Dora García Red Love
As part of The Eros Effect: Art, Solidarity
Movements and the Quest for Social Justice
16.5–7.10
Dora García Red Love
Inspired by Alexandra Kollontai, with contributions by Konstfack’s CuratorLab and others
As part of The Eros Effect: Art, Solidarity Movements and the Quest for Social Justice
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Dora García’s new work Red Love is inspired by the Russian author, feminist, activist, political refugee and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai (1872–1952) who propagated for radically transformed relationships between women and men. Free love and camaraderie were at the core of her thinking, as expressed in her novels and essays. As an influential figure in the Bolshevik party and commissar for social welfare in their first government, she not only set up free childcare centres and maternity houses, but also pushed through rights for women including divorce, abortion, and full rights for children born out of wedlock. At the time these were unique measures which were soon overhauled by Stalin, who did not appreciate this attempt at ending “the universal servitude of woman” by challenging both economic and psychological conditions.

García’s exhibition consists of a wooden cage-like structure with a door leading into a space furnished with a big table and chairs. This stage-like space is being used for various purposes during the exhibition period, including by participants of Konstfack’s CuratorLab programme for their final projects. Strong light emanates from a lamp suspended from the ceiling, casting distinct shadows on the floor which has been painted white with a red square in the middle. The square is not perfectly rectilinear, just like the angular shapes in Kazimir Malevich’s paintings. The lighting bear likeness to scenes in the film W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism, and the cage takes its form from the film You Only Live Once.

At the other end of Tensta konsthall’s main exhibition space there is a wooden spiral staircase on which a selection of books has been placed. This atmospheric installation, rich in references, plays on the mission, almost transcendent purpose, and urgency of Kollontai’s life and work, something which is shared by many revolutionaries and artists like Kazimir Malevich. The stairs originate in a museum with a different but no less passionate mission, The Museum of Jurassic Technologies, which was founded in 1989 by a husband and wife in Los Angeles. The museum is defined as “an educational institution dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and the public appreciation of the Lower Jurassic”, a term not further explained. In this exceptional museum, which is reminiscent of a cabinet of curiosities with a collection holding artistic, ethnographic, scientific, and historical objects, some exhibits remain unclassifiable. Part of the collection are a set of maquettes of wooden staircases, one of which came to be the model for the staircase in Red Love.

While Kollontai herself became the inspiration for the character Ninotchka in Ernst Lubitsch’s 1939 film comedy by the same name, famously played by Greta Garbo, the film W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism is another foil, and Fritz Lang’s You Only Live Once from 1937 gave the exhibition its cage. Made in 1971 by Yugoslav director Dusan Makavejev, W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism mixes documentary passages with fiction while dealing with communist politics and sexuality. The life and work of the psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich feature in the film, which was banned in Yugoslavia. Like both Kollontai and The Museum of Jurassic Technologies, W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism exemplifies how radical imagination can be set in motion. Here we also find a certain kind of dissidence, both heroic and unheroic, as well as failure and exile. All of them are themes which reoccur in García’s oeuvre.

García’s research-based practice is concerned with modes of political resilience and the production of subjectivity. She is often drawing on psychoanalysis in her work, specifically
the theories of Jacques Lacan. Kollontai is yet another dissident figure whose biography and philosophy of action provides an example of emancipatory politics to the artist. Other such figures are the philosopher Félix Guattari, the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia and artist and theorist Oscar Masotta. They are all in some sense deviants, who have experienced marginality. While relating to them either through real or fictional characters, García scripts interventions and installations that transpose these various authors into a presentation to the wider public, mixing politics, performance and the formation of subjectivity. Like a continuous inquiry, García's work is invested in the performativity of speech and actions and their particular qualities as political tools. Her approach to the exhibition space reflects the structural problems of this emancipatory process, frequently using performative devices which challenge the viewer.

Kollontai was a pioneer of political engagement and writing on sexual politics, at the same time as she fought for workers' rights advocating a participatory organisation of production. While leading a highly unconventional life for a woman of her generation, with two divorces and an active professional, sexual, and emotional life, she worked directly with women workers during the years leading up to the October Revolution. She engaged specially with social and emotional emancipation, critiquing bourgeois family relations. After serving as the people's commissar of social welfare in the first Bolshevik government, she was seminal in a group called the Workers' Opposition who soon after the revolution criticised the party for being too removed from the workers and for quickly becoming too bureaucratised. After that she was gradually side-lined within domestic politics, and thanks to her previous experience as a political refugee in Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden, and Norway — and her language skills — she was given tasks abroad. As the first female ambassador in the world, Kollontai served as the Soviet representative in Oslo and Mexico and eventually also in Stockholm, in 1930–1945. Here she became a public figure, befriending for example many members of the feminist Fogelstad group.

Among her most read texts are The New Woman (1913), Make Way for Winged Eros (1923) and The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman (1926), as well as the short novels Vasilisa Malygina (1923) and Red Love (1927). The latter is a psychological study of sex-relations in the early Soviet period, which has given García's exhibition its title. Vasilisa Malygina was published together with Three Generations and Sisters under the title of The Love of Worker Bees, which was widely read in the west throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Make Way for Winged Eros was written as a response to many letters she received from young workers with questions on how to conduct life under socialism. She describes how historically different material conditions have determined and regulated love and sexual relations in society. While The New Woman deals with the psychological aspects of an emancipated working woman belonging to no one but herself and yet a member of community based on trust and solidarity, The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman is an account of her own experience. The three stories in The Love of Worker Bees, written in an unadorned prose with proletarian readers in mind, which gives examples of the tensions between old ideals and new sexual lifestyles after the revolution, as well as the power of solidarity between women.

García has also dedicated a certain amount of her work to love, in various ways and together with different people. The 2009 performance The Romeos was designed to take place in the context of an art fair, but has also happened during an art collector's party and will happen in a whole city, in Trondheim, this summer. The
performance is set in contexts where kindness, charm, and good looks are professional tools, something that can be exchanged for something else as a trade on goods. These features and abilities help buying or selling something else. Posters with photos of the performers are distributed in the situation in question, informing the visitors that a group of young and attractive men are out there being paid to be lovable, kind, and attractive. Their job for the evening is to make people feel special. The question of the performance is: now that you know that those young men are paid to be nice to you, will you accept this niceness? Will it mean that the feelings between you will always be fake, only because there is a money transaction? Are you ready to accept their attention because well, why not, as long as it lasts, it seems like a fair deal?

