russell L, "Housing a Legislature: When Architecture and Politics Meet", *Papers on Parliament*, no 37, November 2001, p 32.

Draw on the ideas that have swept the world in the last decade.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Europe's Political Architecture", speech at The Hague, the Netherlands, 15 May 1992, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/108296.

Produce something that is visually beautiful as well as socially useful.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Royal Gala Evening at Hampton Court Palace, 30 May 1984, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-150th-anniversary-of-the-royal-institute-of.

Make decisions.

Mitterrand, François, quoted in Snaije, Olivia, "The French President's Cultural Legacy", *The Christian Science Monitor*, 9 May 1995, http://www.csmonitor.com/1995/0509/09101.html.

Do not build absolutely unjustified towers or place pieces of sculpture on them.

Khrushchev, Nikita, "On the extensive introduction of industrial methods, improving the quality and reducing the cost of construction" (the 'Industrialised Building Speech'), presented at the National Conference of Builders, Architects, and Workers in the Construction Materials, 7 December 1954, http://volumeproject.org/industrialised-building-speech-1954/.

Get rid of the obstacles to enterprise.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech inaugurating Canary Wharf", Docklands, London, 29 November 1989, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107834.

Build up your own future with your own forces through your own work.

Mussolini, Benito, "Conscientious general diagnosis of the conditions of the country and its foreign policy", Senate session, 27 November 1922, quoted in Quaranta di San Severino, Bernardo, ed, *Mussolini as Revealed in his Political Speeches (November 1914–August 1923)*, New York: EP Dutton & Co, 1923, p 225.

Renovate and relaunch.

Attributed to Francois Mitterrand.

Bring more and more people to see it.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech inaugurating Canary Wharf", Docklands, London, 29 November 1989, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107834.

Seek to conserve all that is best.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech opening *Treasures for the Nation Exhibition*", British Museum, London, 26 October 1988, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107359.

Gradually discard superfluities.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Find the artistic expression of our times.

Macura, Milorad, "Problematika naše arhitekture u svetlosti konkursa za zgradu Predsedništva vlade FNRJ" ("Problems of Our Architecture in the Light of the Competition for the Building of the Presidency of Government of FPRY"), *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vol 3, 1947, p 10.

Focus on the exciting and the new.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Perform within nature, by nature, and of nature.

Indyk, Ivor, "The Semiotics of the New Parliament House", quoted in Cope, Russell L, "Housing a Legislature: When Architecture and Politics Meet", *Papers on Parliament*, no 37, November 2001, p 32.

Apply the timeless lessons of the past and a love of natural forms.

HRH The Prince of Wales, "Accent on Architecture", speech at the American Institute of Architects' gala dinner, the National Building Museum, Washington, DC, 22 February 1990, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-titled-accent-architecture-the-american-institute-of.

Restore harmony and balance.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Relate sensitively to the total environment.

From the brief to the architects designing the new parliament building, quoted in Cope, Russell L, "Housing a Legislature: When Architecture and Politics Meet", Papers on Parliament, no 37, November 2001, p 35.

Show your worth and capability.

Zečević, Vlada, Minister of Civil Engineering in the FNRJ Government, speech commencing the building of New Belgrade, "Govor ministra gradevina FNRJ Vlade Zečevića na svečanosti prilikom otvorenja radova na izgradnji Novog Beograda" ("Minister of Civil Engineering in the FNRJ Government Vlada Zečević speaks at the ceremony for the opening of works on the construction of New Belgrade"), *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 8–10, March / April / May 1948, p 7.

Do not destroy unique monuments of our past and replace them with modern copies.

Medvedev, Dmitry, President's message to the organisers, participants and guests at the International Architecture Festival *Architecture 2008*, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/44513.

Put together different materials to create a harmonic whole.

Grant, Harvey, former mayor of New York and practising architect, quoted in interview with Fernández Cendón, Sara, "Charlotte, N.C.'s first African-American mayor is an architect", *The American Institute of Architects*, November 2012.

Participate in the society's efforts.

Tito, Josip Broz, speech addressing architects at the visit of the delegation of the Architects' Association FNRJ, Belgrade, 2 February 1956, Archive of Yugoslavia, KPR ii-2/93.

Create a worthy visual representation of our People's evolution.

Hitler, Adolf, speech in Munich, opening of the 1937 Great German Art Exhibition, 19 July 1937, http://der-fuehrer.org/reden/english/37-07-19.htm.

Create the possibility for the realisation of the plan.

Zečević, Vlada, Minister of Civil Engineering in the FNRJ Government, speech commencing the building of New Belgrade, "Govor ministra građevina FNRJ Vlade Zečevića na svečanosti prilikom otvorenja radova na izgradnji Novog Beograda" ("Minister of Civil Engineering in the FNRJ Government Vlada Zečević speaks at the ceremony for the opening of works on the construction of New Belgrade"), *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 8–10, March / April / May 1948, p 7.

Express yourself through the fundamental ingredients that define a genuine civilisation.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 175th Anniversary RIBA Trust Annual Lecture, London, 12 May 2009, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-riba-trust-annual-lecture-london.

Orchestrate the will and the desire of people.

Grant, Harvey, former mayor of New York and practising architect, quoted in interview with Fernández Cendón, Sara, "Charlotte, N.C.'s first African-American mayor is an architect", *The American Institute of Architects*, November 2012.

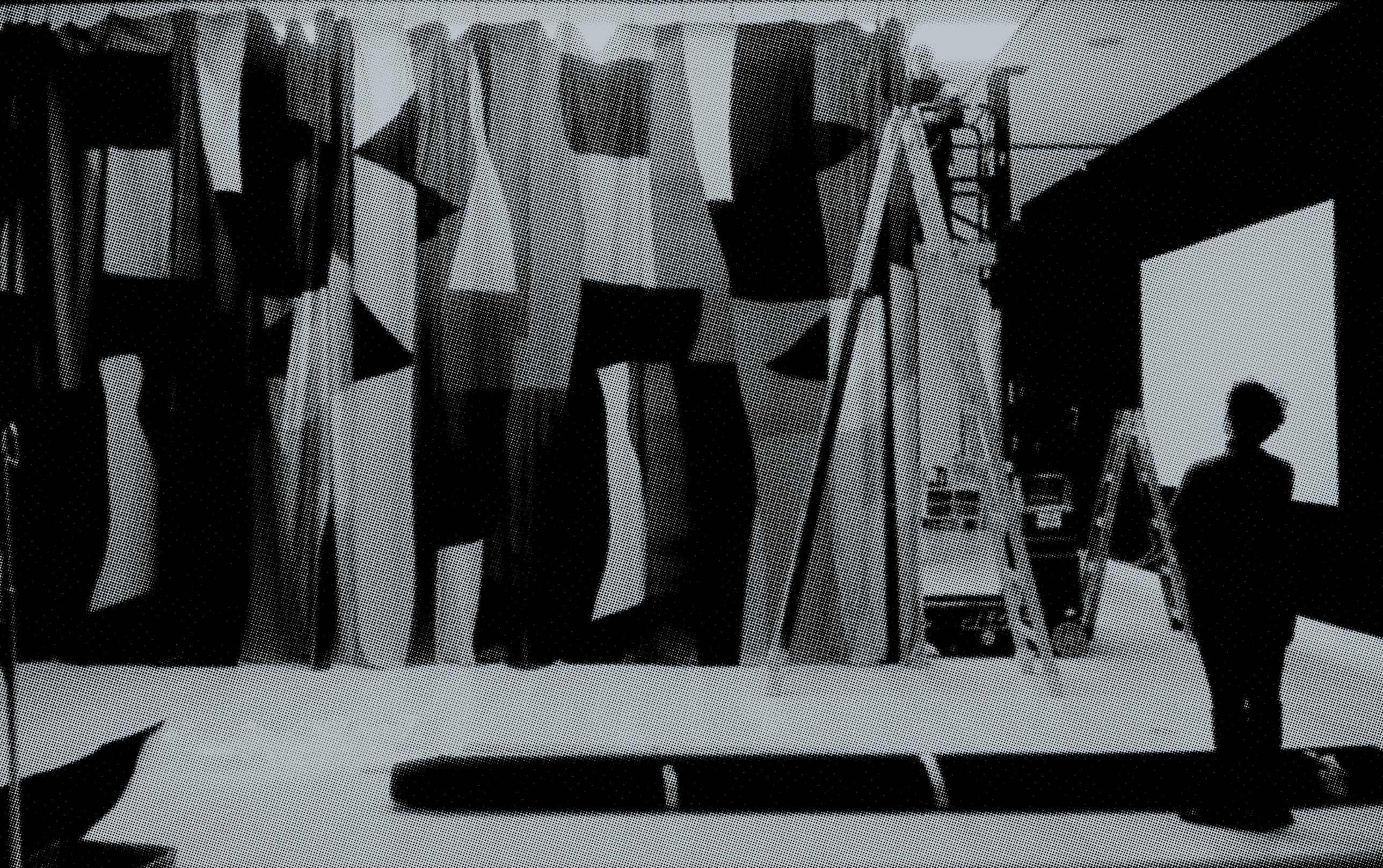
Determine what tomorrow should look like.

Mbeki, President Thabo Mvuyelwa, speech at the Youth Conference on Nation Building, 16 June 2000, http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=2641&dt=16%20June%202000.

Run up your tricolour flag upon the flagstaff of your building and fight your battle around it.

Mussolini, Benito, "Workmen's rights after the war", speech delivered before the workmen of Dalmine, 20 March 1919.






DON'T TAMPER WITH HIGH STANDARD

FIGHT THE








DRAW BACK THE CURTAIN OF THE FUTURE


HIGH STANDARDS
DO NOT TAMPER WITH










NEEDS SOLVE TASKS IN
OF OUR


THE FOOL
AND THE WARRIOR

LOST FUTURES AND THE CULTURE OF DEMENTIA

THE STORY OF A 'BETTER PAST', OR FROM 'WHAT IS TO BE DONE?' TO 'WHAT HAPPENED?'

Jelena Vesić

The start of the new development...
First steps...
Peace prosperity and better life...
Great tasks ahead of us...
Looking through the gap to the development to come...
People working hard...
We are preparing for the future...
We are breaking ground for the future...
We are breaking ground for economic growth and stability in the future...
We are in an era of great opportunity and great challenges... [1]

In his *Ornament and Crime*, 1908, the architect Adolf Loos, one of the fathers of modern architecture theory, claimed that the suffocating nature of an Art Nouveau room "taxed the owner's brain" because it lacked any space for "future living and striving, developing and desiring".[2] Twelve years later, Viennese journalist Karl Kraus referred to this as a lack of "running-room" or "*Spielraum*". If these remarks are considered with regard to the way early modernism was 'purged' of the ornamentation of nineteenth-century Academicism,[3] along with the gentleman-bourgeois culture that was at the same time its expressive and reproductive form,[4] it could be said that Jasmina Cibic tells the story of the political and aesthetic regime of the twentieth-century national / social welfare state.

Understanding the precise meaning of the term *Spielraum* is a complex affair—translated as 'game room', 'manoeuvring room', even 'running room', colloquially 'wiggle room', or figuratively 'room to move', in psychoanalysis the term is used to mean 'play space' and to expand the examination of the term *Nachträglichkeit* (French *après-coup*, English *afterwardsness*), as developed by Sigmund Freud and reintroduced by Jacques Lacan.[5] As observed by Matthias Kettner, Freud proposed a dual use of the term—as "retroactive attribution of meaning" in the process of memory alteration, and as a 'causal' component ("like a chain of effects on a series of billiard balls")[6]—an observation that led to Kettner's proposal that "psychoanalysis

1

These and other similar 'generic' sentences appearing throughout this text are given here in the form of poetic commentary. The statements are part of Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum* project, a video trilogy presented as a spatial-performative installation; the sentences above are from its first part, entitled *The Nation Loves It*.

2

Foster, Hal, *Design and Crime (And Other Diatribes)*, London and New York: Verso, 2002, p 15.

3

"Adolf Loos and I, he literally, I linguistically, have done nothing more than to show that there is a difference between an urn and a chamber-pot and that it is only in this difference that culture begins to have any scope to develop. The others, however, all positive men, can be divided into those who use the urn as a chamber-pot and those who use the chamber-pot as an urn." Karl Kraus, quoted in Carr, Gilbert J, "The 'Habsburg Myth', Ornament and Metaphor: Adolf Loos, Karl Kraus and Robert Musil", *Austrian Studies*, vol 15, *Austrian Satire and Other Essays*, 2007, p 65.

4

"Theodor W Adorno saw no mere vague cultural historical analogy but a direct symbiosis between Loos and Kraus. The aphorism may appear simplistic, if not a parody of Loos' aesthetic theory. Yet, metonymically, 'urn versus chamber-pot' encodes both Loos' paradigmatic distinctions between (hitherto stigmatized) use value and (redundant) ornament, and the neglect of analogous distinctions, which concerned Kraus—in *Die Fackel* (*The Torch*) he often linked the two extremes, of philistinism and aesthetic snobbery." Carr, "The 'Habsburg Myth'", 2007, pp 65–66.

5

Jean Laplanche, Kurt Eissler, John S Kafka and many others agreed that the concept was best described by Matthias Kettner as *Spielraum*. This added to the previous and somewhat straightforward understanding of Freud's *Nachträglichkeit* as a process and effect of 'deferred action', that is, as 'belated understanding' of traumatic events retrospectively and according to later experiences.

6

John S Kafka on the work of Matthias Kettner in "Time: The Uncertainty of Frame or Content", *Time and Uncertainty*, Paul Harris and Michael Crawford eds, Leiden: BRILL, 2004.

operates in *Spielraum*", that is, precisely in the space between these two meanings.[7] What is important for our story is that, with certain provisions, *Spielraum* as 'play space' is always already fantastically recreated and able to rematerialise its very source as *something new*.[8]

Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum* recreates the principle, or rather the very space of *Spielraum*, almost verbatim, structuring it as the 'architectonic composition' of visual verbal quotations. The fragments of historically loaded statements and pictorial signs are used as building blocks for the (re) construction of the collaged and disrupted narrative, evoking the aesthetic and social investments, the grand promises and firm beliefs of twentieth-century modernity. The sentences in the script, revolving around the social meaning of architecture, predominantly (re)presented as official and highly symbolic architectonic structures, are re-performed in the '*Spielraum* manner', that is, without the constraints of losing their material ties with 'reality' or falling into the abyss of play itself. As the artist herself describes the *Spielraum* scene: "the architecture appears as a theatre of voices".

> *Soon the place we are standing in now will be a building site full of excavators and cranes...*
> *The laying of the corner stone is an act of faith...*
> *A demonstration of our conviction...*
> *Unshakable faith...*
> *The largest building programme that we've had in our city...*

In Cibic's work, the very symbol of building (architecture) evokes the modernist impetus of building a *better society*, that which used to be the social projection of a *better future*. And it is here that the story of modernism and of modernity must always begin—in the future.

> *Our building once completed will be a personification of our values...*
> *An outward symbol of our resistance, our persistence...*
> *And our consistency in the task of reconstructing this country...*
> *The structure we build here will be a road sign pointing to the future...*

Cibic's artistic thought can be connected to two contemporary discourses revolving around the notions of time and history. One of them explores the conceptual and ideological construction(s) of the actual and historical future(s), while the other engages with the culture (and politics) of memory.

> *We are preparing for the future...*
> *Our nation will endure...*
> *Our prosperity and peace will also endure...*

The idea of the future in the twentieth century was entwined with a kind of utopian imagination that had *real* political and social consequences. Political action was unconditionally framed by a faith in the progressive future. As Franco 'Bifo' Berardi notes, all twentieth-century movements, from liberalism to social democracy, from communism to anarchism, shared the same certainty that "notwithstanding the darkness of the present, the future will be bright".[9] The Hegelian-Marxist mythology of *Aufhebung*,[10] formative in establishing the new totality of communism, and the bourgeois mythology of the linear (today, exponential) growth of wealth in capitalism, are both connected with technocratic mythology and the omnipresent power of scientific knowledge, that is, with the belief—frequently expressed as unavoidable certainty—in the so-called *better future*.[11]

Today, however, this feels like a promise that never materialised, like a deferred future-to-be encapsulated within the material culture of its monumental architectonic 'witnesses', seemingly without any subsequent social function. Together with Bifo, we can see the punk movement's cry of "No Future!" some four decades ago as a self-fulfilling prophecy that soon swept over the globe. The only new utopia that appeared during the last decade of the 'century that believed in the future'—at one point overturned and replaced by its dystopian twin—was cyberculture, which has given way to the imagination of the hyper-connected and infinitely powerful 'global' mind. Yet now it seems that the utopian flavour of the network is losing ground very fast.

In *The Nation Loves It*, Jasmina Cibic confronts the viewer with disorienting fragmentation, the fading of the very idea of the future, together with the ideas of historical progress and social development. Placed within an environment comprised entirely of reconfigured visual elements of the modernist state spectacle, the female figure vocalises the fragmented and amalgamated text.[12] This archive of historical promises repeats the words of various public figures, scripted from a myriad of political speeches. Her (self-)questioning rehearsal brings to the fore both the affirmation and the doubt in the words she speaks:

> *This rehearsal for whom? For which big event? Towards which historical horizon?*

There is no addressee of the speech that she so persistently tries to both internalise and perform with genuine persuasion, mobilising the official, calm and 'professional' body rhetoric. But her words return to her like an echo—the more she practises, the less she seems to believe in the text she utters. Her voice becomes technicised and automatised, and we are no longer sure if these alienated and fragmented sentences represent the record of her / the collective memory, or her / the collective oblivion. As with restoring a broken tape, some words are preserved and some drown in the noise. She gradually

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7

Kettner, Matthias, "Das Konzept der Nachträglichkeit in Freuds Erinnerungstheorie", *Psyche*, vol 4, issue 53, January 1999, pp 309–342'.

8

By understanding *Spielraum* as "a *play space* that is fantastically recreated and able to rematerialise its very cause as something new", *but only as long* as "a mutual game between the temporal content and it's temporal frame" *is not being challenged* (Kafka, "Time", p 82), I argue that Cibic's work manages to do both—*to challenge* and *not challenge* the said relations, so that it precisely recreates the principle, or rather the very space of *Spielraum* as described above.

9

Berardi, Franco 'Bifo', *After the Future*, Oakland: AK Press, 2011.

10

The complexity of what may happen in the 'play space' of *Spielraum* may correspond with the occurrence of *Aufhebung*. As Dylan Evans writes, "Thus in *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), Hegel shows how consciousness progresses towards absolute knowledge by means of a series of confrontations between opposing elements. Each confrontation is resolved by an operation called the *Aufhebung* (usually translated as 'sublation') in which a new idea (the synthesis) is born from the opposition between thesis and antithesis; the synthesis simultaneously annuls, preserves and raises this opposition to a higher level." Evans, Dylan, *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p 43. Importantly, the whole thus achieved should be viewed as "an overcoming which preserves what it overcomes".

11

"The rise of the myth of the future is rooted in modern capitalism, in the experience of expansion of the economy and knowledge. The idea that the future will be better than the present is not a natural idea, but the imaginary effect of the peculiarity of the bourgeois production model [...] ... the peculiarity of capitalist economy resides exactly in the accumulation of the surplus value that results in the constant enhancement of the spheres of material goods and knowledge... [in which the concept of progress functions as] the ideological translation of the reality of economic growth. Political action was reframed in light of this faith in a progressive future." Berardi, *After the Future*, p 18.

12

In this particular case, the elements of the interior design of the monumental Palace of Federation built in 1950s in Belgrade—the former parliament of the socialist Yugoslav state that violently fell apart together with its own idea of future.

loses the position of the protagonist, as a distinctive speaker on the designed (and designated) stage, and becomes reduced to a mere ornament divorced from any ideology or meaning, a distorted voice floating over the aesthetic landscape of beautiful shapes and colours. The vocaliser of 'the archive' crashes down under the weight of words, under the task of an unperformable script.

"What comes after the end of history?" asks Boris Buden in his recent text examining the rise of extreme right-wing sentiments in Europe,[13] referring, perhaps, not to the first-time occurrence of the event, but rather to the end of the cycle, making us wonder: Has it happened before? How many times? And how could we ever know?

Buden finds the diagnosis for the present state of affairs in the writings of the French historian Pierre Nora, who writes that "'memory' has taken on a meaning so broad and all-inclusive that it tends to be used purely and simply as a 'substitute' for history".[14] Today, however, a different understanding of the same words—which becomes a kind of norm—leads to confusion; if 'memory' today refers only to what we once recognised as 'data', where does that leave the notion of 'history' as the analytical, interpretative discipline of memory, the collective narrative which interconnects individual recollections?

It seems that ever since the mere storage capacity of digital devices in our bags and pockets clearly exceeded the amount of words, images and sounds we could ever consume in our biological lifetime, a decision was arrived at, the result of obsessive memorising and historicising. 'History' became a single diverse (frequently perceived as random), utterly incomprehensible volume of different data, which could always be accessed to check a date or a name, but could never produce any meaning. It is precisely in 'memories' that follow the data, in recollecting 'the facts' that may or may not support the 'totality of the narrative' of a certain story, that any understanding is to be found.

The last two decades have seen a shift in both artistic research and practice, towards an emphasis on contemporary supremacy of memory over history.

> The time in which there were *collective history* and *individual memories*, a time in which the historian alone was supposed to deliver the truth of the past, is over.... It is the memory now that has acquired collective meaning,

Buden writes.[15] And this need to (re) remember, to recollect, to witness new micro-truths, has created a culture of passionate, almost fetishistic memorialism in the abandoned parliament of history. It stands as normal and true that today everyone has an equal right to express her own memory, her own tormenting or enjoyment *by* and *of* the past; to establish her own way of the musealisation of historical social consciousness, with a crucial twist in the form of 'historical truth'. Perhaps the problem of collective memory, as the problem of what was formerly known as history, lies precisely in contemporary fetishisation of personal *experience* not as the ultimate, but as the *only* category of memory; for "memory is seen as the retrospective per se, since it does not commence before the experience it recollects is concluded".[16] This seemingly simple entanglement of the notions of history and memory (specifically understood as an *experience*) also underlies the contemporary sentiment of forgetting, which is driven precisely by obsessive memorising and historicising. Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum* can be seen as a meta-narration of this phenomenon, showing that the *culture of memory* is equal to the not-yet-proclaimed *culture of dementia*.

Cibic seems to be well aware that forgetting is important in order to both stay focused and be able to think in an abstract manner. Just remember the Ireneo Funes character from Borges' story of the young man who, after an accident, discovers that he cannot forget anything, not a single detail of what he has seen, heard, read or otherwise perceived; hence, swamped by data, he is "almost incapable of general, platonic ideas", as "to think is to forget differences, generalize, make abstractions".[17] And this curious trilogy is heavily invested in the exploration of forgetting, in the 'cognitive mapping' of what exactly is being forgotten. As

> forgetting is an ineluctable element of the only form of mental life that is accessible to us: without it there would be no cognition, no knowledge, no memory. Those who wish to speak about memory, then, must not be silent about oblivion.[18]

To be able to bring back this sense of the future, this kind of dementia should be precisely *not* "the kind of forgetting [that] does not erase memory... [but] lays the emotion surrounding the memory to rest", as proposed by Clarissa Pinkola Estés, poet and psychoanalyst.[19] If the sentiment, the experience of the work, presents itself as *something new* to a particular viewer, it remains particular for that viewer; to go back to the beginning of this text, what it does is to create two iterations of *Spielraum*, one in Cibic's "fantastically recreated play space" and another inside the mental space of the viewer.

Thus, in Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum*, modernity and future coexist as image and memory, as experience and history, and as a potential—as all things in the space of *Spielraum* may or may not be—walking on the ever-thinner line between what was and what may be that produce / present the present of today.

13

Buden, Boris, "Cultural Heritage: The Context of an Obsession", *Art and the F Word: Reflections on the Browning of Europe*, Maria Lind and What, How and for Whom (WHW) eds, New York: Sternberg Press, 2015, pp 37–75.

14

Nora, Pierre, "Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory", Eurozine, 19 April 2002, www.eurozine.com/articles/2002-04-19-nora-en.html; first published in *Transit (Europäische Revue)*, no 22, 2002.

15

Buden,"Cultural Heritage", 2015, pp 37–75.

16

Vesić, Jelena, and Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, "Learning to Forget or The Obsession With Terabytes" (exhibition review of *Disappearing Things*, 55th October Salon), *Spike*, no 42: *Forgetting*, winter 2014/2015.

17

Borges, Jorge Luis, "Funes the Memorious" ("Funes el memorioso"), Anthony Kerrigan trans, http://www4.ncsu.edu/~jjsakon/FunestheMemorious.pdf; first published in *La Nación*, 1942.

18

Zachhuber, Johannes, "On Forgetting. Theological reflections on a neglected anthropological phenomenon" (draft paper to be published in the form of a journal article), https://www.academia.edu/966224/On_Forgetting._Theological_reflections_on_a_neglected_anthropological_phenomenon.

19

Estés, Clarissa Pinkola, *Women Who Run with the Wolves: Myths and Stories of the Wild Woman Archetype*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1995. p 164.



DEATH

TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD

SPIELRAUM

CHAPTER 3



CURATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Una Popović

The third and final chapter of the *Spielraum* film trilogy was shot in Belgrade and had its premiere as part of a solo exhibition at the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art. On the one hand, the film and the eponymous exhibition, titled *Tear Down and Rebuild*, follow the narrative strands of the previous exhibition units and represent possible thematic and spatial fragments of a single story. On the other hand, they can be read as the outcome of a project that aims to rethink the nature of architecture and its potential political role—in other words, the ways in which architecture and art (can) act as soft power strategies implemented by a certain political system.

The film *Tear Down and Rebuild* was shot in the former Palace of the Federation, the headquarters of the Federal Executive Council (the SIV) of SFR Yugoslavia. Today, the building is officially named the Palace of Serbia. The Federal Executive Council building was completed in 1961, when it hosted the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Palace was among the first in a series of iconic buildings planned in the New Belgrade expansion, a modern neighbourhood which started to emerge after 1947 on a plot of land between the left bank of the Sava and the right bank of the Danube. This imposing building of great architectural and artistic value, intended to house the highest-ranking institutions of socialist Yugoslavia and preserved in its original condition, can be seen not only as the physical embodiment of political and social beliefs and policies at the time of its creation, but also as a place invested with symbolic significance, the birthplace of non-aligned globalisation, conceived in all its complexity, both materially and ideologically. The interior of the building was a visualisation of the 'representational'. The central room is a large meeting and conference hall, surrounded by six additional salons, intended to reflect symbolically the federal system of government.[1] The décor of each salon was intended to accentuate traditional ethnic motifs typical for the cultural heritage of that particular federal constituent. In this way, small individual units were created, *micromuseums* of nations and ethnicities, displaying artworks by local artists and craftsmen, but also showcasing local materials—wood, stone, etc.

