DIGITALIZIRANA REVOLUCIJA I UMJETNOST POLITIKE

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LEO KATUNARIĆ, „WALL STREET / AGORA",
NEW YORK, 2012.

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DIGITALIZED REVOLUTION
AND THE ART OF POLITICS

SAŽETAK: Suvremeni ulični politički pokreti strukturirani su kao amalgam fizičke i virtualne realnosti. Vezanost novih revolucija uz digitalnu tehnologiju ne ogleda se samo u mogućnosti novih oblika komunikacije ili podizanju razine efikasnosti u postizanju zacrtanih ciljeva, nego i u sasvim originalnim obrascima ponašanja i djelovanja, a oni predstavljaju svojevrsni prodor *cyber*-prostorne kulture u fizičku realnost. Performativni jezik, ali i druge estetske forme, prisutni su ne samo kao jedan od modela ponašanja današnjih protesta od Bliskog istoka do njujorškog Occupy Wall Streeta, već kao struktura događanja samog. Pojava, koju promatramo u vremenu njezina začetka i još nejasnih mogućih pravaca razvoja, da i konkretne fizičke akcije, sve do žrtvovanja tijela, preuzimaju registar *cyber*-prostora i umjetnički, osobito performativni, diskurs kao svojevrsnog prevoditelja i mrežnog distributora, daje nam mogućnost naslućivanja novih, vitalnih prostora koje umjetnost konstruira za svoj opstanak i djelovanje u budućem svijetu gdje će ljudski identitet biti normalno distribuiran u više identitetskih područja istovremeno. Takve oscilacije Subjekta između više realnosti do sada smo primjećivali u području izvedbenog, prvenstveno kazališnog, a onda i performativnog, dakle uglavnom na estetskom prostoru, a kojega su analize prirodno bile kontemplativnog, filozofskog stila, dakle bez preokupacije direktnog utjecaja na trenutačne društvene promjene. Uspostavom *cyber*-prostora kao stabilne kulture proizveden je dugo čekani dvosmjerni komunikacijski kanal, a on je istovremeno i sveobuhvatna memorija. Time je omogućeno kreiranje i novih umjetničkih i novih političkih formi, a one javno odigravaju memorije vlastitih historija kao jezičnog materijala u svrhu trenutno dostupne komunikacije, istodobno ironizirajući sve tradicionalne posljedice upotrebljavanja takvih historija.
KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Facebook-revolucija*, digitalno tijelo, *žrtvovanje*, *cyber*-prostor, umjetnost performansa

1. Digitalno podrijetlo novih revolucija?

Biti na ulici, sam ili u masi, hodati ili stajati, glasno izvikivati riječi, tjednima ili mjesecima boraviti na gradskom trgu i izlagati svoje tijelo opasnosti, riskirati život u sukobima s policijom, pjevati sa slučajno okupljenim istomišljenicima, ogoliti se do fundamentalnih pitanja vlastitog identiteta i istovremeno stalno biti prisutan u paralelnim identitetima na internetskim društvenim mrežama... Ako prethodnom opisu možemo artikulirati jasan cilj, izvjesno opisujemo ulične političke akcije poput onih na Bliskom istoku 2011. godine. Ako uz isti opis radije primjećujemo odsutnost političkog ili drugačijeg jasnog cilja, možda opisujemo umjetničke *happeninge*, situacionističke prostorne intervencije, nove izvedbene i kazališne forme ili čak *flash mob*-događanja. Danas kao da svjedočimo i rađanju novog, zajedničkog diskursa političkog i umjetničkog, a on se očituje u amalgamu *cyber*-prostora i fizičkog prostora, stvaranju kulture koja djeluje u bilo kojoj realnosti ili čak u više realnosti istovremeno. Političko djeluje poput umjetničkog, a digitalna kultura omogućuje umjetničkom da političko tretira kao polje svojeg registra. Kultura *cyber*-prostora[1] u srazu s agregatnim stanjem novih revolucija proizvodi pojavu novog registra, a on je uvjetovan promjenama u načinu ponašanja, ali i razmišljanja, ekstrapoliranim iz virtualne realnosti i digitalne stvarnosti. Digitalna stvarnost ili *cyber*-prostor više nije novost, moda ili bizarnost, nego se legitimno „natječe" za svoj

SUMMARY: Contemporary political movements of the street are structured as an amalgam of physical and virtual reality. The link between these new revolutions and digital technology is not reflected only in the possibility of new forms of communication, or to raising the level of efficiency in achieving the prescribed goals, but also in completely original patterns of behaviour and action, which are a sort of intrusion of cyber-space culture into the physical reality. Performative language and other aesthetical forms are present not only as models of behaviour in today's protests, from the Middle East to Occupy Wall Street, but also in the structure of events as such. This phenomenon, which is observable in the times of its beginnings and the still uncertain directions of its evolution, as well as concrete physical action all the way down to corporal sacrifice, takes over the register of cyber-space and the artistic, especially performing discourse as a sort of translator and network distributor, offering a possibility of sensing new, vital spaces constructed by art for its survival and action in the future world, where human identity will normally be distributed in several areas simultaneously. Such oscillations of the Subject between several realities have so far been observed in the field of the performing arts, especially theatre, and then in the performative, mostly in the field of aestheticism, while their analyses have naturally been contemplative and philosophical in style, without focusing on the direct and current impact on social change. By establishing cyber-space as a stabile culture, the long awaited two-direction communication channel has been created, which is also an all-encompassing memory. This has made it possible to create new artistic and political forms, which publicly play out memories of their own histories as linguistic material in order to establish the forms of communication that are currently available, ironizing at the same time all traditional consequences of using such histories.
KEYWORDS: Facebook revolution, digital body, sacrifice, cyber-space, performance art

1. Are the new revolutions digital in origin?

Being in the street, alone or in the crowd, walking or standing, shouting out words, spending weeks or months in a public square and exposing one's body to danger, risking one's life in conflicts with the police, singing with accidentally gathered people who share one's ideas, baring oneself down to the fundamental issues of one's identity and at the same time being permanently present in parallel identities on social networks online... If this description can be associated with any clear goal, then we are certainly describing the political street actions such as those that happened in the Middle East in 2011. But if we prefer to associate the same description with the absence of any political or other clearly stated goal, we may be describing artistic happenings, Situationist spatial interventions, new performing and theatre forms, or even flash-mob events. Today we also seem to witness the emergence of a new, joint political-artistic discourse, manifested in an amalgam of cyber-space and physical space and the creation of a culture that operates in any given reality or even in several realities at the same time. The political sphere functions like the artistic one, while digital culture makes it possible for the artistic to treat the political as a field of its own register. The culture of cyber-space,[1] in a clash with the aggregate state of new revolutions, produces a new register, which is determined by changes in the way of behaviour and also of thinking, extrapolated from virtual or digital reality.

utjecaj u društvenom polju. Revolucije početka dvadeset i prvog stoljeća istovremeno stvarno teže za efikasnošću na tragu izreke: „Revolucija nije vrtna zabava (...) revolucija je ustanak, nasilni akt kojim jedna klasa obezvlašćuje drugu",[2] ali su istovremeno i platforme na kojima se razvijaju dinamične, iako naizgled besciljne, aktivnosti nalik na umjetnička događanja. Nije riječ o prepoznavanju jednog modela u drugom, nego o takvom prožimanju koje i politički i umjetnički diskurs prepoznaju kao svoju novu realnost.

1.2. Digitalni alati revolucije
Izvjestitelje u masovnim medijima fascinirala je upotreba digitalne komunikacijske tehnologije kao alata pomoću kojega su prosvjednici na Bliskom istoku 2011. koordinirali svoje interese i organizirali svoja okupljanja. Digitalna komunikacijska tehnologija, tj. korištenje društvenih mreža ili mobitela za međusobno obavještavanje, organiziranje prosvjeda, okupljanje i sl., postaje naslovnom karakteristikom novih političkih akcija. *Mainstream* masovni mediji nazivaju ih *Facebook-revolucijom*,[3] sugerirajući kako se ne događa ništa što nije već viđeno, novo je samo to što političke aktivnosti posižu za modernim alatima, poput digitalne računalne tehnologije. Masovni mediji takvim pristupom postaju i sami svojevrstan alat novih revolucija. Naime, nehotice razotkrivaju mehanizam vlastitog sudjelovanja u kanaliziranju u početku razbarušene snage uličnih političkih tendencija.

Mediji sudjeluju u kreiranju i imenovanju potrebe da se protestima nešto riješi, da se neko stanje promijeni, da npr. milijunsko okupljanje na trgu Tahrir prestane biti neodređeni *happening* nego da postane konkretna politička akcija, s ciljem. Naziv *Facebook-revolucija* mijenja se operativnijim nazivom *Arapsko proljeće*. Tokom 2011. i 2012. godine na Bliskom istoku doista se događa i niz oružanih sukoba, nasilnih prevrata, javnih egzekucija i sl. Danas je još uvijek nejasno da li je time osnažena demokracija ili je otvoren put k uvođenju fundamentalističkih diktatura. Forsiranje jasnog političkog cilja i prakticiranje nasilnih prevrata zapravo je cijelu situaciju na Bliskom istoku vratilo na početak, pa stoga ne čudi što je krajem 2012. u Egiptu opet započeo *happening*,[4] a ne, naizgled logično, nasilje. Istovremeno se o pokretu *Ocuppy Wall Street*,[5] koji jasno ističe proteste na Bliskom istoku kao svoju inspiraciju, izvještava kao o uzaludnom okupljanju ekscentrika.[6] Masmediji tako kasne prepoznati kako je *cyber*-prostor odavno evoluirao od skladišta informacija do kreatora situacija. Izvještavanje medija postaje digitalna memorija, ali i sveprisutna slika i neka vrsta upozorenja. Zato mediji danas jesu alat digitalne revolucije, njihovo izvještavanje i kreiranje javnog mnijenja ne obavlja više samo manipulativnu funkciju kao u prošlosti. Naime, rezultat njihova djelovanja danas jest vidljiv u *cyber*-prostoru, ali se koristi i kao korektiv za buduće političke i druge akcije, kao što ćemo pobliže razmotriti na primjeru *Ocuppy Wall Streeta*. Ta pojava,

Digital reality or cyber-space is no longer a novelty, fashion, or curiosity, but legitimately "competes" for its influence in the social field. At the same time, revolutions of the early 21st century indeed strive to achieve efficacy according to the saying: "A revolution is not a dinner party (...) A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another,"[2] but they are also platforms where dynamic, even though apparently aimless activities evolve, such as artistic events. It is not about identifying one model in another, but about a fusion that both political and artistic discourses recognize as their new reality.

