

**FREIE
REPUBLIK
WIENER
FEST
WOCHEN**



25 May – 21 June



House of the Republic – Funkhaus

ENGLISH VERSION



*Republic of
Love
9/3*

**EVERY TRUE
REVOLUTION**

**IS AN ACT OF
LOVE**

**EVERY TRUE
LOVE IS A
REVOLUTIONARY
ACT**



**REVOLUTIONARY
LOVE**

There is no single revolution in world history that has not involved love and in, one way or the other – dystopian or utopian – the transformation of our most intimate spheres.

From the Paris Commune and the Haitian Revolution to the October Revolution and the Yugoslav Revolution, and most recently from the Zapatista Revolution to the Rojava Revolution: throughout centuries, all great revolutions were guided not only by their programmatic vision of a new political economic order: They were also guided by the feeling of love — by a flowering sense of sisterhood and brotherhood with fellow comrades at the barricades, in the factories, or operating together as guerrillas in the mountains.

The early laws drafted by the great feminist Alexandra Kollontai during the October Revolution, from legalising divorce, abortion, homosexuality and decriminalising prostitution, tackled social reproduction and women's liberation in a way that seems radical from today's perspective in many corners of the world – and increasingly in Europe, too.

Love is today a lost chapter in the history of revolution, just as revolution has been denied its place in the history of love.

The recovery of these lost chapters reveals fascinating and far-reaching debates between figures such as Alexandra Kollontai, Vladimir Ilych Lenin, Clara Zetkin, Che Guevara and today's social movements about the role of love in the revolutionary transformation of social, sexual, and familial relations.

What happened since all these profound revolutions? Why do laws introduced back in 1917 look like science-fiction, while *Handmaid's Tale* today looks like dystopian reality? How did love and the libidinal economy fall prey of capitalist commodification, at the same time being dictated by populist and autocratic leaders and alienated by algorithms that program us as to how and what to desire? Can love save the Earth?

How can we reclaim the revolutionary power of love again? And how can precisely love itself be reinvented in order not only to give us a better understanding of ourselves and the world, but also to change ourselves and the world itself?

These are just some of the burning questions that *Revolutionary Love* will reflect deeper and take forward during the exciting program at this year's Vienna Festival (Wiener Festwochen) with an incredible line up of leading philosophers, artists, writers and social activists.

– Srećko Horvat, curator of *Revolutionary Love*

**“LOVE IS A PROFOUNDLY SOCIAL
EMOTION ... LOVE IS NOT IN THE
LEAST A ‘PRIVATE’ MATTER
CONCERNING ONLY THE TWO
LOVING PERSONS: LOVE
POSSESS AN UNITING ELEMENT
WHICH IS VALUABLE TO THE
COLLECTIVE.”**

– Alexandra Kollontai, 1923

Srećko Horvat is a philosopher and author of books such as *After the Apocalypse* (Polity Press, 2021), *Poetry from the Future* (Penguin, 2019), *The Radicality of Love* (Polity, 2015) or *What does Europe Want?* (with Slavoj Žižek, Columbia University Press, 2013). The German weekly newspaper *Der Freitag* called him ‘one of the most exciting voices of his generation’, and he was described as an ‘ardent voice of dissent in the post-Yugoslavian landscape’. His texts have been published in *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, *Newsweek*, *Al Jazeera* and *Jacobin*. He is one of the conspirators behind ISSA (Island School of Social Autonomy).

TIMETABLE

25 MAY, 7.30 PM

DEBATE

LOVE AND LANGUAGE IN TIMES OF TURMOIL

With Eva Menasse and Adania Shibli

Moderation Srećko Horvat

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

28 MAY, 7 PM

DEBATE

TURN OF THE TIMES – DESTRUCTION WITHOUT A WAY OUT?

