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Urednik / Editor:

Centar za nove medije_ **kuda.org**

New Media Center_ **kuda.org**

Braće Mogin 2, PO BOX 22

21113 Novi Sad

Republika Srbija / Republic of Serbia

tel/fax: +381 21 512227

mail: office@kuda.org

url: <http://kuda.org>

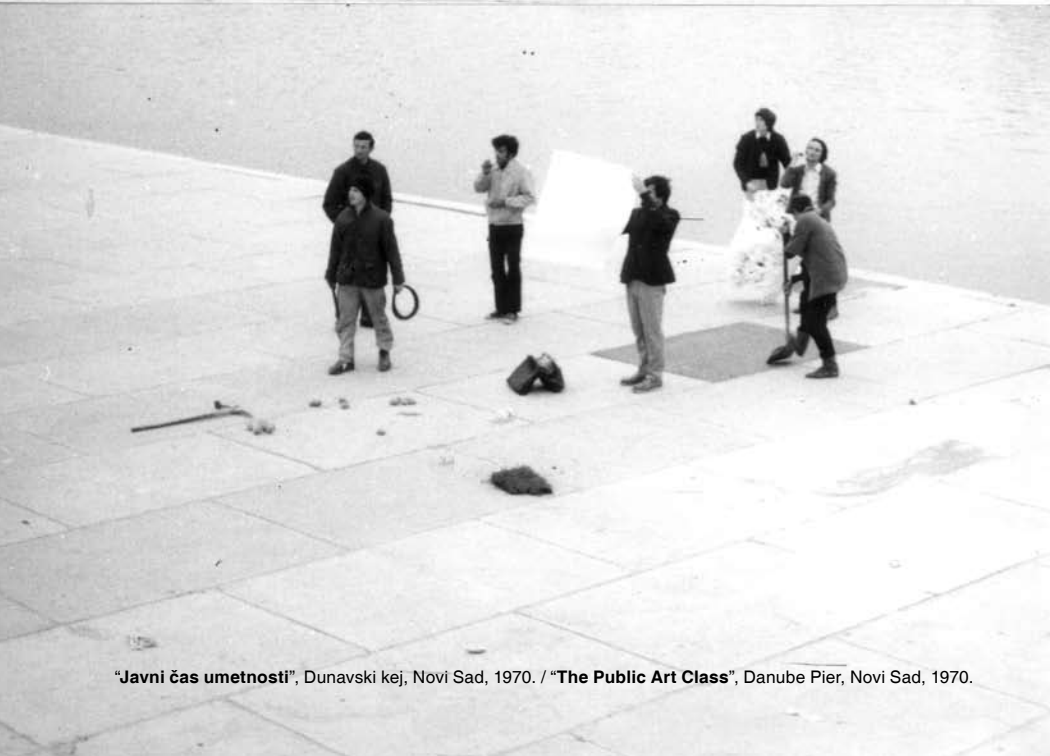
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"Javni čas umetnosti", Dunavski kej, Novi Sad, 1970. / "The Public Art Class", Danube Pier, Novi Sad, 1970.

Izostavljena istorija

Sadržaj

- 8 Uvod u Političke prakse (post-) jugoslovenske umetnosti**
- 18 Izostavljena istorija, transkript debate**
- 49 Biografije učesnika debate “Izostavljena istorija”**
- 87 Jugoslavija kao izvanredno stanje: Đilas and Đinđić, Tomislav Medak i Petar Milat**
- 123 Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neoavangarda 60-ih i 70-ih godina XX veka**
- 126 Mapa, “Trajni čas umetnosti”, Radikalna praksa, fleksibilna umetnost, dogmatski okvir**
- 128 Otvoreno pismo jugoslovenskoj javnosti, Grupa za nove umetnosti “Februar”**
- 130 Realizovani projekti u okviru “Trajnog časa umetnosti”**
- 132 O Centru za nove medije_kuda.org**
- 133 Produkcija i podrška**

Omitted History

Content

- 12 Introduction to the Political Practices of (Post-) Yugoslav Art**
- 52 Omitted History, Transcript of Debate**
- 85 Biographies of Participants of the Debate “Omitted History”**
- 104 Yugoslavia as State of Exception: Đilas and Đinđić, Tomislav Medak and Petar Milat**
- 124 The Continuous Arts Class, The Novi Sad Neo-Avantgarde of the 1960’s and 1970’s**
- 126 The Map, “The Continuous Arts Class“, Radical practices, flexible art, dogmatic framework**
- 129 Open Letter to the Yugoslav Public, New arts group “February”**
- 130 The Projects Realized Within “The Continuous Arts Class”**
- 132 About New Media Center_kuda.org**
- 133 Production and Support**

Uvod u Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti

Godinu dana nakon održavanja izložbe „Trajni čas umetnosti” i debate „Izostavljena istorija” u Novom Sadu, objavljuje se transkript pomenutog razgovora uz još jedno istraživačko izlaganje, koji govore o širem društvenom kontekstu političkih praksi u (post-) jugoslovenskom stanju, takođe ih promišljajući iz društveno-filozofskog ugla. „Trajni čas umetnosti” je dugoročan istraživački projekat koji se bavi mapiranjem progresivnih umetničkih neo-avangardnih i političkih praksi tokom 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina u Novom Sadu i u Vojvodini. Glavna potka istraživanja je činjenica da je postojao snažan uzročno-posledični odnos pomenutih praksi i tadašnjeg zvaničnog političkog sistema, što je i osnovni razlog sagledavanja šireg društvenog i političkog okruženja tog vremena kao integralnog dela ovog projekta. Kako su te prakse postojale u različitim delovima jugoslovenskog prostora, tako se nametnula potreba za njihovim podrobnijim sagledavanjem na celokupnoj jugoslovenskoj teritoriji. Ova činjenica predstavlja jedan od razloga za koncipiranje *nad*-istraživačkog projekta pod nazivom „Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti”, koji su inicirale grupe „Prelom Kolektiv” iz Beograda, „Što, kako i za koga” iz Zagreba, „pro.ba” iz Sarajeva i Centar za nove medije_kuda.org iz Novog Sada, sve vrlo aktivne u analizi mahom lokalnih praksi tog vremena.

„Zašto (post-) jugoslovenski politički kontekst?”

Nakon decade ratova i političkih nemira, geo-politički i kulturni prostor bivše Jugoslavije zadobija novi oblik. Iako danas svi akteri političke elite u bivšim jugoslovenskim republikama proglašavaju svoju vernost/privrženost/odanost projektu Evropske unije, politička stvarnost i kulturne politike ostaju samo-ograničavajuće, autistične i neprijateljski usmerene ka većini oblika regionalne razmene. S jedne strane, zvanične lokalne kulturne politike još uvek više vrednuju projekte i programe koji ciljaju na stvaranje snažnih i isljučujućih nacionalnih identiteta. S druge strane, iako elite prepoznaju potrebu za intenzivnom regionalnom razmenom kao neophodnom uslovu za pridruženje Evropskoj uniji, kad god se spomene bilo kakva regionalna saradnja, kažu da niko ne namerava da uradi bilo šta što bi podsećalo na koncept bivše Jugoslavije kao „zatvora nacija”. Sve u svemu, prevladavajuće mišljenje o bivšoj Jugoslaviji i socijalističkom projektu važi za apsolutno negativno.

Namera istraživanja „Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti” je kritičko sagledavanje nasleđa kulturnih, umetničkih i intelektualnih

projekata u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, kao i ekstrahovanje pozitivnih i vrednih aspekata ovih praksi. Umesto praktikovanja neo-liberalne i multikulturalne politike folkloriističkog „upoznavanja onog Drugog/ih” i života sa njima u vrsti mirne koegzistencije – što očigledno ide ruku-pod-ruku sa još uvek prevladavajućim nacionalizmom i šovinizmom, fokus je na mogućnosti ponovnog uspostavljanja kreativnih i progresivnih iskustava koja su postojala na kulturnoj, umetničkoj i intelektualnoj sceni bivše Jugoslavije. Stoga, u okviru istraživanja istorijskih i političkih, umetničkih i kulturnih procesa u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i kako se na iste gleda danas, namera je da se izađe iz „slepe ulice” dvostruke uvezanosti globalnog neoliberalizma i lokalnog etno-nacionalizma. Uobičajeni post-socijalistički diskurs afirmiše dominantni neo-liberalni pogled na socijalistički jugoslovenski modernizam kao jednostrano totalitaran i autoritaran. Takođe, lokalni nacionalistički i šovinistički diskursi predstavljaju jugoslovenski socijalizam kao obično sredstvo komunističke tiranije i diktature. Upravo je to tačka konvergencije post-socijalističkih neo-liberalnih i nacionalističkih diskursa. Projekat „Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti” je posvećen ponovnom otkrivanju i problematizovanju političkog konteksta kulturne, umetničke i intelektualne produkcije kao suprotnom pomenutom pojednostavljujućem stanovištu.

„Izostavljena istorija”

Koliko smo sposobni učiti iz svojih grešaka i iskustava iz prošlosti? Koliko je važno pozitivne istorijske elemente postaviti kao model za budućnost, pogotovo kada se radi o slobodarskim i progresivnim društvenim praksama? Ovo su samo neka od pitanja koja su pokrenuta tokom debate „Izostavljena istorija” održane u novembru mesecu 2005. godine u Novom Sadu. Pomenuta debata je pokušala da rasvetli krucijalne događaje na političkoj i umetničkoj sceni početkom sedamdesetih godina XX veka u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, a sa druge strane, da ponudi predloge modela kako kritički čitati i pisati novu istoriju jugoslovenskog socijalističkog vremena, neizostavno je povezujući sa sadašnjim trenutkom.

„Jugoslavija kao izvanredno stanje”

Ovoj publikaciji je pridruženo izlaganje Petra Milata i Tomislava Medaka iz Zagreba, koje je deo njihovog obuhvatnijeg istraživanja o „Jugoslaviji kao biopolitičkom eksperimentu” gde govore o dva teksta – o „Novoj klasi” Milovana Đilasa i o tekstu „Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država” Zorana Đinđića – koji po njihovom mišljenju „na vrlo poseban način ekspliciraju socijalno-filozofska pitanja koja se vežu uz sudbinu formacije, koju se nekoć nazivalo 'Jugoslavija' (...)

Dakle, što je 'Jugoslavija' upravo kao (socijalno-) filozofsko pitanje iz globalizirane perspektive...?" Ovde autori diskutuju o potrebi za analizom „Jugoslavije” kao socijalnog eksperimenta, „koji nam je možda... ostavio u nasljeđe distinktivni emancipatorni potencijal” te u tom smisli postavljaju pitanje mogućnosti refilozofikacije teme „socijalne revolucije” izvan samog okvira biopolitike.

„Zašto političke prakse umetnosti?”

U navedenom kontekstu, nameće se potreba za re-definicijom odnosa između politike i umetnosti ustanovljene savremenim kuratorskim i umetničkim kritičkim praksama u (post-) jugoslovenskom kulturno-političkom prostoru. Te prakse još uvek duguju klasičnim paradigmama istorije umetnosti, koja objašnjavaju društvene i političke potencijale umetnosti kroz mehanizme umetanja umetničke prakse u telo dnevne politike i istorijskog *setting*-a. Objekat analize ovde je način na koji posebna umetnička formulacija reprezentuje svoje društveno okruženje i date političke okolnosti. U centru pažnje je reprezentacija (to jest, transmisija i komentarisanje postojećih relacija u svetu). Upravo je to razlog zašto se u većini interpretacija umetnost ponaša kao odvojena od društva, kao njegova ogledalo-representacija, kao nešto što dolazi „nakon” što se istorija već dogodila. Ista logika se primenjuje u nedavnom setu istočno-evropskih i balkanskih izložbi, gde su umetnički radovi predstavljeni (prema citatu Dana Perjovščija) kao „dokumenti” političkih i istorijskih procesa pada realnog socijalizma, raspada istočne sfere, ratova i konflikta, nacionalnih politika, itd. Ova tendencija se reflektuje u savremenoj umetničkoj produkciji, gde se umetnici pojavljuju u njima datim ulogama.

Ovo istraživanje koristi diskurzivne, analitičke i objašnjive mogućnosti savremene umetnosti da ukaže na hegemonu poziciju pojma „Zapadna Evropa”, artikulišući subjekat iz perspektive „kulturnih radnika” koji pripadaju širokom kulturno-geografskom kompleksu koji nazivamo evropskim ne-Zapadom. Nasuprot pojmovima Balkan, Istočna Evropa, Srednji Istok, Mediteran, Nova Evropa, post-komunitičke zemlje, itd., čije geografije osciluju u odnosu na hegemone geo-političke aspiracije, „Zapadna Evropa” je zapravo definisana kao čista geografska teritorija, identifikovana kroz ekonomske parametre, rezultirajući reduktivnom pretpostavkom svoje geografije, politike, rase, religije, itd., dok su Zapadna društva (takode) prožeta antagonozmima i upravo su ti antagonizmi (klasa, tradicija-normalizacija, nacionalno-globalno, otvorenost-zatvorenost, nacionalna i religijska ekskluzivnost, multi-kulturalizam i tolerantni rasizam, itd.) konstitutivni za svako savremeno društvo.

U ovakvom okruženju, umetnost i kultura su instrumentalizovani kao sredstva medijacije između razvijenog liberalno-kapitalističkog Zapada i post-komunističkih društava koja „još uvek treba da se integrišu u liberalno-demokratski svet slobodnog tržišta i ljudskih prava”. Protiv razumevanja kulturnog domena baziranog na pojmu identiteta, naročito nacionalnog identiteta, ovo istraživanje želi da napravi preokret od paradigme *umetnost-kao-representacija* ka *umetnost-kao-politička praksa*.

Prelom Kolektiv, Beograd
Što, kako i za koga - WHW, Zagreb
SCCA/pro.ba, Sarajevo
Centar za nove medije_kuda.org, Novi Sad

Decembar 2006.

Introduction to the Political Practices of (post-) Yugoslav Art

One year after the Exhibition **“The Continuous Art Class”** and the discussion **“Omitted History”** in Novi Sad, the transcript of the discussion is published along with a research that speaks about a wider social context of the political practices in (post-) Yugoslav times and they are also seen here from a socially-philosophical angle. “The Continuous Art Class” is a long-term research project that deals with mapping of progressive art and neo-avant-garde and political practices during the 1960s and 1970s in Novi Sad and Vojvodina. The main basis for the research is the fact that there was a strong cause-consequence relationship of the mentioned practices and then official political system, which is the main reason for the overview of the wider social and political context of the time as an integral part of this project. As those practices existed in different parts of Yugoslavia, a need arose for their detailed examination on the entire Yugoslav territory. This fact is one of the reasons to initiate an *over-research* project named “Political Practices of (post-) Yugoslav Art”, commenced by the “Prelom Kolektiv” group from Belgrade, “What, How and for Whom” from Zagreb, “pro.ba/SCCA” from Sarajevo and New Media Center_kuda.org from Novi Sad, all of which are very actively analysing mainly local practices of that time.

“Why a (post-) Yugoslav Political Context?”

After a decade of wars and political turmoil the geo-political and cultural space of former Yugoslavia is starting to take a new shape. Although now all the political elites/actors in former Yugoslav states declare their fidelity/adherence/devotion to the EU project, the actual political and cultural policies remain self-enclosed, autistic and hostile to most forms of regional exchange. On the one hand, the official local cultural policies still favour projects and programmes which aim to create strong and exclusive national identities. On the other, although the elites recognize the need for a more intensive regional exchange as a necessity for joining the EU, whenever some regional cooperation is mentioned they say that no one wants to do anything that would resemble the former Yugoslavia as a “prison-house of the nations“. All in all the prevailing opinion about the former Yugoslavia and the Socialist project is considered to be absolutely negative.

The aim of this research work is to critically study the heritage of cultural, artistic and intellectual projects of former Yugoslavia as to extract positive and valuable aspects from it. Instead of practicing neo-liberal multiculturalism politics of folkloristic “getting to know the

Other(s)” and live with them in a kind of peaceful coexistence – which obviously go hand in hand with the still prevailing nationalism and chauvinism, the research will be focused on the possibilities of reviving the creative and progressive experiences that existed on the cultural, artistic and intellectual scenes in former Yugoslavia. Therefore, in the research of historical and political, artistic and cultural processes in former Yugoslavia and how are those perceived and utilized nowadays, there is a struggle to exit the cul-de-sac of doubly bound discourses of global neo-liberalism and local ethno-nationalism. The usual post-Socialist discourse supports the dominant neo-liberal views on socialist Yugoslav modernism as unilaterally totalitarian and authoritarian. Also, local nationalist and chauvinist discourses present the Yugoslav socialist modernism as a mere tool of dictatorship and tyranny. This is exactly where post-socialist neo-liberal and nationalist discourses meet. The project “Political Practices of (post-) Yugoslav Art” is dedicated to re-discovering and setting the problems again regarding the political context of cultural, artistic and intellectual production as opposed to such simplifying and futile stand-points.

“Omitted History”

How ready are we to learn from our mistakes from the past? How important is it to position positive historical elements as a model for the future, especially when we speak about the freedom and progressive social practices? These are just some of the questions initiated during the discussion “Omitted History” held in November 2005 in Novi Sad. This discussion was intended to throw light on crucial events on the political and artistic scenes at the beginning of the seventies of the twentieth century in former Yugoslavia, yet on the other hand, to offer the proposals for a model on how to critically read and write new history of the Yugoslav socialist times, connecting it to the present situation.

“Yugoslavia as State of Exception”

This publication also includes the papers by Petar Milat and Tomislav Medak from Zagreb, which are a part of their more extensive research about “Yugoslavia as a Biopolitical Experiment” where they speak about two essays – about the “New Class” by Milovan Đilas and about “Yugoslavia as an Unfinished State” by Zoran Đinđić – both of which, according to them “explicate social-philosophical issues that are tied to the destiny of a formation that used to be called Yugoslavia (...) Therefore, what in fact is ‘Yugoslavia’ as a (social-) philosophical question from a globalized perspective...?” This is where the authors discuss the need to analyse “Yugoslavia” as a social experiment, “one that maybe has left us its legacy a distinctive emancipatory potential” and in that sense they ask

whether it is possible to re-philosophise the topic of “social revolution” outside the frame of bio-politics.

"Why Political Practices of Art?"

In this context, there is need to re-define relations between politics and art established by recent practices of curators and art critics in the (post-) Yugoslav cultural-political space. Those practices still owe to the classic art historical paradigm, which explains social and political potentials of art through the mechanisms of the inclusion of art practice into the body of daily politics and historical setting. The object of its analysis is – the way that particular art formulation represents its social environment and given political circumstances. At the centre of its attention is the representation (that is, transmission and comments on the existing relations in the world). That is why in most interpretations art acts as the separated from society, as its mirrored representation, as something that comes “after” the whole history has already happened. The same logic is applied to the recent set of East European and Balkan shows where the art works were presented (to quote Dan Perjovschi) as “documents” of political and historical processes of the fall of real-Socialism, dissolution of Eastern sphere, wars and conflicts, nationalist politics etc. This tendency is being reflected in the recent artistic production, in which artists are interwoven into their given roles.

The project attempts to use discursive, analytical, and explicative possibilities of contemporary art to point to the hegemonic position of the notion of “Western Europe”, articulating the subject from the perspective of “cultural workers” who belong to broad cultural-geographical complex which we call the European non-West. In contrast to the notions like the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Middle East, Mediterranean, New Europe, post-communist countries etc., the geography of which oscillates in relation to hegemonic geo-political aspirations, “Western Europe” is actually defined as a clear geographical area, identified through economic parameters, resulting in reductive assumptions of its geography, politics, race, religion etc., while Western societies are (also) imbued with antagonisms, and these very antagonisms (class, tradition-normalization, national-global, openness-closeness, national and religious exclusivities, multi-culturalism as tolerant racism etc.) are constitutive for every contemporary society.

In this context, art and culture are made instruments of mediation between the developed liberal-capitalist West and the post-communist societies which “still need to be integrated in the liberal-democratic world of the free market and human rights”. Still, critical, financial and institutional validation from the West is often the only channel open

for securing and increasing cultural capital at the local level. Against the understanding of cultural domain based on the notion of identity, particularly on national identity, this research would like to make a shift from the paradigm of *art-as-representation* to *art-as-a-political practice*.

Prelom Kolektiv, Belgrade
 What, How and for Whom - WHW, Zagreb
 SCCA/pro.ba, Sarajevo
 New Media Center_kuda.org, Novi Sad

December 2006

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ZOSTAVLJENA ISTORIJA

Transkript debate održane 18.11.2005. godine povodom otvaranja izložbe “Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neoavangarda '60-ih i '70-ih godina XX veka”, u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Novom Sadu.

Učesnici debate su bili:

Želimir Žilnik, filmski reditelj i moderator debate, Novi Sad

Prof. Dr Miško Šuvaković, teoretičar umetnosti, profesor estetike i teorije umetnosti, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu

Dr Latinka Perović, istoričarka, Beograd

Dr Zvonko Maković, istoričar umetnosti, šef Katedre za istoriju umetnosti na Filozofskom Fakultetu u Zagrebu

Balint Sombati, multimedijalni umetnik, Budimpešta

Lazar Stojanović, filmski reditelj, Beograd

Želimir Žilnik: Jugoslavija je 1960-ih i 70-ih godina bila u ozbiljnoj političko-ideološkoj i ekonomskoj „zategnutosti” sa velikim delom sveta i sa zemljama Sovjetskog bloka. Imali smo utisak da se nalazimo između dva sveta i da posedujemo prednosti i jednog i drugog sistema. Danas se o tom vremenu isključivo pogrdno govori. Međutim, kad pogledamo umetničku praksu 60-ih godina XX veka, ono najzanimljivije i najrelevantnije u umetnosti naroda koji su živeli u Jugoslaviji se desilo upravo u toj deceniji i po. Ono što je postignuto u domenu književnosti, publicistike, teatra i filma od početka 60-ih godina do početka 70-ih godina je do danas neprevaziđeno. Interesantno je da se u našoj zemlji, pa i u našim zemljama, ta praksa vrlo retko ozbiljno analizira. Međutim, dešava se da ponegde u inostranstvu dolazi do tog prepoznavanja. Pre nekoliko godina je u Italiji na festivalu „Alpe Adria“ nekoliko italijanskih filmskih kritičara, posle pomnog proučavanja trenda koji može da se nazove „novi jugoslovenski film“ u periodu od 1961., 1962. pa do 1972. godine, sakupilo čak 105 naslova igranih filmova iz kinematografije perioda državnog socijalizma. Ova pojava kod nas nikad nije revalorizovana, jer su te kinematografije po raspadu Jugoslavije podeljene u novonastale države i onda se falsifikovano predstavljaju da su one, zapravo, uvek izražavale samo nacionalne karakteristike tih država. Slični rezultati se mogu pronaći i u mnogim drugim oblastima kulture.

U tom smislu, „Korčulanska letnja škola” je pokrenuta oko 1963 - 1964. godine kao skup jugoslovenskih ali i svetskih filozofa i neposredno posle toga, kao rezultat tog rada se pojavio časopis „Praxis“. Početkom 60-ih godina sam bio glavni urednik „Tribine mladih” u Novom Sadu, koja je u to vreme bila jedna od najživljih kulturnih ustanova u zemlji – stecište nove umetničke prakse, otvorenih diskusija, provokativnih stvari, kao što je bila i „Korčulanska letnja škola”. Ova škola se bavila, s jedne strane, budućnošću čovečanstva, odnosno, budućnošću političke opcije i socijalne organizacije života, a s druge strane se bavila analizom tadašnje specifične jugoslovenske prakse. U toku svog boravka na „Korčulanskoj letnjoj školi”, primetio sam da smo se svi mi osećali nelagodno koliko su najznačajniji svetski filozofi – Markuze, From, Lisjan Goldman i ostali - davali komplimente opciji zemlje u koju su došli kao u moguću viziju jednog modela društvene organizacije. Naravno, to su bili pogledi sa strane. Mi koji smo ovde živeli, stalno smo se suočavali i spoticali sa raznim talasima dogmatizma i u najidealnije vreme. Tokom 1960-ih godina, ovde u Novom Sadu je bilo nekoliko talasa osporavanja i likvidacije te otvorenosti. Jedan od najkarakterističnijih je bio onemogućavanje rada jednog od najzanimljivijih jugoslovenskih časopisa za kulturu - časopisa „Polja“, veoma otvorenoj prema celom kulturnom prostoru - onemogućavanje od strane lokalne političke elite koja nije mogla da

zadrži tu vrstu otvorenosti i polemičnosti. Zatim, tokom 1965-'66. godine, došlo je do značajnih promena u zemlji i naša komunikacija sa svetom je postala savim normalna, jednostavna, prirodna, tako da su između ostalog, mladi ljudi iz generacije Lazara Stojanovića počeli da rade u studentskim časopisima u Beogradu. Zahvaljujući njima se moglo videti šta je najzanimljivije i najsavremenije objavljeno u svetu na temu umetnosti, društvenih nauka, istraživanja iz sociologije, itd. U kinematografiji se tada dešava najzrelije doba, kada je jugoslovenski Pulski festival bio jedan od jačih svetskih festivala; kada su se u jednoj godini mogli videti autori kao što su Petrović, Pavlović, Makavejev, Hladnik, Bata Čengić, koji su odmah posle Pulskog festivala zakrcivali svetske ekrane.

Ono što je tu situaciju drastično uzdrimalo, a što je, verovatno, uzdrimalo i vladajuću političku elitu, su bili događaji posle 1968. godine. Ta dramatična i ključna godina je označila osporavanja u celom svetu počevši od Amerike, gde je mlada generacija krenula vrlo intenzivno u proteste protiv Vijetnamskog rata i osporavanja kompletnog sistema vrednosti američkog života. Protest se prelilo u Francusku, u pokrete osporavanja francuskog establišmenta, koji su toliko zadržali sistem da je jedan od najvećih svetkih političara koji je ujedno bio i predsednik Francuske, general De Gol, napustio Pariz i otišao kod svojih kolega generala, koji su tada još uvek bili šefovi francuskih okupacionih jedinica u nekadašnjoj Zapadnoj Nemačkoj. Taj pokret je imao autentičnu osnovu u zbivanjima kod nas u jednoj velikoj nadi, u jednom osećanju da smo u vrlo specifičnoj zemlji koja je drugačija od svih ostalih. Taj se pokret ovde artikulisao u ono što mi zovemo studentske demonstracije, koje su bile jedna veoma snažna kritika, tada se to govorilo „crvene buržoazije“. Zapravo čega? Onoga što je, recimo, Đilas u svojim knjigama formulisao kao „novu klasu“. Dakle, studentski pokret je doživeo tu osnovnu protivrečnost socijalističkog sistema, da je s jedne strane proklamovana vlast radničke klase, a s druge strane, da je ogroman deo svih moći koncentrisan u jednopartijskoj nomenklaturi. Ja bih rekao da je to bio zemljotres koji je duboko pogodio vladajuću hijerarhiju, a drugi, neposredno posle toga, samo mesec ili dva, desio se sa okupacijom Čehoslovačke. Čehoslovačka, koja je krenula sa jednim modelom socijalizma koji je trebalo da bude uspostavljen po uzoru na jugoslovenski, u avgustu mesecu je bila okupirana od zemalja Varšavskog pakta i Sovjetskog Saveza. Posle ta dva velika događaja, ono što je predstavljalo kvalitet jugoslovenskog modela, drastično počinje da se ljulja i već 1969, '70, '71. godine počinjemo da živimo u zemlji gde se javljaju za nas vrlo neočekivane stvari: zabrane, masovna smenjivanja redakcija, osporavanja filmova, što se 1972. godine i delom '73. godine drastično zaoštrava hapšenjem i osuđivanjem

nekolicine umetnika, od kojih je ovde prisutan Lazar Stojanović, zatim Slavko Bogdanović i Miroslav Mandić. Filmovi nas nekolicine već malo afirmisanih autora su bili zabranjeni, ali zemlja je bila otvorena, pa smo otišli u inostranstvo. Saša Petrović je bio u Francuskoj nekoliko godina, Makavejev takođe, a ja sam bio u Nemačkoj. Moja generacija je već znala da je posle tog talasa „restaljinacije“, kulturna klima i sistem vrednosti u Jugoslaviji tokom 1972-'73. godine ukazivao da je to postala jedna druga zemlja, a ne ona iz 1968-'69. godine. Sistem u koji smo mi verovali da je otvoren, odjedanput smo videli da je on iz sebe izlučio neverovatnu autodestrukciju. Govorimo o umetničkoj praksi, ali nije ona bila jedina oblast gde je došlo do totalnog menjanja sistema vrednosti. Promena se desila i u političkim elitama, u privredi, itd. Ali, u svakom slučaju, za mene je kopanje groba te zemlje koja se raspala '91. godine počelo 20 godina ranije.

Naš razgovor je posvećen fenomenu novosadske eksplozije jedne nove umetničke prakse krajem '60-ih godina i početkom '70-ih godina. Fenomen je da je jedna mlađa generacija, ne prolazivši kroz sve lavirinte o kojima sam ja govorio, istupila na scenu već u sasvim uspostavljenoj komunikaciji sa svetom, a i sa drugim delovima Jugoslavije. Pošto sam bio malo stariji od njih i već radio na filmu, nisam bio deo njihovih grupa, ali sam se zaprepastio njihovim iskakanjem iz tradicije i iz nečega što je uvek bilo provincijalno. Takođe, ne sme se zaboraviti da ono što se naziva „novim jugoslovenskim filmom“ ili kada se pominje fenomenalan uspeh producenta „Neoplanta filma“, da su bili samo mali procenti jedne velike umetničke prakse koja je ipak uglavnom bila klasična. Recimo, beogradski producent „Avala film“ koji je godišnje proizvodio oko 10 filmova, imao je jedan ili dva filma godišnje koji su mogli da se smatraju filmovima novog filmskog jezika. Ostalih sedam-osam su bili klasični spektakli, najklasičnije moguće koprodukcije s Nemcima, recimo na temu Vinetua, itd. U filmskoj kući „Neoplanta“ produciralo se jedan, dva ili tri zanimljiva i prodorna filma, a desetak je bilo krajnje klasičnih. Međutim, tada se pojavila ta mlada generacija na „Tribini mladih“, koji su u jednom momentu postali i urednici, izlagači, umetnici. Oni su osećali slobodu i energiju da se izražavaju i onda se tu desilo ono što se može videti na izložbi - serija njihove produkcije i manifestacija. Ali, vrlo brzo desilo se i osporavanje, onemogućavanje, rasterivanje i zatiranje, tako da je već 1973-'74-'75. godine postojala neverica da će se ikad ponovo moći izaći u javnost. Skupljali smo se na đačkom igralištu i igrali smo fudbal. Niko nije imao ni vere (toliko je ta stvar bila zatrta), da će se ikad pojaviti neki čovek koji će se baviti umetničkom praksom. U međuvremenu, desio se zaista nesrećan slučaj da naš jako blizak prijatelj i čovek koji je u svemu tome učestvovao, Branko Andrić Andrla, nesrećno poginuo u

saobraćajnoj nesreći. On je jedan od ljudi koji je tu bio vrlo angažovan u 1971-72. godine i nije mogao ovde više da nastavi da radi, pa je otišao u Beč, ali je održavao sa Novim Sadom veoma intenzivne kontakte, napisao divnu literaturu, zanimljive slike i ima fenomenalan jedan sloj - *rock-band* nastupe, i neki svoj specifičan jezik *rock-muzike* koji je, po meni, dostigao suštinu *rock-a* - jedan urlik nad žabokrećinom svakodnevice. Takođe, tu je bio i naš prijatelj koji se zove Mirko Radojičić, koji se isto učestvovao u ovim događajima. On je pre nekoliko godina umro, kao i Janez Kocijančič.

Zamolio bih gospodina Miška Šuvakovića, koji je o onim vremenima pisao, da pokuša da pozicionira ovu umetničku praksu u koordinate samog medija.

Miško Šuvaković: Moglo bi da se krene možda i malo bočno, ili zaobilazno i reći da mi danas živimo zaista u užasnim i odvratnim vremenima, a da su ta vremena 1960-ih i 70-ih bila divna. To bi bila prava mitska slika koja bi dobro pasovala za jednu ovakvu priču. Međutim, ta vremena 1960-ih i 70-ih nisu bila divna. Bila su klaustrofobična, zatvorena, borbena, konfliktna, kao što su i ova vremena i ne postoji mitska generacija koja će označiti neki veliki iskorak. Svaka generacija se mora izboriti za taj iskorak i svako vreme zahteva svoje „nove klince“ i svoju novu avangardu. To je nešto što želim da istaknem kada se govori o prošlosti, da bi se izbegao sentiment i nostalgija. Druga važna stvar jeste, kada se govori o tom vremenu, da u literaturi postoje veoma različite odrednice - postoji govor o „olovnim 70-im godinama“ posle 1968; postoji govor o „pluralnim godinama“ nakon 1968; postoji o veselim i radosnim godinama potrošnje i popularne kulture nakon 1968. Postoje mnoga lica i, zapravo, ta mnoga lica su bila povezana sa avangardnim ili neoavangardnim dešavanjima u Novom Sadu. Takođe postoji još jedan važan momenat, a to je pitanje koje sam čuo pre nekih mesec dana na simpozijumu o istočno-evropskoj umetnosti koji se održavao u Lajpcigu sa studentima iz Istočne Evrope, na tlu nekadašnje Istočne Nemačke koja postaje Zapad: „Zašto Istočna Evropa nema velikih umetnika i velikih umetničkih dela?“ Ovo pitanje zvuči strašno i mi ćemo se odmah setiti velikih umetnika, kao što su Julije Knifer, Olga Jevrić, Tadeuš Kantor, itd, ali u svetskom prepoznatljivom internacionalnom ključu izvođenja istorije XX veka, takvih velikih umetnika nema, zatureni su. I to pitanje, zašto je identitet Istočnog Evropljanina drugačiji od identiteta Zapadno-Evropljanina, zašto Istočno-Evropljanin proizvodi umetničko delo na drugačiji način koji ostaje i u njegovoj sopstvenoj sredini gotovo nevidljiv? Ili, ako hoćete da se to postavi krajnje tvrdo teorijski - ko ima pravo na proizvodnju univerzalnosti, a ko nema? Kako se univerzalnost proizvodi?