The palace was erected at the time as a stage for national and emergent world politics; nowadays, within another temporal framework, it stands as a mute scene, devoid of its intended protagonists. This is precisely the stage on which Jasmina Cibic projects her ideological explorations in *Tear Down and Rebuild*.

1

The SIV salons were named after the constituent republics: the Slovenian Salon, the Serbian Salon, the Croatian Salon, the Macedonian Salon, the Bosnian Salon and the Montenegrin Salon. Today the names of the republics have been replaced by the names of colours, such as the Brown Salon, the Blue Salon, etc.

The film raises the following question, which indirectly underscores the entire project: what happens to the politics of representation, both linguistic and visual, once it is recognised as an illustration of a certain ideology? Or, in other words, what happens to the products of an ideology once it is no longer functional? For Cibic, a broad field of exploration is to be found in 'the material remains' of historical and political artefacts, as well as artistic ones, in the remains that point indirectly to the circumstances in which they were designed and to their own function and purpose. As such, these remains also call for reconsideration of their contemporary presence and of their continued existence in different spatial, social, political and economic coordinates. *Tear Down and Rebuild* places an emphasis on text rather than architecture, although the architecture contributes to the narration and the overall content of the film as more than mere theatrical scenery.

The film features an all-female cast, who embody four ideological variations of Mother Nation: a Nation-Builder, a Pragmatist, a Conservationist and an Artist-Architect. The female characters serve as an extension of the featured architecture and artworks, emerging from the surrounding scene like sculptures—aestheticised, representative and theatrical in their performance, formally and ceremoniously complementing the empty stage. The dialogue which forms the basis of the narrative is an amalgam of various quotations, political speeches and statements (some of them dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century), advocating the repurposing of a certain object, the reconstruction or demolition of buildings that were no longer economically viable, with a view to establishing alternative architectural solutions which would be better suited to the current configuration of nation states and the attendant ideological standpoints.

The scenario of the film follows a seemingly linear narrative, formally belied by the classical Hegelian triad: thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The storyline presents each as a part of the political debate in three distinct spaces: the central conference room (an afternoon meeting), a dimly lit lobby (an ongoing evening / night-time debate) and one of the salons of the Republics (the morning resolution). As the narrative unfolds, the viewer becomes a witness to the decision to tear down a building, which in the course of the film remains unidentified. The facility in which the action takes place was neither mentioned in the conversation,

nor emphasised visually in the context of the story; thus it is implied that the building we see is not the field of interest, but a field of talk. It is offered as a possible new 'representative structure' out of which a ruling elite is acting and in relation to which it is developing a dominant political-aesthetic discourse.

The architecture of the interior frames the narrative like an organism, a silent participant; in other words, it aids in the creation of a setting necessary for a specific event, but it also produces imaginative content about the space in question. The heated debate the protagonists engage in concerning the fate of the (unspecified) building, arguing *in favour of* and *against* its existence, is subtly juxtaposed with the interior in which they are sitting. The building is thus revealed as a place of suspended identity, of unclear purpose, and ultimately of unclear fate in the context of the narrative. As such, it contributes to the creation of heightened tension in the film, to the gradation of unease. The building could be said to have the above-mentioned role of the fifth participant—the inactive, silently present one, the one that endows the entire event with a measure of suspense. In this regard, the architecture of the interior can be perceived as a subtext or context in relation to which the text / speech is constructed, reflecting on the inside all the stability and uncertainty, the authoritarianism and eeriness of the surrounding architecture.

The film can, therefore, be understood as a specific and deliberate construction of visual and textual content, of spatial as well as physical narrative. *Tear Down and Rebuild* is composed as a collage, reflecting the structure of the entire project. It is a rectified readymade, featuring independent segments of 'readymade' language, linguistic and spatial forms which are merged into a new, integral unit that performs the function of theatre.

In the previous two exhibitions, hosted at the Ludwig Museum in Budapest and at MGLC Ljubljana (which featured impressive spatial choices and installations), as well as in the first film in the trilogy (*The Nation Loves It*), the artist uses architectural and visual elements from the former SIV building as aesthetic and design templates. For the exhibition at the Ludwig Museum Budapest, a curtain was made with a pattern identical to the one found on the tapestry in the former Bosnian salon, titled *The Forest* and authored by Vojo Dimitrijević and Branko Subotić-Sube;

the protagonist in *The Nation Loves It* wears a shirt with the identical pattern; the exhibition *Give Expression to Common Desires* at MGLC Ljubljana featured a reproduction of the pastel-hued geometrical glass ceiling originally placed above the staircase in the SIV building. Cibic also installed it as the ceiling in one of her exhibition rooms. By appropriating such elements of visual arts and design from the interior, rooted in the original political and programmatic context of the SIV building, and by establishing new, unexpected, and even visually paradoxical associations, Cibic develops the notion of an ideological spectacle by including a wide range of artefacts, including non-utilitarian spatial objects which do not have a precise purpose besides their aesthetic and framing function. By merging and combining these into a large spatial system of representative elements, the artist seeks to provoke interest by reassessing their own political nature. In this way, she leads us into a broad field of the manipulative language of representation and propaganda. Each of the exhibitions can be seen as a uniquely designed mise-en-scène, which is further articulated through a new, different arrangement and interaction of displayed exhibits, with each subsequent reconfiguration providing additional layers of signification, but also by engaging with the viewer, both physically and sensorily.

Spielraum's chapters *The Nation Loves It* and *Give Expression to Common Desires* interact with each other, with the second exhibition stemming from the first, as much as both of them contain inklings of the third and final part *Tear Down and Rebuild*. In this way, the previous exhibitions can be understood as ur-narratives, announcements for what is to be fully developed or summarised in the final segment, especially in *Tear Down and Rebuild*'s epilogue, where the *space of language*—the official rhetoric employed by politics and art—confronts the *language of space*—the grandiose and iconic setting of an existing building, which in this case can be seen as shaped by a specific political and economic apparatus. It is precisely such spatial and programmatic modularity that Cibic recognises as the essential potential of her project and the only possible way of approaching it as a whole.

Her third and final exhibition in the *Spielraum* trilogy, *Tear Down and Rebuild*, summarises all of the previously used references. However, the unique nature of the film, which uses its narrative as an explicit embodiment of the idea of utilising architecture as a political and ideological token, and juxtaposes the visual narrative (the interior) with the

textual narrative, allows Cibic to envision a new dimension of space. The film, as the focal point of the exhibition and the epilogue of the entire project, introduces a new spatial mise-en-scène, resulting in a new level of signification.

Cibic's exhibitions can be described as locations or scenes where an event is yet to happen. The final exhibition is no exception, since the artist seeks to create tension between the works through their layout and their implied context. In other words, she transforms the interior of the gallery with a special scenography, which is, much as it would be in a film, subtly invested with significance, through the association between represented, material objects as *facts*, and imagination, or *real time* fiction.

Technically speaking, Cibic employs the representational strategies used in her previous work. By montaging and blending her exhibits, she creates a large spatial collage that thematically relies on the material 'heritage' of political and ideological products, of pronouncements about architecture. In fact, much like in the film, different levels of action from abstract to concrete are put forward and interconnected—ranging from stage design to visual iconography, and including corporeal and performative acts. Here, however, they are more firmly placed within a deliberately chosen spatial construct, within the context of creating mysterious associations between different elements.

Upon entering the gallery, an element of architectural ironmongery was positioned on the left side, featuring the inscription "Draw back the curtain of the future". The object was suspended from the ceiling on two fine, almost transparent nylon filaments, slightly skewed, diagonally placed, which created the impression of a free-floating object in space. The circular typography hand-forged from iron alludes visually to the patterns found on steel fences and ornate gates leading into, but also closing off, the spaces of iconic buildings and premises.

The exhibition occupied the entire space of the gallery, but the layout created an impression of a space physically divided into two sections where all surfaces were (characteristically for the artist) treated by application of specific materials. A large and heavy curtain functioned as a screen, a room divider and simultaneously played the role of an exhibit itself. The two rooms could be described as a white room and a black box, designated for the projection of the film. The

entirety of the first room was covered in wallpaper, while the walls of the second room were draped in their entirety with black curtains.

The so-called white room, placed within this spatial layout, can be seen as a waiting room, a space that precedes the film projection, intended to foreshadow, visually and thematically, the content expressed more directly, using a different medium, in the film itself. The walls of this space were covered in their entirety in a black-and-white print of an imaginary landscape. This landscape was created by piecing together segments from authentic photographs of landscapes shot by official photographers working under Tito. In each of the exhibits and thematic units, the wallpaper was used and reworked in different ways. The display of the same *wall image* in different spaces indirectly provokes reconsiderations of the contextual uniqueness of a certain space, posing the question of whether that uniqueness is lost or enriched each time it is recast and displayed. The goal was to offer a sample of a representative landscape image, constructed especially for this occasion, from existing fragments never previously used in official presentation. The black-and-white landscape was constructed out of images the photographers made in passing, incidental to the official appearances they were employed to record. Such secondary perspectives engaged by Cibic suggest a reconsideration of the 'politics of image', of the way in which something is granted official status and representational value, and indirectly pose the question of how state-hired artists (in this case a photographer) act, which strategies direct their actions, what position they are accorded and what they are forced to surrender.

The image of the landscape was accompanied by quotations from various affirmative political speeches pertaining to architecture and construction, visually represented as inscriptions on banners, flags fluttering above the landscape, deposited on top of the trees and the shrubs.

The foregrounding of certain slogans and their meaning ("Display things beautifully"; "Renovate and relaunch"; "Faith without works is dead..."), along with the already-discussed exploration of the position of the artist, was subtly fused with a performance act carried out during the opening of the exhibition: a continuous gilding process of slogans incorporated within the landscape, executed by five female performers and lasting several hours. The five artists, all

dressed in minimal grey costumes, painted in the slogans on the wallpaper in gold paint, until all of the slogans were fully coloured in, all the while paying no attention to the audience. This performative act in which no beginning or end could be discerned, existing only as *in continuo* performance, contributed to the establishment of the artist's final *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Through the act of gilding, not only does Cibic animate the displayed content, but she also manages to construct a secret relationship between the space and the story, between the image (the visual) and the text, much like in the film.

One of the unique features of the performance is the fact that after it was completed, for the remainder of the exhibition, there lingered traces of the performed act's process: the ladder, the used paint and brushes. When confronting these traces, the spectator's gaze animates them, and the space itself is symbolically shaped into a narrative once again. The relationship established between the *traces* and the *remains* implies an active involvement through which the narrative is built and proliferated, rather than a mere active inventory of passive artefacts.

At the end of the exhibition room, a grey velvet curtain invitingly leads the viewer into the constructed cinematic space behind it: a completely dark room in which the film *Tear Down and Rebuild* was projected onto the entirety of the central wall. Designs for the furniture were once again drawn from archival sources of the design sheets for the urbanist infrastructure of the Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961 and manifested as a set of black triangular pedestals used to seat the audience, once again blurring spatial and fictive boundaries.

Cibic primarily seeks to establish whether there can be a *dialogue* between politically loaded objects from diverse historical or linguistic and media spaces, and how such a *silent dialogue* could be activated to produce new meaning. Physically, she manages to achieve this by live and recorded performance—partly owing to the fact that the objects she exhibits in the space are not original artefacts, but reconstructed and reshaped objects, neo-readymades purged of their original meaning and their identification. They are reduced to signifiers, which the artist utilises to build a new vocabulary that provokes a reconsideration of space and time, a clash of worlds—known and imaginary.

SPIELRAUM
CHAPTER 3:

TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD

Exhibition at
Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade
11 September 2015–25 September 2015
Curated by Una Popović

Exhibition at
Esker Foundation, Calgary
17 September 2016–17 December 2016
Curated by Naomi Potter

Exhibition at
the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana, as part of *Low-Budget Utopias*
26 April 2016–25 October 2016
Curated by Bojana Piškur and Zdenka Badovinac




I DESIRE TO BE DISTINCTIVE NOT ORIGINAL
TEAR DOWN AND
DISPLAY
OUR NEEDS SOLVE
SPIELRAUM


TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD


FIGHT THE FORMALISMS

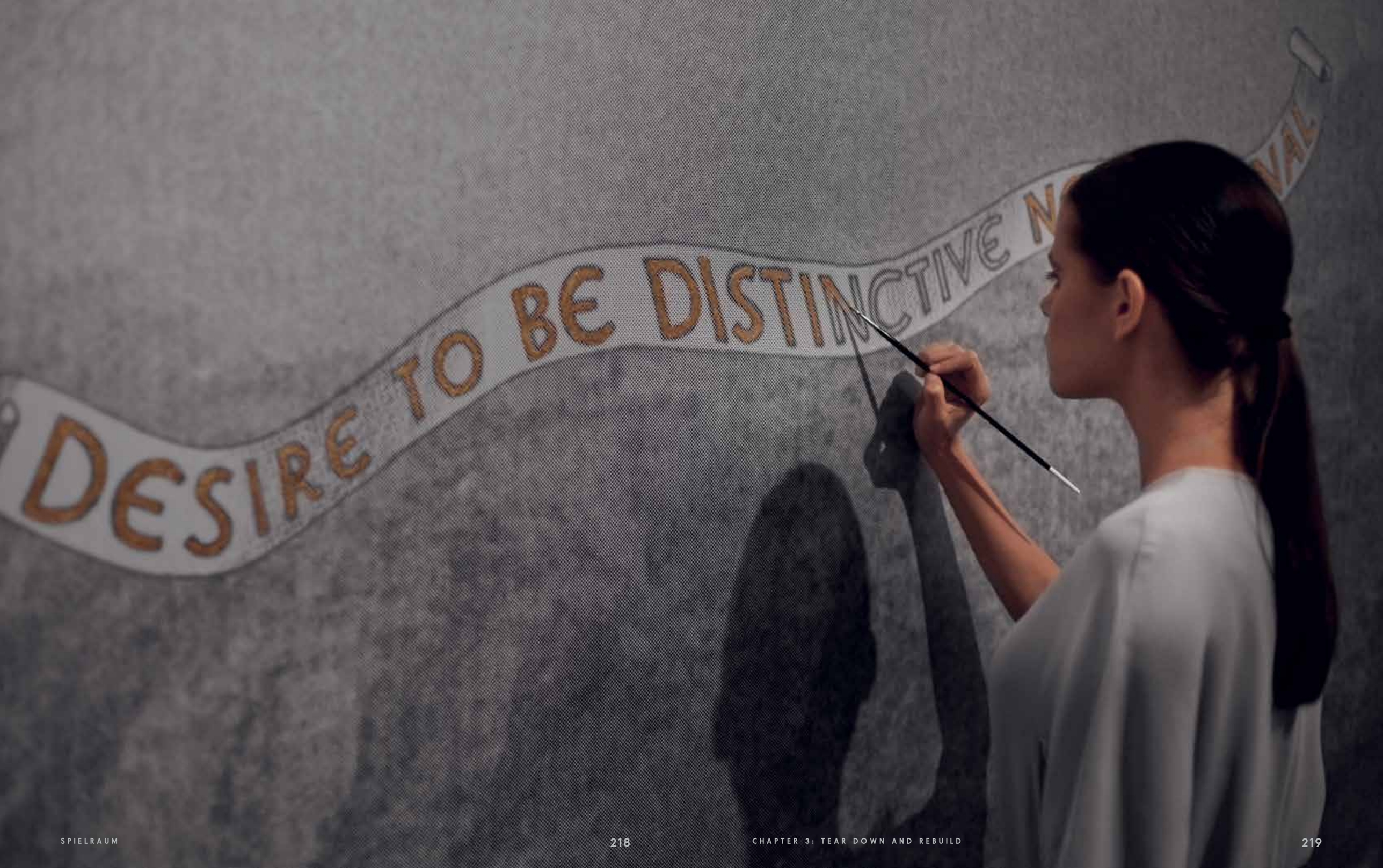

DISPLAY THINGS BEAUTIFULLY
DON'T TAMPER WITH HIGH STANDARDS


WORKS IS DEAD


SUPERFLUITES


FAITH WITHOUT
WORKS


TEAR D
WORKS IS DEA


TO BE DISTINCTIVE
DESIRE


RENOVA



SHOW THE LAND IN WHICH A WIDE SPACE
FOR NATIONAL PROGRESS IS ENSURED
2015

Wallpaper
Dimensions variable

FIGHT THE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY


DISPLAY THINGS BEAUTIFULLY


FAITH WITHOUT WORKS IS DEAD



SPIELRAUM: TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD

single-channel HD video,
15 minutes 28 seconds, stereo, 2015

ACTRESSES:
Alix Dunmore (Nation-Builder), Sarine Sofair (Conservationist), Hester Ruoff (Pragmatist), Scarlet Sherriff (Artist /Architect)

DIRECTOR OF PHOTOGRAPHY:
Mark Carey

CAMERA ASSISTANTS:
Mike Bailey and Abigayle Blacow

GRIP:
Slaviša Latinčić

GAFFER:
Dragoljub Erić

FOCUS PULLER:
Vladimir Marković

BOOM OPERATOR:
Bojan Palikuća

SOUND RECORDIST:
Vladimir Janković

SOUND DESIGN:
Peregrine Andrews

MUSIC COMPOSER:
Filip Šijanec

GRAPHICS:
Zak Group London

COSTUMES:
Sanja Grcić

HAIR AND MAKE-UP:
Sladana Seatović and Milica Jevtić

EDITOR:
Michelle Deignan

ONLINE EDITOR AND COLOURIST:
Sue Giovanni

CURATORIAL CONSULTANTS:
Una Popović and Vladimir Vidmar

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS:
Manca Bajec, Jelica Jovanović and Mateja Šetina

LOCATION MANAGER:
Boba Mirjana Stojadinović

LOCATION MANAGER ASSISTANT:
Senka Ristivojević

CONTINUITY:
Marina Lesić

FIRST ASSISTANT DIRECTOR:
Ana Cvitaš

CASTING:
Amy Miller

DIRECTOR:
Jasmina Cibic

SCRIPTED BY:
Izzy Charman

Tear Down and Rebuild was filmed in the former Palace of the Federation, Belgrade, Serbia.

With thanks to:
The Administration for Joint Services of the Republic Bodies of Serbia, Museum of Yugoslav History and the Archive of Yugoslavia.

Supported by:
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Produced by Waddington Studios, London.

SPIELRAUM:
TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD
© Jasmina Cibic, 2015



The third film from the *Spielraum* trilogy, *Tear Down and Rebuild*, was filmed in the former Palace of the Federation in Belgrade. Constructed as an iconic theatre for the representation of a new state, the building served as the venue for the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, and was thus transformed into the stage for the new world politics the movement promoted. Today, the building exists as an empty theatre box, void of its actors—the failed ideologies and states—and it is as such that Cibic resurrects it and elevates it to the position of actor in its own right. It becomes the very site endorsed in *Tear Down and Rebuild* as the focal point of ideological consideration.

As in the first chapter, the building referred to in the script is never visually present. Its shape, form and style are only ever constructed through what the viewers perceive as the ultimate representative / representational icon, and the greatest threat to the current political authority, through visual rendition, form and language.

The script for the film is written by Izzy Charman in collaboration with Jasmina Cibic, and it introduces four female characters based on diametrically opposed positions within political debates focused on renovating and relaunching the stage for (trans)national representation: the Pragmatist, the Nation-Builder, the Conservationist and the Artist-Architect. Once again, the script brings together words spoken in different times and spaces, in political, urbanist and other public debates about how and why various specific—and ideologically tainted—buildings and edifices should be torn down, redesigned or repurposed. If the viewer of the first chapter of the *Spielraum* trilogy is witness to the endorsement of a fictitious building programme (collaged together across time and space, and belonging to different political systems and beliefs), the viewer of the third chapter is witness to its demolition.

CHORUS

We are drawing back the curtain of the future and looking through the gap.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech inaugurating Canary Wharf", Docklands, London, 29 November 1989, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107834.

PART ONE

THE PRAGMATIST: We do understand that many people are passionate about it and there is no doubt that it is a striking building, so it is very much a heart and a head dilemma that we face. But at the end of the day we have to vote with our heads. It is cheaper and better value for money to taxpayers to demolish it. We are in the age of austerity and are facing huge cuts to our budgets and services. In this climate, we cannot even afford to fund all the repairs that are needed for this building.

Siddique, Haroon, "Preston bus station demolition approved by council", *The Guardian*, 18 December 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/dec/18/preston-bus-station-demolition-approved

THE CONSERVATIONIST: Progress and change involve more than profit and loss. The city's investors and planners have aesthetic as well as economic responsibilities.

"Saving Fine Architecture", *The New York Times* editorial, 11 August 1962.

THE NATION-BUILDER: No one can be particularly attached to a city which has nothing more to offer than any other, which lacks any individual note and in which everything has been carefully avoided which might look like art or anything of the sort. All our cities are living on the fame and treasures of the past....

Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, first published 1925, quoted in Friedrich, Thomas, *Hitler's Berlin: Abused City*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: But it just won't do, simply to throw our entire inherited tradition overboard. We stand on the shoulders of those who go before us.

Schmitthenner, Paul, speech in 1931, quoted in Lane, Barbara Miller, *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918–1945*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Our ancestors destroyed beautiful monuments, some of them of great historical value. In the past century, on the contrary, some have found an incongruous love for ancient things, and cry over the demolition of any insignificant but ancient stone.

Our time disdains the blind idolatry for the things of other periods; we have perfect knowledge of what we are able to do and what we must want. The preservation of past monuments must not be simply because of their material tangibility, but rather because of our love of them and of their settings.

Lenzi, Luigi, "The New Rome", reprinted in *Town Planning Review*, vol 14, 1931, pp 145–162.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: If a giant pizza stand were proposed in an area… and if studies showed acceptable traffic patterns and building densities, then the pizza stand would be 'in the public interest', even if the Parthenon itself stood on the chosen site.

Huxtable, Ada Louise, "How to Kill a City", *The New York Times*, 5 May 1963.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: No opinion based on the artistic worth of a building is worth two straws when huge sums and huge enterprises are at stake.* Our citizens will lose one of their finest buildings, one of the few remaining from its 'golden age', for one reason and one reason only: that a comparatively small group of men wants to make money.**

* *Oculus*, the American Institute of Architects' NY magazine, quoted in "City Acts to Save Historical Sites", *The New York Times*, 22 April 1962.
** News editor, *Progressive Architecture*, 17 September 1962.

THE PRAGMATIST: Today we simply do not have the ability to place the artistic side in the foreground and we must manage things according to our economic conditions. But later, when we have the necessary funds, architects will indeed be able to attain more expression.

Tito, Josip Broz, speech addressing architects at the visit of the delegation of the Architects' Association FNRJ, Belgrade, 2 February 1956, Archive of Yugoslavia, KPR ii-2/93.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: The architecture of a country is ultimately determined by the people who pay for it, but it should be sure to celebrate more than just economic values.

HRH The Prince of Wales, "Accent on Architecture", speech at the American Institute of Architects' gala dinner, the National Building Museum, Washington, DC, 1990, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-titled-accent-architecture-the-american-institute-of.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: I feel that something irreplaceable is being annihilated, either intentionally or unintentionally, while as a substitute a soulless, godless and mechanical world threatens to rise, in which life has lost its inmost meaning.

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul, speech c. late 1920s, quoted in Lane, *Architecture and Politics*, 1985.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Our city cannot and must not solely be a modern city, in the banal sense of the word. It must be a city worthy of its glory, and this glory must be ceaselessly renewed, to be handed on to generations to come.

Mussolini, Benito, speech in 1924, quoted in Whiting, Cécile, *Antifascism in American Art*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: Much of the commercial buildings of today bear as much relation to architecture as advertising slogans bear to literature. In so many areas the only serious goal seems to be greater efficiency, inducing ever more economic growth, and increasing profits… we conform more readily to the limited and linear process of the machine.

HRH The Prince of Wales, "Accent on Architecture", speech at the American Institute of Architects' gala dinner, the National Building Museum, Washington, DC, 22 February 1990, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-titled-accent-architecture-the-american-institute-of.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Attention must be paid to the demands of constructing a modern city, with national and local characteristics. Our city must gradually be built to fit into the following criteria: to benefit production, to benefit daily life, to enrich culture and civilisation in a way that is tidy, clean and beautiful.…

"Planning Bureau of the Tibet Autonomous Regional People's Government", quoted in the Kyicho Kuntun pressure group's pamphlet *The Final Demolition of Lhasa*, 1993, http://www.tibet.ca/en/library/wtn/archive/old?y=1994&m=2&p=6_2

THE PRAGMATIST: We are not against beauty, but against superfluities.... the architect needs a beautiful silhouette, but the people want apartments.

Khrushchev, Nikita, "Industrialised building speech", National Conference of Builders, Architects, Workers in the Construction Materials and Manufacture of Construction and Roads Machinery Industries, and Employees of Design and Research and Development Organisations, 7 December 1954.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: Faced with the lure of material goods and the seduction of power, cultural distinctiveness loses out and urban uniformity is imposed. Behind this seeming burst of prosperity. our city's substance becomes yesterday's faded lily.

Kuang Laowu blog on the Lhasa development, quoted in UNESCO Lhasa Report, 2013, http://issuu.com/internationaltibetnetwork/docs/unesco_lhasareport_2013.

THE PRAGMATIST: That which was beautiful yesterday is not beautiful any more today. That which is beautiful today will not be beautiful any more tomorrow....

Ernest Weismann on Zagreb in 1931, quoted in Ostrogović, Kazimir, "Arhitektura SSSR 1917–1947. Povodom 30. godišnjice Oktobarske revolucije", *Arhitektura* [Zagreb], vols 4–6, November/December 1947–January 1948, pp 3–8.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: This is an iconic building, and a great example of Brutalism—a phrase which comes from the French phrase *béton brut*, meaning raw concrete left in its rough finish. It's nothing to do with looking ugly!

Angela Brady, former president of RIBA, on Preston bus station. See Baker, Martin, "Love, Hate and Concrete: The battle for Preston Bus Station", *Independent*, 4 January 2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/architecture/love-hate-and-concrete-the-battle-for-preston-bus-station-9035713.html.

THE NATION-BUILDER: My ideas are clear, my orders are exact, and certain to become a concrete reality. Within five years our city must strike all the nations of the world as a source of wonder. We will continue to free the trunk of the great oak from everything that clutters it. We will create spaces in our city. Everything that has grown up during centuries of decadence must be removed.