With Karl-Heinz Dellwo and Gabriele Rollnik

Moderation Imogena Doderer

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

28 MAY UNTIL 1 JUNE, 10AM – 10 PM
EXHIBITION

TOTAL REFUSAL DUNGEON

Video works by Total Refusal

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

31 MAY, 7.30 PM

PERFORMANCE

SONS AND TRUE SONS (TRUMP 2.0)

Live Gaming Lecture by Total Refusal

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

4–5 JUNE, 10AM – 6 PM

WORKSHOP

LOVE IS RESISTANCE

With Pedro Charbel, Renata Ávila, Nihal Al-Asaar, Ofelia Fernández, Nilüfer Koc, Igor Štiks, Saša Savanović

Coordination David Adler & Srećko Horvat

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

7–8 JUNE, 10AM – 6 PM

WORKSHOP

RADIO FRIDA

ISSA – Island School of Social Autonomy

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

11 JUNE, 5 PM

FILM/DEBATE

PLANETS OF LOVE AND REVOLUTIONS

5 pm – *Mond* (Original with German subtitles), 92 mins.

6.45 pm – *My Stolen Planet* (Original with German subtitles), 82 mins.

8.30 pm – Talk with Kurdwin Ayub & Farahnaz Sharifi

Moderation Matthias Seier

📍 House of the Republic – Funkhaus

20–22 JUNE, 4 PM

DEBATE

SYMPOSIUM REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

With James Bridle, Srećko Horvat, Eva Illouz, Şeyda Kurt, Oxana Timofeeva, David Wengrow, Nikolaj Schultz and Ece Temelkuran

The talk with Eva Illouz is moderated by Eva Konzett.

📍 AK Wien Bildungsgebäude

DEBATE

25 MAY, 7.30 PM

LOVE AND LANGUAGE IN TIMES OF TURMOIL

With Eva Menasse and Adania Shibli

Moderation Srećko Horvat

We live in a time in which words can become weapons as quickly as they can be drowned out by the sound of wars. Still, literature is able to write that which can often not be said. The two renowned contemporary writers Adania Shibli and Eva Menasse discuss *Love and Language in Times of Turmoil*.

Eva Menasse, one of Austria's most significant contemporary authors, wrote her first novel *Vienna* about a family with half Jewish, half Christian roots in twentieth century Austria. Her novel *Dunkelblum* about historical guilt, the question of remembrance and the devastating power of silence became an absolute bestseller.

Palestinian writer **Adania Shibli** is one of the most exciting voices in contemporary fiction. She has received numerous awards for her works, which have been translated into many languages. Her novel *Minor Detail* (2020) was also nominated for the International Booker Prize.

DEBATE
28 MAY, 8 PM

**TURN OF THE TIMES – DESTRUCTION WITHOUT A
WAY OUT?**

With Karl-Heinz Dellwo and Gabriele Rollnik
Moderation Imogena Doderer

If you love the world, you must change it. But the two – doubtlessly controversial – guests in this debate of the *Revolutionary Love* series certainly have no romantic intentions. They want to discuss why the future seems to be so hopeless and how radical new perspectives would contribute to liberating humanity. Are humans lost in light of the rise of crisis, violence and dispossession through global capitalism, or is there still a way out?

Karl-Heinz Dellwo is a former member of the Red Army Faction and has been working as a publisher and documentary film maker since his release from prison in 1995. He published books with Laika Verlag publishing company for many years and has recently co-founded Galerie der abseitigen Künste.

Gabriele Rollnik Gabriele Rollnik was a member of the 2 June Movement and has been working as a child and youth therapist since her release from prison in 1992. A graphic novel about her was recently published: *ELLA ... nichts haben, alles ändern* [ELLA ... having nothing, changing everything].

Imogena Doderer directs the conversation; she is a film maker and journalist for the Austrian broadcasting service ORF.

PERFORMANCE
31 MAY, 7.30 PM

SONS AND TRUE SONS (TRUMP 2.0)

Live Gaming Lecture
Total Refusal

In 2019, two years before the United States Capitol attack in Washington D.C., the uprising was already playable: In the video blockbuster *Tom Clancy's: The Division 2*, players are tasked with liberating the halls of US democracy from the True Sons, a civilian militia that bears a striking resemblance to real paramilitary groups like the Proud Boys. These prophetic parallels serve as the starting point for Total Refusal's research. They are self-proclaimed media guerrillas, a Viennese collective of artists, researchers and film makers who appropriate mainstream formats to transform them into political narratives. In the live gaming lecture performance *Sons and True Sons*, which was updated for *Trump 2.0*, the collective re- and de-storms the Capitol and connects the dots between the hyper-militarised gaming world, politically motivated misogyny and the narrative decay of liberal democracy.