Zašto neka umetnost ostaje nevidljiva, a druga mora da zadobije vidljivost kroz tešku muku i prepoznavanje? Možemo preći i na taktičnija pitanja - koje je bilo mesto Novog Sada u '60-im i '70-im godinama na kulturalnim prostorima druge Jugoslavije i Evrope? Šta je značila „Tribina mladih“, „Polja“, grupe kao što su „KÖD“ i „E“ u Novom Sadu, a „Bosch+Bosch“ u Subotici, ili zrenjaninska tekstualna neoavangardna praksa iz tog perioda? Po čemu se oni razlikuju u raspodeli snaga i moći na kulturnoj politici tadašnje Jugoslavije? To je važno pitanje.

Novi Sad jeste bio drugo mesto u odnosu na centrirano postavljene Beograd, ali takođe Novi Sad je bio još jedan centar koji je postojao u procesima pluralizacije kulturalnih rezervata u razvijenom titoističkom ili, ako hoćete teorijsko-istorijski rečeno, socijalističkom modernizmu '60-ih i '70-ih godina. Zašto? Zato što se Jugoslavija tada otvarala i bio je deo političkog programa, a istovremeno ostajala zatvorena, a to znači da je stvarala rezervate savremenosti i internacionalizma kao što su bili „Studentski centar“ u Zagrebu, „Tribina mladih“ u Novom Sadu, „Studentski kulturni centar“ u Beogradu i kasnije ŠKUC u Ljubljani. Zapravo, stvarana su mesta na kojima se studentska, ili omladinska, ili eksperimentalna, ili neoavangardna, ili postavangardna umetnost proizvodila u jednoj epohi. Ti prostori su bili prostori simulirane, kako bi to rekao Akile Bonito Oliva, slobode u rezervatu, naspram društva koje je živelo u svim, umereno-modernističkim predstavama nacionalne, mimetičke, umereno modernističke, čak i nacionalno-disidentske umetničke prakse. A to je takođe bila jedna važna strategija koja je tada proizvođena, i za Novi Sad je ona bila ključna - ako ste pravili eksces u svojoj sredini, onda vam je kulturalna politika omogućavala da realizujete svoj rad u drugoj sredini. Drugim rečima, emancipatorska i slobodoumna neoavangarda grupe „OHO“ je realizovana kroz svoje delovanje u Zagrebu, Beogradu i, pre svega, u Novom Sadu, jer u Ljubljani je ona bila zaista subverzivna. Prenosom u druge sredine, ona je postajala dobar primer visoko-estetske umetničke prakse i produkcije. I to je važan fenomen - uvek ste delovali u drugoj sredini. Evo jedan šaljiv primer. Ima jedna pesma slovenačkog pesnika Tomaža Šalamuna. Pisao sam knjigu o slovenačkoj umetnosti i kulturi i tražio sam tu pesmu na slovenačkom, i našao sam je samo u prevodu Janjuševića, u „Poljima“. A ta pesma govori o tome kako je Tomaž Šalamun potrošio Kidričevu stipendiju na jednog lepog crnca u Veneciji. Ta pesma se ne može naći na slovenačkom. Šta to znači? To znači da je, zapravo, diskurs bio prenošen, premeštan i to je bila jedna od taktika kulturalnih politika u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, a ona je omogućila izmenu, mešanje i stvaranje hiper-kulturnih *underground* praksi, a i istovremeno je bila i njihovo neutralisanje, i to je veoma važno shvatiti za nastanak neoavangarde u Novom Sadu.

Takođe, u tom periodu dolazi do jasnog razlikovanja i razdvajanja disidentskih i neoavangardnih umetničkih praksi. Disidentske prakse su u prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, pre svega u Srbiji i delimično u Hrvatskoj, bile vezane za nacional-disidentske aktivnosti, za umereni modernizam, dok su neoavangardne prakse bile vezane za – upotrebiću onu reč koju danas desničari koriste kao negativni termin, mundijalizam i internacionalizam. Neoavangardne umetničke prakse su bile deo internacionalne kulture, a to znači reč je o govoru hipija, govoru nove levice, govoru *underground*-a, govoru više-medijskih umetničkih praksi i to je takođe tačka koja je postala bitna za razumevanje produkcije u Novom Sadu. Ono što je za Novi Sad bilo važno, i u tome Novi Sad u to vreme prednjači prema Beogradu, jeste da je Novi Sad bio mešovita sredina u kojoj su se prelamali različiti kulturni modeli i profili. Mi živimo, na žalost, u vremenu kad se teži „ontološki idealno čistim sredinama”, ili dominantno „pročišćenim” sredinama. Pravo da budeš drugi i da budeš drugi od drugoga, bilo je za ove *underground* umetnike koji su se okupljali oko grupa „KÓD“, „☐“, „Bosch+Bosch“, zrenjaninskih tekstualaca, bitna platforma. Reč je o platformi strateške hibridnosti.

Takođe, postoji još jedan važan aspekt. Novosadska neoavangarda i konceptuala su pripadale poslednjem velikom talasu internacionalne pozno-modernističke utopijske i akcionističke umetnosti pred pojavu postmoderne. Bitna je bila, pre svega, konceptualna umetnost. Konceptualna umetnost je bila onaj diskurs koji je dao internacionalni smisao produkcijama koje su se pojavile kroz tekstualne, teatarske, filmske i druge eksperimente u Novom Sadu, a to je značilo kritičku poziciju umetnika prema mediju i kontekstu u kome živi i radi. Pozicija kritičkog odvajanja i otklona od samo-zadovoljnog, uživalačkog čina kojim umetnik, pesnik, slikar ostvaruje sebe, odredila je bitne odlike novosadskih neoavangardista ili, tada već, konceptualaca. Drugim rečima, ova moja mapa, hibridna, gotovo nabacana, pokazuje da je taj skup pojava koji se dešavao u ovom gradu bio jedna vrsta ekscesa u odnosu na vladajuću književni i likovni umereni modernizam i njegove političko-kulturalne institucije. Politička i društvena regulativa je bila takva da je taj eksces bio moguć ako je sproveden i izolovan u okvirima i kontekstu specifičnih institucija. Te institucije su omogućavale internacionalnu ili međurepubličku razmenu i stvaranje, zapravo, onoga što je prepoznato kao front nove umetnosti, front novog ponašanja ili, ako hoćete da upotrebim staru trockističku reč, „novog čoveka”. Tada su to bile reči u određenom opticaju. Zanimljivo je da je to u jednom trenutku, kada su granice rezervata bile suviše uzdrmane, bilo dovedeno u pitanje kroz represiju, kroz hapšenje. Ispričaću vam jedan vic i on glasi – ako ste napravili umetnički-kulturalni prestup u tim godinama

(kasne '60-e i '70-e) u Ljubljani, dobijali ste stipendiju za Ameriku; ako ste napravili sličan prestup u Zagrebu, bio vam je oduziman pasoš; ako ste napravili prestup u Beogradu, zvali su vas na informativni razgovor; ako ste napravili prestup u Novom Sadu hapsili su vas – a, ima i tragični deo te priče – ako ste napravili takav prestup u Sarajevu, nestajali ste! Gotovo po ovoj šemi se i raspadala druga Jugoslavija. Šta hoću reći? Svaka umetnost je politička, ne zato što govori o politici – to je greška onih nacionalnih disidenata koji su verovali da slikajući u siromašnom i bednom, ali našem, Gvozdenu u figurativnom maniru, ili pišući romane o nesrećnoj i neostvorenoj srpskoj istoriji menjaju političku paradigmu. Naprotiv, oni su samo „jedan realizam” zamenjivali „drugim realizmom” i zato imamo primere nacionalnog realizma. Zaista, politička je umetnost ona koja deluje u određenom mikrosocijalnom svetu i proizvodi promenu u oblicima ponašanja, recepcije i razumevanja umetnosti. Eksces novosadskih neoavangardista je bio izveden tako da je zahtevao, izašavši iz rezervata, reakciju i delovanje države. Ali, ono što je moj problem, problem teoretičara, istoričara, estetičara, pisca umetnosti, jeste taj što je ta umetnost u ovoj sredini ostala nevidljiva. Zapravo, konceptualna umetnost, *body-art*, performans, novi mediji su danas u svetu stvar masovnog univerzitetskog obrazovanja, menadžmentsko-dizajnerskih taktika i visoko-muzejske politike. Ali, oni su i danas u Novom Sadu nevidljivi; ljudi ih ne mogu videti, prepoznati i čitati. Za mnoge su uznemirujući zato što govore o svetu kakav se ne želi čak ni danas videti, zato što su to prakse koje uznemiravaju a ne smiruju. Danas bi, na primer, svi ovde i tu i tamo želeli da vide nekakav miški svet, pun heroja iz nekakvih „naših” prošlosti, a ne svet modernih, urbanih ljudi koji postavljaju teška i kritička pitanja. Umetnici iz grupe „KÓD“, „☐“, „Bosch+Bosch“ i zrenjaninskih tekstualista, postavili su ova teška kritička pitanja koja postavljaju urbani ljudi koji žive u mešovitim svetovima i kulturama. Da li znate šta je, na primer, mešoviti brak? U Novom Sadu bi to trebalo da se zna. Muž priča na jednom jeziku, žena na drugom, a dete, naravno, govori na trećem ili četvrtom jeziku.

Želimir Žilnik: Ovde se primećuje jedna zanimljiva stvar koju možda ne vidite svasvim precizno, a to je pitanje regional-socijalizma - da je u nekim sredinama čovek bio osporen, a da je u drugim mogao da radi. To je jedno kompleksno pitanje. To nije bio samo dogovor ili odluka da neko bude liberalniji, nego su to bile unutar-sistemske tenzije koje su nekad delovale produktivno, a nekad su u ogromnoj meri delovale kao dalji podsticaj onemogućavanju i zatvaranju. Treba reći da je intelektualna elita ili, da kažemo, prvi intelektualci zrelog titoizma su takođe bili ljudi koji su bili drugog formata nego što su današnji prvi intelektualci i nosioci hrvatske, srpske, slovenačke kulturne politike. U Novom Sadu

smo imali Ervina Šinka kao profesora na fakultetu. Ervin Šinko je ne samo književnik, nego čovek koji je prošao kroz ogromnu životnu praksu, od toga da je recimo, u revoluciji 1919. godine pod Belom Kunom bio komandant Kečkemeta, pa da je zatim jedno vreme bio u staljinističkoj Rusiji i da je tamo bio podvrgnut raznim šikanacijama staljinizma, itd.

Atmosfera na „Tribini mladih” je bila dobro stimulisana, na neki način, umnožavanjem nacionalnih iskustava. Mi smo imali redakciju, gde je pored mene kao glavnog urednika, bio Laslo Vegel kao moj pomoćnik i urednik mađarske redakcije, u kojoj je okupljao Tolnaia, Bošnjaka i masu drugih mladih Mađara. Prve intelektualne „violine” tadašnje zemlje su bili Krleža, Ivo Andrić, Marko Ristić. Dakle, to su ljudi koji su prošli kroz, ne samo intelektualno iskustvo univerziteta u Parizu, Beču, Londonu i diplomatsko iskustvo ili, recimo, koji su nosili „glavu u torbi” tokom anti-fašističke borbe, nego su to bili ljudi koji su mogli da komuniciraju sa svojim kolegama širom sveta. Dok ono što nam se desilo kasnijih godina, naročito 1991. godine, je jedno neverovatno provincijalizovanje i javne i intelektualne scene. Dajem reč Latinki Perović.

Latinka Perović: Rado sam se odazvala pozivu da učestvujem u radu ove tribine. Motivisala me je činjenica da su njeni inicijatori mladi ljudi koji, za razliku od nas nekolicine, prošlost nemaju u svom neposrednom iskustvu, a nisu bili ni u prilici da u svojim formativnim godinama o njoj više čitaju. Ova tribina je potrebna i korisna zbog toga što smo, možda, već u situaciji da nas pomalo stiže božija kazna: u odsustvu rasprava prošlost, u opisu brojnih pretendena na vlast, mnogo više liči na ono što živimo nego na ono što je stvarno bilo. Ja sam ovde u dvostrukoj ulozi: savremenik sam onoga što je za vas prošlost, ali sam i istraživač te prošlosti. U ovoj drugoj ulozi, polazim od toga da se prošlost ne može vrednovati bez upoređivanja, i to bez upoređivanja na različitim nivoima.

Poluvekovno razdoblje druge Jugoslavije može se upoređivati sa razdobljem koje mu je predhodilo. Ovde pred sobom imam jednu knjigu koju sam zbog vas i ponela. To je „Dnevnik” Albera Malea, francuskog istoričara, koji je bio profesor kralja Aleksandra Obrenovića. U Srbiju je stigao u poslednjoj deceniji XIX veka. Pročitaću vam kako je francuski ambasador video Beograd u to vreme, odnosno šta je pisao Maleovim prijateljima pred njegov dolazak u Beograd: „Biblioteka nema, nema knjiga, nema novina, nema ni časopisa. Nikakvog intelektualnog pribežišta - nema pozorišta, nema muzeja, nema arhiva, nema rasonode. Ništa! Treba raditi i spavati.”

Mogla bih navesti više ovakvih ilustracija za kraj XIX veka, ali iza „zlatnog doba” srpske demokratije (1903-1914). To je doba koje je predhodilo epohi ratova: dva balkanska rata i Prvi svetski rat. Čisto kvantitativna poređenja pokazuju da je u drugoj polovini XX veka došlo do napretka: u ekonomiji, obrazovanju i kulturi. Pomalo je apokrifno poređenje Živojina Pavlovića druge polovine XX veka sa Periklovim dobom, bar što se umetničkog stvaralaštva tiče. Ali i to moramo primiti sa oprezom, stvorene su institucije kao npr. Muzej moderne umetnosti u Beogradu. Došlo je do stvaranja novih kulturnih centara. Novi Sad je povratio ugled srpske Atine. Osnovano je „Sterijino pozorje”, kao jugoslovenska manifestacija, delovala je u polemičkom duhu „Tribina mladih”, izlazio je list „Polja”. Tu je živio i pisao Aleksandar Tišma, zatim Sreten Marić, slikao je i izlagao Milan Konjević. U isto vreme postojala je ideološka ograničenost, slobode su kontrolisane i spolja i iznutra. To je ono što je činilo duh vremena i za čije razumevanje nisu dovoljne samo brojke.

Stvari se moraju posmatrati u procesu. Nije isto razdoblje 1945-1948. godine kada se uspostavlja politički monopol i razdoblje posle 1948. godine koje kulminira 1953. sa časopisom „Nova misao”. Tada dolazi do otvaranja Jugoslavije prema zapadu i do većeg strujanja ideja, makar i prikriveno. Pukotine u staljinističkom monolitu nisu nikad više mogle da se zatvore. Stalno se osciliralo. Intelektualni život bio je pod ideološkom kontrolom, ali se ispod ideološkog omotača odigravalo jedno vrlo živo vreme, i to svuda u istočnoj Evropi (ruska i poljska literatura, češki i poljski film). Podela i nije samo između politike i stvaralaštva, ona ide i kroz samo stvaralaštvo. Inteligencija je, kao prorežimska ili kritična, u velikoj meri zavisila od države.

Mladima tek predstoji da istražuju različite kulturne krugove u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, od Slovenije do Makedonije. Ja tim razlikama npr., pridajem najveći značaj, jer je jedinstvo ideologije, a to je značilo i države, bilo iznad sloboda stvaranja. Različite nacionalne tradicije neizbežno su uticale na razvoj Moderne. Svoje mlađe kolege uvek upućujem da proučavaju komunističko razdoblje. Onaj ko se najviše emancipovao, taj to radi bez kompleksa. Slovenački istoričari u tom pogledu nemaju nikakav prekid. Upravo to iskustvo pokazuje da apsolutni totalitarizam nije moguć. Naravno, postoji jedna partija, ali baš zato se u njoj reflektuje sve što se događa u društvu. Upravo to je i dugoročno i podriva. Ona ne može da se zatvori pred novim tendencijama i prisiljena je na represiju. To je i dezangažuje u stvaranju mehanizama koji bi je činili sposobnom da te tendencije apsorbuje.

Treba pratiti evoluciju. Slažem se sa Žilnikom da je moguće označiti granicu na kojoj se sukob raznih orijentacija u komunističkoj partiji završava ne samo u anti-Moderni, već u vraćanje na predmodernu stanje. Odsustvo konkurencije koje vodi i gubljenju komunikacije je kraj efikasnosti monolita. Tome treba dodati i jedan biloški faktor: starenje Vođe, koga nije moguće zameniti novim vođom, pa se taj pokušaj pretvara u istorijsku farsu. Ali agonija može dugo da traje i da poništi rezultate koji su u jednom razdoblju bili mogući.

Danas je na delu linearan, pa i redukcionistički odnos prema prošlosti. Taj uvek novi početak društva eliminiše određene vrednosti. O srpskim nadrealistima danas se govori samo negativno i rizikuje se da neki od njih kao npr. Oskar Davičo, budu predati zaboravu. Moderni stvaraoci kao Radomir Konstatinović se marginalizuju. Ali zabluda je da ove vrednosti nisu zanimljive za kulture u okruženju.

Svaki novi poredak traži legitimitet u totalnoj negaciji predhodnog razdoblja istorije. On se često pretvara i u revanš pa se tako novi identitet zasniva na kulturnom genocidu. Hoću da kažem nešto što će vam zvučati banalno. Istorija je mnogo složenija nego što izgleda u vulgarnoj političkoj upotrebi. Ona ima više nivoa i više perspektiva. O njima treba kritički raspravljati, ali ih je nemoguće dugoročno ignorisati.

Želimir Žilnik: Sada bih zamolio Zvonka Makovića kao svedoka tadašnje, sasvim prirodne komunikacije između različitih sredina i kao čoveka koji je i sam prolazio kroz ove razne lavirinte o kojima danas govorimo, da nam kaže svoje opaske.

Zvonko Maković: Jako mi je drago što sam pozvan da nešto kažem o jednom vremenu koje je bilo i davno, i zanimljivo, a u mojoj osobnoj biografiji i biografiji mojih generacijskih prijatelja imalo veliko značenje. Danas na to vrijeme ne gledam samo s veće vremenske, već na neki način i prostorne distance. U Novi Sad sam počeo dolaziti negdje 1969. godine, dakako na „Tribinu mladih“, jedno izuzetno dinamično, živo i intrigantno mjesto. Htio bih, onako kako sam to sam vidio, ukazati na nekoliko ličnosti koje su determinirale taj pluralistički naboj o kojemu sada govorimo, dakle koji su artikulirali scenu koja je Novim Sadom vladala kasnih '60-ih i ranih '70-ih godina. Kada sam počeo dolaziti na „Tribinu“, Žilnik je s nje već otišao, međutim njegovi su se tragovi, pa i indirektna prisutnost, itekako osjećali. Urednica „Tribine“ bila je Judita Šalgo, jedna izuzetna osoba, velikog znanja, sjajnih organizacijskih sposobnosti i nadasve izuzetne ljudske širine. Sve je to, držim bilo važno da bi se razumjela novosadska sredina, a da bi je se s današnje distance moglo kvalitetno vrednovati.

Novi Sad, kakav sam ga upoznao i kako se narednih godina razvijao, pružao je niz mogućnosti koje sam dobro poznao iz vlastite sredine, iz Zagreba. Također, tu se osjećao isti onaj naboj, želja za otvaranjem i otkrivanjem nepoznatoga što se u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji najviše prepoznavalo u Ljubljani. Međutim, to što se javljalo krajem šezdesetih i početkom sedamdesetih godina u Novom Sadu ipak nije bilo samoniklo. Tragovi toga otvaranja i eksperimentiranja prepoznaju se i ranije kroz nekoliko institucija. Prije svega, važan je bio kazališni festival koji se ovdje održavao svake godine i donosio nove ideje. Ono što je bilo također važno, to su bili časopisi. Danas više časopis nema onu ulogu, ono značenje koje je imao prije 35 i 40 godina. Danas se, isto tako, i ne zabranjuju časopisi kao što su se tada zabranjivali. Na izložbi „Trajni čas umetnosti“ u dijelu dokumentarne građe koja prati zbivanja na umjetničkoj sceni Novoga Sada iz onoga doba, izložen je jedan broj časopisa „Index“ koji je bio zabranjen, jer je represivna vlast znala koja je moć časopisa, odnosno, znalo se što neke novine mogu pokrenuti. Novi Sad je imao tri važna časopisa kroz koje se profilirala scena koja će 1969., '70., '71. i '72. buknući pojavom nekoliko umjetničkih grupa, onoga što zovemo neoavangardom. Časopis „Polja“ uživao je veliki ugled i imao širok krug referencija unutar Jugoslavije, no isto tako tu je izlazio



“Izostavljena istorija”, debata održana povodom otvaranja izložbe
 “Trajni čas umetnosti”, Muzej savremene umetnosti Novi Sad, novembar 2005. godine

i časopis „Ūj Symposion“. On je, pak, otvarao drugu aksu, Novi Sad je povezivao sa drugim krajem njegova susjedstva. Novine „Index“ bile su studentske novine, ali u svoje vrijeme vrlo dobro uređivane i osim izvanredne kulturne rubrike, upućivale su na anomalije u politici i nudile alternativu. Ono što je fermentiralo u svim tim časopisima bila je ideja otvorenosti prema svima, ne zatvaranja, već povezivanje onoga što je najintrigantnije, onoga što je imalo nekih rezonanci na pojave koje danas sa distancom zovemo neoavangarda. „Polja“ su svoj uspon doživjela kada je urednik bio Dejan Poznanović, koji je znao slovenski i koji je prevodio tada slovenske autore, a preko tih slovenskih autora dolazili su ovdje i likovni umjetnici koji su izlagali u Salonu „Tribine mladih“, ali i vodili razgovore, tumačili svoja stajališta, što je bilo veoma važno. Upravo ta mogućnost da se Srećko Kosovel, slovenski najznačajniji pjesnik koji je pripadao avangardi iz prvih decenija 20. stoljeća izda ovdje u Novom Sadu, da se Tomaž Šalamun, koji se upravo javljao i preokrenuo tok ne samo slovenskog pjesništva, već i znatno šire, sustavno objavljuje na srpskom u Novom Sadu govori što znači otvorenost i povezivanje, što znači politika otvaranja i povezivanja ne po biološkoj, nacionalnoj i etničkoj srodnosti, već po dubinskim civilizacijskim i kulturnim afinitetima. Hoću reći kako su to bile važne stvari koje su sudjelovale u formiranju sve ovoga o čemu mi sada govorimo.

Htio bih istaknuti kako je nekoliko pojedinaca tu odigralo važnu ulogu, a oni su bili smjenjivani po političkom dekretu, nestajali su sa scene, oduzeta im je mogućnost da do kraja kreiraju kulturnu politiku svoje sredine. Međutim, ono što bih također htio istaknuti, to je da ti pojedinci s vizijom ipak nisu ostale negdje u sivilu prošlosti. Ono što smatram važnim istaknuti jest kako je u Novom Sadu danas stasala generacija kakvu sam vjerovao da je više nije moguće stvoriti, a koja, evo, pokazuje kako umije čitati na taj način ono što se dešavalo u godinama kada su ti ljudi bili tek rođeni. Riječ je o generaciji koja na događaje o kojima mi sada govorimao gleda zaista kao dio daleke prošlosti. Moja generacija je otkrivala avangardu iz prve polovice 20. stoljeća, međutim, to je bilo doba neoavangarde gdje su se tražili slični rođaci u prošlosti. Ja sam, naime, vjerovao da je s tamponom postmoderne taj mit o nepročitanoj avangardi zapravo iščezao, da su korijeni današnje generacije koja obećava, negdje drugdje, a ne u povijesnim avangardama i neoavangardama. Jako mi je drago, štoviše jako me veseli što sam mislio krivo.

Mi možemo govoriti o umjetničkim djelima koja su nekoć nastala, koja su bila prihvaćena ili neprihvaćena, koja su ostajala negdje u muzejskim depoima. Ono što je daleko važnije to je da su neka djela izvučena iz depoa, neke ideje ponovno puštene u opticaj, da se i kritički i s uvažavanjem

govori o onome što je postalo dijelom prošlosti, a sada je to zakoračilo u realan život. Izgleda mi optimistički činjenica da je sve to učinjeno zahvaljujući ovim današnjim mladima koji su inicirali i večerašnju debatu, i izložbu „Trajni čas umjetnosti“.

Kada govorim o „Tribini mladih“ iz vremena oko 1970. ne govorim baš sasvim s distance. Tu sam, naime, na poziv Judite Šalgo jedno vrijeme uređivao likovni program, što znači i organizirao izložbe. Tu sam upoznao ljude koji su formirali Grupu „KÖD“, kao i niz drugih individualaca koji su mi bili bliski po afinitetima, po otvorenosti. U Zagrebu sam prijateljevao s ljudima istih takvih stajališta, takvih umjetničkih afiniteta i bilo mi je drago uspostaviti neke veze među tim sredinama. Uvijek sam držao kako su takve veze zdrave iz više razloga i kako se dijalogom može uspostaviti i kvalitetniji odnos prema vlastitoj produkciji. U Katoličkoj porti već su gostovali slovenski umjetnici, grupa „OHO“ tu je u salonu izlagala, a na trgu imala performans „Triglav“. Ja sam organizirao izložbe zagrebačkih umjetnika Brace Dimitrijevića, Borisa Bućana i Gorana Trbuljaka. Mislim kako je od tih izložbi, ali još više međusobnog upoznavanja svih tih umjetnika bilo puno koristi. Osobito mi se čini kako su se na sjajan način razumjeli Trbuljak i umjetnici Grupe „KÖD“, dakle, Slavko Bogdanović, Miroslav Mandić, Slobodan Tišma, Mirko Radojičić, Janez Kocijančić. Svi su oni, naime, pripadali krugu jednog radikalnijeg vida konceptualne umjetnosti, štoviše u isto su vrijeme tražili i otkrivali veoma srodne izražajne mogućnosti.

Danas, kada govorim o svim tim događajima kao povijesničar umjetnosti i s neke vremenske distance, možda na neki način idealiziram tu situaciju, jer se ona u svoje vrijeme nije baš uvijek bila opterećana povijesnim značenjem. Hoću reći kako su se neke bitne stvari inicirale i razvijale spontano, bez primisli da se gradi jedan sustav, da se osvaja neki segment buduće povijesti umjetnosti. Radilo se spontano, improvizacija je bila nešto u što se duboko vjerovalo, radilo se po duboko moralnim načelima, bez kalkuliranja, a to je često imalo svoju cijenu. Konačno, upravo su ljudi iz ove sredine zbog takvog čvrstog vjerovanja u improvizaciju, u posvemašnju slobodu, u moralni stav, to platili i zatvorskim robijanjem.

Žao mi je što ovdje nije prisutna osoba koja je sedamdesetih tu imala jako važnu ulogu, a čije se značenje i svi njezini potencijali više i prije prepoznali baš u mojoj sredini, u Zagrebu. Mislim na Katalin Ladik koja je bila sjajna performerica, čije su glasovne mogućnosti bile neobične i jedinstvene. Putem tada upravo nastajuće žute štampe njezin se rad krivo vrednovao, o performansu Katalin Ladik se tada više govorilo kao o ekscesu i egzibicionizmu. Vokalne sposobnosti koje je ta žena

imala, nešto je što je zagrebačka kulturna sredina, odnjegovana na tradiciji Muzičkog bijenala i eksperimentalne glazbe lako prepoznala i prihvatila Katalin Ladik kao dio sustava koji je bio etabliran. Nastupi koje je ona imala s eksperimentalnim muzičkim grupama u Zagrebu pokazuju kako je otvaranje i povezivanje neophodno za svaki ozbiljniji iskorak, osobito onaj koji se tiče eksperimenta i osvajanja nepoznatih strategija. S druge strane, umjetnici kao što su Bogdanka Poznanović, grupa „KÓD“, „Bosch+Bosch“, ili pjesnici kao što su Vujica Rešin-Tucić, Vojislav Despotov, Judita Šalgo, dakle oni koji su se zalagali za jednu vrlo zanimljivu tekstualnu praksu, mogli su se s lakoćom uključivati u ono što je već postojalo ili nastajalo u isto vrijeme u drugim sredinama

Osoba koja mi se čini da je svojom ozbiljnošću i sustavnošću ovdje bila vrlo važna, a koje nažalost više nema, to je Mirko Radojičić. On je bio prvi koji je na sustavan način sagledao i valorizirao djelatnost neoavangarde u Vojvodini još 1978. kada je objavio preciznu kronologiju, pa i interpretaciju svih događanja u opsežnom katalogu izložbe „Nova umjetnička praksa u Jugoslaviji“ koju je organizirao današnji Muzej suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu, a tadašnja Galerija suvremene umjetnosti. Naše mlade kolege koji su organizirali ovu tribinu i izložbu govore o nužnosti mapiranja važnih događaja iz vremena neoavangarde. Kolega Šuvaković je spomenuo grupu „OHO“ koja je ovdje, u Katoličkoj porti izvela 1969. performans „Triglav“. Slovenci su umjetnici već ranije imali gostovanja u Zagrebu, u Galeriji Studentskog centra i u Galeriji suvremene umjetnosti, dakle u etabliranim institucijama, imali su svoje nastupe na relevantnim mjestima ranije nego li u vlastitoj sredini. Ja sam uz novosadsko gostovanje grupe „OHO“ spomenuo i gostovanja zagrebačkih konceptualnih umjetnika na „Tribini mladih“. Time želim upozoriti kako se u svoje vrijeme začinjala, pa i stvarala jedna zdrava mreža koja je nove, originalne, nadasve eksperimentalne događaje međusobno povezivala. Relacije između Ljubljane, Zagreba, Novog Sada i Beograda bile su, dakako, drugačije nego što su danas. Danas sigurno da nije moguće stvarati neku takvu mrežu na istim onim osnovama kao što se to činilo tridesetak godina ranije. To, konačno, i nije toliko važno. Čini mi se mnogo važnijim da se jednom zdravom i kvalitetnom valorizacijom svih tih događaja koje pripadaju avangardnim i neoavangardnim tendencijama izniklim na nekoć jedinstvenom političkom i kulturnom prostoru uspostave relevantni kriteriji pomoću kojih ćemo vrednovati to što je nekoć nastajalo i što ćemo moći uključiti u sustav, jednostavno rečeno mapirati to i na taj način artikulirati bijelu mrlju koja nas sve ovdje pokriva. Drugim riječima, pozdravljam inicijativu koju su pokrenuli mladi ljudi koji su nas ovdje pozvali i koji su organizirali izložbu koju ćemo sada vidjeti. Ta je inicijativa sigurno važna, jer nam određuje

koordinate i locira u njih događaje iz jednog minuloga vremena koje smo ili stvarali, ili ih pratili potvrđujući da ti događaji nisu nestali, nisu dio neke mrtve i amorfne prošlosti, već da i danas mogu nešto reći.

Želimir Žilnik: Zvonko je izvanredno istakao važne stvari, kao što su imena i pojedinačna iskustva. Pojedinci spolja, kao što je Bogdanka Poznanović koja je zajedno sa Dejanom uređivala „Polja“ i koja je inače bila sve vreme tehnički urednik, i mada je redakcija onemogućena da radi, ona je ostala stožer okupljanja i jedan rukovodilac svoje sopstvene umetničke radionice iz koje su mlade generacije crpele neobično bogate i neobično precizne informacije i kontakte.

Komunikacija u ex-jugoslovenskim prostorima je na najsuroviji mogući način prekinuta ratom i krvoprolićem, zatim je i dalje od strane etabliranih institucija prekidana ovim novim istorijama koje se sada pišu kao da ta komunikacija nikad nije ni postojala, a i kad je postojala nije bila prirodna. Međutim, ono što je iznenađujuće je da je jedna sasvim neformalna i od bilo koje institucije praktično nepodržavana nova komunikacija sadašnje najmlađe generacije u toku. Mladi umetnici iz Slovenije, Zagreba, Beograda se željno informišu o međusobnim praksama i čak rade neke projekte zajedno tako da i taj najsuroviji mogući nastup provincijalizma koji je nastupio sa noževima i puškama, komunikaciju nije mogao da omete. Zamolio bih Balinta da iskustva čoveka koji je u svim ovim stvarima učestvovao, direktno, kao član grupe, kaže kako on vidi stvari.

Balint Sombati: Pre svega, jako me raduje što si spomenuo bračni par Poznanović. Treba znati da je njihov atelje bio otvoren za sve mlade umetnike koji su se interesovali za ovu vrstu umetnosti. Znači, u njihovom stanu, u njihovom ateljeu su se održavale razne izložbe, stizali su vodeći umetnički časopisi iz celog sveta. To je bila jedna vrsta akademije, akademije u jednom drugom smislu, ne kao ova državna. I tu smo mi vodili dosta često čučne diskusije o umetnosti kao mladi ljudi koji smo u to vreme još više osećali umetnost, nego što smo znali i razumeli. Da se nadovežem na ovo u vezi Bogdanke i Dejana – oni su izdavali još u „Poljima“, ako se dobro sećam, jednu rubriku, jedan dodatak – „Informacije ateljea DT 20“, i to ne samo u „Poljima“, nego i u „Studentu“, raznim časopisima, tamo gde im je bilo omogućeno. U tim informacijama su bile objavljivane najaktuelnije vesti iz celoga sveta, što se ticalo konceptualne umetnosti i najsavremenije avangardne radikalne umetnosti. Kada sam ja došao 1971. godine iz Subotice, pošto me Oto Tolnai pozvao da budem grafički urednik časopisa „Ūj Symposion“, oni su stupili u kontakt sa mnom i tako smo pokrenuli u „Ūj Symposion“-u dodatak koji se zvao „Informacije ateljea

DT 20“ na tri jezika – na mađarskom, srpsko-hrvatskom i engleskom. Informacije su objavljivane tokom pola godine u svakom broju, a posle u zabranjenom „Studentu“ isto. Moram da vam kažem da sam novosadsku scenu posmatrao malo sa strane, pošto sam bio član grupe „Bosch+Bosch“ iz Subotice, mada sam već živeo u Novom Sadu gde su već postojale grupe umetnika. Družili smo se, ali ne baš mnogo tesno. Na dva nivoa sam imao kontakte sa njima – sa grupom „KÓD“, „Januar“, „Februar“, „☐“ i svima redom – kao stvaralac koji je izlagao u salonu „Tribine mladih“ (tada je urednik bio Mirko Radojičić, a direktor je bio Darko Hohnjec) i kao grafički urednik „Új Symposion“-a. Bio sam urednik oba zabranjena broja. Jedan broj časopisa je zabranjen zbog teksta Miroslava Mandića, „Pesma o filmu“. Taj tekst je izašao samo na mađarskom jeziku, nikad na srpskom nije bio objavljen, ali je časopis svedeno bio zabranjen. Zatim bio sam gost-urednik *underground* broja studentskog lista „Student“ iz Beograda koji su uređivali Jovica Aćin i Milorad Vučelić, koji je postao 90-ih godina taj čuveni direktor RTS-a – to su čudne karijere nekad. Sva sreća, mene su na taj pretres pozvali samo kao svedoka, verovatno zato što sam bio iz Novog Sada, a ne iz Beograda. Oni su osuđeni na godinu i po dana uslovne kazne.

