

Dostojanstvo spomina / *The Dignity of Memory*

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Z globalizacijo kapitalizma progresivno slabi pojem države, osnovne organizacijske enote, za katero so se skozi zgodovino bile mnogotere vojne. Sodobnega človeka spremljajo nacionalizmi in sovraštva, pred impulzivnimi valovi katerih ga država sama po sebi ne štiti. Zato so politične meje zabrisane, države umirajo in nastajajo nova območja, zasnovana na moči globalnega kapitala. Zaradi mešanja nacionalnih in identitetnih vprašanj v poznih osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja smo lahko spremljali norosti jugoslovanskega nacionalizma, ki je pospešil proces odmiranja države in njeno identiteto nadomestil s kompleksnimi kolektivnimi skupnostmi.

Kaj pospešuje razvoj novih nacionalizmov? Eden izmed najpomembnejših razlogov je vsekakor bitka globalnega kapitala za nova geografska območja, ki spodbuja permanentno ekonomsko vojno na območjih interesa globalnih investorjev. Državne meje ne varujejo pred izkoriščanjem, pustošenjem in uničevanjem območij, ki jih za seboj pustijo ekonomske vojne. Posledice tovrstne »produkcije« soočajo človeštvo z vprašanjem lastnega obstoja, predvsem zaradi za globalni kapital nepomembnih podnebnih sprememb in globalnega segregiranja. Nestabilnost oziroma destabilizacija političnega reda se kaže tudi v neartikuliranosti leve in desne, ki se v bistvu strinjata in tako oblikujeta nekakšno patološko stanje. Badiou (2019) govori o nacionalni politični in globalni gospodarski moči; politična oblast se težko prilagaja globalni hegemoniji kapitalizma in to pospešuje krize, ki imajo na splošno identitetni značaj. Živimo v dobi umiranja socialnega človeka in s tem je izničeno tudi njegovo dostojanstvo.

Pričujoča razstava in katalog predstavljata nabor spomenikov z ozemlja neobstoječe države. Zaradi novih vznikajočih sovraštav, nestrpnosti in fašizmov postavlja ta na ogled umetniška arhitekturna in kiparska dela, ki opominjajo na pozabljena življenja in nas spodbujajo, da namesto ponavljajočih se napak iz preteklosti vzpostavimo drugačen dialog. Kustosi in pisci iz bivših jugoslovanskih republik preizprašujemo pomen in komunikacijo spomenikov NOB danes. Fizična prisotnost spomenikov v pokrajini je opomin na grozovitost posledic fašizma in nacizma, kar pa odpira vprašanje vloge spomenikov nekdanjega jugoslovanskega ozemlja v današnji skupni Evropi. Razstava in katalog sta nenehno dopolnjujoč se arhiv raznovrstnega fotografskega, filmskega gradiva in zapisov avtorjev ter oblikujeta nov vidik ohranjanja te arhitekturne zapuščine v današnjem svetu. Projekt presega prekarne sisteme produkcije, ki za seboj puščajo shirana živeča trupla sodobnega kapitalističnega človeka. Odpira nova polja delovanja, ki kljubujejo izkoriščanju ozemelj in malega človeka.

Širši kontekst projekta je odgovor na komercializacijo prostorov spomina, saj odpira problematiko rušenja in skrunjenja spomenikov bivše Jugoslavije, ki se odraža v uporabi spomenikov za komercialne namene (snemanje reklam in videospotov, hipsterske turistične destinacije). Analiza gradiva različnih sodobnih avtorjev, ki spomenike postavljajo na katero izmed turističnih poti po razoranem ozemlju bivše države, odpira problematiko trženja in izkoriščanja lokacij spominskih obeležij in grobnic za nove zasluge. Kolonizatorski turizem pomeni novo obliko kolonializma 21. stoletja, saj ga globalni kapital udejanja kot orodje osvajanja prostorov spomina, ki za večanje njihovega obiska in oglaševanje produktov prodaja izmišljene in neresnične zgodbe. Na ta način reinterpretira umetniška obeležja spomina in z lažmi zakriva množična grobišča pokopanih – ljudi, ki so življenje izgubili zaradi idealizma, da jih bo država obvarovala pred zlom.

Svet za prihodnost potrebuje solidarnost in spoštovanje obstoječega planeta; kaj drugega je to kot ljubezen? Badiou (2019) pravi, da nam »ljubezen pomaga odkriti, da smo sposobni razmišljati in čutiti nekaj, kar nam ni bilo znano ali za kar smo mislili, da nismo sposobni. Ljubezen nam pomaga spoznati, da nismo omejeni, kar je definicija sreče. Gonilo naše subjektivne identitete je danes koristoljubje. Zato mislim, da so glavni izzivi, s katerimi se srečujeta dve osebi, ki se ljubita, ravno v konstrukciji skupnega sveta, ki jima bo pomagal premagati dva osebna interesa. Ljubezen ima en skupni svet, ki ni zunanji svet. Znotraj tega skupnega sveta je ljubeč odnos razprava, razrešitev napetosti, protislovje, ki ta skupni svet še bolj razširi.« Se bomo kdaj naučili, kako solidarno sobivati na enem planetu in spoštovati drugačnost? Z ljubeznijo morebiti kdaj v temni prihodnosti.