Mussolini, Benito, speech upon the installation of the first fascist governor of Rome on 31 December 1925, http://honorsaharchive.blogspot.co.uk/2007/03/mussolini-propaganda-and-fascist.html.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: As long as someone does not forcibly shut my mouth, I will not stop protesting against this decision.* This demolition will destroy the memory and history of our culture in our city.**

* Hamann, Richard, Dean of the Art History Faculty of the East Berlin Humboldt University, speech in 1950, http://berliner-schloss.de/en/palace-history/war-destruction-and-demolition/.
** Collins, Charles, speech protesting the demolition of Dalston Lane Terrace, blog post, 2006, http://opendalston.blogspot.co.uk/2006/09/story-that-was-never-told.html.

CHORUS

Any city gets what it admires, will pay for, and, ultimately, deserves.

Huxtable, Ada Louise, "Farewell to Penn Station", *The New York Times* editorial, 30 October 1963.

PART TWO

THE PRAGMATIST: Everyone, whether left or right, wants a beautiful city, apart from a few intellectuals who say we must continue to suffer for our political sins and that these must remain visible. We see that as totally perverse. It is very important that our political history is taught and remembered in museums, memorials, monuments and so on. But it makes no sense to overload the city with these pedagogical things... the city must be beautiful so that people will be happy and they won't repeat these mistakes.

Ahme, Annette, Head of the Society for Historical Berlin (1990s), quoted in Wise, Michael Z, *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: We find it unacceptable that buildings that have become a part of urban history are being erased from memory precisely because they are historically burdened... History and identity are being eradicated.

Hertling, Cornelius, President of the Berlin Chamber of Architects, speech in 1993, quoted in Wise, *Capital Dilemma*, 1998.

THE PRAGMATIST: **Does it make any sense to attempt to preserve a building merely as a 'monument' when it no longer serves the utilitarian needs for which it was erected? It was built by private enterprise, by the way, and not primarily as a monument at all but as a building with a precise purpose.**

Greenough, AJ, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, letter to *The New York Times*, 23 August 1962.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: **Any decision now to destroy this building would rob the city of an iconic architectural masterpiece. We believe that future generations would lament the loss of this key feature of the city's heritage and the council would regret its short-sighted decision.**

Croft, Catherine, Director of the Twentieth Century Society, on Preston Bus Station. See Kennedy, Maev, "Preston bus station faces termination", *The Guardian*, 17 December 2012 , http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/dec/17/preston-bus-station-faces-termination.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: **The blowing up of this building is an inconceivable act of a fanatical will to destroy, which history will judge as senseless and wanton.**

Gall, Ernst, General Director of the Prussian and Bavarian Administration for Palaces and Gardens, speech in 1950, http://berliner-schloss.de/en/palace-history/war-destruction-and-demolition/.

THE PRAGMATIST: **I note that you and many of those pleading for the building's merits here live miles away from the carbuncle that blights our town. Take loads of pictures, put them in a coffee-table book, then knock the thing down.**

Daily Mail message board comment on the day of the listing announcement of Preston Bus Station, quoted in Baker, "Love, Hate and Concrete", 2014.

THE NATION-BUILDER: **My conscience is at peace. For the moment everyone is crying out, but once the building is gone, not one voice will be heard thereafter.**

Grotewohl, Otto, Ministerpresident of the GDR, speech in 1950, http://berliner-schloss.de/en/the-ancient-berlin-palace/war-destruction-and-demolition/

CHORUS

All this is going to be torn down because it no longer makes economic sense.

"Pennsylvania Station: Finis", *Progressive Architecture*, December 1963, pp 54–55.

This crude attempt to erase the history of a civilisation will ultimately fail.

Kerry, John, "ISIL's Destruction of Historical Heritage and Archeological Treasures", press statement, 6 March 2015, http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/03/238628.htm.

It is self-explanatory that nations, as each and every historical event, fall under the law of change.

Stalin, Joseph, "Marxism and the national question", *Prosveshcheniye*, nos 3–5, March–May 1913.

We are not only building architecture, we are preparing for the commerce of the future.

Thatcher, Margaret, "Speech commencing construction of Broadgate", Broadgate, London, 31 July 1985, http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106107.

PART THREE

THE CONSERVATIONIST: **There *are* alternatives more appropriate to the culture of our city and country than simply disposing of history by tearing down buildings.**

Unpublished manuscript, consultants' report commissioned by the City government re destruction of Nazi era buildings, quoted in Wise, *Capital Dilemma*, 1998.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: **I have absolutely no doubt, based on my experience, that this building can be satisfactorily brought back to a situation where it can be reused. My experience suggests that repairs will not be excessively expensive.**

Morton, Brian A, speech protesting the demolition of Dalston Lane Terrace, blog post, 2006, http://opendalston.blogspot.co.uk/2006/09/story-that-was-never-told.html.

THE PRAGMATIST: **I don't think the original purpose and design should restrict it from being something**

else. I mean, the refurbishment of architecture is the current thing to be doing in the current economic climate.

North West Architect A, interview on Preston Bus Station, quoted in *North-West Geography*, vol 13, no 1, 2013, http://www.mangeogsoc.org.uk/pdfs/toogood-and-neate_13_1.pdf.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: At last people are beginning to see that it is possible, and important in human terms, to respect old buildings.... People are beginning to realise that restoration is a possibility and, what is more, that there are architects willing to undertake such projects.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Royal Gala Evening at Hampton Court Palace, 30 May 1984, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-150th-anniversary-of-the-royal-institute-of.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Our architects have not yet fully utilised the creative freedom given to them by our new government. The traces of their old understanding of architecture and its meaning are not liquidated yet.... The perversions of architecture as it once was, with its degenerate architectural formalism is a formula some of our architects still cannot give up. That is why the demand for liquidation of many architectural errors coming out of the past political idea generator is not only theoretically justified, but completely necessary.

A report from the 5th Congress of the Communist Party, published in *Architecture*, vols 8–10, 1948, p 6.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: There is no past which we should long to resurrect, there is eternal newness only, reconstituting itself out of the extended elements of the past, and true yearning should always be toward productive means, toward something new, some better thing.

Goethe, quoted in Gropius, Walter, *Apollo in the Democracy: The cultural obligation of the Architect*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968, p 71.

THE CONSERVATIONIST: For far too long now, it seems to me, some planners and architects have constantly ignored the wishes and feelings of the mass of ordinary people in this country. Perhaps, when you think about it, it is hardly surprising, as architects tend to have been trained to design buildings from scratch — to tear down and rebuild.

HRH The Prince of Wales, speech at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), Royal Gala Evening at Hampton Court Palace, 30 May 1984, http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/media/speeches/speech-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-the-150th-anniversary-of-the-royal-institute-of.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Are these the beginnings of profound changes within our state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes abroad, or intended to strengthen our system without changing it? We welcome change and openness... if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for our country, if you seek liberalisation, come here to this gate, open this gate and tear down this wall!

Reagan, Ronald, speech at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, Germany, 12 June 1987.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: Tear down the ugly structures built by stupid kings and princes. Formal planning, the regimentation of classic orders, glittering chandeliers and vaulted ceilings are no mark of nobility. They are only the excesses of a privileged class.... Learn the basic principles of the new reality you profess as these principles apply to buildings, sculpture, painting, planting, and clothing. Only so can our time give fresh proof of quality — proof that it can feel and think for itself and create life anew on really noble terms.

Lloyd-Wright, Frank, *Frank Lloyd-Wright: Collected Writings, Vol. 3: 1931–1939*, Bruce Brooks ed, Pfeiffer, New York: Rizzoli, 1993.

THE NATION-BUILDER: Our big cities of today possess no monuments dominating the city picture which might be regarded as symbols of the whole epoch.... How truly deplorable the relation between state buildings and private buildings has become today! If the fate of Rome should strike our city, future generations would some day admire the department stores of a few entrepreneurs as the mightiest works of our era and the hotels of a few corporations as the characteristic expression of the culture of our times....

Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925, quoted in Friedrich, *Hitler's Berlin*, 2012.

SCRIPT

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: **Our city will be transformed by the greatest and most sweeping changes. It is not just a question of providing the city with prestigious and imposing architecture but above all of creating a capital worthy of a new state.**

Speer, Albert, June 1939, quoted in Friedrich, *Hitler's Berlin*, 2012.

THE NATION-BUILDER: **We have to liberate our city from the mediocre construction that disfigures it, but at the same time... we must create a monument.* The centre of our capital and the site of the building must become a great demonstration ground where the will of our people to fight and reconstruct can find expression.****

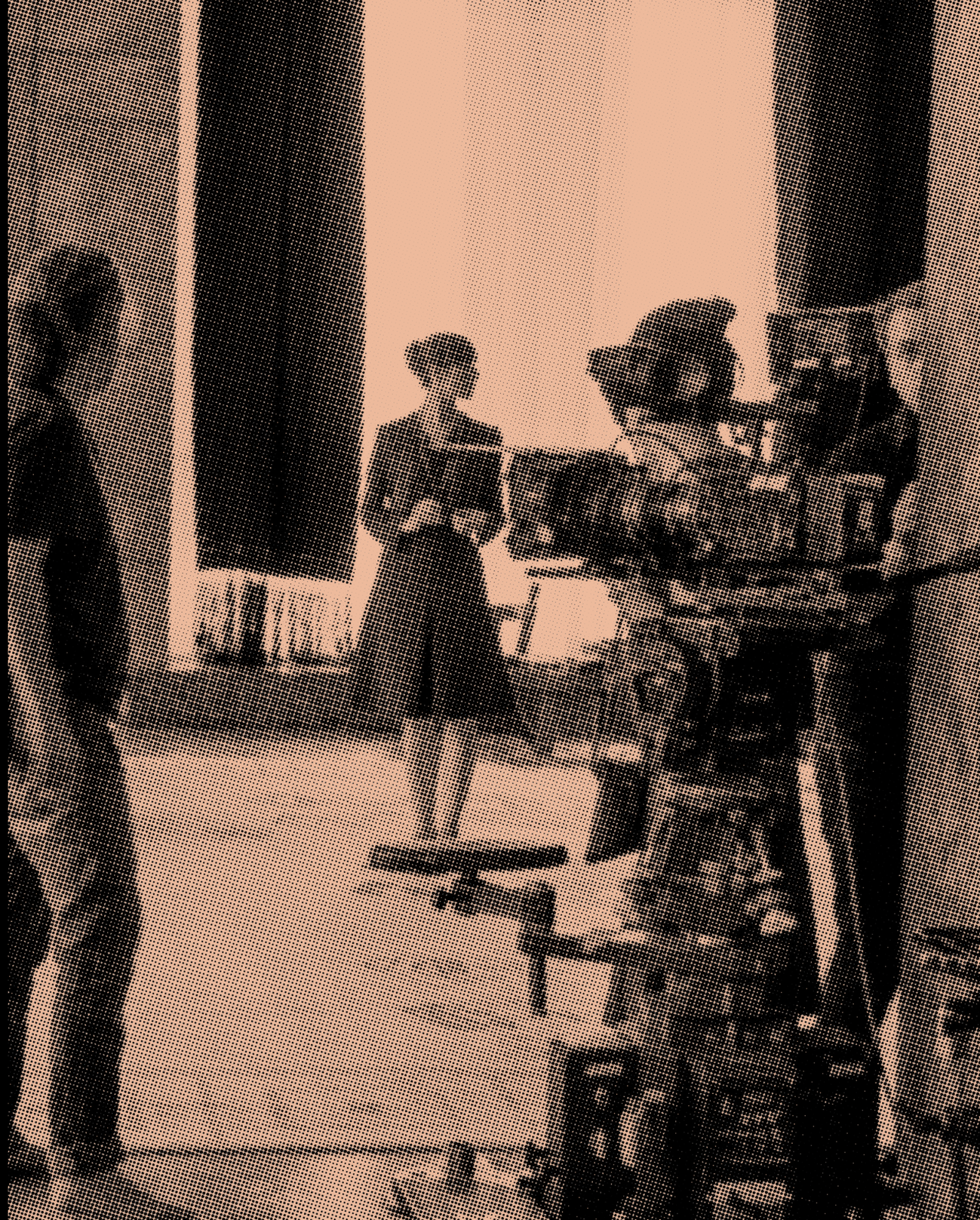
* Mussolini, Benito, speech in 1924, quoted in Whiting, *Antifascism in American Art*, 1989.
** Ulbricht, Walter, speech to party congress in July 1950, quoted in Large, David Clay, *Berlin*, New York: Basic Books, 2000.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: **Only the new architecture fits your prescriptions and can form the stone monuments of bold statesmanship over the centuries.**

"Die Neue Stadt", open letter to Goebbels, May 1933, quoted in Lane, *Architecture and Politics*, 1985.

THE ARTIST-ARCHITECT: **Oh, our concepts: 'space', 'homeland', 'style'! To hell with them, odious concepts! Destroy them, break them up! Blast! Blast! Let our north wind blow through this musty, threadbare, tattered old world of concepts, systems, ideologies!**

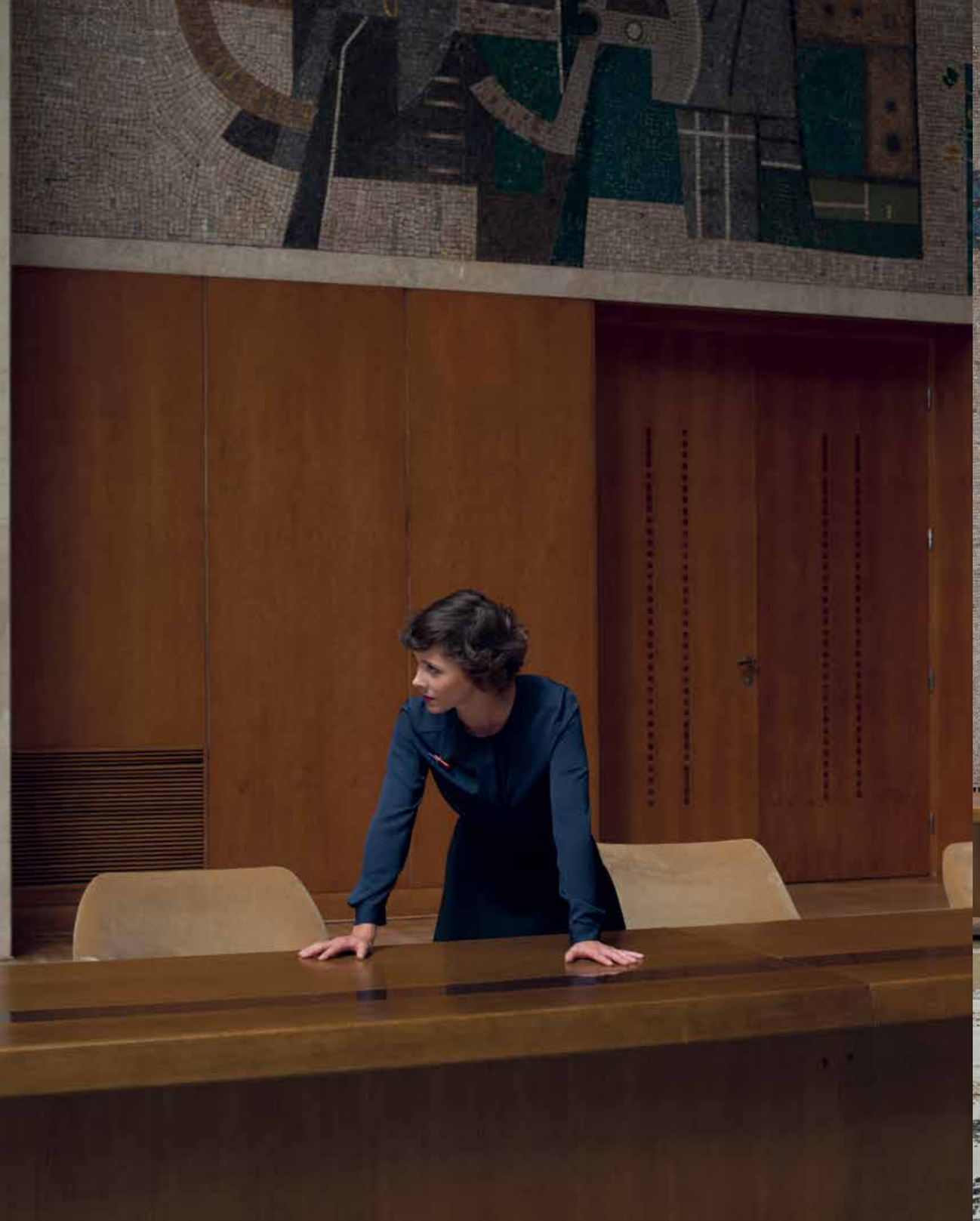
Taut, Bruno, *Frühlicht* pamphlet series, 1920–1922, quoted in Lane, *Architecture and Politics*, 1985.



















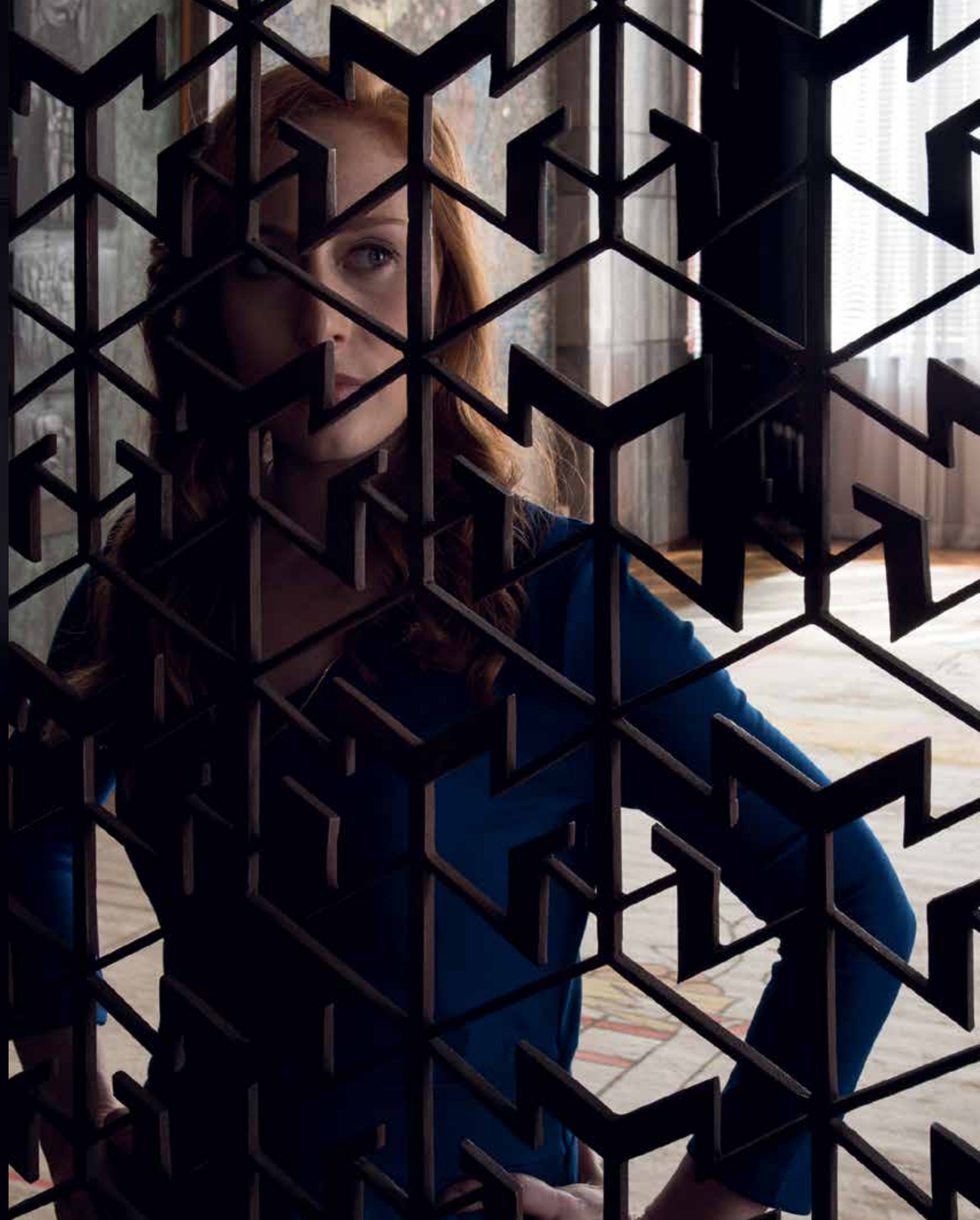




















DRAW BACK THE CURTAIN OF THE FUTURE

REBUILD: THE ELEMENTS

Dubravka Sekulić

If there is anything that captures the experimental nature of Yugoslav socialism, it is the ever-evolving name of the building constructed to house the main governing body of the country that ceased to exist in 1991, which also becomes the location for Jasmina Cibic's film *Tear Down and Rebuild*. Originally called the Palace of Federation, it was renamed the Federal Executive Council (Savezno izvršno veće or SIV), and in 2006, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it was renamed again as the Palace of Serbia, capturing not only the ethos of nationalist identity that was established as the norm after the war, but also the revisionist politics that followed, seeking to re-inscribe the building into the canon of Serbian nationalism. The same building is known under various names even today, each of them providing a snapshot of the prevailing tendencies in the society at the moment when they were coined. It is almost as if the building itself is not just a mere container representing the constant search for the best organisational form of society, but the protagonist of the film as well.

The competition for this building, which was to house the Presidency of Yugoslavia, was organised in 1947, at the moment when the modernist plan for the construction of New Belgrade, where the structure was to be built, was still in the early stages. The selection of the winning entry, proposed by Vladimir Potočnjak in collaboration with Anton Ulrich, Zlatko Neumann and Dragica Perak, and the start of the construction works in 1948 played a key role in grounding the urban planning project and defining some of the major traits which led to the development of the urban plan as we know it, and more importantly, experience it today. The beginning of the construction coincided with one of the most turbulent periods of Yugoslav history (that is, before its break up and the wars of the 1990s), a period that would fundamentally change the course the new socialist country was taking. Soon after the ground was broken and the construction started, Yugoslavia broke free from the tightening grip of the Soviet Union and embarked on the articulation of its own socialist path, different from the state socialism prevalent in the countries under the influence of Moscow. The political crisis triggered an economic one, and the construction of the building was put on hold in 1949, by which time only the construction of the basic volume had been set.

Contemporary reports on the winning entry remarked how the building still observed the classical laws of architecture, despite incorporating elements from the modern registry. The building was praised for achieving "quiet beauty".[1] The project was continued in 1955, but by that time Potočnjak had passed away and it was updated and completed under the supervision of the Stadion design office and the architect Mihailo Janković. His core contribution to the original project was the addition of the representative part: the central plenary room with an oval-shaped seating arrangement, and the six salons—each dedicated to one of the constituent republics of socialist Yugoslavia.[2] Most of the artworks in the salons are integral to the original authors' conception, and their designs also include furniture, carpets, fabrics and lighting fixtures, with the aim of capturing the uniqueness of each republic. However, that is not the only function served by these spaces, for they as a whole carry a message more powerful than the sum of

1
Blagojević, Ljiljana, *Novi Beograd: Osporeni modernizam*, Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 2008, pp 72–83.

2
See Una Popović's introduction, pp 192.

its parts, one about the common project of creating an egalitarian society for the future. Charged with the impossible assignment of capturing the principles of participation and equality in official representative form, the building expresses both the benefits and the pitfalls of such a task. Since its inception, problems have erupted on a large scale, with the prospects for a different type of society fading into oblivion, yet the SIV building itself continues to hold the building blocks for the models of society that could be relevant in the future.

While the exterior of the building has for decades been a prominent point of reference in space, the interiors remained largely unknown and subject to speculation until relatively recently, when public tours became a more common practice. The initial encounter with the building is similar to encounters with other modernist buildings from the 1960s, and what strikes the viewer as odd is not the trope of design, but how little, or nothing at all, has been changed, not even in order to adhere to contemporary building standards. After spending some time within these spaces, one's attention is drawn from the original elements of the design to out-of-place additions, mostly paintings hanging on odd walls, copies of locally well-known, nationally specific motifs, including the depiction of a landmark orthodox monastery and a photograph of the physicist Nikola Tesla. Further inquiry reveals that the author of these paintings and the owner of the added artefacts was the curator himself. His actions can be read as a way of dealing with his own discomfort, provoked by what he perceived as the emptiness of the walls. This peculiar intervention, which seems to be aimed at taming and silencing the original architecture, only acts as a booming reminder of the emancipation implicit in the principles of equality introduced into the Yugoslav society, which still emanate from the building in stern silence. The actions of the curator can be seen as a performative response that interprets the building as more than a mere monument to what the current power constellations see as a failed political and social project. It is also a repository of knowledge about a different type of society, in which equality and community are goals to aspire to.

It is not by chance that Cibic chooses the interiors of this building as the setting for *Tear Down and Rebuild*. Designed to encapsulate the social idiosyncrasies Yugoslavia aimed to achieve as a project, this piece of architecture suggests itself as the perfect stage for a film that is ultimately a debate on the disruptive markers that can be glimpsed through the sediments of previous ideologies, in the representational strategies used in their art and architecture. These markers are perceived as threatening by the subsequent national power structures, even after the demise of the ideologies and beliefs they originally stood for. The film almost actively asks the following question: what disturbing markers can be identified in this building, such that compel the authority of its gatekeeper—personified by the curator—to act on personal initiative and introduce new additions as symbols of the new ideology that the building is meant to represent? I would suggest that those markers are perceived as disturbing because they evoke the beliefs which challenge the dogmata of today, by favouring social over private property, by viewing housing as a right rather than a commodity, and by fostering international solidarity instead of nationalism.

Yugoslav socialist self-management was the first major rupture in the international workers' movement and emerged as a critique of the Soviet bureaucratic type of socialism, triggered by the attempt of Moscow to subject Yugoslavia to its direct control in 1948. Despite being introduced top-down, by official ideologues and functionaries of the League of Communist Parties, it started with the decentralisation and dispersion of political power into smaller self-management units, where in the last instance it was formally possible for workers to be involved in the decision-making. State/public property was transformed into social property—the property of the entire society—and many new political institutions were formed, mediating between the different levels of the state, with the aim of accelerating the withering away of the state as conceived by Lenin. It was a social formation, which combined elements of both communism (domination of labour over capital, strict limitation and abolishment of private land property, establishment of basic health, social and educational infrastructure) and capitalism (introduction of market elements). At the core of this principle was an individual who was free to express, connect and harmonise her interests with the general interests and goals of the community.

