coalition of emancipatory art and emancipatory politics. Only by engaging each other's imaginaries do we stand a chance to make a progressive and egalitarian democracy a reality. Not just once, as a "project", but on a structural organizational level.

At this moment, it's artists such as Steve Bannon, filmmaker and chief strategist of the Trump regime who forms the avant-garde of the new authoritarian world order rising. His latest film, Torchbearer (2016), might be the best example. Its shot as a documentary-pamphlet that proposes a revisionist history presented by the extremely religious conservative republican Phil Robertson. Torchbearer's core narrative is that of American political and religious exceptionalism, presenting the United States as the first country not founded on the desire for conquest, but by the desire of prosecuted Christians of Europe to create a nation of religious worship and democratic human rights – completely bypassing the genocide of First Nations. Under threatening music, Bannon presents a collage of torture and executions perpetrated by the Islamic State and related groups, suggesting a fundamental confrontation between what the film frames as democratic American Christians and ultrafundamentalist Islamists. In Robertson's words: "another worldview gains ground, one rooted in dominance and submission: a death cult. [..] Violence, decadence, political anarchy: welcome to the city of man." Although it's hard to believe that Trump is in any way the example of the devout Christian-democratic leader to head Bannon's dangerous crusade, Trump's support amongst Christian-conservatives and evangelicals has been exceptionally high. Bannon's mission to narrate an inevitable clash of civilizations and proposition of Trump as the Christian-democratic warrior to fight it – whether in any way accurate or not – has proven successful so far. Bannon's dark imaginary is what defines the construction of a new ultranationalist reality. We must recognize the power of his Ultranationalist Propaganda Art, and counter it with a fundamentally different propaganda and a new emancipatory political horizon.

In your essay Post-Propaganda you "call for a truly politicized art and an artification of politics [...] oblig[ing] both parties to publicly re-appropriate and propagate the power over the formation, experience and execution of democracy". Do you think that the principle of neutrality in both politics and art transforms them into potential propaganda machines?
The supposed neutrality of liberal democracy is a dangerous myth, that has created the fiction of an autonomous art, which is art exactly because it stays far from any political implications. Democratic art is supposed to be synonymous to a "free art," and freedom here is defined by standing far from any political implications. This is the core of democratic propaganda: that it is a propaganda that does not recognize itself as such. What politics have we witnessed being enacted in the name of democracy? The illegal invasion of Iraq, drone strikes, a brutal treatment of refugees caused by foreign interventions, devastating inequality, institutional racism... We should be very precise about the kind of democracy we wish to achieve. Democracy is not just the capacity to vote, it is the capacity to create an egalitarian society on all levels. Or better, it is the continuous and critical effort to enact – perform – such a society. One in which radical difference is not just possible, but a precondition: a strength. An emancipatory egalitarian democracy proposes a world that makes the parallel and overlapping existence of many worlds possible. As artists, I believe it is a task to contribute to the imaginary and construction to make that world of many worlds a possibility. For that we need an emancipatory, Popular Propaganda and a Popular Propaganda Art.

If, as you affirmed, we'd establish "democracy as a common performance", what kind of role can the online infrastructure play in this process, attempting to achieve stateless democracies?
The internet and social media have at times been implicated in new models and practices of democracy. Think of the Zapatista uprising which pioneered the internet as a tool of popular mobilization, or the massive use of

social media to create a dialectic between the digital realm and the public space in social movements from Gezi Park to Occupy and the Arab Spring. Our main challenge here is of course the corporatism and state monitorization of the internet, as well as confronting our own digital illiteracy on how to use digital media in a way that does not compromise our right to self-determination. Artist Manuel Beltrán and his students very effectively termed the concept of the "Facebook State," as they claim that signing the terms and conditions of Facebook is like committing oneself to a new kind of constitution, signing away our rights to be able to engage in social exchange with our families and friends. Social media platforms such as N-1 have tried to create an alternate social sphere on the internet, not regulated by corporate interests and with privacy guarantees. But what lacks are accessible interfaces and the tools that make popular usage of N-1 a reality. A coalition between artist, designers, internet activists and privacy watchdogs seems crucial here. Design collective Metahaven showed effectively how such coalitions can help us to claim back the internet as a space of socialized technology. This will be a struggle on all fronts: to re-imagine our public infrastructures – from the parliament to the internet – to make a future emancipatory form of governance and self-governance a reality. An emancipatory Popular Propaganda art is needed to put the imaginary of art at the heart of this endeavor to establish our desired world of many worlds.

Jonas Staal (1981) is artist and founder of the artistic and political organization New World Summit (2012-ongoing) and the campaign New Unions (2016-ongoing). Staal's work includes interventions in public space, exhibitions, theater plays, publications and lectures, focusing on the relationship between art, democracy and propaganda.
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