

# NSK STATE PAVILION 57<sup>TH</sup> VENICE BIENNALE

## AN APOLOGY FOR MODERNITY

It is cruel to refuse shelter to refugees. But it is much more cruel to make people refugees. The refugees fleeing to Europe are put in an impossible situation of seeking help from the perpetrators of their suffering and misery. We, the liberal Western world, have destroyed their life world. The governments of our states in space have done it. We as their citizens are all complicit in the crimes our elected and unelected leaders have committed or assisted in the regions from which the refugees flee. We as citizens have done nothing effective to prevent or stop those crimes from happening. By this omission, we have not only condoned the destruction of the lives of others, but utterly corroded our own moral and political world as well. In the process, we have become stupid and ugly. How are we supposed to help the refugees when we, reduced to powerlessness, cannot even help ourselves?

NSK, as the state in time, understands that the state is the actuality of the ethical idea. The state is the basic condition for individuals' moral and political life, for their freedom. In today's world, a human being is nothing without the state. But the Western liberal governments have violated the borders and destroyed states from Afghanistan to Libya. The people from those countries were forced to flee our bombs and the violence of our terrorist proxy armies. When we destroyed their states, we reduced them to nothing. For as an old humanist adage goes, *si nisi cives nisi homo*. Having annihilated these people as citizens, we are degrading them as humans even when we give them shelter. Much more often, however, the refugees have to submit themselves to insults after they have suffered injury.

For the state in time, transgression of the bounds of the ethical idea is as serious as violation of the boundaries for the state in space. It is imperative for NSK as the state in time that we take a categorical stance toward these developments. Since we cannot expect our Western leaders to act ethically, we take the burden of moral responsibility and guilt on ourselves and sincerely apologize to the refugees, as well as to those who were unable to or chose not to flee, for all the crimes and suffering we have inflicted on them.

For the state in time, taking an ethical stance means opening a political perspective. We need to figure out politically what is to be done. We must begin to work hard on ceasing to be stupid and ugly, on redeeming our mind and soul. We need to address the causes of evil instead of getting lost in fighting culture wars among ourselves over the effects of the crime. We need to alleviate the humanitarian crisis – that is self-evident. But it is of no lesser urgency that we articulate and bring about a long-term political solution. We need to free ourselves from the ultimately criminal powers that rule us and reestablish democracy in our home countries, and commit ourselves with all due humility to help restore political life in the countries from which the refugees have fled. We need to stop the senseless business of destruction and reaffirm the majesty of the state both in time and space.

The text *Apology for Modernity* was sent by email to a sample of 1500 NSK citizens who were asked to respond with answers: Yes, I agree with this statement or No, I don't agree with this statement. The results of this small inquiry are (at the time of printing, 25.04.2017) as follows: 86,5 % voted YES, 9 % voted NO. 4.5% of answers were undefined. Since we do not have all the email addresses we would like to encourage NSK citizens to send their vote along with their passport number to the following address: pavilion@nsk.si. Your vote will be strictly confidential.

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## NSK STATE PAVILION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 57TH VENICE BIENNALE

NSK State in Time, which was established in 1992, has more than 15,000 citizens today and their numbers keep growing. Although it is true that in terms of population size NSK State in Time cannot compare to most other states, one can claim that in terms of the structure of its citizens it is already a superpower in the field of contemporary art. Its citizens include a number of exceptional, world renowned artists, art theorists and curators, who even the world's most developed countries in this field would envy us for. So it was not hard for us to find among NSK citizens a top team of curators and invite them to present the remarkable achievements of NSK citizens in the NSK State Pavilion, which will be put on display this year for the first time in Venice, along with the pavilions of eighty-four other countries. The selected curators were given total freedom in formulating the concept and theme of the exhibition and in selecting the participating artists, activists and theorists. And we have tried our best to help them realize their ideas as fully as possible.

We thank Zdenka Badovinac and Charles Esche for their enthusiasm and commitment in conceiving and developing the project, for their courage in accepting our invitation to participate in such a risky project, as well as for the trust they have thus placed in us.

Due to its specific concept, the project also involves a number of outstanding collaborators without whom the project would simply not have been possible. Ahmet Ögüt is the author of the exhibition's installation, which has by far outgrown the functionality of a design, becoming an autonomous work of art. The delegates Bisan Abu Eisheh, Azra Akšamija, Djordje Balzamović, Safia Dickersbach, Claudio Donadel, Michael Fehr, Róza El-Hassan, Kendell Geers, Sarah Lunaček, Sohrab Mohebbi, Victor Mutelekesha, Ahmet Ögüt and Malina Suliman have enabled communication between the project and the individuals who have personal experience of migration. Slavoj Žižek will give a lecture entitled *The Courage of Hopelessness* at the opening of the NSK State Pavilion and Jela Krečič has proposed to publish a collection of texts entitled *The Final Countdown: Europe, Refugees and the Left*, which will shed a critical light on the central theme of the project. She will also select the texts and edit the publication. Tomaž Mastnak has proposed and authored the text *An Apology for Modernity*. Claudio Donadel, a specialist in migration policies, who was asked to help in the realization of the project, has not only interceded in communication between the curators and local associations –

and with the help of the latter opened the possibility for the humanitarian protection applicants accommodated in the Veneto Region to participate in the project – but also recognized in this specific art project a potential channel for disseminating information about the issues relating to migrant communities. In his written proposal he presents an innovative program for cross-border cooperation and implementation of a reception policy based on the vast experience of Italian civil associations in this field and the problems resulting from inadequate collaboration offered to Italy by the rest of Europe in this respect. The curators of the exhibition recognized his proposal as an important contribution to the entire installation. We extend our utmost thanks to all the above-mentioned individuals for their significant contributions to the articulation of the project.

We are also grateful to all who have made this project possible. Just as we would have had a hard time undertaking the project without the support of the a/political foundation, we could not have finished it without the cooperation and support of Blaž Peršin and Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana; Galerija Gregor Podnar, Berlin; Wiener Festwochen, Vienna; Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia; Department of Culture of Municipality of Ljubljana; RPS d.o.o.; KD Funds; Stratkom; VOKA Ljubljana; IUAV University of Venice; Co.Ge.S. Cooperative for Immigration Policies, Mestre; NSK State Reserve, New York; and UBT University Pristina.

We thank Anton Vidokle and e-flux for their generous media support as well as Wolfgang Schlag and Birgit Lurz for their decision to present the NSK State Pavilion in Vienna. Last but not least, we express our heartfelt thanks to Mara Ambrožič for her dedicated and professional work as the project's director, who watched over the entire project together with us.

We would also like to express our thanks to Ajhan Bajmaku, Katharine Carl, Eda Čufer, Mateja Demšič, Alberto Felenga, Chiara Figone, Branko Filipič, Matjaž Gantar, Edmond Hajrizi, Sanja Kuveljić Bandić, Tevž Logar, Krištof Mlakar, Anton Peršak, Agnese Pierobon, Gregor Podnar, Darko Pokorn, Mara Rosseti, Becky Shirwan, Andrei Tretyakov, Angela Vettese and Franci Zavrl.

We extend our thanks to all the participants for their contributions to this unique project, which we believe will attract a lot of interest among the public of the 57th Venice Biennale, and are at the same time grateful to all of them for making possible the most complex appearance of the NSK State in Time in space so far.

*Commissioners*  
IRWIN



## NSK STATE IN TIME PAVILION BIENNALE DI VENEZIA 2017

The first NSK State in Time Pavilion wrestles with its concrete time and place: 2017, West Central Europe, Veneto, the Venice Biennale. Surrounding us on all sides are pavilions representing the states that divide up this world between them. Before us, are the stateless, the displaced, the migrants and the refugees who cannot or will not fit into this scheme of belonging – or not yet, at least. Behind us is the unparalleled architectural grandeur of Venice as perhaps Europe's first modern state as well as a more general European history of exercising power and of national, religious and ethnic division that drove its colonial adventures and modern statecraft since the first time that the Muslims were driven out of Western Europe in 1492.

NSK's State in Time offers a different perspective to think about the world. It is not in competition with spatial states so it can rethink what being and belonging might mean. It has an open idea of what citizenship might signify and it offers that citizenship as a complementary identity that exists in parallel to nationality. The ownership of NSK papers is also not yet defined either by rights or responsibilities, though citizens could at any time start to assert them. This state-of-becoming is crucial to the status of the NSK state, one that smells of potential because it is free from the weight of the crimes of older states. It can breathe the air of statehood without choking.

We were invited to be the curators by the IRWIN, the commissioners of the pavilion. Our immediate question was how to make the promise of the NSK state tangible; how to give it a body that looks, sounds and acts differently to all the other state pavilions and that does what only an artists' state might be able to do. To that end, we turned first to the citizens of the state for help and invited Ahmet Ögüt to work with us on the form and content of the pavilion. More broadly, we looked towards the people who have, in one way or another, experienced migration: that process of leaving one's home to try to build another. For migrants, state and nationality are unlikely to be the uncomplicated birthright of folk that have stayed where they were born. In a somewhat perverse way, they have the advantage of a bifocal perspective; one that can look at two different conditions or cultures and perceive each in greater depth than could ever be possible with a single eye. We wanted to address this relational perspective directly by asking a number of citizen delegates to choose people in their circle that were willing to answer four questions. The answers could be in any medium and any tone of voice they chose.

The questions were:

What do you want to take with you from European heritage (as you understand it) to help build a new and better world?

What do you want to forget or delete from European heritage (as you understand it) to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past?

What do you want to take with you from the heritage of your own country (as you understand it) to help build a new and better world?

What do you want to forget or delete from the heritage of your own country (as you understand it) to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past?

Thanks to the advice of Djordje Balmazović and to aid communication across so many language barriers, we sometimes simplified the questions to:

What do you think is good (or future) in Europe?

What do you think is not good in Europe?

What do you think is good (or future) in your own country?

What do you think is not good in your own country?