Total Refusal are self-proclaimed media guerrillas, a Viennese collective of artists, researchers and film makers who appropriate mainstream formats to transform them into political narratives.

EXHIBITION
28 MAY UNTIL 1 JUNE, 10 AM – 10 PM

TOTAL REFUSAL DUNGEON

In addition to the performance, there will be an exhibition of video works by Total Refusal at the House of the Republic – Funkhaus.

WORKSHOP

4 JUNE UNTIL 5 JUNE, 10 – 6 PM

LOVE IS RESISTANCE

Coordination David Adler & Srećko Horvat

Social movements around the world are pioneering radical forms of care, solidarity and community. They are an antidote to capitalist alienation. The two-day *Love is Resistance* workshop brings together movement leaders, organisers and theorists from the Global South and North. Together with workshop participants, the aim is to share experiences in the struggle for collective liberation and to learn from each other. What is the place of love in that struggle? What kind of social relationships dominate our collective values – from family to property to political power – and how can we transform them in the future? With a mixture of conversations and case studies, the workshop invites you to enter into an exchange with activists about how they redesign the foundations of social reproduction in their movements, about solidarity economies and communal childcare, about land redistribution and healthcare provisions. Join us, because love is resistance!

With Pedro Charbel (Brazil), Renata Ávila (Guatemala), Nihal Al-Asaar (Egypt), Ofelia Fernández (Argentina), Nilüfer Koc (Kurdistan), Igor Štiks (Bosnia/Croatia/Serbia), Saša Savanović (Serbia)

WORKSHOP

7 – 8 JUNE, 10 – 6 PM EACH DAY

RADIO FRIDA

ISSA – Island School of Social Autonomy

In a world ravaged by endless war, climate collapse and the rise of fascism, what if the radio is not a relic but a tool of revolution for the future? At the site of the former 'Reichssender Wien', a workshop with ISSA (the Island School of Social Autonomy) creates *Radio Frida* – a name that recalls the German word for peace, 'Frieden', as well as the title of a famous post-Yugoslav pop song. ISSA is an international school on the Croatian island of Vis that tries out and cultivates forms of exchanging knowledge and autonomy as political strategy. This is its first guest visit to Vienna. The two-day workshop entails both practical and theoretical experiments with pirate radio technology. Setting out from previous emancipatory uses of radio, we revive the practices of urban pirate radio, rethink and implement them. It is time to use the radio waves for a global wave of resistance – for a world that rests on justice, equality and love.

With representatives of ISSA – Island School for Social Autonomy (Bitnik Media Group, Gordan Savičić, Selena Savić, Saša Savanović, Marko Pogačar, Srećko Horvat and others)

FILM/DEBATE
11 JUNE, 5 PM

PLANETS OF LOVE AND REVOLUTIONS

Kurdwin Ayub and Farahnaz Sharifi

Moderation Matthias Seier

‘Revolution’ originally described the movement of planets around the sun. This thought serves as the starting point for the conversation *Planets of Love and Revolutions* with Iranian film maker Farahnaz Sharifi and Iraqi-born Austrian director Kurdwin Ayub – two extraordinary artists who explore female freedom and the limits it is set. The conversation is preceded by a showing of the films *Moon* by Ayub and *My Stolen Planet* by Sharifi. *My Stolen Planet* is a mesmerising diary style film.

Farahnaz Sharifi, born in 1979 during the Islamic Revolution, captures everyday moments of inner freedom and outer repression – it is a unique perspective on loss and the value of memories.

Kurdwin Ayub is an Austrian film-maker, scriptwriter and artist with Iraqi-Kurdish roots. She was born in Süleymaniyya in 1990 and lives in Vienna. Her works alternate between film, performance and fine arts. She became known for her autobiographical documentary film *Paradise! Paradise!* and the feature film *Sonne (Sun)*, which received awards and accolades at international festivals. The thriller *Mond (Moon)* was a highlight at many international film festivals and provides a disturbing insight into the modern-day oppression of women.