Međutim, da se vratim na ono što je Miško govorio o tome koliko je „Tribina mladih“ bila rezervat i koliko nije. Čujem te teze sve više, međutim, ja to nisam tako doživio. Ja sam to doživio kao potpunu slobodu, kao neku veliku mogućnost, naročito u odnosu na ono što je u Subotici postojalo, jer tamo naravno nije bilo ničega. Posle sam više puta boravio u inostranstvu u sličnim klubovima i institucijama. Recimo, nešto kao „Tribina mladih“, u Budimpešti je bio „Klub mladih umetnika“. Tamo je postojalo članstvo i mogli ste ući samo sa članskom kartom ili, ako je bio neki koncert, ili velika izložba, neka gužva, a ako bi bilo još pokoje mesto, vas bi možda pustili ako ste platili kartu. Naravno, znalo se da su neke cigle tamo ugrađene; drugovi sve posmatraju, beleže, dokumentuju, posebno 1989. godine kada su otvoreni dosijei. Ja sam sa zaprepaščenjem čitao te tekstove koji su na najprofesionalniji način opisali neke performanse, hepeninge, razne izložbe. Znači, to su sve radili istoričari umetnosti toga sistema. To je ono... kao da je pisao Miško, recimo. Malo šale! Zatim, 1977. sam boravio u Poljskoj, u Krakovu, sa Katalin Ladik. Imali smo jednodnevnu prezentaciju u nekoj galeriji i došlo je 30-ak ljudi, ali je sve više ličilo kao da je bila neka povorka na grobu, na nekoj sahrani, onako neka čudna atmosfera, uzdržana i posle programa, ja pitam tog organizatora – „Pa dobro, zašto je to tako sve?“ Pa kaže – „Ovde striktno mogu ulaziti samo članovi. Niko sa ulice ne može da uđe.“ Pogledajte onda kako je „Tribina mladih“ ipak bila otvorena, kako je dala mogućnost nekim ljudima, bez obzira što smo mi bili pod lupom sistema.

Želim da se vratim sad na ovo veče, na ovaj događaj koji je jako važan. Izložba je pripremljena sa najvišim senzibilitetom i ona izgleda svetski. Ali, treba znati da ovo nije prvi pokušaj posthistorizacije novosadske avangarde, nego je to počelo sa izložbom grupe „KÓD“ u Galeriji savremene umetnosti u Novom Sadu. Zatim se nastavljalo sa izložbom „Centralnoevropski aspekti vođovodanskih avangardi“ u istoj instituciji koja se već onda zvala Muzej savremene likovne umetnosti i nastavljeno je prošle godine sa retrospektivom Slavka Matkovića i monografijom, takođe i 8. decembra, ako dođete ovde, otvara se moja retrospektiva, tako da to ide na više linija i meni je to jako drago da se to tako dešava i da ima interesovanja od strane mlade savremene publike.

Želimir Žilnik: Tačno je da Balintovi radovi nisu izloženi, ali u vitrinama su gotovo svi časopisi koje si pomenuo, koje si uređivao i grafički i konceptijski. Tu je čak i Miroslavljeva pesma na mađarskom jeziku zbog koje je on odležao u zatvoru, ta pesma o filmu. Dakle, prisutan si delima.

Jedan od ljudi koji je vrlo iskusan i koji je pisao o umetničkoj praksi, bio urednik mnogih najpolemičnijih časopisa, a zatim je ušao u filmsku produkciju je Lazar Stojanović. On je filmski reditelj o čiju glavu se, rekao bih, obio jedan od najdebljih štapova cenzure. Zamolio bih ga da kaže svoj stav o temama o kojima danas razgovaramo.

Lazar Stojanović: Iskustvo koje meni u ovom trenutku najviše znači, koje me čini vrlo nostalgичnim, jeste što sam ovde i što su organizatori bili ljubazni da me pozovu na razgovor koji se tiče „Tribine mladih“, koja je bila jedna od formantnih institucija u vreme kada sam ja, kao mlad čovek, radio koliko se moglo. „Tribina mladih“ me je obogatila za mnoge prijatelje koji su mi to i danas, mada ih srećem ređe nego što želim. Mislim da ona ima vrlo veliki značaj gledano unatrag, da je trajno ušla u istoriju, da je ušla u istoriju kulture na onaj način – iako ne preko međunarodnih festivala - na koji su neki filmovi koji su nastali u to vreme ušli u istoriju. Na „Tribinu mladih“ sam dolazio često, dovodio sam neke ljude i pravio sam par akcija u vreme kad je direktor bila Judita Šalgo, u vrlo bliskoj saradnji sa Poznanovićima koji su objavljivali kod mene, a i ja kod njih. Imali smo vrlo razvijenu saradnju i radli smo dosta zajedno, na primer, sa Miroslavom Mandićem. Tako sam sreo i upoznao ljude kao što je kompozitor Peđa Vranešević, koga izuzetno cenim, koji je večeras sa nama, i mnoge druge divne ljude koje neću nikad zaboraviti, koji su, kažem, za mene bili formantni.

„Tribina mladih“ nije jedini, ali je veoma važan fenomen, liberalni fenomen u kulturi tih godina, koji se pojavio u periodu koji je gospođa

Latinka Perović na sažet način objasnila i opisala, i ja bih samo hteo da ukažem na još neke karakteristike toga perioda. Vidite, mi živimo na Balkanu, u Novom Sadu, neki i u Beogradu, i ta balkanska pripadnost bivše Jugoslavije, uključujući i Sloveniju, vrlo temeljno obeležava i naš način života i naše dnevne politike, literaturu i kulturu. Velikih i dugih liberalnih perioda na Balkanu nije bilo nikad i nigde. Možda će neko ko je bolji poznavalac istorije biti u prilici da me ispravi, ali ovaj period koji pominjemo večeras značajan je upravo time što nije karakterističan za poslednjih 150 godina istorije Balkana. Tu i tamo su se pojavljivali neki slobodoumni umetnici, recimo, između Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata, na primer nadrealistički pokret, avangarda, ali oni nisu razvili političku dimenziju svoje aktivnosti, niti dimenziju neposrednog delovanja na javni i društveni život koji karakteriše liberalne epohe, a „Tribina mladih” jeste.

Šta se tu uopšte desilo, kako je uopšte bilo moguće da do takvog jednog neobičnog perioda dođe i to upravo u Jugoslaviji? Kad se završi revolucija, tačnije period nasilnog prevrata - kako ga god ko zove - kad se izađe iz faze prinudnog otkupa, na primer, namerenog obezbeđivanja hrane za sve stanovništvo, a udavi se u nasilju, tada pokret mora da preraste u neki poredak. To izrastanje pokreta u poredak u Jugoslaviji bilo je prilično bolno, koštalo je mnogo i bilo je, u velikoj meri, iznuđeno. To nije bilo nešto autohtono što je neko smislio u nekom kabinetu, nego je to situacija u kojoj se Jugoslavija našla, a to je bio komunistički ustrojen sistem na čijem je čelu stajala vrlo jaka ličnost, Josip Broz. Moralo se naći rešenje koje bi jasno razlikovalo Jugoslaviju od Moskve, od istočnog bloka, lagera, kako to Želimir reče, a koje bi, isto tako, koliko je to moguće očuvalo sve vrednosti koje su isticane kao vrednosti revolucije i koje bi, takođe, jasno razlikovalo takvu zemlju od kapitalističke države i od standardne višepartijske demokratije i građanske demokratije. E sad, kako se to radi? Ukazala su se dva paralelna koloseka. Jedan se razvio na osnovu neopredeljenosti: ako niste ni u jednom bloku, postoji šansa da napravite treći blok i tako se došlo do pokreta nesvrstanih. To nije mala stvar i, mada to nema neposredne veze sa visokom kulturom, setite se svih onih studenata od kojih su danas mnogi ministri svojih vlada, a koji su studirali ovde kod nas u to vreme, a obrazovanje jeste bitan deo kulture. Setite se svih onih putovanja i naših kontakata i gostovanja naših folklor a i orkestara, uključujući i armijski orkestar, po tim raznim nesvrstanim zemljama - sve je to neka kultura. Drugi kolosek je bio samoupravljanje. To je nešto što je interpretirala i branila čitava jedna filozofska škola toga vremena, koja je kasnije izrasla u grupu „Praxis“, koja je uz mnogo napora nastojala da poveže taj proces sa marksizmom, naročito sa ranim Marksom. Taj poduhvat je bio prometejski napor, ali nije uspeo. To sa

marksizmom nema nikakve veze, već je samoupravljanje temeljan element anarhističke teorije i dokaze za to možete naći upravo kod Marksa, i to najviše u njegovim ranim radovima, u njegovim polemikama sa Maksom Štirnerom i braćom Bauer. To je ostala jedna vrsta nedefinisane margine u političkim filozofijama toga vremena i to traje do danas. Možete, recimo, da primetite da Marks kritikuje Štirnera argumentima Prudona, a Prudona, kao jednog više malograđanskog i buržoaskog anarhističkog mislioca, kritikuje argumentima braće Bauer i Štirnera - on, dakle, o tim stvarima nema nedvosmislen stav, ali jedno je sasvim izvesno - nikakvog zalaganja za samoupravljanja niti razvijanja te teorije kod njega nema. U to vreme su prevodene i objavljivane vrlo značajne knjige upravo tih ranih socijalista, zatim anarhista i konačno, nekih socijal-demokrata. Nije nikakvo čudo da se tada mnogo čitao Karl Kaucki, koji je 1905. godine napustio komuniste i pokrenuo socijaldemokratiju. Upravo to učenje bio je prvi zametak pluralizma u Jugoslaviji. Ono se pojavilo u oblasti političkog mišljenja, čiste političke teorije koju smo mi u to vreme voleli da zovemo filozofijom, a naravno ono kasnije i jeste nekim svojim ograncima otišlo u neku filozofiju, barem na Zapadu gde je, na primer u *New School for Social Research* ta teorija bila vrlo dobro primana kao nova politička filozofija. Zapravo je u osnovi to bilo traganje za teorijskom podlogom za definisanje identiteta te nove Jugoslavije u koji, kažem, spada i kultura. Kada je reč o nesvrstani, tu smo mi svi pomalo - i vrlo se dobro sećam tog vremena, bio sam mlad čovek - svi smo doživljavali sebe mnogo važnim i onu zemlju veoma uticajnom na svetskoj političkoj pozornici, politički jednakom najvećima, izuzetno naprednom privredno, odnosno, sa sjajnom perspektivom brzog napredovanja. Kad gledam na taj period danas, čini mi se da je to bilo potpuno nerealno. Mi mora da smo izgledali neobično našim gostima sa Zapada ili sa Istoka, jer smo bili mala zemlja, dosta siromašna, a i ta filozofija je bila bledunjava. Nije to bila na primer, nemačka klasična filozofija, ili neka postmoderna, niti je to bilo nešto mnogo proliferantno i bogato idejama. Ne, tu je bilo desetak ljudi koji su napisali pedesetak knjiga, uglavnom nastojeći da pomire Marksa i samoupravljanje. I zbog nesvrstanih i zbog Zapada, trebalo je proizvesti neku kulturu i neku društvenu situaciju slobode u društvu, koja bi bila impresivna za Zapad koji nam je davao kredite, a bogami i prodavao oružje u to vreme, kako bi smo mi na održiv način uspevali da branimo svoje granice. Isto tako, trebalo je napraviti nešto što bi bilo interesantno istočnom bloku, kojem smo stalno voleli da pokazujemo kako kod nas te slobode postoje, a kod njih ne. Videli smo iz onoga što je gospodin Balint rekao da je razlika u tome da li se ulaznica plaća ili ne plaća, da li je polje slobode zatvoreno ili otvoreno, i to je u početku stvarno bila ta razlika. Bile su to porođajne muke i voleo bih da pomenem neke od njih zato što se tako vidi kako je do toga došlo.

Kad je prošlo to s Informbiroom, i kada su neki tada mladi ljudi, filozofi koji su se u vezi sa Informbiroom pokazali vrlo dobro, a zatim dobili katedre i napravili brze karijere, dobili i slobodu da budu, dakle, filozofi tog novog mišljenja, tog samoupravljanja, oni su se odmah uključili, a i sistem ih je uključio, u propagiranje reforme. Te reforme počinju 1962. godine čuvenim splitskim govorom. Tu je samo bilo najavljeno, kao u Kini u jednom trenutku, „cvetaće hiljadu cvetova“, jer mi tada, navodno, ulazimo u period slobodne privredne inicijative i objavljujemo da je ovo slobodna zemlja i da će nadalje da se razvija na taj način u svakom pogledu. To se definiše i proglašava kao reforma 1965. godine i to postaje izuzetno značajno, a značajno je i za nas koji smo se bavili kulturom, jer odjedanput se otvaraju granice i ljudima se dozvoljava da putuju. Pre toga bilo veoma teško putovati u inostranstvo, jer je trebalo da imate posebne razloge da putujete ili, na primer, nekog vrlo jakog podržavaoca u režimu da bi vam izdejstvovao vizu u policiji. Odluka da se ljudima dozvoli da slobodno putuju nije bila zasnovana na tome da neko želi da se ljudima daju neke slobode te da slobodno odlaze u inostranstvo i pričaju nešto što vlast ne može dovoljno da kontroliše, nego da se reši problem latentne nezaposlenosti, odnosno fiktivne zaposlenosti, od koje je bio bolestan čitav istočni blok, pa i Jugoslavija. Koncept socijalističke privrede bio je da svi moraju da budu zaposleni. Radna mesta su bila planirana u nekim kancelarijama, tako da se zaposle svi ljudi, a to što posla zapravo nema, što je taj rad neproduktivan i što je taj rad nešto na čemu se novac gubi a ne stiče, to nije zanimalo one koji su planirali na način državnog socijalizma. Ključna promena je bila u tome da je tada proklamovano da ćemo raditi produktivno, i to stvara čitavu jednu tehnološku klasu; da ćemo raditi na principima profita – biće zaposlenih onoliko koliko ima posla, radna mesta će biti davana ljudima konkursom, a ostali su slobodni da putuju, da traže posao. To je koincidiralo sa vrlo jakim podrškom Zapada, pre svega zapadne Evrope, najviše Nemačke, i naši ljudi su u to vreme najviše odlazili u Nemačku i u Francusku. To je izgledalo kao vrlo dobro rešenje koje je omogućilo i našim ljudima iz kulture da putuju i da ponešto vide, da se s nekim druže i da nešto nauče.

Međutim, pošto je reč o nesavitljivom, staklenom sistemu koji je kontrolisala UDBA, samo godinu dana kasnije smenjen je potpredsednik države, Aleksandar Ranković, izuzetno moćna, uticajna ličnost. Uvek sam smatrao da se to dogodilo jer on jednostavno nije bio potreban za ovakav projekat, a mogao je da mu bude prepreka. On je, kao vrhovni policajac morao da bude protivnik takve reforme. To je bilo otvaranje vrata za sve, pa i za umetnike. Počinju da se viđaju dela takozvane apstraktne umetnosti; može slobodno da se svira i da se sluša jazz;

čovjek može da se odeva kako hoće, dakle, izvesne barijere u odnosu na modu i na ponašanje su pale odmah posle smenjivanja Rankovića, a od kraja 1966. godine počinje da se razvijaju i slobodnija štampa i kinematografija. Pre toga, to nije bilo zamislivo. Smenjivanje Rankovića je otvorilo vrata drugačijoj politici koja je trebalo da odradi neke, za taj poredak važne stvari, i koja je ustrojena i uvedena na nov način i od tada je to zvanično bila sloboda, a u praksi su to ipak bili rezervati. Dakle, ta sloboda koja je ovde oktroisana, nije se baš poklapala s tim kako su je slobodi skloni ljudi zamišljali, a to su bili uglavnom mladi ljudi koji su se u to vreme bavili kulturom. To je taj najliberalniji period, vi sami odredite kada on tačno počinje, ja mislim da počinje proglašavanjem Privredne reforme 1965. godine. Zatim 1968. godine, preko studentskog pokreta i preko događaja u Češkoj taj proces dobija oblike koje poredak ne može sasvim efikasno da kontroliše, dolazi do društvenog sukoba i dolazi do promene odluke na vrhu o tome kako i kuda ta reforma treba da ide. Sada ću da pomenem još tri momenta za koje mislim da su od značaja za sagledavanje pravca kojim je ta reforma otišla i sudbine koja je zadesila, da bismo videli kako se završio taj najliberalniji period u posleratnoj istoriji – mislim na Drugi svetski rat, a ne na ovaj nedavni.

Pomenute 1968. godine razvio se i liberalno-nacionalni pokret u Hrvatskoj. On je likvidiran sednicom u Karađorđevu 1971. godine. Posle toga, ono što se zvalo liberalizam u Srbiji, i to se nije zvalo liberalizmom – gospođa Perović će me korigovati ukoliko ja to nešto pogrešno definišem – zbog liberalnih političkih ideja, nego prvenstveno zbog ekonomskog liberalizma, jer se tu vrlo jako zastupala sloboda poslovanja i poštovanje profesionalnih vrednosti i normi i pravne procedure. Dakle, ta demokratija je imala određenu formu koja nije autoritarna nego liberalna, a liberali su u to uključivali i kulturu. Taj sasvim različit pokret u Beogradu, godinu dana nakon što je likvidiran pokret u Zagrebu, likvidiran je 1972. godine famoznim tzv. Titovim pismom koje je u stvari napisao pokojni Stane Dolanc, a taj potez je bio akcija jedne grupe protivnika reforme, i time se ta reforma završila. To je dovelo do uklanjanja velikog broja ljudi sa njihovih radnih mesta, naročito sa rukovodećih, i karakteristično je da su to najčešće bili direktori velikih preduzeća i oni koje su u to vreme zvali tehnokratima, ali je obuhvatilo i izvestan broj ljudi koji su se bavili kulturom i još mnogo veći broj ljudi koji su se bavili medijima. Time je to završeno. Inače, osim snaga iza Pisma postojala je i ranije razvijena protivreformaska snaga, antiliberalna, koja se odavno protivila reformi. Najizrazitiji predstavnik tog stava bio je, sada pokojni, profesor Stipe Šušar. On je uveo po zlu poznatu reformu školstva kojom neću da vas gnjavim, ali je on kao šef radne grupe partijskog komiteta u Hrvatskoj odradio i jedan posao koji se zvao „bela knjiga“. Dosta nas prisutnih ovde

bilo je navedeno u toj „beloj knjizi“, i ona je, u stvari, opisivala, definisala i imenovala širok krug ljudi koji su se bavili kulturom i medijima diljem tadašnje Jugoslavije, i praktično je formulisala političke optužnice za dalji postupak pravosuđa. Tako se sve to završilo. Posle toga, prvi put se posle 1972. godine nešto u ovoj zemlji menja dolaskom Ante Markovića i uvođenjem pluralizma u politiku, sada već bivše Jugoslavije, a do tog momenta, opisani period bio je najliberalniji u životu Balkana, i to ne zato što smo mi bili tada mladi pa nam je bilo lepo i zanimljivo, mada je za to morala da se plati i neka cena, nego zato što su tada stvarno praktikovane slobode i što je to dovelo do bujanja kulture koje se danas sećamo.

Želimir Žilnik: Konkretan povod današnjeg okupljanja smo posmatrali u širem kontekstu, jer je očigledno on i nastao iz šireg konteksta i istim bio prekinut. Za razliku od drugih, nekada „lagerskih“ zemalja, policijske arhive iz tog vremena kod nas još nisu otvorene. Bilo bi interesantno da se otvore i arhive partijskih foruma, jer čak i u Rusiji se to dešava. Istoričar Naum Klajman mi je ukazao da u Rusiji postoje kinematografski zapisi u kojima sistematski izlazi sve ono što su bili državni partijski materijali na temu kinematografije. U tom kontekstu, pogledao sam spise koji se odnose na međunarodnu saradnju, gde sam pronašao nešto što me čudi, što naši političari i istoričari nikad ne pominju i ne koriste, a to je da je jedan deo zbivanja kod nas, pa možda i jedan deo retrogradnih pojava proizilazio iz međunarodnih pritisaka. Ti pritisci su bili vrlo obimni. Dakle, u tim zapisima o odnosima sa kinematografijom Jugoslavije piše: „S obzirom da su se pojavile anarho-liberalne tendencije neprijateljske socijalizmu, 1969., '70., '71. godine, prvo treba smanjiti uvoz filmova iz Jugoslavije na 50%; drugo treba smanjiti kontakte i ono što su sabirale obavezne filmske revije i treba proveravati koga pozivamo od autora“. To pišu Rusi! Jedan deo onoga što mi danas ocenjujemo kao dogmatizam u našim redovima sigurno je bio inspirisan ovim pritiscima spolja, što bi bilo vrlo interesantno razmatrati. Jer posle ratova i raspada Jugoslavije ostao je problem, da mi sebe doživljavamo kao ljude koji su „živeli na drvetu“. Međutim, situacija je složenija od tog drveta, kao što možete da vidite iz naših izlaganja. Bilo je tu i prakse i komunikacije sa svetom i mogućnosti za kreativnost i inicijativu i mislim da bi bilo dobro, zbog nekog samopoštovanja, s jedne strane, i zbog nekog ličnog ohrabrenja i današnje mlade generacije s druge, da osvetlimo te pozicije.

Slavko Bogdanović: Hteo bih samo da skrenem pažnju na još jedan segment ovih zbivanja u Novom Sadu koji je, možda, nedovoljno pomenut, a to je studentski list „Index“. Ovo je izvanredno širok kontekst koji ste svi vi dali - od jednog veoma širokog uvoda gospođe Latinke Perović,

pa do ovog što je Lazar govorio, i konkretnih stvari o kojima su govorili Miško, Balint naročito, i Zvonko.

„Index“ je bio glasilo Saveza studenata Vojvodine i, treba znati da je bio važno glasilo u tom momentu - govorimo o post-68-aškim događajima u Novom Sadu - kad je u Beogradu, na Filozofskom fakultetu, bilo pokušaja da se obeleži prva, pa zatim druga godišnjica studentskih demonstracija, što je dovelo do određenih političkih sukoba između Gradskog komiteta Saveza Komunističke Partije (SK) i Saveza studenata beogradskog univerziteta, gde je „Student“ bio glasilo Saveza studenata. Ovde, u Novom Sadu, bilo je slično - imali smo Univerzitetski i Pokrajinski komitet SK, imali smo Savez studenata koji je podržavao Savez studenata beogradskog univerziteta, imali smo „Index“ koji je otvoreno podržavao i aktivnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu i Savez studenata u Beogradu, i imali smo sukob između univerzitetske studentske organizacije i Pokrajinskog komiteta SK - otvoren sukob, koji je doveo i do zabrana „Index“-a zbog nekih tekstova, zbog otvorenog protivljenja politici SK na univerzitetu. Ono što je bitno u ovom kontekstu reći, to je da su ljudi koji su bili protagonisti nove umetničke prakse, radili u „Index“-u. Značajan broj radova je tamo objavljen. Ja bih rekao, u tom najkritičnijem periodu je čak više objavljeno u „Index“-u, nego na „Tribini“. „Tribina“ jeste bila jedno izuzetno mesto, ali tek posle likvidacije „Index“-a i posle izrečenih zatvorskih kazni, „Tribina“ je „procvetala“ na izvestan način. Ja moram to da kažem i mora nam taj vremenski kontekst biti malo jasnije izoštren - šta se i kako događalo. Mislim da je Zoran Mirković pomenuo neke važne stvari u onom razgovoru, na istu temu koji smo imali pre 11 meseci u Kulturnom centru Novog Sada, i o tom treba voditi računa.

Jako volim što je gospođa Perović došla ovde, veoma to cenim. Voleo bih da ste govorili više iz političkog ugla. Vi ste govorili kao istraživač, i tu imam pun respekt, ali bi mi značilo ako biste mogli da komentarišete iz političkog ugla - vi ste bili onda, ako se ne varam, sekretar Izvršnog komiteta CK Srbije. Jeste li vi imali pojma šta se ovde događa, u Novom Sadu, ili je to sve bilo jedino u saznanju i ingerenciji Mirka Čanadanovića i da li ste imali svest šta znači takav odnos prema ljudima u kulturi? Videli smo sad širi kontekst, znamo za „crni talas“ na filmu, znamo kakav je bio odnos politike prema tome, poznata je ta tenzija koja je stalno postojala, ali se očigledno, u jednom trenutku, namera političkih struktura da „raščiste“ stanje proširila na ove institucije, koje su bile i studentske i koje su bile, kako bih rekao „mekše“ i u medijskom smislu, više ekskluzivne. Avangarda je uvek ekskluzivna, to nije neka populistička umetnost. Da li ste bili svesni šta znači pokrenuti državni aparat i svu tu društvenu silu protiv mladih ljudi u Novom Sadu? U taj progon su se uključili i prvi ljudi

novosadske i vojvođanske kulture, koji su uredno u štampi pisali protiv „takvih pojava“. Pojavili su se i poručnici bojnih brodova koji su tražili da nas se prevaspitava i tako dalje. Da li je tu ikakva svest postojala šta to znači ili je sve bilo prepušteno partijsko-političkom aparatu, koji je delovao razmišljajući o mogućoj sudbini celog društva koje je bilo između čekića i nakovnja, između dogmatskog Istoka i staljinizma, i pretećeg Zapada, kapitalizma, koji nikada nismo voleli?

Latinka Perović: Ne bih htela da ostanem dužna odgovora. Na ovakvim susretima ja se uvek osećam i kao objekt ocenjivanja. Uradila sam dve knjige o tom razdoblju: „Zatvaranje kruga“ koju je objavila sarajevska „Svjetlost“ uoči rata, i „Srpska krhka vertikala“ koja je pre tri godine objavljena u Beogradu. U ovoj drugoj knjizi su tekstovi Marka Nikezića sa mojom velikom uvodnom studijom. Hoću da kažem da ja razlikujem tehnologiju istoričara od tehnologije učesnika u događaju. Naravno da smo bili svesni ograničenja odnosa snaga unutar partije, ali i u društvu, a naročito svetskog konteksta. Vrlo je važno ovo što je Žilnik govorio o medijima i o filmu, to su bile dve oblasti na koje je iz Moskve Beograd uvek upozoravan. To je išlo u široku publiku i imalo je ulogu fermenta raspadanja ideologije. Laza Stojanović je tačno opisao taj proces i dilemu



Jugoslavije: da li će ona krenuti putem modernizacije i liberalizacije ili će u njoj doći do staljinističkog zaokreta. Došlo je do ovog drugog i to nije neobjašnjivo. Mislim da je različita evolucija delova Jugoslavije u post-komunizmu dokaz da su postojale različite mogućnosti, i da istorija ovde nije baš sve stavila na jednu kartu. Ali postoje neke konstante što se Srbije tiče, a jedna od njih je prekid započetih reformi. Najčešće su bili stigmatizovani baš nosioci reformi. Neću vam navoditi primere iz politike, pomenuću primer Ksenije Atanasijević, prve žene filozofa u Srbiji. Život joj je zagorčavala beogradska čaršija, a direktno su ga ugrožavali Gestapo i komunistička vlast posle Drugog svetskog rata. Bila je optužena za plagijat koji nikad nije dokazan, ali se ta etiketa kao senka vuče za njenim imenom, da bi se umanjile njene intelektualne i moralne vrednosti. Slično je i sa liberalima, oni su, kažu, najviše zabranjivali. Pa zašto su onda otišli? Pristojnost mi nalaže da ovde završim svoj odgovor.

Lazar Stojanović: Nešto sasvim kratko, pošto mislim da sam u prilici da kažem ono što je gospođa Perović mogla da kaže, ali zbog svog izuzetno dobrog ukusa i osetljivosti, ona to neće da učini. Ja sam svoje poštovanje za gospođu Latinku Perović, nastalo još u vremenima kada smo se nalazili na dva suprotna pola i kada je barem moje viđenje te situacije bilo ovakvo kao sada. Mi smo nesrećni sudeonici jednoga istog procesa. Svako od nas je, naravno, imao svoju ideju o tome kuda ide i šta hoće da postigne. Čitava ta grupa beogradskih liberala, na čelu sa pokojnim Markom Nikezićem, u kojoj je gospođa Perović imala prominentno mesto, bila je, kako gospodin Bogdanović reče u jednom drugom kontekstu, između čekića i nakovnja. Na njih je vršen ogroman pritisak da nešto urade i kad na kraju nisu uradili to što se od njih tražilo, oni su smenjeni. Oni su, međutim, imali ideju da se postupno, demokratizacijom, menjanjem određenih obrazaca, laganim kretanjem čitave te situacije ka nekoj demokratizaciji, nešto može postići, a da onda treba izbeći neke radikalne momente koji bi mogli da dovedu u pitanje čitav krajnje ozbiljan projekt. Mi međutim, moji prijatelji i ja, i verujem još ogroman broj drugih ljudi koji su takođe bili deo toga procesa i koji su takođe imali želju da promene situaciju u društvu u kojem žive, smatrali smo – i mislim da u tome nismo pogrešili - da je to jedan stakleni poredak koji ne možete savijati, koji će ili pući, ili će vas ukloniti i nastaviće da se održava po bilo koju cenu. Nismo imali nikave nade da ćemo mi nešto promeniti u tom poretku. Mi smo samo hteli da na svetlo dana izvučemo činjenice kojih smo bili svesni i svoje stavove koji su inače bili progonjeni, a nama se činilo da je važno da to ljudi čuju, i u zemlji, i u inostranstvu, zbog toga što to može da utiče na njihovu percepciju okolnosti, a možda naknadno, u nekoj vrlo dalekoj vezi, da utiče i na društveni proces. Nismo imali iluziju da

ćemo time što smo izašli na ulicu protiv mnogo jače policije i što izdajemo neke novine koje nam redovno zabranjuju, mi promeniti svet. Nismo imali tu iluziju. Danas smo gospođa Latinka Perović i ja na istoj strani. Moje poštovanje za nju je u međuvremenu samo raslo i mislim da, ne samo gospođa Perović, nego i pokojni gospodin Nikezić, i pokojni Mirko Tepavac, ali ne i pokojni gospodin Čanadanović, na primer, predstavljaju vrlo značajne ljude koji su pokušali da naprave jednu vrlo ozbiljnu stvar na ovoj istoj liniji na kojoj je i „Tribina mladih” delovala.

Miško Šuvaković: Želeo bih da postavim stvar drugačije. Slavko Bogdanović, o kome sam pisao knjigu i koga mislim da dobro poznajem, nije bio nevinna žrtva komunističkog totalitarizma. On je bio namerna i svesna žrtva koja je pod adrenalinom, mladalačkim besom i anarhističkim „bezobrazlukom”, provocirala mehanizme tadašnjeg društva. Zašto ovo kažem? Pa zato što mi obično kažemo – svi ljudi su dobri – belac, heteroseksualac, ide nedeljom u crkvu i društvo savršeno dobro funkcioniše. Ali, pitanje je ko su ti „svi”? Da li je reč o svim dobrim hrišćanima, svim dobrim članovima partije, ili??? Demokratsko društvo je ono društvo koje će izdržati i nepodobnog, na primer, crnca jevrejskog porekla koji je homoseksualac i pravi konceptualnu umetnost? Šta sam hteo ovim da kažem? Hteo sam da kažem da to nije bila nevinna igra i to je ono čime sam i danas počeo. S jedne strane, nemojmo reći – to su lepa sećanja, ti momci su bili divni, država je bila odvratna. Naravno, država je bila odvratna i svaka država je uvek odvratna, ali ti momci su bili mladi, bezobrazni, inteligentni i producirali su „simptom” na najopasnijim ili najbolnijim mestima tog društva. Ali, što je važno, glavni protivnici tih mladih, bezobraznih momaka – bilo je, nažalost tada malo devojaka – nisu bili protivnici samo generali, šefovi policije, tajnih odeljenja, SUP-a, MUP-a i tako dalje, već su bile njihove kolege, pesnici, likovni kritičari, kulturni radnici, slikari, skulptori, koji su vodili i stvarali *doksu* „umerenog modernizma” u vremenu u kome se živelo. To je bio birokratski mehanizam kome su se oni konfrontirali. Političari su bili samo posredni odziv na onu srednju infrastrukturu intelektualnih elita i birokrata za koju je ovo bila provokacija. Takođe, jedna važna činjenica je da taj novosadski sukob sa početka 70-ih postoji i dan-danas u ovom gradu i u ovoj zemlji, gotovo sa istim ljudima i sa istim konceptima koji su postojali. Nije uvek reč o makropolitici, već je reč o prilagođavanju mikromoci iluzijama makromoci. Politička tela, policijske ustanove su bila sredstva u toj igri, kako bi rekao Mišel Fuko, koju su sproveli mehanizmi tehnologije vlasti. Ali, bila je to politička borba između kulturalnih koncepata. Takav proces se dešavao, na primer, u isto vreme u Sloveniji i CK Slovenije 1969. je tražio da se zabrani časopis „Problemi” i da se pesnici koji su nazivani ludisti, to je mlađa generacija

od „OHO“-a, pohapse. Tako je jedan od članova CK Slovenije zvao u Beograd Edvarda Kardelja i pitao ga šta da radi. Kardelj je rekao – „Pusti decu da se igraju, evo, Dedijer će doći da reši stvar”. Problem sa Novim Sadom je što nije bilo Kardelja koji bi se pozvao u Beograd, ovo je krajnje personalizovanje priče ali, zapravo pokazuje društvene mehanizme o kojima se radilo, a to nije bila nevinna igra. Avangardni, neoavangardni umetnik je imao „prljave ruke” u toj igri jer je provocirao sistem koji je svoje čiste ruke, a u stvari umazane vlašću, pokazivao kao metafizičke čiste ruke u „Mostarskim kišama” ili sličnim tvorevinama.