Army of Love, an ongoing collaboration with the writer Ingo Niermann, is about an army of people willing to give love — all-encompassing, sensual, familiar and comradely love — to those who do not have enough of it. In short, people who have an excess of love and are ready to share it with those wanting love, who for whatever reason — for example sickness, social marginality, handicap and age — are lacking it. Borrowing heavily from Kollontai and Charles Fourier, and the basic notion that the ideal of love in the West is closely related to the idea of property, they pursue the idea of common love. Love should not only be directed to one person, but to everyone — as the great equaliser, love needs to happen between equals and one makes people equal by loving them. In this regard, García and Niermann have actively researched the possibility of an army of love, a group of people with a certain behaviour code and the characteristics of an army, in the sense that the Christian Church has been compared to an army: selfless, collective, serving the common good, tied by duties of honour and companionship, each individual part of a greater body. Mostly carried out as workshops with exercises and passionate debates on what the Army of Love should be, those who have then received plenty of love, and therefore are made equals, are sometimes ready to go from receivers to givers.

At a time when universal emancipation again is on the agenda, with intersectional approaches as powerful tools, it is an interesting moment to revisit Kollontai’s legacy. How can we today relate to, portray and engage critically with this historical figure and her deeds? What is to be learnt from Kollontai’s political practice and personal life? Contrary to the idea that equality has been achieved, García argues that, reading Kollontai we learn that the fight still has to be fought, and that change will not happen without love. As Kollontai herself wrote: “Imagine a society, a people, a community, where there are no longer Mashenka ladies and Mashenka laundresses. (...) Where there are no parasites and no hired workers. (...) Where all people do the same amount of work and society in return looks after them and helps them in life. (...) When Mashenka, who is now neither a lady nor a servant but simply a citizen, becomes pregnant, she does not have to worry about what will happen to her or her child. (...) Society, that big happy family, will look after everything. Love is an emotion that unites and is consequently of an organising character (...) Only the ideology of the life-style of the new, labouring humanity can unravel this complex problem of emotion.”

For the academic year 2017/2018 Konstfack’s CuratorLab and Tensta konsthall engaged in a collaborative research project on the life and work of Kollontai. The research project acted as a spring board for García’s new work, using reading sessions as a major tool. Each of the four reading sessions hosted guests bringing their suggested reading, presentations and topics for discussion, including the writer Agneta Pleijel, the medical doctor, writer and activist Shabane Barot, artist Petra Bauer with researcher and critic Rebecka Thor, political philosopher Michael Hardt, writer and philosopher
Oxana Timofeeva from the collective Chto Delat?, Aaron Schuster, García herself and the initiators, i.e. head of CuratorLab Joanna Warsza, researcher Michele Masucci and Tensta konsthall’s director Maria Lind.

Self-presentation: Dora García was born in Spain and studied in Amsterdam. As a young artist she moved to Brussels where she lived for 16 years. She participated with the real time theatre in public space The Beggar’s Opera in Sculpture Project Münster in 2007, where the character Charles Filch made his first appearance in her work. She has always been interested in anti-heroic and marginal personas as a prototype to study the social status of the artist, and in narratives of resistance and counterculture. In this regard, Dora García has developed works on the DDR political police, the Stasi (Rooms, Conversations, film, 24 min., 2006), on the charismatic figure of US stand up comedian Lenny Bruce (Just because everything is different it does not mean that anything has changed, Lenny Bruce in Sydney, one-time performance, Sydney Biennale, 2008) or on the origins, rhizomatic associations and consequences of antipsychiatry (Mad Marginal book series since 2010, The Deviant Majority, film, 34 min., 2010). In the last years, she has used classical TV formats to research Germany’s most recent history (Die Klau Mich Show, documenta 13, 2012), frequented Finnegans Wake reading groups (The Joycean Society, film, 53 min., 2013), created meeting points for voice hearers (The Hearing Voices Café, since 2014) and researched the crossover between performance and psychoanalysis (The Sinthome Score, 2013, and Segunda Vez, 2017).
CuratorLab: Have you, in your work, always been interested in love, relationships, and how the sense of belonging shapes and influences social structures? I guess one could see this part even in one of your earlier works such as Heartbeat?

Dora García: My background is quite heavy and conceptual, this is a kind of art which I loved as a student and it still has a huge impact on me. In the beginning my main focus was the structure of art, the relation to the spectator. I was always interested in questions of language and philosophy, formal questions, feminist or women issues were never explicit in my work. I always thought of my work as very dry, I was never interested in telling stories of specific people, love or even sex, not at all! So I would say my interest in love started when I realised the political potential of those things.

It was sometime around 2008, when I did a work in Australia on Lenny Bruce. Because of that I started to research counterculture in Australia and actually realised counterculture came hand in hand with the gay liberation movement, that both politics and revolt link to sexuality and sexual habits. In a way sexuality was something belonging to the private realm which could immediately become subversive.

CL: Was the link between sexuality and politics the reason why you became interested in Alessandra Kollontai?

GD: Actually, I became aware of Kollontai’s existence some time ago, but I had never read any of her texts. When Maria Lind suggested that I should have a look at Kollontai’s writings I was very occupied with producing my work Army of Love. This project is an initiative of a friend, Ingo Niermann, together with his friends. I don’t normally do collective works. But Army of Love was extremely interesting to me and in a way Maria’s offer and Army of Love came together.