The talk is moderated by **Matthias Seier**, dramaturg at the Volkstheater Wien.

Please note

FILM SCREENING & TALK

Moon (Original with German subtitles) – 5pm, 92 mins.

My Stolen Planet (Original with German subtitles) – 6.45pm, 82 mins.

Q & A – 8.30pm

DEBATE
20 – 21 JUNE, 4 PM

SYMPOSIUM REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

With James Bridle, Srećko Horvat, Eva Illouz, Şeyda Kurt, Oxana Timofeeva, David Wengrow, Nikolaj Schultz and Ece Temelkuran

DAY 1 – 20 JUNE

4–5 PM LECTURE

Şeyda Kurt Politics of Radical Tenderness

5–6 PM LECTURE

Nikolaj Schultz Why ‘loving nature’ won’t save the Earth: On the need for class struggle in ecology

6–6.30 PM BREAK

6.30–7.30 PM LECTURE

Ece Temelkuran Together against the Heartless World

7.30–8.30 PM LECTURE

Srećko Horvat Love at the End of the World

DAY 2 – 21 JUNE

4–5 PM LECTURE

Oxana Timofeeva Freud’s Beastly Boys: Failed Love

5–6 PM LECTURE

James Bridle You belong to Earth

6–6.30 PM BREAK

6.30–7.30 PM LECTURE

David Wengrow Freedom, Revolution & Love

7.30–8.30 PM TALK

Eva Illouz Love & Democracy moderated by Eva Maria Konzett

9–9.30 PM CHOIR

Hor 29 Novembar *Songs of Love & Revolution*

ŞEYDA KURT

POLITICS OF RADICAL TENDERNESS

What role do emotions play in revolutionary work for a good life for all? What forms of connection and relationship-building exist beyond bourgeois, romantic love, and how can these anticipate an egalitarian and solidaristic future that we are fighting for, in the present? In her lecture, Şeyda Kurt explores Radical Tenderness as a program of social justice. She questions romantic love as a tool of patriarchal capitalism and contrasts it with the ideas of revolutionary thinkers such as Alexandra Kollontai and

bell hooks. She also engages with the idea of the Commons as radical spaces where people can reshape their knowledge and relationships. Finally, she takes us to Rojava, where the autonomous self-governance in North and East Syria is experimenting with radical tenderness practices and politics as the basis for a new societal model.



Şeyda Kurt is a German journalist and author. She studied philosophy, Romance studies and cultural journalism in Cologne, Bordeaux and Berlin. In her book *Radical Tenderness – Why Love is Political* (2021), she outlines a concept of “radical tenderness” as a programme of justice. Her most recent book *Hate – The Uses of a Powerful Emotion* (2023) examines strategic hatred as a powerful force driving resistance, abolition, and even, paradoxically perhaps, radical care.

NIKOLAJ SCHULTZ

WHY ‘LOVING NATURE’ WON’T SAVE THE EARTH: ON THE NEED FOR CLASS STRUGGLE IN ECOLOGY

Love is great, but not always sufficient. At least this seems to be one of the lessons to draw for political ecology. For a long time, this political endeavour was certain that love for nature and care for the Earth would unite us all and mobilise people for climate action. However, today we know this was not the case. Despite ecological catastrophes growing in scale and proximity, we are still not acting. In this talk, drawing on key points from *On the Emergence of an Ecological Class* (Latour

& Schultz, 2022), he argues that instead of love and care for nature, what will mobilise people for climate action is instead a narrative of conflict.



Nikolaj Schultz is a Danish sociologist and leading figure in contemporary social theory and ecological thought. His work explores the intersection of sociology, politics and the climate crisis. Schultz was a close collaborator of the late French philosopher Bruno Latour (1947–2022), with whom he co-authored *On the Emergence of an Ecological Class: A Memo* (2023). Schultz’s solo work, *Land Sickness* (2023), a hybrid auto-ethnographic essay, delves into the existential and sociological questions posed by the anthropocene. His innovative approach has resonated with both academics and artists, marking him as a significant emerging voice in ecological and sociological discourse.