Druga važna stvar jeste – da li neko u ovoj sali zna na kojoj najvažnijoj izložbi konceptualne umetnosti u Evropi 1971. godine su izlagali „KÖD“-ovci? „Pariski bijenale mladih”, tačno! Šta to znači? „Pariski bijenale mladih” 1971. je bila jedna od najvažnijih evropskih izložbi na kojima je konceptualna umetnost ušla u institucije i procese evropskog umetničkog sistema. Na njoj su izlagali *Art&Language*, Džozef Košut, Robert Beri i tako dalje. I na tu izložbu su bilo pozvani, pored Gorana Trbuljaka, Brace Dimitrijevića, grupe „OHO”, i članovi grupe „KÖD”, grupe „(∃-KÖD”. Problem nije samo u tome što je neki CK doneo zabranu da se o tome ne zna, da je grupa „KÖD” zabranjena i da je nema. Problem je što i danas taj fenomen JOŠ nije ušao u istoriju umetnosti, nije ušao u mehanizme interpretiranja modernizma u ovoj sredini, i to jeste problem. Na koji način se stvaraju autocenzure, zabrane ili konstrukcije *dokse* kojima određene profesije projektuju šta je izgled istorije umetnosti jednog doba. To je politika! Nije samo politika tajna policija i CK. Upravo je danas problem to što se ne može pročitati šta piše u policijskom dosijeu Slavka Bogdanovića iz 70-ih, a verovatno piše svašta i to je interesantno – moja mama voli da čita takve knjige – ali, radi se o tome da se zapravo pokaže i to je pokušaj i ove izložbe koja se nalazi u podrumu ove zgrade. To je pokušaj velike retrospektive, na primer, Raše Teodosijevića i Gorana Đorđevića u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, da se takve stvari uvedu u dominantnu *doksu* ove kulture, a nažalost, i pored tih velikih izložbi, to nije postala *doksa*. To nije stvar zabrane, već složenih problema i borbi u kulturalnoj politici gde se kultura tiče nacionalnih, klasnih, političkih i drugih raznih identiteta. Reč je o borbi za konstruisanje kulturalne realnosti.

Komentar iz publike: Pominjali ste da se izvesni Slavko Bogdanović konfrontirao društvu u kome je živio, a mene je, u stvari, pogodilo to što ste rekli da društvu odgovara belac, heteroseksualac koji ide u crkvu nedeljom, a zna se tačno da je za vreme komunizma više stradalo pravoslavnih hrišćana nego za četiri veka progona. Naime, šta je sa Slavkom Bogdanovićem bilo u pogledu tog konfrontiranja s društvom?

Lazar Stojanović: Ne samo pravoslavnih hrišćana. U Kambodži je stradalo najviše budista, u Poljskoj najviše katolika, a bogami i u Sovjetskom Savezu i u Poljskoj pod komunističkom vlašću je stradalo veoma mnogo Jevreja. Njihovo delovanje u Africi, stradanja crnaca pod komunistima... samo da vam kažem, ipak nisu samo pravoslavci stradali.

Pitanje iz publike: Ja sam samo htela da pitam nekog od uvodničara da nam kaže neke lične impresije vezane za period kada, po meni, do čega sam ja došla nekim manjim istraživanjem, zapravo nije postojala neka zvanična cenzura, ali je to bio savršen mehanizam gde su primenjivane i autocenzura i usmerena cenzura, da tako kažem. Primer je, recimo predstava „Kad su cvetale tikve“ iz 1972. godine, kada je sam Tito rekao da ne traži on da se predstava zabrani, nego da se sami samoupravljajući ograde od toga. Znam da su posle toga i mnogi filmovi bili povučeni, zabranjeni na osnovu nekih prijava komunista iz, ne znam, fabrike iz Zenice, ili slično. Dakle, možda neko konkretno da kaže nešto u vezi ovih problema i da se prisete ko je pokretao neke postupke, zabrane i primedbe na njihov rad.

Želimir Žilnik: Na temu cenzure i restriktivnih mera postoji relativno obimna dokumentacija. Nije tačno da mi nismo imali cenzuru. Kada je reč o kinematografiji, mi smo imali nešto što se zvalo „Komisija za pregled filmova“. Ona je postojala na republičkom nivou, a kasnije, od 1971. godine, kada je došlo do „stezanja omče“, onda je napravljena i u Pokrajini. Postojanje cenzure znači da mehanizam nastajanja jednog dela filmova nije bio kompletno kontrolisan, jer da je bio, onda bi bilo potuno apsurdno da postoji i „Komisija za pregled filmova“, odnosno cenzura koja je izdavala sertifikat sa kojim je film bio odabran za javno prikazivanje. Predsednik „Komisije za pregled filmova“ je bio Antonije Isaković, akademik, direktor „Prosvete“ i visoki politički funkcioner. Ti razgovori nisu ličili na ono što znamo kao GULAG situaciju, već je to bio razgovor sa čovekom koji je prošao kroz međuratnu umetničku praksu. Tako je, recimo, on mogao da kaže: „Slušaj, Žilnik, ti si ovde upotrebio neka sredstva ekspresionizma, a ti ne znaš kako ekspresionizam može da bude vrlo opasan. Setimo se samo Marinetića iz 1920-tih godina kad je, recimo, očijukao sa Musolinijem.“ Naša situacija nije bila situacija totalno spuštene gvozdene kapije. Na primer, ja sam sa 5-6 filmova bio u situaciji da se zahteva cenzura pojedinih delova i uglavnom su to bili filmovi gde je producent „Avala film“ ili „Naoplanta film“, koji su u te filmove sve uložili i želeli su njihovo javno prikazivanje, tako da su se kao producenti slagali sa tim intervencijama. Sve te filmove danas ja pokazujem po svetu, ne odričući se njih zbog toga što je tih par minuta cenzura eliminisala.

Lazar Stojanović je dobro osvetlio situaciju vezanu za privredne reforme kada je u jednom momentu došlo do ogromnog talasa nezaposlenosti u Jugoslaviji, što je za sve nas bio šok. Srećom, Nemci su, verovatno u dogovoru sa najvišim vrhom države omogućili otvaranje puta za milione nas, za stotine hiljada naših *gastarbajtera*. Godine 1966. napravio sam film koji se zvao „Nezaposleni ljudi i žene“. Pronalazio sam na biroima za zaposlenje gomile ljudi koji su sedeli i čekali na predstavnike iz nemačkih, ono što se kaže *arbacajnt*, biroa rada, koji su dolazili ovde i kupili po kategorijama razne profile, metalske radnike, ljude koji rade u hemijskoj industriji i odvodili ih. Naši ljudi u biroima rada su bili prilično izbezumljeni u situaciji poremećenih identiteta, gde su mnogi od njih članovi partije, komunisti, ostali bez posla; neki od njih su bili borci protiv Nemaca, a sad idu u Nemačku da rade. Takođe, bilo je čak i prvih pojava onog što je u ovim postsocijalističkim nezaposelnim talasima vrlo masovno, a to je da su žene postajale seksualne radnice. Ja sam nalazio prve striptizete u baru hotela „Putnik“, snimao ih i takođe prikazao u filmu „Nezaposleni ljudi i žene“. Kada je to gledala naša cenzura, Antonije Isaković meni kaže: „Pa dobro družite Žilnik“ kaže „ovi muškarci, oni su klasno svesni, ako ih ti Nemci zaposle, boriće se tamo protiv kapitalizma, ali te žene koje su se prokurvale, njih je nemoguće vratiti u status radničke klase.“ Ja kažem: „Pa šta da radim?“ Pa kaže: „Odseci žene.“ Kažem: „Pa kako da odsečem?“ Kaže: „Odseci žene, neću ti to pustiti.“ Zamislite, ja odsečem drugi deo filma, a danas sam poznat kao čovek koji ima film o nezaposlenim ljudima koji je u Beogradu dobio glavnu nagradu, a što je najinteresantnije, na tada najvećem svetskom festivalu u Oberhauzenu je dobio *Grand prix*. Znači „Nezaposleni ljudi“ su dobili nagradu, ali uz Luletovu intervenciju.

Da zaključim, ono što je tragičan ishod naše situacije, što je gospođa Perović vrlo dobro rekla, da postoji jedan konzervativni deo društva koji se onda vrlo lako prilagođava svemu što je autoritarno. Moj poslednji susret sa Luletom Isakovićem, koga kao cenzora sada i ne napadam, je bio dok je on izlazio iz Matice srpske sa nekim pravoslavnim sveštenicima i ja kažem: „Lule, gde ćeš ti s popovima, nisi li ti popove čupao za bradu '41?“ A on kaže: „Nemoj Žilnik, nemoj, čuti.“ A ja kažem: „Lule nisi mi potpisao dva cenzorska kartona.“ Zaista, za moj film „Žene dolaze“ nemam cenzorski karton. A Lule se okreće sveštenicima i kaže: „Žilnik uvek voli šalu, dajte da ga pozovemo na večeru, on je naš čovek, pravoslavac.“

Pitanje iz publike: Zašto je marginalizovana novosadska scena u umetničkim događanjima poslednjih 20-30 godina, zašto sada nema nikog od ključnih učesnika ovde kod nas, i da li su oni pozvani? Smatram da je malo pažnje posvećeno njima.

Želimir Žilnik: Mislite na ljude čija su dela prisutna na izložbi? Pa evo, reći će vam organizator, mislim da su tu manje-više svi koji su živi, osim Miroslava Mandića. Ja sam Miroslava Mandića lično zvaao, ali je rekao da je on protiv katalogizacije i muzealizacije materijala, što je jedan od mogućih stavova umetnika. A mislim da su svi ostali ovde.

Komentar iz publike: Da gospodine Žilnik, ali zašto oni nisu pozvani da govore o svom radu i tom vremenu, mislim dosta sad pričate afirmativno o tome, a gospodine Šuvakoviću, vi ste malo pisali o njima, konkretno u vašoj knjizi, tu je malo o novosadskoj sceni, nema baš nešto specijalno.

Želimir Žilnik: Bar 60% svih izgovorenih reči su ovde bile upućene analizi novosadske scene, pominjanju likova sa novosadske scene i o njihovoj umetničkoj praksi. A kada ja pominjem filmove, svi oni su realizovani u Novom Sadu, tako da se zapravo radi o istoj sceni. Film „Rani radovi” sam napravio u Novom Sadu. Konačno sam isteran - sad mi je u Novom Sadu oduzeto i socijalno osiguranje. Ostavili su mi pismo 1972. godine: „Druže Žilnik, pošto vi više ne učestvujete sa svojim filmovima na javnim projekcijama, ne možete više da imate status slobodnog umetnika“. I oduzeto mi je socijalno osiguranje, tako da ja pod stare dane, ne odlazim u penziju prosto zato što nemam staž.

Miško Šuvaković: Pošto ste me na neki način prozvali, mislim da zadatak koji je ponudio organizator ove tribine nije bio prezentacija umetničke scene kasnih 60-ih i ranih 70-ih, već kulturno-politička interpretacija konteksta u kome se ta umetnička praksa radila. Što se tiče tih samih umetnika, ti umetnici su za mene zaista važni, dragoceni ljudi koje sam upoznao i koje cenim. Marginalizacija novosadske scene u Srbiji je posebno pitanje. Takođe, prezentacije umetničkih praksi u državnim, nacionalnim, kulturalnim kontekstima su jedan poseban fenomen o kome bi se moglo raspravljati na jednoj drugoj tribini, gde bi se govorilo, zapravo, o odnosu centra, hegemonije centra, margine, odnosa muzejskih institucija i njihovih relacija. To je jedna posebna priča, koja bi trebala posebno, drugom prilikom da se vodi.

Želimir Žilnik: Ja se zahvaljujem govornicima i takođe se zahvaljujem publici koja je pomno sve ovo pratila i koja je došla u tako velikom broju. Mislim da je ovo jedan razgovor koji može da bude jedan od mogućih, početnih razgovora na ove teme, tako da se zahvaljujem organizatorima, Centru_kuda.org i Muzeju savremene umetnosti Novi Sad. Mislim da je za nas koji ovde živimo, za osvetljavanje tog perioda u našoj sadašnjoj zemlji i bivšoj zemlji vrlo značajno voditi ovakve razgovore.

Biografije učesnika debate „Izostavljena istorija”

Želimir Žilnik, filmski reditelj, Novi Sad

Filmski reditelj, glavni urednik „Tribine mladih” u periodu 1961-'62. godine. Reditelj brojnih kratkometražnih, dokumentarnih, igranih filmova i dokumentarnih TV drama. Celu prvu fazu filmskog rada Žilnik posvećuje savremenim temama, koje uključuju društvenu, političku i ekonomsku kritiku svakodnevice. Studentske demonstracije 1968. godine, tema su i Žilnikovog prvog igranog filma „Rani radovi“ (1969). Radeći filmove u novosadskoj „Neoplanti“, Žilnik se nalazio u okruženju prvih konkretnih akcija vojvodanske „nove umetničke prakse“ šezdesetih i sedamdesetih (Tribina mladih, grupa KÖD, Bosch+Bosch itd.), te i njegovi rani filmovi nose pečat svakovrsnog eksperimentisanja i slobodnog izražavanja. „Rani radovi“ su bili zabranjeni posredstvom državne cenzure. Film je dobio *Grand Prix* Zlatnog medveda na Festivalu u Berlinu. Njegov film „Marble ass” iz 1995. godine je nagrađen na Festivalu u Berlinu. Za više informacija: www.zelimirzilnik.net

Prof. Dr Miško Šuvaković, teoretičar umetnosti, profesor estetike i teorije umetnosti, Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu. Suosnivač i član konceptualne „Grupe 143” (1975-1980). Suosnivač i član neformalne teorijske i umetničke „Zajednice za istraživanja prostora” (1982-1989). Saradnik grupe „Teorija koja hoda” (2000-2002) i saradnika „Teorije koja hoda” (od 2002). Bavi se *performance art*-om između 1974. i 1980. godine. Teorijskim performansom se bavi od 1998. godine. Uredivao časopise: „Katalog 143” (1975-78), „Mentalni prostor” (1982-87), „Transkatalog” (1995-98) i „TkH” (od 2001). Redovni profesor na Fakultetu muzičke umetnosti. Predaje na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Beogradu, a na Interdisciplinarnim magistarskim studijama Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu je koordinator grupe za „Teoriju umetnosti i medija”.

Dr Latinka Perović, istoričarka, Beograd

Latinka Perović je bila predsednik SK Srbije od 1969 – 1972. kada je zajedno sa Markom Nikezićem i saradnicima smenjena pod optužbom za liberalizam. Od tada radi na proučavanju istorije moderne srpske države. Radila je u Institutu za noviju istoriju Srbije od 1976. do 1993.g. Od 1993.g. je glavni i odgovorni urednik časopisa „Tokovi istorije”. Dela: „Zatvaranje kruga”, Sarajevo 1991. „Politička elita i modernizacija u prvoj deceniji nezavisnosti srpske države, „Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima” – naučni skup, Beograd 1994.

Dr Zvonko Maković, istoričar umetnosti, šef Katedre za istoriju umetnosti na Filozofskom Fakultetu u Zagrebu. Šef Katedre za modernu umetnost i vizualne komunikacije na Filozofskom Fakultetu u Zagrebu. Autor brojnih izložbi i monografija posvećenih značajnim hrvatskim umetnicima. Kurator nacionalnog paviljona Hrvatske na 49. Venecijanskom bijenalu, oštar kritičar političkih i društvenih prilika u Hrvatskoj tokom 90-ih. Bio je jedan od urednika „Parket salona” na „Tribini mladih” 1971. godine.

Balint Sombati, multimedijalni umetnik, Budimpešta

Osnivač grupe „Bosch + Bosch” iz Subotice. Multimedijalni umetnik, pisac i dizajner. Područja umetničkog rada: instalacije, performansi, mail art, vizuelna poezija i kritika. Bio je tehnički urednik i dizajner „Üj Symposion”-a, magazina na mađarskom jeziku koji izlazi u Novom Sadu. Živi i radi u Novom Sadu i Budimpešti.

Lazar Stojanović, filmski reditelj, Beograd

Filmski reditelj i publicista Lazar Stojanović, rodio se i školovao u Beogradu. Tokom poslednjih 15 godina živi i pretežno radi u SAD. Bavi se pozorištem, kritikom, podučavanjem, uređivanjem publikacija i dokumentarnim filmom. Neslaganje s vladajućom politikom, ranije Jugoslavije, a sada Srbije, u značajnoj meri obeležava njegovo javno delovanje. Autor je igranog filma „Plastični Isus” napravljenog 1971, zaplenjenog, a zatim oslobođenog i prikazanog 1990. godine.



Želimir Žilnik



Prof. Dr. Miško Šuvaković



Dr. Latinka Perović



Dr. Zvonko Maković



Bálint Szombathy



Lazar Stojanović

OMITTED HISTORY

The transcript of an open discussion held on 18 November 2005 at the opening of the exhibition “The Continuous Art Class, The Novi Sad Neo-Avantgarde of the 1960's and 1970's” in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Novi Sad.

The participants in the discussion were:

Želimir Žilnik, film director and moderator, Novi Sad

Professor Miško Šuvaković, PhD, art theoretician, professor of aesthetics and theory of art, University of Art in Belgrade

Latinka Perović, PhD, historian, Belgrade

Bálint Szombathy, multi-media artist, Budapest

Lazar Stojanović, film director, Belgrade

Želimir Žilnik: During the 1960s and 1970s, Yugoslavia was in a period of a serious political-ideological and economic tension with the most part of the outside world and with the countries of the Soviet bloc. We were under the impression that we were between two worlds and that we were in possession of the advantages of both systems. When one now speaks of those times, it is always derogatory. However, if we take a look at our art scene in the sixties of the twentieth century, the things that were most interesting and most relevant within the artistic practice of the peoples who lived together in Yugoslavia occurred precisely during that decade and a half. The achievements in the fields of literature, publicist writing, theatre and film from the early '60s to the early '70s have not been surpassed to this day. It would be interesting to note that in our country, better still in our countries, these achievements are very rarely analysed. However, it happens that sometimes, abroad, the recognition does take place. A couple of years ago, during the “Alpe Adria” festival, a couple of Italian critics, having studied into details the trend that could be called “the new Yugoslav film” during the period from 1961, 1962 to 1972, managed to come up with as many as 105 titles of feature films from the cinematography of the period of state socialism. This phenomenon has never been reappraised, because that cinematography has been divided according to the newly created states and these new film industries were then said to have been supporting the national features of those states. Similar results can be found in many other fields of culture.

In that sense, the “Korčula Summer School” was initiated around 1963 or 1964, as a place of gathering of Yugoslav and world-renowned philosophers, and not long after, as a result of it, a magazine “Praxis” emerged. At the beginning of the '60s I was chief manager of the “Tribina Mladih” (Youth Tribune) Cultural Centre in Novi Sad, which was at the time one of the liveliest institutions of culture in the country, a meeting point of new artistic practice, open discussions, provocative issues, such as the “Korčula Summer School”. This school was, on the one hand, dealing with the future of humanity, namely, the future of the political option and social organisation of life, and on the other, it dealt with the analysis of the then particular Yugoslav practice. While I was at “Korčula Summer School”, I noticed that we all felt ill at ease regarding how many compliments had been paid by the most important world-renowned philosophers such as Marcuse, Fromm, Lucien Goldman and the rest, to the option of the country they all believed to be a possible vision of a model of a social organisation. Of course, those were just their superficial opinions. We were the ones who lived there, constantly facing and stumbling against dogmatisms even in the most ideal of times. During

the 1960s, here in Novi Sad, there were a couple of waves that aimed to negate and liquidate that openness. One of the most characteristic ones was thwarting the work of one of the most interesting Yugoslav magazines for culture the “Polja” magazine, which was very open regarding the entire cultural space. This thwarting was done by a local political elite that could not allow such openness as well as the discussions it used to cause, and so they fired the editorial staff. Then, during the period of 1965 – 1966, significant changes in the country took place and our communication with the world became completely normal, simple, natural, so that among others, young people from Lazar Stojanović’s generation started working in student magazines in Belgrade. Thanks to them, one could see what the most interesting and most modern issues in the world of art were, as well as social sciences, sociology research and so on. This was the ripest of times for cinematography, when the Yugoslav Pula Festival was one of the most important festivals in the world; when in one year you could see works of authors such as Petrović, Makavejev, Hladnik, Bata Čengić, whose films went towards big screens all over the world.

The events after 1968 drastically shook the situation then, and the situation probably shook the governing political elite. This dramatic and key year was marked by criticisms all over the world, starting from America, where the young generation protested massively against the Vietnam War and they criticised the complete system of values of the American life. The protest poured over to France, to the movement against the French establishment, which shook the system so much that one of the greatest world politicians, who was also the French President, General Charles De Gaul, left Paris and went to visit his peers, who were then still chiefs of the French occupation forces in what used to be Western Germany. This movement had an authentic basis in what was happening here, where we hoped, felt that we were in a very specific country, different from all the others. This movement was articulated as something we call student demonstrations, which were a very powerful criticism of, we used to call them, “the red bourgeoisie”. What of, really? Of what Đilas formulated in his books as the “new class”. So, the student movement faced that basic paradox. On the one side, the power of the working class was proclaimed, on the other, a vast part of power was concentrated in one-party nomenclature. I would say that this was the earthquake that deeply affected the ruling hierarchy, another one occurred soon after, a month or two later, when Czechoslovakia was occupied. Czechoslovakia that started with a model of socialism that was supposed to have been based on the Yugoslav one, was occupied in August by the countries of the Warsaw

Treaty and the Soviet Union. After these two major events, something that used to be the quality of the Yugoslav model, became drastically shaky and as soon as 1969, ’70, ’71, very unusual things started happening: banning, mass firing of editorial boards, banning films, where the situation deteriorated even further in 1972 and partly in 1973, when a number of people from the world of art were arrested and sentenced, one of them is present in this room, Lazar Stojanović, also, Slavko Bogdanović and Miroslav Mandić. They banned films by a couple of already renowned artists, but the country was still open, so we went abroad. Saša Petrović went to France for a couple of years, Makavejev also, and I went to Germany. My generation had already known that after this wave of re-Stalinisation, the cultural climate and the system of values in Yugoslavia during 1972-’73 was showing that it had become some other country, not the one from 1968-’69. The system we had believed to be open was all of a sudden seen as one incredibly auto-destructive one. I am speaking of the artistic practice, but that was not the only field where a total change of the system of values had taken place. The change had taken place within the political elites, in economy etc. Still, in any case, for me the digging of the grave for the country that fell apart in 1991, had started twenty years earlier.

Our discussion today is dedicated to the phenomenon of the Novi Sad explosion of artistic life during the late sixties and early seventies. The phenomenon was that one young generation, not having gone through all the mazes I have been talking about, entered the scene, already communicating with the world and with the other parts of Yugoslavia. Since I was a bit older than them, and had already had experience of working in film, I was not a part of their groups, but I was shocked by their jumping out of the traditional and of something that had always been provincial. Also, one must not forget that what is called the “New Yugoslav Film” or, when we speak of the phenomenal success of the producers of “Neoplanta Film”, that they represented just a small percentage of a large artistic practice that was, for the most part, classical. For example, the Belgrade production house, “Avala Film”, which produced around 10 films a year, had one or two films a year that could be considered to be films of the new film language. The remaining seven or eight were classical spectacles of the most classical possible co-production with Germans, like *Winetou the Indian Warrior*. The “Neoplanta” film production, produced one, two or three interesting and ground-breaking films. Ten would be extremely classical. However, that young generation showed up at “Tribina Mladih”, and they became editors, artists; they ran galleries. They felt the freedom and energy to express themselves and then it resulted in what can be seen at the exhibition – the series of

their productions and events. But soon criticisms came, thwarting and closing down, so that already in 1973, 1974 and 1975, nobody dared believe that they would ever come out public. We would gather at a football playground and played football. Nobody had faith (that was how obliterated everything was), that anybody who wanted to deal with art would surface. In the meantime, a very unfortunate accident took place, when our very close friend and a man who had participated in everything until then, Branko Andrić Andrla, was killed in a car accident. He had been one who was very engaged also in 1971 and 1972 and could not live and work here, so he went to Vienna, but he had very intensive contacts with Novi Sad, wrote wonderful literature, made interesting paintings and created a phenomenal blend of rock-band events, also a specific language of rock music, which had, in my opinion, reached the essence of rock – a yawp over the pond-scum of the everyday. Also, another friend was there, Mirko Radojičić, who had also participated in the events. He died a couple of years ago, just as Janez Kocijančič did.

I would like to ask Mr Miško Šuvaković, who has written about those days, to try and position this artistic life within the co-ordinates of the very medium.

Miško Šuvaković: We could start from a side and say that we really live in horrible times now, and that the times in the sixties and seventies were wonderful. That would be a true mythical picture that would fit a discussion like this one is. However, the sixties and the seventies were not wonderful. They were claustrophobic, encapsulated, war-like, conflicting, just as these times are and there is no mythical generation that is going to make *the* great step forward. Each generation has to fight for that step forward and each period requires their own “new kids” and their own new avant-garde. This is something that I would like to point out when we speak of the past in order to avoid sentimentalism and melancholy. Another important issue is, when we speak of those times, that there are very different definitions in the literature – there are stories of – “lead seventies” after 1968; of “Pluralistic years” after 1968; about the cheerful and joyous years of consumerism and popular culture after 1968. There are many faces of those times, and those faces were connected to the avant-garde or neo-avant-garde events in Novi Sad. There is another important issue, and that is a question I heard a month ago at a symposium on East-European art which was held in Leipzig, with students from Eastern Europe, on the ground of former East Germany which is becoming West: Why are there no great artists or great pieces of art in the Eastern Europe? This question sounds horrible, and we can immediately remember great artists such as Julije Knifer,

Olga Jevrić, Tadeus Kantor and others, but in the global recognisable international key analysis of the twentieth century history, you cannot find such artists, they are put aside. And this question, too - Why is the identity of the east European different from the west European's identity? Why does an east European create a piece of art in a different manner, and then it stays in its own region almost invisible? Or, if you want to ask a truly hard-core theoretical question – Who has the right to produce universality and who does not? How does one produce universality? Why is it that some aspect of art remains invisible, and the other has to gain visibility through strain and recognising? We can ask even more tactical questions: What was the role of Novi Sad in the sixties and the seventies in the cultural spaces of the second Yugoslavia and Europe? What was the meaning of “Tribina Mladih”, “Polja”, groups like “KŌD”, and “(∃)” in Novi Sad and “Bosch+Bosch” in Subotica, or Zrenjanin Textual Neo-avant-garde Practice from that period? How are they different in the division of forces and power in the cultural politics of the then Yugoslavia? That is an important question.

Novi Sad was in the second position, compared to the centrally positioned Belgrade, but Novi Sad was also another centre that existed in the processes of pluralizing cultural reservations in the developed Titoist or, if you want it, socialist modernism of the sixties and the seventies. Why? Because Yugoslavia was opening itself and it was a part of the political programme, but at the same time it remained closed up, which meant that it was creating reservations from modernism and internationalism such as the “Student Centre” in Zagreb, “Tribina Mladih” in Novi Sad, “Student Cultural Centre” in Belgrade and later on ŠKUC in Ljubljana. Actually, places were being created where student, or youth, or experimental, or neo-avant-garde, or post-avant-garde art was being created in one epoch. Those spaces were spaces of the simulated, as Achille Bonito Oliva would say it, freedom in reservation, opposed to the society that lived in drab, moderately modernistic understanding the national, mimetic, moderately modernistic, even national-dissident artistic scene. And that was also an important strategy produced then, and for Novi Sad it was the key factor – if you were causing havoc in your own midst, then the cultural policy was making it possible for you to realise your work in another environment. In other words, the emancipating and free-thinking neo-avant-garde of the group “OHO” was realised through its activity in Zagreb, Belgrade, and above all in Novi Sad, because in Ljubljana they were really subversive. By transferring it into other regions, it was becoming a good example of highly aesthetic art practice and production. And that is an important phenomenon – You could be influential somewhere else. Here is one jocular example. There

is a poem by a Slovenian poet Tomaž Šalamun. I was writing this book on Slovenian art and culture and was looking for this poem in Slovenian and I found it only translated by Janjušević in the “Polja” magazine. And this poem is about how Tomaž Šalamun spends his Boris Kidrič Scholarship on a handsome black man in Venice. This poem cannot be found in Slovenian. What does it mean? It means that the discourse was wrongly transferred, moved, and that was one of the cultural policies in the former Yugoslavia, and this resulted in the alterations, mixing and creating hyper-cultural underground scene. At the same time it meant their neutering, and it is very important to understand this if we want to analyse the creation of neo-avant-garde in Novi Sad.

Also, this was the period of clear distinction and separation of the dissident and neo-avant-garde art scenes. Within the former Yugoslavia, primarily in Serbia and partly in Croatia, the dissident practice was connected to national-dissident activities, for moderate modernism, while the neo-avant-garde practice was connected to – I shall use the word that the right-wingers use today as a negative term – *mondialism* and internationalism. The neo-avant-garde artistic scene was a part of the international culture, and this meant the discourse of the hippies, the discourse of the new left-wing, the discourse of the underground, the discourse of multimedia art work, and that was also a point that became important to understand the production in Novi Sad. What was important for Novi Sad, and where Novi Sad was before Belgrade, was that Novi Sad was a mixed environment where different cultural models mixed and correlated. We live, unfortunately, in times when one aims for “ontologically ideally clear milieus”, or dominantly “sieved” milieus. The right to be other and to be different from the other was an important platform for these underground artists, who gathered round the groups “KOD”, “(E)”, “Bosch+Bosch”, the Zrenjanin Textuals. This is the platform of strategic hybridism.

There is another important aspect. The Novi Sad neo-avant-garde and the conceptual group belonged to the last great wave of the international late-modernistic utopian and actionist art before the postmodern. What was important, before all, was the conceptual art. Conceptual art was the discourse that gave international sense to the productions that emerged through textual, theatrical, film and other experiments in Novi Sad, and this meant a critical position of an artist towards the medium and the context he or she lived and worked in. The position of critical separation and distancing oneself from self-satisfying, hedonistic action whereupon the artist, poet, painter realised him or herself, determined important features of the Novi Sad

neo-avant-garde, or, then already conceptualists. In other words, this map of mine, a hybrid one, almost random, shows that this gathering of phenomena that took place in this city was a sort of excess in relation to the ruling literature and art, moderate modernism and its political-cultural institutions. The political and social regulative was such that this excess was possible if it was conducted and isolated within the frame and the context of specific institutions. These institutions enabled international or inter-republic exchange and creation of what was recognised as the front of new art, the front of new behaviour and, I shall use the old Trotskyist expression, “the new man”. Those were popular words then. It is interesting that at one point, when the borders of the reservation were too insecure, this whole thing was at risk because of the repression and arrests. Let me tell you a joke from the late ‘60s and the ‘70s. If you created an artistically-cultural felony in Ljubljana you were given a stipend for America; if you did a similar thing in Zagreb, your passport was repossessed; if you committed this felony in Belgrade, you would be summoned for an informative talk; if you did this in Novi Sad you were arrested, and, there is a tragic part to this story – if you committed this kind of felony in Sarajevo you would disappear! If you followed this pattern, it is almost the same way the second Yugoslavia fell apart. What is my point? Art is always political, not because it speaks of politics – that is the mistake nationalistic dissidents made, believing that if they painted our poor and squalid, but *our* Gvozden in a figurative manner, or if they wrote novels about the unfortunate and unrealised Serbian history, that they were changing the political paradigm. On the contrary, they replaced one realism with another, and that is why we have the examples of national realism. Indeed, political art is one that acts within a certain micro-social world and makes changes in ways of behaving, perception and understanding art. The excess of the Novi Sad neo-avant-garde was of such dimensions, having gone out of its reservation, that it required the reaction and the action by the state. But, what I see as my problem, the problem of a theoretician, historian, aesthetician, writer about art, is that this art was invisible within these surroundings. In fact, conceptual art, body-art, performances, new media are today a matter taught at university, as management and designers’ tactics and museum policies if you go abroad. But even today in Novi Sad they are invisible. People cannot see them, recognise and read them. They are disturbing for many because they speak of the world one does not want to see even today, because those were works of art that disturbed – not sedated. Today, for example, everybody here would want to see a mythical world, full of heroes from “our” past, and not the world of modern, urban people who ask these difficult criticising

questions. Artists from the groups “KÖD”, “☨”, “Bosch+Bosch” and Zrenjanin Textualists asked these difficult and criticising questions that urban people who live in mixed worlds and cultures ask. Do you know, for example, what a mixed marriage is? One should know that in Novi Sad. The husband speaks one language, the wife another and the child, of course, speaks the third or fourth languages.

Želimir Žilnik: Here you can notice an interesting issue that you may not see quite precisely, and that is the issue of regional-socialism. In some surroundings a man was denied, whilst in the others he could work. That is a complex issue. That is not just an agreement or a decision that someone should be more liberal, but those were the internal system tensions that acted productively sometimes, and sometimes they initiated thwarting and banishing. One should say that the intellectual elite, or, shall we say, the first intellectuals of the late Tito era were also people of a format different from the first intellectuals and bearers of Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian cultural policies today. In Novi Sad we had professor Ervin Šinko at university. Ervin Šinko was not only an author, but also a man who had been through many things in his life. From the fact that he was the commanding officer in



The open discussion “Omitted History” held at the opening of the exhibition “The Continuous Art Class”, Museum of Contemporary Art Novi Sad, November 2005

Keckskemét under Béla Kun during the uprising of 1919, after that he was in Stalinist Russia for a while, and he was submitted to different ways of harassment of Stalinism.

The atmosphere at “Tribina Mladih” was stimulated well, in a way, by multiplying national experiences. We had a board, where, next to me as the editor-in-chief, sat László Végel as my assistant and he was the editor-in-chief of the Hungarian board where there were Tolnai, Bosnyák and a mass of other young Hungarians. The first intellectual “violins” in the country at that time were Krleža, Ivo Andrić, Marko Ristić. Those were the people who had, not only had the intellectual experience of universities in Paris, Vienna, London, or experience in diplomacy, or, for example, people who lived dangerous lives during the anti-fascist war, they were also people who could communicate with their colleagues all over the world. Yet, what happened to us later on, especially in 1991, was making both public and intellectual scene incredibly provincial. I give the floor to Latinka Perović.

Latinka Perović: I was very glad when I was invited to participate in this discussion. I was motivated to come here because of the fact that the initiators are young people, who, unlike some of us, do not have this past in their direct experience, and they have not had the opportunity to read about it during the years they were being formed. This discussion is necessary and useful because we are, maybe, already in a situation where God’s punishment is coming to us: because there are no discussions regarding the past, because of the sorts of numerous “throne” pretenders, this past seems very much like what we are living in now than what it really was. My role here is twofold: I am a contemporary of what is the past for you, but I am also a researcher of that past. In this second role, my starting point is that the past cannot be valued without comparison, and without comparison on different levels at that.