I think the reason why Maria invited me to become involved with Alexandra Kollontai, was my work in the 2016 Gwangju Biennale. I recreated the Nokdu Bookstore where the 1980 Gwangju Uprising was incubated. Revolution in Korea, which my work related to, was in a way not so far off from the October Revolution that was lived and described by Kollontai. All the revolutionaries were very young people ready to sacrifice themselves. Those people who fought and died were between 15 and 25 years old, with the majority of of them being younger than 20. During the uprising you could have had all kinds of romances, revolutionary romances. All of a sudden the norms were subverted. You didn't have to care about the social status of your relations, you simply became aware of your own mortality and everything changed. It had a huge impact on both older women, who saw their kids going to death, and younger women, who grabbed this opportunity to question the patriarchal structures. It was one of those situations, when many paradoxical things come together and then explode. That changes everything. The Gwangju Uprising has been compared to La Commune in Paris in 1871, having the same effect in Asia as Europe.
CL: You mentioned very briefly that you became interested in love through your conceptual practice, when did you start to recognise this kind of political and broader potential? Can you talk a little bit how your interest in love changed during those 10 years?

DG: I have to say that when I think about it now, I am surprised I didn’t recognise the subversive potential of sexuality earlier. Of course, it has to do with where I come from; in my generation female artists were very often interested in representing women’s sexuality. I was always horrified by this notion and I did everything not to be classified as a female artist, doing women art, I totally cut any reference to my female condition. I absolutely didn’t want to be invited to female art exhibitions. Those prejudices completely blinded me to all other possibilities.

My interest in love changed as the politics changed. For instance, in 2008, when “the personal” started to become present in my work through the project in Sydney on Lenny Bruce, Obama was then a presidential candidate, subsequently he won the nomination for the Democratic Party and all of a sudden it seemed like things were going to be OK. What I call “the personal” are the LGBT, civil rights movements, which I have always supported, which are part of my life experience. But in relation to my work experience, my interest in love clearly coincides with Trumpism.

The notion of love is currently very much embedded in politics. One of the movements against Trump is called “Revolutionary Love”, another “The Love Army”. The first one is related to women’s movements (what has already been named Fourth Wave Feminism) and the last one is calling simply to love Republicans, love your opponent, because it is love that will conquer. However, the main force today is hate and many people think only love can conquer it and as stupid as it sounds, it is probably right. Hate is all about manifestations of insecurities; it is only through all kinds of love that you can overcome those.

CL: Now, as you approach your upcoming exhibition in Tensta konsthall, Red Love, what in Kollontai felt relevant to your own interests?

DG: The fact that she was so ahead of her times. She mentions in the 1910s and 1920s things that would be broadly discussed in the sixties or even seventies. Or now. There are few specific things that struck me in her writings: equality of men and women, progressive views on marriage and family, the idea that you cannot have a revolution without women and a conviction that true freedom for women can only be achieved in a socialist state.

There is also the similarity I came across between Kollontai’s ideas and the women’s movements in South America. When I was doing research in South America I realised that women’s movements there avoid identifying as feminist, because they consider feminism to be white and European and they don’t want to be identified with that. White European feminists are their oppressors, not their sisters, therefore they don’t want to identify with feminist fights. The notion of class in Kollontai’s writings is also something very present and in contemporary South America it has been shifted from the notion of the proletariat to the notion of colonised non-white people.

Another thing would be the degeneration of Kollontai’s ideas in socialist countries. In 2006, when I did research work on the political police in East Germany, I focused as much on sex as on politics. In the GDR women very often had children with different partners since they didn’t have to depend on their husbands for their income and divorce was not stigmatised — therefore it was socially accepted to have several partners throughout your life. Next to that, the system of nurseries, schools, and child care was wonderful; you could put your children there from the age of three months and pick them up at night. Those facts created a situation of relative freedom and independence for women, but one in which children grew distant from their parents and too devoted to the State.
Therefore, it sometimes happened that children denounced their parents to the State, if kids considered their parents’ devotion to the Party was not convincing enough.

CL: Are those relevant things in Kollontai also the reason why her project did not work?

DG: Sometimes Kollontai seems very naive about women leaving their children to the State, which is interesting for me. I come from a Catholic country where this would be an absolute evil. Nothing comes before family, your duty is always to your parents and nothing else. For those people it must have been quite different. When you are brought up as a socialist your duty is to the Party. Those people who denounced their parents saw themselves as heroes.

When I spoke to some socialists from those times, they always said that in the sixties and seventies they considered the socialist countries a model in women’s liberation and abortion rights. Most of them did not realise where it could lead. In East Germany there was the case of a woman who was active in a resistance, a fighter for democracy. She was also a feminist and a member of a women’s movement. When the Berlin Wall fell and Stasi archives opened, she discovered that her husband had been informing on her since they met. They had been together for fifteen years and they had kids. She immediately left him. The funniest part was the interview with her husband who still didn’t understand the problem — he thought about his actions as something done to protect her. So I think about this State taking too much over family relations as a total degeneration of relations. He could see himself as a husband, lover and informant at the same time.

CL: With the appearance of Kollontai, the body comes into the picture much more than any of the other ideologists of the period. One could say that she introduces a body into politics. I’m interested in how you reflect on that in your work.

DG: I have never been very fond of the body… Even in Army of Love I always get out when they start the physical part. I don’t know where that comes from. I’ve always been very interested in other sexualities but I am very conventional, sexually speaking.

As I have already mentioned, I always separated my personal life, my motherhood and my work. I have never done with my children anything related to art which is quite rare. When women artists have children, often, their kids feature in their work too. This has never been the case with me, but at the same time my kids have always been with me when I work. I never found it problematic to work with them; I never felt they hindered me from anything. On the one hand being an artist and having children was always something natural, and one the other, they never appeared in my artistic work. I think that the body is not something very present in my work but language is. Of course, language is always related to the body so I can’t say that the body is absent. One could say that I am interested in language piercing through the body, which is how Jacques Lacan defined the unconscious.

CL: My next question would be connected to the language you use — the terms you use. Your work in Tensta konsthall is called Red Love. How do you understand “red love”?

DG: For a long time, I wanted to call the exhibition “Revolutionary Love”, but I felt it was too long. I knew I had read this title somewhere — “Red Love” comes from an article on Kollontai by Michael Hardt. When I decided to paint the floor red, which is referencing Malevich, I made up my mind to call the exhibition Red Love. The double meaning of the word “red” has always been interesting for me. Communists flags are the most beautiful flags because there is so much red in them… When I was a teenager I
was always wearing Russian t-shirts, communist propaganda t-shirts. I was unaware, and I just thought they were beautiful.