The various replies to these questions form the first section inside the pavilion with the overall title *New Symbolic Disorder*. Here the representations of the world according to migrants are gathered, assembled and shared. But the pavilion will try to look beyond the dark horizon of the present and attempt to imagine a new community. To do so, it needs to be more than just a space of exhibition and reflection. Presenting an artists' state for the first time, we felt it had to act in the present and not only work with representations of reality. Therefore, working together as a team, we made contact with the organizations (Co.Ge.S., Mestre and Common Ground, Venice) that support recent migrants to the Veneto area and through them invited new participants who were willing to work on presenting the pavilion to the public and opening a discussion about migration, citizenship, heritage and identity. Their tasks include the official act of issuing citizenship to those members of the public wishing to apply.

The final core element is present within the newspaper available from the Pavilion. This is a text proposed and authored by Tomaž Mastnak. It is a formal state apology, a gesture that has been made by a number of European and post-colonial states in the recent past. This apology accepts, on behalf of the state, the burden of a collective modern past and seeks to apologise not just for one specific incident but rather to address the whole of colonial and neocolonial global relations that we can call modernity. The nexus of modernity-coloniality is often falsely separated into right and wrong or good and bad. Here, modernity is the ghost that refuses to die, as evidenced by contemporary migration politics and inequality. The NSK *Apology for Modernity* is therefore a recognition of the failure of modernity in the present and a step towards shaping a new kind of future. It is also a plea to speed our collective detachment from the belief in modernity/modernism and all that it has come to represent in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century across the world, and in the first place an apology for the current geopolitics and Western dominance that have broken the backs of so many post-colonial states since the end of the Second World War.

Accompanying the pavilion and extending its context and content at every level is a lecture by Slavoj Žižek on 11th May 2017 and a book edited by Jela Krečič called *The Final Countdown: Europe, Refugees and the Left*. More information about all the participants can be found in this newspaper. The NSK Pavilion is an independent project, commissioned and produced by IRWIN, co-produced by the Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana, and co-organised by Temple Productions, Paris and Društvo NSK Informativni center, Ljubljana.

*Curators*  
Zdenka Badovinac,  
Charles Esche

## EDITOR'S NOTE

This newspaper has been structured in order to draw the whole operation proposed by the curatorial team together, including the work of artist Ahmet Ögüt and the hundred NSK Delegates involved. Introduced by the commissioners IRWIN, the main topic is explained and expanded in the contribution written by Badovinac and Esche. The curators' text is followed by Slavoj Žižek's announcement of the theme of his inaugural lecture, which will accompany the opening of the NSK Pavilion.

The historical and theoretical frame around the NSK State is dealt with in an essay by Eda Čufer – one of the founding members of NSK – which contextualises the emergence and existence of the new state. The second historical focus is given through the reprint of Žižek's article written in 1993 – one year after the creation of the NSK State – in a period marked by the civil war, which led to the final dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A statement by Ahmet Ögüt brings us back to the present, and introduces this year's Pavilion design, conceived as a direct interpretation of the curatorial concepts guiding the project; alongside, names of all NSK Delegates involved. The newspaper then opens up a specific section highlighting the social dimension of the process, which plays an important role within the project. First, a note introduces the methodology and structure of the workshops that took place in order to create a model of cooperation between the social and cultural spheres. Next, Delegate Claudio Donadel presents a short version of his project proposal *Beyond Borders*, a transnational reception model for asylum seekers based on a widespread territorial reception system. This section closes with the presentations of the NSK Officers (Amarjotpal Kaur, Mercy Nwafor, Abraham Ohamhen and Charles Tawiah), who will play a key role within the project, being directly involved in the running of the Pavilion and issuing NSK Passports throughout the period. The newspaper also contains an article written by Delegate Róza El-Hassan as a response to the curators' questionnaire, where the artist calls for the need to provide amnesty. In the last section, two important parallel projects are presented. First, the publication edited by Jela Krečič *The Final Countdown: Europe, Refugees and the Left*, whose exceptional contributions deal with the major political problems of today's geopolitical situation. Second, the presentation of the *NSK State Venice Pavilion in Vienna – Thinking Europe*, a collateral project, curated by Birgit Lurz and Wolfgang Schlag, which will open in May 2017.

Distributed free of charge at the NSK State Pavilion and in other venues in the city of Venice, the newspaper is also available in other Pavilions like Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Kiribati, and as well as online.

Editor  
Mara Ambrožič

THE COURAGE OF  
HOPELESSNESS

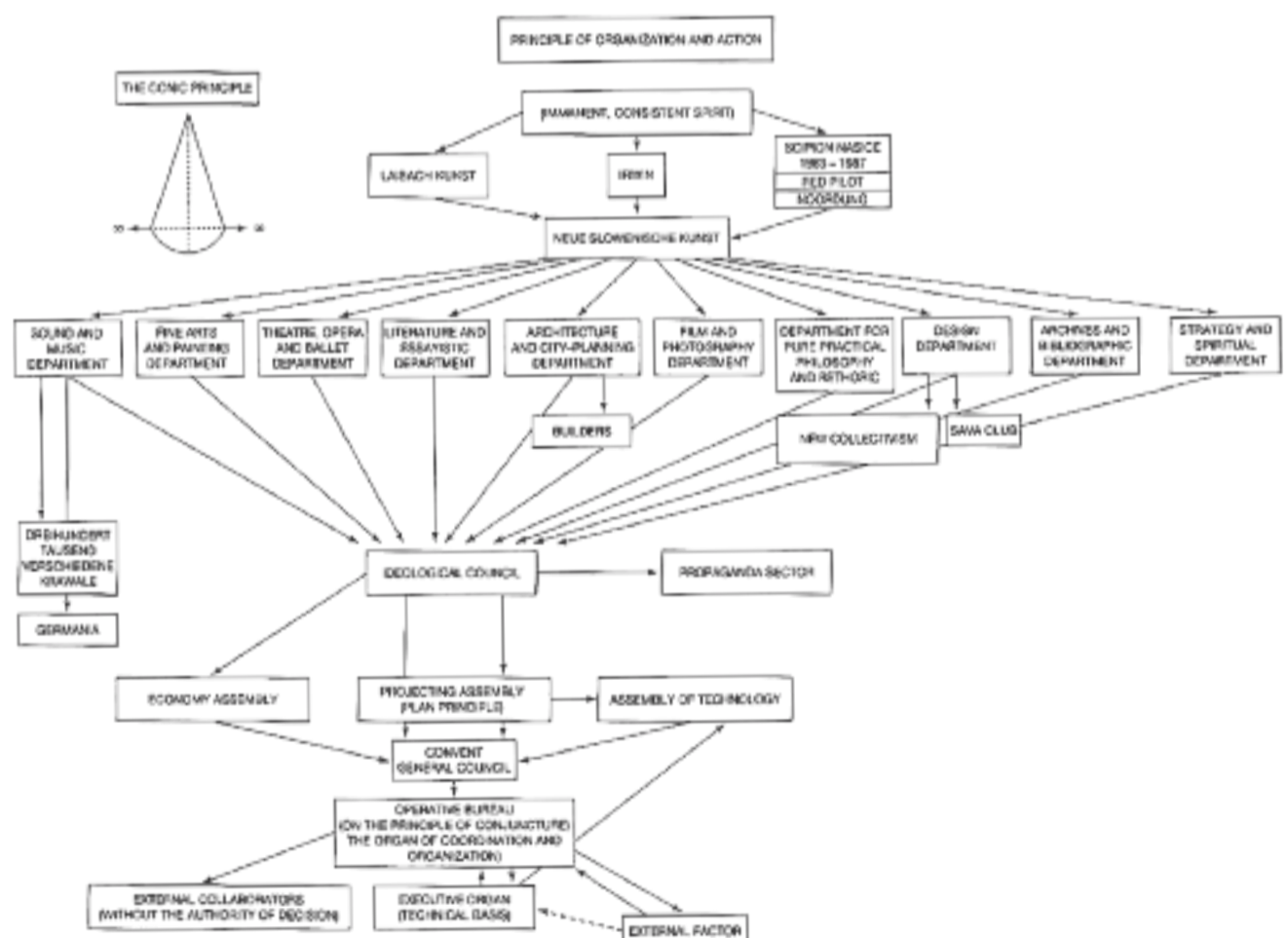
Slavoj Žižek

The lines from *Joel 3:14* – “Multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision.” – provide the first accurate description of the moment when a society is at a crossroads, confronted with a choice that may decide its fate. This is the situation of Europe today.

Every anti-immigrant populist would fully agree with this claim: yes, Europe's very identity is threatened by the invasion of Muslim and other refugee multitudes. But the actual situation is exactly the opposite: it is today's anti-immigrant populists who are the true threat to the emancipatory core of the European Enlightenment. A Europe where Marine le Pen or Geert Wilders are in power is no longer Europe. So what is this Europe worth fighting for?

The true novelty of the French Revolution resides in the distinction between citizen's rights and human rights. One should reject here the classic Marxist notion of human rights as the rights of the member of bourgeois civil society. While citizens are defined by the political order of a sovereign state, “human” is what remains of a citizen when he/she is deprived of the citizenship, finding him/herself in what in artillery one calls the open space, reduced to the abstract talking body. Recall the Calais camp before it was dismantled – as Jean-Claude Milner wrote, “those who are assembled there from 2000 are not guilty of anything, they are not accused of anything, they do not infringe upon any part of the law; they are simply there and they live.” It is in this sense that the universal human rights should remain our regulative when we negotiate the difficult relationship between the constraints of citizenship and particular ways of life. Without this compass we inevitably regress to barbarism.

## NSK CHART



# IT IS TIME TO RETHINK THE STATE: ON NSK STATE

Eda Čufer

In 1984 three art groups based in former Yugoslavia merged into a larger collective 'body' and adopted the name Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK).<sup>1</sup> The name was chosen to extend the successful code-playing deployed by one of the constituent groups' choice of name; specifically the group Laibach had adopted the German name for the city of Ljubljana, where Neue Slowenische Kunst was founded and where it is still based. In the post-WWII historic context – where sovereign European socialist and liberal democratic States constituted their moral and political values on the military defeat of Nazi Germany – Neue Slowenische Kunst functioned as a "double code", its meaning and message hidden in contentious contradiction between the denotative meaning of the statement (New Slovenian Art) and the medium in which it was expressed (the German language).

NSK State emerged from the eclipse of two other States: the decline of socialist Yugoslavia by the end of the 1980s and the subsequent inauguration (in 1991) of the independent democratic State of Slovenia. These events were part of a larger historic breakdown of the Socialist States in Eastern Europe which for most of the twentieth century represented an alternative to the monopoly capitalism of the so-called 'first world'.