1.2. Digital tools of revolution
Reporters in the mass media have been fascinated by the use of digital communication technology as a tool that the protesters in the Middle East used to coordinate their interests and organize their gatherings in 2011. Digital communication technology, that is, using social networks and smart phones for spreading information, organizing protests and gatherings, and similar activities has become the headline feature of new political actions. The mainstream mass media first called it "the Facebook revolution,"[3] suggesting that we have seen it all before and that the only novelty is that the political activities reach for modern tools such as digital computer technology. By taking this approach, the mass media have themselves become a sort of

tool for the new revolutions, since they have involuntarily revealed the mechanism of their own participation in channelling the initially dispersed power of political tendencies in the street. The media have been taking part in creating and naming the need to solve something with these protests, to change a particular situation: for example, the gathering of millions in Tahrir Square has ceased to be an undefined happening and became a concrete political action with a distinct aim. The term "Facebook revolution" was therefore changed into a more operational one: "the Arab Spring." The years 2011 and 2012 indeed saw a series of armed conflicts, violent overthrows, and public executions in the Middle East. It still remains unclear whether it meant empowering democracy or paving the way for fundamentalist dictatorships. Enforcing a clear political goal and provoking violent overthrows in fact brought the entire situation in the Middle East back to its beginnings, and it is therefore no wonder that late in 2012 there was another happening[4] instead of violence, as would have seemed logical. At the same time, the *Occupy Wall Street* movement,[5] which overtly refers to the protests in the Middle East as its inspiration, has been proclaimed a futile gathering of eccentrics.[6] The mass media are thus late in recognizing that cyber-space has long evolved from a storage of information into a creator of situations. Media reports have become a digital memory, but also an omnipresent image and a sort of warning. Therefore the media of today are indeed

prepoznavanje manipulativnog svojstva masovnih medija i njezino namjerno iskorištavanje, postaje jedan od elemenata i umjetničkog djelovanja, pa tako kazališni redatelj Oliver Frljić kaže kako njegove predstave ne završavaju nego se nastavljaju odvijati u medijima.[7]

2. Prodor *cyber*-prostora u fizičku realnost

Upotreba masmedija u dvostrukoj komunikaciji sugerira i mogući utjecaj *cyber*-prostora, kulture digitalnog, na stvarni, fizički prostor. Izvedbene teorije koje pokušavaju objasniti izvođačevu nestabilnu poziciju i njegov višestruki identitet kao da su obrazac za pozicioniranje identiteta u današnjoj kulturi afektiranoj *cyber*-prostorom. Chaikin smatra da živimo na bar dva nivoa, jedan „na kojem živimo, na kojem baratamo dostupnim podacima i pretpostavkama, na kojem razmjenjujemo čitavu rijeku informacija", i drugi nivo na kojem nema „ustaljenih zaključaka (...) mogućnosti razmjene činjenica (...) mogućnosti obrazovanja". Glumac upravo na potonjem nivou odbacuje „zaštitni oklop svoje ličnosti" i ostaje bez „onoga što nazivamo čvrstim identitetom".[8] Tehnologija danas stvara uvjete za kreiranje sebe u višestrukim identitetima, a gotovo bez napora. Tako Turkle opisuje igrače prvih *multi user domain*[9] računalnih igara kao „ (...) autore ne samo teksta nego i sebe samih, u društvenoj interakciji gradeći nova jastva. (...) I jesi lik i nisi lik, sve u isti mah".[10] I revolucionarno i umjetničko koriste danas tu „naviku" boravka jastva u više identitetskih polja istovremeno. „Vaš identitet

na kompjutoru zbroj je vaših distribuiranih prisutnosti", kaže Turkle i objašnjava kako je korisnicima digitalne tehnologije stvarni život još samo jedan „prozor",[11] ako je, kao i računalni, otvoren.

2.1. *Flash mob* i sms dvosmjerna komunikacija

Sposobnost mobitela da razmjenjuje poruke jedna je od prvih instantnih dvosmjernih komunikacija, a javlja se tek krajem prošlog stoljeća. To što ljudi koji se međusobno uopće ne poznaju imaju mogućnost zajedničkog i koordiniranog djelovanja, a pomoću tehnologije, Rheingold smatra začetkom novog oblika društvenog protesta.[12] Prvi uvodi pojam *smart mob* opisujući gomilu koja ima kolektivnu svijest i organizira se tehnologijom. Početkom 2003. Bill Wassik[13] koristi *BlackBerryMessenger* tekstualnu komunikaciju za kreiranje masovnih besciljnih događanja u javnim prostorima. Svi pozvani proslijedili su dalje poruke te su se zatim svi zajedno okupili u dogovorenom trenutku na ulici u New Yorku i izveli dogovoreni kratkotrajni ulični događaj kojim bi iznenadili slučajne prolaznike. Grupa bi se razišla isto tako naglo kao što se i okupila. Pojava je nazvana *flash mob*.[14]

Flash mob jedan je od prvih hibridnih javnih događanja koji koristi istovremeno izvedbeni impuls grupe, digitalnu tehnologiju i kreativni potencijal „slučajnog prolaznika koji prepričava saobraćajnu nesreću", a o kojem piše Brecht.[15] Jedan od mogućih modela za *flash mob* jesu i *happeninzi*, umjetnička događanja u javnom

a tool of digital revolution, as their reports and their way of creating the public opinion no longer perform a merely manipulative function as they did in the past. On the contrary, the result of their activity is manifest in cyber-space and also used as a corrective for future political and other actions, which we shall consider in more detail on the example of *Occupy Wall Street*. This phenomenon, with its acknowledgment of the manipulative property of the mass media and its intentional use, has become an element of artistic action, which is why theatre director Oliver Frljić once said that his shows do not end, but go on evolving in the media.[7]

2. Intrusion of cyber-space into physical reality

The use of mass media in double communication suggests a possible impact of cyber-space and digital culture upon the real, physical space. Theories that try to explain the performer's precarious position and his or her manifold identity seem to be a model for positioning identity in today's culture, affected as it is by cyber-space. Chaikin is of the opinion that we live on at least two different levels, one "on which we live, where we deal with obtainable information and assumptions and we exchange with one another the currency of data" and the other level, "where there is no possibility of fixing conclusions or exchanging facts." It is on this latter level that the actor casts off his "personal protective armour" and remains without "what we know to be an organized identity."[8]

Today, technology creates the conditions for recreating oneself in multiple identities, almost without any effort. Thus, Turkle has described the players of the earliest *multiuser-domain*[9] computer games as "authors not only of text but of themselves, constructing new selves through social interaction. (...) You are the character and you are not the character, both at the same time."[10] Today, the revolutionary and artistic spheres both use this "habit" of selves occupying several identity fields at the same time. "Your identity on the computer is the sum of your distributed presence," as Turkle writes, explaining that, for the users of digital technology, real life is just another "window",[11] if open like the one on the computer.

2.1. Flash mob and SMS: Double communication

The ability of smart phones to exchange messages has first created the possibility of instantaneous forms of communication in both directions, and it evolved only late in the 20th century. Howard Rheingold has emphasized that the fact that people who do not know each other personally have the possibility to act in common and co-ordinately, with the help of technology, has triggered a new form of social protests.[12] He was the first to introduce the term *smart mobs* when describing a crowd that possesses a collective mind and organizes itself with the help of technology. Early in 2003, Bill Wassik[13] used *BlackBerryMessenger* in order to create massive aimless events in public space. All who were invited would

prostoru, izvođeni bez posebnog cilja. Izvođenje javnih akcija, a bez ikakva praktičnog cilja, kreirali su i situacionisti o kojima Šuvaković piše, nastavljajući se na Deborda, kako su tako „provocirali kulturalne situacije" i kako „kultura postaje područje ili polje njihovih revolucionarnih borbi".[16] *Flash mob* zadržava sličnu odsutnost svrhovitosti i upravo zato emanira potencijal opasnosti za etablirano društvo. Derrida nas na to podsjeća govoreći kako tekst konstruira publika kao i autor te da je ono što je u tekstu odsutno značajno kao i ono što je prisutno.[17]

2.2. Povjerenje u međuprostor

Upotrebljavanje komunikacijske tehnologije radi brzog formiranja grupe koristi se u organizaciji političkih prosvjeda ali i umjetničkih događanja. Ljudima je oduvijek svojstveno okupljanje u privremene zajednice, *communitas* ili „iskustva ritualnog drugarstva", kako nam opisuje Schechner tu Turnerovu definiciju.[18] Schechner kaže kako se spontani *communitas* rijetko tek tako dogodi, „generiran je ritualnim procesom".[19] Danas tehnologija kao da preuzima tu ulogu rituala. Pojedinac pomoću digitalne komunikacije brže postaje dio novog kolektiva, skraćujući tako dosadašnje principe priprema, inicijacija, učvršćivanja zajednice i sl. Današnji *communitas* je instant zajednica proizvedena instant ritualom. Tehnologija *cyber*-prostora zbog svoje sposobnosti dvosmjerne komunikacije utjelovljuje i odsutne potencijale pa time zajednici

koju ritualom stvara omogućuje svojstva društvenog utjecaja, bez obzira što prilikom formiranja zajednica ne definira svoje ciljeve. Takva sposobnost digitalne realnosti da okupi zajednicu, da je usmjeri, da memorira postupke i akcije i sl., kreira povjerenje u njezinu trajnost i postojanost. Sudionici nekog događanja ili okupljanja mogu biti nasilno razdvojeni ili slučajno izgubljeni, ali to ne znači automatski prestanak postojanja njihove zajednice. Jednostavnom upotrebom digitalne komunikacije, od mobitela do društvenih mreža, može se provjeriti status zajednice, mogu se pronaći informacije bitne za ponovno okupljanje ili se čak može kreirati dio svojeg identiteta u digitalnom, a koji omogućuje fizičkom dijelu identiteta orijentaciju. Kako politički tako i umjetnički pokreti danas, uz fizički rado koriste i identitet u okruženju virtualne realnosti, kada su i „tu" i „tamo" istovremeno. To „stanje između" antropolozi su opisivali kao svojevrsni „prag", *liminalno stanje* u kojem se kratko boravi putujući iz stanja jednog u stanje drugog identiteta, kako preciznije opisuje kulturalni antropolog Victor Turner: „Liminalni entiteti nisu ni ovdje ni tamo; nisu ni jedno ni drugo između pozicija dodijeljenih i prikazanih zakonom, običajem, konvencijama i ceremonijama."[20] Virtualna stvarnost omogućuje osjećaj sigurnosti izvođača jer on može njoj pristupiti po volji i naći se u prostoru između, gdje se može koordinirati, obnoviti, resetirati te po volji opet stupiti natrag, na bilo koju pozornicu. Upravo u toj nezaustavljivoj dinamici stalnog mijenjanja, brzog preuzimanja i

forward the message, and they would gather at the given time in a particular street in New York for a short public event that surprised casual passersby. The group would disperse as suddenly as they had come together. The phenomenon was labelled *flash mob*.[14] Flash mob was among the first hybrid public events that used the group impulse to perform, digital technology, and the creative potential of "a casual passerby retelling a traffic accident" as described by Brecht.[15] One of the possible models for flash mobs were happenings, artistic events in public space that occurred without a special purpose. Public actions without a practical goal were also a specialty of the Situationists, of whom Miško Šuvaković, referring to Debord, wrote that they "provoked cultural situations," thus transforming culture into "a field of their revolutionary struggles."[16] Flash mob has retained that absence of purpose and precisely therefore seems like a potential danger to the established society. Derrida has reminded us that writing is constructed by the audience, and that what is absent from the text is just as significant as that which is present.[17]