In Yugoslav socialist self-management, the right to resources was derived from work and participation, rather than ownership, emphasising use-value as opposed to exchange-value. The main building block of this society (which the self-managed socialist enterprise was in theory) was derived from the ideas of participation and social property, with the possibility of scaling up by organising into a 'federation of self-governing communes'. Additionally, citizens had the opportunity to self-organise into interest communities, as a tool to pursue interests that were not solely production-related. The self-managed socialist enterprise was also the main force behind the physical process of building the society. Workers' councils of socially owned self-managed companies determined where the surplus would be invested, usually allocating it to the construction of housing and infrastructure for everyday life, such as cultural centres, holiday resorts and other amenities. The Yugoslav experience is valuable because it undermines the false binary between socialism as a regime based on state-ownership and capitalism as a regime based on private property. It is this third, elusive category of social property that Yugoslav socialism was based upon. It is what laid the foundations for today, and is the source of anxiety that the SIV building produces. Social property comes close to contemporary discussions on the concept of commons, which, for the most part, are at the centre of the current debate about potential new forms of social organisation that would overcome the impasses of current capitalist society. One of the key theorists of self-management, Branko Horvat, stressed how social property should not be reduced to the language of ownership, but understood as

> a foundation on which the right of every member of society to work and compete for any position in line with her skills and capabilities, and the right of every member to participate in management on equal terms, can be realized[3]

akin to Elinor Ostrom's exploration of commons as the collective management of common-pool resources.

When the construction of the SIV building started in 1948, New Belgrade was still being

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Horvat, B, "Ogled o Jugoslavenskom društvu" ("Essay on the Yugoslav society"), Zagreb: Mladost, 1969, p 237, quoted in Dolenec, Danijela, and Mislav Žitko, "Exploring Commons Theory for Principles of a Socialist Governmentality", *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol 48, issue 1, March 2016, pp 66–80.

envisioned mostly as a bureaucratic city that would serve the large state apparatus. When it was completed in 1961, New Belgrade was the largest housing development in the country. The bureaucracy, at least initially, withdrew to make room for ordinary everyday life. Based on the idea that housing is not a commodity, the right to housing became a "basic legal institution, providing one of the most important means of life to the working classes".[4] The financing of housing, regulated by the Law on the Financing of Housing Construction, was "based on solidarity and reciprocity", and the idea that

> organisations of Associated Labour, and other self-managed organisations and communities, as well as society at large, must take action and create opportunities for every individual to realise their need for housing, as well as the fundamental requirements for social security.[5]

While workers, and in Yugoslavia everyone was considered a 'worker' (it was not a term reserved just for those working on the shop floor), had a say in how the housing units would be distributed (as the right to housing was exercised through affiliation with one's place of employment), they had little input in the social and organisational structuring of the housing itself. It was only after the housing blocks were finished, and people started moving in and transgressing the structural divisions between management, maintenance and production staff (as all would end up living in the same building), that the spontaneous process of self-organisation regarding the use of collective spaces started to unfold.

The SIV building was completed and opened to the public in September 1961. Its opening was one of the events at the Belgrade Conference; it was the foundational moment of the Non-Aligned Movement. While the "third world was not a place", "it was a project", it still needed a physical space that would come into being as the articulation of the movement and its political goals.[6] The solidarity between the wretched of the earth had to be performed in space and not only in rhetoric. After all, non-alignment

> does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic approach to such problems that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius.[7]

The dominant idea in the 1960s was that it was possible to strive for ways of living together in the world, both within a single community and between different communities, without competition for dominance, hierarchies or exploitation. Rather soon, the idea was forgotten, and from the vantage point of today's proliferating borders and walls erected around countries, cities and communities, the greatest source of discomfort the SIV building projects is the sincere belief in the possibility of the project of international solidarity. A project based on the non-hegemonic relations of equality and not on the property relations of debt, it consequently seems the most unattainable yet the most urgent one to capture for the future.

Although I have been treating the SIV building as an active participant in Cibic's work, one can arguably shift focus onto the verbal discussion featured in *Tear Down and Rebuild* and see the SIV building, where the film was shot in its entirety, as a mere backdrop to the tense debate between the film's protagonists. However, as the film's storyline progresses and the discussion between the four characters stays unresolved, the building itself amplifies the dilemma voiced in the dialogue and emerges as the fifth character, an active interlocutor in the debate. Formally, the conversation between the characters presents four ideologically contrived positions and the four figures act as placeholders for specific political stances. I would suggest that their positions can be read as attributes of diverse typologies of space production, and their dialogue as an illustration of how conscious and unconscious ideology gears a society. Furthermore, the positions of Nation-Builder, Pragmatist, Conservationist and Artist-Architect arguably circumscribe the (disciplinary) fallacy of thinking that it is possible to remain outside the ideological framework of art and architecture production. Indeed, it is the very act of producing space that benefits both its recipient and the one who is involved in the production itself. And the question that crystallises this sentiment seems perfectly voiced in Claude Schnaidt's text:

> … which way will you go, architect?
> … will you march into battle to fight
> for a different society?
> Progress—what is that to you?
> Beautification through decoration?
> Perfection of details?
> Cutting of cost?
> To whose benefit?
> You have to decide.[8]

4

"Zaključci Prvog opštejugoslovenskog savetovanja o stambenoj izgradnji i stanovanju" ("Conclusions of the First Yugoslav Forum on Housing") *Komuna* [Belgrade], no 3, 1956.

5

Law on the Financing of Housing Construction, Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Serbia 4 / 1986, Article 1.

6

Prashad, Vijay, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New York and London: New Press, 2008.

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Nehru, Jawaharlal, speech in Washington, DC, 18 December 1956, "Visit of Prime Minister Nehru of India", *Department of State Bulletin*, 14 January 1957, p 50.

8

Schnaidt, Claude, "Hannes Meyer", *Anders gesagt: Schriften 1950–2001*, Gerd Zimmermann and Norbert Korrek eds, Weimar: Verlag der Bauhaus – Universität Weimar, 2009, p 302, quoted in Schneider, Tatjana, "The Paradox of Social Architectures", *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture*, Kenny Cupers ed, London and New York: Routledge, 2013, pp 249–263.

SHIFTS IN VOICE

What, How & for Whom (WHW)

At the core of Jasmina Cibic's *Spielraum* trilogy is an inquiry into different forms of public address through art and architecture. In the first chapter, *The Nation Loves It*, a woman is speaking while walking through what appears to be the scenography in a TV studio. At some points, this looks like a rehearsal for a speech, at others, like a strangely distracted monologue. Although fragmentary and seemingly unprepared, the speech is clearly intended to be uplifting and addresses a wide audience, ranging from references to laying foundations in order to construct a new edifice to laying the foundations for shaping the society as a whole, and from the personal 'I' to the grand 'we'. Yet there is something slightly off about the whole set-up, a crack revealed in the orator's awkward stumbles and attempts to find the most convincing wording. The atmosphere oscillates ever so slightly between composed serenity and pointless haughtiness. The irony of the situation manifests itself already in the title of the work—*The Nation Loves It*—which takes a critical stance towards sensationalist newspaper headlines in which the nation is personified, turned into a mythical being celebrating the successes and mourning the failures of its citizens in sports, science or the arts. Some of the core preoccupations of Cibic's artistic practice concern how national myths are produced, how they get consumed in different historical, social and geopolitical contexts, and the role of art in this process.

Multiple historical references appear in all three *Spielraum* films, from fragments of political speeches from opposing sides of the political spectrum to the blueprints of edifices built during the post-Second World War period of economic prosperity and growth in Yugoslavia. These are used to script the narrative as well as construct the highly stylised architectural settings that reference, in turn, TV broadcasting, theatre production and cinema. In her approach to historical material, Cibic employs fragmentation and recontextualisation in order to probe the ways in which highly constructed discourses are made to feel natural and 'common'. Through various elements, from the use of sound to the meticulously designed costumes and geometrical objects that keep reappearing throughout the story, *Spielraum* evokes both the atmosphere of high modernism of the 1950s and 1960s and an indeterminate future. These elements are brought together with the excerpts from political speeches and collaged in a way that reveals the manipulation inherent in the creation of populist political discourses, particularly the ones used to create the notion of the unified and monolithic nation state, as well as the role of cultural production in these processes. Cibic displaces the trust of the spectator through exposing the element of 'rehearsal', through introducing slightly surreal elements that challenge an easy acceptance of what is going on, and finally through unexpectedly bringing in different registers. Despite the serenity of the tone and the high design of the settings, cracks, inconsistencies and contradictions are revealed. Odd elements, visible shifts, cuts and strange juxtapositions are inserted into the narrative, disrupting the easy flow of the story and shattering the illusions of linearity.

Just like the present, history can never be fully grasped in its totality. Interpretations of seminal events are endlessly contested; ideological fights erupt over their meaning and consequences, and often over their very basic facts. With the growth of social rupture and uncertainty, public discourse becomes flooded with passionate invocations and renouncements of historical figures and movements. In times of acute economic crises such as our own one, retrograde ideologies, which for a number of decades seemed relegated to 'the dustbin of history', rear their heads and find advocates among mainstream scholars and politicians, and

entire societies get sucked into a perpetual vortex of conflict based on inherited allegiances, while nuanced and complex research and interpretation of narratives of the past are in short supply. With the dissolution of modernity and its grand narratives we have come to acknowledge a complex web of constantly shifting relations among heterogeneous and often competing histories, rather than an unceasing progression of events whose links remain inevitable and 'set in stone'. However, we should remember that, as Griselda Pollock points out: "Specific historical knowledge is a vital defence against postmodernist suspension of history".[1]

For the setting of her films Cibic returns to the 1950s and early 1960s in Yugoslavia—years that were marked by the building of the new welfare state, a growth in economic prosperity of the general population and post-Second World War optimism. These were the years that preceded the first severe economic crises, as well as the resurgence of nationalism in the early 1970s. While the fictional TV studio and the theatre stage that appear in the first two parts were built specifically for the trilogy, the cinematic last chapter *Tear Down and Rebuild* takes place at the former Palace of the Federation of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. On the one hand, the films in *Spielraum* are shot in a way that emphasises the beauty and seductiveness of the modernist project, but on the other, there is a feeling of detachment that permeates the work, coming from the tone and the stance of the protagonists. Each utterance sounds impersonal and is spoken as though recorded for some indeterminate posterity.

This is unsurprising, given that the source material comes from political speeches and administrative documents. But unlike the film settings and the visual references, which all come from the same register of socialist high modernism, the fragments that form the dialogues come from a variety of sources, both historical and contemporary, and are ideologically as disparate as they could possibly be, ranging from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to Josip Broz Tito's address to a delegation of architects, to speeches by the Prince of Wales. Their amalgamation and seeming interchangeability profoundly challenge the possibility of specific historical knowledge invoked by Pollock almost 30 years ago.[2] What are the monuments supposed to stand for after the ideology that was behind them collapsed and the society that built them ceased to exist? Since 1989, this question has been problematised by numerous artists in relation to post-communist states, but Cibic complicates the question by moving it away from a reflection upon the demise of one particular ideology, examining instead the ways in which different values within society are accentuated or abandoned, and how this is consequently reflected in the production of art. She looks into some of the central driving forces of the modernist project, the notions of growth, rebuilding and progress in particular, but chooses to conjure up both its optimism and its failures, its calls for emancipation and the oppression of its top-down approach.

In his proposal for a new vocabulary for discussing current transformations in the arts, Stephen Wright writes about conceptual edifices we all dwell in, that "shelter and confine us, with or without our consent, even in the great outdoors", noting that

> without users, they are just empty shells; with time, they come to bear the brunt of usership's wear and tear and ultimately can no longer contain the uses to which they [were] put.[3]

He points out that

> many conceptual edifices of modernity, including Spectatorship, Authorship, the Aesthetic Function of Art, the Nation State and Productivism are showing signs of severe stress and need to be torn down so their constituent parts can be put to new ends.[4]

In *Spielraum*, Cibic recasts the persistent question of the status of these edifices of modernity in a context in which the answer seems obvious—that of large-scale architecture, in itself impossible without significant state or business patronage. Despite the feeling of enclosure and conflation present in the fragments of speeches from adverse political standpoints, *Spielraum* aims towards a reaffirmation of the resilience of art, of its ability to create interactions between objects and its various protagonists, interactions that elude instrumentalisation. The visual elements, such as the costumes and scenography, the sound, the dancers who appear in the second part as in a sort of intermezzo, as well as the beauty of the Palace of Federation itself, defy the rigidity of the spoken proclamations. They become elements within a larger coordinate system, whose aim is to point to art's manoeuvring space, dismissing the superficial dichotomy on two different levels—between art's decorative and utilitarian functions, and between art in the East and the West. As Keti Chukhrov points out,

> the pursuit of Western social democracy in post-socialist states turned out to be somewhat belated, since the social democracy programs in the Western neoliberal societies themselves shrunk and became obsolete.

This resulted in Western cultural institutions professing to "export and disseminate something that they themselves were no longer able to practice or believe in".[5] Chukhrov advocates "an analysis that evades both Cold War discourse and nostalgia alike",[6] and while the juxtaposition of fragments of speeches by diverse political figures is certainly not an analysis, it provides an estrangement effect that moves the spectators away from nostalgia, while at the same time challenging the normalised discourse which asserts the inevitability of transition of post-communist countries towards liberal capitalism.

It has been clear for a while that, whilst welfare, legal protection and human rights are being washed away by the flow of the free market on all sides of the East-West and North-South divide, the only thing left from the previously self-evident mechanisms of the state is a burgeoning repressive apparatus, needed to curb the revolt against

1
Pollock, Griselda, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and Histories of Art.*, London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2003, p 217.

2
Vision and Difference was originally published in 1988.

3
Wright, Stephen, *Toward a Lexicon of Usership*, Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum, 2013, p 18.

4
Wright, *Toward a Lexicon*, 2013, p 18.

5
Chukhrov, Keti, "Epistemological Gaps between the Former Soviet East and the 'Democratic' West", *e-flux*, no 41, January 2013, www.e-flux.com/journal/41/60226/epistemological-gaps-between-the-former-soviet-east-and-the-democratic-west/.

6
Chukhrov, "Epistemological Gaps", 2013.

the dismantling of basic state services. However, as Judith Butler notes in her conversation with Gayatri Spivak, while "the state is a minimal abstract structure which we must protect because it is our ally [and] should be the instrument of redistribution", in building oppositions, we should also "keep abstract structures of the states free of the prejudices of nationalism".[7] But how can one keep the perspective of critical internationalism, in the face of recent sinister political developments and conflicts along national and religious lines? And how to keep a positive attitude towards the state, one that would not forcibly align its interests with that of one particular nation? The calm and poise of the protagonists in the films is in sharp contrast with the violent demise of the state and the society that inspired and built the architectural settings in which the work takes place. Maybe it is precisely this quiet composure that gives the work a distinctive futurist feel, or perhaps it is the fact that all of the speaking protagonists of *Spielraum* are women. For the role of Mother Nation in *The Nation Loves It*, the choice of a female character is clear, as with the two women in *Give Expression to Common Desires*, who, whilst stitching the stage curtains, deliver stern instructions on commendable artistic strategies and aesthetic approaches, which could be read as an ironic take on the role of the female muse.

But in the final chapter, *Tear Down and Rebuild*, women occupy the roles that were traditionally reserved for men—the Nation-Builder, the Pragmatist, the Conservationist and the Artist-Architect. The construct of 'woman', together with the figures of mother, sister and waiting lover, has been foundational in the creation of national myths, becoming a set of shorthand metaphors for the notions of belonging and home. For years, feminism has been creating different models of relations to serve as escape routes out of this straitjacket, constructing the non-nationalist modes of belonging that Butler and Spivak call for, and changing the rules about who gets to speak and what are the central concerns in this struggle. In *Spielraum*, Jasmina Cibic appropriates the words of antagonistic, often highly unlikeable power figures, shifting the voice without advance notice, revealing the public address as staged and constructed, all in an attempt to move away from engaged art's perceived earnestness, from being easily defined by its political alliances. TJ Clark writes about the fact that modernist artists

> by and large could never escape the notion that art would absolve or transfigure its circumstances, and find a way back to totality.[8]

In calling upon the modernist tradition and borrowing freely from its visual and architectural repository in *Spielraum*, Cibic does not go back to modernist totality, but instead looks for contradiction in this history that still by and large defines us, the contradiction that "must be relied upon, exposed, and worked on to move towards something new".[9]

7

Butler, Judith, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, London, New York and Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2007, pp 97–98.

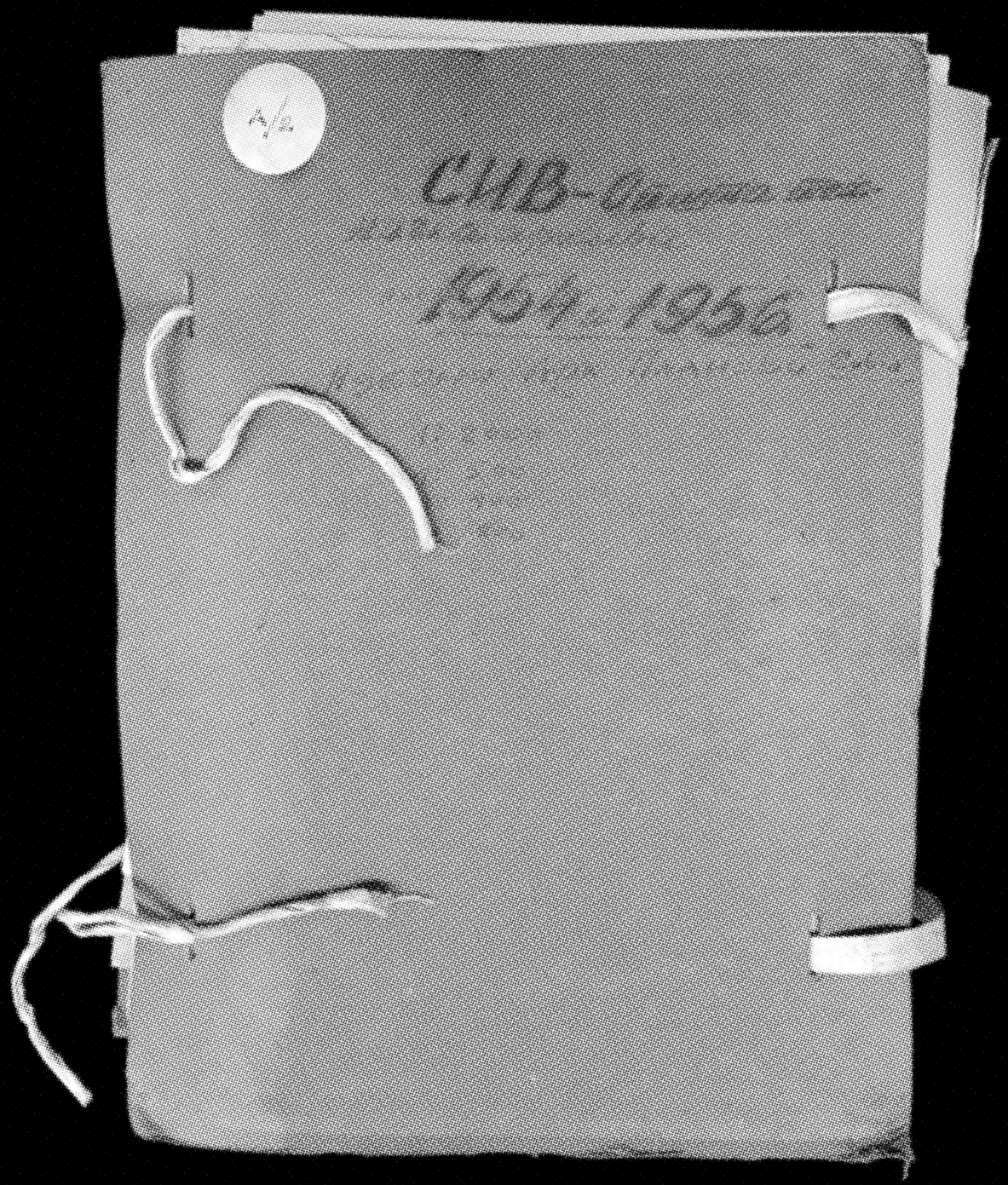
8

Clark, TJ, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, p 11.

9

Butler and Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?*, 2007, p 67.





INTRODUCTION: ARCHIVES

The following documents are a selection drawn from the Archives of Yugoslavia, outlining elements of the planned decoration of Belgrade to mark the first conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. Beginning with a letter to President Tito from the Conference Organisation Committee, they describe in budgetary detail the desire to reflect the visual identity of the planned political manifestation of the movement. The methods were conventional enough, with over 600 flags and floral decorations lining strategically important streets and squares, as well as the points of arrival for foreign delegations and journalists. Lighting was paramount, as it is to any stage set, and routes omitted from the official procession were not decorated at all. Further to this cost-cutting exercise was the omission of all sculptural decorative elements, including ultra-modern "spatial sculptures" (*skulpturalno-prostorne mreže*) and "vertical accents" (*vertikalnog akcenta*).

Fortunately the drawings of many of these proposed elements remain intact, a number of which are included here. They were produced by a variety of artists and architects in the service of the state, and whilst some were realised, many were not. It is these plans that inform all of the motifs that appear throughout the *Spielraum* project, in which they are reactivated and given new purpose. In this incarnation they are no longer simply decorative objects devised to facilitate the aestheticisation of a given ideology, but rather act as mutable symbolic characters. They are imbued with rhetoric, and yet free of the linguistic confines of the slogan. They are conceptual souvenirs, generically recognisable and yet immaterial. They are burdened with ideological function and yet their clean lines and coherent symmetries are somehow stainless. They are ready to be recast.

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ZA DRUGA PREDSEDNIKA

ARHIV
PREDSEDNIKA
REPUBLIKE

Obaveštavamo druga Predsednika da je na sednici Odbora za pripremu Konferencije, koja je održana 21.o.m., izmedju ostalog, postavljeno pitanje dekoracije zastavama.

Odbor predvidja da se na aerodromu i ispred Savezne narodne skupštine / kao glavnim mestima, gde će se odvijati zvanični deo programa / postave zastave po abecednom redu zemalja - učesnica, s tim da prvo budu poredjane po abecedi zemlje čiji se šefovi delegacija nalaze u Beogradu, a u produžetku zemlje koje šalju posmatrače. Na ostalim mestima zastave bi se postavile samo po abecednom redu.

Molimo druga Predsednika za odluku.

Dne, 22.VIII.1961.g.

TO THE COMRADE PRESIDENT

We would like to inform the Comrade President that one of the issues addressed at the session held by the Conference Organising Committee on the 21st of this month was that of flag decoration.

The Committee has proposed that the airport and the area fronting the Federal People's Assembly (as the central venues for the official programme of the Conference) be decorated with the flags of the participating nations, in alphabetical order, with priority given to the nations whose heads of delegation are in attendance, followed by the nations with observer status. Elsewhere, the *flags of all attending nations are to be ordered alphabetically*.

We would kindly ask the Comrade President to inform us of his decision regarding this matter.

Date: 22 August 1961

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ARHIV PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE

I N F O R M A C I J A

o dekoraciji Beograda za Konferenciju

Prilikom utvrdjivanja projektnog zadatka i izrade idejnog projekta vodilo se računa:

a/ da dekorisanje grada treba u potpunosti da nosi obeležje političke manifestacije. Prema tome, ono treba da bude jednostavno, skladno u pogledu mere, obima i tona, tretiranja elemenata dekorisanja, tako da u ukupnom utisku dominira ozbiljnost i dostojanstvo;

b/ da svaka zemlja učesnica treba da bude ravnopravno zastupljena preko elemenata dekorisanja.

Dekorisanjem grada obuhvaćeni su pristupi, ulazi, ulice, trgovi i mesta dolaska delegacija.

Kao elementi dekoracije uzeti su: zastave na jarbolima, španovane zastave, zastave na panoima, transparenti sa parolama, cveće sa zelenilom i svetlosna dekoracija.

Projektom se predvidja da se upotrebi 644 zastava na jarbolima, i to 28o na jarbolima visine od 16 m. i 364 zastave na jarbolima od 8 m. Španovanih zastava, bez jarbola, biće 168. Prema tome, kompleti zastava na jarbolima ponoviće se 21 put na raznim krajevima Beograda, dok će se zastave španovane ponoviti 6 puta.

Na nekim mestima u gradu, pored jarbola sa zastavama, pojaviće se i panoi sa zastavama zemalja učesnica ili buketi zastava na električnim stubovima.

Projekat dalje predvidja transparente sa parolama, koji će se pojaviti 7 puta.

Posebna pažnja posvećena je cveću, zelenilu i svetlosnoj dekoraciji u noći. (Zelenilom bi se ukrasilo oko 13oo m2,

REPORT
on the decoration of the City of Belgrade for the Summit

In delineating the intended project task and in the development of the project proposal, the following issues were taken into consideration:

a) The decoration of the city should fully reflect the visual identity of the planned political manifestation. Accordingly, it is to be simple, moderate and balanced in terms of scope and tone, and in the treatment of decorative elements, so that the overriding impression is one of solemnity and dignity.

b) Each of the participants is to receive equal representation in the decorative elements.

The decoration of the city will cover access routes, access points, streets, squares and points of arrival of the guest delegations.

The following decorative elements have been selected: flags on flagpoles, vertical flags, flags on hoardings, banners with slogans, floral and plant decorations and lighting decorations.

According to the project, the proposed number of flags is 644 flags on flagpoles, including 280 16-metre flagpoles and 364 flags on 8-metre flagpoles. There will be additional 168 vertical flags with no flagpoles. This means that there will be 21 complete sets of flags on flagpoles and 8 complete sets of vertical flags, to be rotated around the city.

In addition to flags on flagpoles, some locations in the city will also feature hoardings displaying the flags of the participating nations, or flag bouquets mounted on the electricity poles.

According to the project, there will be seven sets of banners with slogans.

Special attention has been given to floral and plant decorations, as well as night-time lighting. (It is estimated that 1,300 square metres will be decorated with plant decorations.)

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Svetlosna dekoracija obuhvata osvetljavanje ukrasnih elemenata /grupacija zastava, transparenata/, kao i izvesnog broja markantnih objekata u gradu /Narodni muzej, spomenik Kneza Mihaila, Pobednik na Kalemegdanu i delovi Kalemegdanske tvrdjave/. Na ovaj način bi bilo osvetljeno oko 5o elemenata i objekata. Medjutim, oko 7o raznih objekata u gradu osvetlilo bi se iznutra osvetljavanjem samih prostorija, što treba da pruži vanredno dobar efekat iluminacije. Svetlosne efekte upotpuniće obnovljeni i novopostavljeni svetleći natpisi na trgovinskim radnjama, kao i preuredjeno i pojačano svetlo u izlozima pojedinih trgovinskih, zanatskih i ugostiteljskih radnji. Za potrebe spoljnjeg osvetljavanja objekata i elemenata upotrebiće se oko 7oo reflektora jačine o,5 - 5 KW, ukupne jačine oko 95o KW. Svetlosna dekoracija bi se koristila od 2o-24 časa.