I chose the title also because I think that the idea of love as a revolutionary force, which encourages self-organisation, is interesting. Of course this idea is not new, it has been present in the history of humanity for a long time. Before working on Kollontai for this project, I was reading Charles Fourier who has quite a different stance on love.

Kollontai doesn’t consider sexual preferences other than heterosexuality; she suggests that other options would be detrimental for a Communist society. Contrary to her, Fourier thinks every possible sexual preference is perfectly fine and a fundamental part of the individual as well, and he points out that to repress any sexual drive always has terrible consequences. For Fourier, however weird you consider your desire, your needs can be accommodated, you will sure find people who like the same thing. Fourier came close to inventing Tinder imagining this kind of structures, the phalansteries, where the Priestess of Love would be communicating with other Priestesses of Love to match people according to their preferences. Fourier is meticulous. Everything is a multiple of four, but his ideas are truly revolutionary and very much related to a sexual revolution. In a way they are much more radical than what Kollontai had in mind. The idea that there is absolutely nothing strange to human experience, that nothing can be called degenerate, that nothing that gives pleasure is bad, is amazing. Even now it sounds challenging. Of course, curiously, we are now in a much more conservative period than we were 30 or 40 years ago.

CL: Do you think today that 100 years after the October Revolution, but also 50 years after May ‘68, we are at another turning point as far as love and sex are concerned?

DG: I think plenty of other things happened during those last 100 years. Something that changed a lot was AIDS. I remember my teachers saying we were conservatives because we didn’t have as much sex as they did. With AIDS in mind you had to be much more careful, you always needed a condom, if not, nothing happened. That somehow wiped carelessness out of sexuality.

Another factor would be the explosion of the pornography industry. It’s something that makes me extremely uneasy, but I still don’t have a stance on pornography or prostitution. I understand of course where prostitution comes from, and I think it’s disgusting, and I wish it did not exist. But it does and it perseveres. It’s naïve to say that it’s bad and we should ban it — it is a hyper complex phenomenon and to say that it is the ultimate hetero-patriarchal exploitation of the female/other body does not get us very far in practical terms of reducing misery and abuse. And in relation to pornography and the way to be empowered by it, I love the concept of post-porn, I’ve seen a lot of it, but it’s hard to say if I take any pleasure from it. Sometimes it is charming but most of the time they are bad and boring films and they don’t arouse you sexually at all. Even my students say that the problem with post-porn is that you never get excited. Any kind of movement that wants to use porn as a way of liberation doesn’t seem to work really.

Anyway, I don’t think we are anywhere near a revolution in sex. I think on the contrary, we are in the process of involution of sex. There are societies, like in Japan, where the problem is that people are not interested, they prefer things other than sex. I remember this quote, not sure whose it is, saying something to the extent of: “The worst thing that can happen to a sexual fantasy is for it to come true”. I think people have decided that sexual fantasies are much better, safer and cleaner than the real thing. So maybe that’s going to be the future, I don’t know.
CL: As structure and language seem very important to you, we wanted to ask you about the moment in your work where you test the structure or narrative which you have created with the public. How do you control it? Do you keep track of how the public reacts to or absorbs this narrative?

I don’t have to control that. This is something that happens to every artist, you never know how people are going to react to your films or novels, and at some point you just have to let go. The way I usually work facilitates feedback more than other traditional models. For instance, I started developing my works on the internet, making blogs, at a time when those things didn’t really exist. In those prehistoric times of the internet we created structures which allowed people to give feedback and get information about those projects which only a few people could see live. Indeed because of this I was also interested in how things are thought and narrated. In many of the works that I made later on, for example the one at Sculpture Project Münster, the feedback was part of the work — the internet space was provided to the audience, they could follow the adventures of The Beggar (http://thebeggarsopera.org/). They could communicate with him and that way people became part of the novel.

CL: The follow up question would be one about the structure you have in mind for Tensta konsthall. What is it and how does it refer to Kollontai?

DG: I understand the structure present at Tensta konsthall as kind of a stage. You can use it as a backdrop for activities and performances. It’s a structure that inspires, colours and unifies everything you do, almost like a campaign image which gives a house brand to all activities that will develop inside it. This stage design is almost symbolically related to Kollontai, to the idea of mission as church-like mysticism. The space also relates to the story of the avant-garde — you have Malevich on the floor; you have a very strong, almost expressionist use of light. There is a cage, based on the one from the movie W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism (directed by Dušan Makavejev), which is a kind of Communist counter-culture. Inside the cage there is a working room which I imagine as Kollontai’s writing room. It is pretty symbolic, because of the light spreading from the inside of the cage.

Then there is also a staircase as stairs are a classical Freudian sublimation of desire, but here they also refer to “Stairway to Heaven” and notions of Cosmism. The staircase I’m using is based on one from the Museum of Jurassic Technology in Los Angeles which is quite an interesting place. It’s not Russian but they are referring to Soviet space travel with a special room devoted to dogs that were sent to space. The construction of this museum is all about make-believe, it feels like a magician’s cave, full of shadow play. So in the case of Red Love in Tensta konsthall, the structures are both sculptural elements and they are rich in symbolist associations. It’s really a stage, it’s really meant for things to happen there.

CL: How does Kollontai fuse with Russian Cosmism which you briefly mentioned?

DG: It’s not that I want to fuse it, I’m interested in using it as a way of looking at Kollontai. Cosmism relates to the idea that Russia did not produce philosophers, but novelists. Their novels often contained this vision of Russians as “a chosen people”, endowed with a mission for the whole of mankind. Those tendencies were present in Russia in the 19th century, but also earlier, before Cosmism began. The name “Cosmism” stems from the outreach of this mission: Russians were to save not only Earth, but also the cosmos. Cosmism was very important for the development of space missions. Awareness of a mission that would change humanity is fundamental also for the October Revolution.
In a way it’s amazing that the October Revolution worked. Everything was against it! How is it possible that a proletarian revolution triumphs in a country with no proletariat? The Cosmist credo, this mix of visionary absurdism and mysticism, present later on in Eastern European science-fiction (Stanisław Lem, brothers Strugatsky) certainly played a role in the October Revolution. The idea that Russian people have a duty to mankind, a universal mission, was already there.