2.2. Confidence in the space in-between

Communication technologies are used for fast summoning of people, not only when organizing political protests, but also in case of public events. People have always been inclined to form temporary groups, *communitates*, or "the experience of ritual camaraderie," as Schechner has interpreted Turner's definition.[18]

According to Schechner, a spontaneous *communitas* rarely occurs just like that; it is more often "generated by certain procedures."[19] Today, technology seems to have taken over this ritual role. With the help of digital communication, individuals can become part of new collectives faster, thus reducing the previous principles of preparation, initiation, community strengthening, and so on. Today's *communitas* is an instant community produced by an instant ritual. The technology of cyber-space, owing to its ability of two-direction communication, also embodies absent potentials, thus assigning powers of social influence to the community it has ritually created, even if the community did not define its goals at the moment of creation. This ability of digital reality to create a community, to direct it, and memorize its procedures and actions creates confidence in its durability and stability. Participants of an event or a gathering may be pulled apart by force, or lose each other accidentally, but that does not necessarily mean that their community will cease to exist. By simple recurrence to digital communication, such as smart phones or social networks, it is possible to check the community's status, to find information that are essential for renewed gathering, or even to create a part of one's identity in a digital form, which facilitates orientation for the physical part of the identity. Both political and artistic movements today like using identities created in a virtual environment beside the physical ones, so that they can be "here" and "there" at the same time. This "state in-between" has been described by the anthropologists as a sort of "threshold", a *liminal*

odbacivanja različitih identiteta kao da se uočava, kako bi rekao Žižek, Subjekt sâm: „Gdje je moja istinska točka, u stvarnom ja ili u mojoj vanjskoj masci.“[21] Turnerovo liminalno područje, koje je do sada predstavljalo nesiguran prostor između dviju realnosti, postaje prostor sigurnosti kojemu se uvijek možemo vratiti kada druge realnosti postanu nestabilne, a što nam omogućuje digitalna tehnologija. Takav princip reflektira se i na novi odnos prema fizičkom tijelu, a posljedice kojeg vidimo i u umjetničko izvedbenom, kao i na ulicama za vrijeme protestnih akcija.

3. Tijelo i gubitak tijela, umjetnost performansa

Povjerenje u virtualni cyber-prostor nije smanjilo ljudsku potrebu za izlaganjem svojeg fizičkog dijela identiteta tijela, ni u umjetnosti ni u uličnim političkim akcijama. Tijelo posjeduje jedinstvenu kvalitetu, moguće ga je žrtvovati. No, kakvog smisla ima stvaranje mučeničkog tijela u doba aseptične cyber-kulture? Zašto 2012. godine deseci mladih budističkih redovnika spaljuju svoja tijela iako svjesni minimalnog političkog učinka tog čina zbog stroge kontrole od strane države? Umjetnica performansa Marina Abramović desetljećima podvrgava svoje tijelo različitim „mučenjima“ kako bi i sebe i publiku dovela u izmijenjeno stanje svijesti, „Zainteresirana sam za umjetnost koja uznemirava i koja izaziva taj moment opasnosti.“[22] U performansu *Rytham 2* (1974.) naizmjence uzima lijekove kojima u svojem tijelu izaziva stanje euforije i stanje

katatonije preispitujući mogućnost kontrole tijela na svjesnom i nesvjesnom nivou. Postavlja se pitanje gdje smo mi kada naše tijelo gubi kontrolu nad sobom, ili, aktualnije, gdje je naše tijelo kada smo u cyber-prostoru? „Može li artefakt biti živ?“, pita se Turkle o novim definicijama tjelesnog identiteta, a i identiteta tijela u cyber-prostoru: „Imamo li osjećaje ili naši osjećaji imaju nas? Koga sluša onaj koji sluša Prozac?“. „Performans jest umjetnost stvarnog“, kako kaže Abramović u polemičnom razgovoru s glumcem Jamesom Francom,[23] ali upravo ta kreacija stvarnim provocira stanja svijesti koja sugeriraju postojanja identiteta u „nestvarnom.“ I Peggy Phelan kaže: „Performans svoj jedini život ima u prisutnosti sada“,[24] ali istovremeno prepoznaje i nove odjeke koji danas nastaju iz te prisutnosti: „Nesigurnost ovog tijela izaziva fundamentalnu binarnost Zapadne kulture – življenje i smrt. Ali ova binarnost se urušava. (...) I ponekad tijela odlaze. Nestaju. Ali svjedoci ostaju. Nekadašnji nijemi objekti postaju artikulirani.“[25]

Tijelo je danas dovedeno u nestabilnu situaciju, nije više samo ono koje tu i sada mijenja stanje svijesti, nego je bliže kazališnom principu osciliranja između različitih uporišta identiteta. Možda ta nova stvarnost tijela u performansu korespondira s tijelom u političkim uličnim akcijama danas, jer tijelo se žrtvuje ali bez deklariranja stabilnog političkog cilja[26] zato što je već sâm čin žrtvovanja političan, a to je samo jedan od mogućih efekata među mnoštvom mogućnosti koje potencira cyber-prostor i naša svijest afektirana njime.

state in which one stays briefly while travelling from one state of identity to another, as has been described in detail by cultural anthropologist Victor Turner: "Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[20] Virtual reality creates a feeling of safety in the performer, since he can access it at his will and find himself in the space in-between, where he can coordinate, restore, and reset himself, and then step back again if desired, onto any stage at all. It is in this unstoppable dynamics of perpetual change and of fast appropriation and dismissal of various identities that one observes, as Žižek has written, the Subject as such: "where my true point is, in my 'real' self or in my external mask."[21] Turner's liminal sphere, which used to function as an unsafe area between the two realities, now becomes a space of safety, to which we can always return when other realities become unstable, which has been made possible by digital technology. This principle is reflected in a new attitude towards the physical body, the consequences of which can be seen in the artistic performative, as well as in the streets, during protest actions.

3. The body and its loss, the art of performance

Confidence in virtual cyber-space has not diminished the human need of exhibiting the physical part of their corporal identity, neither in art nor in political actions in the street. The body

possesses a unique quality: it is possible to sacrifice it. But what is the sense of creating a martyr's body in the age of aseptic cyber-culture? Why do dozens of young Buddhist monks burn their bodies in the year 2012, although they are aware of the minimum political effect of that act in a situation of strict state control? Performance artist Marina Abramović has been subjecting her body to various "tortures" for decades in order to transpose herself and her audience into a state of altered consciousness: "I'm interested in art that disturbs and that pushes that moment of danger."[22] In her performance *Rhythm 2* (1974), she took medicines that brought her body in alternating states of euphoria and catatonia, exploring the possibility of controlling the body on both conscious and unconscious levels.[23] The question is: where are we when our bodies lose control, or in the present-day context, where are our bodies when we are in cyber-space? "Can an artefact be alive?" is an issue raised by Turkle regarding the new definitions of corporal identity, but also the identity of the body in cyber-space: "Do we have feelings or do our feelings have us? Whom does he listens to who listens to Prozac?".[24] Performance is the art of the real, as Abramović stated in her polemic conversation with actor James Franco (MoMa, 2010.),[25] but it is precisely that creation by means of reality that provokes states of consciousness suggesting the existence of identities in "the unreal." Peggy Phelan has claimed that "[P]erformance's only life is in the present,"[26] yet she has also acknowledged the new

4. Arapsko proljeće 2011.

Godine 2011. u Tunisu sve je zapravo počelo s tijelom. Mladi Mohamed Bouazizi javno se spalio u znak protesta zbog korupcije i policijskog nasilja. Iako se incident dogodio u doba visoko razvijenih komunikacijskih tehnologija, to samospaljivanje nije zabilježeno kamerom, mobitelom niti bilo kako drugačije. Bez obzira na nedostatak slike, Bouazizijevo samospaljivanje izazvalo je masovnu reakciju. Ulični protesti zbog njegove smrti šire se iz Tunisa cijelim Bliskim istokom te se pretvaraju u ono što danas poznajemo kao *Arapsko proljeće*. Sve analize *Arapskog proljeća* unisono ističu važnost suvremene digitalne, osobito komunikacijske tehnologije, u organizaciji, podržavanju i opstanku protesta. Komunikacija i okupljanje pokreću se pomoću društvenih mreža, ali, začudo, bez slike za dijeljenje, dokaza o Bouazizijevu samospaljivanju.

4.1. Memorije

Pedesetak godina prije tog događaja tadašnji masovni mediji prenose dramatičnu fotografiju[27] samospaljivanja vijetnamskog budističkog redovnika Thich Quang Duca. Slika gorućeg ljudskog bića izolirana je i kontekstualizirana od medija na način da je postala globalnim simbolom ultimativnog ljudskog protesta. Izgleda da se naše kognitivno danas već i fizički prilagodilo virtualnoj stvarnosti. Ljudi na Bliskom istoku jednostavno

su nadomjestili nedostatak vizualnog doživljaja Bouazizijeva samospaljivanja s protoslikom, samospaljivanjem vijetnamskog redovnika (i slikama sličnih događaja poslije), a koja je od ranije medijski pohranjena i beskrajno umnožena. Svojevrsni pristup kolektivnoj podsvijesti jungovskog tipa, ali sada prepoznatljivoj kao virtualna realnost. I prije pojave digitalnih memorija i virtualnih arhiva, a koji su sada već dovoljno dugo prisutni da mijenjaju ne samo društvene i komunikacijske realnosti, nego i nas same kognitivno, uspostavljen je princip nadomjesne informacije/slike. Kako kaže McLuhan: „Stavljajući svoja fizička tijela u okvir svojih produženih živčanih sustava, preko električnih medija, uspostavljamo dinamiku čijim će se posredstvom sve prijašnje tehnologije (...) svi takvi produženi naših tijela, uključujući gradove, pretvoriti u informacijske sustave.“[28] Čekali smo na vrijeme u kojem ćemo i fizički osjećati kiboršku realnost kao svoju i normalnu. Ta putanja memoriranih slika pokazuje se kao bitan element načina interakcije između *cyber*-prostora i fizičkih događanja, primjenjivo i na politiku i na umjetnost.