A half-century period of the second Yugoslavia can be compared to the period before it. Here, in front of me I have a book that I have brought along for you to see. This is Albert Malet’s “Diary”. He was a French historian who became King Aleksandar Obrenović’s professor. He arrived in Serbia in the last decade of the nineteenth century. I shall read to you how the French ambassador saw Belgrade at that time, that is, what he wrote to Malet’s friends before his arrival in Belgrade: “There are no libraries, no books, no newspapers, not even magazines. There is not a single intellectual sanctuary – no theatre, no museum, no archives, no fun. Nothing! One should only work and sleep.”

I could illustrate this with more examples for the end of the nineteenth century, but after the “golden era” of Serbian democracy (1903 to 1914), which was the period that preceded the era of wars – two Balkan Wars and the First World War. Purely quantitative comparisons show that there *was* advancement in the second half of the twentieth century: in economy, education and culture. Zivojin Pavlović’s comparison of the second half of the twentieth century with Pericle’s age, as far as artistic creativity is concerned, is slightly apocryphal. Yet, we have to consider that with caution, institutions were established such as, for example, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. New cultural centres were created. Novi Sad was given back its glory as the Serbian Athens. “Sterijino Pozorje” (Steria Theatre Days) was initiated, as the Yugoslav institution, “Tribina Mladih” was active practicing polemic, the “Polja” magazine came out. Aleksandar Tišma lived there and created, then Sreten Marić, Milan Konjević painted and exhibited there. At the same time there was the ideological limitation, freedoms were controlled both internally and externally. This was the spirit of the times and simple figures are not sufficient to understand it.

Things have to be seen as a process. The period between 1945 and 1948, when the political monopoly was being established and the period after 1948 that culminates in 1953 with the “Nova Misao” magazine. That was when Yugoslavia opened itself towards the West and that was the time when more ideas started flowing, even if temporarily. The cracks in the Stalinist monolith could never again be sealed. Things oscillated constantly. The intellectual life was under the ideological control, but under the ideological cover a very lively existence was taking place. And that was the case in the entire Eastern Europe (Russian and Polish literature, Czech and Polish films). The division was not only between politics and creating, it goes through the very creative life. The intelligentsia, whether they were pro-regime or criticising it, depended on the state to a great extent.

Young people have before them the task of researching different cultural circles in the former Yugoslavia, from Slovenia to Macedonia. I give these differences most importance, because the unity of ideology, which meant the unity of the state, was above the freedom of creation. Different national traditions had inevitably influenced the development of Modernism. I always direct my younger colleagues to study the communist period. The most emancipated ones do it without any complexes. Slovenian historians have no problems with this issue. It is precisely this experience that points to a fact that absolute totalitarianism is not possible. Of course, there is one party, but for that very reason it reflects everything that is happening in the society. And it is exactly this that destroys its foundations long-term. It

cannot be closed before the new tendencies and is forced to use repression. This is what incapacitates it to create mechanisms that would make it capable of absorbing such tendencies.

Evolution should be observed. I agree with Žilnik that it is possible to mark the borderline where the clashes of different orientations in the Communist Party ended, not only in anti-Modernism, but also in returning to the pre-Modernist state. Lack of competition that results in losing communication is the end of the efficacy of the monolith. We should add a biological factor: ageing of the Leader, who cannot be replaced with a new one, so this attempt turns out to be a historical farce. But, the agony can last for a long time and can destroy the results that were possible at one time.

Today, we address the past in a linear manner, one can even say reductive manner. That constantly new commencing of a society eliminates certain values. The Serbian surrealists are talked about only negatively and there is a risk that some of them like Oskar Davičo, for example, will be forgotten. Modernist creators, like Radomir Konstantinović are marginalised. But it is a delusion to think that these values are not interesting for the cultures around us.

Each new political system seeks legitimacy by totally negating the previous period of history. It quite often becomes revenge so the new identity is based on cultural genocide. I want to say something that may sound banal to you. History is much more complex than it seems to be in the vulgar political use. It has a number of levels and a number of perspectives. They should be critically discussed, but it is possible to ignore them for a longer period.

Želimir Žilnik: I would ask Zvonko Maković as someone who witnessed completely natural communication between different environments and as a man who was going through the mazes we are talking about today, to give his remarks.

Zvonko Maković: I am very happy to have been invited to say something about a time that happened a long time ago and that was interesting, and in my personal biography and the biography of my peers it had great significance. Today, I do not see this time from a temporal distance but rather from a spatial one. I started coming to Novi Sad sometime in 1969, to “Tribina Mladih”, of course – a splendidly dynamic, lively and intriguing place. I would like to point out to a couple of persons, as I saw them then, who determined that pluralistic charge we are talking about

right now – the people who articulated the scene in Novi Sad during the late sixties and the early seventies. When I started coming to “Tribina”, Žilnik had already left it, but his traces, even his indirect presence could be felt. The editor of “Tribina” was Judita Šalgo, an exceptional person of great knowledge, excellent organisational skills and above all great humanistic capacities. I think that all of it was important to understand the Novi Sad environment, and so that we could evaluate it from today’s distance.

Novi Sad, as I got to know it and as it was being developed in the years to come, was offering a number of possibilities that I had known in my own environment in Zagreb. Also, you could feel the same charge, the will to open and discover the unknown, which was most often done in Ljubljana in former Yugoslavia. However, what was emerging in Novi Sad during the late sixties and early seventies was not without roots. The traces of this opening and experimenting can be recognised even earlier through a number of institutions. Above all, the theatre festival was important that took place every year and brought in new ideas. Magazines were also very important. Today magazines do not have the same role, the same meaning they used to have 35 and 40 years ago. Today, magazines are not banned as they used to be. At the exhibition “The Continuous Art Class” in the part with the documents that follow the events of the art scene in Novi Sad of that time, we could see a number of issues of “Index”, which were banned because the repressive authorities knew what the power of the magazines was, that is, they knew what certain magazines could initiate. Novi Sad had three important magazines that built the profile for the scene that will in 1969, ’70, ’71 and ’72 burst into flames through a number of art groups, which we call neo-avant-garde. “Polja” magazine was respectable in the entire Yugoslavia, but also, there was a magazine called “Ūj Symposion”. He started something else, it connected Novi Sad to the other end of its neighbourhood. “Index” was a student newspaper, but it was well edited in its time and apart from the exceptional cultural column, it was pointing out anomalies in politics and offered alternatives. What fermented in all of those magazines was the idea of openness towards everybody, not closing down, but connecting of what was most intriguing, what had some reaction to the events that we call neo-avant-garde today. “Polja” soared up while its editor was Dejan Poznanović, who spoke Slovenian and who translated Slovenian authors, and through those Slovenian authors, painters came who exhibited their works in the gallery of “Tribina Mladih”, but also had discussions, interpreted their standpoints, which was really important. And it was exactly that possibility to publish the work of Srećko Kosovel, the most important Slovenian avant-garde poet from the first decades of the

twentieth century, to publish Tomaž Šalamun in Serbian, the man who was just emerging and twisted the current of not only Slovenian poetry but wider, that speaks of the importance of openness and connectivity, speaks of the importance of the policy of openness and connecting not by biological, national and ethnic similarities, but by deep civilisation and cultural affinities. I want to say that they were important issues that participated in forming of everything we are talking about now.

I would like to point out that a couple of individuals played an important role here, and they were replaced after a political decree, disappeared from the scene, their possibility to create fully a cultural policy of their environment was taken from them. However, another thing I would like to point out is that these individuals with a vision have not remained somewhere in the greyness of the past. What I find important is that Novi Sad today has a generation that I did not believe could be created any more and which shows that they can read what was happening in the years when they were but born. This is the generation that sees the events we are talking about now as distant past. My generation was discovering avant-garde from the first half of the twentieth century, which was the age of neo-avant-garde where similar cousins from the past were sought. I believed that with the myth of the unread avant-garde actually gone, after the buffer of postmodernism, that the roots of today’s promising generation are somewhere other than in historical avant-garde and neo-avant-garde. I am really glad, actually happy, that I was wrong.

We can speak of pieces of art that were created at some time in the past, that were accepted or denied, that lay somewhere in museum depots. What is more important was that some pieces of art were drawn out from the depots, that some ideas are again set to run, and that we speak critically and with respect about what has become a part of the past, and now it has stepped into real life. The fact that all of this was done thanks to these young people who initiated the discussion tonight and the exhibition “The Continuous Art Class” makes me feel very optimistic.

When we speak of “Tribina Mladih” during the seventies I am not talking from a distance. I was the art program editor, having been invited by Judita Šalgo, which meant that I was in charge of organising exhibitions. I met people who formed the “KOD” group, as well as a number of individuals with whom I shared taste regarding many things, and who were equally open as I was. In Zagreb I was friends with people who shared the same standpoint, and had similar taste in art and I was glad to make links between these environments. I have always thought that such connections are healthy for a number of reasons, and that you can

build a more quality relationship towards your own production through a dialogue. In the Catholic churchyard (at Tribina Mladih), Slovenian artists had already been seen, "OHO" group had exhibitions in the gallery, and they had a performance called "Triglav" on the square. I organised exhibitions of Zagreb artists Braco Dimitrijević, Boris Bučan and Goran Trbuljak. I think that these exhibitions and interconnectedness were very useful. I would like to point out mutual understanding between Trbuljak and the "KÓD" group, namely Slavko Bogdanović, Miroslav Mandić, Slobodan Tišma, Mirko Radojičić, Janez Kocijančič. They all belonged to the circle of a more radical view of conceptual art. They were at the same time seeking and finding very similar capacities to express themselves.

Today, when I speak about all those events as an art historian and from a time distance, I maybe idealise that situation in a way, because in its time it was not always burdened with historical meaning. I want to say that some important issues were initiated and developed spontaneously, and that there was no idea that a system was being built, that a segment of future art history was being conquered. We worked spontaneously, improvisation was something everybody believed in deeply, we worked according to strong moral ideas, without calculating, and, often, it had its price. Finally, that was why people from here paid for their strong beliefs in improvisation and overall freedom, moral standpoints and they paid it by serving jail.

I am sorry that a person who was very important here in the seventies is not here. Her importance and all of her potentials were more recognised where I come from, in Zagreb. I am thinking of Katalin Ladik, who was a great performance artist, whose vocal capacities were unusual and unique. The yellow press that was rising at the time, presented her work in a wrong way, because they spoke of her performance as of an example of exhibitionism and excess. The vocal capacities of that woman were something that the Zagreb audience, which had been raised on the tradition of the Music Biennale and experimental music, easily recognised and accepted Katalin Ladik as a part of an established system. The shows she had with the experimental music groups in Zagreb show how opening and connectedness is necessary for each serious step forward, especially the one that deals with experimenting and conquering new strategies. On the other hand, artists like Bogdanka Poznanović, "KÓD" group, "Bosch+Bosch", or poets like Vujica Rešin-Tučić, Vojislav Despotov, Judita Šalgo, namely those who stood for a very interesting textual practice could be easily involved in what had already been there or was becoming at the same time in other environments.

The person who I think was very important for his seriousness and systematic work and who is, sadly, not with us any longer was Mirko Radojičić. He was the first who systematically saw and valued the practice of neo-avant-garde in Vojvodina as early as 1978, when he published a precise chronology, even interpretation of everything that had been happening in a very detailed catalogue of the exhibition "New Artistic Practice in Yugoslavia" organised by what is now the Museum of Modern Art in Zagreb and then it was the Gallery of Modern Art. Our younger colleagues who have organised this discussion and exhibition speak of the necessity of mapping the important events from the times of neo-avant-garde. Colleague Šuvaković mentioned the "OHO" group, who did a performance here in the Catholic churchyard (at Tribina Mladih) in 1969 called "Triglav". The Slovenian artists had already been guests in Zagreb, in the Gallery of the Student Centre and in the Gallery of Modern Art, in established institutions; they had their shows at the relevant places earlier than they would in their own environment. I mentioned the Novi Sad performance of the "OHO" group as well as the visit of the Zagreb conceptual artists at "Tribina Mladih". This way I wanted to point out how, in its own time, a healthy network was being created, that connected the new, original, above all experimental events. Relations among Ljubljana, Zagreb, Novi Sad and Belgrade were, of course, different than they are now. Today you surely cannot create such a network on the same bases as it was done thirty years ago. That, after all, is not so important. What seems much more important is to establish relevant criteria through which we shall value what was being created at one time and to involve into a system, in other words, to map and articulate in this way the blind spot covering all of us, through a healthy and quality evaluation of all of the events that belonged to avant-garde and neo-avant-garde tendencies that sprouted from at one time unique political and cultural space. In other words, I greet the initiative started by the young people who have invited us here and who have organised the exhibition we are about to see. This initiative is very important because it determines the coordinates and locates the events from the past that we used to either create or follow, thus confirming that those events have not disappeared, that they are not a part of a dead shapeless past, but that they can say something even today.

Želimir Žilnik: Zvonko said some excellent things such as names and individual experiences. Individuals from the outside like Boganka Poznanović who edited "Polja" with Dejan and who was an excellent technical editor all the time, and although they were not allowed to work, she was the pillar of gathering and someone who ran her own artistic workshop that was the source of incredibly rich and incredibly precise information and contacts for younger generations.

Communication in ex-Yugoslavia was torn in the most savage way with war and bloodshed, and then it was barred by the established institutions through these new histories being written now, as if that communication had never existed and even when it did exist it was not natural. However, what is surprising is that a completely informal new communication that is practically not supported by any institution is taking place now among the latest generation of artists. Young artists from Slovenia, Zagreb, Belgrade exchange information about each others' work and even do joint projects so that even this most stringent wave of provincialism with knives and guns could not disturb this communication. I would like Bálint, who participated in all this directly as a member of groups, to say how he sees things.

Bálint Szombathy: To start with, I am really happy that you mentioned Mr and Mrs Poznanović. One should know that their studio was open to all the young artists who were interested in this sort of art. In their flat, in their studio, exhibitions were held, leading art magazines were delivered there from all over the world. It was some sort of an academy, an academy in a different sense, not like the state one. And we had very energetic discussions about art as young people who felt art even more than we knew about it or understood it. Let me go back to the thing about Bogdanka and Dejan – in “Polja” they had a column – Information from the “DT 20 Studio” and they published this column not only in “Polja” but also in “Student” and other magazines, wherever they could. That column contained the latest news from all over the world that dealt with conceptual art and the most modern avant-garde radical art. When I arrived from Subotica in 1971, since Ottó Tolnai had invited me to be the graphic design editor of the magazine “Új Symposion”, they contacted me and so we put up a column called Information from the “DT 20 Studio” in three languages – Hungarian, Serbo-Croat and English. The information was published for the period of half a year in every issue, and then in the banned “Student” magazine. I have to say that I was watching the Novi Sad scene from a side, since I had already been a member of the “Bosch+Bosch” group from Subotica, even though I was already living in Novi Sad, where there were larger groups of artists. We spent time together, but not very closely. On two levels I had contacts with them with the groups “KÖD”, “January”, “February”, “(∃)” and all the others, as a creator who exhibited in the “Tribina Mladih” Gallery (at the time the editor was Mirko Radojičić and the director was Darko Hohnjec) and as a graphic design editor of “Új Symposion”. I was the editor of both the banned issues. One issue was banned because of Miroslav Mandić's text “A Poem on a Film”. This story was published only in Hungarian, it has never been published in Serbian, but the magazine was nevertheless

banned. Then I was the guest-editor of the underground issue of the student magazine “Student” from Belgrade edited by Jovica Acin and Milorad Vučelić, who became the infamous manager of Radio Television of Serbia in the nineties. They were strange careers then. Luckily I was summoned only as a witness, probably because I was from Novi Sad, not from Belgrade. They were sentenced to a year and a half of prison suspended.

However, to go back to what Miško was saying about how much “Tribina Mladih” was a reservation and how much it was not. I hear those theses more and more often. I did not see it that way. I saw it as complete freedom, as a great possibility, especially regarding what was going on in Subotica, because nothing was, of course, going on. Later I went abroad a number of times in similar clubs and institutions. Let's say that something similar to “Tribina Mladih” was the “Club of Young Artists” in Budapest. You had to be a member with a member card to get in, or if there was a concert or a great exhibition or some other mass gathering you would be let in only if there were a few free seats, but you would have to pay for the ticket. Of course, we knew that the comrades were watching, noting down, documenting, especially in 1989 when



The open discussion “Omitted History” held at the opening of the exhibition “The Continuous Art Class”, Museum of Contemporary Art Novi Sad, November 2005

the records were open. I was amazed when I was reading those texts that described some performances, happenings, exhibitions in the most professional manner. It was done by the art historians of the system. It was... as if Miško was writing about it. I'm joking. Then in 1977 I spent some time in Poland, in Krakow, with Katalin Ladik. We had a one-day presentation in a gallery and around 30 people came, but it looked more like a funeral. The atmosphere was very strange, held back, and after the program I asked the organiser "So, why is this so?" and he said "Only members can come in. Nobody from the street is allowed in". So, this gives you an insight to how open "Tribina Mladih" was, how it gave chance to some people, regardless of the fact that we were closely observed by the system.

I would like to come back to this evening, to the event that is very important. The exhibition is organised with utmost sensibility and it is a world class exhibition. But one should know that this is not the first attempt to show the history of the Novi Sad avant-garde. It started with the "KÓD" group exhibition in the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Novi Sad. Then there was the exhibition "Central-European Aspects of Vojvodian Avant-gardes" in the same institution that was then called the Museum of Contemporary Art and it was continued with the last year's retrospective of Slavko Matković and his monograph, also on 8 December, if you come here, my retrospective will be open so this thing is going on more fronts and I am very glad that this is so and there are people interested among the younger audience.

Želimir Žilnik: It is true that Bálint's work has not been exhibited here, but in these glass cases you can see almost all of the magazines you mentioned, that you edited both graphically and conceptually. There is even Miroslav's poem in Hungarian, the one he served in prison for, the poem about film. So, your presence is in the things you've done.

One of the people who are very experienced and who wrote about the artistic practice, was the editor of many most discussed and problematic magazines before going to film production was Lazar Stojanović. He is the film director who suffered most from censorship. I would like him to tell us his attitude about the topics we are talking about today.

Lazar Stojanović: The experience that has the most meaning for me today, the one that makes me nostalgic is that I am here and that the organisers have been kind enough to invite me to this panel that discusses "Tribina Mladih", that was one of the most forming institutions at the time when I, as a young man, worked, as much as I could. "Tribina Mladih" made me rich for many friends who are still my friends, although

I don't meet them as often as I would want to. Looking back now, I think that it has great significance, that it has entered history; that it has entered the history of the culture the way – although not through international festivals – the way some films that were created at the time entered history. I would come to "Tribina Mladih" often, I would bring some people and made a couple of pieces at the time when the manager was Judita Šalgo, very closely cooperating with the Poznanović's who were publishing their work in my space and I published mine in theirs. We had a very developed cooperation and did many things together, for example, with Miroslav Mandić. That was how I met and got to know people like the composer Peđa Vranešević, who I admire immensely, who is with us together, and many other wonderful people I shall never forget, who had, in my opinion, the capacity to form.

"Tribina Mladih" is not the only, but is a very important phenomenon, a liberal phenomenon in the culture life of those years, that appeared during the period that Mrs Latinka Perović described in a nutshell, and I would only want to point to some other features of the period. You see, we live in the Balkans, in Novi Sad, some of us in Belgrade, and this Balkan belonging of the former Yugoslavia, including Slovenia, marks our way of life very substantially, also our daily politics, literature and culture. There have been no long or great liberal periods in the Balkans ever. Maybe somebody, who knows history more than me will have the opportunity to correct me, but this period that we are mentioning tonight is important just because it is not typical for the last 150 years of the history of the Balkans. Here and there, you could see a free-thinking artist, like, between the First and the Second World Wars, for example the surrealist movement, avant-garde, but they did not develop the political dimension of their activities, nor a dimension of directly affecting public and social lives that characterises liberal epochs, and "Tribina Mladih", however, has.

What happened there at all? How was it possible that such an unusual period did occur and especially in Yugoslavia? When a revolution ends, that is, a period of violent overturn – whatever they may call it – when you come from the phase of the compulsory delivery quotas of your crops to the state, for example, intended to secure food supplies for all the people, and when it drowns in violence; then a movement must become an order. The evolution from a movement to order was not something autochthonous that somebody had thought of in his cabinet; it was a situation Yugoslavia found itself in, and that was a communist system with Josip Broz, a very strong personality, at its head. One had to find a solution that would clearly distinguish Yugoslavia from Moscow, from the Eastern Bloc, the

camp, as Želimir has put it, but which would preserve all the values that were pointed out as the values of the revolution, and which would, also, clearly distinguish such a country from a capitalist state and from the standard multi-party democracy and civic democracy. Now, how does one do it? There were two parallel tracks. One was developed on the basis of non-alignment – if you are in neither block, there is a chance to create a third block, and so it led to the Non-aligned Movement. The other track was self-management. That was something that was interpreted and defended by a whole army of people at the time, that later grew to the “Praxis Group”, that, with a lot of effort, tried to connect this process with Marxism, especially with early Marx. This enterprise was Promethean but it just did not work. It had nothing to do with Marxism – this self-management was a fundamental element of anarchist theory and proofs for this you can find if you read Marx himself, mostly in his early work, in his discussions with Max Schtirner and the Bauer Brothers. That remained a sort of a non-defined margin in the political philosophies of the time, and it has been such to this day. You can, for example, notice that Marx is criticising Schtirner with Proudhon’s arguments, and he criticises Proudhon, as a petty bourgeois and bourgeois anarchist thinker with the arguments of brothers Bauer and Schtirner – he, therefore, has no unique standpoint, but one thing is for sure – there was no talk of standing for self-management nor developing the theory in his work. At that time they were translating books and publishing books of exactly the early socialists, and anarchists and, finally, some social-democrats. It was no wonder that Karl Kautsky was read a lot, who left the communists in 1905 and started social-democracy. Exactly that teaching was the first sparkle of pluralism in Yugoslavia. It emerged in the area of political thinking, pure political theory that we loved to call philosophy at the time, but later in some of its branches it went to some sort of philosophy, at least in the West, where, for example in the “New School for Social Research” this theory was well received as a new political philosophy. In fact it was basically searching for a theoretical basis to define the identity of the new Yugoslavia, where, I say, the culture belonged. When we speak of Non-alignment, we were all a bit... and I remember those days well, I was a young man – we saw ourselves as very important and the country as very influential on the world political stage, politically equal to the greatest, exceptionally advanced economically, that is with a great perspective of fast growth. When I look at that period today, it seems that it was all completely unrealistic. We must have looked funny to our guests from the West or from the East, because we were a small country, quite poor, and even this philosophy was rather weak. It wasn’t for example German classical philosophy, or post-modern, nor was it something prolific and rich with ideas. No, there were around ten people who had written around fifty

books, mainly trying to align Marx and self-management. Both because of the Non-alignment and the West, it was necessary to produce some sort of culture and some sort of social situation of freedom in a society, that would be impressive for the West that gave us loans, and was selling weapons at the time, so we would be able to defend our borders. In the same way, we should have created something that would be interesting to the East Bloc, where we always loved to boast how we had the freedom, and they did not. We saw from what Mr Bálint said that the difference was in whether the ticket was paid for or not, if the freedom field was open or closed, and that was in the beginning all the difference. When the Informbiro thing was finished, and when some, young people then, philosophers who were connected to the Informbiro proved themselves in the best possible way, were given posts as heads of departments at universities and had great careers, were given the freedom to be philosophers of the new thinking, of that self-management, they were immediately involved, and the system involved them in the propaganda of the reforms. Those reforms started in 1962 with Tito’s famous speech in Split. It was only a hint, like in China at one moment “Thousands of flowers shall bloom”, because it was then that we were entering the period of free economic initiative and proclaimed this country to be free and that it should be developed in that manner. It was defined and proclaimed as the reform of 1965 and became exceptionally important, but it was important for us who were dealing with culture, because, all of a sudden, borders were open and people were allowed to travel. Before that it was very difficult to go abroad, because you had to have special reasons to travel, or, for example, a very strong supporter in the regime so that he could make it possible for you to get the visa in the police. The decision to let people travel freely was not based on the standpoint that somebody wanted to give the people freedom to freely go abroad and say something that the authorities could not control, but to solve the problem of latent unemployment or the fictitious employment rate. The entire Eastern Bloc suffered from this, even Yugoslavia. The concept of socialist economy was that everybody had to be employed. The working posts were planned in some offices so that everyone could be employed, and the fact that there was no work to be done, that the work was not productive, and that the work was something the money was being lost on and not gained, was not of the interest to those who were planning during the state socialism era. The key change was that people were told that we would be working productively, and this was creating a whole new technological class; that we would be working on the principles of profit – there would be as many employed as there was need for them, posts would be advertised and competitive, and the rest were free to travel, to seek jobs. This coincided with the strong support of the West, above all Western Europe, Germany most of all, and our people went to Germany

and France in those days. It seemed as a very good solution that made it possible for our people to travel and see things, to become friends with others and learn something.

However, since we are talking about a stiff, glass system controlled by UDBA (State security service), only a year later the vice-president of the country was replaced, Aleksandar Ranković, an exceptionally powerful, influential personality. I have always thought that this happened because he simply was not necessary for such a project, and he could have been an obstacle. He, as the top policeman, could be the enemy of such a reform. It was opening the door for everyone, even for artists. You could finally see pieces of the so-called abstract art; you could freely play and listen to jazz; a man could be dressed as he wanted to, so, certain barriers regarding fashion and behaviour fell down after Ranković was replaced, and since the end of 1966 the development of free press and cinematography started. Before that it was inconceivable. Firing Ranković opened the door to a different politics that was supposed to deal with some, for that order, important issues, and which was organized and introduced in a new way, and since then it was officially freedom, but in reality they were still reservations. So, this freedom that was established did not quite match the freedom as seen by those who inclined to being free, and they were mainly young people who were into culture at the time. That was the most liberal period, you can determine yourself when it began, I think it started with the proclamation of the Economic Reforms in 1965. Then in 1968, through the students' movement and events in Czechoslovakia, this process received forms that the system could not control efficiently, the social unrest occurred and the decision was made at the top on how and where the reform should lead. Now I am going to mention another three moments which I find very important when realising the direction that reform took and the destiny it met; to see how that most liberal period in post-war history ended – I mean the WWII, not the most recent one.

During the mentioned 1968 the liberal-national movement was developed in Croatia. It was liquidated at a session in Karađorđevo in 1971. After that, what was called liberalism in Serbia, and that was not called liberalism – Mrs Perović may correct me if I define something wrongly – because of the liberal political ideas, but primarily because of the economic liberalism, because these people stood for the freedom of running a business and respecting the professional values and norms and legal procedure. So, this democracy had a certain form that was not authoritative but liberal, and liberals involved culture there. This completely different movement in Belgrade, a year after the movement

was liquidated in Zagreb, was liquidated in 1972 by Tito's famous letter that was actually written by the late Stane Dolanc, and this movement was an action of a group of politicians opposed to the reforms and that was where the reforms ended. That led to firing a large number of people, especially firing managers, and they were most often the managers of great enterprises and those that were called the technocrats, but it also encompassed a certain number of people who were dealing with culture and an even larger number of people who were working in the media. And this ended it all. Besides, apart from the powers behind the Letter, there was an earlier developed anti-reforming power, anti-liberal, which had for long opposed the reforms. The most outstanding representative of that attitude was now deceased professor Stipe Šušteršič. He introduced the infamous education reforms that I am not going to bother you with, but he, as the chief of the working group of the party committee in Croatia also did a job that was called "The White Book". Many of us here were mentioned in that white book, and it described, defined and named a wide spectrum of people who were into culture and the media all over that Yugoslavia and it practically formulated political charges for further legal procedures. And that was how it all ended. After that, for the first time after 1972 something in this country changed with the arrival of Ante Marković and the introduction of pluralism into politics of the former Yugoslavia, and until that moment, the described period was the most liberal in the life of the Balkans, and not only because we were young it was nice and interesting to us, although a price had to be paid for it, but because freedom was practiced and it led to flourishing of the culture that we are remembering today.

Želimir Žilnik: A concrete reason for our gathering here today has been seen in a wider context, because, obviously, it did come out of the wider context and was terminated with it. As opposed to the other, former "concentration camp" states, police archives from that time have still not been opened. It would be interesting to open the archives of the party forums, because it is happening even in Russia. Naum Kleiman, a historian, told me that there are cinematographic records where you can systematically track down what were the state party materials on cinematography. In that context, I had a look at documents that relate to international cooperation, where I found something that I find confusing, something that our politicians and historians never mention and never use, and that is that one part of what was going on here, even a part of retrograde events was a result of international pressures. Those pressures were really extensive. So, in those records about the relationships with the Yugoslav cinematography it says: "Considering that anarchic-liberal tendencies have emerged that are opposed to

socialism in 1969, '70 and '71, firstly the import of films from Yugoslavia is to be reduced to 50%; secondly, contacts are to be reduced as well as what the mandatory film reviews have been collecting and we should check what authors we invite". And that was what Russians wrote! One part of what we today see as dogmatism amongst our lines was surely inspired through the pressures from the outside, which would be very interesting to look into. Because, after the wars and the fall of Yugoslavia there was a problem that we see ourselves as people who "lived upon a tree". However, the situation is more complex than that tree, just as you can see from what we are saying. There was both the practice and communication with the world and possibility to be creative and have the initiative and I think that it would be good, because of some self-respect on the one hand and for some personal encouragement and today's young generation on the other to throw light on those positions.

Slavko Bogdanović: I would just like to pay attention to another segment of what was happening in Novi Sad, which has, maybe not been given attention and that was the student magazine "Index". This was an exceptionally wide context that you all gave – from a very wide introduction by Mrs Latinka Perović, to what Lazar was talking about and the concrete issues that Miško, Bálint, especially and Zvonko said.

"Index" was the tribune of the Students of Vojvodina, and it is important to know that it was an important voice at that moment – we are talking about the post-68 events in Novi Sad, when in Belgrade, at the Faculty of Philosophy people tried to mark the first and later the second anniversary of the students' demonstrations, which led to certain political clashes between the City Committee of the Communist Union (CU) and the Alliance of Students of Belgrade University, where "Student" was the voice of the Alliance of Students. Here, in Novi sad, it was similar – we had the University and Provincial Committees of the CU, we had the Alliance of Students that supported the Alliance of Students of Belgrade University, we had "Index", which was openly supporting both the activities at the Faculty of Philosophy and the Alliance of Students in Belgrade, and we had a clash between the university student organisation and the Provincial Committee of CU – an open clash at that and "Index" was banned because of some stories, because of the open opposition to the politics of the CU at the University. What was important to say in this context was that the people who were the protagonists of the new artistic practice worked in "Index". An important number of pieces were published there. I would say, in that most critical period, "Index" published more stories than "Tribina" did. "Tribina" was an exceptional place, but only after "Index" was shut down and after the sentences were passed did "Tribina" "blossom" in a certain way. I have to

say this and we have to clear this temporal context – what happened and how. I think that Zoran Mirković mentioned some important issues in that conversation, on the same topic that we had eleven months ago in Novi Sad Culture Centre, and we should bear that in mind.

I am really happy that Mrs Perović has come over. I really appreciate it. I wish you had spoken more from the political angle. You were speaking as a researcher, and I respect that fully, but it would mean more to me if you could comment on issues from the political angle – you were then, unless I am mistaken, the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CU of Serbia. Did you have any idea of what was going on here, in Novi Sad, or was it only in knowing and auspices of Mirko Čanandanović and were you aware of what was the meaning of such a relation towards the people in culture? We saw now a wider context, and we know about the "black wave" in film, we know what the attitude of politics was regarding it, we know the tension that was constantly there, but, obviously, at one point, the intention of the political structures to "clean up" the matter spread to these institutions, that were both students' and, as I would put it "softer" regarding the media, more exclusive. The avant-garde is always exclusive; it is not populist art. Were you aware what it meant to start the state machine and all the social force against the young people in Novi Sad? First people from Novi Sad and Vojvodinian culture were involved in this witch-hunt writing in the press against "such events". Also the lieutenants of warships appeared demanding our re-education and so on. Was there any awareness of its meaning or was it all handed over to the party-political apparatus, which acted thinking about the possible destiny of the entire society that was between a stone and a hard place, between the dogmatic east and Stalinism and the threatening West, capitalism which we never loved?

Latinka Perović: I would like to give you the answer to your question. At events like this I always feel like an object of evaluation. I have written two books about that period: "Closing the Circle", which was published by "Svjetlost" from Sarajevo and "Serbian Fragile Vertical", published three years ago in Belgrade. In this second book, you can find Marko Nikezić's writing with my large introductory study. I want to say that I differentiate the technology of a historian from the technology of the participants in events. Of course, we were aware of the limitations of the ratio of power within the party, but also in the society, and especially of the world context. It is very important what Žilnik said about the media and film, those were two fields that Belgrade was always warned about by Moscow. It was intended for a wide audience and was supposed to start the fermentation process for the decay of ideology. Laza Stojanović

described the process precisely and the dilemma Yugoslavia had: shall it go towards modernisation and liberalisation or will there be a Stalinist turn. They decided on the second one and it is not inexplicable. I think that the different evolution of the parts of Yugoslavia in post-communism is a proof that there were different possibilities and that history here has not put all bets on one card. But there are certain constants as far as Serbia is concerned, and one of them is the termination of the initiated reforms. The carriers of the reforms were most often stigmatised. I will not mention examples from politics, I shall mention Ksenija Atanasijević's example, the first woman-philosopher in Serbia. Belgrade demimonde made her life bitter, and she was in direct danger from both the Gestapo, and the communist authorities after the Second World War. She was accused of plagiarism, which was never proven, but this tag follows her name like a shadow, just to belittle her intellectual and moral values. The same goes for the liberals they have, they say, banned most. So why are they gone? Decency makes me finish my response here.

