WHAT WAS SOCIALISM, AND WHAT COMES NEXT?

capitalism

socialism
PAVILION #10-11
WHAT WAS SOCIALISM, AND WHAT COMES NEXT?

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Cover: Dan Perjovschi, The Right Socialism
9 drawings, each drawing 14.5 cm x 19.5 cm, marker on paper.
Artist project for Pavilion.
Xavier Ribas: Mud

Xavier Ribas’ landscape-photography series Mud consists of 30 photographs showing bare ground with dry ochre mud. The photographs were taken at the place of the Maya village Panabaj, on the shores of Atitlan Lake in Guatemala. The village Panabaj was buried under a mudslide on 5th October 2005 due to hurricane Stan. Just a few days after the catastrophe the place was officially declared as a mass grave, burying approximately 800 Panabaj inhabitants five meters under the ground.

Mud just shows the earth and its violence that could put a whole city under ground. There are only little remains of a city, not more than a single puzzle piece (Untitled Mud #19). Sometimes you observe little signs of human invention — doughty sticks that were put in the ground, little stones or footprints to mark the former houses, street and places, hoping against hope to rebuilt the village again — otherwise you could think that it is just earth, earth without history. Only these little hints let you guess that there was something; that the place has a history. But still, we can only see traces of what was there earlier and we are forced to imagine a landscape that had to look so much different than shown in the photographs. We have to search this traces and built our own image of a village that we have never seen and we will never see again. Moreover, these signs of human invention evoke associations with ancient Maya cult-sculptures; sculptures, which had a religious/cultic function. Now, it is questionable, if the special composition of sticks in Untitled Mud #21 or the circles in Untitled Mud #27 have a cultic function — they most likely are just there to mark something invisible — but their reference to a history of symbols (of the past) or a history of icons is obvious and isn’t it a metaphysical function, if these sticks mark something that cannot be seen again, if they transcend the invisibleness of the lost city?

In Mud, past, present and future are constantly visible, but not in a chronological order, rather it could be argued that every three times melt together to a meta-time. Likewise, there are obvious similarities to the archeological excavations in ancient Pompeii, but with the big difference that in Pompeii you just see the past today, whereas in Panabaj past, present and future are visible all at once.

I would like to argue that Mud does not only confront us with a geographical problem (tropical climate, mudslides, rain forest and the human invention in biological micro and macro systems), but also with a socio-political, or even better: biopolitical problem. Guatemala has been — with the help of the USA as a fact of the bipolar world order — in a state of civil war, which is sometimes even described as genocide, for a period of 36 years. Anti-communist military dictatorships did not take care of their population, above all the Maya residents, who were the biggest victims of the civil war. Since then, the situation seems to have changed, but 2004 the national-conservative Óscar Berger Perdomo became head of state and now the violation of human rights is nothing rare for a second time. The conflicts between urban and rural regions are fought with many victims and behind the democratic surface no one seems to care about the rural population. Ironically, the inhabitants of Panabaj are buried under a “surface”, without showing much of the past — a surface that is allocated with geographical catastrophes, but it is actually a symptom of today’s biopolitics. Now, in Ribas’ series Mud, we just see the visualization of consequences of biopolitical practices in a country that (still) struggles with its past, present and future.
Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #4), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.

Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #6), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.
Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #19), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.

Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #21), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.
Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #25), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.

Xavier Ribas, Untitled (Mud #27), 2006, C-print, 50 x 60 cm. Ed. 6. Courtesy: ProjecteSD gallery.
Katherine Verdery
She earned her Ph.D. from Stanford University and comes to The Graduate Center from the University of Michigan, where she was Eric R. Wolf Collegiate Professor of Anthropology. Prior to that she spent twenty years teaching at Johns Hopkins University. She has conducted multiple field projects in Romania, investigating such themes as ethnic relations, nationalism, the transformation of socialist systems, and the changes in agricultural property relations. She is the author of The Vanishing Hectare; The Ideology Under Socialism; and Transylvanian Political Lives of Dead Bodies; What Was the author of The Vanishing Hectare; The changes in agricultural property relations. She is a member of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Cities, a Member of the Council of Foreign Relations, and Chair of the newly formed Information Technology, International Cooperation and Global Security Committee of the SSRC.

