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Politics and Art: A Controversy after the Fall of the Berlin Wall

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Introduction: Problem and Method

I will start from a relatively simple problem, and that is the problem of differentiation of (1) political art as a genre, and (2) political status of art as cultural and social practice.

The method that I will employ is, on the one hand, based on Ludwig Wittgenstein’s premise that the goal of philosophy is to show a fly the way out of a bottle in which it has been caught.¹ This means that one should, for a moment, ask oneself what kind of a bottle is it that the question is about, where is the bottle, and more importantly, whether we are talking about only one bottle or about many bottles with many flies in a big and, judging by all appearances, undefined space outside or within some bottle N.

The method I will use is, on the other hand, based on the assumption that each relationship, as well as my interpretative relation with the fly caught in a bottle and my effort to show the fly way out of the bottle, is a *singularity*, a singularity which is hard to connect with a generality concerning all the flies in all the bottles, i.e., with the universality of finding the ways that ‘free’ that single fly and that ‘take it out’ of precisely that single bottle. Concept of *singularity* is, therefore, derived from a standpoint derived from a debate between Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In that debate they restituted philosophy to the corporeality of performance—not only of the concept, but also of its intensity of performance. The following statement is thus appropriate and clear:

Each creation is singular, while a notion which is a genuine philosophical creation is always a singularity. The first principle is that generalities do not explain anything, that they themselves should be explained.²

Therefore, in this discussion, I have to be gradual in demonstrative conceptualizations of the complex relationship between art, politics, and philosophy. As if each of the concepts ‘art’, ‘politics’, and ‘philosophy’ is a singular bottle with its own fly, but still as if all bottles and all flies are connected in a secretive way with a web of material possibilities

Political Art or Politicization of Matters about Art

I will start with a direct and unbiased question: are the following three art works—Courbet’s pornographic painting *L’Origine du Monde*, Duchamp’s transgressive ready made *Fountain* and Eduardo Kac’s transgenetically modified rabbit with fluorescent fur *GFP Bunny—Alba*—political art works?

French realist painter Gustave Courbet painted the painting *L'Origine du monde* (*The Origin of the World*) in oil on canvas measuring 46 x 55cm. This painting is a so-called 'second painting', which means that it is a painting which existed under the painting visible within the frame. The painting shows a torso—genitals and abdomen of a woman lying on a bed with her legs spread apart. Genitals are shown immediately after the sexual act. It is assumed that the model for this painting was the American Joanna (Jo) Hiffernan who lived at that time with the American painter and Courbet's student James McNeill Whistler. Courbet painted the painting as an order from the Turkish diplomat Khalil-Bey, the Ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Athens and St. Petersburg who also spent some time in Paris. Khalil-Bey was a considerable collector who owned numerous works by French romanticists, for example Ingres's painting *Le Bain turc* or Courbet's painting *Les Dormeuses* (1866). There are different interpretations about the further history of exchange and ownership of Courbet's painting. The painting had, according to some versions, from Khalil-Bey's collection been sold to an art dealer Antoine de la Narde. There were some records that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the painting was found in Hungary and that after the Second World War it 'appeared' in the collection of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan. Since 1955, the painting has been in the museum Musée d'Orsay in Paris.³ Today, the painting is seen as a *masterpiece* and is included among the nineteenth century French modern art *masterpieces*.

French-American artist Marcel Duchamp accomplished the art work *Fountain* (1917) as a *ready made*.⁴ *Ready made* is a made or a produced object with a non-artistic origin. It is most often an industrial product which is taken over or re-signified, moved, and exposed as an art work with or without additional material or verbal interventions. *The ready made* entitled *Fountain* was made during the artist's stay in New York. The work was imagined when Marcel Duchamp, together with the American painter Joseph Stella and collector Walter Arensberg, purchased a standard model of a urinal from the J.K. Mott Iron Works, Fifth Avenue. He put the purchased urinal in an unusual position—rotated it 90 degrees in space and wrote on it in a way of signature "R. Mutt 1917". The *ready made* was rejected at the exhibition of the *Society of Independent Artists* in 1917. Immediately after the unsuccessful exposition the work *Fountain* was lost. Duchamp's authorized reconstructions were exhibited in the following museums: Indiana University Art Museum, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art and Tate Modern.⁵