The emergence of the NSK State in the 1990s had its conceptual heritage in NSK of the 1980s, which is to say, among other things, that it wasn't looking to provide unambiguous answers or definitive readings, but rather to 'itself' function as a "question" (as Slavoj Žižek has posited), or as an "interrogation machine" (as Alexei Monroe has suggested), transferring the entire responsibility for the production of meaning and message to the reader or spectator. While the ideal NSK witness was expected to strongly react to the audio-visual and linguistic materials that were offered for cultural consumption, and to produce the meaning of her or his experience through emotional and intellectual struggle, we as NSK members had to accept and strictly obey Laibach's core principles "of conscious rejection of personal tastes, judgments, conviction" and "free depersonalization".

NSK consciously eclipsed the subjectivity of the author with the object of creation, giving up control over final form, expression or intention of the so-called 'artwork', while in return achieving access to realms of historic uncertainty where the actual NSK 'artworks' were formed and performed.

NSK strategies were looking for ways to break through the screen of reality owned by contemporary 'artificial body-soul politic' and to inflict, at least momentary, cognitive and somatic splits and reversals. The reversals achieved by the strategy of 'doubling' performed the function of empowering the spectators of NSK's spectacles to see and recognize themselves, not as spectators but as social agents who, whether they liked it or not, found themselves acting like totally alienated dummies animated by the soul of the invisible ventriloquist.

The transformation of NSK to NSK State in Time was a deliberate application of NSK's technique of 'doubling' onto the irrevocably changed political and historic landscape. NSK State in Time mimics the process of 'becoming' a State while, by proclaiming itself to be an exterritorial and supranational entity, evading the trap of becoming a building block for Slovenia's anachronistic national statehood and its pathetically heroic mythologies. By the same token, it catapults itself back to the open-ended continuum of history and continues "interrogating" the 'new millennium's soul' and its multitudes of imploding contradictions. NSK State in Time connects the history of the twentieth century with historic possibilities and necessities of the twenty-first century. In an uncanny twist of history the NSK State placed itself into emerging historic realms characterized by unfathomable contradictions and pointed to possible forms of future "inverted totalitarianism."<sup>2</sup> The unrestricted movement of financial 'Capital', which now qualifies as a new global and transcendent Sovereign, is gradually taking the place of "waning sovereignty" of the national liberal State. Capital alone, as Wendy Brown reminds us in her recent book, "appears perpetual and absolute, increasingly unaccountable and primordial, the source of all commands, yet beyond the reach of the *nomos* (externally codified set of rules): a form of Sovereignty but without a Sovereign."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The term "inverted totalitarianism" was coined by Sheldon S. Wolin and developed in his book *Democracy Inc.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. It describes a seemingly "ideal type" of government that the USA developed after WWII and during the Cold War.

<sup>3</sup> Wendy Brown. *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty.* New York: Zone Books, 2010.



Neue Slowenische Kunst members and friends, Ljubljana (Slovenia), courtesy NSK, 1986

Art and politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century became fused to the point that it was no longer possible to unambiguously locate the borders between them. The old art that we knew and loved, it was claimed, symbolically died in 1913, when Kazimir Malevich conceived the *Black Square* and Marcel Duchamp introduced his first ready-made to the world.<sup>4</sup>

With WWI, the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires, the October revolution, and the "specter" of communism which for decades had already haunted the world, the era of classical colonialism came to an end and an entirely new era of expropriation and exploration began. Just as *Bicycle Wheel* and *Black Square* marked a turning point in "art history", so too did WWI represent a fundamental point of transition in "world history" – a moment when the world as an object of exploration and colonization from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on finally became depicted, mapped and owned.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Gérard Wajcman. *Objekt stoletja.* Ljubljana: Analecta, 2007 (L'Objet du siècle. Éditions Verdier, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> This idea can be found in John Berger, *The Success & Failure of Picasso.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1965.

It would only be a matter of time until Capitalism, arriving at its fully developed corporate stage, would discover a use-value of the "inverted" lands, and perfect the ways to explore and exploit them.

Duchamp and Malevich produced their "empty signifiers" at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – the century, as we have already noted, that introduced an eerie object capable of bringing the spectral presence of the entire globe into people's living rooms. Withholding all content for positivist interpretation and identification, their empty icons shifted the entire discussion about the "state of art" elsewhere. Instead of depicting an object to be looked at, *Bicycle Wheel* and *Black Square* depicted the dispositive which would define the visual, fetish and discursive regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Offering themselves more as objects of interpretation than as objects of visual consumption, these two icons accumulated meanings that would fundamentally inform the differences between two dominant and competing types of society as they viewed each other through the mirror of the Cold War.

<sup>1</sup> The three original constituent founding groups of NSK are: Laibach (1980), Irwin (1983) and Scipion Nasice Sister's Theatre (1983)



NSK, *NSK State Sarajevo* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), courtesy NSK, 1995



*NSK Embassy Moscow* (conceptualized and organized by IRWIN), Photo Jože Suhadolnik, courtesy NSK, 1992

Boris Groys proposed looking at *Black Square* as if it represented a rite of passage of art, from the sphere of “positive reality” (objective) into the sphere of “negative reality” (virtuality), epitomizing the immersion of Soviet avant-garde art into the virtual world of Stalinist *Gesamtkunstwerk*.<sup>6</sup> *Black Square*, according to this interpretation, represents the world objectified in the Soviet totalitarian State known for its absorption of art (as an agency of the subject) and for the State itself becoming a Subject and Artist instead.

*Bicycle Wheel* on the other hand, records the absorption of art into an autonomous art system, which worships the “pendulum of alienation” and feeds on self-recursive criticism and negation. By shifting attention away from the power of meaning and message inherent in the art object to the instrumental power of the value-creating art system, Duchamp’s work in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century served to open the door to the art of conceptualism in the 1960s and beyond. Living in the saturated tele-information society, artists of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century understood that as a consequence of the increased aestheticization and virtualization of living environments, art could continue to signify as art only by reverting the definition of art and entering into a sphere of “life itself”.

NSK in the 1980s transformed into “NSK State in Time” at a moment of high social anxiety and blinding collisions between the declining models of the 20<sup>th</sup> century authoritarian state (epitomized in Yugoslavian bloodshed), conceptually and historically regressive and outlived models of the national State (exemplified in the inauguration of the independent state of Slovenia) and the hastening policies of pan-European integration and the aggressive invasion of predatory Western neo-liberal economic interests searching for new, “virgin” markets.

Before anybody in Eastern Europe woke up from the hangover of transition, we were already interpellated into a restored globally imposed class system in which everyone has a clearly delineated place and say. In the newly reified international and global relations, the passport immediately started to function as a brand. (“Made in Slovenia”. You mean Slovakia?) Suddenly we were on the map, but we didn’t recognize ourselves in the patterns in which we were recognized by Others.

One event during the twenty years existence of NSK State in Time deserves special mention. From 1992 to 2004, most of the applicants for the NSK State in Time passport were people involved with contemporary art, culture and western discourse. The NSK passport’s meaning and interest was contextualized in part by the changing map of Eastern Europe, and the new independent



states that were formed following the breakup of some of its previous ones (Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union). The largest number of passports were issued in Sarajevo at the end of the war in 1995, and although some NSK passport holders used their passports – which successfully reproduced the look of standard sovereign state passports – to actually pass state borders in Europe and North America, the majority of passport holders understood its use-value as an art object, even when using it for non-art purposes. But in 2004 something happened that would radically change the meaning of the NSK passport. Suddenly, thousands of NSK passport applications started arriving at NSK headquarters in Ljubljana from the African state of Nigeria, specifically from the densely populated metropolitan region of Ibadan. For the Nigerian users, the NSK passport was not understood as an object of art, but as a legitimizing form of self-identification and self-registration. When interviewed, some of the NSK passport holders from Nigeria later said that

they had “heard” that NSK is a beautiful country and wanted to travel there. The Slovenian embassies in the region started getting overwhelmed by phone calls from these new NSK citizens asking questions about visas and their rights of citizenship. Eventually the situation grew to the point that the Slovenian Foreign Ministry asked NSK members to write an explanation clearly stating that “NSK is not a ‘real’ State but an ‘art’ State”, and that the NSK passport is not a valid document for crossing state borders or applying for visas. They published the statement on their website and advised NSK to spread the same information through their own channels as well as in the Nigerian media.

The Nigerian people’s “over-identification” with the passport as a symbol of rights and privileges guaranteeing its holder a share in the system of legal protection, mobility and an identity and status that is lacking without affirmation by documents, points to a disturbing absence of such rights and privileges for vast populations inhabiting the 21<sup>st</sup> century earth.

<sup>6</sup> This idea was a central subject of Groys’s early work *Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin*. See also Groys’s chapter on Ilya Kabakov in *History Becomes Form: Moscow Conceptualism*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010.

On the other hand the passport, invented in the era of classical colonialism and national state building, might just as well become obsolete as a form of identification as new technologies implement checkpoint systems that permeate secular space and introduce surveillance mechanisms at almost any transactional threshold – cash register, hospital reception, bank machine, commercial website, even private home. An organ such as the ‘eye’, which was ‘The Organ’ of western modernity and its representational dispositive (but in a role of the instrument belonging to the subject), now itself becomes an object to be identified, (but with the identification being performed by the authority of the machine, which can “see” into the darkness of the flesh of which the human eye is made). The merging of political, legal, economic and cultural aspects of identity into one form of digital payment-identification document (a fusion of today’s credit card and passports) is imminent. In the near future, physical movement may become more complicated and restricted than ever before. “The conception of a control mechanism, giving the position of any element within an open environment at any given instant, is not necessarily one of science fiction. Felix Guattari has imagined a city where one would be able to leave one’s apartment, one’s street, one’s neighborhood, thanks to one’s (*dividual*) electronic card that raises a given barrier; but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain hours; what counts is not the barrier but the computer that tracks each person’s position – licit or illicit – and effects a universal modulation.”<sup>7</sup>

The mere facts of existence of the applicants and NSK passport holders from Nigeria are in painful conflict with this vision of the future. As the debates that took place during the First NSK Citizens Congress in Berlin in 2010 made clear, the inhabitants of today’s world are not yet equipped to navigate between these new forms of control and exclusion. Non-art crowd people are buying the NSK passport not to enjoy it as a little “Rembrandt masterpiece” but because they need to use the canvas as an “ironing board.”<sup>8</sup> The two crowds (art and non-art) are however brought together by the same object, which, as Hansi Momodu insisted, indicates that in the final analysis we all aspire to the same ideal and necessity of the redefined future State which will be responsive to the challenges and needs of global citizenship.<sup>9</sup>



IRWIN, *First NSK Citizens Congress, Berlin, October 2010, Participants*. Photo: Christian Ditsch, 2010

*NSK from Kapital to Capital*, edited by Zdenka Badovinac, Eda Čufer and Anthony Gardner, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA (USA), 2015

NSK, *NSK Passports*, courtesy NSK, 2017

The evolutionary function of sovereign a national State is historically inseparable from its colonial heredity exemplified by permanent violation of the civil rights of those who were not eligible to its membership. The paradox of the State thus remains achingly real in today’s world, especially if contemplated through the urgency of global justice. It is time to rethink the State (and the best way to rethink it is to remake it).