Lazar Stojanović: Just something short, since I think that I am in the position to say what Mrs Perović could have said, but due to her exceptionally good taste and sensibility she would not do it. I have learned to respect Mrs Latinka Perović even during the times when we were at the two opposing poles and when, at least my point of view of the situation was as it is now. We are unfortunate participants of the same process. Each one of us has, of course, had his idea where to go and what to achieve. The entire group of Belgrade Liberals, led by the late Marko Nikezić, where Mrs Perović had a prominent role, was, as Mr Bogdanović has said in another context, between a rock and a hard place. Immense pressure was put upon them to do something and when, in the end, they did not do what they were asked to, they were dismissed. They, however, had the idea of how to achieve something sequentially, through democratization changing certain patterns, slowly moving the entire situation towards a sort of democratization, and that one should avoid certain radical moments that could bring this extremely serious project in question. We, however, my friends and I, and I believe a large number of other people, who were also a part of that process, and who also had the wish to change the situation in the society they lived in, we thought – and I think that we did not make a mistake thinking that way – that this was a very stiff order that could not be bent, that would either break or they would replace you and continue to exist at all costs. We had no hopes that we would change anything in that order. We just wanted to expose the facts we were aware of and that our standpoints were heard in the country and abroad because it could affect their perception of the circumstances, and maybe, additionally, in a very wide context to

influence the social process. We did not have the illusion that by standing in the street and opposing much stronger police forces, by publishing some magazines that were constantly banned, that we would change the world. We did not have that illusion. Today Mrs Latinka Perović and I are on the same side. My respect for her has in the meantime only grown and I think that, not only Mrs Perović, but also the late Nikezić and the late Mirko Tepavac, but not the late Mr Čanandanović, for example, represent very important people who were trying to do a very serious thing on the same line “Tribina Mladih” was.

Miško Šuvaković: I would like to set up the issue in a different way. Slavko Bogdanović, who I have written a book about and who I think I knew well, was not an innocent victim of the communist totalitarian regime. What he did was deliberate and he was fully conscious when he decided to be a victim who, under the influence of adrenaline, youth anger and anarchist “freshness” provoked the mechanisms of the then society. Why am I saying this? Because we usually say – Everyone is good – white heterosexuals going to church on Sunday and the society functions well. But the question is who is “everyone”? Are we talking of all the good Christians, of all the good party members or ... ? Democratic society is the society that will tolerate the one that does not fit, for example, a black Jewish homosexual and creates conceptual art. What did I want to say with this? I wanted to say that it was no innocent game and that was what I started with today. On the one hand let us not say – the memories are nice, those boys were wonderful, the state was disgusting. Of course the state was disgusting and each state is always disgusting, but those boys were young, cheeky, intelligent and they produced the “symptom” at the most dangerous or most painful spots of that society. But, what is important, the main enemies of those young, cheeky boys – unfortunately there were very few girls then – were not only the generals, chiefs of police, secret services and information agencies, their enemies were their colleagues, poets, art critics, people who worked in culture, painters, sculptors, who led and created the “moderate modernism” doxa in the times they lived in. That was a bureaucratic mechanism that they were confronting. The politicians were just indirect reflection of that middle infrastructure of intellectual elites and bureaucrats for whom this presented a provocation. Also, an important fact was that this clash in Novi Sad from the early '70s still exists in this city, in this country, almost with the same people and with the same concepts of those days. It is not always about macro-politics, it is also about adjusting of the micro-power to the illusions of macro-power. Political bodies, police institutions were the means in that game, as Michel Foucault would say, which were run by the mechanisms of

the technology of authorities. But, it was the political struggle between cultural concepts. Such a process was taking place, for example, at the same time in Slovenia and the Central Committee (CC) of Slovenia demanded that the “Problemi” magazine be banned and that the poets who were called Ludists, they were a generation younger than “OHO”, be arrested. Kardelj said “Let the children play. There, Dedijer will come to finish the business.” The problem with Novi Sad was that there was no Kardelj who would be summoned to Belgrade, this is an extreme personalising of the story, but, it actually shows social mechanisms that operated at the time, and it was no innocent game. An avant-garde, neo-avant-garde artist had “dirty hands” in that game because he provoked the system that had clean hands, yet stained with authority, showed as metaphysically clean hands in “Mostar Rains” poems and similar products.

Another important thing is – does anyone in this room know what the most important exhibition of conceptual art in Europe in 1971 that “KÔD” group exhibited was? “The Paris Biennale of the Young”. Right! What does that mean? “The Paris Biennale of the Young” in 1971 was one of the most important European exhibitions through which conceptual art entered the institutions and processes of the European art system. “Art& Language”, Joseph Kosuth, Robert Barry and others exhibited there. Apart from Goran Trbuljak, Braco Dimitrijević, OHO group, they also invited the members of the “KÔD” group, “(Э-KÔD”. The problem was not that some Central Committee voted that this news should not be known, that the group “KÔD” was banned and that did not exist. The problem was that even today it STILL has not entered the history of art, it has not entered the mechanisms of interpreting modernism in this environment, and this is a problem. What are the ways of creating auto-censorships, bans or constructions of doxa that certain professions project what art history of a period should look like. That is politics! Politics is not only secret police and Central Committee. It is exactly the problem today that you cannot read what was written in Slavko Bogdanović’s file from the ‘70s, and it probably says a lot and that is interesting – my mom loves reading such books – but this is about trying to show that this is also an attempt of this exhibition that is in the basement of this building. It is the attempt to create a great retrospective, for example of Raša Teodosijević and Goran Đorđević in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, that these things are led into a dominant doxa of this culture, and unfortunately, regardless of those great exhibitions, it has not become a doxa. It is not a matter of banning but of complex problems and fight in cultural politics where culture is concerned with national, class, political and other various identities. It is about the fight to construct cultural reality.

Comment from the audience: You said that a certain Slavko Bogdanović confronted the society he lived in, and I was, actually, hit by the fact that you said that the society loves a white heterosexual church-going Christian, when it is known that during communism many Orthodox Christians suffered more than during the four centuries under the Ottoman empire. Namely, what was it with Slavko Bogdanović regarding confronting the society?

Lazar Stojanović: Not only Orthodox Christians. In Cambodia mostly Buddhists suffered, in Poland they were Catholic, and surely in the Soviet Union and in Poland, under the communist authorities very many Jews suffered. Their work in Africa, suffering of the Black people under communists... I am just saying that not only Orthodox people suffered.

Question from the audience: I just wanted to ask one of you to tell us some personal impressions connected to the period when, as far as I have found out there was no actual official censorship, still it was the perfect mechanism where you could apply auto-censorship and directed censorship, so to say. The example was the play “When Pumpkins Bloomed” from 1972, when Tito himself said that he did not want the play to be banned, but that the self-managers should disassociate from that. I know that many films were withdrawn after that, banned because of some reports from communists from, I don’t know, a factory in Zenica or similar. So, maybe someone can concretely say something regarding these problems and remember who initiated some processes, bans and remarks to their work.

Želimir Žilnik: There is a relatively impressive pile of documents on the topic of censorship and restrictive actions. It is not true that we did not have censorship. When we talk of cinematography, we had something that was called the “Commission for Viewing Films”. It existed on the republic level, and later, from 1971 when the “noose was tightened” it was made in the Province. The existence of censorship meant that the mechanism of creating a part of films was not completely controlled, because, if it was, then it would be completely absurd to have the “Commission for Viewing Films”, that is, censorship that handed out a certificate approving the film to be publicly viewed. The president of the “Commission for Viewing Films” was Antonije Isaković, member of the Serbian Academy of Art and Sciences, manager of “Prosveta” publishing house and a high political official. Those talks did not resemble what we know as the GULAG situation, it was talking to a man who had gone through the artistic practice between the two wars. So, he could say to me “Listen, Žilnik, you have used means

of expressionism here, and you don't know how expressionism can be very dangerous. Let us remember Marinetti from the 1920s when he, for example, flirted with Mussolini." Our situation was not the situation of a total iron curtain. For example, I was, with five or six of my films, in a situation that a censorship of some parts in them was required, and they were mostly the films where "Avala Film" or "Neoplanta Film" invested their money and they wanted to see them in cinemas, so that they agreed with the interventions as producers. I still show all of these films around the world and I have not denounced them because of a couple of minutes eliminated by the censorship.

Lazar Stojanović gave us a good presentation of the situation connected to the economic reforms when at one point there was immense unemployment in Yugoslavia, which was a shock to us. Luckily, Germans, probably having agreed with the top of the country, agreed to open the road for millions of us, for hundreds of thousands of our *gastarbeiters*. In 1966 I made a film called "Unemployed Men and Women". In job centres, I found people sitting and waiting for the representatives from German, *arbeitzeint*, job centres who came here and grouped people according to their profiles – metal workers, people from the chemical industries and took them away. Our people in job centres were quite upset with this new situation of disturbed identities, where many of them were party members, communists and had no jobs; some of them had fought Germans, and now they went to Germany to work. Also, it initiated something that became quite massive in these post-socialist waves of unemployment - women became sexual workers. I found the first strip-tease girls in the bar of hotel Putnik, shot them and also showed them in the film "Unemployed Men and Women". When our censorship saw this, Antonije Isaković tells me: "Oh, please comrade Žilnik", he says "These men are aware class-wise, if those Germans employ them, they will fight capitalism there, but those women who became whores, they cannot be returned to the status of working class". I say "So, what am I to do?" He says "Cut out the women", "How should I do it?" I asked. "Cut the women out, I won't let you go through with it". Imagine this, I cut the second part of the film, and today I am famous as a man who has a film about the unemployed people which won the main prize at a festival in Belgrade, and what is most interesting, at the biggest world festival in Oberhausen it received a Grand Prix. So "Unemployed Men" were awarded, but with Lule's intervention.

To conclude, what is the tragic result of our situation, which is what Mrs Perović said, is that there is a conservative segment of the society that very easily adjusts to everything authoritarian. My last meeting

with Lule Isaković, who I do not attack as a censor, was when he was leaving Matica Srpska with some orthodox priests and I told him "Lule, where are you going with priests, didn't you pull their beards out in '41?", and he said, "Don't, Žilnik. Shut up", and I said "Lule, you haven't signed two censorship cards". Really, for my film "Women are coming" I haven't got a censorship card. And Lule turns towards the priests and says "Žilnik has always loved to joke, let us invite him for dinner. He is our man, Orthodox."

Question from the audience: Why was the Novi Sad scene marginalised in the artistic movements for the past 20 to 30 years, why are there no key participants here with us, and have they been invited? I think that little attention was paid to them.

Želimir Žilnik: You mean the people whose pieces of art are at the exhibition? Well, the organiser can answer that, I think that more or less most of us are here, those who are alive, apart from Miroslav Mandić, I asked Miroslav to come personally, but he said that he was against cataloguing and museuming the material, which is one of possible attitudes an artist can have. But I think that the rest are here.

Question from the audience: Yes, Mr Žilnik, but why aren't they invited to speak of their work and that time. I mean, you speak quite positively about that, and Mr Šuvaković, you wrote little about them in your book. Very little about the Novi Sad scene, nothing special.

Želimir Žilnik: At least 60% of what was said here was directed towards the analysis of the Novi Sad scene, mentioning people from the Novi Sad scene and their artistic practice. And when I mention films, they were all realised in Novi Sad, so this is actually the same scene. The film "Early Works" was done in Novi Sad. I was eventually excommunicated – even my social security was terminated. They sent me a letter in 1972 saying "Comrade Žilnik, since you do not participate at public screenings with your films, you cannot have the status of a free artist", and they took my social security away from me, so that I cannot be retired now, when I'm old because I haven't got enough years of work experience.

Miško Šuvaković: Since you asked me, in a way, I think the task that the organiser of this discussion gave us was not the presentation of the art scene during the late 60s and early 70s, but cultural and political interpretation of the context where that art practice took place. As far as the very artists go, to me those artists are really important, precious people who I have met and who I admire. Marginalising the Novi Sad

scene in Serbia is a separate issue. Also, presentation of artistic practice in state, national, cultural contexts are special phenomena that could be discussed at another discussion, where one would talk about the attitude the centre has, the hegemony of the centre, margin, relationship of museum institutions and their relations. That is a separate story that should be discussed separately at another occasion.

Želimir Žilnik: I would like to thank all the presenters and I would also like to thank the audience that have followed this attentively and who have come in such great numbers. I think this is a discussion that can be one of possible, initial discussions on such topics. I also thank the organisers the Centre_kuda.org and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Novi Sad. I think that, for us, who live here, enlightening that period in our current country and former country, it is very important to have discussions like this.

Biographies of the Participants of the Debate "Omitted History"

Želimir Žilnik, film director, Novi Sad

Film director, general editor of "Tribina Mladih" between 1961 and 1962. Director of numerous short documentary feature films and documentary TV dramas. The entire first phase of the film work Žilnik dedicates to contemporary topics that include social, political and economic criticism of the everyday. Student demonstrations in 1968 are the topic of Žilnik's first feature film "Early Works" (1969). Making films in Novi Sad "Neoplanta film" production house, Žilnik was surrounded by the first concrete activities of the "new artistic practice" of the sixties and the seventies "Tribina Mladih", "KÖD" group "Bosch+Bosch" etc, so his early films have the feature of various experimenting and free expression. "Early Works" were banned by the state censorship. The film was awarded Grand Prix Golden Bear at the festival in Berlin. His film "Marble Ass" from 1995 was awarded at the festival in Berlin. For more information please visit www.zelimirzilnik.net

Professor Miško Šuvaković, PhD, theoretician of art, professor of aesthetics and theory of art, University of Art in Belgrade. Co-founder and member of the conceptual "Group 143" (*Grupa 143*) (1975 – 1980). Co-founder and member of the informal theoretical and artistic "Community for the Exploration of Spaces" (*Zajednica za istraživanja prostora*) (1982 – 1989). Cooperative of the group "Walking Theory" (*Teorija koja hoda*) (2000 – 2002) and cooperative of "Walking Theory" (*Teorija koja hoda*) (since 2002). He worked on performance art between 1974 and 1980. He has been in theoretical performance since 1998. He was the editor of the following magazines "Catalogue 143" (*Katalog 143*) (1975-78), "Mental Space" (*Mentalni prostor*) (1982-87), "Transkatalog" (1995-98) and "TkH" (since 2001). Tenure at the Faculty of Music Art. Lectures at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade and at the Intedisciplinary Master Studies at the University of Art in Belgrade. He is the coordinator of the group for the Theory of Art and Media.

Latinka Perović, PhD, historian, Belgrade

Latinka Perović was the president of the CU of Serbia from 1969 to 1972 when she was removed from the position along with Marko Nikezić and other colleagues accused of liberalism. Since then she has worked on studying history of the modern Serbian state. She worked at the Institute for the New History of Serbia from 1976 to 1998. Since 1993 she is the chief editor of the magazine "Flows of History" (*Tokovi Istorije*). Work: "Closing of the Circle" (*Zatvaranje kruga*), Sarajevo 1991, "Political Elite and Modernisation in the First Decade of the Independence of the Serbian State" (*Politička elita i modernizacija u prvoj deceniji nezavisnosti srpske države*), "Serbia in Processes of Modernisation" – a scientific gathering, Belgrade 1994.

Zvonko Maković, PhD, art historian, chief of Department of History of Art at the School of Philosophy in Zagreb. Head of the Department of Modern Art and Visual Communication at the School of Philosophy in Zagreb. Author of numerous exhibitions and books dedicated to important Croatian artists. Curator of the national pavilion of Croatia at the 49th Biennale in Venice, sharp critic of political and social events in Croatia during the nineties. He was one of the editors of the "Parket salon" at "Tribina Mladih" in 1971.

Bálint Szombathy, multimedia artist, Budapest

Founder of "Bosch+Bosch" group from Subotica. Multimedia artist, writer and designer. Fields of artistic work: installations, performance, mail art, visual poetry and criticism. He was the technical editor and designer of "Új Symposium", magazine in the Hungarian language published in Novi Sad. He lives and works in Novi Sad and Budapest.

Lazar Stojanović, film director, Belgrade

Film director and publicist, Lazar Stojanović was born and educated in Belgrade, during the last fifteen years he lives and mostly works in the USA. He has worked in theatre, edited books, taught, was a critic and worked on documentary films. His disagreement with the ruling policies of the former Yugoslavia, now Serbia, marks his public work to a great extent. He is the author of a feature film "Plastic Jesus" (*Plastični Isus*) made in 1971, which was confiscated and then released in 1990.

Jugoslavija kao izvanredno stanje: Đilas i Đinđić

Tomislav Medak i Petar Milat

i. Sljedeće je izlaganje dio našeg obuhvatnijeg istraživanja o "Jugoslaviji kao biopolitičkom eksperimentu". Preciznije, radi se o odjeljku, u kojem ćemo govoriti o dva teksta, koja po našem mišljenju na vrlo poseban način ekspliciraju socijalno-filozofska pitanja koja se vežu uz sudbinu formacije, koju se nekoć nazivalo "Jugoslavija". To su "Nova klasa" Milovana Đilasa - zasigurno najpoznatiji disidentski tekst s područja bivše Jugoslavije, pisan polovicom 50-ih godina, te zbirka ogleđa Zorana Đinđića, "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država", publicirana krajem 80-ih godina, nedugo prije samog početka dezintegracije jugoslavenske državne formacije.

Ma koliko god da ti tekstovi markiraju krucijalne rezove u specifičnim osobnim sudbinama autora (Đilas koji iz pozicije de facto "trećeg čovjeka" unutar državne administracije postaje glavni, barem ideološki, oponent režima, i Đinđić koji će ubrzo postati jedan od lidera Demokratske stranke u Srbiji, de facto ostavljajući znanstveni rad za sobom), oni nas ovdje ne interesiraju kao svjedočanstva onog što je Jugoslavija "bila" ili je "mogla postati", već nam oni ovom prilikom više služe u nastojanju da odgovorimo na neka od filozofskih pitanja koja nameće novi globalni ustroj.

Dakle, što je "Jugoslavija" upravo kao (socijalno-) filozofsko pitanje iz globalizirane perspektive, a ne kao predmet istraživanja kulturalnih studija, sociologije, ekonomije, etnologije itd.? Koliko god da su takva ispitivanja nužna, vrijedna i potrebna, ne možemo se riješiti dojma da ona uistinu ne dotiču onaj segment koji je činio srž "Jugoslavije" kao socijalnog eksperimenta i koji nam je možda (a to "možda" ovdje uzimamo u svoj njegovoj fragilnosti i mogućnosti da ono zapravo nije više moguće) ostavio u nasljeđe distinktivni emancipatorni potencijal.

U ovom ogledu striktno se ograničavamo na Đilasov i Đinđićev tekst, dok razmatranje samorazumijevanja i prakse jugoslavenskih političkih elita (dakle, ponajprije pitanje "samoupravljanja" u spisima Edvarda Kardelja) kao i interpretaciju "Jugoslavije" od strane najeminentnijih jugoslavenskih filozofa samih (Gajo Petrović i Vanja Sutlić), ostavljamo zasad po strani kako se radi o temama koje će činiti ostale odjeljke našeg istraživanja.

No, jugoslavensko samoupravljanje iz globalizirane perspektive bit će nam zanimljivo ukoliko se kroz njega fokusiraju domene jedne drukčije legalnosti i drukčije socijalne epistemologije (tako da ćemo samoupravljanje čitati iz vizure marksističke teorije prava Jevgenija Pašukanisa, te iz epistemoloških skica Alfreda Sohn-Rethela - čime bi se došlo do nešto drukčije genealogije globalne kapitalističke produkcije, no što je to, prim-

jerice, dosad bilo učinjeno). S druge strane, no s jednakom intencijom, refleksija Gaje Petrovića ili Vanje Sutlića, bit će predmetom rasprave, utoliko što nam se čini da njihovo mišljenje - unatoč posve evidentnom amalgamiranju Marxa i Heideggera, što onda većina interpretatora uzima kao svoju polazišnu, ali nažalost i krajnju točku - upravo u pitanju mogućnosti refilozofikacije teme "socijalne revolucije" eksplicira emancipatorni potencijal projekta "Jugoslavija", o kojem smo govorili.

Za razliku od toga, Đilas i Đinđić ovdje nam služe kao indeks za dvije vrste pitanja, koje su iznimno aktualne, a koje su autori nevjerojatnom intuicijom detektirali.

No, prije nego što navedemo na koja točno pitanja mislimo, vidokrug promišljanja ćemo odrediti s obzirom na temu "biopolitike i normativnosti".

Metodološka pretpostavka ovog teksta, slijedeći u tome Negrija i Hardta, bazira se na dihotomiji "rata" i "(apsolutne) demokracije". U tome kontekstu i s obzirom na upravo tako postavljenu temu normativnosti, Đilasova "Nova klasa" postavlja na dnevni red pitanje perverzije političkog koje se događa u ime socijalne revolucije, a koja bi domenu političkog željela pregoriti u cjelosti. Đinđić pak razmatra situaciju u kojoj su državna forma i suverenost razdvojene, situaciju dakle u kojoj se državna forma i suverenost neprestano traže, promašaju, ali i uzajamno postavljaju u pitanje.

Ali, prije nego što dođemo do Đilasa i Đinđića, pokušat ćemo opisati teritorij normativnosti koji se otvara ukoliko za metodološku pretpostavku uzmemo dihotomiju na "rat" i "demokraciju", čime direktno dolazimo do teme "izvanrednog stanja".

ii. Izvanredno stanje nije, izvanredno stanje vrijedi. U toj distinkciji leži, ni više ni manje, enigma suvremene politike ili onoga što smo barem u dvadesetom stoljeću nazivali politikom. No, problem je kompleksniji utoliko što se enigma politike sastoji upravo u nepropitanosti, enigmatičnosti izvanrednog stanja, ili da citiramo Agambena, "čak i danas, i pored svega, javno pravo ne poznaje teoriju vanrednog stanja, a pravnici posmatraju ovaj problem više kao *questio facti*, nego kao istinski pravni problem."

Es gibt den Ausnahmestand *nicht*, der Ausnahmestand *gilt*, moglo bi se tako parafrazirati ustrojstvo u kojem nešto vrijedi, a bez da to išta znači ili označava.

Faktičnost stanja koje ne postoji, a vrijedi faktičnost je u registru izvan svake moguće ili ozbiljene fenomenologije političkog, misli biopolitička teorija, pa time fenomenologije hegelijanskog, husserlijanskog, heideggeri-

janskog ili pak derridijanskog tipa postaju neprikladne za analizu politike izvanrednog stanja.

Izvanredno stanje ne podliježe ni znanju ni iskustvu ni svijesti (dakle, nije moguća znanost iskustva svijesti izvanrednog stanja). Izvanredno stanje, isto tako ne da se podvrgnuti Heideggerovoj meta-ekonomici bitka, zgodi darivanja i primanja. I ma koliko god paradoksalna, genuina logika konstitutivnosti izvanrednog stanja sličila logici zgrade, izvanredno stanje nije zgoda. U izvanrednom stanju ne događa se apropijacija političkog (*ereignen* u *Ereignis*), niti izvanredno stanje postoji u domeni perceptivnog (*eräugen* u *Ereignis*).

Transfenomenološka distinkcija između postojanja i važenja bit je politike izvanrednog stanja i izvanrednog stanja politike. To je, dakle, mjesto gdje se susreću, uzajamno isprepletene, politika i izvanrednost, politika i iznimnost. A to je mjesto - mjesto suverenosti.

Suverenost dakle važi, suverenost nije. Ona važi bez da išta znači ili označava.

Za Schmitta je, kao što je poznato, suveren onaj koji odlučuje o izvanrednom stanju.

Suverena odluka jest dakle ona odluka koja odlučuje o onoj iznimci od pravila koja dopušta da se deklarira izvanredno stanje, i sama je stoga u svojoj faktičnosti izvan zakona.

Izvanredno stanje kao privremeno stavljanje izvan snage domene prava je ono stanje u kojem se preklapaju faktičnost i normativnost, život i zakon. Preklapanje života i zakona sa stajališta uređene domene prava je ilegalna iznimka, doista pravo tj. suvereno i izvanredno stanje prava. No, iako iznimnost izvanrednog stanja dokazuje sve, a uređeni normativni sistem ništa - suverena odluka kao najviši akt političkog ne može da bude trajna jer bi permanentnost odlučivanja, deklariranja i važenja izvanrednog stanja značila ujedno i potpunu likvidaciju sfere političkog - i to je u ovom slučaju paradoksalno - upravo u posvemašnom delimitiranju političkog.

Suverena odluka u svojoj vlastitoj singularnosti kao izvanredni akt i najviša iznimka od juridički uređenog polja politike ozbiljuje apokalipsu političkog.

Schmitt je da izbjegne upravo takvu likvidaciju političkog u logiku suverenosti i suverene odluke ugradio dijalektiku konstitutivne i konstituirane sile. Ta bi dijalektika trebala akt suverene političke odluke učiniti vremenski ograničenim i - ukoliko je to uopće moguće - predvidivim i proračunljivim za sam juridičko-politički sustav. *Pouvoir constituant* kod

Schmitta je tako drugo ime za politiku na granici: to jest, za političko djelovanje koje svijesno svoje suverenosti jest realiziralo sve potencijale političkog, ali koje - istovremeno - zastaje na granici, limitu političkog i ne ide za apokaliptom politike u potpunom preklapanju faktičkog i normativnog, života i zakonitosti.

No, što ako je izvanredno stanje pravilo, a ne više iznimka? Što ako se apokalipsa političkog, sadržana u totalnom identificiranju života i zakona već dogodila?

Walteru Benjaminu i njegovim tezama o pojmu povijesti dugujemo prve naznake i odrednice odgovora na postavljena pitanja, no tek je sedamdesetih godina Foucault minuciozno opisao što znači življenje u -sada već - trajnom izvanrednom stanju.

Život koji je postao svoj vlastiti zakon, svoja vlastita mjera i cilj subjekt je politike izvanrednog stanja. No, i to je ovdje krucijalno, "zakon" života u realiziranom i permanentnom izvanrednom stanju više nije zakon u smislu juridičko-političkog sistema, već je to samo akt koji posjeduje snagu zakona. Dakle, u izvanrednom stanju politički akt par excellence reguliranja života postaje ukaz, akt koji ima snagu zakona a da sam nije zakon.

Logika suverenosti koja je u svojoj radikalizaciji dovela do preklapanja faktičkog i normativnog i do istovremene likvidacije političkog u uvjetima izvanrednog stanja postaje po Foucaultu logikom gubernamentaliteta, tj. logikom ne-više političkog vladanja i odlučivanja o granicama zajedničkosti. Politika ovdje nije ništa drugo no policija, u najstrožem značenju tog termina.

Ako, kao što smo rekli, policijski život u izvanrednom stanju reguliran ukazuje predstavlja apokalipsu političkog, njegovo nemoguće i utopijsko ozbiljenje, onda je moguće zaključiti da je politika i mišljenje političkog kakvim ga znamo došlo do svog kraja i cilja.

Zaborav, nestanak ili smrt politike stoga nije samo ili je to ponajmanje destruktivan kraj svih stvari, utoliko što je politički modus odlučivanja zamijenjen jednim još efikasnijim i "demokratskijim" modusom odlučivanja, onim policije.

Život koji je bezostatno postao zakon, to ujedno znači i život koji je svoja vlastita apsolutna legitimacija. Životu koji živi svoju vlastitu utopiju nije problem manjak legitimacije, već njen višak.

S druge pak strane, najviše određenje političkog kod Schmitta udvojeno je dvjema odlukama. Jedna je odluka o izvanrednom stanju, dok je druga odluka o neprijatelju tj. o deklaraciji rata.

Izvanredno stanje i ratno stanje naličja su političkog prije momenta disolucije politike, pa izvanredno stanje obilježava interni a ratno eksterni ustroj zajednice. Kad politika postane policija, takvo razlikovanje više nije moguće pa slijedom izvanredno stanje jest ratno stanje. Izvanredno stanje postaje neograničeni, a to hoće reći planetarni rat. Kako je to rat koji ne pozna granice i koji stoga ne pozna ni ono što bi se nalazilo van njega, kako je dakle sve uključeno u taj rat i kako se na sve računa - radi se o globalnom građanskom ratu.

Filozofi slijedeći Foucaulta pokušali su tu bitnu konfliktualnost globalnog izvanrednog stanja izvesti iz klasične dihotomije proizvodnih odnosa i proizvodnih snaga. U momentu kada život sam - apsolutno legitimiran - postaje singularnim predmetom policijskog bavljenja i proizvodnje, poprište rata postaje sveobuhvatno, kako na psihofizičko-biološkom planu tako i po pitanju teritorijalnosti.

Bojišnica su tako sada bezbrojna, bez-granična, globalizirana tijela i populacije koje žive život određen ukazima i normama izvanrednog stanja, živeći permanentno stanje transformacije, stanje permanentnog gubitka i dobitka.

Neprijatelj, iz takve vizure, nisu više oni drugi (jer izvanredno stanje, shodno šmitijanskoj intuiciji, ujedno znači i realizirani identitet onih koji vladaju i onih kojima se vlada) - već je to anonimna policijska mašina koja proizvodi živote i životne uvjete koji su nedostatni dosegnutoj razini proizvodnih snaga, pa se mnoštvo producenata bori ne bi li te odnose promijenilo.

I ma koliko god ta borba bila legitimna, nije li i ona upravo prizivanjem vlastite legitimnosti već unaprijed postala dio mašine izvanrednog stanja, "demokratske" policijske mašine apsolutne legitimnosti? Nije li već razlikovanje proizvodnih odnosa i snaga nedostatno da se misle kategorija prijatelja i neprijatelja unutar post-apokaliptičke zajednice izvanrednog stanja?

Mogućnost apsolutnog neprijateljstva koje nije iscrpljeno dihotomijom i mišljenjem proizvodnih odnosa i snaga, mogućnost neprijateljstva i nepristajanja na postojeće zadatosti, stricto sensu, nije više mogućnost koju misao političkog ili pak policijska misao izvanrednog stanja mogu osigurati.

To je mogućnost koja slično samom izvanrednom stanju izmiče svakom fenomenološkom određenju, i koja je zbog toga određena drukčijim modusom mišljenja kao prakse i prakse kao mišljenja.

Mogućnost nepristajanja na izvanredno stanje moguće je misliti pošavši od problema za kojeg smo rekli da karakterizira život u izvanrednom stanju: a to je višak legitimiteta.

Posluživši se distinkcijom Franza Rosenzweiga, moglo bi se reći: ono što omogućuje nepristajanje i odbijanje, ono što omogućuje neprijateljstvo unutar i prema izvanrednom stanju kao takvom nije pitanje legitimnosti ili manjka legitimnosti istog, već je to apsolutni deficit istine izvanrednog stanja.

Time smo zapravo odredili domenu normativnog, koja proistječe iz dihotomije na "rat" i "demokraciju" i koja reflektira deficit istine izvanrednog stanja: to je domena intelektualnosti, a ne više uže pojmljenog epistemičkog. No, kad kažemo "intelektualnost" ne mislimo pri tome da bi "izvanredno stanje" kao takvo bilo određena vrsta idealizacije, u kojoj bi se normativnost i faktičkost i dalje natjecale za historijski ili strukturalni primat. Jer, kao što smo već rekli, izvanredno stanje upravo jest razrješenje, i to realno, podjele na normativno i faktičko, pa "intelektualnost" u ovom kontekstu označava nešto posve drugo od svih mogućih idealističkih shema.

No, da rezimiramo: izvanrednost i iznimnost izvanrednog stanja ponajprije su stvar strukture intelektualnosti, strukture mišljenja. Mišljenje stoga nije tek marginalni epifenomen jednog "realnog" (političkog, ekonomskog ili bilo kojeg drugog) izvanrednog stanja, već je samo zapravo motor te izvanrednosti. To je, čini nam se, tradicija mišljenja izvanrednog stanja, ali i tradicija mišljenja kao izvanrednog stanja, koja je inaugurirana Benjaminom i Adornom. To je posve osebujna redukcija intelektualnosti na aforističnost, ili sentencijalnost, no tu se redukciju ovdje ne mora nužno shvatiti u binarnoj opoziciji fragmentarnosti i sistematičnosti (što je naravno klasični topos političkog romantizma), već prije u otvaranju intelektualnog za njemu inherentnu normativnost, koja se se nosi, ali i bitno dovodi u pitanje iznimnost (vlastita) izvanredna stanja. Da citiramo jednu nedavnu refleksiju Garcia-Düttmanna o Adornovoj "Minima Moralia": "Aforizam, kao forma permanentno objavljenog izvanrednog stanja filozofije, koji dovodi u pitanje suverenost filozofiranja, jest pogled, koji je omogućen "krhotinom" u oku, jest jedno "Tako je to" koje nije krajnja konzekvenca slijeda zaključaka, i koje se stoga ne smije brkati sa epistemičkim sudovima. Aforizam čini da "smo" u istini, a ne da je "posjedujemo".

Eto, krucijalnog pitanja: što bi bila i je li uopće moguća normativnost jednog aforističkog mišljenja, jednog "Tako je to", koje se ne iscrpljuje u taksativnosti deskripcije socijalnih fenomena? Kakvo je onda to "Tako je to" koje nije banalni, finalni rezultat refleksije koja samo potvrđuje ono što se ionako pretpostavlja ili zna?

Ako uopće ima smisla govoriti o sličnoj normativnosti intelektualnog, koja bi svojom ogoljenom sentencijalnošću suspendirala i samo generalnu suspenziju (što je drugo ime za izvanredno stanje), intelektualnost se ima pojmiti upravo u onom smislu kojoj joj pripisuje Adorno - dakle, kao nešto

u čemu "jesmo", kao socijalni okoliš naših egzistencija. Ovom postavkom adornovsku meditaciju ponovno dovodimo u vezu s biopolitičkom teorijom, utoliko što biopolitička teorija intelektualnost doista shvaća kao generalni okvir socijalnosti, pod imenom "antropogeneza".

Intelektualnost kao antropogeneza, to nije samo pitanje specifičnosti ili geneze ljudske vrste (bez obzira fiksirali mi ili ne momenat "nastanka čovjeka"), to čak nije niti pitanje sudbine "humaniteta", već je intelektualnost genetički indeks ljudske vrste, utoliko što intelektualnost manifestira komunikativni i kooperativni potencijal socijalnosti.

No, rekli smo da je upravo intelektualnost motor izvanrednosti izvanrednog stanja, što posljedično s obzirom na antropogenetički karakter intelektualnosti znači, da - posve striktno - antropogenetički kompleks (ili drukčije rečeno, pitanje "nastajanje čovjekom") nije tek idealistički ili ideološki suplement totalitarnih ili represivnih političkih sistema, već da se on javlja kao konstelacija izvanrednog stanja, ali i kao mogućnost da se isto napusti - u ime demokracije, a protiv rata.