Pascal Bruckner
French writer, contributor of the “Liberation”. Bruckner’s novel Bitter Moon was made into a film by Roman Polanski. His other works include The Temptation of Innocence: Living in the Age of Entitlement, Lunes de fiel, Parias, and The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt. He was awarded the Académie Française Prix 2000 and Medicci Prize 1995 for Essays. He is an active supporter of the US cause and the invasion of Iraq, signing letters and petitions in favour of Donald Rumsfeld, along with Romain Goupl and André Glucksmann (Le Monde, 4 March 2003).

Vladimir Tismaneanu
Dr. Tismaneanu, born in Romania, is Professor in the Department of Government and Politics and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at the University of Maryland (College Park). In 2006, Romania’s President Traian Basescu appointed Vladimir Tismaneanu chair of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. In December 2006, President Basescu presented the conclusions of the Commission’s Report to a joint session of the Romanian Parliament. He was the editor of the journal East European Politics and Societies, serves now as chair of the journal’s editorial committee, and serves on the editorial boards of other publications including Journal of Democracy, Human Rights Review, Democracy at Large, and Studia Politica, (Romania). He is the author of Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel, Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe and Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism. He is the author of over 300 articles published in major American and European newspapers and journals.

David Walsh
Arts editor of the World Socialist Web Site, and the author of many incisive and critical essays on contemporary art and culture from a Marxist standpoint.

Ovidiu Pecican
Romanian historian, essayist, novelist, short-story writer, literary critic, poet, playwright, and journalist. He is especially known for his political writings on disputed issues such as regional autonomy for Transylvania, and for his co-authorship of a controversial history textbook for 11th and 12th grade high-school students. Pecican is co-editor of Caietele Tranzitii and a contributor to major newspapers, including Contemporanul, Cotidianul, and Ziarul Financiar. He has also written works of science fiction. He wrote 18 books and is a professor at University of Cluj, Romania.

Magnum Wennerhag
PHD student in sociology, doing research on globalization and new social movements at the University of Lund, Sweden.

Saskia Sassen
Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and entennial Visiting Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics. Her most recent publications include: Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages, Princeton University Press 2006; and Denationalization: Territory, Authority and Rights, Princeton University Press 2005, based on her five year project on governance and accountability in a global economy. Her other works include: Guests and Aliens, New York: New Press 1999; and her edited book Global Networks/Linked Cities, New York and London: Routledge 2002. The Global City came out in a new fully updated edition in 2001. Sassen’s books have been translated into twelve languages. She is co-director of the Economy Section of the Global Chicago Project, a member of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Cities, a Member of the Council of Foreign Relations, and Chair of the newly formed Information Technology, International Cooperation and Global Security Committee of the SSRC.

Cosmin Gabriel Marian
Assistant professor of political science at Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. He is specialized in research methods and data modeling in social sciences. He has no connection whatsoever with performing arts, photography, music, journalism, new media culture, literature, philosophy, mathematics or physics. And he is perfectly aware that Romania is the country were the founder of Dadaism and Eugen Ionesco, the father of the Rhinoceros, were born.

Gunalan Nadarajan
Art theorist / curator from Singapore, currently Associate Dean of Research and Graduate Studies, College of Arts and Architecture at the Pennsylvania State University (USA). His publications include a book, Ambulations (2000), numerous catalogue essays and various academic articles. He has curated exhibitions in several countries including Ambulations (Singapore), 180KG (Jogjakarta, Indonesia), Negotiating Spaces (Auckland, New Zealand) and media_city 2002 (Seoul, S.Korea). He was contributing curator for Documenta XI (Kassel, Germany) and served on the jury of several international exhibitions including ISEA2004 (Helsinki / Tallinn) and transmediale 05 (Berlin, Germany). He is also currently Artistic Co-Director of the Ogaki Biennale 2006. Gunalan is one of the Board of Directors of the Inter Society of Electronic Arts.
He was recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. Gunalan's research interests include art and biology, robotic arts, nanotechnology and toys.