5. Ocuppy Wall Street

„Mi znamo što nećemo. Ali što zapravo hoćemo? (...) Koja socijalna organizacija može zamijeniti kapitalizam?“, prenosi *New York Times* Žižekov govor u Zuccoti parku,[29] a u kojem su aktivisti američkog protestnog pokreta *Ocuppy Wall Street* organizirali pravi mali

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echoes that emerge today from that presence: "The uncertainty of this body challenges the fundamental binary of Western culture – the living and the dead. But this binary is itself crumbling. (...) And so sometimes the body goes. Disappears. But the witness remains. Formerly mute objects become articulate."[27]
The body has been brought into a precarious situation, since it is not alone that changes the state of consciousness here and now, but stands closer to the theatrical principle of oscillating between various strongholds of identity. Perhaps this new reality of the body corresponds in performance with the political street actions today, since the body is sacrificed, yet without declaring a stabile political goal[28] because the very act of sacrificing is political, and that is only one of the possible effects in a myriad of possibilities, enhanced by cyber-space and by our mind affected by it.

4. Arab Spring 2011

In 2011, in Tunisia, it actually all started with the body. Mohamed Bouazizi, a young street vendor, publicly set himself on fire in protest of corruption and police violence. Even though the incident took place in the age of highly developed communication technology, this act of self-immolation was not recorded by camera, cell phone, or in any other way. But regardless of this lack of image, Bouazizi's act triggered a mass reaction. Street protests provoked by his death spread from Tunisia

throughout the Middle East, turning into what we now know as the *Arab Spring*. All analysis of the Arab Spring are unanimous in emphasizing the importance of digital, especially communication technology, in organizing, sustaining, and maintaining the protest. Communication and gathering were achieved by means of social networks, albeit without an image that could be shared as a proof of Bouazizi's self-immolation.

4.1. Memories

Fifty years before this event, the mass media published a dramatic photograph showing the self-immolation of the Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc.[29] The image of a human being set on fire has become isolated and contextualized by the media in such a way that it became a global symbol of ultimate human protest. Apparently, our cognitive self has already become physically adapted to the virtual reality. People in the Middle East simply substituted the lack of a visual experience of Bouazizi's self-immolation with this proto-image showing the act of the Vietnamese monk (and the images of similar incidents that happened afterwards), which had been already present in the media and endlessly multiplied. It is a sort of approach to the collective subconscious of the Jungian type, but now recognizable as the virtual reality. The principle of substituting the information/image was established even before the emergence of digital

šatorski grad. Ta aktivacija javnog prostora, postupak poznat iz izvedbenih praksi,[30] nije odmah prepoznata kao bitna odrednica pokreta OWS, nego se javnosti nudi terminologija poznatih društvenih mitova. S jedne strane govori se o hipi-komuni koja je opasnost za higijenu grada, a s druge strane traži se jasna politička artikulacija pokreta, juriš iz parka na rušenje tvrđave kapitalizma. U trenutku stvaranja pokreta OWS odsutnost definiranog cilja rasplamsava politička očekivanja, zanemarujući mogućnost da je protestni šator-grad u Zuccoti parku adaptirani performans, u smislu upotrebe tijela i objekata za promjenu stanja svijesti. Taj performans izlazi iz prostora galerije u aktivirani javni prostor potaknut nestabilnošću prostornih koordinata koju promovira digitalna kultura i *cyber*-prostor. Na pitanje kako se može očekivati politički učinak od takvih, gotovo opskurnih, umjetničkih modela, možda je odgovor u pojavi koju je opisao Marx, da politički trag ionako imaju svi, pa i najprirodniji objekti, jer u sebi imaju zapamćenu prisutnost ljudskog čina koji ih je producirao, podržao, upotrijebio, podvrgnuo ili odbacio.[31]

5.1. Mitologizacija

Inzistiranje da *Occupy Wall Street* odredi svoje političke ciljeve, ili da bar artikulira jasan pravac djelovanja prema kojemu se javnost može opredijeliti, ukazuje na stalnu potrebu zapadnog društva za mitologizacijom. Protesti *Arapskog proljeća* suočeni su s

autoritativnim režimima pa je zahtijevanje da se takvi režimi uklone možda prirodan, „samorazumljivi" javno odobren mit. Protesti OWS-a suočeni su s visokorazvijenom buržoaskom konjunkturom pa bi jasnim deklariranjem nekog praktičnog cilja upali u klopku poželjnog diskursa ponašanja, sukoba mitova, nadmetanja u jeziku a nasuprot daleko opskrbljenijeg „protivnika". Barthes objašnjava kako revolucija isključuje mit jer „revolucija proglašava sebe otvoreno kao revoluciju i time abolira mit".[32] Jedina revolucija koja može podnijeti mit je zapravo memorija revolucije, a po modelu „uvježbanom" u virtualnoj realnosti. OWS u Zuccoti parku zapravo izvodi ponovno odigravanje revolucije, možda po uzoru na performerski *re-enactment*[33] u smislu određenja Marine Abramović o „utjelovljenoj dokumentaciji koja se vremenom može mijenjati i mutirati".[34] Tom stalnom obnavljanju prisutnosti u sadašnjosti pridodaje se već ranije opisana paralelna prisutnost u *cyber*-prostoru, sigurnost u mogućnost stalnog pristupa. Moglo bi se reći da su OWS-ovci u svijetu revolucije i svijetu mita istovremeno, gdje oba svijeta sada posjeduju i trag memorije kao zajedničku kvalitetu.[35] Ovdje nije riječ o prepoznavanju elemenata estetskog u političkim demonstracijama ili političkog aktivizma u današnjim umjetničkim izvedbama poput performansa, ovdje je riječ o tome da su umjetnička izvedba i politički aktivizam postali jedno te isto, a zahvaljujući istovremenoj prisutnosti i susretu dijelova identiteta u *cyber*-prostoru.

memories and virtual archives, which have now been present sufficiently long to change not only social and communicational realities, but also ourselves, in terms of cognition. As McLuhan has written, "[B]y putting our physical bodies inside our extended nervous systems, we set up a dynamic by which all previous technologies that are (...) such extensions of our bodies, including cities, will be translated into information systems."[30] We have all been waiting for a time when we will physically feel the cyborg reality as ours and as normal. This trajectory of memorized images reveals itself as a crucial element of the interaction between cyber-space and physical events, applicable both to politics and to art.

5. Occupy Wall Street

"We know what we don't want. But what do we actually want? (...) What social organization can replace capitalism?" Žižek raised this question in Zuccoti Park (Harcourt 2011),[31] a site where the activists from the American protest movement *Occupy Wall Street* organized a small settlement made of tents. However, this activation of public space, a procedure known from the performing arts,[32] was not immediately recognized as an essential feature of OWS; instead, the public was offered the terminology of the familiar social myths. On the one hand, the movement was proclaimed to be a hippie commune, which posed a threat to urban hygiene, and on the other hand, there was a search for

a clear political articulation of the movement, such as a crusade launched from a park against the bastions of capitalism. At the moment of creating OWS, the absence of a defined goal gave fuel to various political expectations, neglecting the possibility that the protesting tent city in Zuccoti Park was an adapted performance, an act of using bodies and objects to alter the state of consciousness. This performance had left the gallery and moved into an activated public space motivated by the instability of spatial coordinates as promoted by digital culture and cyber-space. As to the question how one could expect a political effect from this sort of almost obscure artistic models, the answer might be in a phenomenon described by Marx, namely that all, even the most natural object possess a political trace, since they possess a more or less memorable presence of the human act which has produced, fitted up, used, subjected or rejected it.[33]

5.1. Mythologization

The insistence that *Occupy Wall Street* should define their political goals, or at least clearly state their course of action, so that the public may take a position, indicates a permanent need of mythologization in the Western society. The protests of the Arab Spring were confronted with authoritative regimes, so the demand that these regimes should be overthrown seemed like a natural, "self-understandable" and publicly approved myth.

5.2. Kraj pokreta je početak

Nedostatak stabilnog i jasnog političkog znaka OWS-a bio je toleriran do polovice studenoga 2011., kada je društvo nasilno krenulo u stvaranje mita. Privatni vlasnici Zuccoti parka i gradska policija nasilno rastjeruju OWS, opravdavajući svoju akciju prihvatljivim i javno razumljivim mitom, onim o sanitarnoj ugroženosti grada zbog nehigijenskih uvjeta stvorenih nebrigom i asocijalnošću demonstranata. U stvarnosti zapadnih društava utkana je buržoazija, kaže Barthes, a koja se odrekla svojeg imena i tako sakrila, stopila s nacijom. Buržoaska ideologija neprestano producira mitove i tek povremeno i baš zbog toga može biti uočena: „Buržuj je nesposoban zamisliti Drugoga i ako dođe u dodir s njim (...) ili ga negira ili transformira u sebe. Drugi postaje objekt, spektakl, klaun, više ne predstavlja ugrožavanje sigurnosti doma.“[36]

Osmišljavanje i provođenje scenarija po kojem se politički opasna radnja sanitarizira nizom komunalnih mjera na trenutak je razotkrilo stil kojim operira buržoasko kreiranje mitova, a kako bi kontroliralo svakodnevnicu. Higijena i javno zdravlje je ugroženo, novac poreznih obveznika dobro je uložen, naše komunalne službe djeluju i efikasno rješavaju problem. Usprkos odlučnoj intervenciji iz same srži tvornice mitova, *Occuppy Wall Street* nije raspršen. Ovdje već detektiramo prisutnost novog komunikacijskog modela, tehnologiju društvenih mreža i instant digitalne komunikacije, a koja omogućuje ponovno bezuvjetno okupljanje ljudi bez obzira što su u Zuccoti park došli s različitih strana države i svijeta i nemaju nekih posebnih teritorijalnih ili drugih fizičkih poveznica.

5.3. Union Square travnja 2012.

Occupy Wall Street se travnja 2011. jednostavno pojavljuje na Union Squareu, kružnom trgu u sredini kojeg je ograđeni park, smještenom nekoliko ulica iznad Wall Streeta. Jedini znak da je OWS prisutan na Trgu veliki je stol dekoriran transparentom na kojem je rukom ispisan naziv pokreta. Događanja koja se odvijaju oko tog stola, a u popodnevnim i večernjim satima, mogu biti i uobičajeni dekor popularnog gradskog trga, festivalsko ozračje koje produciraju opušteni građani pjesmom, plesom i igrama. Bez neke hijerarhije važnosti odvija se improvizirano bubnjanje građana o velike kante, a koje opija upornim ponavljanjem, odvija se predavanje o ciljevima pokreta pojačano malim ozvučenjem, malo dalje je protestni skup Tibetanaca, podjela hrane beskućnicima, ulična predavanja studentima s obližnjeg *New York University*, skejtanje i loptanje po stepenicama trga, demonstracija usamljenog individualca koji protestira protiv korupcije u bankovnom sistemu. Ljudi u poslovnim odijelima sjede na asfaltu i drže se za ruke meditirajući dok mantru glasno izgovara prigodni Indijac. S obližnje zgrade *display* pokazuje napredak ukupnog američkog duga i time osvjetljava prizore na Trgu.