S obzirom da se održavanje Sajma tehnike delimično poklapa sa danima kada se održava Konferencija, posebno je vodjeno računa da se reklamni elementi Sajma u potpunosti podrede i usklade sa osnovnim tonom uredjenja i dekorisanja grada povodom održavanja Konferencije.

Mesta dolaska delegacija i novinara

1/ Aerodrom u Batajnici - zastave na jarbolima od 8 m. visine.

2/ Aerodrom JAT-a na Bežaniji - komplet zastava na jarbolima od 8 m.

3/ Peron glavne železničke stanice - španovane zastave zemalja učesnica.

Pristupni putevi i ulazi u grad

1/ Na potezu od aerodroma u Batajnici do sela Batajnice ne predvidja se nikakva dekoracija. U selu Batajnici, na glavnom raskršću, jedan komplet zastava na jarbolima visine 8 m.

The lighting decorations include illuminations of the decorative elements (flag sets, banners), and a number of urban landmarks (the National Museum, the Knez Mihajlo monument, the Victor monument at Kalemegdan, and parts of the Kalemegdan fortress). Approximately 50 objects and elements of urban design will be illuminated in this way. In addition, interiors of approximately 70 objects across the city will be illuminated, which is expected to produce a singular lighting effect. Lighting effects will be complemented by renovated or newly installed commercial lighting on retail establishments, along with renovated and improved lighting in the shop windows of selected retail, artisan and catering establishments. External illuminations of objects and sites will require approximately 700 floodlights running at 0.5–5 kilowatts, whose total power is estimated at 950 kilowatts. The lighting decoration is to be used in the period between 20:00 and 24:00.

As the Manufacturing Expo partly coincides with the Conference, special attention has been given to fully coordinating the Expo promotional material with the overall theme used in the decoration of the city on the occasion of the Conference.

Points of arrival of foreign delegations and journalists

1) Batajnica Airport: flags on 8-metre flagpoles

2) JAT Airport, Bežanija: set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles

3) Platforms at the main railway terminal: vertical flags of participating countries

Access routes and points of entry

1) The route between Batajnica Airport and the village of Batajnica is not planned for decoration. In the main intersection in Batajnica, one set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles.

CABINET OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, ARCHIVES OF YUGOSLAVIA

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2/ Na ulazu u Zemun, u Dušanovoj ulici, komplet španovanih zastava na električnim stubovima i transparenti sa parolama, kojih od sela Batajnice do novog savskog mosta treba da bude 6. Na izlazu iz Zemuna, u delu izmedju budućeg hotela i raskršća puta za Novi Beograd, komplet zastava na jarbolima od 16 m. Od raskršća do mosta još dva kompleta zastava na jarbolima od 16 m.

3/ Na prostoru izmedju Studentskog grada i gradilišta Novog Beograda jedan komplet zastava na jarbolima od 16 m.

4/ Na prilaznom putu iz Smedereva, od ulaza do zadnje tramvajske stanice, jedan komplet zastava na jarbolima od 16 m. i jedan komplet zastava na jarbolima od 8 m.

5/ Na ulazu od Avale jedan komplet zastava na jarbolima od 8 m.

Gradske ulice:

1/ Brankova ulica - komplet španovanih zastava na električnim stubovima, transparent sa parolom, zelenilo i cveće sve do Terazija.

2/ Terazije - komplet zastava na jarbolima od 8 m., komplet španovanih zastava na električnim stubovima, transparent sa parolom, zelenilo i cveće.

3/ Maršala Tita ulica - komplet zastava na jarbolima od 8 m., transparent sa parolom, dva kompleta transparentnih zastava, cveće i zelenilo.

4/ Knez Miloševa ulica - 168 panoa sa zastavama i transparenti sa parolama.

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2) Zemun access, in Dušanova Street, a set of framed vertical flags on the electricity poles, and banners with slogans, a total of six between Batajnica and the new bridge over the River Sava. Zemun exit, between the planned hotel site and the New Belgrade intersection, a set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles. Between the intersection and the bridge, two additional sets of flags on 16-metre flagpoles.

3) The area between the student halls of residence and the New Belgrade construction site, one set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles.

4) The inbound route from Smederevo, between the access point and the tramway terminus, one set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles and one set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles.

5) The inbound route from Avala, one set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles.

City streets

1) Brankova Street: a set of vertical flags on the electricity poles, a banner with a slogan, plant decorations and flowers as far as Terazije.

2) Terazije: a set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles, a set of vertical flags on the electricity poles, a banner with a slogan, plant decorations and flowers.

3) Maršala Tita Street: a set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles, a banner with a slogan, two sets of transparent flags, plant decorations and flowers.

4) Kneza Miloša Street: 168 hoardings with flags and banners with slogans.

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5/ Bulevar Vojvode Putnika - dva kompleta zastava na jarbolima od 8 m.

6/ Dedinjski Bulevar - tri kompleta zastava na jarbolima od 8 m. i buketi zastava na električnim stubovima.

7/ Nemanjina ulica - buketi zastava na električnim stubovima.

8/ Bulevar JNA - komplet zastava na jarbolima od 16 m., transparenti sa parolama, cveće i zelenilo.

9/ Bulevar Revolucije - od Ulice prvog maja do Vukovog spomenika buketi zastava na električnim stubovima sredinom bulevara.

10/ Moše Pijade ulica - komplet španovanih zastava na električnim stubovima, zelenilo i cveće.

11/ Vasina ulica - komplet španovanih zastava, transparent sa parolom, zelenilo i cveće.

Gradski trgovi:

1/ Trg Republike - skup zastava na jarbolima od 16 m., zelenilo i cveće.

2/ Trg Dimitrija Tucovića - skup zastava na jarbolima od 8 m., zelenilo i cveće.

3/ Trg Oslobodjenja - skup zastava na jarbolima od 8 m., zelenilo i cveće.

4/ Trg Bratstva i Jedinstva - španovane zastave na električnim stubovima, transparent sa parolom, zelenilo i cveće.

5/ Trg Branilaca Beograda - skup zastava na jarbolima od 16 m., cveće i zelenilo.

5) Vojvode Putnika Boulevard: two sets of flags on 8-metre flagpoles.

6) Dedinje Boulevard: three sets of flags on 8-metre flagpoles, as well as flag bouquets on the electricity poles.

7) Nemanjina Street: flag bouquets on the electricity poles.

8) JNA Boulevard: a set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles, banners with slogans, plant decorations and flowers.

9) Revolution Boulevard: the stretch between Prvog maja Street and the Vuk Monument, flag bouquets on the electricity poles on the median barrier.

10) Moše Pijade Street: a set of vertical flags on the electricity poles, plant decorations and flowers.

11) Vasina Street: a set of vertical flags, a banner with a slogan, plant decorations and flowers.

City squares

1) Republic Square: a set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles, plant decorations and flowers.

2) Dimitrija Tucovića Square: a set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles, plant decorations and flowers.

3) Liberation Square: a set of flags on 8-metre flagpoles, plant decorations and flowers.

4) Fraternity and Unity Square: vertical flags on the electricity poles, a banner with a slogan, plant decorations and flowers.

5) Belgrade Defenders Square: a set of flags on 16-metre flagpoles, flowers and plant decorations.

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Ukupna vrednost radova i materijala za dekorisanje grada iznosi 145,640.000.- dinara.

Od toga:

- jarboli 93,000.000.-
- zastave na električnim stubovima 3,600.000.-
- zastave na panoima 7,000.000.-
- buketi zastava 2,160.000.-
- transparenti sa parolama 2,880.000.-
- svetlosna dekoracija 32,000.000.-
- zelenilo i cveće 5,000.000.-

Ovako visok iznos proizišao je usled znatno povećanih cena materijala i usluga.

Prema prvobitno predvidjenom projektu dekorisanja grada trebalo je investirati 260 miliona dinara. Da bi se ova investiciona suma smanjila, izostavljeni su kompletni potezi ulica: ceo prilaz iz pravca Pančeva, Zrenjanina i Obrenovca, zatim ulice Dvadeset devetog novembra i Takovska i veliki deo Bulevara Revolucije.

U čitavom planu dekorisanja izostavljeni su i svi skulpturalno-dekorativni elementi: ulazni portali, slavoluci, vertikalne poente - obelisci, panoi sa reljefnim grbovima i skulpturalno-prostorne mreže sa španovanim zastavama i grbovima. Na taj način, celokupno dekorisanje svedeno je uglavnom na zastave.

Ostali radovi na uredjenju grada

U toku su radovi na uredjenju trgovačkih, zanatskih i ugostiteljskih lokala u svim glavnim ulicama i na trgovima, pri čemu se naročita pažnja poklanja uredjenju portala, osvetlenja, uredjenju izloga, kao i unutrašnjem izgledu lokala. Sredstva za ove radove obezbedili su privredne organizacije, opštine i grad.

The total value of the works and materials for the decoration of the city is 145,640,000 dinars.

Breakdown of expenditure:

Flagpoles: 93,000,000
Flags on the electricity poles: 3,600,000
Flags on hoardings: 7,000,000
Flag bouquets: 2,160,000
Banners with slogans: 2,880,000
Lighting decoration: 32,000,000
Plants and flowers: 5,000,000

The unexpectedly high grand total is the result of a considerable increase in the prices of goods and services.

In the original project for the decoration of the city, the proposed expenditure was 250 million dinars. To reduce the costs, entire routes were omitted: the access routes from Pančevo, Zrenjanin and Obrenovac, 29 novembra Street, Takovska Street and a large portion of the Revolution Boulevard.

The integral decoration plan has further omitted all sculptural decorative elements: entryways, triumphal arches, vertical accents—obelisks, panels with a relief coat of arms, spatial sculptures decorated with vertical flags and coats of arms. In this way, the overall decoration has effectively been reduced primarily to flags.

Other city decoration works

Works are underway to decorate retail, artisan and catering establishments on all main streets and squares, with special attention to the decoration of gateways, lighting, shop windows, and the interiors. These works were funded by business entities, municipalities and the city of Belgrade.

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Izvode se radovi na postavljanju novih svetlećih firmi i reklama u glavnim ulicama.

U sprovodjenju je program uredjenja zgrada i slobodnih površina koji je predvideo potpuno ili delimično uredjenje oko 4ooo zgrada, kao i uredjenje svih ostalih objekata, gradilišta i slobodnih površina u gradu. Sredstva za ove radove je obezbedio Grad, a jedan deo se izvodi dobrovoljnim radom gradjana na inicijativu Socijalističkog saveza i omladinskih organizacija.

U toku je rekonstrukcija i pojačanje uličnog osvetlenja na Dedinju, Topčiderskom Brdu i ostalim glavnim ulicama i trgovima u gradu.

Pri kraju su radovi na uredjenju Zemuna i Batajnice: krečenje zgrada, izgradnja trotoara, uredjenje travnjaka, drvoreda i odvodnih kanala.

2. VIII
28.7.1961. god.
Beograd

Works are underway to place new commercial signs and sign lighting on the main thoroughfares.

Concurrently, a programme is underway aiming to renovate a range of buildings and public areas. This includes complete or partial restoration of about 4,000 buildings, as well as improvement works on all other objects, construction sites and public areas in the city. These works are funded by the Belgrade municipality and are partially performed by citizen volunteers, as part of the Socialist Alliance and the youth organisations initiative.

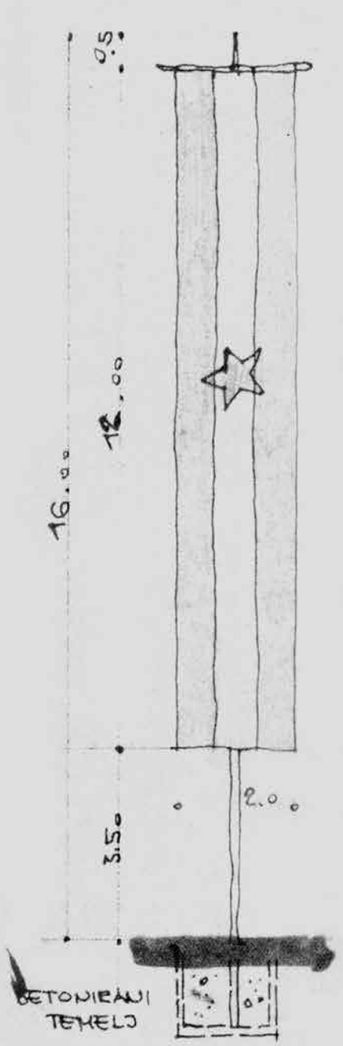
Reconstruction and improvement works on street lighting in the areas of Dedinje and Topčider Hill, along with the main city streets and squares, are also underway. Finishing works are underway in Zemun and Batajnica: painting of the facades, pavement construction, landscaping of green areas and tree lines and the restructuring of the drainage system.

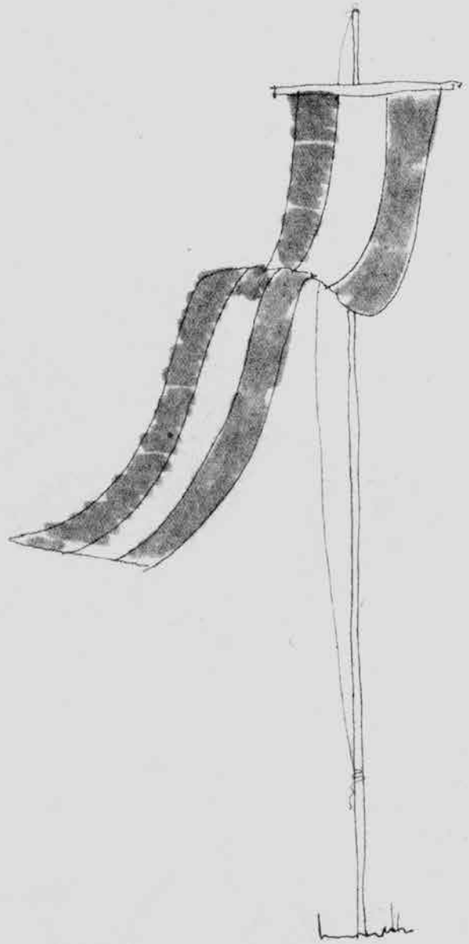
28 July 1961 [corrected to 2 August]
Belgrade

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TIP a 150 KOMADA

① JARBOL : DUŽ : 16 m · kom. —— 150

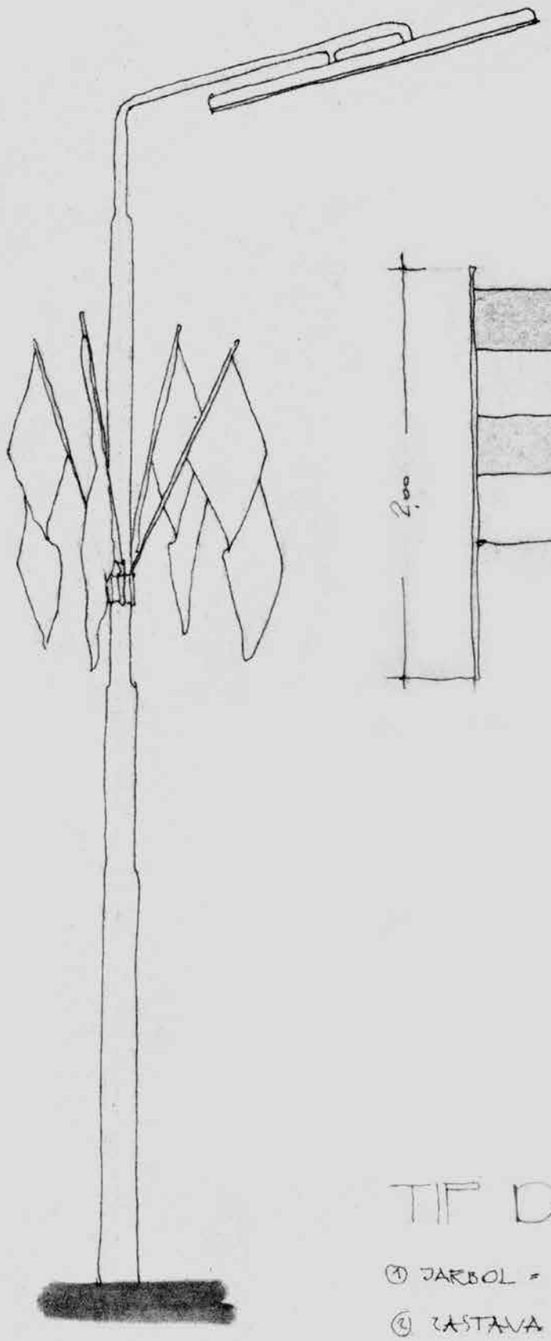
② ZASTAVA : 2.0/12.00 – 24.0 m² —— 3,600 m²

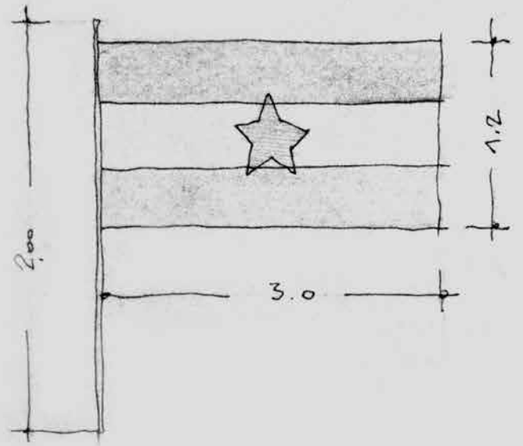
③ POPREČNA LETVA : 2.10 m.

④ ČELIČNA SAJLA : 16 m x 150 = 2400 m

TYPE A 150 PIECES

1. FLAGPOLE: LENGTH 16 METRES, NUMBER OF PIECES – 150
2. FLAG: 2/12 – 24 METRES SQUARED – 3,600 METRES SQUARED
3. CROSS BAR: 2.10 METRES
4. STEEL CABLE: 16 METRES × 150 = 2,400 METRES





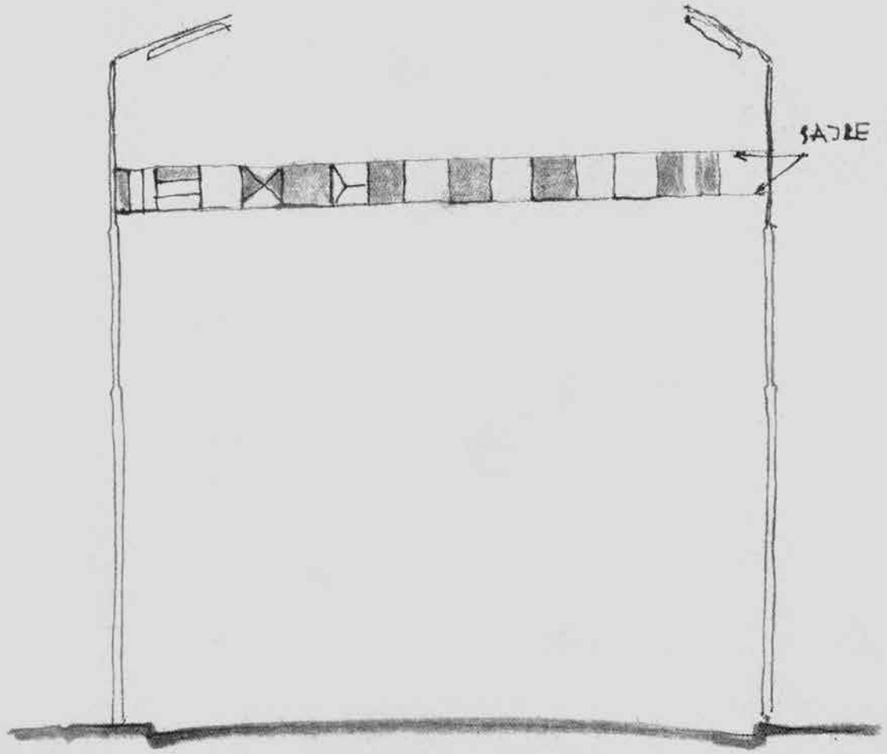
TIP D 42 KOMADA

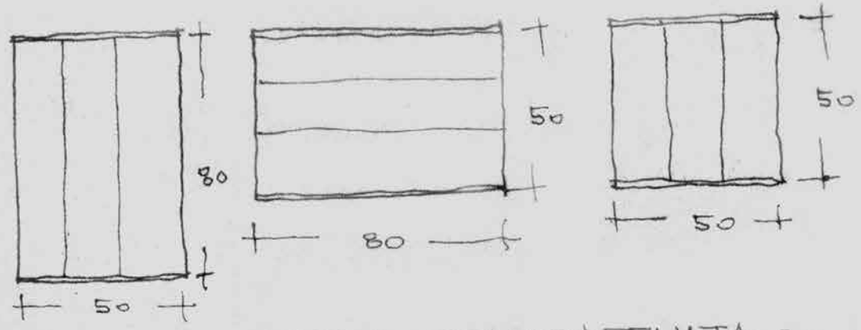
① JARBOL = 2 m DUŽ.

② ZASTAVA = 1.2/3.00 =

TYPE D 42 PIECES
1. FLAGPOLE (MAST): 2 METRES OF LENGTH
2. FLAG = 1.2/3.00

FOND AI - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2





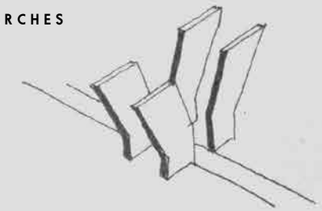
POSTAVLJAJU SE NA DVEMA SAJLAMA PREKO ULICE ILI PARALELNO NJOJ IZMEĐU BANDERA

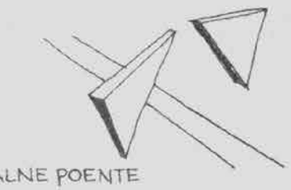
TIPOVI TRANSPARENATA:

M – ZASTAVE — 412 KOM.
L – GRBOVI — 288 -II-
N – PAROLE — 22 -II-

|| TYPES OF BANNERS
(FLAGS, COATS OF ARMS, SLOGANS)

SLAVOLUCI
|| TRIUMPH ARCHES

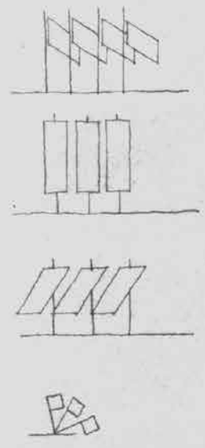




VERTIKALNE POENTE
|| VERTICAL ACCENTS



ZASTAVE
|| FLAGS



PROSTORNE MREŽE
|| SPATIAL SCULPTURES



VERTIKALNI
|| VERTICALS

LEGENDA ELEMENATA

|| ELEMENTS LEGEND

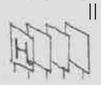


HORIZONTALNI J.
|| HORIZONTALS

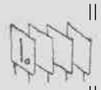
E. PANOI
|| PANELS



REKLAMNI G.
|| PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISING



F. KONFERENCIJE H.
|| OF THE CONFERENCE



INFORMATIVNI I.
|| INFORMATIONAL

DOBRODOŠLICE
|| WELCOME POINTS



G. PARKOVSKI ELEMENTI
|| PARK ELEMENTS

P.

R.

VATRA I DIM
|| FIRE AND SMOKE

B. DEK. CVEĆE
|| DECORATIVE FLOWERS

Z.

S.

C. VODOSKOCI
|| WATER FOUNTAINS

SUNCOBRANI
|| SUNSHADES

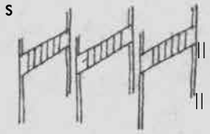
T.

a. A.

U.

TRANSPARENTI
|| BANNERS

D.



ZASTAVE
|| FLAGS

M.

GRBOVI
|| COATS OF ARMS

L.

PAROLE
|| SLOGANS

N.

GRADILIŠTA I OGRADE
|| CONSTRUCTION SITES AND FENCES



W.