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Mladenović, Ivica: Alain Badiou: Istorjski proces će dovesti do reunifikacije Jugoslavije, 31. 8. 2019, Novi plamen – https://www.noviplamen.net/glavna/alain-badiou-istorijski-proces-ce-dovesti-do-reunifikacije-jugoslavije/?fbclid=IwAR25ZxZ0X2_GTaQAmIO-h4J8n1NkWD3eieAhWZVFne-blDovk8zrgDa5N52E.



The globalisation of capitalism is causing a progressive weakening of the notion of the State, a basic organisational unit for which many wars have been fought throughout history. Multiple manifestations of nationalism and hatred are occurring in the present time period, and the State by itself does not offer one protection against their impulse waves. As a result, political boundaries are blurred, states are expiring with new areas being formed, based on the power of global capital. Due to the confluence of national and identity issues in the late 1980s and 1990s, we witnessed the insanity of Yugoslav nationalism, which accelerated the process of withering-away of the State and replaced its identity with complex collective communities.

What is accelerating the development of new nationalisms? One of the most important causes is certainly the battle of the global capital for new geographical areas, engendering a permanent economic war in the territories of interest to global investors. State borders do not safeguard against exploitation, devastation, and destruction of geographical areas, which economic wars leave in their wake. The consequences of this kind of production are confronting the humanity with the question of its own existence, particularly due to climate change and global warming, issues in which the global capital takes no interest. The instability or rather destabilisation of the political order is evident also in the unarticulated left and right, which are essentially in agreement and in this way form a sort of pathological state of affairs. Badiou (2019) talks about national political and global economic power; political authority has a difficult time adapting to the global hegemony of capitalism; this causes the acceleration of crises, which typically have an identity-based character. We live in the era of the withering-away of a social individual with their dignity being eradicated in the process.

The exhibition and its catalogue present a line-up of monuments from the territory of a non-existent state. Due to a new crop of hate, intolerance, and fascism outbreaks, the exhibited artistic architectural and sculpture works act as reminders of forgotten lives and encourage us to establish a different kind of dialogue rather than repeat past mistakes. As curators and authors from former Yugoslav republics, we are challenging the significance and communication of monuments to the People's Liberation Struggle today. The physical presence of the monuments in the landscape is a cautionary tale of the consequences of fascism and Nazism, which in turn raises the question of the role of the monuments of a former territory in today's Europe, common to us all. The exhibition and catalogue act as an archive of all sorts of photographic material, film footage, and authors' writings that is constantly expanding, an archive which forms a new aspect of the preservation of this architectural heritage in today's world. The project transcends systems of production based on non-standard labour which are leaving behind a trail of haggard living corpses of the contemporary capitalist individual. It opens new fields of action, which defy the exploitation of territories and the common person.

The broader context of the project is a reaction to the commercialisation of the spaces of memory. It raises the issue of the demolition and desecration of the monuments of ex-Yugoslavia as evidenced in the commercial use of monuments for the purposes of shooting ads and music videos, as well as hipster tourist destinations. By analysing materials by different contemporary authors who have included the monuments in various tourist routes across the ravaged territory of ex-Yugoslavia, the issue of marketing and exploiting memorial and burial sites for new monetary gain is examined. Colonising tourism represents a new form of 21st century colonisation as the global capital leverages it as a tool for conquering spaces of remembrance, working up invented and spurious narratives for the purposes of increasing visitor figures and marketing products. In doing that, it reinterprets artistic memorial sites and uses lies to cloak the mass graves of those who lost their lives in their idealism, namely that the state would deliver them from evil.

The world needs solidarity and respect for the existing planet for the future; what is this but love? Badiou (2019) says that "love helps us discover that we're capable of thinking and feeling something which was unknown to us, or what we thought we were incapable of. Love helps us realise that we're not limited ... which is the definition of happiness. Today the driving force of our subjective identity is one's personal interest. Consequently, I believe that the main challenge facing two people who love each other is constructing a common world which will help them overcome two personal interests. [...] There is one common world that belongs to love, and this is not an outside world. Within this common world, love is a discussion, a resolution of tensions, a contradiction, etc., which further expands this common world." Will we ever learn to coexist on one planet in solidarity, and to respect what is different? With love, perhaps someday in a dark future.

Source

Mladenovič Ivica: Alain Badiou: "Istorijski proces će dovesti do reunifikacije Jugoslavije" ("The historical process will lead to the reunification of Yugoslavia" - Serbian only), 31st August 2019, Novi plamen / https://www.noviplamen.net/glavna/alain-badiou-istorijski-proces-ce-dovesti-do-reunifikacije-jugoslavije/?fbclid=IwAR25ZxZ0X2_GTaQAmI0h4J8n1NkWD3eieAhWZVFne-bldOvk8zrgDa5N52E