<sup>7</sup> Gilles Deleuze. *Postscript on the Societies of Control*. October 59. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> I’m referring to Duchamp’s example of the “reciprocal ready made” where Rembrandt’s masterpiece is used as an ironing board.

<sup>9</sup> Hansi Momodu expressed this opinion in her unpublished interview with Borut Vogelink at the First NSK’s Citizens Congress.

# ES GIBT KEINEN STAAT IN EUROPA

Slavoj Žižek

For many long years in left-wing (and not only left-wing) mythology the State appeared as the original source of Evil, as a living dead sponging off the body of the community. The repressive, particularly ideological machinery of the State was presented as the process of supervising and maintaining discipline, as armour shaping the healthy body of the community. The utopian perspective, which henceforth opened up towards both the radical left-wing as well as the antiliberal right-wing, was the abolition of the State or its subordination to the community. Today's experience, summed up in the word "Bosnia", confronts us with the reality of this utopia.

What we are witnessing in Bosnia is the direct consequence of the disintegration of State authority or its submission to the power play between ethnic communities – what is missing in Bosnia is a unified State authority elevated above ethnic disputes. A similar tendency can be observed in Serbia where we are again dealing with a state which is not based on the modern concept of nationhood, but has fused with the pre-state ethnic mix, and thus in Kosovo paradoxically in the same territory two states coexist: the Serbian state authority and the para-State agencies of the Republic of Kosovo. The old left-wing disinclination towards the rule of law and order has thus come face to face with its own truth, manifested in Bosnia and Serbia where unsupervised local warlords are plundering, killing and settling private scores. In contrast to expectations it has become clear that there is nothing liberating about the breaking of state authority – on the contrary: we are consigned to corruption and the impervious game of local interests which are no longer restricted by a formal legal framework.

In a certain sense "Bosnia" is merely a metaphor for Europe as a whole. Europe is coming closer and closer to a state of non-statehood where state mechanisms are losing their binding character. The authority of the state is being eroded from the top by the trans-European regulations from Brussels and the international economic ties and from the bottom by local and ethnic interests, while none of these elements are strong enough to fully replace state authority.

Thus, Etienne Balibar has altogether appropriately labeled the current situation in Europe with the syntagma "Es gibt keinen Staat in Europa" ("There is no State in Europe").

From all this it is thus necessary to draw what at first glance seems a paradoxical, yet crucial conclusion: today the concept of utopia has made an about-face turn – utopian energy is no longer directed towards a stateless community, but towards a state without a nation, a state which would no longer be founded on an ethnic community and its territory, therefore simultaneously towards a state without territory, towards a purely artificial structure of principles and authority which will have severed the umbilical chords of ethnic origin, indigenesness and rootedness.

As far as art, according to definition, is subversive in relation to the existing establishment, any art which today wants to be up to the level of its assignment must be a state art in the service of a still-non-existent country. It must abandon the celebration of islands of privacy, seemingly insulated from the machinery of authority, and must voluntarily become a small cog in this machinery, a servant to the new Leviathan, which it is summoning like the genie from the bottle.

*This text was included in IRWIN's catalogue, published by Moderna Galerija to accompany the hosting of the NSK Pavilion as part of the Slovenian Pavilion, 45th Venice Biennale, 1993.*



Postering action for IRWIN's exhibition in the NSK proto-pavilion in the house of Eleonora Mantese during the 42nd Venice Biennale. Photo Darko Pokorn, courtesy of the author, 1986

IRWIN, *Plaque of the NSK Pavilion hosted by the Slovenian Pavilion, 46th Venice Biennale, Ateneo di San Basso, (commissioner Zdenka Badovinac), courtesy of the artists, 1993*



# DESIGNING THE NSK STATE PAVILION

Ahmet Ögüt

When analyzing the strategies of NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst), Alexei Monroe changes Hakim Bey's term *TAZ* (Temporary Autonomous Zone) into *Temporary Hegemonic Zone*. In early 1992, shortly after the collapse of Socialism and the tumultuous break-up of Yugoslavia, the NSK State in Time emerged at a moment when a radical rethinking of the nation state was necessary, and yet it did not manifest itself geopolitically. The NSK State in Time's legacy of temporary embassies – that previously took place in Moscow, Tirana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Berlin and many other cities – will continue with the NSK State Pavilion, which will be governed in collaboration with Humanitarian Protection Applicants, *Sans Papiers*, and stateless individuals. Designing the NSK State Pavilion has been a productively challenging task that took into consideration the urgencies of the present political climate. The notion of the State, the definition of citizenship and the Kafkaesque elements of bureaucracy will be questioned through the conceptual and physical experience of gravity. The space will be experienced in different parts: 'An Apology', a room including over 100 responses from contributors, and an NSK Passport Office. The NSK State Pavilion will be designed to transform the gesture of 'The Temporary Hegemonic Zone', into a non-hierarchical zone that is equally governable by its whole community: from marginalized, undocumented, stateless communities to migrants and citizens.



Ahmet Ögüt, preliminary sketches and ideas for NSK State Pavilion, photomontages, courtesy the artist, 2016-2017



## DELEGATES

Mohamed Abdol Monem, Bisan Abu-Eisheh, Ahmed Adelian, Ashok Adicéam, Azra Akšamija, Lauren Alexander (Foundland Collective), Tani Bahtuali, Bilal Alkatout, Ammar Alkhatib, Jawad Al Malhi, Samer Arquawi, Kazem Ashourzadeh, Wali Askarzay, Mercedes Azpilicueta, Đorđe Balmazović, Javier Barrios, Dorian Batycka, Seren Başoğul, Lutz Becker, Laura Beckner, Ilaria Biotti, Bianca Bondi, Candice Breitz, Oleksandr Burlaka, Nawal Chagar, Oliver Chanarin, Qëndresë Deda, Burak Dkilitaş, Claudio Donadel, Abdoul-Ganiou Dermani, Safia Dickersbach, Esra Dogan, Aljoša Dujmić, Goran Đorđević, Róza El-Hassan, Ghalia Elsrakbi (Foundland Collective), Mounir Fatmi, Amir Fattal, Michael Fehr, Five women from Afghanistan as collective, Becket Flannery, Jeanno Gaussi, Kendell Geers, Jingxin Geng, Laura Serejo Genes, Sarah Haddou, Anawana Haloba, Hamid, Hasan Hasan, Sharafuddin Hashami, Hands Off Our Revolution, Velija Hasanbegović, Winnie Herbstein, Stine Marie Jacobsen, Nadia Kaabi-Linke, Agata Kochaniewicz, Komunal, Don Lawrence, Sarah Lunaček, Dr Andrew Lane, Delaine Le Bas, Stine Marie Jacobsen, Laetitia Jeurissen, Youssef Limoud, Mahmoud Maktabi, Asja Mandić, Siavash Maraghechi, Mpole Samuel Masemola, Sithabile Mlotshwa, Sohrab Mohebbi, Wagma Momand, Victor Mutelekesh, Raafat Majzoub, Wafa Meri, Mohammed Mzaill, Ramen Naqshbandi, Izaat Noori, Olu Oguibe, Shafiq Omar, Reyhane Omidghaemi, Noorulah Oriakhil, Ahmet Ögüt, Danny Pagarani, Mario Pissara, Ognjen Radivojević, Payman Quasimian, Ugochukwu-Smooth Nzewi, Lotte Schreiber, Megan Schwartz, Sejernader, Lerato Shadi, Shahin, Adnan Softić, Malina Suliman, Lama Takruri, Christina Thomopoulos, Barthélémy Togo, Leontios Toumpouris, Two women from Afghanistan, Gerrie van Noord, Heidi Voet, Zahra, Vadim Zakharov, Salah Zater.

## NOTES ON METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF SYMPOSIUMS / WORKSHOPS

Mara Ambrožič

This pavilion's edition and exhibition topic, proposed by Zdenka Badovinac and Charles Esche, resulted in a complex head-on commitment to the understanding of contemporary European migratory policies. As a civil and collateral activity to the exhibition project, a series of workshops took place along over the course of one year with multidisciplinary groups of participants, with the aim of creating a model of cooperation between the social and cultural spheres. A specific methodology was put in place to share experiences, and to propose and imagine new cooperative solutions of cooperation. Based on a model of participation and horizontal sharing of resources, contacts, and knowledge, the five workshops were structured and implemented on the basis of different formats, reflecting on the issue of terminological borders that divide the world of art and the world of politics, as well as on the reciprocal understanding of issues related to socio-cultural engagement, humanitarian protection, and a better understanding of migratory fluxes flows and traits.

They thereby involved, at the same time, three to four languages, and demanded simultaneous translation and mediation so as to stimulate a quality debate between individuals with diverse experiences, and to trigger their problem-solving capabilities. The groups involved had different cultural, ideological, economic, and generational (i.e. age) backgrounds; thus, the workshops turned into a powerful methodological device, unleashing a collective effort driven by the need to create an intervention that goes beyond representation. One of the biggest achievements and outcomes of these workshops is 'Beyond Borders', a proposal for a transnational reception model for humanitarian protection applicants and *sans papiers* that was written and amended by Delegate Claudio Donadel.