Sada se možda, u tako postavljenoj konstelaciji pitanja i problema, jasnije ogleda čitava svojevrsna "monstruoznost" biopolitičke teorije i njenih normativnih zahtjeva nakon Foucaulta. Kako misliti ono socijalno s obzirom na izvanrednost stanja koje upravo proizlazi iz same srži socijalnog, tj. intelektualnosti kao potencijala da se komunicira i kooperira? I to ne više intelektualnosti pojmljene kao ideološko-idealističkog suplementa materijalnih odnosa, već intelektualnosti koja jest indeks problematičnosti antropogeneze same.

Kakve su, dakle, biopolitička produktivnost i normativnost, s onu stranu svih eugeničkih projekata modernosti?

iii. "Nova klasa" Milovana Đilasa započinje pregnantnim autorovim priznanjem da je tekst koji slijedi žanrovski hibrid, da je to tekst koji miješa i kombinira "povest o jednoj savremenoj revoluciji, [...] izlaganje jednog mišljenja, i, najzad, [...] ispovest jednog revolucionara." Radi se dakle o literarnom spoju historiografije, meditacija i memoara - pokušaju "da se različitim metodama u istom spisu obuhvati što potpunije i istovremeno što kraće slika savremenog komunizma."

No, krajnji cilj tako artikulirane intencije nije bio da ponudi "socijalnu ili neku drugu filozofiju", pa čak ni tamo gdje se autor služi apstrakcijama već da jednostavno "izloži sliku komunističkog sveta."

Radi se dakle o jednom "to je tako", o misaonoj ekspoziciji koja filozofsku refleksiju s jedne strane suspendira u priznanju bezuvjetne socijalne uvjetovanosti mišljenja, a s druge pak strane u sentencijalnoj redukciji na apodiktčko važenje. To je tako, ili tako barem drži.

No, dodatak koji jednu takvu meditaciju o "slici", a ne više o misli komunizma, a ta je meditacija po Đilasovom uvjerenju uvijek hibridna i fragilna, čini konzistentnom - tj. ono što omogućava da se autorovo pisanje uzme zaozbiljno i kao ono što vjerodostojno svjedoči o predmetu vlastita razmatranje, jeste pozivanje na postanak i na životni put intelektualca.

"Ja sam u svom životu prošao, kao intelektualac, sav put kojim jedan komunist može da prođe - od najnižih do najviših lestvica hijerarhije, od mesnih i nacionalnih do međunarodnih foruma, od stvaranja istinske komunističke partije i organizovanja revolucije, do izgrađivanja takozvanog socijalističkog društva. Niko me nije prisilio ni da pridem komunizmu ni da se od njega odvojim. Odlučivao sam se sam, po vlastitom uvjerenju, slobodno, ukoliko čovek može u takvom času da bude slobodan. Ne spadam u one koji su se razočarali, mada je bilo i toga, nego sam se kretao postupno i svesno, izgrađujući sliku i zaključke izložene u ovoj knjizi. Udaljavajući se od stvarnosti savremenog komunizma, ja sam se sve više približavao ideji jednog demokratskog socijalizma. Taj lični razvoj morao se odslikati i u ovoj knjizi, iako njen cilj niti je mogao biti, niti je u tome."

Suplement koji dakle Đilasu omogućava da oslika suvremeni komunistički svijet, ali i istovremeno da njegove ne-sistematične meditacije zadobiju diskurzivnu homogenost nužnu da bi se pristupilo zadaći kao što je deskripcija komunizma u njegovoj životnoj totalnosti, jest iskustvo intelektualnosti, iskustvo "ličnog razvoja". Kao takvo, a da se distancira od realnosti svijeta u kojem obitava, to iskustvo mora - da ostavi dojam psihičkog i socijalnog integriteta - biti strukturirano kao teleološki (postepeni i racionalni) proces.

S jedne strane imamo, dakle, meditativno mišljenje koje u nestabilnoj formi apodiktičkog iskaza "to je tako" u bljeskovima osvjetljava sliku ili objekt ispitivanja, a s druge strane imamo potpuno teleološki i zatvoreni proces, u kojem životno iskustvo jednog intelektualca koji živi u komunističkom svijetu ne ostavlja mnogo mjesta za sumnju s čime tu zapravo imamo posla.

No, čak ni takva konstelacija ili montaža nespojivog nije vrhunac koji Đilasovu mišljenju priskrbuje status mišljenja na izvanredno stanje, i mišljenja kao izvanrednog stanja.

Ono što Đilasov tekst strukturira nije ni meditacija, a ni (svrhovito) pragmatičko iskustvo "ličnog razvoja", već je to vremenski pritisak okolnosti da se izlaganje dokrajči.

Ili, da citiram: "Sem toga, moje lične okolnosti su do te mere nesigurne, a od mene zavisne samo ukoliko što im se nisam pokorio, da sam prisiljen da požurim s iznošenjem ličnih opažanja i iskustava, makar sam svestan da bi detaljnije ispitivanje moglo upotpuniti, a možda i izmeniti neke zaključke."

Ovime je postavljena bazična ekonomika Đilasove knjige, koja pod stalnim pritiskom da se preduhitri neimenovanu, ali naslućenu, prijetnju koja bi osujetila finaliziranje pisma oscilira između različitih žanrova pisanja, kao što i oscilira između reduktivnih, sentencioznih deskriptivnih uvida i sedimentiranog bogatstva proživljenog iskustva. Distanciranje od realnosti komunističkog svijeta kao političkog izvanrednog stanja, u Đilasovom slučaju, samo postaje izvanredno stanje. Meditacija koja bi da opiše "realnu" sliku komunizma iz jednog genetički višeg stanja (demokratski socijalizam), sama zbog svoje imanentne rastrzanosti i montiranosti ne uspijeva da ponudi alternativnu normativnost, koja više ne bi bila ona perverzije političkog.

U tome smislu, Đilasova genalogija komunističkog svijeta nije nimalo originalna, čak štoviše, ona metodski sama pripada okruženju od kojeg se želi distancirati.

Komunizam na Istoku, po autoru, tako jest bio historijski nužan kao motor modernizacije koju nacionalne buržoazije nisu bile u stanju pokrenuti, ali istovremeno je ta nužnost bila i kobna utoliko što je određena ideologija (komunistička) koja je već tada u zapadnom svijetu bila zastarjela, modernizaciju naplatila dovođenjem društava u "slijepu ulicu" neprevazilazive socijalne stagnacije i nemogućnosti razvoja u (teleološki) višu društvenu formaciju. Komunistička monolitnost ključ je za razumijevanje svih procesa, pa stoga niti specifični jugoslaven-ski fenomen radničke participacije i upravljanja, nije ništa drugo no beskrvni revizionizam temeljne komunističke matrice, koji nikako ne znači viši stupanj demokracije, nudeći možda samo jednu još perfektniju iluziju humanosti komunističkog projekta. No, budimo iskreni: u ovim točkama Đilas samo stereotipno ponavlja već poznato, i ne nudi ništa nova.

Nestabilna pak referentna točka čitavog teksta do koje je samom Đilasu stalo, jednako kao i nama kada želimo prikazati određenu uporabljivost jedne odavno već zaboravljene kritike komunizma u kontekstu globaliziranog svijeta, jest koncept "nove klase".

Nova klasa, ukratko, jest klasa koja je nastupila u ime ukidanja svih klasa, u ime ukidanja političke i državne domene, u ime socijalne revolucije. To je klasa koja je ostatak koji preostaje nakon suspenzije klasnog društva, i koja stoga više ne može biti opisana u koordinatama klasnog antagonizma, ali koja podjednako još uvijek nije savršena realizacija besklasnog društva. To je klasa koja se nalazi u interregnumu. Đilas će u knjizi utrošiti dosta energije da pokaže da "nova klasa" više nije niti klasična, avangardna revolucionarna partija, a niti zapadnjačka tehnokratska elita. Nova klasa kao interregnum nije "zaborav politike", već je to naprosto totalna perverzija političkog. No, "nova klasa" nije niti jednostavno "nomenklatura", ili to barem nije u momentu kada je Đilas istražuje i opisuje. "Nova klasa"

je sredinom 50-ih godina još uvijek nedovoljno stabilizirana, i nedovoljno sistemski učvršćena a da bi se mogla reproducirati kao nomenklatura.

Djelomično je to stoga što je komunistički projekt modernizacije mahom značio i projekt nacionalne emancipacije, pa eksterna prijetnja ratom još uvijek visi kao sjena nad internim (zatvorenim) projektom transformacije socijalnog. No, stapanje oblika građanskog rata koji se vodi u (internom) procesu destrukcije socijalnih podjela i oblika rata kao prijetnja izvana Đilasu još nije dovoljno dobro da opiše iznimnost komunističkog stanja, jer stapanje različitih oblika ratne prijetnje (interne i eksterne) možda može objasniti geopolitičku, blokovsku podjelu, ali to nikako nije univerzalno dovoljno da bi se opisalo ili definiralo opće izvanredno stanje komunizma.

Na ovom ćemo mjestu, prije nego što citiramo po nama za razumijevanje Đilasa odlučujući, podsjetiti da smo smo upravo intelektualnost nazvali motorom izvanrednog stanja. Što to znači kod Đilasa, pojasnit ćemo nakon poduljeg citata:

"Najvažniji razlog što u komunizmu nije došlo do organizovane opozicije dakako leži u sveobuhvatnosti - totalitarnosti komunističke države. Ona je prodrla u sve pore društva i ličnosti - u vizije naučnika, u nadahnuće pesnika i sanjanje ljubavnika. Ustati protivu nje nije značilo samo umreti smrću očajnika, nego i biti žigosan i izopšten iz društva. [...]"

Ali ni dve osnovne vrste opozicije - ona starih klasa i ona iz samog komunizma, stvarno nisu bile kadre da nađu ni programe ni oblike borbe. Prve su vukle unazad, a druge su se utrkivale sa režimom u besciljnom i besmislenom revolucionarstvu i dogmatskom nadmudiravanju. Još nisu bili zreli uslovi da se nađu novi putevi.

Narod je međutim, spontano naslućivao novi put i pružao otpor na svakom koraku i na svakoj sitnici. Taj otpor je danas najveća i stvarna pretnja komunističkim režimima. Komunistički oligarsi više ne znaju šta njihov narod misli i oseća. Oni se osećaju nesigurnim na moru mračnog i dubokog negodovanja. [...]"

Izgleda, ukoliko je svest suzbijenija a mogućnosti za stvaranje organizacije manje, muklo i mračno negodovanje je veće.

Komunistički totalitarizam vodi ka totalnom negodovanju, u kome se postepeno gube sve druge razlike sem očaja i mržnje."

Krucijalnim nam se ovdje čini sljedeće: komunističku formaciju definira totalna nemogućnost da jedna vrsta racionalnosti (primjerice, racionalnost upravljanja) uopće percipira drukčije vrste racionalnosti (u ovom slučaju, racionalnost protesta). Perceptivno je polje podijeljeno, i ne postoji

neki "treći put" koji bi dokinuo podjelu racionalnosti i nemogućnost da se različite racionalnosti percipiraju. I ukoliko pravi posao komunističke revolucije ne započinje pukim aktom prevrata i osvajanja vlasti, kao što nam govori Đilas, već svakodnevnim, totalnim revolucioniranjem odnosa nakon "godine nulte", onda ta podjela racionalnosti tendira da postane permanentna, tj. ona postaje perpetuum mobile izvanrednog stanja (istovremeno uzrok i svrha procesa). Đilas u svojoj teleološki determiniranoj perspektivi misli da je permanentnost takva stanja krhke naravi i da nije duga vijeka (čemu bi tzv. "pad komunizma" 1989. trebao svjedočiti?) upravo stoga što pljačkanje materijalnih i intelektualnih resursa ne može trajati u beskonačnost, zbog njihove ograničenosti. No, što ako resursi koje se izrabljuje nisu konačni, i ako je sam fakt antropogeneze ("nastajanja čovjekom") postao primarnim resursom produkcije? - To nam se čini bitnim pitanjem za život unutar globaliziranog svijeta.

Da rezimiramo: izvanredno stanje jest ključno sredstvo, ali istodobno i cilj komunističke politike. Kao takvo ono se može dovoditi u vezu s pitanjem modernizacije, nacionalne emancipacije ili totalitarno-terorističke pljačke socijalnih resursa (a sve u ime uspostavljanja besklasnog društva), ali suština izvanrednosti upravo komunističkog izvanrednog stanja jest njegov prvenstveno intelektualni karakter, tj. permanentna i totalna produkcija podjele racionalnog i perceptivnog. "Siromaštvo" komunističkog Istoka jest odraz faktuma da je bazični "materijal" produkcije upravo sam kompleks racionalnog/perceptivnog, i ništa više. Ali, to je istovremeno bio i indeks "bogatstva" (utopijskog potencijala) na Istoku.

Kad govorimo o podjeli racionalnosti ne mislimo na weberijanski model izdiferenciranih vrsta racionalnosti, već na koncept kojeg je uveo Jacques Ranciere: *partage du sensible*. Ukratko, radi se o konceptu kojim Ranciere opisuje paradoksalne mehanizme političkih procesa, ustajući protiv one tradicije političke filozofije kakvu poznamo od Hannah Arendt naovamo.

Partage du sensible, to je udvajanja racionalnosti koje više nije moguće pomiriti, utoliko što ne samo da nije mogućna jedna sveobuhvatna racionalnost, već ponajprije zbog proste činjenice da se različite vrste racionalnosti uzajamno ne mogu niti percipirati, prepoznati. *Partage du sensible* je stoga indeks fundamentalnog socijalnog nesporazumijevanja, u kojem nije dano teleološko kretanje različitih i suprotstavljenih racionalnosti ka jednom konsenzualnom modusu, pomirljive racionalnosti.

Rancierov primjer, doista klasičan, jest status demosa u atenskom polislu. Demos, strukturno gledajući ostaje izvan reda znanja (utoliko što ne odgovara geometrijskoj inteligenciji), jednako kao i izvan reda bogatstva (tj. aritmetičke racionalnosti) - demos je ono neubrojivo koje izmiče strukturiranom poretku, no s druge je strane upravo "demos" onaj denominator kojim atenska politika stječe naslov "demokracije". Demos, to je "dio onih

koji nemaju udjela" ili "kvalifikacija onih koji su nekvalificirani", a koji unatoč svemu jesu motor političkog, što istovremeno znači i mogućnost istinske političke, demokratske dinamike.

Ili da citiramo Ranciera: "Ono što karakterizira demokraciju jest puki slučaj ili potpuna odsutnost kvalifikacije da se vlada. Demokracija jest izvanredno stanje [...], gdje ne postoji predodređeni princip dodjeljivanja uloga." Demokracija jest izvanredno stanje, dodajemo, baš stoga što jest paradoksalno i nepomirljivo udvajanje racionalnog u različite racionalnosti, jednako kao i udvajanje racionalnog u nesumjerljiva polja inteligibilnog i perceptibilnog.

Đilasova "nova klasa", ili barem kakvom smo je predstavili, ironično čini se da u potpunosti odgovara esencijalnom elementu demokratske politike po Rancieru, a to je onaj disenzualnog i kontingentnog stvaranja izvanrednog stanja, gdje "dio koji nema udjela" dekonstruira, ne više političku, već u najstrožem smislu policijsku logiku socijalne administracije. Ironično, stoga što komunistička "nova klasa" evropskog Istoka u istoj mjeri pervertira i ismijava neo-klasička modeliranja političke zajednice (tipa Arendt), kao i radikalno antagonističke modele demokratske socijalnosti (tipa Ranciere).

"Nova klasa" taj centralni Đilasov pojam, koji izmiče svakoj čvrstoj definiciji, no za kojeg znamo da nije ni partijska avangarda, ni birokratska nomenklatura, a ni tehnokratska elita, ime je, držimo, historijskog projekta koji je u nastojanju da odgovori na izazov društvenog izvanrednog stanja, mimikrijski postao izvanredno stanje samo, no koji unatoč tome u jednom trenutku - u isticanju intelektualnog karaktera izvanrednog stanja - ostavio mogućnost otvorenom da se misli društvenost s onu stranu izvanrednog, ili još točnije, permanentnog stanja rata.

"Nova klasa" suočila nas je s mogućnošću radikalne perverzije političkog, a u ime socijalne revolucije. No, "nova klasa" istodobno je i naziv normativnog projekta kojemu je stalo da, van svih modernističkih i biologističkih fantazija stvaranja "novog čovjeka", radikalno izloži fundamentalno intelektualni karakter socijeteta, stvarajući time posredno ono do čega je izgleda uistinu uvijek i jedino stalo - slobodne ljude.

Stanje koje nazivamo Jugoslavijom postoji. O njegovoj spoljašnjoj dimenziji je lako postići intersubjektivnu saglasnost. Možemo ukazati na jasno ograničenu teritoriju i na lično ime koje je za nju rezervisano. Međutim, kako stoji stvar sa unutrašnjom dimenzijom tog stanja, sa njegovim "identitetom"? Hoće li ovaj, poput nekog ontološkog "viška vrednosti", nastati jednostavnim povezivanjem objektivnih elemenata, teritorije i imena? Koju vrstu "subjektivnog faktora" ćemo dobiti ako potražimo unutrašnju dimenziju teritorije koja se zove Jugoslavija? Jugoslavene? Možemo li reći da Jugoslavija predstavlja teritoriju na kojoj žive Jugoslaveni? Svi znamo da ova tautologija nije istinita. Definicija Jugoslavije kao zemlje u kojoj žive Jugoslaveni bila bi polemička i time neprimerena kao polazište argumentacije. Pa ipak, okolnost da se pitanje o identitetu naše zemlje lomi već na tautologiji njenog imena, pomaže nam da jasnije formulišemo problem. Jer ko će sporiti da se tu zaista radi o problemu?

Zoran Đinđić, "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država"

iv. Je li moguće prećuti ironiju, bolje rečeno, sve moduse ironije ili, naprosto, sve ironije u naslovu kao što je "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država"?

Đinđićev svezak kojeg čine sabrani časopisni ogledi iz druge polovice 80-ih, ponovno je - no, sada već "obogaćen" kasandrijskom aureolom - ugledao svjetlo dana (mislimo ovdje prije svega na recepciju) nedugo nakon ubojstva Zorana Đinđića. Odjednom je naslov knjige započeo da funkcioniše profetski, svakako u tragičkom tonu, kao da je ono što se zbivalo s jugoslavenskom (državnom) formacijom 90-ih godina upravo bilo prefigurirano i nad-određeno naslovom jedne knjige: Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država.

Kao da je "nedovršenost" (u dvostrukom smislu: kao ne-zgotovljenost, i kao stanje im-perfekcije) onaj privilegirani pristup u razumijevanju historijskih procesa vezanih uz jednu državnu formaciju, čak štoviše, da je baš to razlog njenom (krvavom) raspadu. Bez obzira kako se prema tome odredili, u svakom slučaju već smo unaprijed prećuli ironiju Đinđićeva naslova i cjelokupnog teksta.

"Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država" ironičan je eho jednog drugog, poznatijeg naslova, "Moderne - nedovršenog projekta", naslova znamenitog predavanja Jürgena Habermasa.

No, pored suptilno akademsko-intelektualne ironije u kojoj kombinatorka naslovljanja indeksira istovremeno približavanje i udaljavanje od zacrtanih epistemičkih koordinata, Đinđićeva "Jugoslavija" je i nešto više.

Naravno, to jest knjiga autora koji primjereno, bez nepotrebne usiljenosti i "Besserwisserei" (starmale pameti), s dostatnom preciznošću i strpljenjem

izlaže referencijalnu mapu koju, manje ili više eksplicitno, omeđuju imena kao što su Habermas, Luhmann, Schmitt... To nije ostalo nezamijećeno, no, poanta Đinđićeva teksta jest u onom interpretativnom su-višku koji producira "Jugoslavija" ili jugoslavensko izvanredno stanje.

Dakle, umjesto da naslov "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država" čitamo u skupnosti interpretativnih mogućnosti koje već samo referiranje na Habermasovo predavanje nudi, ili kroz ono što se naknadno, iz sadašnje perspektive, čini predskazivačkom sposobnošću jednog oštroumnog analitičara, nas ovdje ironija, o kojoj smo govorili, zanima kao onaj klasični topos nemogućnosti interpretacije. Nemogućnost interpretacije: ne u smislu nečega što bi beskonačno nadmašivalo interpretiranje, ili što bi u potpunosti bilo izvanjsko svakoj interpretaciji, već nemogućnost ili su-višak interpretacije kojeg proizvodi sam interpretativni napor. Dakle, neumitni kraj i neuspjeh interpretiranja upravo zbog nemogućnosti da se prestane s interpretiranjem - to je vrhunska ironija, ambivalencija koja prožima Đinđićevu "Jugoslaviju", i koja taj svezak čini tako suvremenim, i u neku ruku, neizbježnim.

"Nedovršivost" tako nije jednoznačni ključ za razumijevanje jednog tragičkog historijskog procesa, već je "nedovršivost" indeks ironičkog, tj. bitno ambivalentne naravi intelektualnog rada. No, stvar je još zamršenija: u naslovu "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država" svi su elementi ironički, osim toga i uzajamno zamjenjivi, pa ne samo da se ne vidi kraja interpretativnim komplikacijama, već se ne vidi niti kraj neuspjesima interpretiranja. "Jugoslavija" zapravo jest takva domena beskonačnog pokušaja i poraza interpretacije, ili, drukčije rečeno, "Jugoslavija" jest permanentno, intelektualno izvanredno stanje.

Za razliku od Đilasa i njegove "Nove klase" u kojoj je intelektualnost izvanrednog stanja još uvijek, i historijski možda u ekstremnoj mjeri, izborana nepremostivim procjepima i imperceptibilnim antagonizmima, kod Đinđića se radi o multiplikaciji područja izvanrednog stanja. I dok je kod Đilasa socijalna dinamika uvjetovana (relativno) malim brojem parametara (primjerice, u specifičnom pitanju genealogije "nove klase" i njene mobilizacije, ili u općenitijem pitanju odnosa vlastodržačke klase i ostatka populacije, koji se kod Đilasa primarno očituje u bazičnim pitanjima vlasništva ili u pitanju osnovnih afektivnih tonaliteta), u Đinđićevoj je analizi već postalo nužnim rekuriranje na (relativno) velik broj institucionalnih parametara da bi se definiralo jugoslavensko stanje (u Đinđićevom slučaju je svakako najprominentniji legalni aspekt). No, iako bi se na prvi pogled moglo činiti da je interpretacija jugoslavenskog stanja teško izvediva i složena utoliko što je samo jugoslavensko socijalističko društvo dostiglo jednu višu razinu kompleksnosti i izdiferenciranosti, autor nam ne ostavlja mnogo prostora da povjerujemo u takvu pretpostavku. Prije će biti, da je socijalna kompleksnost jugoslavenskog društva rezultat svojevrstne interpretativne intervencije, rezultat intervencije mišljenja kao izvanrednog stanja, a da je stvarna ra-

zina društvene složenosti daleko rudimentarnija i daleko manje atraktivna. Ili, drukčije rečeno, jugoslavensko izvanredno stanje koje ovdje, zajedno s Đinđićem, promatramo kroz prizmu njegove multiplikacije, jest ponajprije određeni transfer intelektualnosti u mnogovrsne, heterogene sfere. Ili, još apstraktnije: ono što karakterizira pozno jugoslavensko stanje više nisu niti produkcija, a niti konzumpcija socijalnog produkta - da, podsjetimo: vrhunski produkt socijalističke države jest upravo izvanredno stanje - već se radi o fokusiranju na aspekt (pukog, čistog) transferiranja (izvanrednog stanja).

Ne više zatvorena, statična i izborana politička ekonomija reza u percepciji i u racionalnosti, već otvorena, dinamična i multiplicirana ekonomija beskonačnog transfera mišljenja kao izvanrednog stanja.

U Đilasovom slučaju je teleologija u ekspoziciji komunističkog stanja bila ona koja je onemogućila dostizanje jednog drukčijeg, genetički višeg stanja, a kod Đinđića se radi o upisanosti samog autorovog diskursa u akte transferiranja, koji u svojoj konfiguraciji alternativu "Jugoslaviji kao nedovršenoj državi" čine poprilično neizglednom. Jugoslavija je na kraju uvijek nešto više.

Iz globalne perspektive, mogli bi ustvrditi: transfer/transferiranje/transferibilnost, čiju je jugoslavensku ekonomiju detektirao Đinđić, nadmašuje kako socijalistički konstrukt prijelaznog perioda (u doista besklasno, komunističko društvo), tako i post-socijalističku tranzicijsku integraciju Istoka u mondijalni kapitalizam. Priznajemo, to na ovom mjestu zvuči skoro pa fatalistički, no radi se o heuristički zahvalnom potezu detektiranja i analize čistog izvanrednog stanja, koje je u jugoslavenskom slučaju potpuno ogoljeno ukazalo na motor vlastite dinamike, tj. intelektualnost (ili ono što nazivamo, intelektualnom - ne, ideološkom! - intervencijom).

Pošto je sistematski stabilizovana permanentnost "vanrednog stanja", svoju evidenciju je izgubila razlika "normalnog" i "vanrednog stanja"; umesto da legitimise političko delovanje u situaciji u kojoj su ugroženi članovi zajednice, ta evidencija i sama postaje predmet političkog nedelovanja, naime, "diskusije"; radi li se o "genocidu" ili o "normalnoj migraciji", o "zbegovima" ili "vozovima nacionalizma", itd. Pošto nedostaje normalnost kao nedvosmisleni kriterij, sve postaje stvar interpretacije, dakle, sve postaje proizvoljno.

Zoran Đinđić, "Jugoslavija kao nedovršena država"

Moment u kojem nastaje imperijalni rasizam jest trenutak kada govor o izvanrednom stanju postaje primarni pokretač izvanrednosti izvanrednog stanja. A to je rasizam, koji - ako slijedimo Foucaulta - nema nikakve sličnosti sa klasičnom formom rasizma. Dok klasični rasizam funkcioniše po formuli, konstatira Foucault, čini smrt - pusti život

novi se rasizam, kojeg Foucault naziva i državnim, ravna prema matrici čini život - pusti smrt. To je mehanizam po kojem država postiže svoj governmentalni modernitet, tj. prag u kojem je država s jedne strane postigla sistemsku i permanentnu stabiliziranost, a s druge pak strane, dosegla i nužnu razinu socijalne dinamike u elementu izvanrednog stanja.

No, naše je pitanje, što kada država više ne predstavlja prvenstveni medij političke i socijalne regulacije? Što se događa s rasizmom kada država nestaje ili je naprosto nema?

Kod Foucaulta postoji ambivalentnost s obzirom na to pitanje jer moderna država (ili Država naprosto) ponajprije nije suverena država, već je moderna država governmentalna država. Iako je temporalni, spacijalni i sistematski odnos suverenosti i governmentalnosti kompleksan, državni je rasizam ipak governmentalan. No, što se zbiva kada nestaje i takva, governmentalna država?

Čini nam se da je upravo to razina pitanja iz koje treba čitati Đinđićevu knjigu - razina u kojoj je moderni rasizam, da citiramo Balibara, "konfliktualan odnos prema državi, koji se doživljava na izokrenut način, projektovan kao odnos prema Drugome."

Moderni rasizam, tako shvaćen, prekarna je relacija prema državi - u svakom trenutku intenziviran nesigurnošću te relacije koja izmiče i koja je nestabilna. A ukoliko više je to slučaj kada država nestaje ili je već disolvirana?

"Diskusija", proizvoljno interpretiranje ili naprosto brbljanje kao izvanredno stanje, to je - čini se - kvintesencija Đinđićeve analize Jugoslavije. No, to je ujedno i deskripcija post-etatističkog socijalnog stanja, čiji je dominantni motor beskonačna, omniprezentna i metastazirajuća komunikacija, tj. arbitrarni govor.

Za Đinđića taj je govor nužno negativan, loša beskonačnost koja samo unedogled oteže političko djelovanje. No, što ako taj govor - izvan kontrole - posjeduje potencijal da otvori nove domene političkog, s onu stranu klasičnog i modernog rasizma, pa čak i s onu stranu rasizma nestanka država ili kako sam ga ovdje nazvao, imperijalnog rasizma?

Biografije autora teksta

Tomislav Medak je koordinator teorijskog i istraživačkog programa te urednik izdavačkog programa Multimedijalnog instituta, Zagreb. U središtu njegovog interesa su konstelacije suvremene socijalne teorije, medijske teorije i estetike. Jedan je od pokretača teorijskog kolektiva "past:forward" (www.pastforward.org). Posljednjih godina također istražuje šire implikacije alternativna postojećem sistemu intelektualnog vlasništva. Aktivan je i kao izvođač i koreograf u zagrebačkoj kazališnoj skupini BADco.

Petar Milat, jedan je od voditelja odsjeka za teoriju "past:forward" (www.pastforward.org) u net.kulturnom centru MaMa (www.mi2.hr). Urednik je vse filozofskih, socijalno-i-medijsko-teorijskih edicija u Zagrebu ("MaMa", "Jesenski & Turk"). Bavi se ponajprije konstelacijama suvremene socijalno teorijske domene i recentnom estetikom, s naglaskom na francuski i talijanski filozofski kontekst. Živi i radi u trokutu Beograd-Korčula-Zagreb.

Yugoslavia as State of Exception: Đilas and Đinđić

Tomislav Medak and Petar Milat

i. The following exposition is a part of our more comprehensive research on “Yugoslavia as a Biopolitical Experiment”. To be more precise, it is its part, where we will discuss two texts that, we think, explicate in a very special way the socio-philosophical questions associated with the destiny of the formation formerly called “Yugoslavia”. Those are “New Class” by Milovan Đilas - indisputably former Yugoslavia’s most prominent dissident text, written half way through the 50-ties, and a collection of essays by Zoran Đinđić “Yugoslavia as an Unfinished State”, published end of 80-ties, not long before the disintegration of Yugoslav state formation started.

As much as these texts may mark the crucial breaks in particular personal destinies of the authors (Đilas, who from the position of the third man in the ranks of state power turns into the main, at least ideologically, opponent of the regime, and Đinđić, who is soon to become one of the leaders of the Democratic Party in Serbia, leaving de facto the scientific work behind), they don’t interest us as testimonies to what Yugoslavia “was” or “might have become”. This time they will rather serve us in our effort to answer some of the philosophical questions posed by the new global order.

Hence, what in fact is “Yugoslavia” as a (socio-) philosophical question from a globalized perspective, and not as a subject to research by cultural studies, sociology, economy, ethnology, etc? As much as the latter types of research are necessary, valuable and needed, we cannot rid ourselves of the impression that they are not getting at what is at stake in “Yugoslavia” as a social experiment, one that maybe (and this “maybe” we take here in all its fragility and possibility that may no longer be possible), maybe has left us as its legacy a distinct emancipatory potential.

In this essay we strictly confine ourselves to the texts by Đilas and Đinđić, while for now we leave aside the reflection on self-understanding and praxis of Yugoslav political elites (meaning, primarily the question of “self-management” in Edvard Kardelj’s writing) as well as the interpretation of “Yugoslavia” in the work of the most prominent Yugoslav philosophers (Gajo Petrović and Vanja Sutlić), as those are topics that will constitute future segments of our research.

However, the Yugoslav self-management from a globalized perspective will be of subject of our interest insofar as it a point where domains of a different legality and a different social epistemology crystallize (accordingly, we plan to read the self-management in the light of Jewgeny Pashukanis’s theory of law and Alfred Sohn-Rethel’s epistemological sketches). On the other

hand, but with the same intent, Gajo Petrović and Vanja Sutlić’s reflection will be subject of our debate, insofar as we maintain that their thinking - despite the clearly evident amalgamation of Marx and Heidegger that most of the interpreters take as a starting point, but unfortunately also as an end point of their analysis - that their thinking, in the very possibility of re-philosophizing the issue of “social revolution”, unfolds the emancipatory potential of “Yugoslavian” project that we spoke a while ago.

Here, on the contrary, Đilas and Đinđić serve us as an index of two types of question, both extremely relevant, that the authors detected with an incredible intuition.

But before we state which exact question do we mean, we should posit the horizon of our enquiry in the context of the subject of “biopolitics and normativity”.

We will base the methodological premise, following Negri and Hardt, on the dichotomy of “war” and “(absolute) democracy”. In this context and with the subject of normativity posed in those terms, Đilas’s “New Class” puts on the agenda the question of perversion of the political being unfolded in the name of social revolution that wishes to overcome the realm of the political in its entirety. On the other hand, Đinđić reflects on a situation where the state form and the sovereignty are divorced, a situation where the state form and the sovereignty are continuously seeking, missing and putting each other into question.

But, before we pass on to Đilas and Đinđić, we will try to describe the territory of normativity that is opening up if we take as a methodological premise the dichotomy of “war” and “democracy”, leading us directly to the subject of “state of exception”.

ii. The state of exception is not, the state of exception is valid. It is in this distinction that can be found no less than the entire enigma of contemporary politics or at least what we in the 20th century used to call politics. However, the problem is more complex, insofar as the enigma of politics consists in that very unquestioned, enigmatic character of the state of exception, or to quote Agamben: “even nowadays, after all, the public law has no knowledge of the theory of state of exception, and jurists see this problem more as a question facti, rather than a true juridical problem.”

Es gibt den Ausnahmezustand nicht, der Ausnahmezustand gilt, could be a paraphrase of an order where something has validity, without having a meaning or signification.

Facticity of a state that doesn’t exist, yet is valid is - as the biopolitical theory thinks - a facticity on the scale beyond every possible or actualized phenomenology of the political. Hence, the phenomenologies of a

Hegelian, Husserlian, Heideggerian or, for that matter, Derridian kind become inadequate to analyze the politics of state of exception.

The state of exception is not subject to either knowledge or consciousness (and thus the science of experience of consciousness of the state of exception is not possible). The state of exception is also not subsumable under the Heideggerian meta-economics of Being, of an event of giving and receiving. And as much as the paradoxical, genuine constitutive logics of the state of exception might be similar to the logics of event, the state of exception is not an event. In the state of exception there is no appropriation of the political (ereignen in the Ereignis), nor does the state of exception exist in the domain of perception (eräugen in Ereignis).

Trans-phenomenological distinction between being and validity is the essence of the politics of the state of exception and the state of exception of the politics. And this is then the place where, in their mutual implication, politics and exception, politics and exceptionality meet. And that place is - the place of sovereignty.

So sovereignty is not, it is valid. It is valid, without meaning or signifying anything.

For Schmitt, as is well known, the sovereign is one who decides on the state of exception.

The sovereign decision is, thus, a decision that decides on that exception from the rule, which declares the state of exception, and is consequently, in its facticity, outside of the law.