ECE TEMELKURAN

TOGETHER AGAINST THE HEARTLESS WORLD

Love without a smirk. In our age of radical cynicism, it is difficult to utter two words without a self-cancelling smirk: Revolution and love. And that smirk is the very sign of our loss in humankind. That loss stands before all the possibilities for a better future. That loss and, thus, that smirk is not our choice; the neoliberal moral structure has imposed it on us.

A better world is only possible if we can drop that smirk of cynicism and talk about political love with spotless faith. "Together: Manifesto Against the Heartless World" is a treatise dedicated to that spotless faith we all secretly yearn for. It is time to discuss what we lost in the last decades: human love and faith in our kind.



Ece Temelkuran is an award-winning Turkish novelist, a political thinker, and a public speaker whose work has appeared in the Guardian, New York Times, Le Monde, La Stampa, New Statesman, and Der Spiegel, among several international media outlets. She won the Edinburgh International Book Festival First Book award for her novel *Women Who Blow On Knots* and the Ambassador Of New Europe Award for her book *Turkey: The Insane and the Melancholy*. She is the author of the internationally acclaimed book *How to Lose a Country*. *Together: A Manifesto Against the Heartless World*, her latest book has been published in several languages. Currently she is based in Berlin.

SREČKO HORVAT

LOVE AT THE END OF THE WORLD

In a world of mass extinction, war, climate crisis, AI and tech-fascism, to speak of love might sound naive. But what if it is exactly love that should be saved, reaffirmed and reinvented today? And moreover, what if the concept of revolutionary love can give us a possible anchor faced with the ends of the world and serve as a

useful tool to deconstruct and break out of the prevailing apocalyptic *Zeitgeist*? Through a rollercoaster ride through revolutionary history and our post-apocalyptic present, we'll arrive to (revolutionary) love at the end of the world.



Srećko Horvat is a philosopher and author of books such as *After the Apocalypse* (Polity Press, 2021), *Poetry from the Future* (Penguin, 2019), *The Radicality of Love* (Polity, 2015) or *What does Europe Want?* (with Slavoj Žižek, Columbia University Press, 2013). The German weekly newspaper Der Freitag called him "one of the most exciting voices of his generation", and he was described as an "ardent voice of dissent in the post-Yugoslavian landscape". His texts have been published in The New York Times, The Guardian, Der Spiegel, Newsweek, Al Jazeera and Jacobin. He is one of the conspirators behind ISSA (Island School of Social Autonomy).

OXANA TIMOFEEVA

FREUD'S BEASTY BOYS: FAILED LOVE

Revisiting Sigmund Freud's classic case studies with little boys and animals – Little Hans, the Rat Man, and the Wolf Man – the talk will focus on the children's experiences of love and violence, reflect on the role of animality in male gender socialisation, and analyse some psychological, anthropological, and religious aspects of patriarchy, which now seems to triumphantly march around the globe.



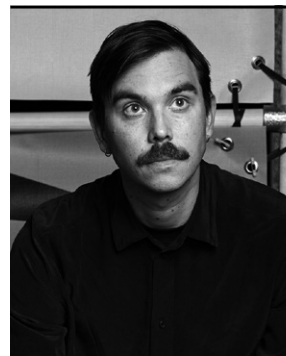
Oxana Timofeeva is a philosopher, a researcher at the UdK Berlin, a member of the artistic collective Chto Delat (What is to be done), and the author of books *Freud's Beasty Boys* (Matthes & Seitz, Berlin; Polity, 2005), *Solar Politics* (Polity 2022), *How to Love a Homeland* (Kayfa ta, 2020), *History of Animals* (Bloomsbury 2018), *This is not That* (in Russian, 2022), *Introduction to the Erotic Philosophy of Georges Bataille* (in Russian, 2009). Her new book *On the Soul* is forthcoming in 2025.

JAMES BRIDLE

YOU BELONG TO THE EARTH

Everything comes from the Earth: it is the ground of our being and our politics. This lecture explores examples from the more-than-human world of politics, decision-making, and solidarity between creatures and species, and the ways in which these different forms of intelligence can be shared and emulated. From crows to orcas, honeybees to mountain goats, animals sense and organise themselves in ways which do not only affect

their own lives but contribute to the wider set of ecological relationships in which we all participate. What would it mean to change our understanding, behaviour, and even laws to better orient ourselves and our societies towards mutual flourishing of all beings?