Brazilian-American artist Eduardo Kac has, in the year 2000, set up the art project for genetically produced rabbit. The bunny *Alba* was produced in laboratory using the *GFP* method developed by the French geneticist Louis-Marie Houdebine. *Green fluorescent protein*—GFP—is a protein that consists of 238 amino acids (26.9 kDa) from the jellyfish *Aequorea Victoria* that fluoresces green when exposed to blue light. When the rabbit *Alba* is exposed to blue light it fluoresces green. Eduardo Kac described the rabbit *Alba* as an animal that does not exist in nature. Regarding the genetically constructed rabbit, Kac developed a whole post-production campaign—by communicating numerous information and disinformation about rabbit *Alba*'s life, and by realizing a newspaper and a web site with data about *Alba*, posters exposed in public spaces (*Le Lapin Unique* – from a "GFP Bunny" series 2003), electronic display with photos of *Alba* (*Bunny in Rio*, 2004). He also made a realist sculpture, showing artist with the rabbit in his arms (*Featherless*, 2006).⁶

Still, I will repeat the direct and unbiased question: are these three art works—Courbet's pornographic painting *L'Origine du monde*, Duchamp's transgressive *ready made Fountain*, and Eduardo Kac's transgenetically modelled rabbit with the fluorescent fur *GFP Bunny-Alba*—political art works?

At first glance, these works do not seem to be political art, not in a way in which we are used to see and recognize political art works—such as, for example, the paintings by Eugène Delacroix *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), George Grosz's *The Pillars of Society* (1926), Ernst Vollbehrr's *NSDAP Party Convention in Nüremberg* (1933), Boris Ionfan's and Vera Mukhina's *Soviet Pavilion* (Paris, 1937), Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* (1937) or Yayoi Kusame's *Naked Event* (1968). Each of these art works is obviously 'political' in the sense of genre, if under the genre we assume thematic and functional congeniality of art works. All the mentioned art works are congenial according to their visual thematization of politics or according to political function their 'subject' has in a specific field of macro-political interests. This means that each of these art works belongs to a kind of art works (paintings, sculptures, architectural and graphic works, performatives, assemblages) which by using visual means thematize a political standpoint or a political platform, i.e., a political ideal or function, state politics, interests and standpoints of the party, and, also, an individual relation towards politics. In this context 'politics'⁷ signifies a certain defined or undefined assemblage of standpoints, knowledge, and pragmatic expectations, social contracts, confrontations, or performed acts in the representation of public life in a modern, post-modern, or global society.

For example, a painting by the French painter Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People*, unambiguously and allegorically shows/tells about ideas of the French bourgeois revolution. In the European context nobody will by mistake believe that he/she sees on the painting a 'woman in topless' during populist orgies in some ruined European town, but will 'know'—refer to the conviction—that it is about allegorical painting showing, i.e., representing, liberty as the symbol, as the concept and as the political platform. French flag in woman's hands and her unclothed breasts are only an indexation of her as the 'symbol' within allegorical-political scene by which the 'idea' of the French nation as the bearer of the political in the singular sense, and the 'idea' of the Western modern bourgeois and liberal individual liberty in universal sense is being represented.

The painting by the German Dadaist and painter Georg Grosz *The Pillars of Society* uses expressive and parodical means of pictorial representation, i.e. malformed figurative forms, to demonstrate and suggest a critique of the capitalist order of social power in Weimar Germany of 1920s. Grosz's painting is a critical-social expressionism or realism marked in the history of art known as 'new objectivity' (*Neue Sachlichkeit*). Critical realist paintings show themselves as the means of taking an '*engagé attitude*' towards the capitalist society's dominant political discourse.