The protests of OWS were confronted with a highly developed bourgeois constellation, and the proclamation of a practical goal would have pushed them straight into a trap of adopting a desirable mode of behaviour, with its clash of myths and linguistic duels, moreover against an "enemy" that was far better equipped. Barthes once stated that revolution rejected the myths as it "announces itself openly as revolution and thereby abolishes myth."[34] The only revolution that can sustain a myth is in fact the memory of the revolution, according to the model "exercised" in virtual reality. In Zuccoti Park, OWS was in fact re-enacting a revolution, perhaps modelled on the performing re-enactment[35] as it has been defined by Marina Abramović, as an "embodied documentation that can shift and mutate over time."[36] This permanent renewal of presence in the present has been joined by the aforementioned parallel presence in cyber-space, a confidence in the possibility of permanent access. One might say that the OWS people were in the world of revolution and the world of myth at the same time, where both worlds now also possessed a trace of memory as their shared quality.[37] The issue is not to identify the elements of aestheticism in political demonstrations or political activism in present-day artistic performances; it is to see how artistic performance and political activism have become one and the same thing, owing to their parallel presence and the encounter of segments of their identities in cyber-space.

5.2. The end of the movement is its beginning

The absence of any stabile or clear political goal in OWS was tolerated until mid-November 2011, when the society began creating a myth. The owners of Zuccoti Park and the police forcibly dissolved OWS, justifying their action with a universally acceptable and understandable myth, that of the sanitary threat to the city because of the unhygienic situation created by the careless and antisocial behaviour of the protesters. The reality of the western societies includes the bourgeoisie, as Barthes has observed, only that it has renounced at its name and thus concealed itself, having merged with the nation. The bourgeois ideology constantly produces myths and can thus be spotted only occasionally, and precisely owing to that: "The petit-bourgeois is a man incapable of imagining the Other. If he comes face to face with him, he blinds himself, ignores or denies him, or else transforms him into himself. (...) The other becomes a pure object, a spectacle, a clown. Relegated to the confines of humanity, he no longer threatens the security of the home."[38]

Devising and actualizing a scenario in which a politically threatening action is sanitized by applying a series of communal measures disclosed for a moment the style in which the bourgeois creation of myth operates in order to control the everyday life. Hygiene and public health are in danger, but the money of the tax payers has been invested in the right place, since our communal services are fully functional and will efficiently solve the problem. But despite this
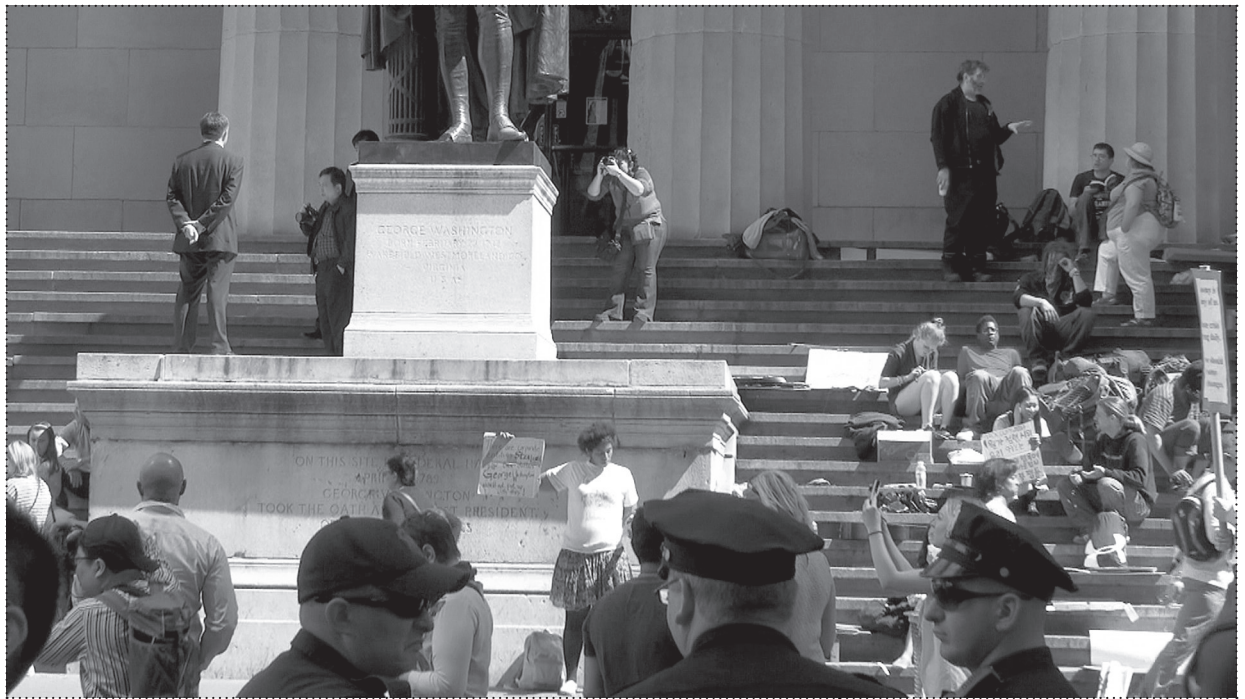
LEO KATUNARIĆ, „FLASH MOB", UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK, 2012.

LEO KATUNARIĆ, „FLASH MOB", UNION SQUARE,
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resolute intervention of the very factory of myths, *Occupy Wall Street* did not disperse. Here one can already sense the presence of a new model of communication, which made it possible for the people to gather again, unconditionally, regardless of the fact that they had come to Zuccoti Park from various parts of the USA and the world, and that there were no particular territorial or other physical links between them.

5.3. Union Square, April 2012

Occupy Wall Street simply reappeared in April 2011, this time in Union Square, a circular square with a fenced park in the middle, located several streets off Wall Street. The only sign that OWS was present there was a large table decorated with a billboard that had the name of the movement handwritten on it. The events that took place around that table in the afternoon and evening could also have been the usual decoration of a popular city square: a festival atmosphere produced by relaxed citizens, who were singing, dancing, and playing games. Without a particular hierarchy of importance, people became involved in improvised drumming on large bins, which seemed inebriating in its persistent repetitiveness, and there was a lecture about the goals of the movement, transmitted by small loudspeakers, while somewhat further there was a protest gathering of the Tibetans, distribution of food to the homeless, street lectures for students from the

nearby New York University, skateboarding, and playing ball on the staircase, as well as a protest action of a solitary individual against corruption in the banking system. People in business suits were sitting on the asphalt and holding hands, with a matching Hindu saying out a mantra. On a nearby building, a display showed the progress of American national debt, illuminating the events on the square. Suddenly, a flash mob appeared in the midst of all that, creating a spontaneous happening without any particular purpose. Eventually there was some drumming, some fast rhythms, and then suddenly silence, as people dispersed before midnight. Nothing of this suggested any potentially threatening situation taking place in Union Square. Why was then this part of the square permanently surrounded by a large number of policemen and by even more uniformed guards, and why were there police cars and ambulance vehicles parked at only ten-meter distance from the park? The presence of security forces was sending a clear message that even meditation could be potentially dangerous if performed in public space, and the same went for flash mobs and soup kitchens. To be sure, a longer and more careful observation of the merry events in the Square revealed some patterns of behaviour. The drumming would start only after the end of the public lecture and finish before the beginning of a protest speech. The structure of events was obviously coordinated, after all, and those who did it used cell phones and iPads. The entire event in Union Square was intentional,

Odjednom se usred svega toga okuplja *flash mob*-grupa i izvodi spontani *happening* bez neke posebne svrhe. Na kraju bubnjanje, brzi ritam i odjednom tišina, razlaz prije pola noći. Ništa od opisanog ne sugerira da se na Union Squareu događa neka potencijalno opasna aktivnost. Zašto je onda taj dio trga stalno okružen velikim brojem policajaca i još većim brojem uniformiranih čuvara parka, zašto su desetak metara dalje parkirana službena policijska vozila i vozila hitne pomoći? Prisutnost snaga sigurnosti šalje jasnu poruku kako je i meditacija u javnom prostoru potencijalno opasna, isto tako i *flash mob* ili dijeljenje hrane beskućnicima. Istina, pažljivijim, i duljim, promatranjem veselih događanja na Trgu uočavaju se obrasci ponašanja. Bubnjanje započinje nakon završetka javnog predavanja, a uspijeva završiti prije početka nekog protestnog govora. Struktura odvijanja događanja ipak je vidljivo koordinirana operaterima koji djeluju pomoću mobitela i *iPadova*. Cijeli je događaj na Union Squareu namjerno izveden, i kada se promatra u cjelini prestaje biti šareni komunalni događaj te poprima obilježja izvedbe. Svi mali događaji okupljeni su u jedan, ritualnih karakteristika, a taj događaj zapravo je ekstenzija Zuccoti parka, odnosno svega onoga što je nakon Zuccoti parka ostalo a prošlo je kroz memorije *cyber*-prostora. Kada se to spozna, jasnija je i potreba ponovne izvedbe, iako je zapravo riječ o neuspješnom ponavljanju atmosfere prethodnog parka. Kako objašnjava Astrid Peterle: „Ponovljene izvedbe

neuspješne su s obzirom na izvornik, ali uspostavljaju učinkovit potencijal dovodeći u pitanje percepciju povijesti i sadašnjosti."[37] Ni u jednom trenutku travanjskih događanja OWS-a na Union Squareu nije riječ samo o političkoj akciji niti je riječ samo o umjetničkoj izvedbi. Najbliža definicija onoga što se u takvim trenucima događa možda je neka vrsta konstrukcije „agregatnog stanja" u deleuzovskom smislu[38] onoga što stvara žudnja, čime se budi potencijal koji oduvijek postoji ali za koji nitko ne zna što je točno dok se ne razotkrije.