Slavoj Zizek
Professor at the Institute for Sociology, Ljubljana, and at the European Graduate School EGSS, who uses popular culture to explain the theory of Jacques Lacan and the theory of Jacques Lacan to explain politics and popular culture. He has lectured at universities around the world. He was analysed by Jacques Alain Miller, Jacques Lacan's son in law, and is probably the most successful and prolific post-Lacanian, having published over fifty books including translations into a dozen languages. Aside from Lacan he was strongly influenced by Marx, Hegel and Schelling. In temperament, he resembles a revolutionist more than a theoretician. He was politically active in Slovenia during the 80s, a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Slovenia in 1990; most of his works are moral and political rather than purely theoretical. Zizek was a visiting professor at the Department of Psychoanalysis, Universite Paris VIII in 1982-3 and 1985-6, at the Centre for the Study of Psychoanalysis and Art, SUNY Buffalo, 1991-2, at the Department of Comparative Literature, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1992, at the Tuaine University, New Orleans, 1993, at the Cardozo Law School, New York, 1994, at the Columbia University, New York, 1995, at the Princeton University (1996), at the New School for Social Research, New York, 1997, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1998, and at the Georgetown University, Washington, 1999. In the last 20 years Zizek has participated in over 350 international philosophical, psychoanalytical and cultural-criticism symposiums in USA, France, United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Island, Austria, Australia, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Spain, Brasil, Mexico, Israel, Romania, Hungary and Japan. He is the founder and president of the Society for Theoretical Psychoanalysis, Ljubljana.

Chantal Mouffe
A political theorist educated at the universities of Louvain, Paris, and Essex, Chantal Mouffe is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Westminster. She has taught at many universities in Europe, North America and Latin America, and has held research positions at Harvard, Cornell, the University of California, the institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris. Between 1989 and 1995 she was Directrice de Programme at the College International de Philosophie in Paris.

Misko Suvekevic
Professor of aesthetic and art theory at the Belgrade Faculty of music and at Interdisciplinary Studies at Belgrade University of art. Has published more than 15 books, including “Impossible Histories” (Cambridge MA, 2003) and “Politics of painting” (Kopar, 2004.).

Ana Peralca
Freelance curator and theorist, graduated philosophical and art history, post academic researcher of art history, Free University in Ljubljana, Jan Van Eyck Akademie (1999-2001, Maastricht), attended PhD courses at University of Amsterdam (2001-2004). Awarded UNESCO-IFPC, Jan Van Eyck subsidie, twice OSI Network Scholarship, and twice BKV B (Fonds voor Beeldende Kunsten, Amsterdam). She gave papers on symposiums as What is the Enlightenment, Chapter 2 (Jan Van Eyck Academie, Maastricht, 2000), Intermediaries (IAPL-international association for philosophy and literature, ERASMUS University, Rotterdam), but also in art centres such as Atlas (Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels). She was a curator of 11 Adria Art Annele (Split, 1997/8), co-curator of Rows-Curves-knots (Oreste, Biennale in Venice, 1999), assistant curator at Indisicline (Vanderlinden and Hoffman, Brussels, 2000), selector at Museum in Progress-Global Positions (Obrist, Der Standaard, 2001), selector at East Art Map (Irwin, 2002-2006, Afterall Publ., London/Los Angeles). She was also a selector of new media programme at Split Film Festival (Split, 1998) and Histories of the New ISEA -- International symposium of electronic arts (Stockholm-Helsinki-Talin, 2004). She is a regular contributor of art magazine Springerin (Austria) and has written two programs (Media theory and Critical analysis: art today, according to Bologna convention for the Fine Arts Academy, where she was teaching as a guest lecturer.

Jonathan L. Beller
Visiting assistant professor of history of consciousness and literature, University of California at Santa Cruz, is the author of "Dziga Vertov and the Film of Money," boundary 2 (1999).

Cătălin Avramescu
Dr. Avramescu is a political analyst, philosopher and Professor of Political Science at University of Bucharest. He is contributor to several periodicals. His last book published was

Felix Vogel
Theoretician and curator. He is co-curator of the 100 MINUTES exhibition series, assistant curator of BUCHAREST BIENNALE 3, member of the advisory board of PAVILON and contributor for different magazines. Currently, he is living and working in Karlsruhe and Konstanz, Germany.

Xavier Ribas
Artist. Studies of Social Anthropology at the University of Barcelona (1990) and Documentary Photography at the Newport School of Art and Design (1993). Since 2000 he is Senior Lecturer at the University of Brighton and visiting Lecturer at the Universidad Politecnica de Valencia (since 2004). as artist he exhibited around the world.