In the painting by Ernst Vollbehrr *NSDAP Party Convention in Nüremberg* one can see indications of the political project by German national-party 'body' as 'one' or as a unity. What is deep—and authentically-Nazi in this painting, is not the displayed scene of aligned squads of German National-Socialist Party at the Party meeting, but painter's political grasp in annulling and de-individualizing the singular civic body. In a fascinating way this painting annuls the concept of liberal democratic idea about individuality as the bearer of the political, by making the scene of homogeneous bodies—squads in which the individual no longer exists as a singularity. Singularity becomes

mass. The painting shows party squads in formations that 'transcend' individuality into political-party collectivity.

The architect Boris Iofan and sculptor Vera Mukhina realized *The Soviet Pavillion* at the world exposition in Paris as a monumental project of new Communist unity of the working class (the young man) and the peasantry (the girl), i.e., industrial world (worker) and nature (agriculturist girl). The work is about the typical 'optimal projection'⁸ of socialist realism whereby the promise in revolutionary transformation of the *new world* is installed and performed. 'The optimal projection' is not utopia, i.e. an ideally structured space of the future, but signifies movement as choosing the 'optimal version' in the overcoming of reality. This architectural-sculptural monument is a monument to revolution that is transmitted from a 'class battlefield' into an organization and the shaping of everyday socialist life. Synthesis of the architectural and the sculptural symbolizes and triggers questions about the new Communist unity that should happen in the *very life* of the Soviet citizen through the prevailing everyday reality.

Picasso's painting *Guernica* is dedicated to the victims of bombing of the town Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. The painting is realized as a post-cubist work that symbolizes a singular human tragedy—innocent victims of Nazi/Fascist bombing—as universal victims of political terror. Picasso's painting most explicitly depicts the liberal standpoint about a 'political singular topic' such as the universal topic of painting that exceeds individual political conceptions and pictorially *tells* about the universal, i.e., the prevalent human suffering. In other words, Picasso's work demonstratively shows how one *singular event* makes the universal representation of humanity possible.

Yayoi Kusame performed the anti-war happening *Naked Event* during the Vietnam War. The happening was performed in the atmosphere of political activism of 1968, of student protests, the New Left, and sexual revolution.⁹ Her 'political work' is no longer a representation of painting or sculpture, but a behavioral intervention—an event—in concrete urban-political space, for example, in front of the U.S. Treasury Building in New York. Here, it is about a turnover from a 'presentation' towards 'performing' and performative intervention. Artistic practice takes over the 'media' of political acting and traverses from a fictional space of presentation into the real-political space of human life. By such a performative act, actions of activist art are initiated. We are dealing with art that 'inscribes' itself into the field of political actions and acts, i.e., into material practices, by means of the political realm itself, which it provokes.

Barbara Kruger rendered the placard *Untitled (Your body is a battleground)* by visual-verbal means of commercial design as a provocation and thus a critique of the status and the place of a woman in late capitalist consumer society. Her artistic work is based on the transmission of outer-institutional critical feminism of neo-avant-garde and conceptual art into the sphere of highly professionalized, institutionalized media practices of representation, i.e. use, of a female body in the realms of mass exchange and consumption of goods. Her work is about the neo-conceptualist grasp of 'mechanisms' of alienated informational market in the middle of which an art work is displayed as the symptom or the derailment of expected productive exchange and consumption through which the ideological space of contemporary life is being shaped. The artist appropriates¹⁰ the 'language'—semiology—of presentation within the advertising industry in order to say something different from what the advertising industry shows in relation to the role and function of the female body as the object of 'consumerist lust'.

Within the *Sots Art*, the Soviet painters Komar and Melamid developed *cynical practice*¹¹ of transforming ideality and *political commerciality* of Soviet socialist realism. For example, their painting *Double Self-Portrait as Young Pioneers* indicates displacement within the socialist canon of presentation of 'serious', 'high', and politically 'controlled' art. Art is no longer an *optimal projection* of topics possible or wished for within the Communist society, but, rather, an appropriation of potential politically 'positive' or 'apologetic' value by cynical ascription of academic discourse of figurative painting of socialist realism.