James Bridle is a writer, artist and technologist. Their artworks have been commissioned by galleries and institutions and exhibited worldwide and on the internet. Their writing has appeared in magazines and newspapers including *Wired*, the *Atlantic*, the *New Statesman*, the *Guardian*, and the *Financial Times*. They are the author of *New Dark Age* (2018) and *Ways of Being* (2022), and they wrote and presented *New Ways of Seeing* for BBC Radio 4 in 2019. Their work can be found at jamesbridle.com

DAVID WENGROW

FREEDOM, REVOLUTION AND LOVE

How does our understanding of freedom shape our most basic ways of relating to each other in terms of friendship, comradeship, and love? How do such intimate relationships define the possibilities of revolutionary social change? Is freedom a political value that has only developed under specific sets of historical circumstances? Or a universal capacity and potential in all human relations?

Such questions have been asked many times before, but the answers have often revolved around a strikingly limited set of alternatives, defined by the “Western” canon of ideas. Wengrow’s talk explores new avenues in the investigation of human freedoms, based on three principles: the freedom to move away, the freedom to disobey, and the freedom to create new forms of social reality.



David Wengrow is a British archaeologist and Professor of Comparative Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. He has conducted archaeological fieldwork in Africa and the Middle East, and is the author of books including *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, c. 10,000–2650 BC*, *What Makes Civilization?*, *The Ancient Near East and the Future of the West*, *The Origins of the Monsters: Image & Cognition in the First Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, as well as academic articles on topics such as the origins of writing, ancient art, Neolithic societies, and the emergence of the first cities and states. Together with David Graeber he co-authored the international bestseller *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*.

EVA ILLOUZ

LOVE & DEMOCRACY

Eva Illouz, one of the most celebrated contemporary sociologists, has studied the relationship between love and capitalism for more than twenty years. Her books on love and consumer culture have become bestsellers, and her work has changed the way we think about emotions and their social significance.

In this thought-provoking conversation on love and democracy, moderated by Eva Maria Konzett, editor-in-chief of the *Falter*, you will get a unique opportunity to dive into Eva Illouz thoughts.



Eva Illouz, director of studies at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS) in Paris and Senior Professor of Theory of Emotions & Modernity at Zeppelin University, is one of the most influential voices in sociology today. Her work explores several significant and thought-provoking themes, such as the influence of capitalism on emotions, the commodification of romance and the meaning of freedom, choice, and individualism in the modern world. Several of her major works are *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*, *Why Love Hurts*, *Hard Core Romance*, *Emotions as Commodities*, and most recently *The Emotional Life of Populism* and *Explosive Modernity*.

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HOR 29. NOVEMBAR

**SONGS OF LOVE, REVOLUTION &
EVERYTHING IN BETWEEN**

Hor 29. Novembar has been active since 2009 as an open and self-organised activist choir collective. Named after the founding day of the Republic of Yugoslavia, this radically amateur choir based in Vienna is performing a musical repertoire that aligns with and supports ongoing social and political struggles, both local and global.

They sing anti-fascist, revolutionary, workers' and other songs of resistance and emancipation in over 14 languages. You can hear them wherever the call for solidarity and support arises, lifting their voices with or in the name of those who very often don't have one.

SING ABOUT LOVE

Written by Judith Abbott, Neil Ferguson, Louise Watts, Allan Whalley
Performed by Chumbawamba

**I don't want to sing about anger and hate
I don't want to sing about fear and defeat
I don't want to sing about the things I always sing about
I wish I could sing about love**

**I don't want to sing about war and greed
I don't want to sing about those we can't feed
I don't want to sing about the things I always sing about
I wish I could sing about love**

**I don't want to sing about suff'ring and pain
I don't want to sing for another campaign
I don't want to sing about the things I always sing about
I wish I could sing about love**

**I don't want to sing about rights and wrongs
I don't want to sing all the same old songs
But I'll sing them, and sing them, 'til there's no need to sing them
And / then I can sing about love**

**So I'll sing them, and sing them, 'til there's no need to sing them
And / then I can sing about love**

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16 MAY
- 22 JUNE 2025