

of relative privilege to tell of the “misery of the serfs, and the incompetence and futility of the landlords.” In other words, it is not so easy to absolutely divide between reactionary and revolutionary art and culture, because works of art realized in compromised political conditions may still hold a political potential that may manifest itself in less obvious ways, or in a time different from when they were initially created. Following my own research, I personally think it would be more accurate to pose that all art relates to different propagandas. Art created in American capitalist democracy or the Soviet Union, in social-democratic Nordic European states or the revolutionary Rojava government, each relate to particular structures and performances of power. Power propagates itself in each society, but we should be critical and precise when it comes to the kind of power we speak of, to see how propagandas – and propaganda art – differ from one context to another. In my own work, this is what I try to research and experiment with. I have worked with a variety of political organizations, platforms, and movements – from the Rojava government to the Democracy in Europe Movement 2025 (DiEM25) – and in each of these contexts I experienced how their different approach to power also impacted my own work and practice. In that sense, I am both a propaganda researcher and something of a propaganda artist. Although, as mentioned before, I am interested in the notion of propaganda art as a propagandization of difference, not of singular claims to reality.

Among your works there's also a smartphone application: “Ideological Guide to the Venice Biennale”, which provided information “on the political, economic, and ideological framework of all national pavilions” of the 2013 Venice Biennale, emphasizing their role as “cultural embassies”. Do you think that the contemporary art market is even more now an embodiment of what Sinclair was trying to prove back in 1920s? Well, as Hito Steyerl put it: “If contemporary art is the answer, the question is: How can capitalism be made more beautiful?” Sinclair would see his thesis ring true today maybe

more than ever, as neoliberalism has become an increasing dominant paradigm the world over: creating the havoc of a growing precariat and contributing to the anxieties and insecurity that have led to the conditions from which Trump and the European ultranationalists emerged. Nonetheless, I would opt for some nuance here. It's easy to say that we are all complicit in global capitalism in one way or another, whether through the clothes we wear, the smartphones we buy or the airplanes we take. But this depoliticizes important questions at hand: Where is real and structural power located? Who can be identified as the stakeholders of this power? Who does the current construction of reality serve? The Ideological Guide to the Venice Biennial was an attempt to answer these questions, in length of Andrea Frasers observation that as artists we are “all always already serving,” whether we are aware of that or not. We have no choice other than to articulate something of a “complicit resistance”, departing from our own embeddedness in the powers we oppose: to fold the current structures of power against themselves, to appropriate and repurpose power in service of new visions of emancipatory governance. In that sense, we must be artists and strategists at the same time. And unfortunately, we have a lot of studying to do to understand how Ultrationalist propaganda has been so successful in constructing reality, whereas we, artists – the supposed specialists in the field of representation – stand idly by.

Speaking of monumental propaganda, in your “Monument to Capital” you strictly correlate the building of the tallest skyscrapers and the most dramatic stock markets' crashes. Can you tell me more about that? Monument to Capital is an ongoing research into the structural relationship between economic crisis and the construction of the highest buildings of the world. It departs from the so-called Barclay's Skyscraper Index, which the company uses to advise its clients in which countries to invest into real estate. Barclay's argument is that when the

construction of a new highest building of the world is announced, this indicates an excess of speculation on the housing market and an impeding economic crisis. Although Barclay's analysis is informed by finances primarily, I find it a highly relevant document as a form of critical cultural theory. It is as if the highest buildings of the world are unconscious societal response to the trauma of crisis, attempting to capture capital in these buildings – these gigantic ghost banks – when capital is melting into air. As such, the highest buildings are not a symbol of economic capability, but rather monumental witnesses to its loss: a global monument to capital, continuously in the making. No longer should we consider them as separate buildings, but as one ongoing construction that essentially performs the power – and losses – of high finance capitalism. In that light, it is an exemplary case study of contemporary propaganda in the domain of global capitalism.

“Making worlds” and thinking art “structurally” are seemingly two key principles of your art practice. Is the deeper engagement they're based upon, the crucial element to elaborate a different the social construction? And how can such a kind of engagement be achieved in a short-attention mediascape?

Many of my projects take the form of organizations, such as the New World Summit that we discussed before, as well as my recent artistic and political campaign entitled New Unions: an attempt to gather, through the imaginary of art, transdemocratic organizations to confront the current crises of the European Union. The model of the artist organization allows me to invest on a long-term basis in building relations with specific organizations, and to connect artistic objectives with political ones in a structural way. The history of emancipatory politics consists mainly of manifest revolutions, particular moments in time – upheavals from the Paris Commune to May '68 – but our true objective should be structural revolution: the capacity to construct egalitarian reality on a continuous basis. This demands a popular or emancipatory propaganda, enacted through a