In the so-called new British art of the nineties Mat Collishaw realizes the work *Black Nazissus*. Assemblage *Black Nazissus* is a political visual discourse of crisis and traumatic points of the British neo-liberal and post-capitalist society that, at the end of the twentieth century, faces contradictions of neo-Nazism and racial violence.¹² The *Black Nazissus* is a paradoxical 'creature' or 'figure' which is possible only in an alienated world of crisis, of local confrontations and local clashes within the Western multicultural world. It is about contradictions within singularities of the multicultural society. This figurative assemblage is a contradiction of violence within the Third World that takes place within the First World and the First World which is structured by confrontations with the Third World.

As one can see, 'political art' is based on genre defined visual production of political meaning by which idealistic (Delacroix), critical-caricaturist (Grosz), apologetic-collectivist (Ernst Vollbehr), apologetic-utopian (Boris Iofan, Vera Mukhina), universalist-humanist (Pablo Picasso), activist-performative (Yayoi Kusame), critical-consumerist (Barbara Kruger), critical-cynical (Komar and Melamid), and critical-contradictory (Collishaw) approach to the public life as a field where the structuring micro- and macro-power is being explicitly expressed. 'Political art' is therefore a specific art *genre* by which, through visual means, political concepts and standpoints, most often in an unambiguous, namely transparent way, are being mediated or shown.

However, I will repeat once again my direct and unambiguous question: are art works such as Courbet's pornographic painting *L'Origine du Monde*, Duchamp's transgressive ready made *Fountain* and Eduardo Kac's transgenetically modeled rabbit with the fluorescent fur *GFP Bunny—Alba*—political art works? Yes or no?

If the criterion of identification of 'political art' is the concept within political genre as the frame of transparent thematization of the performance or expression, these works are then not political. For Courbet's painting depicts woman's genitals directed at male's gaze, Duchamp's *ready made* is the 'index' of transmission of the object from one cultural context to the other, Kac's rabbit *Alba* is a 'live event' within a complex artistic-scientific project of transgenetic engineering. These works, as the majority of art works from the history of modern art, are not the transparent works typical of political art. On the contrary, they are works that look and seem autonomous in relation to political pretensions and potentials. These works are obsessively dedicated to pornographic enjoyment, transfigurative combinatorics of parallel objects and to the potentiality of the re-creation of life itself.

But, nonetheless, are these works not political in some way?

If I answer now that *these works are political* and that they are *really political*, then I must face questions: "What does it mean to be political?" or "In relation to what is

something political?" These two questions are questions that anybody who wants to show the fly the way out of the closed bottle must face. And, that is a political practice that I have to face in the writing itself that seeks an answer to the posed questions, i.e., the ways in which the fly will get out of the bottle.

In order to come to the answer to the question "What does it mean that these art works are political?" or "In relation to what are these art works political?" I have to execute a theoretical and a sensual *politicization* of these works or, at least, of some newer registers or regimes of appearance.

The demand for 'politicization' becomes relevant as a demand after postmodernity, more precisely, with the completion of the actuality of postmodern theories of society, culture and art. Postmodern theory of politics, aesthetics, and art (Jean-François Lyotard,¹³ Achille Bonito Oliva¹⁴) depicts postmodernity as the pragmatic turn from modernity as the *master discourse* about politics, aesthetics, and art, towards questions about the 'small' or the 'soft'¹⁵ decentering of the political. This means that it goes towards abolishing the space in which the dominant practice of ruling within society or life itself can be perceived as an emancipatory practice of social transformation. Without the master discourse of politics postmodernity appears as a field without 'meta-politics', namely as a field without a discourse about politics as an independent sphere in which consensus and mediation between conflicting social efforts is being achieved. Politics is being demonstrated as a highly developed bureaucratic technology of life order in its specialized segments of everyday life. Postmodern politics exposes itself as the practice that organizes cultural platforms and procedures *not only* of living in a plural, eclectic, i.e., multiple, everyday life. It is for this reason that Jürgen Habermas has, for example, these and such processes defined as neo-conservative.¹⁶