CL: If we are talking about giant utopian visions, let’s get back to your work. Do you think about your work in relation to change and hoping to provide possibilities?

DG: I think art does change the world, but in ways we are not aware of. I’m not interested in what is commonly known as socially engaged art, although I think all art is socially engaged. I find the works of many socially engaged artists troublesome, because I really know just a few which have no contradictions. I think art operates and performs change by thinking of individuals and a mass is always made up of individuals.

I feel there have been books and films that really changed the way people think. There is The Man in the High Castle, a novel of Philip K. Dick which plays with the idea of a book changing the world. We are given the choice to choose between different versions of fiction in history but the very fact of being able to imagine another way of seeing things, different from the one imposed on us, is already a change. It becomes even more interesting right now with the notion of “gas-lighting”, very present in the United States within the Trump administration. You see something with your own eyes and you are told that it’s not true. I saw police beating people who were voting in Barcelona and then the news said the police got hurt because people threw themselves against them... Yes, they got hurt, because they were beating people, it’s not like you can get shot if nobody shoots! You talk to people who read different things and have a totally different take on reality, because they believe what they read, and they read a bunch of lies. I think any kind of fiction can make people aware of things and therefore can change them.
Contributions by the participants in CuratorLab
15.5, 16.5, 19.5

Tuesday 15.5, 15:00–18:00
New Gospel
Starts at Sergels Torg, continues on the way to Tensta konsthall
Artist: Alicja Rogalska
Curator: Martyna Nowicka

New Gospel is a radical feminist manifesto inspired by Alexandra Kollontai’s writings and contemporary feminist theories, delivered by performers — missionaries, spreading the news of a new kind of society to unassuming passers-by. The performers will play the role of street preachers, but instead of proselytising the coming of Christ or the end of the world they will preach a post-gender, post-work and truly egalitarian society. The project aims to explore the gap between faith and rationality, religious and political beliefs, propaganda and information in the age of post-truth, increasing secularisation on the one hand and the rise of religious fundamentalism on the other.

The performance will start on Sergels Torg and continue on the way to Tensta konsthall, culminating at the opening there.

Alicja Rogalska is a visual artist living in London. Her practice is interdisciplinary, collaborative, and focuses on social structures and the political subtext of the everyday. She mostly works in specific contexts creating situations, performances, videos and installations. Her projects attempt to practice a different political reality here and now, create space for many voices to be heard and to co-exist, whilst collectively searching for emancipatory ideas for the future.

Martyna Nowicka is an art critic and curator based in Cracow, where she currently runs the project space Handbook for City Dwellers.

Wednesday 16.5, 11:00–14:00
A B C
Tensta konsthall
Author, workshop leader: Johanne Lykke Holm
Curator: Malin Hüber

In a time when the female position is (hopefully) being redefined, what voices will rise to the surface? It all starts with language. How can the employment of the female voice function as a mechanism of interference within the patriarchal structures of today’s society?

Led by author Johanne Lykke Holm, this reading workshop draws from the character of the witch as an empowering feminist position that refuses stigmatisation and oppression by autonomy. The workshop strives to create a sisterhood; a safe space to explore, identify and enact the possibilities of the performative voice, a voice that is yet to claim its space.

Johanne Lykke Holm (1987) is an author based in Copenhagen. Lykke Holm runs, Hekseskolan together with the author and poet Olga Ravn: a writing course that, from a feminist position, critically engages with power structures. Lykke Holm has also translated the works of Maja Lee-Langvald, Lone Aburas and Yahya Hassan from Danish to Swedish amongst others. Albert Bonniers Förlag published her first novel, Natten som föregick denna dag, in 2017.

Malin Hüber is a curator and a producer who works at the intersection of moving image and art.
Since the birth of the Internet in 1989 the speed of its development has led to a radical shift in the way that ‘the home’ appears today. The online domain continues to infiltrate the physical world, downloading itself into our homes through the ‘internet of things’ — a phenomenon best described as ‘the colonisation of the domestic environment by similarly networked products and services intended to deliver convenience’. Drawing inspiration from cultural theorists Hannah Arendt and Helen Hester, Antonio Roberts examines the impact of automation, smart devices and digital assistants on domestic labour and hypothesizes how we will operate in the home in the years to come.

Antonio Roberts’ artistic practice is critical of the ways in which proprietorial systems, more specifically copyright; exist to suppress creativity instead of their stated aims of protecting the rights of artists and encouraging innovation. The Internet has provided the opportunity for mass copying, redistribution and remixing of content — profoundly changing the way culture is produced and shared, thus sparking legal battles that still rage on. His practice asserts that sharing, remixing, and copying is central to the way in which artists create work, both historically and in the age of the internet. He graduated from Birmingham City University in 2011 with a Master’s Degree in Digital Art in Performance, and is a curator at Vivid Projects in Birmingham where he runs the Black Hole Club artist development programme.

Aly Grimes is an Independent Curator and Co-Founder of Stryx project space in Birmingham.
Alexandra Kollontai was nicknamed the 'Valkyrie of the Revolution' reflecting her strong position among the leadership right after the Revolution in 1917. But not long after, around 1923, she was removed from office and was sent to various diplomatic missions. How much power did she still have at that time and to what extent was she using her intelligence, strength, and charms to secure her own survival? Being aware of historical and gender derived factors surrounding the life and work of Kollontai, to whom should we ask the questions that we still have about her? Wouldn't it be best to ask her directly? In a performance comprising a séance, a board game, and a family constellation participants of CuratorLab and the general public are invited to interact with the spirit of Kollontai. We will make direct contact with Kollontai through Sophia Tabatadze.