6. Wall Street i skrivena znanja
Wall Street je ulica ispred neoklasicističkog pročelja zgrade njujorške burze, a završava kipom G. Washingtona iza kojeg je veliko stepenište koje vodi u zgradu Federal Hall National Memorial. Upravo to stepenište pozornica je druge izvedbe pokreta *Occuppy Wall Street*. Pripadnici pokreta okupiraju stube uokolo Washingtonova spomenika. Njihovo izvikivanje parola, ovdje jasnog političkog sadržaja, odjekuje u uskom „kanjonu" odbijajući se od visokih kamenih pročelja Wall Streeta. Iza tih pročelja odvijaju se današnje inačice davnih rituala, onih koje Turner opisuje kao obrede u kojima nema razlike između publike i izvođača, jer „imamo zajednicu koju mogu predvoditi svećenici, pripadnici stranke ili drugi vjerski ili svjetovni stručnjaci, ali svi dijele formalno i stvarno ista vjerovanja i prihvaćaju isti sustav

and when viewed as a whole, ceased to be a colourful communal event, acquiring the features of a performance. All these small events gathered up into a single one, which was moreover ritualistic in character and functioned as an extension of Zuccoti Park, or rather everything that had remained after Zuccoti Park and was now processed through the memories of cyber-space. When considering all that, the need of re-enactment becomes clearer, even though it was actually an unsuccessful repetition of the atmosphere in the previous park. As Astrid Peterle has explained, "A re-enactment is constitutively bound to failure – however only with regard to the 'original'. This kind of failure does not mean that the reconstruction fails in reconstituting an effective potential (...) in challenging the audiences perception of history as well as the present."[39] The April events of OWS in Union Square were not for a single moment merely a political action or merely an artistic performance. The nearest definition of what takes place in such moments may be a sort of construction of an "aggregate state" in Deleuzean sense of the word[40] of what is created by desire, and what activates a potential that has always been there, yet no one knows exactly what it is before it is awakened.

6. Wall Street and occult knowledge
Wall Street is the street in front of the Neo-Classicist façades of the New York stock market, which ends with the statue of

G. Washington and a large staircase behind it, leading to the building of the Federal Hall National Memorial. It was that staircase that served as the stage for the second enactment of *Occupy Wall Street*. Members of the movement occupied the stairs around Washington's monument. As they shouted out slogans, which now had a clear political content, their voices resonated in the narrow "canyon", echoing against the high stone façades of Wall Street. Behind these façades, the modern variant of ancient rites was going on, those that Turner had described as rituals that do not distinguish between audience and performers: "There is a congregation whose leaders may be priests, party officials, or other religious or secular ritual specialists, but all share formally and substantially the same set of beliefs and accept the same system of practices (...). A congregation is there to affirm the theological or cosmological order (...) which all hold in common."[41] Wall Street is an apparatus that enables massive fluctuation of money in invisible transactions. Speaking about the Palaeolithic caves in which ancient rituals were taking place, Montelle has emphasized that they were sophisticated places for the exploration and explication of "otherness". There were two levels of communication: the visible, in which information was freely shared, and the not-so-visible, in which information was transmitted only to the initiated elite. "It is in the junctions between the components of this controlled repartition of cognition that performativity and theatricality emerged."[42] The theatricality

djelovanja (...). Zajednica je tu da potvrdi teološki ili kozmološki poredak (...) koji je za sve isti".[39] Poredak koji omogućuje golemu fluktuaciju novca u nevidljivim transakcijama. Montelle, govoreći o paleolitskim pećinama u kojima su se odvijali pradavni rituali, ističe da se radilo o sofisticiranim mjestima za istraživanje i objašnjavanje „drugosti." Postojala su dva nivoa komunikacije, vidljivi – u kojemu se informacije slobodno dijele, i ezoterični, manje vidljiv – u kojemu su informacije prenošene izabranoj eliti. „Na spoju komponenti te kontrolirane podjele kognitivnog pojavljuje se teatralnost."[40] Teatralnost burze, energična koreografija mešetara u šarenim kostimima, izvikivanje brojki i imena prikriva tajno znanje, fluktuaciju nevjerojatnih količina novca, brojki koje na kraju rezultiraju odlukama bitnim u životima svih nas. OWS se nalazi s druge strane informacijskog toka, tvrdi da više nije vrijeme za elite i njihove tajne informacije. I to komunicira vlastitim oblikom teatralnosti.

6.1. Kazalište Wall Street
Ispred Washingtonova spomenika na Wall Streetu mlada Afroamerikanka stoji sama izvikujući kratke rečenice, ne samo parole nego i stihove, izreke i sl. Odjevena je u svakodnevnu odjeću, nimalo mladenačku, i stisnutom šakom desne ruke pokazuje na pročelje burze. Na stepeništu iza nje sjedi nekoliko članova pokreta OWS koji prigušenim, moduliranim glasom, poput

antičkog kora, izgovaraju kratke parole, a te parole mlada žena, koja je svojevrsni korifej grupe, prebacuje u neki svoj hipnotički ritam izvikivanja. Dva su elementa tog događanja u direktnoj vezi i s virtualnom realnošću. Parole su kreirane negdje drugdje i dolaze u realan prostor protesta putem uređaja iPad koji „kor" ima na koljenima. Dakle oni prenose u virtualnoj stvarnosti formiranu parolu, a ona se kreira neovisno o fizičkom mjestu „radnje". Drugo, protest se prenosi, streama, uživo internetom natrag u virtualnu realnost, gdje se može primati, odbaciti, komentirati... Samo snimanje protesta ne odvija se sa sigurne udaljenosti (to obavljaju sigurnosne i policijske kamere koje time proširuju djelokrug različitih realnosti), nego je snimatelj fizički dio protesta, kratkim kabelom je vezan za računalo, čime i sâm postaje element događanja. Slike su već uspostavljene, mizanscena aranžirana, scenografija rastvorena. Informacije putuju u virtualno i iz virtualnog istovremeno preko moćnih burzovnih servera kao i preko skromnih iPadova na koljenima izvođača.

Na Wall Streetu odvija se dekonstrukcija mehanizama koji su na Union Squareu skriveni. Kao da istovremeno čujemo repetitivno ponavljanje grčkog kora u dramskim izvedbama kao i ponavljanje parola na političkim agitacijskim skupovima. U oba slučaja postupak vodi do neke vrste kontrolirane ekstaze. Takvi postupci pokreću „mase", ali u ovim slučajevima fizičke mase nema, i time je postupak ogoljen do kraja u fizičkoj realnosti.

of the stock market, the energetic choreography of the brokers in colourful costumes, the shouting out of numbers and names, all that conceals occult knowledge and reflects the fluctuation of unimaginable sums of money, numbers that eventually result in decisions that prove essential for the lives of all of us. OWS was situated on the other end of this flow of information, and announced that the time had come to get rid of the elites and their secret information. And it communicated this message in its own form of theatricality.

6.1. Wall Street theatre
In front of Washington's monument in Wall Street, a young Afro-American stands alone, shouting out brief sentences, and also verses and sayings. She is wearing ordinary clothes, not at all youthful, and her clenched fist is directed at the façade of the stock market. On the staircase behind her, several members of OWS utter brief slogans in suffused voices, like the classical chorus, and the young woman, acting as a sort of chorus leader for the group, transforms these slogans into that personal, hypnotic rhythm of shouting. Two elements of this event are directly related to virtual reality. Firstly, the slogans have been created elsewhere and they have reached the actual space of the protest by means of iPads that the "chorus" is holding on their knees. Thus, they are transmitting slogans that have come to

life in virtual reality, independent of the physical place of "action". Secondly, the protest is being streamed live on the internet, back in the virtual reality where it can be received, rejected, commented, and so on. The protest is not recorded from a safe distance (that is being done by the security and police cameras, which thus extend the scope of different realities); the camera is a physical part of the protest, it is linked by means of a short cable to the computer, which makes it an integral part of the event. The images are already created, the mise-en-scčne arranged, the stage set ready. The information travels into the virtual sphere and back from it at the same time, through the powerful servers of the stock market and the more modest iPads on the knees of the performers.

In Wall Street, mechanisms were deconstructed which in Union Square had remained hidden. It is as if we heard the repetitive utterances of the Greek chorus in an ancient theatre and the repetitive slogans in political agitation meetings. In both cases, the procedure leads to a sort of controlled ecstasy. Such procedures can move "the masses", yet in these cases the physical masses are not there, and thus the process is bared down to its essentials in the physical reality. At the same time, a sort of "digital ecstasy" is created, since the information produced in cyber-space, enriched by the happening in physical reality, is sent back to cyber-space, where it spreads in waves. To be sure, those masses are present on the Internet: in forums, chat rooms, social networks, etc., and they have

Istovremeno kreira se svojevrsna „digitalna ekstaza", jer je informacija koja je kreirana u *cyber*-prostoru, obogaćena događanjem u fizičkoj realnosti vraćena natrag u *cyber*-prostor kojim se širi u valovima. Naravno, masa je prisutna na internetskim mrežama, forumima, *chat*-prostorima, društvenim mrežama i sl. i ima sasvim druge načine komunikacije nego je to nekada imala masa sastavljena od fizički prisutnih ljudi na nekom skupu ili predstavi. Informacija koju primaju obrađuje se na drugi način i kreira drugačiju vrstu reakcije. Kada događaj na Wall Streetu ne bi bio i izvedbeno umjetnički, onda bi vrlo lako bio politički neutraliziran, već po ranije opisanim principima društveno korisne mitologizacije. Kada bi događaj na Wall Streetu bio samo umjetnički, bez rizika političke klasifikacije vlastite učinkovitosti, onda bi sve ono što se pojavljuje u istom prostoru bilo samo slučajnost, nikako mogući element amalgamne stvarnosti koja se kreira iz sudara digitalnog i fizičkog. A ipak, promjena gledanja na stvarnost koju izaziva akcija OWS-a na Wall Streetu otkriva emotivni potencijal u svemu, događanja postaju emotivni element ove „javne drame". Grupa kineskih biznismena pozira kolegi ispred pročelja burze, ne pridajući nikakvu važnost događanjima OWS-a. Ta njihova iznenadna pojava i radnja poziranja fotoaparatu ispred burze izaziva slijed kazališnih reakcija. Ako kineske biznismene gledamo kao likove u izvedbenom događanju na Wall Streetu, onda smo preko njihovih akcija dobili zaključak katarzičan poput finala kazališnog spektakla: jedno fizičko

tijelo suprotstavljeno nesrazmjerno većoj moći ipak može izazvati preobražaj društva. Naime, kineski biznismeni ne bi danas ni postojali da jedan usamljeni kineski student s plastičnom vrećicom u ruci nije stao na put koloni tenkova koja se probijala prema Trgu nebeskog mira u Pekingu 1989. godine.