More information is available at:  
[www.nsk-state-pavilion.org](http://www.nsk-state-pavilion.org).

Pavilion Team, Ljubljana (Slovenia), courtesy  
NSK State Pavilion, August 2016

Pavilion Team, Teatrino di Palazzo Grassi,  
Venice (Italy), courtesy NSK State Pavilion,  
December 2016

Workshop, Aula Magna Tolentini, Venice (Italy),  
courtesy NSK State Pavilion, December 2016

Workshop, Venice (Italy), courtesy NSK State  
Pavilion, February 2017

NSK State Pavilion Team with the Workshop  
Participants, Venice (Italy), courtesy NSK State  
Pavilion, February 2017



# BEYOND BORDERS

Claudio Donadel

*Forced migrations and social inclusion, implementation of a transnational network to support a model of widespread territorial reception for applicants and holders of international and humanitarian protection in EU countries.*

The project proposal is triggered by an initiative of the art world and, specifically, of IRWIN, a branch of the movement developed in Slovenia during the dissolution of former Yugoslavia, whose artists, through their actions and practices, formed the “State without territory” and of Zdenka Badovinac and Charles Esche, curators of the exhibition NSK State Pavilion – 57th Venice Biennale, who selected migration as the exhibition topic.

The recent debate developed among such movements on the phenomenon of the current forced migration towards EU countries, is characterized by considerations of: its reasons, origin, issues related to border security, the management of mixed migration flows and reception of migrants in EU countries, the protection of rights and of vulnerable groups, as well as the diversified strategies adopted by EU countries pertaining to border security, reception of refugees and asylum seekers. This current scenario suggests that, in the coming years, the issue of forced migrations could become a determining factor for both the orientation of future public policies of EU countries, as well as for the destiny and survival of the European Union itself.

To date, the apparent absence of shared and uniform policies among EU countries in managing and governing mixed migration flows to Europe by land and by sea as well as the different territorial policies for the reception of refugees and asylum seekers, are factors of crisis and division among the governments of EU states. In fact, they could be the possible reasons for the strengthening of European new nationalisms and populisms which fight for the exit of individual states from the EU, and for those who demand the erection of walls as well as the restoration of internal borders in defense of the identity and integrity of each nation. Brexit is the outcome of this scenario, as it has definitely found strength and ideological support among British citizens, both in the much propagandized fear of non-EU immigration as well as in the will to contain and regulate all those migration flows of EU citizens to the UK, in limiting the latter access to rights and social protection otherwise granted by British citizenship.

All these factors are the symptoms and causes of the deep crisis currently faced by all doctrines and subsequent policies followed by European countries, especially where there is the need to jointly manage and govern complex and transnational social phenomena such as the current mass migration to Europe.

These are increasingly related and subordinated to market globalization that concentrates power and capital no longer in state and national institutions but in supranational economic organizations, which are profit-oriented and do not protect human rights or the internationally recognized and so-called vulnerable categories, such as the applicants and holders of International Protection, Unaccompanied Foreign Minors and Trafficking Victims.

And it is within this scenario and debate that operators active in the world of contemporary and modern art decided to support social workers with relevant experience in managing reception arrangements for applicants and holders of International Protection and Victims of Trafficking in their efforts to promote and build a transnational network within EU countries for the implementation of an innovative territorial reception model for applicants and holders of International Protection in shared or nuclear households, complementary to what already operated by EU countries, and based on large or small shelters, whether widespread or not.

“Beyond Borders” is a reception model that, first of all, acts as a stimulus to the construction of an international protection effort within the EU, overcoming the current territorial differences in treatment and the frequent incomplete implementation of reception and protection measures provided for in International Law for applicants and holders of International Protection. To date these differentiations are carriers of inequalities if not real discrimination depending on the country where the migrant decides to come forward or initiate the request for International Protection. The project sets the social inclusion of the applicant or holder of International Protection as a strategic and primary objective, instead of subordinate or dependent to that of the asylum request.

Furthermore, “Beyond Borders” fights the welfare culture that transforms the migrant, regardless of their condition or form of granted protection, into a source of easy money for those working in the social sector or into a propaganda tool for those politicians who have decided to broaden their electoral support leveraging xenophobia and the costs of migrants at the expense of resources and services for EU citizens. Instead, fosters an approach centered on actively promoting the individual, so that the opportunities offered to migrants result in resources for their beneficiaries as well as for the local communities where they are accommodated.

The main objectives of this project are social, cultural and political as well as operational and managerial, and could be summarized as follows:

1) Raising awareness among EU citizens on the phenomenon of forced migration and on the vulnerable categories involved in it through cultural events or participation in international exhibitions with project proposals designed, carried out and managed by artists together with migrant applicants or holders of International and Humanitarian Protection.

2) Designing and testing, in Italy, by a multi-professional team of lawyers, educators, cultural-linguistic mediators, psychologists with cross-cultural training, of a widespread territorial reception model for applicants and holders of International and Humanitarian Protection in residential areas of EU citizens, in compliance with the safeguards, rules and measures provided for in International Law and by the guidelines of reception and assistance in asylum application and social inclusion, such as: financial support; legal, medical, social and psychological counseling; literacy and civic and language training; professional training, housing and job placement.

3) Setting up a system of evaluation and certification of the widespread territorial reception model, namely the outcome of the processes of social inclusion in terms of safeguards as well as of opportunities offered to the beneficiaries, and the impact and benefits for the local communities that have hosted them.

4) Transferring the model tested in Italy to three other European territories in order to formalize it as Good Practice which can be implemented in any other context within the EU, regardless of their status as territories of access, transit or destination of the current migration flows to Europe.

5) Disseminating the widespread territorial reception model in other EU countries, promoting Good Practice through participation in international or national events and art exhibitions, following the procedures designed and tested in Italy and later formalized in Austria, Germany and Slovenia.

6) Countering any emerging xenophobic or populist discourse against applicants and holders of International and Humanitarian Protection in the EU, setting up a transnational network of 2,100 centers or host families, 75 in each EU country, so as to diversify and strengthen the existing national reception systems mainly based on shelter centers or camps.

7) Promoting the creation of an EU International Protection from the bottom up, from civil society to the EU institutions, to ensure that migrants applicants and holders of International and Humanitarian Protection can be supported by common and shared reception policies, regardless of the country entitled to evaluate and eventually grant International Protection status.

The “Beyond Borders” project, in its most extensive framework, is composed of 3 complex phases. It expects an initial experimental test of a “widespread territorial reception project on a local level” to be carried out in Italy (as Italy, for current migration to Europe, is at the same time country of entry, transit and destination of the Central Mediterranean route). It’s the phase of recognition and identification of the necessary operational procedures to implement a widespread territorial reception of migrants seeking or holding International and Humanitarian Protection in residential areas of Italian citizens.

A second stage will extend it to a macro-regional level, transferring the model tested in Italy to 3 other local contexts characterized by being transit and destination territories of the migration routes to Europe via sea and land. The plan is to transfer the model to Austria, Germany and Slovenia. It’s the stage of formalization of the Good Practice model and of its transferability to different local contexts, whether they be countries of arrival, transit or destination of the applicants and holders of International Protection.

The project includes a third and final phase, its transnationality: the strengthening of the network of families or of residential areas through the dissemination of the widespread territorial reception model in other EU territories. The implementation of the latter step will no longer be subjected to technical, operational and management aspects of reception of applicants and holders of International and Humanitarian Protection in different European local contexts, but it will depend on political will, or rather on the reception policy applied by the governments of the other EU countries, and on the capability of civil society and its intermediate bodies to direct it while participating in its set-up. Therefore, the transnational outreach of the widespread territorial reception model will depend on the capability and willingness of the intermediate bodies of civil society such as the non-profit sector and the NGOs operating in those other EU countries to strengthen and expand the reception network to the capacity foreseen by this project (75 reception units). It will especially depend on their ability to make national and regional public institutions more reactive and effective in including the widespread territorial reception model within their migration and reception policies of the applicants and holders of International and Humanitarian Protection.

“Beyond Borders” includes four artistic projects; 1 connected to the experimental phase in Italy and then 3 more, 1 in Austria, 1 in Germany and 1 in Slovenia, aimed at raising awareness of the migration phenomenon and the individuals involved in it, and including systematic actions to facilitate the implementation of territorial reception networks and to promote the projects of widespread territorial reception.

The whole project is available at: [www.nsk-state-pavilion.org](http://www.nsk-state-pavilion.org).

## NSK OFFICERS



**AMARJOTPAL KAUR** — My name is Amarjotpal Kaur and I come from Punjab, India. For three months and a half I have been living in Italy, in the city of Padova. I was very happy when I was chosen to work with this project because I'm sure it will be a wonderful experience and I am glad to be part of it. I very much like the idea of a state without borders, where everybody can enter and live in peace with everybody else. During my difficult journey to reach Italy I always had the sensation of being perceived as a danger: I had to hide, I could not speak to anyone, and I had to run away from the police. I am not a dangerous person, but I have been treated as such at all border controls. I am now finally safe and I am grateful to the good people who gave me shelter. I am happy about this job because I've had a lot of free time recently and I need to do something, both for my body and for my mind. During the selection I noticed that all the people working in the Pavilion were very nice and kind. I really hope they will be proud of my work and my nature. In the future, I hope to remain in Italy, find a job and keep living together with the person I love.



**ABRAHAM OHAMHEN** — My name is Abraham, I'm 27 years old. I come from Nigeria, where I no longer have neither relatives or friends, and I arrived in Italy two years ago, in 2015. For the last few months, I have been living with a group of international protection seekers in Fossalta, next to Portogruaro, in the province of Venice, with a project organized by Co.Ge.S. I'm happy to have participated in your selection and even more to have been chosen, because this work will allow me to take part in this international experience with you, meet many people from all over the world and make new friends, and also because I will be able to share my story with others. At the moment I can't speak much Italian, because I started classes only 3 months ago, but I'm studying every day and I'm sure that when I start working, I will be very good at it! In my spare time, apart from studying Italian, I love to read, especially history books, and to play football. I've done many jobs in my life, but the one I'm very good at is the crafting of gates, windows, doors, stairs handrails, iron scaffoldings, which I create myself: from designing through iron welding to varnishing. In the future, I would like to have the opportunity to create a family with children and, before that, to find a job where I can put all my skills to good use. For this reason, I brought with me from Nigeria a series of pictures of my own creations. If you want, I can show you some of my works that I always keep on my cell phone. I hope to meet you again soon and I'm sure that we will have a wonderful experience together.