Sophia Tabatadze was born and raised in Tbilisi, Georgia. She obtained her bachelor's degree at the Rietveld Academy in 2002. Since then she has been operating within two worlds, Western Europe and Georgia, a country striving to belong to Europe whilst being deeply rooted in Asia. Her practice is that of an autonomous artist in Western Europe, and curator in Georgia, where she organises projects through the organisation GeoAIR, founded by her in 2003.

Bodies of Water is a choreographic installation by Pontus Pettersson in collaboration with Hannah Zafiropoulos. It takes Alexandra Kollontai’s writings on love and Astrida Neimanis’ Hydrofeminism: Or, On Becoming a Body of Water as a starting point for an embodied exploration into fluidity and being-in-relation.

Water flows between, and through, bodies — its molecules have strong cohesive forces; a tendency to stick together. If I perceive the water in you, perceive you as water, how might my relationship to you change? How will engaging with you on a liquid level change the way my body, and the collective body, moves? Through such forms of aqueous embodiment, a different state of love may be actualised: fluid, movable, creating the context for new forms of communality, a radical ‘we’.

The installation is the product of a collaborative, embodied research process with participants from a series of open dance practices in Stockholm and London. It will be performed by a group of dancers as part of the public programme of Dora García’s exhibition at Tensta konsthall.

Pontus Pettersson is a choreographer, dancer, and artist based in Stockholm.

Hannah Zafiropoulos is a curator, writer, and researcher living in London.
Alexandra Kollontai vigorously challenged accepted societal norms of her time, attempting to inspire her comrades towards a brighter shared future. Love Letters brings together three artists who echo Kollontai’s critique of market based hierarchies, as a collective challenge of today’s sophisticated mechanisms of power and control that standardise communication, dictating the information we encounter, whom our thoughts reach and even how we meet. Each of these three interventions subverts modes of contemporary propaganda from different areas of daily life (online marketing, lectures, unsolicited-mail) to replace their usual seductive intent with generous, poetic acts of resistance.

Visit www.theyoumuseum.org to opt in for Jeremy Bailey’s online intervention The You Museum which replaces big-data fuelled online advertising banners with purpose-made works of art. David Horvitz’s mail project To You, the Wind subverts the premise of unsolicited mail, instead offering the gift of an artwork posted directly to residents living near to Tensta konsthall. Istanbul based BAÇOY KOOP’s (Printing, Duplication and Distribution Cooperative) performance, Sweet Confiscation, (held 19.5 15:00 at Tensta konsthall) draws on dissident produced literature to help negotiate their elusive position between two extremes of utopian escapism and revolutionary struggle.

Toronto based new media artist Jeremy Bailey scrutinises the promises made by the tech industry and start up culture, playfully subverting the language and methodologies they employ to highlight fundamental issues with marketed forms of “progress”.

David Horvitz is an artist based in Los Angeles. His expansive and borderless body of work is presented through the forms of photographs, books, performances, memes, or, through the use of ‘mail art’, with postal dispatches.

BAÇOY KOOP (Printing, Duplication and Distribution Cooperative) conduct archival research into mimeograph printed dissident material leading to collectively produced printed matter, actions, and installations. The members of BAÇOY KOOP are Fatma Belkis, Nihan Somay, Özgür Atlagan and İz Öztat.

Nicholas J. Jones is an artist and the founding director of PRAKISIS (Oslo). Alessandra Prandin is a Paris based independent curator.

With support from SAHA.
The artist calls for an action, appropriating the technical strategy of demonstrators manifesting in public spaces in which a megaphone is used to address those gathered marching or assembled on a particular site. In her performance, Schonfeldt subverts the intended usage of this political tool by bringing it both into the exhibition site itself as well as into the public space. The artist questions the potentiality of language as political speech, not simply as a rhetorical device and declaration, but in terms of its performative and somatic quality encompassing the voice and (deconstructive) uncompleted gestures. This idea alone could be taken as a poignant symbolic for the actual content of her political speech — the under-recognition and relative obscurity within historiographical practices of the contribution of women revolutionaries to left-wing struggles.

This performance is firmly situated within Schonfeldt’s artistic practice. Since 2013 she has compiled an on-going archive that examines the contribution of women revolutionaries to left-wing struggles. The material for Schonfeldt’s speech becomes an acute example of performing the archive, which in itself speaks to the necessity of archival practices coming from an outsider position, or from those excluded from history.

Sally Schonfeldt is a Zürich-based artist who was born in Adelaide, Australia. She is concerned with notions of memory and the tension between the subjective and objective experience of it — both within a personal and public context. A process-based methodology allows her to evolve works intuitively, using theoretical texts or research as an impetus for aesthetic displays.

https://www.sallyschonfeldt.org/

We need a new space for love(s), of (a) decolonised Eros(es) that needs continually to be re-invented, re-constituted and committed to. Spacing is a concept that gives consistence to these ephemeral and temporally based practices, borrowed from Judith Butler and her conceptualisation of love from the perspective of the affective politics of the performative, or the political affect of love — plural performativity. This talk critically interrogates why and how love can be a self-organised power for a new politics of economic possibility and plural performativity. How does a political concept of love interact with ‘a politics of ubiquity’ and ‘a politics of place’, and the performative actions that constituted a queer feminist critique of political economy, and open up a politics of economic possibilities and a new political plural performativity as a proliferation of difference? What are the conditions of knowing outside of the logic of possession, especially on the backdrop of the on-going neoliberalisation and cognitarisation of our daily lives? The aim is to open up a space of reflections and a shared language and embodied practices, where speaker and audience can collaboratively discuss and propose ideas. What might be a language of economy of love and difference as an exploratory practice of thinking politics, economy and knowledge differently? How can we not only imagine but also actually perform different economies?