7. May Day, re-enactment Prvog maja

Krajem travnja OWS najavljuje organizaciju prvomajske parade kao finala svojih njujorških aktivnosti 2012. godine. Najava prvomajske parade iznenađuje neutralne promatrače. Taj čin nam izgleda kao popuštanje ili ishitreni pokušaj transformacije izvedbenog u političko, nervozni akt samopotvrđivanja potaknut prijetnjom gašenja pokreta. Ipak, ako znamo da su samo nekoliko mjeseci prije OWS-aktivisti vrlo zrelo osmislili i provodili prakticiranje „političke neposlušnosti"[41] koja namjerno odbija artikulirati političke zahtjeve ili prihvatiti ideologije, smijemo li onda najavu i provedbu prvomajske parade automatski tumačiti kao pogrešku, kao naivno podčinjavanje mitologizaciji? Umjesto nametnutog očekivanja rezultata aktivizma, možemo li cijeli događaj promatrati npr. kao „izdvajanje iz jednog konteksta i smještanje u drugi (...) aktivne društvene intervencije i kritike koja mijenja situaciju u kojoj se događa".[42] Prvomajska parada u New Yorku 2012. ne može biti izolirana kao revolucionarni čin koji sada treba donijeti političke rezultate, a koji odjednom prekida veze s performativnim ili

completely different communication methods than the masses used to have when they still consisted exclusively of people who were physically attending meetings or performances. The received information is processed in a different way and leads to a different kind of reaction. If the happening in Wall Street had not been an artistic performance, it could have been politically neutralized without much effort, with the help of the previously described principles of socially useful mythologization. Had the happening in Wall Street been merely artistic, without risking that its efficiency is labelled as political, then everything that took place in that space would have been purely accidental, far from a possible element of the amalgam reality created in a clash between the digital and physical realities. And yet, a change in perspective regarding the OWS action in Wall Street reveals an emotional potential in everything, and various events become the emotional elements of this "public drama." A group of Chinese businessmen posed for their colleague in front of the stock market, without attaching any importance to OWS. Their sudden appearance and posing triggered a series of theatrical reactions. If we look at the Chinese businessmen as protagonists in the Wall Street performance, then their actions offer a conclusion that is as cathartic as the finale of a theatre spectacle: a physical body opposing a disproportionally stronger power can nevertheless trigger social transformation, since there would be no Chinese businessmen there today had not

a solitary Chinese student with a plastic bag in his hand stood up against the tanks that were pushing their way to Tiananmen Square in Peking back in 1989.

7. May Day, a re-enactment of the Labour Day

Late in April, OWS announced a parade for the Labour Day as the finale of its New York activities in 2012. This announcement surprised the neutral observers. The act seemed to be a defeat or a rash attempt at transforming the performing into the political, a nervous act of self-assertion triggered by the threat of the movement's demise. However, if we keep in mind that only months earlier the activists of OWS had very cleverly devised and carried out acts of "political disobedience"[43] that intentionally refused to articulate any political demands or accept any ideologies, should we automatically interpret the announcement and organization of the parade as a mistake, a naive subjection to mythologization? Instead of expecting some results of this activism, which is a form of behaviour imposed upon us, perhaps we should, for example, view the whole event as "taking out of one context and placing into another (...) an active social intervention and critique that changes the situation in which it occurs."[44] The New York parade on Labour Day 2012 cannot be isolated as a revolutionary act that should now yield some political results, which would mean an abrupt break with the performative or the ludic, simply because it can also be seen as

ludičkim, jednostavno zato jer može biti promatrana i kao slika stvarnosti u kojoj je „sve ono što se izravno proživljavalo udaljeno u predstavu".[43] To nam potvrđuje i element parodije prisutan cijelo vrijeme odvijanja parade. Hutcheon opisuje parodiju kao osnovni gradivni element postmoderne prakse, jedini izlaz za praktično djelovanje danas: „kroz dvostruki proces instaliranja i ironiziranja, parodija signalizira kako današnje reprezentacije dolaze iz prošlih i što ideološke konzekvence deriviraju i iz kontinuiteta i različitosti".[44]

8. Namjerni neuspjeh

OWS zna da je u opasnosti da se buržoaskom manipulacijom mitovima svaka njegova aktivnost valorizira političkim jezikom i tako lakše proglasi nepotrebnom ili neuspješnom. OWS zato namjerno prakticira osmišljeni i producirani neuspjeh. Ova rekonstrukcija prvomajske parade slična je načinu refleksivne metode rekonstrukcije o kojoj govori Astrid Peterle, tumačeći kako proračunati neuspjeh nije pogreška, već odbacivanje hegemonijskih normi kapitalizma koje otklanjaju neuspjeh i priznaju samo učinkovitost. Posegnulo se za uspomenom, slikom i znakom koji je već etabliran u kolektivnom. Zanimljivo je i da se odabire *re-enactment* mita koji je potrošen i kompromitiran, a ne mita koji je siguran i pobjednički. Prvi maj u američkom društvu može samo izazvati reminiscenciju na propale društvene sisteme i njihove jalove proslave ili još jalovije ulične demonstracije radništva Amerike

u prošlosti. Odabir memorije neuspjeha i njezino fizičko ponovno izvođenje govori o kompleksnoj strukturi mreže kombinacija i funkcionalnih provedbi, a u režiji OWS-a, i naslućuje uspješan sraz digitalne tehnologije i jezičnog performativa premještenog u prostor političkog. Posljedice po društvo ovakvih amalgama možda će biti sveobuhvatnije i trajnije nego da su postavljeni i realizirani konačni politički ciljevi. U svojem kratkom eseju *Maj 1968. nije se dogodio* Deleuze i Guattari uočavaju promjenu u načinu razmišljanja ljudi o sebi i okolini koja se dogodila nakon neuspjeha ostvarenja postavljenih ciljeva revolucije 1968. i smatraju da neuspjeh direktne političke akcije ne znači puno.

„Bilo je brojnih agitacija, gestikulacija, slogana, gluposti, iluzija 1968., ali to nije ono što se računa. (...) Moguće ne postoji otprije, kreirano je događanjem. To je pitanje života. Događanje kreira novo postojanje, producira novi subjektivitet (novu relaciju s tijelom, vremenom, seksualnošću, okruženjem, kulturom, radom)".[45] Ono što ostaje u budućnosti otvaranje je prema mogućnosti koja se nikada nije realizirala. Revolucije danas prepoznaju vlastiti potencijal u nerealiziranom, a *cyber*-prostor im osigurava predodžbu da se nerealizirano negdje fizički nalazi. Istovremeno su i umjetnički čin jer je umjetnost jedino područje ljudskog djelovanja koje može apsorbirati i derivirati i tako različite i međusobno strane diskurse kao što su politička borba zbog društvene promjene i ljudski impuls za individualnim ili grupnim besciljnim događanjem.

an image of the reality in which "[E]verything that was directly lived is now merely represented in the distance."[45] This is confirmed by the element of parody that was present during the entire parade. Hutcheon has described parody as a building block of postmodern practice and the only way of practical action: "through a double process of installing and ironizing, parody signals how present representations come from past ones and what ideological consequences derive from both continuity and difference."[46]

8. Intentional Failure

OWS knew that it was in danger of having all its activity evaluated in the language of politics by means of bourgeois manipulation with myths, which would be the way to easily dismiss it as unnecessary or unsuccessful. Therefore, OWS intentionally practiced organized and artificially induced failure. This reconstruction of a Labour Day parade resembles the reflexive method of reconstruction as referred to by Astrid Peterle, who has explained that a calculated failure is not a mistake, but the dismissal of the hegemonic norms of capitalism, which reject failing and only acknowledge those who are efficient.[47] It used the memory, the image, and the symbol that had already been established in the collective. It is also interesting that the organizers chose to re-enact a myth that was worn out and compromised, rather than a safe and triumphant one. In the American society, Labour Day could only evoke failed social

systems and their futile celebrations, or even more futile street protests of the American working classes in the past. The choice of a memory of failure, and its physical re-enactment, speaks of a complex network of combinations and functional accomplishments, all directed by OWS, and hints at a successful fusion between digital technology and linguistic performative, transposed into the space of the political. Perhaps the consequences of such amalgams will be more far-reaching and durable than it would be the case had some final political goals indeed set and reached. In their brief essay "May 1968 Did Not Take Place," Deleuze and Guattari have commented on the change in the way people thought of themselves and their surrounding as a consequence of failure in reaching the goals set by the revolution of 1968, claiming that the failure of direct political action does not mean much.

"There were many agitations, gesticulations, slogans, idiocies, illusions in 68, but this is not what counts. (...) The possible does not pre-exist, it is created by the event. It is a matter of life. The event creates a new existence, it produces a new subjectivity (new relations with the body, with time, sexuality, the immediate surroundings, with culture, work)."[48] What remains for the future is to open ourselves for a possibility that has never been realized. Today, revolutions recognize their potential in the non-realized, and cyber-space offers them the idea that the non-realized is physically present somewhere. At the same

Možda je za nas danas takva revolucija, istovremeno politička i umjetnička, ona koja koristi i fizička tijela i digitalna tijela, ona koja je prisutna u oscilacijama između mnogih realnosti, zapravo jedina prava revolucija, revolucija revolucije.

1 *Cyber-space* termin je iz romana *Neuromancer* (1984.*)* Williama Gibsona. Američka psihologinja Sherry Turkle koristi taj termin opisujući prostor kulture proizašao iz upotrebe digitalne tehnologije.

2 Mao Ce Tung, prema: Nikola Klaić, *Rječnik stranih riječi*, Sani plus, Zagreb, 1998., 1162.

3 Chris Taylor, *Why not call it a Facebook revolution?*, 2011. (izvor: CNN /./http://articles.cnn.com/2011-0224/tech/facebook.revolution_1_ facebook-wael-ghonim-social-media?_s=PM:TECH, zadnji pregled: 25. 10. 2012.)

4 „Tip kazališnog događanja (...) baziran na slučajnom i neočekivanom, bez namjere da imitira vanjsko događanje, ispriča priču ili producira značenje, koristeći se svim raspoloživim umjetnostima i tehnikama kao i realnošću u okruženju" – Patrice Pavis, *Dictionary of theatre*, Toronto University Press, 1998., 167.

5 Ulični protestni pokret nastao u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, 2011. godine, a koji je inspirirao slične pokrete po cijelom svijetu. U daljnjem tekstu i OWS.

6 Michael Moynihan, „Wall Street Protest Begins", u: *New York Times* (City Room), 17. 9. 2011.

7 Branka Prica, „Oliver Frljić, Intervju", u: *Aktual*, Zagreb, 22. 5. 2012.

8 Džozef Čajkin (Joseph Chaikin), *Prisutnost glumca*, Sterijino pozorje, Novi Sad, 1977., 48.

9 Višekorisničke domene, digitalno područje igara za više igrača koji pristupaju s nezavisnih servera.

10 Sherry Turkle, „Identitet u doba Interneta", u: *Književna smotra*: *časopis za svjetsku književnost*, br. 114 (4), 1999., 6 (5–13).