Dana Altman
Theoretician and writer. She studied linguistics and text theory at Exeter College at Oxford, UK, and has a doctorate in linguistics. She writes contemporary art criticism and fiction. She lives and works in New York.

Michael Elmgreen & Ingar Dragset
In 1995 the artists Michael Elmgreen & Ingar Dragset began their collaboration on what has since become a wide range of installations, performances and environmental works. They have exhibited since then in all major art spaces around the world.

Dan Perjovsch
Artist and journalist living and working in Bucharest. His recent solo exhibition includes "Naked Drawing" Ludwig Museum Koln 2005, vanAbbe Museum Eindhoven or "On the other Hand" Portikus Frankfurt 2006. He participate to Istanbul Biennial 2005 and Limerick Biennial 2006 and to group show such as "I Still Believe in Miracles" at ARC Muse d'Art de la Ville de Paris 2005 or Normalization at Rooseum Malmo. He receive George Maciunas prize in 2004. He’s represented by Gregor Podnar Gallery Ljubljana.

Chitra Ganesh + Mariam Ghani
Mariam Ghani works in video, installation, new media (including interactive installation and net art), and tactical media (including public dialogue performance). Her work has been exhibited nationally and internationally since 1999. Recent and upcoming projects include screenings at the Liverpool Biennial, the Danish Film Institute, the d.u.m.b.o. festival, Rooftop Films, Cinema East, the New York Video Festival, the Asia Society, the Boston Center for the Arts, Smart Project Space in Amsterdam, the 13a Mostra Curtacinem a Rio de Janeiro, and transmedi ale.03 in Berlin. Chitra Ganesh’s work explores how memory and its repression shape moments of personal and social crisis. Her work was recently included in the group exhibition 637 Feet of Running Wall at the Queens Museum, Queer Visualities at Stonybrook University, NY, and Shaken and Stirred at Bosc Pacia Modern Gallery in New York.

Marjetica Petrov
Ljubljana-based artist and architect. Her work has been featured in exhibitions throughout Europe and the Americas, including the Sao Paulo Biennal in Brazil (1996, 2006); Skulptur. Projekte in Muenster, Germany (1997); Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana, Slovenia (2000); and The Structure of Survival at the Venice Biennial (2003); as well as in solo shows at the
Guggenheim Museum in New York (2001); Kuenstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin (2001); the Max Protetch Gallery, New York (2002 & 2005); the Nordenhake Gallery in Berlin (2003); the PBICA in Lake Worth, Florida (2003); and the MIT List Visual Arts Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts (2004). Her many on-site installations include Balcony with Wind Turbine (the Liverpool Biennial, 2004) and Genesis (2005), which is on permanent display at the Nobel Peace Center in Oslo. She has also published a number of essays on contemporary urban architecture. In 2005, she was a visiting professor at the Center for Advanced Visual Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition, Potrc has been the recipient of numerous awards, including grants from the Pollock-Krasner Foundation (1993 and 1999), a Philip Morris Kunstfoerderung Grant to participate in the International Studio Program of Kuenstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin (2000), the Guggenheim Museum’s Hugo Boss Prize (Sponsored by Hugo Boss) 2000, and a Caracas Case Project Fellowship from the Federal Cultural Foundation, Germany, and the Caracas Urban Think Tank, Venezuela (2002).

**Vincent Delbrouck**
Born in 1975, shifted from photojournalistic performance - black and white social documentary series in Cuba, Belgium, and Colombia - to a simpler, more direct confrontation with reality. He uses a mix media documentary portraits, polaroids, paintings, texts are mixed in note-books. He received the Memorial Giacomelli Prize (Italy) 2002, and the Jean Salgaro Prize at the 14th National Open Photography Prize in Belgium for his work with demented women. He also received the Vocation Bursary in 2003. He is now preparing a book about his experiences in Havana.

**Iara Boubnova**
Curator and art critic from Sofia, born in Moscow, Russia, where she graduated from the Department of Art History and Theory at Moscow State University and worked as a Junior Editor at the Soviet Artist Publishing House. Since 1984, she has lived in Sofia, Bulgaria and worked at the National Gallery for Foreign Art as a curator of the Department of East European Art. Among other important curatorial projects are Joy at Casino Luxembourg and Dialectics of Hope, 1st Moscow Biennial of Contemporary Art in 2005, Manifesta 4 in Frankfurt am Main in 2002 - as all co-curator. Boubnova is President of AICA Bulgaria and since 2002 has been a board member of the International Foundation Manifesta. Iara Boubnova is the founding Director of the Institute of Contemporary Art - Sofia.