Dimitrina Sevova is an independent curator born in Varna, Bulgaria, and living in Zürich. She currently curates Corner College, an independent project space in Zürich’s District 4.
Reading Alexandra Kollontai

Session 1: Thursday 7.9 2017 – Michele Masucci – Tensta konsthall

Session 2: Monday 10.11 2017 – Dora García – Konstfack

Session 3: Monday 13.11 2017 – Shabane Barot – Tensta konsthall

Session 4: Friday 23.2 2018 – Petra Bauer and Rebecka Thor – Tensta–Hjulsta Women’s Centre

Session 5: Monday 14.5 2018 – Oxana Timofeeva – Tensta konsthall

The first session begins with reading Kollontai’s text *Make way for Winged Eros: A Letter to Working Youth* and from there traces back and forth in Kollontai’s life and other writings. Writer Agneta Pleijel, whose 1977 play *Kollontaj* was staged at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm in 1979, directed by Alf Sjöberg, participated in the seminar, sharing her memories from and current thinking about the play and its staging.

Session 2: Monday 10.11 2017
Higher Seminar
Dora García – On Revolutionary Love as a Possible commonality
Konstfack

In 1961, Erving Goffman published *Asylums: Essays on the Condition of the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, coining the term “total institution” as those institutions deciding everything about the life of those with residency within that institution (the inmates). And given the institution made all the decisions concerning the inmates’ life, this naturally meant they did not decide anything about their own life.

The dismantling of the total institution and the restitution of the residents right to make decisions on their life lies at the centre of the fight for a more democratic psychiatric care. This struggle informs the most dystopian narratives written in the first half of the twentieth century, such as *We, 1984*, *A Brave New World*; where the total institution is the State, and the inmates are the citizens. In all of them, the State control over the residents’ sexual life is imperative – to control sex is to control the world. Again, not so far from the total control that the total institution imposes on residents in psychiatric asylums, where the elimination of sexual impulses is a condition for “the cure”.

Why is totalitarianism so obsessed with the sexual, private lives of citizens? Why is the path so narrow for the adequacy for sex and affection? It would seem as if love was a dangerous destabiliser. And indeed love and revolution has been acknowledged as a formidable pair.

Revolutionary love only happens between equals (Kollontai), but conversely, love equalises, liberates, and guarantees a person’s worth.

With these considerations in mind, the project Army of Love started a couple of years ago, as a constituent community debating the implications of considering love a common, asking who is concerned with this form of commonality, and the paradoxical relations that derive from it.

Reading:
– *When the Political gets personal* by Andrea García-Santesmases
– *On Charles Fourier’s Queer Theory* by McKenzie Wark

Optional further reading:
– *Le nouveau monde amoureux* by Charles Fourier
– *Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle* by Alexandra Kollontai
Session 3: Monday 13.11 2017
Shabane Barot – Love and Opposition
Tensta konsthall

For the third session, together with guest Shabane Barot, parts of Kollontai’s post-revolutionary work was read. The text The Workers’ Opposition, published in Pravda in January 1921, the official newspaper of the communist party, and banned only two months later, was read. The text is a critique of the bureaucratisation and centralisation of power within the Communist Party. Kollontai was one of the leaders of The Workers’ Opposition, and the text she wrote was meant to expound their ideas publicly before the tenth congress of the Communist Party in March 1921.

Building on the reading from the first session in September the collection of novels Love of Worker Bees first published in 1923 was read. Here, Kollontai turns to fiction to examine the relations between the sexes in a society swaying between the old and the new.

Shabane Barot is a medical doctor, activist and writer. Barot was one of the organisers of the event Marx 2013 at ABF (The Workers Educational Association) and member of the editorial board of the journal Fronesis. Barot is a reader of Alexandra Kollontai and has written articles on Kollontai for the Swedish weekly newspaper Arbetaren and Fronesis. She is one of the members of CMS, Centre for Marxist Social Studies based in Stockholm.

Higher Seminar – Thursday 22.2 2018
Communist Eros – Aaron Schuster
Konstfack University

Though in the West the idea of sexual revolution is bound up with the social movements of the 1960s, the October Revolution was also a sexual revolution, bringing about significant legal changes in Soviet society as well as provoking debates about the nature of love, sexuality, and the family and the place of sexuality in the revolutionary struggle. In this seminar the focus was on how Kollontai, in her writings, imagined and promoted a radical change in sexual life, an Eros appropriate for a society in which property relations no longer dominated human relations. The focus was in particular on her notion of “game love”, taken from Grete Meisel-Hess, and also compare Kollontai’s ideas with those of Andrei Platonov, expressed in his satirical brochure The Anti-Sexus.

Aaron Schuster
Aaron Schuster is a philosopher and writer, based in Amsterdam. He is the author of The Trouble with Pleasure: Deleuze and Psychoanalysis (MIT Press, 2016). He is a former fellow at the ICI Institute for Cultural Inquiry Berlin, and at the Center for Advanced Studies, Rijeka, Croatia; in 2016 he was a visiting professor at the University of Chicago. His writing has appeared in Cabinet, e-flux journal, and Frieze, among other journals and publications. He is currently working on two books: Sovereignty, Inc.: Three Inquiries on Enjoyment and Politics (University of Chicago Press) and Spasm: A Philosophy of Tickling (Cabinet Books).
Session 4: Friday 23.2 2018  
Tensta Hjulsta Women's Centre  
Hosts: Petra Bauer and Rebecka Thor

And all is yet to be done  
The theme of the intervention was political imaginaries. In the session the Swedish socialist Women's movement from the early 1920’s was used as a point of departure, what future they imagined and how that relates to both Kollontai’s ideas and our past and present.

For the fourth session there were no preparatory readings, instead, in addition to having lunch together, a text was read and discussed.

Petra Bauer works as an artist, filmmaker and professor of fine art in Stockholm. She is concerned with the question of film as a feminist political practice and sees film as a space where social and political negotiations can take place. Petra graduated from Malmö Art Academy in 2003. Between 2007 and 2010 she studied Cinema at Stockholm University. She completed her PhD dissertation, *Sisters! Making Films Doing Politics*, at the University College of Arts, Crafts and Design, Stockholm in 2016. Her work has been exhibited widely, including festivals and exhibitions at institutions such as 56th Venice Biennale; Showroom, London; Van Abbe Museum, Eindhoven; Tensta konsthall, Stockholm; Bard College Annandale-on-Hudson, New York; Kadist Art Foundation, Paris; Frankfurter Kunstverein; CAC Vilnius; Kunsthalle Nurnberg, Stadgalerie; Kiel, Casino Luxemburg and Tallinn Art Hall.