RUŠEVINE
|| RUINS

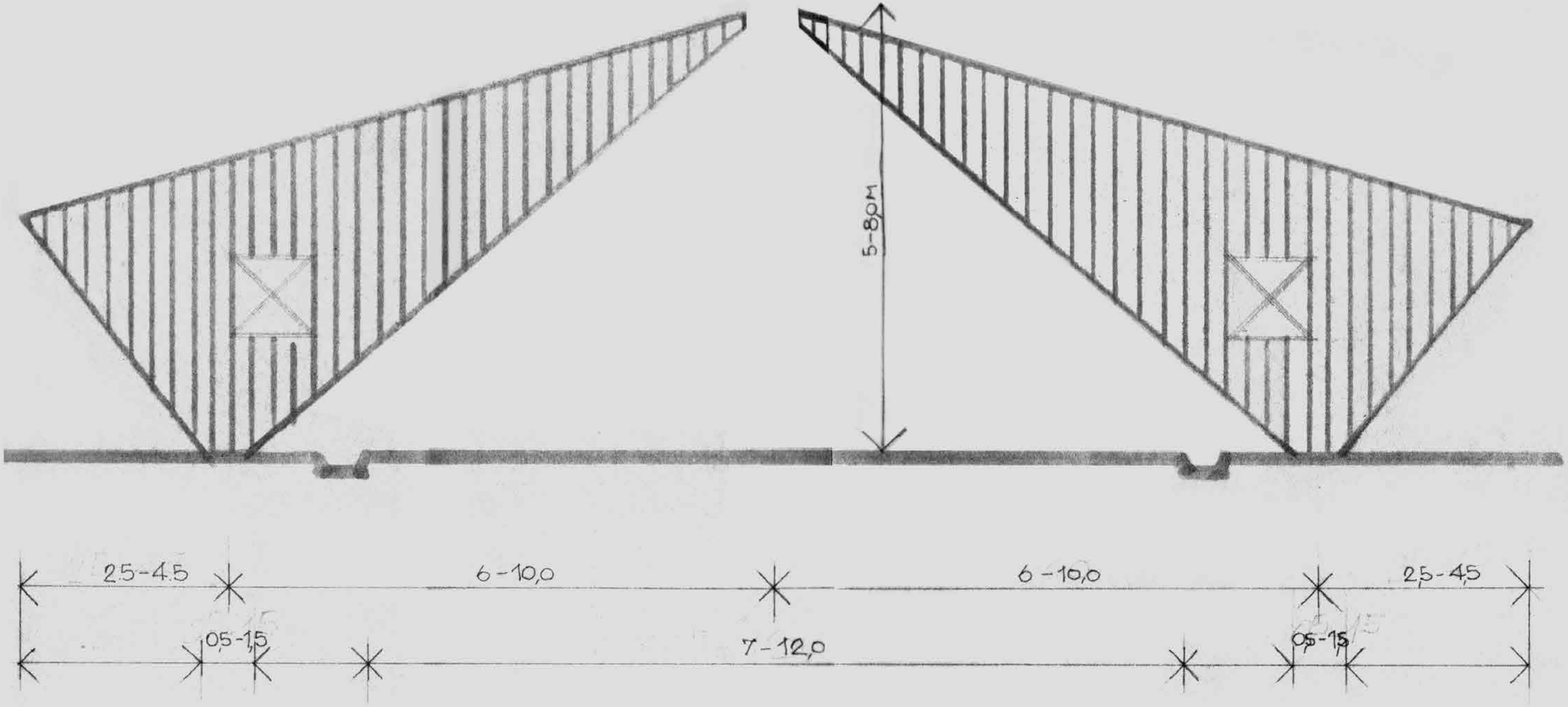


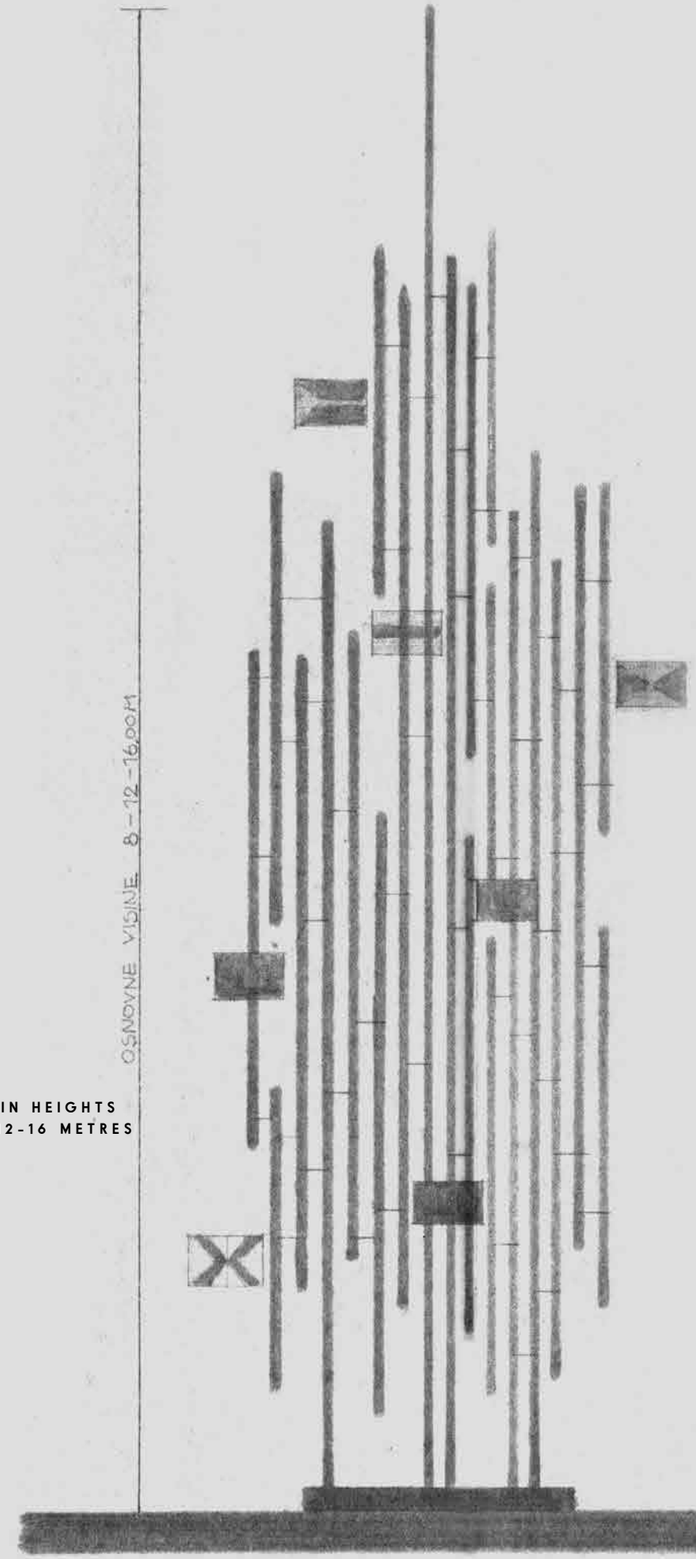
V.

K. PUTOKAZI
|| ROAD SIGNS

Y.

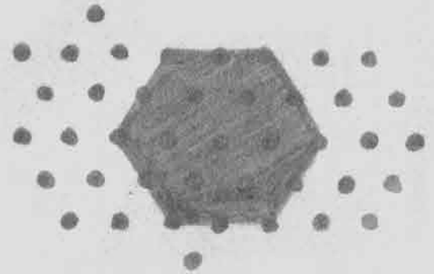
FOND AJ - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2





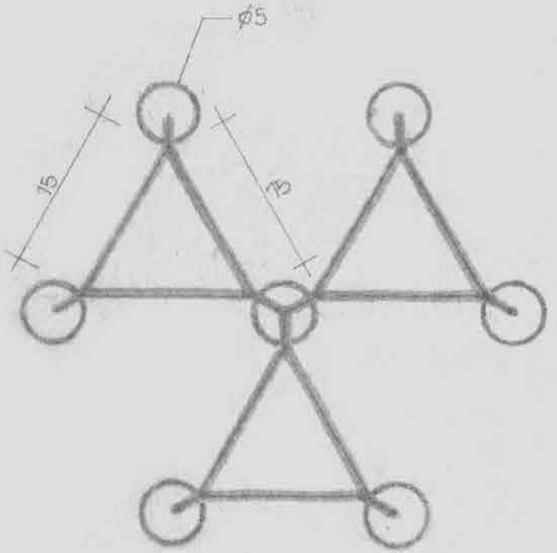
MAIN HEIGHTS
8-12-16 METRES

RATIO HEIGHT-
WIDTH D=4:1
(VERTICALITY)



OSNOVA
ŠRAFIRANA POVRŠINA
OSNOVA KONSTRUKTI-
VNIH NOSEĆIH ŠIPKI

LAYOUT
THE HATCHED AREA
IS THE LAYOUT TO
THE LOAD-BEARING
STRUCTURAL RODS



PRIKAZ U OSNOVI
NAČINA POVEZIVA
NJA I FIKSIRANJA
ELEMENATA

LAYOUT SCHEME
OF THE CONNECTING
AND FIXING OF
THE ELEMENTS

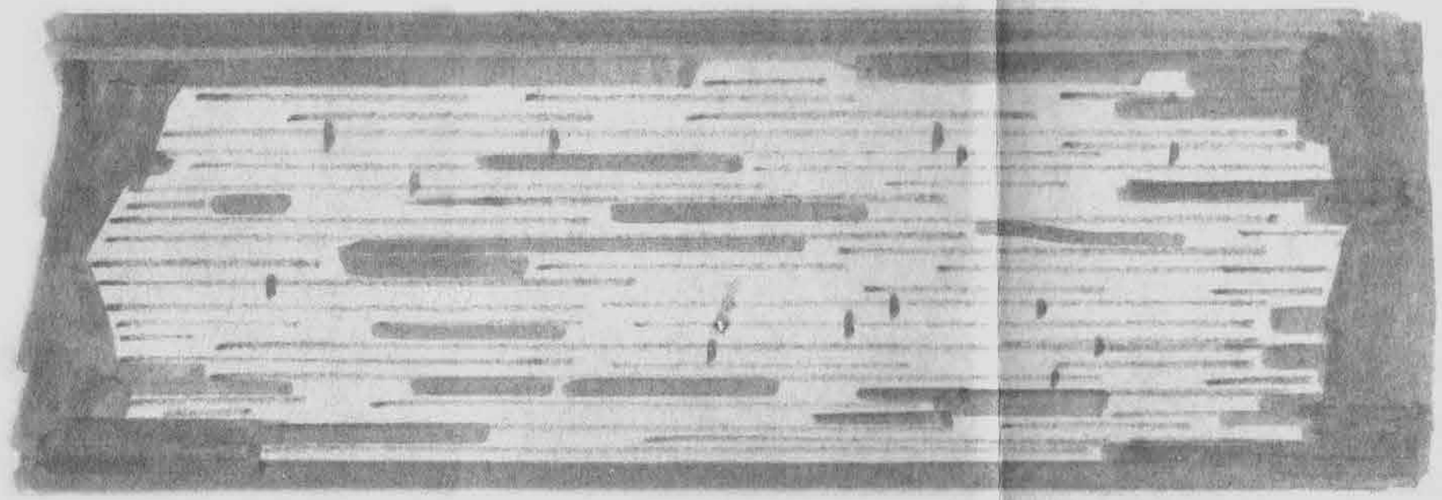
PROSTORNA MREŽA
SA ZASTAVAMA I GRBOVIMA
ZEMALJA UČESNICA
-VERTIKALNO IZRAŽENA

INSTALLATION OF FLAGS
AND COATS OF ARMS
OF THE PARTICIPATING
COUNTRIES

FOND A1 - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2

DUŽINA MREŽE 6-10M.

|| MESH LENGTH



HORIZONTALNA PROSTORNA MREŽA - IZGLED

|| HORIZONTALLY SPATIAL MESH – ELEVATION

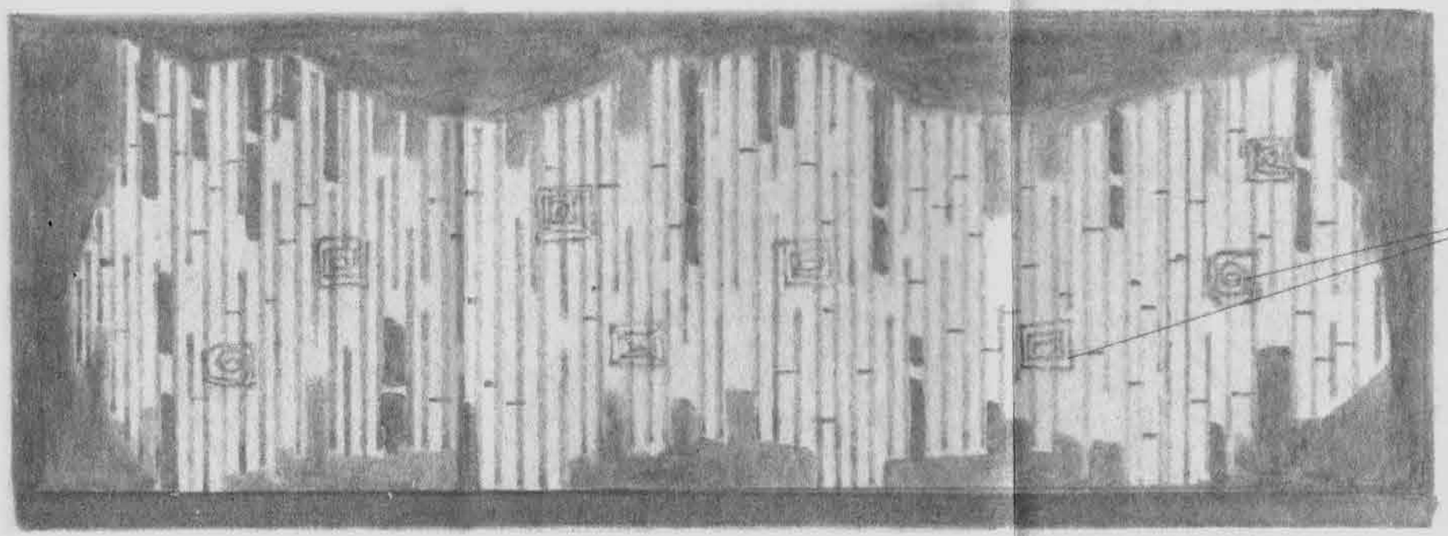


BOČNI IZGLED

|| SIDE ELEVATION

DUŽINA REŠETKE 10 – 20M.