**CHARLES TAWIAH** — My name is Charles Tawiah, although it is misspelled in my residency permit: they wrote it Tewiah. I come from Ghana, I'm 19 years old. I arrived in Italy not even a year ago. I like the idea of participating in the NSK State Pavilion because in this period of my life I feel like a square, like Prato della Valle, the most beautiful square in Padova. I feel like a square because that's where people meet, where people gather, study, dance, play. I would like to be a person that allows people to meet and to stay and play together. Maybe even more than a "squareperson", I would like to be a "bridgeperson". I love to participate in this experience because I want people to cross me in the same way as they pass a bridge. To go across my story, what I lived, the efforts, the time, the neverending journey, the prison, the hard labour. I want people to consider me for what I am: an artwork. Even if it is only because I got this far and have been through a lot. They issued me a twoyear residency permit. In this time, I've learned how to make pizza and I cook it in many different ways, with every imaginable ingredient (plantain, beans, cabbage). I've painted black one of the walls in my house so that I now have a blackboard, and every evening I review everything I learned that day: new recipes, how to drive a forklift, a new word in Italian, or how flowers taste, and that it is beautiful to spend time outside when it's sunny. I would like to keep on learning. And everything I've been through may very well be a bridge, or a square, but not my home.



**MERCY NWAFOR** — My name is Mercy, I'm 25 years old, I come from Nigeria. I arrived in Italy at the end of October 2016 and I live in Padova as a guest of a project for reception and integration of asylum seekers. I'm very happy to participate in the NSK State Pavilion, first of all because it will allow me to interact with many different people and, as I am very sociable, this is something I am very excited about, but most of all because of the idea that this Pavilion conveys: I am an asylum seeker and it was very difficult for me to reach Italy. It was difficult and frightening to cross the borders of African countries in order to reach Libya; and the journey by sea from Libya to Italy was just as hard. I can say that I've risked my own life several times to reach Europe and save myself from the dangerous situation in my home country, so I think that it's very important to conceive citizenship in an altogether different way, one that allows people who are in danger to travel to safety in an easier and safer way. Now that I've come so far, my biggest desire is to obtain international protection so that I can build a life in Italy. I like Italy very much, this is my destination and I've never thought to move elsewhere. I'm working hard to learn Italian and as soon as I speak it well enough, I want to find a job that allows me to pay the rent and the bills.

## WHOM SHALL WE ASK FOR AMNESTY?

Róza El-Hassan

*What do you want to take with you from European heritage (as you understand it) to help build a new and better world?*

I would like to take with me the possibility of legal amnesty for artists, intellectuals, and all the human rights advocates and their families.

In spite of the topic “An Apology for Modernity”, I would like to bring with me, into the future, Formal Modernism and the security of the individual. Modernism, to me, means the permission to think, imagine and combine, as well as the permission to be fair and autonomous. All these ideas are well expressed in artworks by Kazimir Malevič, and many other artists like Sonia Delaunay, one of my favorites. The message of this image could be the lack of restriction of thinking patterns and, by this, the freedom and maybe also the legal security of the individual.

The opposite of freedom of thought is tyranny, which comes with arbitrary decisions and restrictions to think. All this does not mean that rationality, enlightenment and modernity are the only levels of intellectual or mental reality. It means that the lack of restriction to think is the only social basis of the well-being – in terms of legal protection – both for the individual and the human beings.

This type of well-being is not only about the legal security of the individual, but it is something broader: the right to liberty of movement, the freedom of thought and expression, the health of the individual, his security to possess all his – or her – organs (the kidneys and the uterus, as well as his or her imagination) and the right to a basic income that would cover his primary needs (food, water, heating, education, transport).

*What do you want to forget or delete from European heritage (as you understand it) to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past?*

World Wars, the tyranny of state socialism, and the Holocaust, the darkest side of history.

*What do you want to take with you from the heritage of your own country (as you understand it) to help build a new and better world?*

Since I have two countries in my background, I would like to take the historical experience of reconciliation – as it happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Habsburg Empire and in Hungary after the 1848 Revolution – to other countries. Even if the Hungarian Revolution was lost, it was followed by many discussions and reforms within the existing power and, after years of patient negotiations, the region was able to flourish. I always wish that something similar could happen in Syria and in other countries.

I ask governments for amnesty for all intellectuals and human rights activists who left their countries, who were forced to spend their lives migrating or being silenced as inner dissidents, detained in prisons or in mental hospitals, isolated by poverty and unemployment, due to the restrictions on working. I ask all the governments for amnesty for all freethinkers.

*What do you want to forget or delete from the heritage of your own country (as you understand it) to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past?*

I would like to delete the moment when books and documents were burned. By this I mean the despotic control of publications in the broadest form. Burning data means burning witnesses and eyewitnesses. Burning books means burning freedom of thought. Destroying documents means destroying any possibility of justice.

Further, I ask not to chase and detain intellectuals, artists and human rights advocates. I ask a broad amnesty for authors and public voices. In exchange, I offer to stop chanting: «People want the fall of the regime». I will stop all this but, in exchange, I ask for full amnesty and for elections.

Further, I would like to add one more question to the NSK Questionnaire:

*Whom shall we ask for amnesty?*

Whom should we address this question to? At first, the answer seems to be quite obvious: to the President of the State, to the Ruler (a King or a Sheikh, depending on the case) or to the Government. But it's not that simple. Let's take Lebanon, for instance. About 4 million Lebanese people live there (Wikipedia), while about five times more Lebanese people live abroad (8-14 million); the biggest community is in Brazil (7 millions) but many are also living in Canada or in Europe. Despite this, Lebanon has 6 million inhabitants – and not 4 – because one in every five Lebanese inhabitants is from Syria, most of the others are Palestinians and a few other nationalities. We could also list numbers of Syrians or Iraqis abroad.

The protection – both mental and legal – of our lives is mainly provided by our family and friends (and seldom by the welfare state, as in Sweden or Norway). The families from regions like the Middle East are torn apart; some of them live in democratic societies, others don't. Those who live as migrants outside the Syrian war regions – in Europe, Brazil or in the Arabian-Persian Gulf – are not safe at all: since they are migrating without the proper citizen rights, they are possible victims of human rights violation. This may seem quite obvious, but it is not the only problem: even after receiving a EU citizenship or permanent residency, these people do not have the same safe and convenient legal situation as a native European citizen. This happens because some illegitimate powers outside the welfare state can put pressure on them, and also because their political voice, their improved legal situation and the strength of their network is still responsible for the fate of their relatives, who live in war regions without any legal protection. Imagine this kind of situation: you live in Europe, but a relative of yours is in a prison where hundreds, thousands of people are killed and many of them are tortured. Or in a village, or district of a city, which might be targeted at any time.



Sonia Delaunay and two friends in Robert Delaunay's studio, rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris (1924) © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Do you still feel protected by your EU passport? Or are you mentally connected to those communities, friends, families, children who are shelled at home? Don't you live in permanent desperation and fear? How much money do you have to pay so that the international criminals protect these human beings, at home?

So my question is: whom shall we ask for amnesty and peace? Which Government? The President of Europe or the war-torn homelands? Shall we ask the local police of our district for amnesty? In this case, this means mercy and compassion: shall we ask them not to find and arrest us, if accusations are false? Or shall we ask the Court? Or the Ministry of Inner Affairs? Or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? Shall we ask a rich relative? An uncle, a father, a boss, a godfather or a guardian angel? Could it happen that we end up victims of human trafficking although we have EU citizenship?

Or shall we ask the media – news, radio and the internet – to ask it for us? And what about the newspapers? And the free press? The best is to ask the press to support amnesty for human rights advocates and simple people. But, in this case, who will protect the journalists from being killed in the war regions? Or from losing their jobs and sponsors at home if they dig too deep into the power structure's *status quo*? Of course, the free press and the media play a really important role. The power of the public is expressed through the elections and maybe even more by the public opinion. The free press plays the role to inform people about the social reality and all that they cannot witness.

In 1956, the Revolutionary Youth didn't storm the Parliament first of all, but Hungarian Radio. It took the microphone of that media channel – the only one at that time – and announced the system change. Today there are hundreds and thousands of media channels to influence the public opinion. It is hard to imagine, that in that time there was no daily TV broadcast, no internet etc... Hungarian Radio was The Public Voice. One voice. The mainstream. In that moment, to storm the radio building and to grab the microphone meant to take over the power in the country. We used to criticize the mainstream media; today we no longer have one way broadcast TV and radio, but the web. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari compare today's information channel to the rhizome, a dense web of information channels, which is different from the earlier pyramid structure.

(I do disagree with them on this point, because I believe that there are privileged points in the system, which have a higher position in the hierarchy, and there are also pyramids above the rhizome-spider-web.)

The question arises: which microphone can we grab today to ask for a system change, for reforms, for amnesty or to inform the public and to ask for their support in case of injustice or, not least, to protect the people? Shall we ask the social platforms? If it comes to a trial, most of the evidence for – or against – an accusation against a subject is delivered on the so-called digital social media, internet. It is not printed on paper, or stored as analogue film anymore. It is stored on the servers. The system administrator has access to the data; this means that he has the power to make changes. Servers are not national, but global or private. Shall we ask the system admins for our amnesty? They often have the key role. But where are they? In Ireland where you can find big servers? Or in California? If there is a crime on Facebook and the involved victim lives in Hungary, it happens that Californian laws are valid, as long as it happened on the virtual territory of Facebook.