Rebecka Thor is a writer and art critic based in Stockholm. She is a PhD candidate in Aesthetics at Södertörn University. Her research is centred on the agency and testimonial function of images through three films that reinstate archival material in new contexts. She received her MA at the New School for Social Research, New York, and has been a researcher at the Jan van Eyck Academie, Maastricht.

Higher Seminar – Tuesday 8.5 2018  
Comradely Love as Organising Principle  
– Michael Hardt  
Konstfack University

Throughout literature, art and political theory, the practice of love and its strength remains a recurring preoccupation. The concept of love can be described as that social power and drive for association necessary for the production of something in common. Love is a force of social cooperation that is different than other concepts such as solidarity in that it extends beyond a rational calculus of interests, comprising several forms of relations and remains non-spontaneous as it’s both historically and materially determined.

In this seminar, Hardt explored how the Bolshevik revolutionary and minister in the first Soviet government — Alexandra Kollontai — and her critique of love based on property relations, should be abolished to invent a new love, a love beyond property, regardless of whether sex is involved. During her own time, Kollontai’s call for free love and proposals to transform traditional family relations in communist society were deliberately misinterpreted by the post-revolutionary leadership. The Soviets discard for the vision to build a new culture based on comradely love meant a retreat to patriarchal power relations centred on the idealisation of the male worker. In Kollontai’s writing, we instead find an analysis of the inherently political and collective dimension of the organisation of love, sex and social relations. A winged Eros that would transgress gender and sexual boundaries and form the basis for a new society. A form of love that has to be defined by multiplicity, a love of many, in many ways, and as such a powerful organising principle and model for collective action in the formation of the commons.

Kollontai’s comradely love was discussed together with texts that bring up different conceptions of love and
their political and social implications. In Practicing Love: Black Feminism, Love-Politics, and Post-Intersectionality by Jennifer C. Nash, the idea of love as a tool of political organisation is discussed through the black feminist politics during second wave feminism and their consolidation of love as a practice of the self and a non-identitarian strategy for constructing political communities. The idea of a generous and more unrestrained conception of love can be contrasted with other political understandings of love, such as the love of the family or the love of your own kind, love as a principle of division, critically examined by Sarah Ahmed in her text In the Name of Love from 2003. What love is, how it is used and misused appears as a fundamental question of our times.

Michael Hardt is a widely read scholar, literary theorist and political philosopher. He is Professor of Literature and Director of the Marxism & Society Certificate Program at Duke University, Durham USA, where he is teaching classes on history of critical theory, and political theory such as Marx, Jefferson, Gramsci, Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, and modern Italian literature and culture. Michael Hardt has together with Antonio Negri investigated the political, legal, economic and social aspects of globalisation in the tetralogy Empire (2000), Multitude (2004), Commonwealth (2009) and the latest book Assembly (2017) being translated into Swedish by Tankekraft förlag. Michael Hardt’s writings engage with new forms of domination in the contemporary world and the social movements and other forces of liberation that resist them.

Texts to read for the seminar:


Session 5: Monday 14.5 2018
Oxana Timofeeva – A Polyandry Manifesto: Love and Comradeship in Kollontai and Lacan
Tensta konsthall

For Kollontai, as for some other true communists after the October Revolution, the question of love and sexuality in the context of social organisation was one of the most important. What has to be done with sexual relations if we are to build a new, communist society without exploitation, under the rule of gender equality? How to make people happy not only on the public but also, so to say, on the private level? What would be a genuine feminist politics that concerns not only political and economic rights and possibilities of women but also their sensual lives and personal developments? These were the questions raised by Kollontai, but they are still without an answer.

In Russia, where we are now witnessing a great historical regress, from Kollontai’s years marked by an attempt, albeit quite difficult and dangerous, done in harsh post-revolutionary social and economic conditions, to liberate sexuality, — to today’s neo-reactionary, traditionalist attacks on women’s rights, such questions are extremely relevant, and it is not too early, but also not too late to raise them again and to explore some new radical lines of such interrogations.

This contribution aims to follow this path and to discuss questions on, on the one hand, the link between communism and matriarchy (that is, non-existent, utopian things), and the other, love and comradeship (actually existing forms of relationships).
Addressing the theory of love not only in Kollontai but also in Jacques Lacan, it can be argued that structural gender equality does not mean symmetry and similarity, there is something deeply feminine in the very concept of comradeship.

Literature:


- Lacan, Jacques, Seminar 20, Ch. VI (God and Women’s Enjoyment)

Oxana Timofeeva is an Associate Professor at the European University in St. Petersburg, a senior research fellow at the Institute of Philosophy of Russian Academy of Science (Moscow), a member of the artistic collective Chto Delat? (What is to be done?), a deputy editor of the journal Stasis, and author of the books History of Animals (Jan van Eyck, 2012; Moscow, 2017; Bloomsbury, 2018), and Introduction to the Erotic Philosophy of Georges Bataille (Moscow, 2009).

The reading group is organised by CuratorLab Konstfack University of Arts, Crafts and Design in collaboration with Tensta konsthall. For the academic year, 2017/2018 CuratorLab has engaged in collaborative research on the life and work of Russian revolutionary feminist and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai together with Tensta konsthall, the artist Dora García and invited guests.
Dates
Tuesday 15.5, 17:00–20:00
Opening: Dora García: Red Love

Thursdays and Saturdays, 14:00: Public introductions to the current exhibitions by the Tensta konsthall team

Thursday 16.5, 14.00: Public introduction to Red Love by Dora García

Tuesday 19.6, 18:00: Conversation on love and individualism, initiated by the Tensta profile Tomas Amanuel and Dora García

Tuesday 4.9, 14:00: Public introduction to Red Love by Dora García

Tuesday 4.9, 18:30: Public reading of Agneta Pleijel’s play Kollontaj from 1977

Wednesday 5.9, 18:00: Release of a publication with projects by CuratorLab and texts on Kollontai and García

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