|| SPATIAL MESH LENGTH



HORIZONTALNA IZRAŽENA PROSTORNA MREŽA - IZGLED

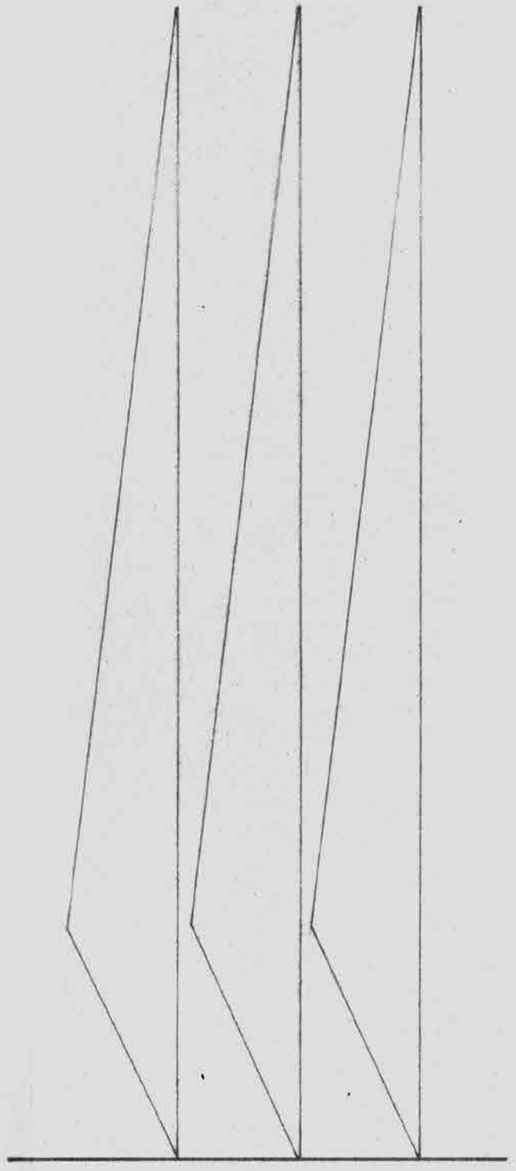
|| HORIZONTALLY ACCENTUATED SPATIAL MESH – ELEVATION

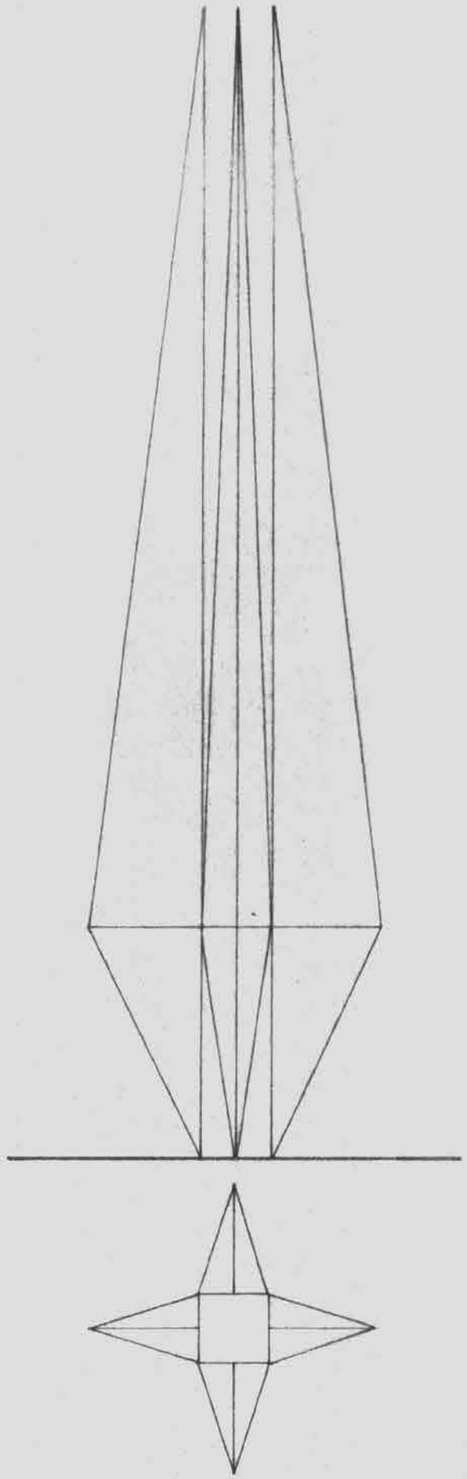


BOČNI IZGLED

|| SIDE ELEVATION

FOND AI - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2

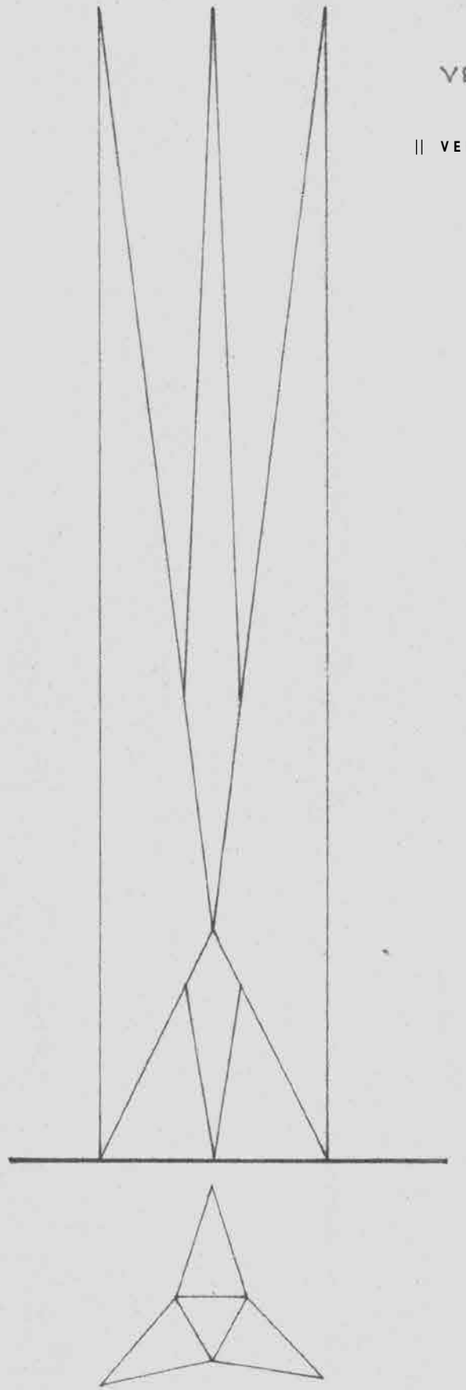


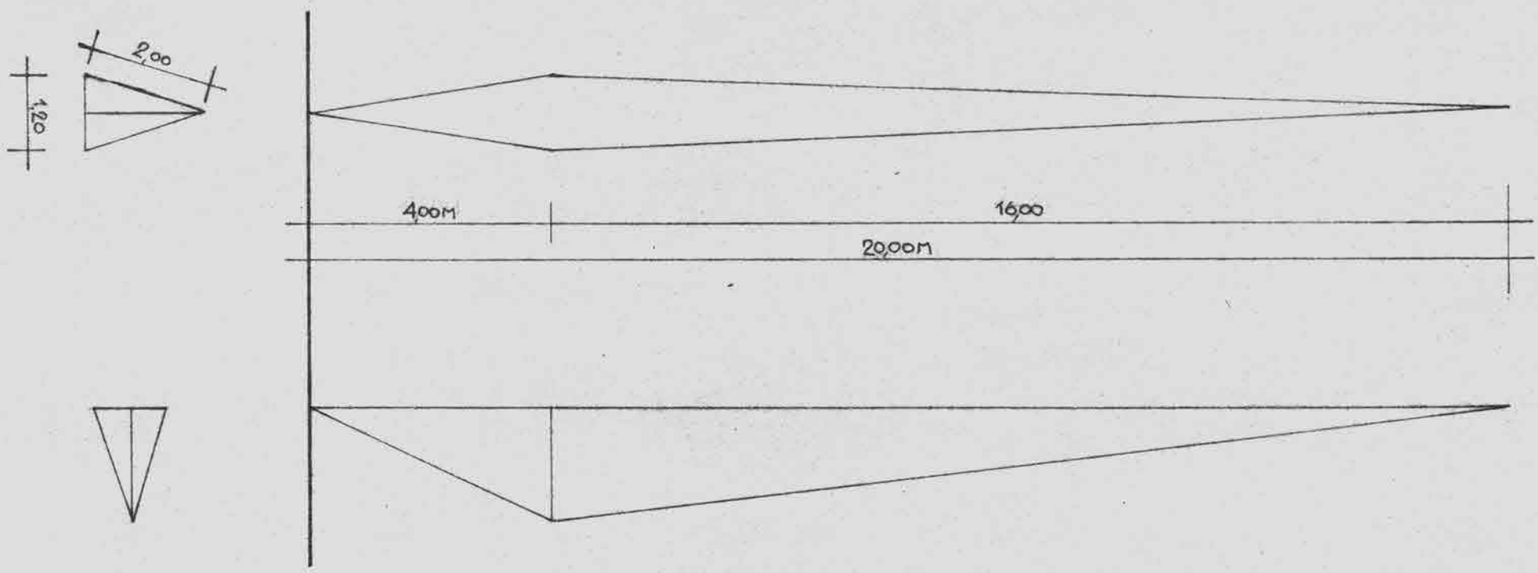


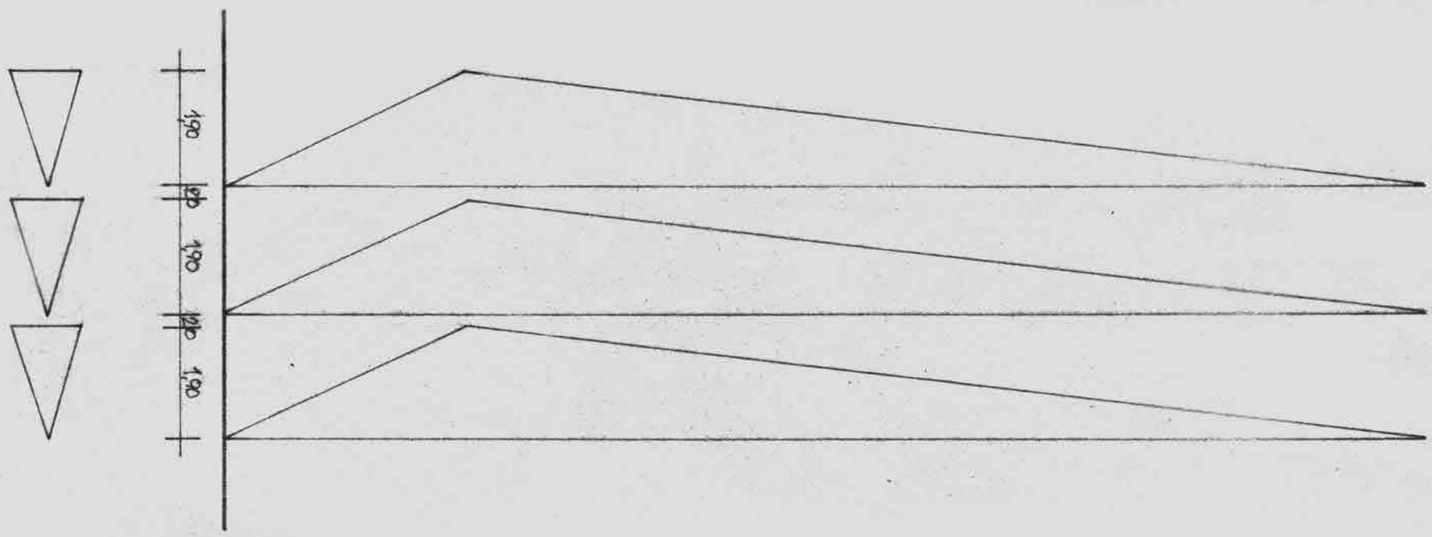
ELEMENT

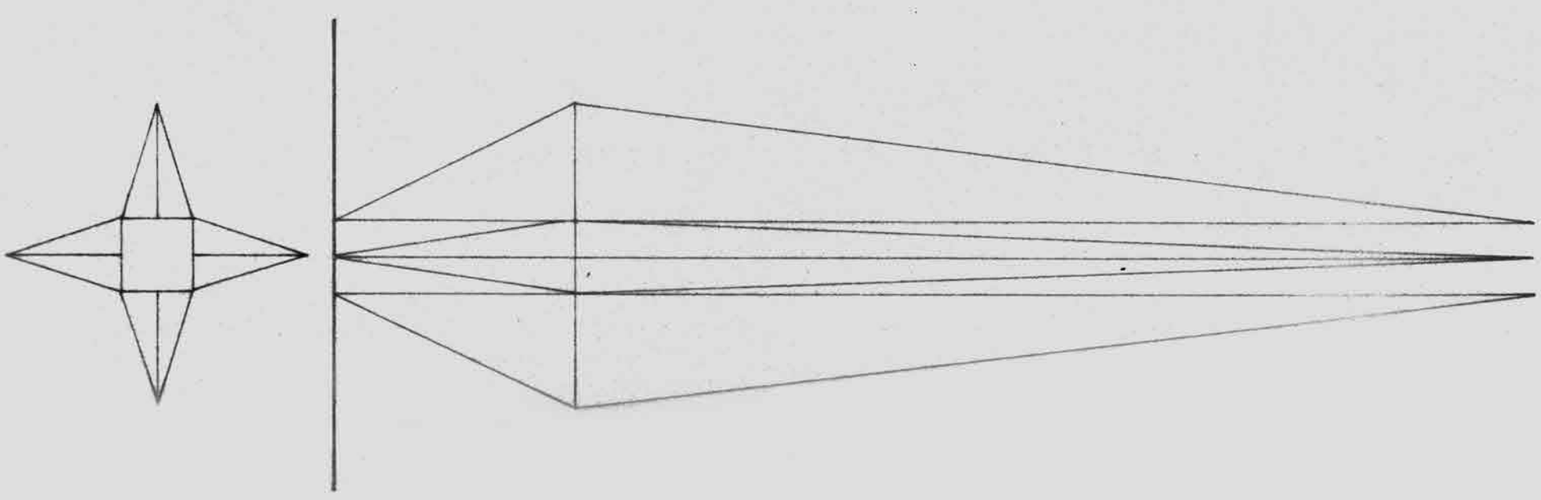
VERTIKALNOG AKCENTA

|| VERTICAL ACCENT SCULPTURE

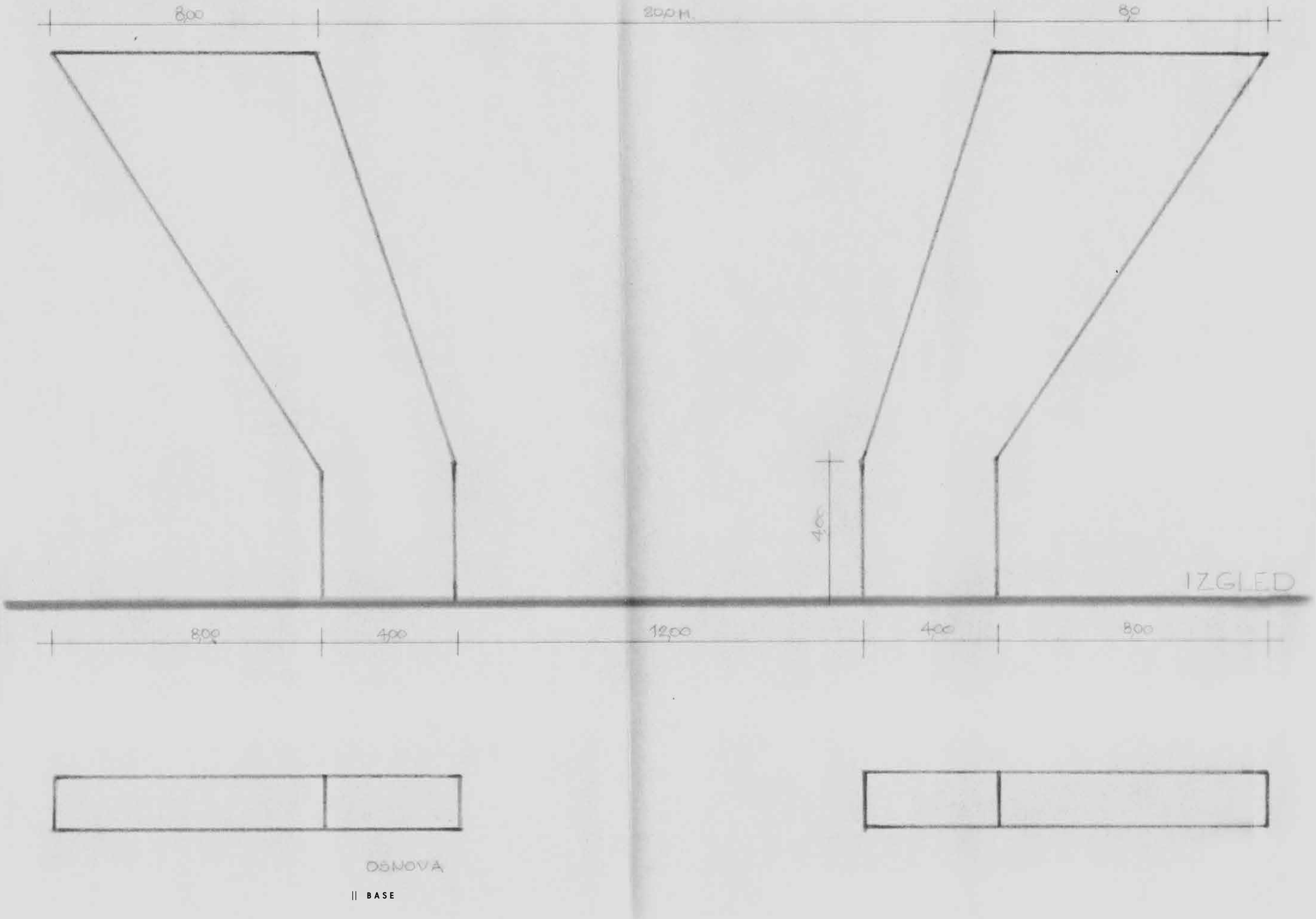



2,00
1,20
4,00M
16,00
20,00M


1,00
1,00
1,00

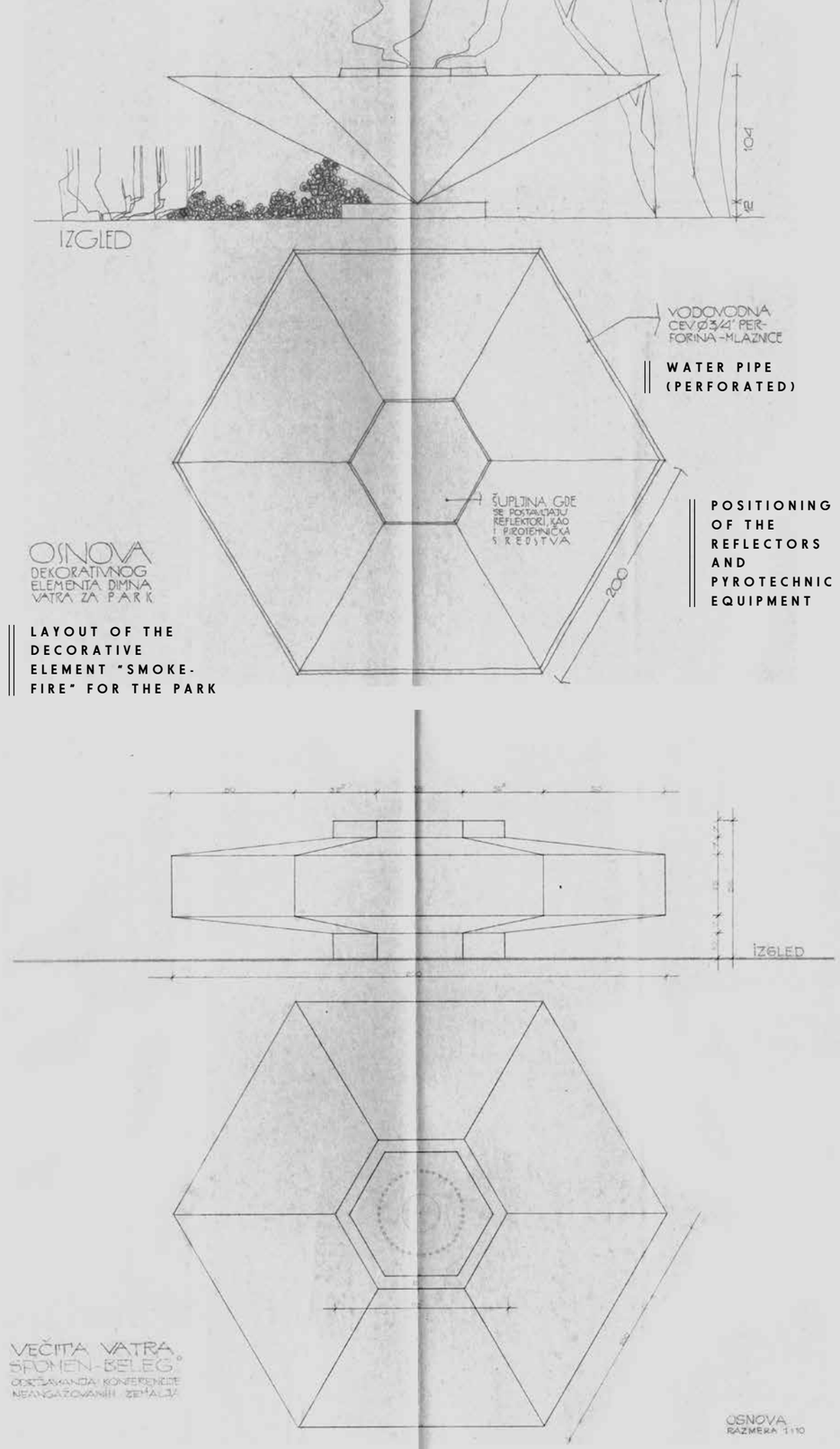


FOND AI - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2



|| BASE

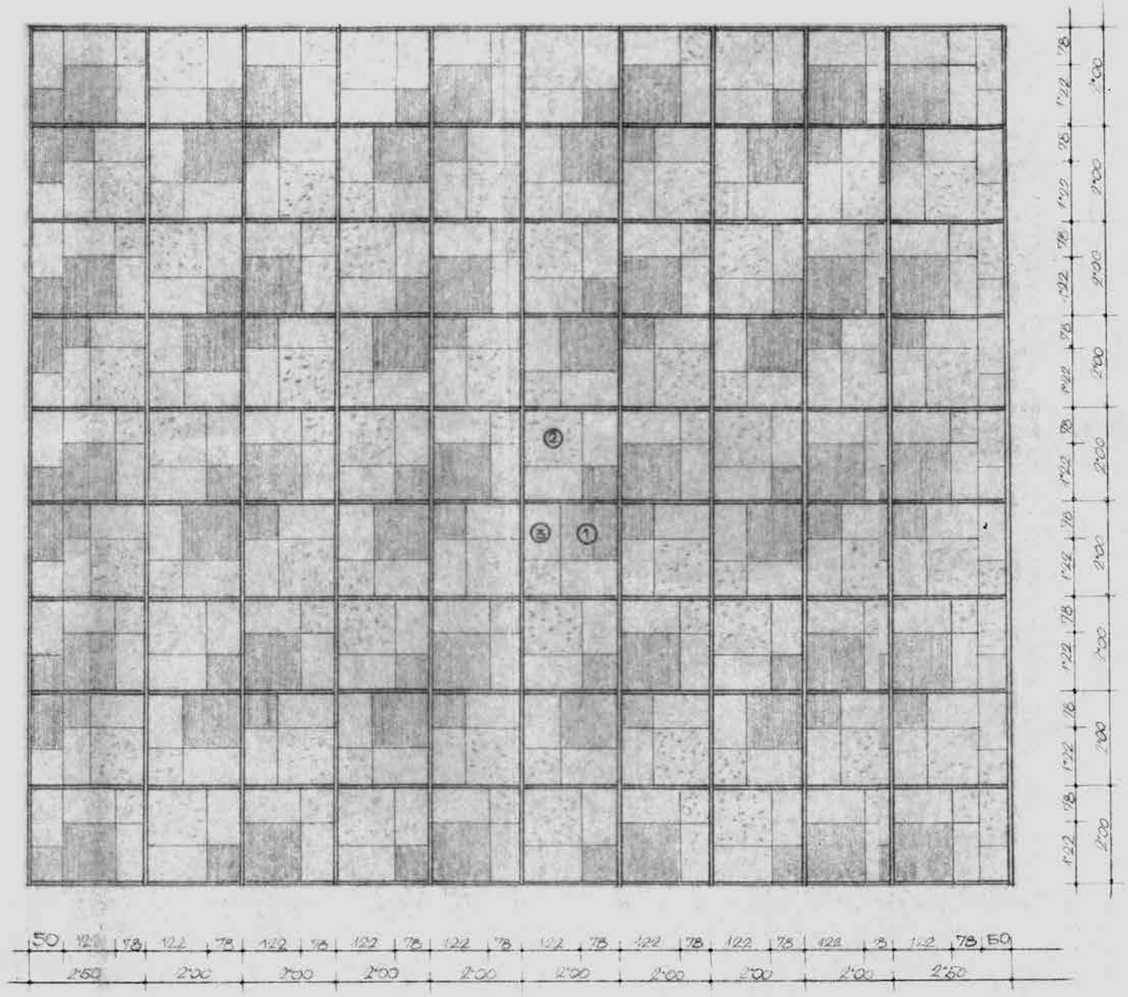
FOND AI - 837 - KABINET PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE, I-4-A/2



WATER PIPE (PERFORATED)

POSITIONING OF THE REFLECTORS AND PYROTECHNIC EQUIPMENT

LAYOUT OF THE DECORATIVE ELEMENT "SMOKE-FIRE" FOR THE PARK



DESIGN FOR THE GLASS CEILING ABOVE THE CENTRAL STAIRCASE IN THE PALACE OF THE FEDERATION

ARHIV PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE

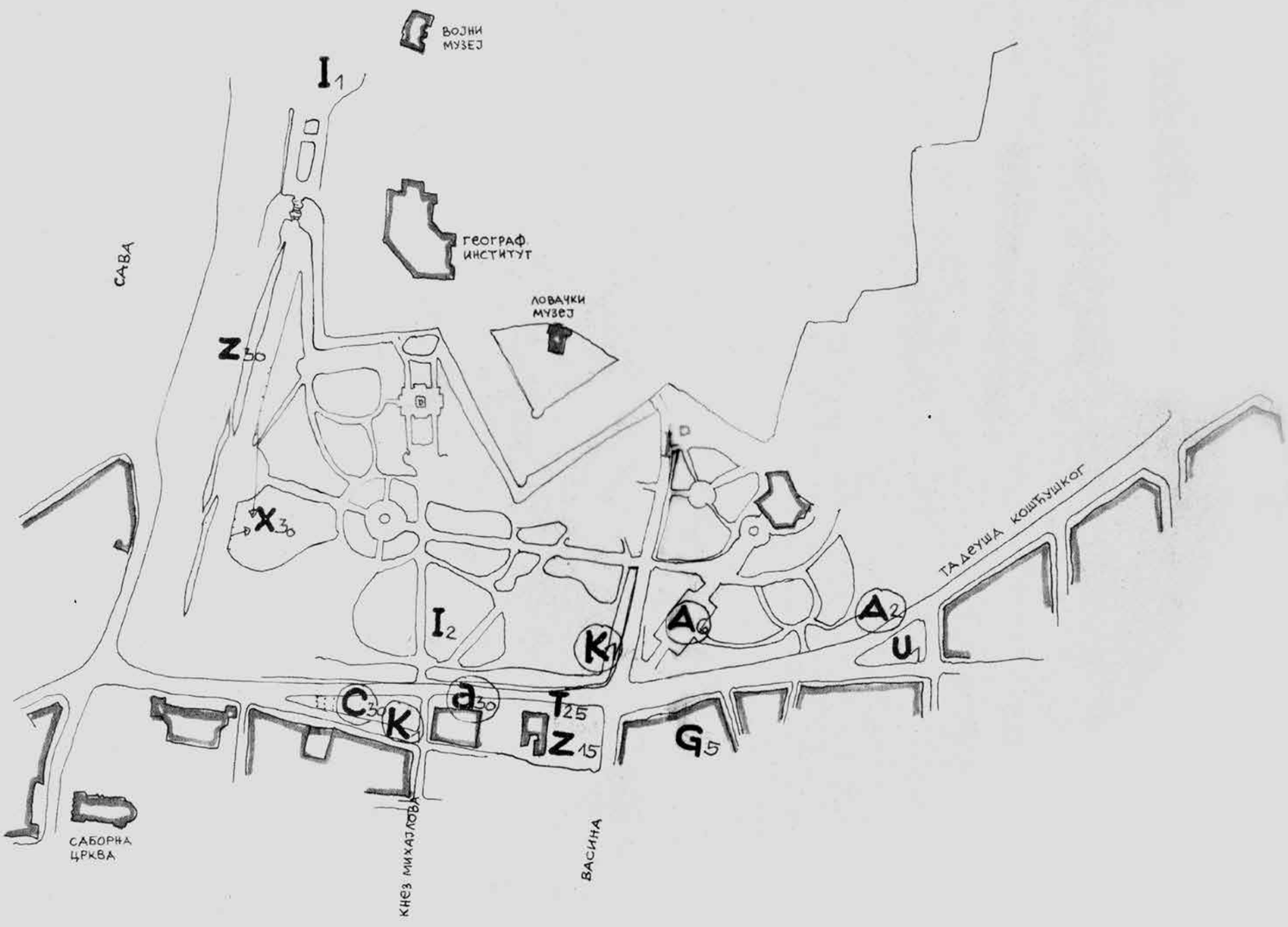
ПОТЕЗ КНЕЗ МИХАЈЛОВА–КАЛЕМЕГДАН

PLANNED DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS: THE STRETCH BETWEEN KNEZ MIHAILOVA STREET AND KALEMEGDAN

ARHIV PREDSEDNIKA REPUBLIKE



КАЛЕМЕГДАН



FOND AI - 130 - SAVEZNO IZVRŠNO VEĆE, F 85

SITUACIJA
1:2000

1 svečani ulaz
2 dnevni ulaz rukovodioca
3 ulaz za službu i publiku
4 rezervni ulaz
5 ulaz u restoran
6 ulaz u garažu
P parkiranje vozila

AREA PLAN

ENTRANCES TO THE PALACE OF THE FEDERATION:
1. MAIN ENTRANCE
2. DIRECTOR'S ENTRANCE
3. STAFF AND VISITORS ENTRANCE
4. ALTERNATIVE ENTRANCE
5. RESTAURANT ENTRANCE
6. GARAGE ENTRANCE
7. PARKING

FOND AJ - 130 - SAVEZNO IZVRŠNO VEĆE, F 85

LANDSCAPING PLAN FOR THE NEW BELGRADE EMBANKMENT

NOTE
(HEIGHT) LEVELS IN THE PLAN ARE THE LEVELS OF THE LAWN, NOT OF THE SAND

HIGH GREENERY IN A GROUP, WILD (FOREST) HUMUS LAYER NEEDED

UNITS INTENDED FOR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

AREAS INTENDED FOR BUILDINGS WHERE HUMUS SHOULD NOT BE DISTRIBUTED

AREA OF THE LAWN

SPIELRAUM CREDITS

Spielraum is a three-chapter exhibition and film created by Jasmina Cibic and presented at Ludwig Museum Budapest, MGLC Ljubljana and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade.

The project is co-produced by Waddington Studios, London, the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, MGLC Ljubljana, Aksioma—Institute for Contemporary Art, Ljubljana, and Ludwig Museum Budapest.

CHAPTER 1: *THE NATION LOVES IT*

Exhibition at Ludwig Museum Budapest
29 January–8 March 2015
Curated by Róna Kopeczky

SOUNDSCAPES AND SOUNDTRACK TO FILM:
Simon Fisher Turner

ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANT:
Mateja Šetina

COSTUMES FOR PERFORMANCES:
Sanja Grcić

PERFORMERS IN THE EXHIBITION:
Jennifer Pick and Lucy McCormick

DANCERS IN THE EXHIBITION:
Zoltán Grecsó, David Mikó and Beatrix Simkó

CURATORIAL ADVISOR:
Tevž Logar

PROJECT ASSISTANTS:
Manca Bajec and Ágnes Dézsma

PRODUCTION COLLABORATION:
Sid Moss

PRODUCTION OF THE EXHIBITION:
Ludwig Museum Budapest

CO-PRODUCTION:
Waddington Studios, London

CHAPTER 2: *GIVE EXPRESSION TO COMMON DESIRES*

Exhibition at MGLC Ljubljana
24 March–10 May 2015
Curated by Anna Gritz

ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANT:
Mateja Šetina

PERFORMERS IN THE EXHIBITION:
Enya Belak and Tini Rozman

HEAD OF THE TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT:
Andrej Zavodnik

PRODUCTION OF THE EXHIBITION:
Aksioma—Institute for Contemporary Art, Ljubljana

CO-PRODUCTION:
MGLC Ljubljana

SUPPORTED BY:
The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and the Municipality of Ljubljana

CHAPTER 3: *TEAR DOWN AND REBUILD*

Exhibition at the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade
11 September–25 October 2015
Curated by Una Popović

ORGANISATION AND PR:
Senka Ristivojević and Nikica Vukadin

PERFORMERS IN THE EXHIBITION:
Slavica Dolašević, Marija Jevtić, Sonja Radaković, Emilija Rodojičić and Danica Tesić

PRODUCTION OF THE EXHIBITION:
Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade

CO-PRODUCTION:
Waddington Studios London

PARTNER OF THE PROJECT:
Nomad Zagreb

SUPPORTED BY:
The Administration for Joint Services of the Republic Bodies of Serbia, Museum of Yugoslav History and Northern Film School at Leeds Beckett University

THANKS TO

Boba Mirjana Stojadinović, Sid Moss, Senka Ristivojević, Alessandro Vincentelli, Marcela Okretič, Jure and Nada Bajec, Damir and Dragica Cibic, Róna Kopeczky, Ana Panić, Vladimir Vidmar, Mića Jakovljević, Nataša Pavlović, Simona Vidmar, Tevž Logar, Una Popović, Pete Moss, Marcela Okretič, Nika Grabar, Jelica Jovanović, Matevž Čelik, Anže Habjan, Vladimir Kulić, Tim Brotherton, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, Lucijan Bratuš, Yasmin Martin Vodopivec, Nevenka Šivavec, Jože Crnič, Anders Härm, Gal Kirn, KORO Norway, Stacion—Center for Contemporary Art Prishtina, Les Rencontres Internationales

SPIELRAUM TEAM BIOGRAPHIES

MANCA BAJEC began working as an assistant to Jasmina Cibic for *Fruits of Our Land*, Cibic's solo presentation for the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Bajec also worked as a research and production assistant on the *Spielraum* Project. Bajec is an artist and writer whose multidisciplinary work is situated in the field of space / time, memory and sociopolitical issues. Having completed a BA at the Academy of Fine Art in Venice, she continued her studies in Ljubljana while working in theatres as a stage designer and performer. She was nominated for the emerging artist ESSL Award in 2010 and was an Ashley Family Foundation Fellow in 2011. Bajec has presented her work internationally and recently published work with Eros Press and Mnemoscape. In October 2016, Bajec presented her new commissioned piece, *Witness Corner Marked* in Venice, Italy. She is currently completing her PhD at the Royal College of Art, London, conducting research on destruction of sites of memory in former Yugoslavia. Bajec, who grew up in the Middle East but was born in Slovenia, now lives and works in London.

MARK CAREY has been working with Jasmina Cibic as the cinematographer on her moving image works since 2008. Mark started his visual career as a widely published reportage photographer before studying Cinematography at the National Film and Television School, UK, in the early 90s. His projects have been critically acclaimed and award winning: BAFTA, RTS, Broadcast, PROMAX and Grierson awards amongst others. His credits include Additional Cinematography documentary shoots for Oscar-winning director Alex Gibney, for the Sundance 2013 premiere of *Finding Fela!*; work on the 2014 BAFTA finalist *We Steal Secrets: The Wikileaks Story*; and photography for Martin Scorsese and David Tedeschi on *The 50 Year Argument*, premiered at the 2014 Sheffield Doc/Fest. Other credits include the documentaries *Saying It For The Girls* (BAFTA winner) and *China Power: The Great Chinese Art Revolution*, the dramas *Life for Daniel* and *Cash in Hand*, and many commercials and music clips. He joined the Northern Film School at Leeds Beckett University in 2012, where he leads the Cinematography department and Filmmaking postgrad programmes.

MICHELLE DEIGNAN is an Irish artist, filmmaker, film editor and educator living in London. She has been editing films for artists, production companies, broadcasters and independent filmmakers since 1997. She worked as the film editor on a number of moving image works by Jasmina Cibic, for projects such as *For Our Economy and Culture*, the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, and *Building Desire* at the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Serbia, as well as the *Spielraum* trilogy. Deignan's own moving image work is distributed by LUX and has been screened and exhibited in venues such as Whitechapel Art Gallery, London; Badischer Kunstverein, Karlsruhe; Tramway, Glasgow; Camden Arts Centre, London; Media Art Lab, Moscow; Irish Film Institute, Dublin; Tate Modern, London; Gaité Lyrique, Paris; Malmö Konsthall, Malmö; Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; and CAN, Neuchâtel.

RAFAELA DRAŽIĆ is an award-winning visual communication designer working internationally for cultural and non-governmental organisations. Dražić holds a PhD from the Fine Arts Academy, University of Warsaw. Dražić's work has been shown at the Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht; Foksal Gallery, Warsaw; In Between Gallery, London; KW Institute for Contemporary Art, Berlin; Centre for Visual Introspection, Bucharest; Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, and many others. Her clients have included Storefront Gallery, New York; Camera Austria, Vienna; Museum of Modern Art, Warsaw; Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb; Venice Architecture Biennale; Calvert 22 Gallery, London; Nottingham Contemporary Museum; Onomatopee, Eindhoven. Her work can be found at www.rafaeladrazic.net.

JELICA JOVANOVIĆ is an architect and graduate of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, as well as a PhD student at the University of Technology, Vienna, since 2013. She was a scholar on the OeAD One Month Visit and Action AT-SK programmes and a researcher for the Slovak Academic Information Agency (SAIA). Jovanović has worked with Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB), the Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade, Serbia (CIK), Belgrade Open School (BOŠ), Europa Media and IAESTE. She is a founder and member of the NGO Group of Architects, a coordinator of regional project Unfinished Modernisations for the Association of Belgrade Architects (funded by EACEA Culture 2007–2013), and the project coordinator and web editor of Docomomo Serbia (Secretary General 2010–2013). Jovanović has worked as a researcher on the following projects: Inappropriate Monuments; the evaluation of the central zone of New Belgrade; Lifting the Curtain: Central European Architectural Networks at the Centro Culturale Don Orione Artigianelli, Venice; and *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association, 2012).

CONTRIBUTOR BIOGRAPHIES

ANNA GRITZ is a curator at KW Institute for Contemporary Art, Berlin. She previously worked as a curator at the South London Gallery and the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, where she programmed performance, films and exhibitions, and commissioned new works by artists including Juliette Blightman, Michael Smith, Kapwani Kiwanga, Bonnie Camplin, Cally Spooner and Lis Rhodes. Her curatorial projects also include group exhibitions *Last Seen Entering the Biltmore* (South London Gallery, 2014) and *duh? Art & Stupidity* (co-curated with Paul Clinton as an independent project, at Focal Point Gallery, Southend-on-Sea, UK, 2015). In addition to this, she was the curatorial attaché for the 20th Biennale of Sydney. Gritz's contributions have been published in journals, exhibition catalogues and edited collections.

RÓNA KOPECZKY is an art historian and curator based in Budapest. She worked as a curator of international art at the Ludwig Museum Budapest. Her curatorial work there included the solo exhibition of the artist Katarzyna Kozyra, retrospective exhibitions of Braco Dimitrijević and Agnes Denes, a collective review of contemporary Taiwanese art, and a mid-career retrospective of Pieter Hugo, as well as site-specific projects by Société Réaliste and Jasmina Cibic. She joined the acb Gallery, Budapest as one of its artistic directors in 2015, and worked as a member of the international team of the first OFF-Biennale Budapest. Kopeczky is the co-founder of Easttopics, a platform dedicated to Eastern European art. She holds a PhD in Art History from the Paris-Sorbonne University (Paris IV).

UNA POPOVIĆ is a curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade. Her work is directly linked with explorations in

the field of contemporary art, from historical conceptualism to contemporary practices. Popović has accomplished major collaborative projects on the regional and international scene, as well as organising international projects. In 2013, she was invited as a guest curator to Tate Modern in London, where she co-curated the exhibition *Inverted House*. Her recent projects in curating include *Formless: Fluid Reality in New Media Art*, Istanbul Bilgi University and *Ways to Overcome*, an international group exhibition in collaboration with Künstlerhaus Bremen, Germany.