Crisis of postmodern plurality after the fall of the Berlin Wall, that is, after the end of the Cold War, through maintenance of 'global politics' *provoked* again the possibility for questioning the 'political' as the relevant answer to the apparent absence of anything political within the neo-liberal purportedly unpolitical or extrapolitical technological practices of the organization of the everyday life. This evocation of 'politics' happened in many different ways in entirely different and often mutually confronted philosophers and theorists (Jacques Derrida,¹⁷ Chantal Mouffe,¹⁸ Alain Badiou,¹⁹ Jacques Rancière,²⁰ Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt,²¹ Giorgio Agamben,²² Paolo Virno,²³ Brian Massumi,²⁴ etc.). Evocation of the 'political', the 'return to the political' or the 'politicization of non- or extra-political' are not practices of the structuration of reality by the party or the state, but theoretical constructions concerning the character, functions, and effects of actual performances of the social.

I shall conceptualize *politicization* in such a way so as to interpret certain art works that do not belong to the genre of political art. For example, I will politicize a pornographic painting, a *ready made* and a live, fluorescent, rabbit. I will reveal these works as political art works, which means that I will lead our discussion toward the argument that *each art work* or *any art work* can be shown as political in an interventional interpretation of *politicization*.

Walter Benjamin was correct when he stated that in big historical epochs with the change of modes of living of a human community, and we can add also with the character of human labor, modes of its sense perceptions change:

During long periods of history, the mode of human sense perception changes with humanity's entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well.²⁵

In other words, the materialist thesis that an art work is always the consequence of certain historical and geographical material social practice and social resistances to this practice, can be put forth. This practice does not have to be thematized in the art work itself, but can be revealed through interpretation, and demonstrated and explained as the 'cause'²⁶ of the specific thematic appearance, or the aesthetic-sensual autonomy of the art work. More than three decades ago, a group of Slovenian theorists of Althusserian-Lacanian orientation published the following statement on the occasion of Ernest Hemingway's way of writing the novel:

Hemingway's writing does not 'reflect' social content through its thematics, but *directly*, in the organization of the signifying economy itself, where only the secondary effect is thematic.²⁷

If this conception is applied to any art work, then we can say that Courbet's painting, Duchamp's *ready made* and Kac's fluorescent rabbit do not reflect social content through thematic or sensual indications of art works themselves, but in the organization of signifying practice whose only secondary effect is thematic. If this is correct, then we can say that 'signifying practice' is a practice which is at the same time an expression of contradictions of conditions of production in which the art work occurs, exchanges, and disappears, and the resistance which the production faces with in each context or contextual conditions.

In this sense, Goustave Courbet developed the primary manual labour on the painting as a bodily product. He created the picture of the *visible world*—the female genitals—that demonstrated literally, promising the reality of the pornographic scene. The painting of a longed-for human body is produced by direct physical/behaviorist labor of the human—the painter's—body. Such a model of 'relations of production' corresponds to early capitalist labor which emanates from manual production and which will soon be superseded by mechanical labor. Courbet's painting is almost the last manual pornography. The pornographic scene will in the future become the product of mechanical labor, for example, of the photographic camera in the nineteenth century and of the film camera in the twentieth century.²⁸

Marcel Duchamp, contrariwise, intentionally avoided manual craft work in the name of establishing a 'production practice'. His production practice was based on the chain of events which lead from the gaze and the visual appropriation of industrial product from its primary context of usage via trade exchange of industrially produced goods to alienated consumption and semiological transformation of mass industrial product into an art work. Duchamp applied the mass goods production and exchange in established and developed industrial capitalist world. Each of his *ready made* works demonstrated how in the visual arts, above all in painting and sculpture, the relationship between the art work and conditions of creation in the newly developed industrial production relations changes essentially. Duchamp substituted principles of shaping matter in visual arts with principles of observation, usage, displacement, naming, and signifying.