Or shall we ask our friends and family, our personal network, to help us with informal support? A father, an uncle, a boss? An informal network, friends. Starting from the bottom of the power pyramid? Step by step? What about those, whose network is not influential enough and never reaches the President, the Court or the Police? The list of questions is endless. The legal system is divided into legislative, juristic and executive power in order to protect the individual and to not centralize the power. The executive force is local: think about the policeman, with the lowest salary in the chain, who has to arrest you. He follows an order. Or the doctor who has to treat you, if you're declared mentally ill. Who decides, locally, if you will be treated for mental illness caused by the trauma of war with counselling and soft natural therapies like sports, yoga, music and herbs, or if you will be just tied down to a bed with plastic, detained in a dirty clinic behind bars and injected with unknown brain serums that you would not want? Executive power may also be the postman, who brings you an important letter or document, and who decides – following an order or being corrupted – if you should receive the necessary documents that allows you to legally stay in a country, or if

the documents from the Court or the police administration – such as letters, passports and bank cards – will ever reach your mailbox. It gets even more complicated with your phone and net communications. Is it executive power, which allows you to talk to anybody locally? Is it the big T-Com building around the corner? Or is it a hacker? Or many hackers? What happens, if all your communication channels are cut off, all your passwords stolen and you are no longer in control of what you write, say, send, delete or which calls you make and which you receive? The executive power can also be your boss, who pays you, or even a family member, who is forced to accuse you, since he can be blackmailed by financial tools or even by dislocated military authorities. Or a family, who is forced to sell a young girl to an elder man or to arrange a marriage with someone who holds a EU passport – no matter if, between the two of them, there is love or not. There is a moral obligation to help. I did not mention those fathers, who are forced to sell their organs – mainly kidneys – because otherwise they could not support their families. All these things happen locally; they are local. If you are politically accused or chased, endangered in your home country or in the country where you have a permanent residency, you can escape immediate executive punishment: poverty by prohibition of salary payment, prison, shelling, death. You are forced to change country by becoming an asylum seeker. But your escape might be limited in time, since legal and legislative powers are not really local – and thus related to a specific country – but, often, they are global. The juristic examples are much more complex: in their natural state, in fact, they are basically local: the court and the judges are appointed by your nation/state. The laws and the latest rules are files kept in digital clouds and servers; this means that – physically – laws and regulations can be stored and edited everywhere: in Antarctica, on a satellite, or in another country. Regulations are no longer printed and permanent: lawyers subscribe to updates, just like software. Justice is a software.

The globalization of the legal system and the supranational courts are, of course, nothing new: the United Nations is a supranational organization and all the empires and colonial states have globalized systems. What has changed is the intensity of the interconnections, as well as their omnipresence and their speed. Legislative situations are the most complex and dynamic. Legislators are those who make the rules. The voters – who should delegate the politicians – are often lost, migrated, in exile and stateless, without a possibility to vote. The elite often sit in a private plane; influence exists here and there.

The state without nation might become a place where people only live as independent from their national identity and their legal status (citizenship). This would be the end of all justice. We need to protect the unity of citizenship and the nation state or, to be precise, the state where all citizens have the same legal status (no paperless people, no apartheid...); the nation state must not mean ethnic homogeneity, even if a common language would be more than useful. Some politicians suggest – and build – fences because of this. Still, there is no democracy or human rights protection in any country – including the European ones – if someone does not care about human rights and stable legal systems, if there is no protection for the citizens and if there is no peace outside the traditional welfare state. This is what I wanted to show with my question: «Whom shall I ask for amnesty?» This is a possible question to the reader and to NSK, IRWIN, Slavoj Žižek and Zdenka Badovinac, whose writings I respect and like very much and to whom I am thankful for the initiative and for the invitation.

I would like to ask the reader to support amnesty in the name of the many Syrians and people from war regions, and from all countries in the Middle East, but also in Europe and in my country, Hungary. Amnesty for all people who are chased and live in fear, for those who are human rights advocates and for those who just happened to be in the wrong place or are witnesses of crimes. Often, when we happen to be in such situations, we have no exact person, or institute, whom we can address.

And now I ask the Delegates: «Do you need amnesty?»

Only now, at the end of this text, I realize that my question might have been completely wrong. We do not need amnesty. We need states and a global system where we can live without fear, places where masses – who are not guilty – do not need to ask for any amnesty.



Edited and introduced by Jela Krečič.

Contributors: Boris Buden, Mladen Dolar, Saroj Giri, Boris Groys, Agon Hamza, Jamil Khader, Robert Pfaller, Frank Ruda, Slavoj Žižek, Alenka Zupančič.

#### IRWIN

The IRWIN group was founded in Ljubljana (Slovenia) in 1983. Its members are Dusan Mandic, Miran Mohar, Andrej Savski, Roman Uranjek and Borut Vogelink. With their artistic practice they actively and concretely intervened in social and historical activities in the decade that redefined the status of art in Eastern Europe (Kapital, NSK Embassy Moscow, Transnacionala, East Art Map projects). Recent exhibitions and projects include: *NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst)*, *From Kapital to Capital*, Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid in 2017 and Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven and Garage Museum of Contemporary Art, Moscow in 2016; *IRWIN Planting Seeds*, Łaźnia Centre for Contemporary Art, Gdansk, Poland, 2016; *NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst)*, *From Kapital to Capital*, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, 2015; *Dreams and Conflicts*, Galleria Civica di Modena, Modena, 2014; *Former West*, HKW, Berlin, 2013; *A Bigger Splash*, Tate Modern, London, 2012–13; *NSK Passport Office*, Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), 2012; *Manifesta*, Genk, 2012; *The Global Contemporary*. *The Art Worlds after 1989*, ZKM/Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2011; *The International*, MACBA, 2011; *State in Time*, Kunsthalle Krems, 2009; *NSK Passport Holders*, Taipei Biennial, Taipei Art Museum, 2008; *Birds of a Feather*, Akbank Art Center, Istanbul, 2006–07.

#### ZDENKA BADOVINAC

Zdenka Badovinac is a curator and writer, who has served since 1993 as Director of the Moderna galerija in Ljubljana, comprised since 2011 of two locations: the Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova. In her work, Badovinac highlights the difficult processes of redefining history alongside different avant-garde traditions within contemporary art. Badovinac's first exhibition to address these issues was *Body and the East—From the 1960s to the Present* (1998). She also initiated the first Eastern European art collection, 2000+ Artest. One her most important recent projects is *NSK from Kapital to Capital: Neue Slowenische Kunst – The Event of the Final Decade of Yugoslavia*, Moderna galerija, 2015. Badovinac was Slovenian Commissioner at the Venice Biennale from 1993 to 1997 and 2005, Austrian Commissioner at the Sao Paulo Biennial in 2002 and the President of CIMAM, 2010–13.

#### CHARLES ESCHE

Charles Esche is director of Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven; professor of contemporary art and curating at Central Saint Martins, London and co-director of *Afterall Journal and Books*. He teaches on the *Exhibition Studies* MRes course at CSM, and at Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht. He (co) curated Jakarta Biennale 2015; 31<sup>st</sup> Sao Paulo Biennial, 2014; U3 Triennale, Ljubljana, 2011; Istanbul Biennale, 2005; Gwangju Biennale, 2002 amongst other international exhibitions. He is chair of CASCO, Utrecht. He received the 2012 Princess Margriet Award and the 2014 CCS Bard College Prize for Curatorial Excellence.

#### AHMET ÖĞÜT

Öğüt, born in 1981 in Diyarbakır (Turkey), is an artist who lives and works in Berlin and Amsterdam. Working across a variety of media, Öğüt has had institutional solo exhibitions around the world including SALT Art Space, Istanbul (2016); Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven (2015); Chisenhale Gallery, London (2015); Künstlerhaus Stuttgart (2012); The MATRIX Program at the UC Berkeley Art Museum (2010); and Kunsthalle Basel (2008). He has also participated in numerous group exhibitions, including 11th Gwangju Biennale (2016); the British Art Show 8 (2015–2017); *Museum On/OFF*, Centre Pompidou, Paris (2016); 8th Shenzhen Sculpture Biennale (2014); Performa 13, the Fifth Biennial of Visual Art Performance, New York (2013); the 12th Istanbul Biennial (2011); and the 5th Berlin Biennial for Contemporary Art (2008). Öğüt has completed several residency programs, including programs at the Delfina Foundation and Tate Modern (2012); IASPIS, Sweden (2011); and Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten, Amsterdam (2007–2008). He has taught at the Dutch Art Institute, Netherlands (2012); the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts, Finland (2011–ongoing); and Yıldız Teknik University, Turkey (2004–2006). He is currently working on a duo exhibition with Goshka Macuga at Witte de With Center for Contemporary Art and his upcoming solo shows at KOW gallery in Berlin and Kunsthalle Charlottenburg in Copenhagen (2017).

#### MARA AMBROŽIČ

Mara Ambrožič is an expert in strategies of cooperation, a curator, and cultural critic. She holds an MA in Visual Studies from IUAV University of Venice, where she studied with Giorgio Agamben, Angela Vettese, Franco Bifo Berardi.

## THE FINAL COUNTDOWN: EUROPE, REFUGEES AND THE LEFT

Jela Krečič

There is a commonly accepted notion on the political Left that Europe's response to hundreds of thousands of refugees was and is unacceptable. While the Left is mostly concerned with the rise of right-wing populism, which is gaining its power from the supposed threat of the immigrants, its own humanitarian and philanthropic approach towards Europe's newcomers is no less inadequate.

Eleven texts by radical Leftist thinkers try to disentangle this mess; they provide a sharp analysis of today's geopolitical situation with emphasis on political developments in Europe and on the shift in the global ideological frame.

This shift is traced back to several historical events, most importantly to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the predominance of neoliberal capitalism, and also the incapacity of the political Left to respond to post-Cold-War political antagonisms. The volume ruthlessly debunks many of the flagship ideas of the liberal Left, such as identity politics, post-colonialism, and political correctness.

Although different thinkers take different approaches, the result is a common insight that a different kind of Leftist struggle is needed, one that does not overlook the central role of classical concepts, such as struggle, and the importance of creating a universalist political frame for dealing with major problems.

She currently holds a PhD research position in international cooperation, curating and new institutional policies at the LJMU University of Liverpool. She has lectured on art theory and the culture industry as fellow professor alongside Marta Kuzma, and served as a visiting lecturer at the Sciences Po University in Paris. Ambrožič has participated in the development of several international organisations and networks, as well as working as a consultant for the Ministère de la Communication de Paris. She has published texts and edited several books and has also acted as a curator for various projects, such as Slovene Pavilion: *Tobias Putrih*, 52nd Venice Biennale in 2007, *States of Opacity*: 12th Edition of the Dakar Biennale in 2015. In 2016 she initiated the model *Libraries of the Future* at the Centre Pompidou (Paris).

#### SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK

Slavoj Žižek is a Christian atheist, Hegelian philosopher, Lacanian psychoanalyst, and Communist political theorist. His work tries to refund dialectical materialism through a Lacanian reading of German Idealism. He also deals with the critical diagnostics of contemporary capitalism and of the twists and turns of today's ideology. He works as a Researcher at Birkbeck College, University of London; Visiting Professor at NYU, New York City, and at Kyung Hee University, Seoul. Among his latest publications: *Disparities* (London, 2016), *Antigone* (London, 2016), *The Courage of Hopelessness* (London, 2017).

#### JELA KREČIČ

Jela Krečič is a philosopher, journalist and writer. In 2008 she obtained a PhD at the Department of Philosophy, University of Ljubljana, with her research project *Philosophy, Fantasy, Film*. In her theoretical work she deals with philosophy of art, contemporary art and film theory. She has co-edited books on contemporary TV-series and on film director Ernst Lubitsch. Film comedy with its political and ethical dimensions is one of the recurring themes of her analysis. In 2012, she gave a lecture titled *Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre: The Theatre of the Living Concept during the international symposium "Neue Slowenische Kunst: A Historical Perspective"*, which took place at the Tate Modern (London). As a journalist she covers mainly cultural themes from literature, contemporary art to film and television, but is best known for her interview with Julian Assange. Last year she published her first novel *None Like Her*.

NSK STATE  
VENICE PAVILION  
IN VIENNA –  
THINKING EUROPE

As a parallel project to the NSK State Pavilion in Venice, NSK State in Time will be opening a pavilion in Vienna, during Wiener Festwochen. The *NSK State Pavilion in Vienna – Thinking Europe*, curated by Birgit Lurz and Wolfgang Schlag, will present the installation *Europa* by Ramesch Daha and Anna Jermolaewa and a temporary NSK passport office.

As the *NSK State Pavilion in Venice*, the pavilion space in Vienna includes two parts. The first part ‘An Apology’, written on behalf of the liberal western world to refugees, as well as to those who were unable to choose not to flee, was developed together with scientific consultant Tomaž Mastnak.

The second part, a room of ‘global disorder’, presents the responses of around 100 different citizens, migrants and stateless individuals to questions about European and personal heritage. These responses shape the content of the installation *Europa* in the second space.

Inside the pavilion is a temporary NSK passport office. Together with the Viennese NGO Einander, asylum seekers run the passport office and guide visitors and potential new citizens through the exhibition and talk about their experience of migration and their life in Austria. The office will issue NSK passports to all applicants who apply and are willing to engage in a dialogue.

*Europa* – An Open Archive of Stories

For the *NSK State Pavilion in Vienna – Thinking Europe* the artists Ramesch Daha and Anna Jermolaewa have created the installation *Europa*, based on the results of 100 questionnaires.

Individuals, who came to Austria from non-European countries for different reasons, were asked to answer general and personal questions about their individual perspectives on Europe, such as: *What does homeland mean for you?*, *What does Europe mean for you?*, *What should a future Europe look like?*.

Based on the results of the question *What is your favorite artwork?* the artists set up an ‘imaginary museum’ of paintings like a checkpoint between the Egypt and Palestinian border, a Heavy Metal lyric, *The Kiss* by Gustav Klimt or the Eiffel Tower.

From this archive of answers emerges an image that is at once universal and extremely personal. Instead of merging the answers with conventional narrative forms, the installation opens up a variety of connections and histories. It is a critical commentary on ‘European Heritage’, and, at the same time, raises questions about the continent’s future. The installation is an open archive of experiences, ideas, and hopes.



Ramesch Daha, born 1971 in Teheran, Iran. Comprehensive historical research is characteristic in Ramesch Daha’s artistic method which proceeds with an awareness of the constructed nature of history and of the subjectivity of the historical narrative. In her preferred artistic media painting, drawing, video, and installation she confronts the viewer with the discrepancy between individual and institutionalized history in order to question the complexity of the present, the essence of which becomes apparent through her historical digressions. Ramesch Daha lives and works in Vienna, Austria.

Anna Jermolaewa, born 1970 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Anna Jermolaewa analyzes stereotypical roles in regulatory hierarchies and totalitarian power apparatuses. Her installations, photographs and videos reveal power and control mechanisms in political systems, showing how they result in shared collective and individual ways of experiencing the world. The found and staged images are the distillate of a critical analysis of society, which, developed in short consecutive sequences, stands for the dependencies and forms of repression of the individual. Anna Jermolaewa lives and works in Vienna, Austria.



Ramesch Daha, *Checkpoint*, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 cm, 2017

Ramesch Daha, *Eiffelturm / Eiffel Tower*, oil on canvas, 24 x 30 cm, 2017



Anna Jermolaewa, *Vincent Van Gogh, Selbstbildnis mit verbundenem Ohr / Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear*, oil on canvas, 40 x 50 cm, 2017

## MAP

NSK STATE PAVILION  
11 May – 15 July 2017  
(Opening Thursday, 11 May, at 8pm)

PALAZZO CA' TRON  
IUAV University of Venice  
Santa Croce, 1957

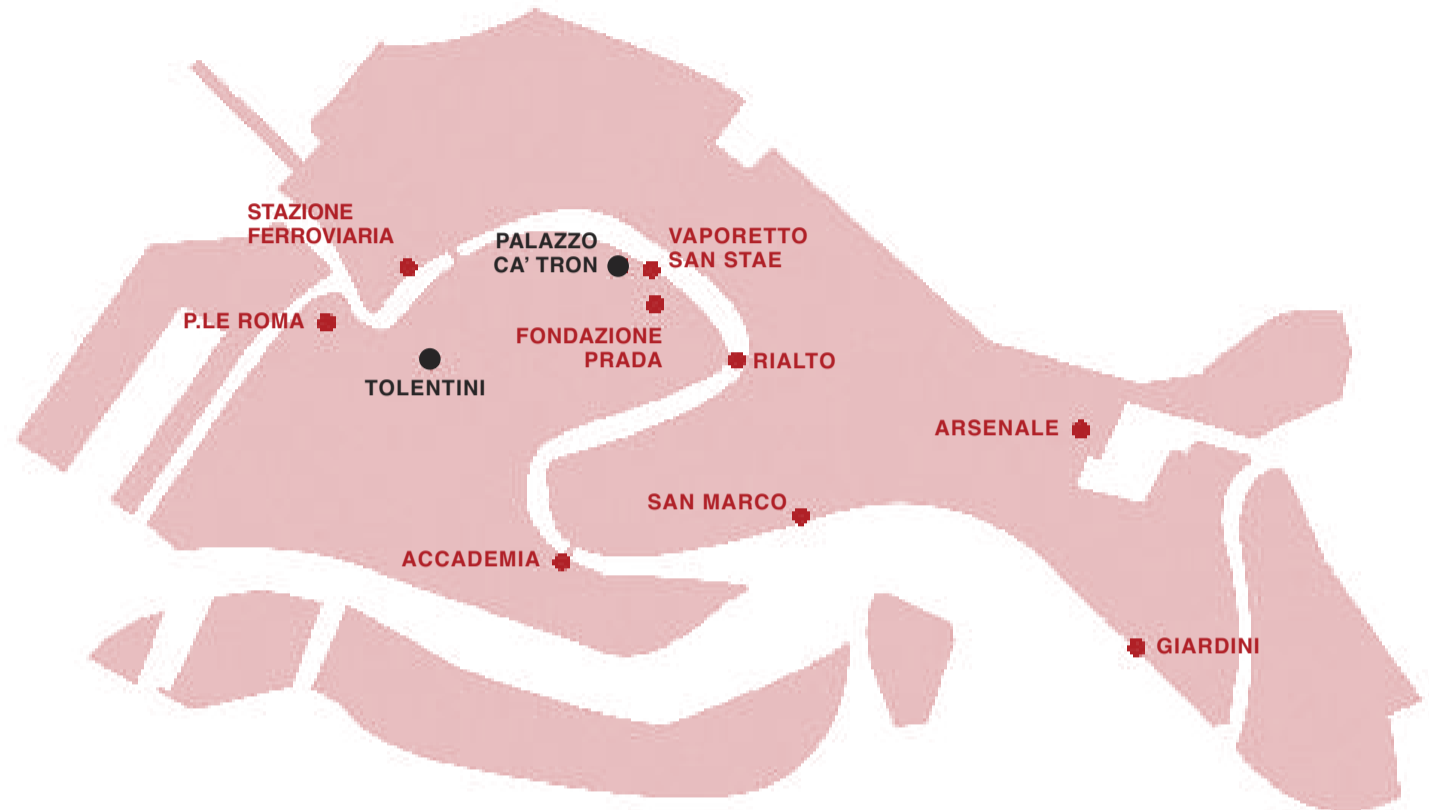
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PUBLIC LECTURE  
BY SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK  
Thursday, 11 May 2017 at 5pm

AULA MAGNA, Tolentini  
IUAV University of Venice  
Santa Croce, 191

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NSK STATE PAVILION –  
57TH VENICE BIENNALE  
2017

Exhibition:  
Palazzo Ca' Tron, IUAV  
University of Venice,  
11 May – 15 July 2017

Inaugural lecture by  
Slavoj Žižek, 11 May 2017,  
Aula Magna Tolentini

Commissioners:  
IRWIN (Dušan Mandič,  
Miran Mohar, Andrej Savski,  
Roman Uranjek and  
Borut Vogelnik)

Curators:  
Zdenka Badovinac,  
Charles Esche

Project Director:  
Mara Ambrožič

Installation:  
Ahmet Öğüt

Scientific Consultant:  
Tomaž Mastnak

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Sanja Kuveljić Bandić

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NSK STATE VENICE  
PAVILION IN VIENNA –  
THINKING EUROPE

ARCC.art Open Space,  
16 May – 11 June 2017

Public lecture:  
Slavoj Žižek,  
20 May 2017, 6.30 pm  
www.festwochen.at

Curators:  
Birgit Lurz,  
Wolfgang Schlag

Based on the project  
*NSK State Pavilion –  
57th Venice Biennale 2017*  
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and Zdenka Badovinac

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Anna Jermolaewa

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