DUBRAVKA SEKULIĆ is an architect researching transformations of contemporary cities, at the nexus between the production of space, laws and economy. She is an assistant professor at the Institute for Contemporary Art, Faculty of Architecture, TU Graz and a PhD fellow at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture, ETH Zürich, Switzerland. Her PhD project "Constructing Nonalignment: The Work of Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Third World 1961–1989" is based on the research exhibition *Three Points of Support: Zoran Bojović*, which she curated at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade in 2012, and an accompanying book was published in 2013. Her published books with Jan van Eyck Academie include *Glotzt Nicht so Romantisch! On Extra-Legal Space in Belgrade* and *Surfing the Black: Yugoslav Black Wave Cinema and its Transgressive Moments*, co-edited with Gal Kirn and Žiga Testen. Sekulić is the recipient of a number of awards and scholarships, including the post-master research lab In Search of Common Ground at the Royal Institute of Art, Stockholm, the Jan van Eyck Academie residency programme in Maastricht, and the Akademie Schloss Solitude Fellowship in Stuttgart. She exhibits and lectures regularly across Europe.

JELENA VESIĆ is an independent curator, writer, editor and lecturer. She was co-editor of *Prelom: Journal of Images and Politics* (2001–2009) and co-founder of the independent organisation Prelom Collective (2005–2010). She actively participates in publishing, research and exhibition practices that bring together political theory and contemporary art. In her writing, Vesić explores the relations between art and ideology in the field of geopolitical art history writing, focusing on experimental art and exhibition practices of the 1960s and 1970s in former Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe. She also writes on artistic labour and practices of self-organisation in the age of cognitive capitalism. Her latest curatorial projects are based on experiments with the form of lecture-performance, the immaterial quality of the exhibits and storytelling, and include: *Oktobar XXX: Exposition—Symposium—Performance* (2012–2013), *On Undercurrents of Negotiating Artistic Jobs—Between Love and Money, Between Money and Love* (2013–2014) and *Exhibition on Work and Laziness* (2012–2015). Vesić curated the collective exhibition and research project *Political Practices of (Post) Yugoslav Art: Retrospective 01* (2009–2010) and edited the accompanying book. She lives and works in Belgrade.

ALESSANDRO VINCENTELLI is Curator of Exhibitions & Research at BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, Gateshead. He previously worked as Curator at Ikon Gallery, Birmingham and as Arts Officer at the Arts Council England, North East. At BALTIC, he has curated exhibitions with many artists including Ed & Nancy Kienholz, Steve McQueen, Yoko Ono, Elizabeth Price, Lindsay Seers, Heather Phillipson, Raqs Media Collective, Bani Abidi, Hajra Waheed and Martin Boyce. Following Vincentelli's solo exhibition for Elizabeth Price, the artist was later nominated for and awarded the Tate Turner Prize, 2012. He co-curated the David Maljković exhibition *Sources in the Air* at BALTIC in 2013, a collaboration and publication with Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven. He has curated several international group exhibitions: *They Used to Call it the Moon*, 2014, was a major group exhibition at BALTIC with work by Aleksandra Mir, Katie Paterson, Trevor Paglen, Aura Satz, and Simon Starling. In early 2017 he will prepare a group exhibition addressing the refugee crisis titled *Disappearance at Sea—Mare Nostrum*. In 2017 he is also curating a group exhibition for six galleries in Amsterdam titled *Where Do We Go From Here*, and an exhibition with Canadian artist Rodney Graham, for BALTIC in partnership with IMMA, Dublin. He will curate an exhibition at BALTIC with Jasmina Cibic in 2018.

WHAT, HOW & FOR WHOM (WHW) is a curatorial collective formed in 1999 and based in Zagreb and Berlin. Its members are Ivet Ćurlin, Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić and Sabina Sabolović, and designer and publicist Dejan Kršić. WHW organises a range of productions, exhibitions and publishing projects, and directs Gallery Nova in Zagreb. Since its first exhibition titled *What, How & for Whom, on the occasion of 152nd anniversary of the Communist Manifesto*, held in Zagreb in 2000, WHW has curated a range of international projects, including *Collective Creativity* (Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel, 2005), the 11th Istanbul Biennial *What Keeps Mankind Alive?* (2009) and *One Needs to Live Self-Confidently... Watching* (the Croatian Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale, 2011). Their recent projects include the *Meeting Points 7* festival in Zagreb, Antwerp, Cairo, Hong-Kong, Beirut, Vienna and Moscow under the title *Ten Thousand Wiles and a Hundred Thousand Tricks* in 2013 and 2014, the exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge* at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid in 2014, and David Maljković's *A Retrospective by Appointment*, at Gallery Nova and various venues in Zagreb in 2015.

GIOVANNA ZAPPERI is the Professor in Art History and Theory at Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Art in Bourges, France, and works at the intersection between art history, visual studies and feminism. She was the Rudolf Arnheim Guest Professor at Humboldt University in Berlin (2007–2008), a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Nantes (2009), and at the French Academy in Rome at the Villa Medici (2013–2014), where she conducted extensive research on the art critic and writer Carla Lonzi. Zapperi's articles have been published in various European languages and have appeared in a range of journals. These include texts on Marcel Duchamp and masculinity, Carla Lonzi's writings, feminism and visual culture in Berlusconi's Italy, and archival practices in contemporary art. Her PhD thesis received the Gender Studies Award of the City of Paris and was developed into a book entitled *L'artiste est une femme. La modernité de Marcel Duchamp* (*The Artist is a Woman: Marcel Duchamp's Modernity*). Zapperi also co-authored *Lo schermo del potere. Femminismo e regime della visibilità* (*The Screen of Power. Feminism and the Regime of Visibility*), with Alessandra Gribaldo, and she is the editor of the French edition of Carla Lonzi's *Autoritratto*. She is a member of AICA and was part of the editorial board of the journal Multitudes (2005–2009). Zapperi also serves as an advisor for the Eurias Fellowship Programme (European Institute for Advanced Studies Network), the Institute of Advanced Studies in Nantes, as well as the French Ministry of Culture (Art Research Programme).

ABOUT THE ARTIST

JASMINA CIBIC was born in 1979 in Ljubljana, Slovenia. She studied at the Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia before completing her MA in Fine Art at Goldsmiths College, London.

SOLO EXHIBITIONS

2017

The Spirit of Our Needs, curated by Katia Baudin, Kunstmuseen Krefeld, Museum Haus Esters

The Nation Loves it, Crawford Gallery, Cork

Firm Foundations, ŻAK | BRANICKA Gallery, Berlin

A Shining City on a Hill, curated by Juliana Engberg, Aarhus City of Culture 2017

Topical Devices, NN Contemporary, Northampton

2016

Tear Down and Rebuild, Esker Foundation, Calgary

Building Desire, curated by Branka Benčič, Apoteka, Vodnjan

NADA: Act I, curated by Jasna Jakšić, Vjenceslav Richter Collection, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb

Build Boldly, Build Swiftly, Build Well, curated by Juliana Engberg, Aarhus City of Culture 2017

2015

Spielraum, Onomatopee, Eindhoven

Building Desire, curated by Gordana Nikolić, Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina

Spielraum: Tear Down and Rebuild, curated by Una Popović, Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade

Spielraum: Give Expression to Common Desires, curated by Anna Gritz, MGLC Ljubljana

Spielraum: The Nation Loves It, curated by Róna Kopeczky, Ludwig Museum Budapest

2014

Fruits of Our Land, Saw Gallery, Ottawa

Fruits of Our Land, LMAK Projects, New York

2013

For Our Economy and Culture, the Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale

2012

Situation Anophthalmus hitleri, European Capital of Culture 2012, Maribor Art Gallery

2011

The Object of the Spectacle, Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana

2009

Airport Projects, Galerija Ganes Pratt, Ljubljana

Spectators, Tourists and Casual Passers-By, ADHOC Galleria, Vigo

2008

Other Mythologies, Maribor Art Gallery

Ideologies of Display, Galerija Ganes Pratt, Ljubljana

2007

Mythmaking as a Colonisation Tactic, Tobačna, Ljubljana

Tourists Welcome, Ljubljana International Airport

Visitour, Galerija Ganes Pratt, Ljubljana

2005

Casanova Eurocity train performance for INTERREG IIIA project, Ljubljana – Venice – Ljubljana

SELECTED GROUP EXHIBITIONS

2017

Nieuw Amsterdams Peil – Where do we go from here?, curated by Alessandro Vincentelli, tegenboschvanvreden, Amsterdam

Aéroports / Villes-Mondes, curated by Franck Bauchard, Gaîté Lyrique, Paris

Videonale e.V., Kunstmuseum Bonn

Casebooks, curated by Michael Maziere, Ambika P3, London

Symptoms of Society, curated by Alenka Gregorič, Guangdong Museum of Art, China

Open Frame Award, Wiesbaden Museum of Art

Identification, curated by Róna Kopeczky, La Box, Bourges

Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition, Best international artist award, Charlottenborg Fonden, Copenhagen

Identification, Róna Kopeczky, acb gallery Budapest

2016

MAC International, Metropolitan Arts Centre, Belfast

Bartók, Ludwig Museum Budapest

We are the Centre..., curated by Paul O'Neill, The Hessel Museum of Art and the Center for Curatorial Studies, Bard College

Works and Lives In, curated by Aurelia Nowak and Vanja Žanko, Zona Sztuki Aktualnej, Szczecin

Monitoring, 33rd Kassel Documentary Film and Video Festival, Kasseler Kunstverein

Cold Front from the Balkans, curated by Ali Akay and Alenka Gregorič, Pera Museum, Istanbul

Cinemaniac: Think Film, curated by Branka Benčić, Pula Film Festival, MMC Luka

Terminal P, curated by Franck Bauchard, La Panacee, Montpellier

Beyond the Globe: 8th Triennial of Contemporary Art—U3, curated by Boris Groys, Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana

Low-Budget Utopias, curated by Zdenka Badovinac and Bojana Piškur, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana
Acquisitions 2012–2015, Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad

Bird in Hand, Palo Alto Art Center, California

Cypher, curated by Anna Jehle, Artists Unlimited, Bielefeld

2015

3LHD, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb

005–2015 Crisis and New Beginnings, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana

Was It a Car or a Cat I Saw, curated by Vladimir Vidmar, Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana

Darker and Darker Grows the Landscape, curated by Benedicte le Pimpec and Isaline Vuille, Le Commun, Geneva

Demented Architecture, curated by Aaron Lister, City Gallery, Wellington, New Zealand

Art and Authority, Museum of Contemporary Art Banja Luka

Heroes We Love, curated by Miško Šuvaković and Simona Vidmar, UGM Maribor
Magija umjetnosti, Gliptoteka, Zagreb

Die Magie der Kunst, Künstlerhaus Wien

2014

Art and Authority, Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade

Black House, curated by Anders Harm, EKKM, Tallinn

Disturbances, MGLC Ljubljana

BoomBang, NN Contemporary Art, Northampton

Art and Authority, The Gallery of Matica Srpska, Novi Sad

La Magia dell'Arte—protagonisti dell'Arte Slovena contemporanea 1968–2013, Villa Manin, Passariano

Open Frame, Nassauischer Kunstverein, Wiesbaden

2013

Disturbances, European Month of Photography, Musée national d'histoire et d'art, Luxembourg

No One Belongs Here More than You, curated by Red Min(e)d, 54th October Salon, Belgrade

Monitoring, 30th Kassel Documentary Film and Video Festival, Kasseler Kunstverein

U3—Triennial of Contemporary Art – Resilience, curated by Nataša Bachelez-Petrešin, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana

30th Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana, an invited artist project, MGLC Ljubljana

2012

Almost Springtime, 100 years of Slovene Art, Maribor Art Gallery

Strangers in a Strange Land, LMAK Projects, New York

Borderline, produced by Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz, European City of Culture Maribor 2012

No Experience Necessary, Invited International Artist's Project for Bus-Tops, a project for the London 2012 Cultural Olympiad

Art Lending Library, Glasgow International Festival of Visual Art

Spectral Metropole, curated by Ken Pratt, Gallery Vžigalica, City Museum Ljubljana

2011

Performa, Maribor Art Gallery

Narratives in Progress, curated by Juan de Nieves, Regional Museum Celje

Catlin Art Prize, Tramshed, London

2010

Police the Police—4th edition of Young Artists' Biennial, curated by Mica Gherghescu, Bucharest

U3—6th Triennial of Contemporary Art—Idea for Living, curated by Charles Esche, Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana

Vordemberge – Gildewart Award, Mestna galerija Ljubljana

Sarcophagus of the Kingdom, I—MYU Projects, London

What's happening? Stereo Exhibition, curated by Petja Grafenauer and Vanja Žanko, City Gallery of Nova Gorica

2009

The Secret of the Ninth Planet, California College of the Arts, San Francisco

The Construction of the Virtual and the Real, Jozef Štefan Institute, Ljubljana

2008

Shining, Divus Unit 30, London

Museum on the Street, Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana

Natural Relations, Škuc Gallery, City of Women festival, Ljubljana

PILOT 3, Yokohama, Tokyo and Deptford X, London

2007

Present State, Five Years Gallery, London

Landescape, Künstlerhaus, Graz

Jürgen, Every Man is a Curator, Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana

Bad Girls & Bad Boys II, City Art Gallery, Ljubljana

PILOT 3, Venice, Italy and Chelsea School of Art, London

Catlin Art Prize, Ada Street Gallery, London

2006

PP Untitled / Fast and Lost, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Venice

George Polke Opens, Invites, Presents, George Polke, London

Goldsmiths Degree Show, Goldsmiths College, London

Bad Girls & Bad Boys, Galerija Ganes Pratt, Ljubljana

2005

Poles Apart / Poles Together: Markers V, curated by Doron Polak and Juan Puentes, 51st Venice Biennale

Everybody for Safari, Visura Aperta Festival, Momiano

89° Mostra Collettiva, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Venice

2004

Dafne revisited, Galleria A + A, Venice

Q 13, Centro Culturale Candiani, Venice

Waiting Room Station No. 2 Sarajevo, Umjetnička galerija BiH, Sarajevo

Goldsmiths Degree Show, Goldsmiths College, London

AGORA, Transition Gallery, London

Gemine Muse, curated by Giacinto Pietroantonio, Museo Navale, Venice

2003

Waiting Room, 11th Biennale of Young Artists on the theme of 'cosmos', Athens

The Big Bright Blue Factory, a mobile project for the exhibition *Dafne*, collaboration with Crash in Progress, Fondazione Thetis, Venice

2002

89° Mostra Collettiva, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Venice

Forme umane, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Palazetto Tito, Venice

2000

ARTEC, San Erasmo, Venice

1999

Percorsi d'Arte, curated by Riccardo Caldura, Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Bologna

SCREENINGS

2017

Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb

Les Rencontres Internationales, Gaîté Lyrique, Paris

MAC International, Metropolitan Arts Centre, Belfast

Pera Museum, Istanbul

Concrete Futures, Sheffield Fringe and Whitechapel Gallery, Close-Up Film Centre, London

2016

Solo screening:
Spielraum, CCA Laznia, Gdansk

Solo screening:
Artist Cinema, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb

Les Rencontres Internationales, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin

Les Rencontres Internationales, Gaîté Lyrique, Paris

2015

Solo screening:
Igor Zabel Foundation, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana

Boom Bang, Zagare Capital of Culture, Lithuania

Solo screening:
Micropolitics, curated by BLOK, Gallery Nova, Zagreb

2014

O:4W Film Festival, Cardiff

Solo screening:
10th Berwick Film & Media Arts Festival, Berwick-upon-Tweed

Les Rencontres Internationales, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin
Art Brussels, Cinema Programme, curated by Katerina Gregos

Solo screening:
Capa Contemporary Photography Center, curated by Gabriella Uhl, Budapest

Les Rencontres Internationales, Gaîté Lyrique / Palais de Tokyo, Paris

14th goEast Festival of Central and Eastern European Film, Wiesbaden

2013

CPH:DOX* / Copenhagen International Documentary Film Festival

Solo screening:
KORO, Oslo, Norway

2012

For Our Public, curated by Michelle Deignan, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana

AWARDS

2016

Winner of the MAC International Ulster Bank Award

Shortlisted for the Golden Cube Award, 33rd Kassel Documentary Film and Video Festival

Nominated for the Film London Jarman Award

Best International Artist Award, Charlottenborg Fonden, Copenhagen

2014

Shortlisted for Open Frame Award, 14th goEast Film Festival, Nassaurisher Kunstverein, Wiesbaden

2011

Trend Award for Outstanding Achievements in Visual Art, Slovenia

Catlin Commission Winner

2010

Shortlisted for the Vordemberge – Gildewart Foundation award

2007

Catlin Art Prize Finalist

2006

Shortlisted for John Jones Art on Paper Acquisition and Award, ZOO Art Fair, London

2005

Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation award, Venice

2004

(Passaporta art group) shortlisted for Premio Furla by Cesare Pietroiusti, Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Bologna

2002

Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation award, Venice

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

8th Triennial of Contemporary Art U3: Beyond the Globe, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2016.

Bassin, Aleksander, *La magia dell'arte—I protagonisti dell'Arte Slovena contemporanea 1968–2013*, exhibition catalogue, DLUL, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2014, p 147.

Bevilacqua la Masa 89° Mostra Collettiva, exhibition catalogue, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Venice, Italy, 2006, pp 48–49.

Bevilacqua la Masa 90° Mostra Collettiva, exhibition catalogue, Bevilacqua la Masa Foundation, Venice, Italy, 2006, pp 98–102.

Caldura, Riccardo, "Passaporta", *Gemine Muse*, exhibition catalogue, various venues, 2003–2005.

Darker and Darker Grows the Landscape, exhibition catalogue, Le Commun, Geneva, Switzerland, 2015, p 11.

Colner, Miha, *Disturbances*, exhibition catalogue, Kulturprojekte, Berlin, Germany, 2012, pp 32–33.

Cullen, Deborah, ed, *Interruption, The 30th Biennial of Graphic Arts Ljubljana*, exhibition catalogue, London: Black Dog Publishing, 2013.

Dragnea, Ana-Maria, and Cristina Iurea, eds, *Police the Police*, exhibition catalogue, Bucharest: META Publishing, 2011, pp 76–77.

di Felice, Paul, and Pierre Stiwer, eds, *Mois Européen de la photographie*, exhibition catalogue, Café-Crème asbl, Luxembourg, 2013, p 19.

Fiedler, Elisabeth, and Michael Petrowitch, eds, *Borderline*, exhibition catalogue, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Austria, 2013, pp 32–39.

Goldsmiths Degree Show 2004, exhibition catalogue, Goldsmiths University, London, 2004.

Il Palazzo Enciclopedico, exhibition catalogue, Marsilio Editori, 55th Venice Biennale, Venice, Italy, 2013, pp 144–145.

Larsen, Lars Bang, *The Secret of the Ninth Planet*, exhibition catalogue, California College of the Arts, San Francisco, 2009.

Lister, Aaron, ed, *Demented Architecture*, exhibition catalogue, City Gallery Wellington, New Zealand, 2015.

Nikolić, Gordana, ed, *Building Desire*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Serbia, 2016.

O'Reilly, Sally, ed, *Goldsmiths Degree Show 2006*, Goldsmiths University, London, 2006.

Panić, Ana, ed, *Art and Authority—Landscapes from the Collection of Josip Tito Broz*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade, Serbia, 2014, pp 87–89.

Red Min(e)d, eds, *Nobody belongs here more than you*, exhibition catalogue, 54th October Salon, Belgrade, Serbia, 2013, pp 16–21.

Soban, Tamara, ed, *Museum on the Street*, exhibition catalogue, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2009, pp 32–33.

Soban, Tamara, and Igor Španjol, eds, *Crises and New Beginnings. Art in Slovenia 2005–2015*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2016.

Soban, Tamara, and Igor Španjol eds, *U3—6th Triennial of Contemporary Art in Slovenia: Idea for Living—Realism and Reality in Contemporary Art in Slovenia*, exhibition catalogue, Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2010, pp 7, 29.

Vidmar, Simona, ed, *Land(e)scape*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstlerhaus Graz and Maribor Art Gallery, Slovenia, 2007, pp 8–12.

Vidmar, Vladimir, and Tevž Logar, eds, *For our Economy and Culture*, exhibition catalogue, Slovenian Pavilion, 55th Venice Biennale, MGML and Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2013.

Zupančič, Tadej, ed, "Training the Gaze", *Trend Awards*, Roman Brilej ed, Ljubljana: Zavod Trend, 2012, pp 54–72.

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Balantič, Polona, "The Fantastical World of Jasmina Cibic's Ideology Hunt", *Ambient*, issue 105, Ljubljana, 2012, pp 171–175.

Beesley, Ruth, "Constructing Iconographies", *Aesthetica*, issue 53, June 2013, pp 70–75.

Bodrožić, Nataša, and Irena Borić, eds, *Politics of Feelings / Economies of Love*, Eindhoven: Onomatopee, 2014, pp 28–31.

Cibic, Jasmina, "The Double Game—Investigation of Representation from Within", Critical Issues in Public Art, lecture series, KORO, Oslo, Norway, 2013, pp 8–10.

Cibic, Jasmina, "The Greenhouse Effect and Other Mythologies", *Portfolio Magazine*, issue 47, May 2008, pp 36–39.

Cibic, Jasmina, "How not to shame a name", *On Productive Shame, Reconciliation and Agency*, Suzana Milevska ed, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2015, pp 162–173.

Dunne, Anthony, and Fiona Raby, eds, *Speculative Everything. Design, Fiction and Social Dreaming*, London: MIT Press, 2014.

Fite-Wassilak, Chris, "Jasmina Cibic", *Frieze*, issue 171, May 2015, p 231.

Kosec, Miloš, "Pomembnost dvojne igre", *Outsider magazine*, issue 8, December 2016, Ljubljana, pp 76–83.

Grata, Agnieszka, "Jasmina Cibic", Critics' Picks, *Artforum*, October 2015.

Hemsworth, Gerard, "Jasmina Cibic", *Pilot III*, [London], 2007, pp 67–69.

Stegnar, Katarina, and Miha Horvat, *Performa 2011*, Maribor: Mala garažna knjižnica, 2011.

Vidmar, Simona, ed, *Airport Projects*, Maribor: Maribor Art Gallery, 2009.

Vidmar, Simona, "Spectators, Tourists and Casual Passers-By", *Oris* [Zagreb], issue 58, 2009, pp 178–187.

Žanko, Vanja, *Inside*, Rovinj: Maistra, 2016, pp 45–48.

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Behind the scenes photography:
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Give Expression to Common Desires

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Jasmina Cibic and Pete Moss

Tear Down and Rebuild

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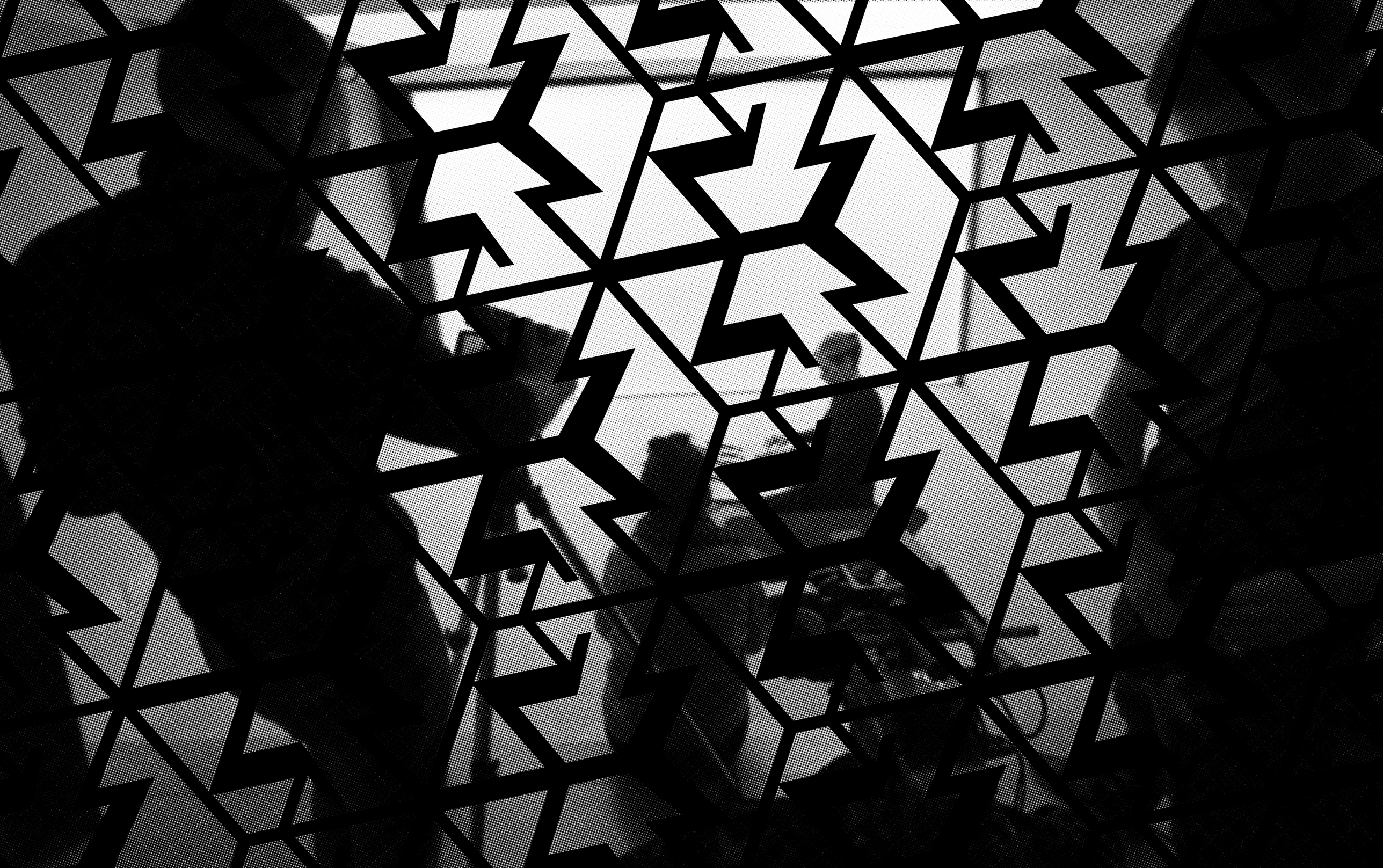
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