Eduardo Kac performed his 'work' in the field of relational institutional post-productions²⁹ that enables the artist to construct the work project to be realized in the

system of scientific and technical laboratories. Instead of an art work as a completed 'piece', Eduardo Kac developed a complex production-postproduction mode of labor in which the artist is the bearer of the project of complex media or multimedia work that functions as an information-phenomenological order of events. The artist does not produce work but designs the concept of the work, the projected task for the realization of the work and the conditions of postproduction informational distributions of the work in contemporary global culture. His work is the work of a 'postindustrial artist', which means of an artist who works with project systems of mass institutional organization of production, exchange, and consumption of art events/information.

In fact, each of these artists—Courbet, Duchamp, Kac—is fundamentally a political artist since by his material art practice he raises questions and corporeally-sensually demonstrates singular answers about changes of functions in the appearance of 'human labor' and 'human perception' in the midst of the artistic historical, and geographical process. Each of these artists deals with the singularity of events of specific human labor in changed social conditions facing thus the horizons of public and secret, hidden or transparent, political horizons of time and space that he works in.

¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 284 (§ 309).

² Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari, "Introduction: The Question Then..." in *What is Philosophy?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 7.

³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L'Origine_du_monde.

⁴ Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues With Marcel Duchamp* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

⁵ Thierry de Duve, ed., *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1993). Thierry de Duve, *Kant After Duchamp* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1998).

⁶ <http://www.ekac.org/>; <http://www.ekac.org/alba.headlinesupercollider.html>;
<http://www.ekac.org/featherless.html>.

⁷ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958).

⁸ Aleksandar Flaker, "Optimalna projekcija," in *Poetika osporavanja* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1984), 68.

⁹ See Herbert Marcuse, *The New Left and the 1960s: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse* (London: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁰ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1992).

¹¹ Elizabeth Wright & Edmond Wright, eds., *The Žižek Reader* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1999). Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism, Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

¹² Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

¹³ See Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

¹⁴ See Achille Bonito Oliva, "Figure, Myth and Allegory," in *Individuals—A Selected History of Contemporary Art 1945-1986* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1986), 242-247.

¹⁵ See Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity: Nihilism and Hermeneutics in Postmodern Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

¹⁶ Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity—An Incomplete Project," in Hal Foster, ed., *Postmodern Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1983), 3-15.

¹⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Spectres de Marx* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1993).

¹⁸ Chantal Mouffe, *The Return of the Political* (London: Verso, 1993 [2005]).

¹⁹ Alain Badiou, *Metapolitics* (London: Verso, 2006).

²⁰ Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics—The Distribution of the Sensible* (London: Continuum, 2004).

²¹ Antonio Negri & Michael Hardt, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

²² Giorgio Agamben, *The Man Without Content* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

²³ Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude—For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2004).

²⁴ Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation (Post-Contemporary Interventions)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

²⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Clive Cazeaux, ed., *The Continental Aesthetics Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000), 325.

²⁶ Charles Harrison & Fred Orton, eds., *Modernism, Criticism, Realism—Alternative Contexts For Art* (London: Harper and Row, 1984).

²⁷ "Umetnost, družba/tekst" (Art, society/text), *Problemi*, no. 3-5 (no. 147-149), Ljubljana (1975): 1-10.

²⁸ Of course, different 'politicizations' of such a painting are possible that which lead towards 'activation of local knowledge' within culture—for example, feminist or psychoanalytical analysis of female genitals as the 'object' of male or female viewing in the field of gender politics. Hereby I thank to Professor Hilde Hein for her critical remarks regarding my interpretation of Courbet's painting during the *XVII International Congress of Aesthetics* (Ankara, July 10, 2007).

²⁹ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Postproduction* (New York: Lukas & Sternberg, 2002).

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