**Luchezar Boyadjiev**
Born in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1957. Trained as an art historian and theorist, became an artist after 1989. Founding member of Institute of Contemporary Art. Has exhibited and lectured internationally, including After the Wall (Moderna, Stockholm), Temp-Balkania (Kiasma, Helsinki), Revoltiting (Manchester), Money/Nations (Zurich), Communication Front (Plovdiv), and Hybrid Workspace, documenta X (Kassell).

**Rassim**
Bulgarian artist. He exhibited in France, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Norway, Slovenia, Russia and Stockholm. The main question about RASSIM is: is he an artwork or is he for real?

**Olivia Plender**
Artist and writer and currently co-editor of ‘Untitled’ magazine. Her interest in magazine, comic strip and pulp fiction book cover formats is evident in her drawings exploring fictional narratives of bohemian lifestyles. In 2004 Plender has undertaken residencies at the Visual Research Centre, Dundee Contemporary Arts; Grizedale Arts; and PSI, New York. Recent exhibitions include ‘Romantic Detachment’, New York; ‘East End Academy’ Whitechapel Gallery, London; and a solo show at Dundee Contemporary Arts.

**Taller Popular de Serigrafía**
Group founded in 2002, Buenos Aires, Argentina, by Diego Pissadas, Mariela Scafati and Magdalena Jitrik. Since then included 15 artists. Today its main representatives are Verónica di Toro, Karina Granieri, Magdalena Jitrik and Carolina Katz. They exhibited among other shows to 27th Bienal de San Paolo, Kunsthalle Fridericianum, Kassel. ‘Taller Popular De Serigrafía (TPS)’ is one of the most significant groups in the sphere of socio-political art that arose during the peak of the national unrest in Argentina in 2001.

**Raluca Voleas**
Curator and art writer. She is the founder of the online magazine E-cart.ro.

**Hüseyin Alptekin**
Born in 1957 in Ankara, Turkey. He lives and works in Istanbul, Turkey. Since 1995 he has participated in international group exhibitions such as the Biennials of Istanbul, Turkey, Sao Paulo, Brazil, and the 4th Cetinje Biennial, Montenegro. In 2002 he took part in Search of Balkania at Neue Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz, Austria and in 2003 he participated in Blood & Honey Art in the Balkans, Essl Collection, in Vienna, Austria, and in the Gorges of the Balkans at Kunsthalle Fridericianum in Kassel, Germany.

**Naeem Mohalemen**

**Ciprian Muresan**
Born in 1977 in Romania, where he also lives and works. He is co-editor of the magazine VERSION and since 2005 of the art magazine IDEA art + society. His works have been shown in Romania, Austria, Germany, Hungary, Finland and Israel.

**Olga Kisseleva**
One of the most accomplished Russian artists of her generation. Graduated from St. Petersburg University, she belongs to the first generation after Perestroika, which helped to bring down the Berlin Wall and cast aside the iron curtain. From the beginning of the 90s Olga Kisseleva on the invitation of the Fubright Foundation found a roof for her work in the research group in the United States which dealt with the development of digital technologies. She mainly stayed on the research laboratories in New York and in California, where she participated in the first adventuruous beginnings of Silicon Valley. In 1996 she is getting her PhD for her theoretical work on the theme of new forms of hybridization and she is invited to the Fine Art Institut of “Hautes Etudes” in Paris.

**Irwin**
Since 1983, the IRWIN artist group (Dusan Mandi, Miran Mohar, Andrej Savski, Roman Uranjeck, Borut Vogelnik) has been working with various media, from painting to public art, from sculptural works and installations to publishing. Following their “retro principle”, the five-member-group utilizes and combines different motifs, symbols and signs from the fields of politics and art, which results in the transformation of their historical meaning and content, and in the re-contextualisation and deconstruction of their related ideologies.

**Juliane Debeusscher**
Researcher in art history and freelance art critic based in Milan. Her main interests focus on Eastern European art and its presentation within contemporary discourses; she recently conduct-ed some researches on Irwin Group and Retroavantgarde’s strategies in Yugoslavia.