11 Turkle (bilj. 10.), 7.

12 H. Rheingold, *Smart Mob*, Cambridge MA: The Perseus Books Group, 2003.

13 Autor i novinar, urednik u časopisu *Wired*, autor knjige *And Then There's This*: *How Stories Live and Die in Viral Culture* (2009.).

14 Naziv *flash mob* asocira i na znanstveno fantastičnu pripovijetku *Flash Crowd* (1973.) Larryja Nivena u kojoj opisuje društvo budućnosti u kojem se ljudi slobodno teleportiraju, i to koriste da se pojavljuju kao gomila demonstranata koju vlast ne može kontrolirati.

15 Brecht, prema: Aldo Milohnić, „Artivizam", u: *Kazalište*, *časopis za kazališnu umjetnost*, br. 47/48, 2011., Hrvatski centar ITI, Zagreb, 28 (24–37).

16 Miško Šuvaković, „Situacija i aktivizam u konceptualnoj umetnosti", u: *Konceptualna umetnost*, Muzej suvremene umjetnosti Vojvodine, Novi Sad, 2007., 582 (582–587).

17 Derrida, prema Turkle (bilj. 10), 9.

18 Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies*: *An Introduction*, 2. izd., New York, London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006., 70.

19 Schechner (bilj. 18.), 71.

20 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, Aldine Gruyter, New York, 1969., 95.

21 Slavoj Žižek, *The Plaque of Phantasies*, 2. izd., Verso, London – New York, 1997., 182.

22 Danto, prema: Klaus Biesenbach, *Marina Abramovic The Artist is Present*, MoMA, New York, 2010., 28.

23 MoMa, *Acting vs. Performance,* film, 2010. (izvor: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BYSE5ZUsrRg, zadnji pregled 7. 5. 2013.)

24 Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: the Politics of Performance*, The Routledge, New York, 2006., 146.

25 Isto, 177.

time, they are an artistic act, since art is the only field of human activity that can absorb and combine such different and apparently incompatible discourses as the political struggle for social change and the human impulse for aimless individual or group events. Perhaps this kind of revolution, political and artistic at the same time, one that uses both physical and digital bodies, one that is present in oscillations between many different realities, is for us today the only true revolution: a revolution of the revolution.

1 Cyber-space is a term from *Neuromancer* (1984), a novel by William Gibson. American psychologist Sherry Turkle has used the term to describe the space of culture resulting from the use of digital technology.

2 Mao Tse Tung, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927), in: *Selected Works* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), Vol. I, 28.

3 Chris Taylor, *Why Not Call It a Facebook Revolution?* (2011), CNN, http://articles.cnn.com/2011-0224/tech/facebook.revolution_1_ facebook-wael-ghonim-social-media?_s=PM:TECH (last accessed on October 25, 2012).

4 "Type of theatre activity (...) based on the random and the unexpected, with no attempt to imitate an outside action, tell a story or produce a meaning, using all imaginable arts and techniques as well as surrounding reality." Patrice Pavis, *Dictionary of the Theatre: Terms, Concepts, and Analysis* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), 167.

5 A protest movement that emerged in the USA in 2011, inspiring similar movements all over the world. Hereafter: OWS.

6 Michael Moynihan, "Wall Street Protest Begins," *New York Times* (City Room), September 17, 2011.

7 Branka Prica, "Oliver Frljić, Intervju," *Aktual* (Zagreb, May 22, 2012).

8 Joseph Chaikin, *The Presence of the Actor* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 26.

9 Multiuser domains: a digital game field for multiple players, who access it from independent servers.

10 Sherry Turkle, *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1995), 12.

11 Ibid., 13.

12 Howard Rheingold, *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2003).

13 Literary author and journalist, editor fo the *Wired* magazine, author of the book *And Then There's This: How Stories Live and Die in Viral Culture* (2009).

14 The term "flash mob" is also reminiscent of Larry Niven's SF story *Flash Crowd* (1973), in which he described the society of the future in which people would freely teleport themselves anywhere they wanted, and they used it to appear as a crowd of protesters that the authorities were unable to control.

15 Brecht as cited by Aldo Milohnić, "Artivizam", *Kazalište, časopis za kazališnu umjetnost* 47/48 (2011), 28 (24-37).

16 Miško Šuvaković, "Situacija i aktivizam u konceptualnoj umetnosti" [Situation and activism in conceptual art], in: *Konceptualna umetnost* [Conceptual art] (Novi Sad: Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, 2007), 582 (582-587).

17 Derrida as cited by Turkle, *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet*, 17.

18 Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 62.

19 Ibid., 63.

20 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (New York: Aldine Gruyter, 1969), 95.

21 Slavoj Žižek, *The Plaque of Fantasies* (London: Verso, 1997), 141.

22 Danto as cited by Klaus Biesenbach, *Marina Abramović: The Artist is Present* (New York: MoMA, 2010), 29.

[26] Stabilnog u smislu rezolutnog, cilj može biti jasno deklariran ali ne znači da je njegovo ispunjenje jedini učinak žrtvovanja, i to onaj koji se žrtvuje danas zna.

[27] Novinar Malcolm Brown snimio je crno-bijelu fotografiju redovnika kako mirno sjedi na ulici dok mu se tijelo pretvara u plamteću buktinju, a što je bio čin protesta protiv religijske netolerancije prema budizmu od strane tadašnjeg vijetnamskog prozapadnog režima.

[28] Marshal McLuhan, *Razumijevanje medija*, Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 2008., 56.

[29] Bernard Harcourt, *Occupy Wall Street's 'Political Disobedience'*, New York Times, 2011. (izvor: http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/author/bernard-e-harcourt/, zadnji pregled 25. 10. 2012.)

[30] Lehman prakse likovnih umjetnosti, a osobito performansa u „aktiviranju javnih prostora", dovodi u vezu sa suvremenom kazališnom praksom koja se „udaljava još dalje od onoga što obično nazivamo kazalištem". –Hans-Thies Lehman, *Postdramsko kazalište*, CDU (biblioteka Akcija), Zagreb, 2004., 225.

[31] Marx, prema: Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, The Noonday Press, New York, 1991., 143.

[32] Barthes (bilj. 32.), 147.

[33] Ponovno izvođenje, popularno danas u umjetnosti performansa. Usp. Astrid Peterle, „Obnove predstave i potencijal proračunatog neuspjeha", u: *Frakcija*, Zagreb, br. 51/52, 2009.

[34] Spector u: Biesenbach (bilj. 21.), 7.

[35] Kako sve više shvaćamo suptilne društvene promjene koje donosi virtualna realnost, tako uočavamo kako je danas nemoguće čak i radikalne procese poput revolucije evocirati ili upotrijebiti u njihovu čistom obliku. Prvenstveno ih doživljavamo kao označene memorijskim tragom, poput političkog traga koji opisuje Marx, tj. sveprisutne kvalitete svakog objekta ili društvenog procesa (Marx, prema Barthes 1991:143). Barthes (bilj. 30.), 10.

[36] Barthes (bilj. 29.), 153.

[37] Astrid Peterle, „Obnove predstave i potencijal proračunatog neuspjeha", u: *Frakcija*, Zagreb, br. 51/52, 2009., 109 (108–120).

[38] Deleuze, prema Pierre Boutang, *L'abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze*, film by Pierre Boutang 1988.–1989., 1996.

[39] Victor Turner, *Od rituala do teatra*, August Cesarec, Zagreb, 1989., 238.

[40] Montelle, prema Schechner (bilj. 18.), 58.

[41] „Politička neposlušnost" termin je koji kao pandan „građanskoj neposlušnosti" uvodi Bernard E. Harcourt, autor *The Illusion of Free Markets*: *Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (2011.).

[42] Šuvaković (bilj. 16.), 585.

[43] Guy Debord, *Društvo spektakla i komentari*, Arkzin, Zagreb, 1999., 35.

[44] Linda Hutcheon, *The politics of postmodernism*, Routledge, London, New York, 1989., 93.

[45] Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, „May 68. did not take place", u: *Hatred of Capitalism, a reade*, Kraus, Chris i Sylvere Lotringer (ur.), Semiotexte, Los Angeles, 2001., 241.

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[23] Biesenbach, 2010, 68.

[24] Peter Kramer as cited by Turkle 1995, 173-174.

[25] MoMa, *Acting vs. Performance,* film (2010), http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BYSE5ZUsrRg (last accessed on May 7, 2013).

[26] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: the Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 146.

[27] Ibid., 177.

[28] Stabile in terms of resolute: a goal may be clearly declared yet that does not mean that its fulfilment is the only effect of sacrifice, and people who sacrifice themselves today know it.

[29] Journalist Malcolm Brown shot a black-and-white photograph of the monk sitting quietly in the street as his body was turning into a burning torch, in protest of religious intolerance against Buddhism by the pro-Western Vietnamese regime of the time.

[30] Marshal McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (London: Sphere Books, 1971), 68.

[31] Bernard Harcourt, "Occupy Wall Street's 'Political Disobedience,'" *New York Times* (2011), http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/author/bernard-e-harcourt/ (last accessed on October 25, 2012).

[32] Lehman has related the practices of fine arts, especially performance, in "activation of public spaces" to the contemporary theatre practice, which distances itself even more from what we usually call theatre. Hans-Thies Lehman, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), 152.

[33] Marx as cited in: Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Noonday Press, 1991), 143.

[34] Ibid., 147.

[35] Re-enactment is today very popular in performance art. Cf. Astrid Peterle, "Re-enactments of Performances and the Potential of Calculated Failure," *Frakcija* 51/52 (2009).

[36] Klaus Biesenbach, *Marina Abramović: The Artist is Present*, 39.

[37] As we increasingly begin to understand the subtle social shifts introduced by virtual reality, we realize that it has become impossible to evoke, or use in a pure form, even such radical processes as a revolution. We primarily experience them as marked by a trace of memory, like the political trace described by Marx, that is, the omnipresent quality of any object or social process (Marx as cited by Barthes, *Mythologies*, 143).

[38] Barthes, *Mythologies*, 152-153.

[39] Astrid Peterle, "Reenactments of Performances and the Potential of Calculated Failure," 119.

[40] Deleuze as cited in: Pierre Boutang, *L'abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze*, film by Pierre Boutang, 1988-1989, 1996.

[41] Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publication, 1982), 112.

[42] Montelle as cited in: Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, 58.

[43] "Political disobedience" is a term introduced by Bernard E. Harcourt as a counterpart to "civil disobedience" in his book *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[44] Miško Šuvaković, "Situacija i aktivizam u konceptualnoj umetnosti," 585.

[45] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (Canberra: Treason Press, 2002), 6.

[46] Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 89.

[47] Peterle, 2007, 119.

[48] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, "May 68 Did Not Take Place," in: *Hatred of Capitalism: A Reader*, ed. Chris Kraus and Sylvere Lotringer (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotexte, 2001), 241.