The state of exception as a temporary suspension of the legal domain is the state where facticity and normativity, life and law overlap. Overlapping of life and law from the standpoint of the ordered domain of law is an illegal exception, indeed a true, i.e. sovereign state of exception of the law. However, although the exceptionality of the state of exception proves everything, and an ordered normative system nothing, the sovereign decision as a supreme act of the political cannot be a lasting one, because the permanency of decision, declaration and validity of the state of exception would, by the same token, entail a complete doing away with the political sphere - and this is in this case paradoxical - in the very act of total delimitation of the political.

The sovereign decision in its own singularity as an exceptional act and a supreme exception from the juridically ordered domain of politics brings about the apocalypse of the political.

Schmitt, in order to avoid such a doing away with the political, has built into the logics of sovereignty and sovereign decision a dialectics of constitutive

and constituted power. This dialectics should make the act of sovereign political decision temporally limited and - and if it is possible - foreseeable and accountable for the juridico-political system itself. The *pouvoir constituant* is with Schmitt another name for the politics on the border: i.e. for the political action that - aware of its sovereignty - realizes all the potentials of the political, yet at the same time stops at a border, limit of the political and doesn't pursue the apocalypse of the political in the total overlapping of factitious and normative, life and legality.

But, what if the state of exception is a rule, and not any longer an exception? What if the apocalypse of the political, in the total identification of life and law, has already taken place?

It is to Walter Benjamin and his theses on the concept of history that we owe first indications and directions for answering the posed questions. But it was not before the seventies that the Foucault provided a minute description of what it means to live in a - now already permanent - state of exception.

Life that has become its own law, its own measure and purpose is the subject of politics of the state of exception. However, and this is here crucial, the "law" of life in an existing and permanent state of exception is no longer a law in the sense of juridico-political system, it is rather an act that has the power of law. Thus, in the state of exception a political act par excellence of regulating life becomes a decree, act that has the power of law, yet itself is not a law.

The logics of sovereignty, which in its radicalization has led to the overlapping of factitious and normative and to the concomitant doing away with the political in a condition of the state of exception becomes, according to Foucault, a logics of governmentality, i.e. the logics of no longer political governing over and decision making on the borders of commonality. Politics is here nothing else than police, in the strictest sense of that term.

If, as we've said, the policed life in the state of exception governed by decrees represents the apocalypse of the political, its impossible and utopian realization, then a conclusion can be made that the politics and reflection on the political as we know it have reached their end and goal.

The forgetting, disappearance or death of politics is thus not only, or it is in the least, a destructive end to all things, because the political mode of deciding has been replaced by another, more efficient and "democratic" mode of deciding, that of policing.

Life that has through and through become law means also life that is its own absolute legitimation. To the life that seeks its own utopia the deficit of legitimation is no problem, but rather the surplus thereof.

On the other hand, the supreme definition of the political with Schmitt is doubled in two decisions. One is the decision on the state of exception, the other one is the decision on the enemy, i.e. declaration of war.

The state of exception and the state of war are two faces of the political just the moment before the dissolution of the politics, and therefore the state of exception characterizes the internal and that of war the external constitution of community. But when politics becomes police, such a distinction becomes no longer possible, and in consequence the state of exception becomes the state of war. The state of exception becomes a limitless, meaning planetary war. As this is a war that knows no limits and, therefore, knows nothing that could be left outside, thus as everything is included into that war and everything is being counted on - it is a global civil war.

Philosophers following Foucault have tried to deduce this essential conflictuality of the global state of exception from the classical dichotomy of relations of production and productive forces. In the very moment when life itself - absolutely legitimized - becomes a singular subject of policing and production, the war zone becomes ubiquitous, both on the psycho-physical-biological level and in terms of territoriality.

War front are now countless, limitless, globalized bodies and populations that live a life determined by decrees and norms of the state of exception, living in a permanent state of transformation, state of permanent loss and gain.

The enemy, from this perspective, is no longer others (as the state of exception, in accordance with the Schmittian intuition, at the same means an existing identity of the ruling and the ruled) - it is rather an anonymous police machine that produces lives and life conditions that are insufficient for the attained level of productive forces, so that a multitude of producers is struggling in order to change those relations.

And as much as that struggle might be legitimate, hasn't it, by recognizing its own legitimacy, already become a part of the state of exception machine, "democratic" policing machine of absolute legitimacy? Isn't the distinction between the relations of production and productive forces insufficient to conceive of the category of friend and enemy within the post-apocalyptic community of the state of exception?

The possibility of absolute enmity that wouldn't be exhausted in the dichotomy and thinking of the relations of production and productive forces, the possibility of enmity and refusal of the existing state of affairs is, *stricto sensu*, no longer a possibility that might be provided by the reflection of the political or the police concept of the state of exception.

That is the possibility which, similar to the state exception, escapes all phenomenological determination, and which is, for that reason, governed by a different mode of thinking as practice and of practice as thinking.

The possibility of not accepting the state of exception might be thought by starting out from the problem that we said characterizes life in the state of exception: and that is a surplus of legitimacy.

By using Franz Rosenzweig's distinction, one could say: that which makes possible not to accept and to refuse, that which makes possible an enmity within and towards the state of exception as such is not an issue of legitimacy or lack thereof, but is rather the absolute deficit of truth of the state of exception.

Thus we have circumscribed the domain of the normative that results from the dichotomy of "war" and "democracy" and that reflects the deficit of truth of the state of exception: that is the domain of intellectuality, and no longer of the narrowly conceived epistemical. However, when we say "intellectuality", we don't think there that the "state of exception" as such would be a certain kind of idealization, where the normativity and facticity would continue to compete for the historic or structural primacy. Because, as we have already said, the state of exception already is a solution, and a real existing one, to the distinction of normative and factitious, so that the "intellectuality" in this context denotes something completely different from all possible idealistic schemes.

But let us sum up: the urgency and exceptionality of the state of exception are primarily a thing of the structure of intellectuality, structure of thinking. Thinking is thus not only a marginal epiphenomenon of a "real existing" (political, economical or any other) state of exception, but is rather the motor of that exceptionality. This seems to be the tradition of thinking the state of exception, but also the tradition of thinking as a state of exception, inaugurated by Benjamin and Adorno. That is a singular reduction of the intellectuality to the aphoristic or sentential. However, this reduction here doesn't have to be necessarily understood in the binary opposition of fragmentarity and systematicity (which is of course a traditional *topos* of political romanticism), but rather in the opening up of the intellectual for its inherent normativity - one which is contained in itself, but substantially questions the exceptionality of (its own) state of exception. To quote a recent reflection on Adorno's "Minima Moralia" by Alexander Garcia-Düttmann: "Aphorism, as a form of the permanently declared state of exception of the philosophy, which questions the sovereignty of philosophizing, is a gaze, enabled by a "fragment" in the eye, a "So it is" that is not the final consequence of a sequence of conclusions, and that therefore should not be confused with epistemic judgments. Aphorism makes 'us' be in the truth, and not 'posses' it."

There, the crucial question: what would, if in the first place there could, be a possible normativity of such an aphoristic thinking, a “So it is”, that doesn’t exhaust itself in the taxonomic description of social phenomena? What kind of “So it is” it would be if it is not a banal, final result of a reflection that only affirms what is already presumed or known anyhow?

If there is any sense in speaking of such a normativity of the intellectual, one which would with its stripped down sententiality suspend the general suspension itself (which is just another name for the state of exception), the intellectuality should be understood in the sense Adorno ascribes to it - namely, as something that we “are” in, as a social environment of our existences. This assumption relates the Adornian meditation back to the biopolitical theory, insofar as the biopolitical theory truly understand the intellectuality as a general framework of the sociality - under the name of “anthropogenesis”.

Intellectuality as anthropogenesis, it is not only the question of singularity or genesis of human kind (no matter whether we do or do not fix a moment of “becoming of human”), it is not even the question of the destiny of “humanity”, but it is rather a genetic index of human kind, insofar as the intellectuality manifests a collective and cooperative potential of sociality.

But we have said that it is the intellectuality that is the motor of exceptionality of the state of exception, and this taking into consideration the anthropogenic character of the intellectuality means that - strictly speaking - the anthropogenic complex (or, to put it another word, the question of “becoming human”) is not just an idealistic or ideological supplement for the totalitarian or repressive political systems, but rather that it emerges as a constellation of the state of exception, and concomitantly as a possibility to leave it behind - in the name of democracy, and against the war.

It’s maybe now, with the constellation of questions and problems posited in this way, that the entire “monstrosity” of the biopolitical theory and its normative claims after Foucault comes to light. How to think the social with regard to the exceptional state of exception that emanates from the very core of the social, i.e. intellectuality as the potential to communicate and cooperate? And no longer the intellectuality understood as an ideological-idealistic supplement for the material relations, but rather the intellectuality that is an index of the problematic character of anthropogenesis itself.

So, what are the biopolitical productivity and normativity, beyond all eugenic projects of the modernity?

iii. Milovan Đilas’s “New Class” opens with a poignant author’s confession that the text that follows is a hybrid genre, that it is a text that

mixes and combines “the history on a contemporary revolution, [...] exposition of a thinking, and, finally, [...] a confession of a revolutionary.” It is a literary mix of historiography, meditations and memoirs - an attempt “to use different methods in a same piece of writing in order encompass as thoroughly and as succinctly the image of contemporary communism.”

But the final aim of thus articulated intention was not to provide “a social or any other philosophy”, not even there where the author uses abstractions in order to simply “display the image of the communist world.”

It is rather a “so it is”, an exposition of thought that suspends the philosophical reflection in the confession of the unconditional social conditioning of thinking on the one hand, and in the sentential reduction to apodictic validity on the other. So it is, or at least hold it to be.

However, a supplement that makes such a meditation on the “image”, and no longer on the thought of communism - and this meditation is as Đilas assumes always hybrid and fragile -, consistent - i.e. that what makes it possible for the author’s writing to take seriously and to testify credibly of the subject of his elaboration is his invocation of becoming and intellectual’s course of life.

“In my life I’ve crossed, as an intellectual, the entire road that one communist has to go - from the lowest to the highest ranks of hierarchy, from the local and national to the international forums, from the establishment of a true communist party and organizing the revolution, to the building up of so called socialist society. No one had forced me neither to join the communism nor to part from it. I made my decisions myself, to the best of my belief, freely, as much as man can be free in such a moment. I do not belong to those who have been disappointed, although there were disappoints, but I moved gradually and mindfully, creating an image and conclusions presented in this book. By drawing away from the reality of contemporary communism, I was increasingly drawn nearer to the idea of a democratic socialism. This personal development must have reflected on this book, although its goal could neither be nor is in that.”

The supplement that allows Đilas to depict the contemporary communist world, and at the same time allows his non-systematic meditation to attain a discursive homogeneity necessary for approaching a task such is the description of the communism in its living totality, is the experience of intellectuality, experience of “personal development”. As such, and in order to distance itself from the reality of the world, this experience needs - so that it could leave the impression of a psychological and social integrity - be structured as a teleological (gradual and rational) process.

On the one hand, we thus have a meditative thinking, which in an unstable form of an apodictic assertion “so it is” illuminates in flashes the image or subject of enquiry, and on the other, we have a thoroughly teleological and closed process, where a life’s experience of an intellectual living in a communist world doesn’t leave much room for a suspicion as to what it is that we are here dealing with.

However, not even this constellation or montage of the incompatible is that peak which secures Đilas’s thinking a status of a thinking of the state of exception, or rather a thinking as the state of exception.

That what structures Đilas’s text is neither meditation nor (purposeful) pragmatic experience of “personal development”, it is rather the time pressure of circumstances hastening him to bring the exposition to an end.

Or, to quote: “Furthermore, my personal circumstances are insecure to a degree, and they depend on me only insofar as I still haven’t succumbed, where I’m forced to haste with the exposition of personal observations and experiences, although I am aware that a more detailed enquiry might make more complete and even change some of the conclusions.”

Herewith the basic economy of Đilas’s text is posited, one that - under constant pressure to fend off an unnamed, yet presumed threat that would prevent finishing of the writing - oscillates between different genres of writing, and it oscillates between reductive, sententious descriptive insights and sedimentary richness of lived experience. The distancing from the reality of the communist world as a political state of exception becomes, in Đilas’s case, itself a state of exception. The meditation that aspires to give a “real” image of communism from a genetically higher state (i.e. democratic socialism), because of its immanent riddenness and collatedness does not manage to provide an alternative normativity that would no longer be the one of the perversion of the political.

In this sense Đilas’s genealogy of the communist world is not in the least original, quite on the contrary it belongs to the same milieu it wants to distance itself from.

Thus the communism in the East, according to the author, was indeed necessary as a motor for the modernization that the national bourgeoisies were not able to kick start, but at the same time that necessity was also detrimental, insofar as a certain ideology (communist), that was already obsolete in the Western world, has charged for the modernization by bringing the society to an impasse of an insurmountable social stagnation and impossibility of development into the (teleologically) higher social formation. The communist monolith is a key for understanding of all processes, and therefore even a particular Yugoslav phenomenon of workers participation in the management is assumed to be nothing but a bloodless revisionism

of the basic communist matrix that by no means implies a higher degree of democracy, but maybe only provides yet another perfect illusion of the humanity of the communist project. But let us be frank: on these counts Đilas repeats what is already known and offers nothing new.

However, an unstable point of reference of the entire text that Đilas himself particularly is concerned with, as should we be when trying to demonstrate a certain use to a long forgotten critique of communism in the context of a globalized world, is the concept of “new class”.

The new class is, briefly, a class that has risen in the name of overcoming of all classes, in the name of overcoming the political and state domain, in the name of social revolution. That is a class that is a remnant that left over once the class society has been suspended, and therefore it can no longer be described in terms of class antagonism, but it still is not a perfect realization of a classless society. That is a class that is in an interregnum. Đilas will invest a lot of energy in his book trying to demonstrate that the “new class” is no longer a classical, vanguard revolutionary party, nor the Western technocratic elite. The new class as an interregnum is not “forgetting of politics”, but simply a total perversion of the political. However, the “new class” is neither simply the “nomenclature”, or at least not at the moment when Đilas does his research and description. The “new class” is half way through the 50-ties still not stable enough and still not systematically positioned enough to be able to reproduced itself as nomenclature.

This is in part so because the communist project of modernization meant by and large also the project of national emancipation, and hence the external threat of war was still looming large over the internal (closed) project of transformation of the social. But merging of the form of civil war being led in the (internal) process of destruction of social divisions and the form of war as a threat from outside is for Đilas still not good enough to describe the exceptionality of the communist state, because the merging of different forms of the threat of war (internal and external) maybe might explain the geopolitical, block division, but that is by no means universal enough to describe or define the communist state of exception.

At this juncture, before we go on to quote the passage that we think is crucial for the understanding of Đilas, we will remind that it is the intellectuality that we have named the motor of the state of exception. What that might mean when it comes Đilas, we will explain after a longer quote:

“The most important reason for there not being an organized opposition in the communism lies of course in the comprehensiveness - totalitarianism of the communist state. It has pushed its way into all pores of society and personality - into visions of scientists, into inspirations of poets and into dreams of lovers. To stand up against meant not only dying a desperate man’s death, but also to be branded and ostracized from

the society. [...]

Not even the two basic forms of opposition - one of the old classes and another from within the communism - were capable either to find programs or forms of struggle. The first were pulling back, and the second were competing with the regime in an aimless and senseless revolutionary zeal and dogmatic outsmarting. The conditions were still not ripe to find new ways.

However, the people spontaneously intuited a new way and resisted in every step and in every detail. This resistance is today the greatest and real threat to communist regimes. The communist oligarchs no longer know what their people think and feel. They feel insecure in a sea of dark and deep protest. [...]

It seems that the more the consciousness is constrained and the lesser the potentials for creating an organization are, the more silent and grim grows the protest.

The communist totalitarianism leads to a total protest, where gradually all other differences are lost and only desperation and hate remain.”

It seems to us that the following is crucial: the communist formation is defined by an inability for one kind of rationality (for instance, rationality of governing) to perceive other kinds of rationality (in this case, rationality of protest). Perceptive field is divided and there is no “third way” that could overcome the division of rationality and the inability for different rationalities to perceive one another. And insofar a true job of communist government doesn’t even begin with a mere overthrow and taking of power, as Dilas informs us, but rather with an everyday, total revolutionizing of relations after the “year zero”, then this division of rationality tends to become permanent, i.e. it becomes a *perpetuum mobile* of the state of exception (as both the cause and the purpose of the process). Dilas in his teleologically determined perspective thinks that the permanency of such state is fragile and will not be continuing for long (what should so called “fall of communism” testify to?), because the plunder of material and intellectual resources cannot continue forever before they are depleted. But, what if the exploited resources are not limited, and if the very act of anthropogenesis (“becoming of man”) has become a primary resource of production? - This seems to us as a crucial question for life within a globalized world.

To sum up: the state of exception is a crucial means, but also purpose of communist politics. As such it can be brought to bear on the issue of modernization, national emancipation or totalitarian-terrorist plunder of social resources (and all in the name of establishing of a classless society), but the essence of the exceptionality of exactly the communist state of exception is its primarily intellectual character, i.e. a permanent and total

production of the division of the rational and the perceptive. “Poverty” of the communist East reflects the fact that the basic “material” of production nothing else than that very complex of rational/perceptive. But that was also an index of “wealth” (of utopian potential) in the East.

When we talk about the division of rationality we don’t think of a Weberian model of differentiated types of rationality, but of a concept that was introduced by Jacques Rancière: *partage du sensible*. In brief, it is a concept whereby Rancière describes paradoxical mechanisms of political processes, staking his voice against that tradition of political philosophy as we’ve come to know since Hannah Arendt.

Partage du sensible is a splitting of rationality that can no longer be reconciled, not only insofar as there is no comprehensive rationality, but primarily because of the simple fact that the different types of rationality cannot be reciprocally perceived, recognized. *Partage du sensible* is therefore an indication of a fundamental social misunderstanding, where no teleological movement of different and opposing rationality towards a consensual mode of reconcilable rationality is given.

Rancière’s truly classical example is the status of *demos* in the Athenian polis. The *demos* is, looking structurally, left outside of the order of knowledge (as it doesn’t adequate the geometrical intelligence), as well as outside of the order of wealth (i.e. arithmetic rationality) - *demos* is that unaccountable that escapes the structural order, but it is this same “*demos*” who is denominator that the Athenian democracy uses to attain the title of “democracy”. *Demos* is a “part of those who don’t have a share” or “the qualification of those who are unqualified”, and that after all serves as a motor to the political, implying also the possibility for a true political, democratic dynamics.

Or to quote Rancière: “That what characterizes the democracy is a pure accident or a complete absence of qualification for ruling. Democracy is a state of exception [...], where there is no default principle of assignation of roles.” Democracy is a state of exception, we add, exactly for it is a paradoxical and irreconcilable splitting of the rational into different rationalities, the same as splitting of the rational into incommensurable domains of intelligible and perceptible.

Dilas’s “new class”, at least as we have presented it here, ironically completely corresponds to the essential element in the democratic politics according to Rancière - that of a dissensual and contingent creation of the state of exception, where “part which has no share” deconstructs no longer a political, but rather strictly policing logics of the social administration. Ironically, because the communist “new class” of the European East perverts and ridicules the neo-classical modeling of political community (such as Arendt’s) and radically antagonistic models of democratic

sociality (such as Rancière's)

The "new class" - that central concept in Dilas that eludes every rigid definition, but that we know of that it is neither the party vanguard, nor the bureaucratic nomenclature, nor the technocratic elite - is a name of a historical project that has, while trying to answer to the challenge of the social state of exception, by the way of mimicry become the state of exception itself. But that despite of that has in one moment - in the emphasis on the intellectual character of the state of exception - has left a window of possibility open to think the sociality beyond the state of exception, or more precisely, beyond the permanent state of war.

The "new class" faced us with a possibility of a radical perversion of the political in the name of social revolution. However, the "new class" is at the same time a name of a normative project that is interested in - beyond all modernist and biological fantasies of creating a "new man" - radically exposing the fundamentally intellectual character of the sociality, creating thus indirectly that what is always and only at stake - free people.

State that is known as Yugoslavia exists. It is easy to reach an intersubjective consensus about its external dimension. We can point to the clearly demarcated territory and to the name reserved for that state. Yet, what about its internal dimension, its own "identity"? Will this identity emerge - like some ontological "surplus-value" - by simple addition of its objective elements, i.e. the territory and the name? What kind of "subjective factor" we would get if we look after the internal dimension of the territory we call Yugoslavia? Yugoslavs? Can we say that Yugoslavia represents a territory where Yugoslavs live? We all know that this tautology is not true. Defining Yugoslavia as a country where Yugoslavs live would itself be polemical and therefore unsuitable as argumentative starting point. However, the occasion that the identity of our country is being already disrupted by the tautology of its proper name, helps us to formulate the problem more clearly.

Zoran Đinđić, "Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State"

iv. Is it possible to overlook the irony, or better, all modes of irony or just all ironies in the title such as "Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State"?

Đinđić's volume that includes his scholarly essays from mid-80's has again - now "enriched" with a prophetic halo - come to light (by way of an intensive reception) shortly following his assassination in March 2003. The title has suddenly begun to function in messianic way, in all cases in the tragic mode, showing how that which occurred with the Yugoslav (state) formation during the 90's was somehow prefigured and overdetermined by the title of a single book, Yugoslavia - an unfinished state.

As if "unfinishedness" (in its double sense: as non-completion and as imperfection) could be the privileged access-point to the understanding of historical processes related to a particular state-formation, even more, as if "unfinishedness" is the reason for its (bloody) dissolution. Notwithstanding how we relate to this, in each case we have in advance overlooked the irony of Đinđić's title and his entire enterprise.

"Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State" is an ironical echoing of the other, more famous title, "Modernity, an Unfinished Project" - the title of Jürgen Habermas' well-known lecture.

Alas, disregarding that subtle academic and intellectual irony whose combinatorics indicates a play of simultaneous approaching and distancing in regard to broader and outlined epistemic context, Đinđić's "Yugoslavia" is also something more, something other.

Of course, it's a volume by an author who without any effort and Besserwisserei, accurately and astutely draws a referential map whose, more or less explicit, key figures, are such names like Habermas, Luhmann, Schmitt... This hadn't gone unnoticed, but the turning point in Đinđić's

text is that interpretative surplus which "Yugoslavia" or the Yugoslav state of exception produces.

So, instead to read the title "Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State" within the set of interpretative possibilities that are being offered in Đinđić's reference to Habermas' lecture, or from today's perspective which seems to emphasize prophetic abilities of an congenial analyst, we are interested here in irony as that classical topos of the impossibility of interpretation. Impossibility of interpretation - not as something which infinitely would exceed interpretation or something which would be totally external to interpretation, but impossibility or the sur-plus of interpretation which is produced by the same interpretative action. Or formulated otherwise: the inevitable end and failure of interpretation precisely because of the impossibility to stop interpreting - this is the highest form of irony, ambivalence which irradiates from Đinđić's "Yugoslavia" and which makes that volume so modern and in some extent quite unavoidable.

"Unfinishedness" by that token is not a univocal key to understanding of the tragic historical process, but an index of the ironical, i.e. the essentially ambivalent nature of the intellectual labor. Things get even more complicated: in the title "Yugoslavia, an unfinished state" all elements are meant ironically and beside that all of them are interchangeable, so that there is little chance to find an end to interpretative complications, not to mention the interpretative failures. "Yugoslavia" is a domain, actually, of infinite efforts and defeats of interpretation, or put alternatively, "Yugoslavia" is a permanent, intellectual state of exception.

While in Milovan Đilas' "New Class" the intellectuality of state of exception is still criss-crossed by unbridgeable chasms and imperceptible antagonisms, in Đinđić there is a multiplication of the domains of the state of exception. Social dynamics in Đilas are determined by (relatively) few parameters (be it the specific case of the genealogy of the "new class" or its mobilization, or the somewhat more general question of a relation between the rulers and the rest of the population which Đilas foremost understands economically and the question of basic affective tonalities), in Đinđić's analysis it is necessary to recur to a (relatively) huge set of institutional parameters if you want to define the Yugoslav situation (most prominently the legal domain). Though at first sight it seems as if an interpretation of the Yugoslav state is immensely complicated and difficult to provide just because of the fact that the Yugoslav socialist society itself has reached (genetically) a higher stage of complexity and differentiation, Đinđić leaves no doubt that such an assumption would be false. It is rather the case, if we follow the author, that the social complexity of the Yugoslav society is a result of a kind of interpretative intervention, a result of the thinking as a state of exception, while the actual development is far more rudimentary and far less attractive. Yugoslav state of exception as determined by its multiplication is

foremost a kind of transferring the intellectuality into a multitude of heterogeneous spheres. Or even more abstract: that which characterizes the late Yugoslav state is neither production, nor the consumption of the social product [the sole product of the socialist state for Đilas is exactly the state of exception], but the focus on the process of (pure, simple) transferring (of the state of exception).

No more a closed off, static and criss-crossed economy of a divide/rupture in perception and rationality, but a open, dynamic and multiplicated economy of a infinite transfer of thinking as a state of exception.

In Đilas' case it was teleology within the exposition of the communist state which made impossible to reach an alternative, genetically higher state of social organisation, whereby in Đinđić it is the author's own inscription into the acts of (ironic) transferring which makes a configuration alternative to "Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State" less likely. At the end, Yugoslavia is always something more.

From the global perspective we will claim the following: transfer/ transferring / transferability whose Yugoslav economy Đinđić has detected exceeds both the socialist construct of a transitory state (towards a classless, communist society), as a post-socialist transitional integration of the East into a mondialized capitalism. It is partly correct that such a claim sounds almost fatalistic, but this is a case of heuristically efficient gesture of detecting and analyzing of a pure state of exception, which in its Yugoslav form has shown, in a completely stripped down manner, the inner functioning of its own dynamic, i.e. its intellectuality (or the intellectual - not ideological! - intervention).

Since the permanency of the state of exception has been systematically stabilized, the difference between a "normal" and an "exceptional state" has lost its evidence. Instead to legitimize the political action in a situation where some of the members of the community are in danger, that evidence itself becomes the object of a political non-action. [...] Because the normality as an unambiguous criterion is lacking, everything becomes a matter of interpretation - everything becomes arbitrary.

Zoran Đinđić, "Yugoslavia, an Unfinished State"

A point where imperial racism emerges is the moment when a discourse about state of exception becomes the driving force behind the exceptionality of a state of exception. And this is a kind of racism, if we follow Foucault, which has nothing in common with any classical form of racism. While classical racism functions according to the formula make die/ let live, new kind of racism reverses the order: make live / let die. This is a mechanism whereby the state reaches its governmental modernity, i.e. the threshold where state, on the one hand, has achieved its systematic

and permanent stabilization, and on the other hand, the necessary form of social dynamism has been brought about in a state of exception.

But our concern would now be what happens when the state isn't any more the primary medium of political and social regulation? What happens with racism when the state withers away or is just absent?

In Foucault there is ambivalence relating to that question because the modern state (or the State as such) in the first place isn't a sovereign state, but a governmental one. Though the temporal, spatial and systematic interdependencies between sovereignty and governmentality are complex one, state-racism is nevertheless governmental. But, what to say, if even this kind of (governmental) state disappears?

We guess that this is a perspective according to which one should read Đinđić's volume - a perspective where modern racism, to cite Balibar, is a "conflictual relationship towards the state, which is being experienced in a perverted guise, projected as a relation towards the Other."

Modern racism, understood that way, is a precarious relationship towards the state - in each moment intensified by the insecurity of that relationship itself which exceeds its elements and is unstable. How much more this is valid for a state that withers away or has been already dissolved?

"Discussions", arbitrary interpreting or just chatter as a state of exception: this seems to be the quintessence of Đinđić's analysis of socialist Yugoslavia. But this is simultaneously the description of a post-etatist social state, whose dominant driving force is the infinite, omnipresent and parasitical communication, i.e. arbitrary talk.

For Đinđić itself that talk is necessarily negative, a kind of bad infinitude that just endlessly postpones political action. But, what if that talk - beyond any control - possesses the potential to open up new domains of the political, beyond the classical and the modern racism and even beyond that form of racism that is related to the withering away of the state, which we have called imperial racism?

Part of the text about Đinđić's thesis "Yugoslavia as an Unfinished State" has been published in: Mojca Pajnik & Tonci Kuzmanic (eds.) "Nation-States and Xenophobias: In the Ruins of Former Yugoslavia", Mirovni Institut, Ljubljana, 2005

Biographies of Text's Authors

Tomislav Medak is co-ordinating theory and research program and publishing activities at the Multimedia Institute in Zagreb (www.mi2.hr). His interests are constellations of contemporary social, biopolitical and media theory. Recently, he's been exploring wider implications of alternatives to the restrictive intellectual property regimes. He's also active as performer and coreographer with the Zagreb based company BADco.

Petar Milat is co-director in the department for theory "past:forward" (www.pastforward.org) in net.culture center "mama" in Zagreb, and a free-lance researcher and translator. He is editor of several philosophical, social- and media theory series in Zagreb ("mama", "Jesenski & Turk"). Mostly interested in constellations of contemporary social theory and aesthetics, with the accent on French and Italian philosophical context.



Trajni čas umetnosti

Novosadska neoavangarda 60-ih i 70-ih godina XX veka

Istorija nije data. Istoriju treba konstruisati.

Irwin

U okviru svog projekta *EastArt Map*, slovenačka grupa *Irwin* je pokrenula projekat mapiranja, tj. historizovanja nasleđa posleratne istočnoevropske umetnosti, koja zbog specifičnog političkog okvira i nepostojanja razvijenog umetničkog tržišta nije upisana u korpus istorije umetnosti XX veka.

Sličnu sudbinu sa drugim istočnoevropskim avangardama, delila je sa svojim lokalnim osobenostima i novosadska neoavangarda šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina koja, osim ponekih primera, do danas nije značajnije naučno obrađivana. To se posebno odnosi na društveni okvir i barijere u kojima je ta umetnička praksa delovala (uticaj omladinskih pokreta, geopolitička pozicija i unutrašnji odnosi u Jugoslaviji, lokalni kontekst Vojvodine i Novog Sada). Protagonisti novosadske konceptualne scene su svojim radom kreirali jedan univerzalni i ne-teritorijalni diskurs, koji se očitavao u neometanoj komunikaciji i slobodi izražavanja. U isto vreme, njihov angažman nije bio izolovan od lokalnog konteksta, već zasnovan na karakteristikama vremena i prostora u kome su delovali.

Izložba pod nazivom "Trajni čas umetnosti" predstavlja deo istoimenog, dugoročnog projekta, koji je simbolički nastavak akcije "Javni čas umetnosti", realizovane od strane protagonista novosadske konceptualne scene, na Dunavskom keju, u Novom Sadu, 1970. godine.

Projekat "Trajni čas umetnosti" ima nameru da se kroz dokumentaciju, akcije, izložbe i performanse predstavi ova plodna i kreativna produkcija, koja s druge strane ima širi evropski i regionalni značaj. Realizacija ovog projekta predstavlja zajedničko uverenje da se može promeniti dosadašnje tumačenje značaja tih praksi, za istoriju umetnosti tog vremena. Neophodan je interdisciplinarni pristup u verifikaciji tog perioda i prakse, na sličan način kakva je ta praksa i bila, a ona je prožimala polje vizuelnih umetnosti, lingvistike, performansa, konceptualne umetnosti, kao i filozofskog, sociološkog i književnog rada.

Cilj istraživanja u okviru "Trajnog časa umetnosti" predstavlja konstatovanje i prevazilaženje problema i negativne selekcije koji permanentno postoje u našoj kulturnoj sredini. Upoznavanje široke publike sa aktivnostima pojedinaca i grupa koji su delovali tokom 60-ih i 70-ih godina omogućava utvrđivanje kontinuiteta sa tim periodom, što je neophodna osnova za reanimaciju kulturnih vrednosti i kulturne produkcije danas.

Centar za nove medije_kuda.org, Novi Sad

The Continuous Arts Class

The Novi Sad Neo-Avantgarde of the 1960's and 1970's

History is not given. It needs to be constructed.

Irwin

Within the project *EastArt Map*, the *Irwin* group from Slovenia started a project of mapping; creating a history for Eastern Europe's post-war artistic legacy. As a result of specific political circumstances and the lack of a developed artistic market, this history has not been included in the corpus of the 20th Century art history.

Although characterised by local specificities, the Novi Sad neo avant-garde of the 1960's and 1970's has been treated like other Eastern European arts. Other than a few exceptions, it has not been the focus of scholarly research. This is closely related to the social framework in which this artistic practice was carried out, as well as to the obstacles this social context engendered. Together these help to illustrate the impact of youth movements during that time, the geopolitical position and internal affairs of Yugoslavia, particularly within the local context of Vojvodina and Novi Sad.

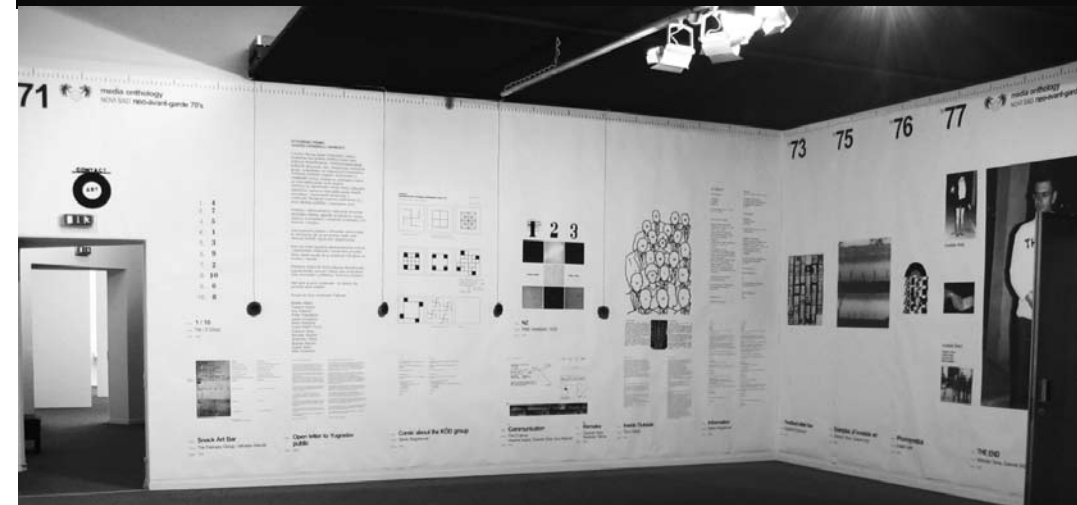
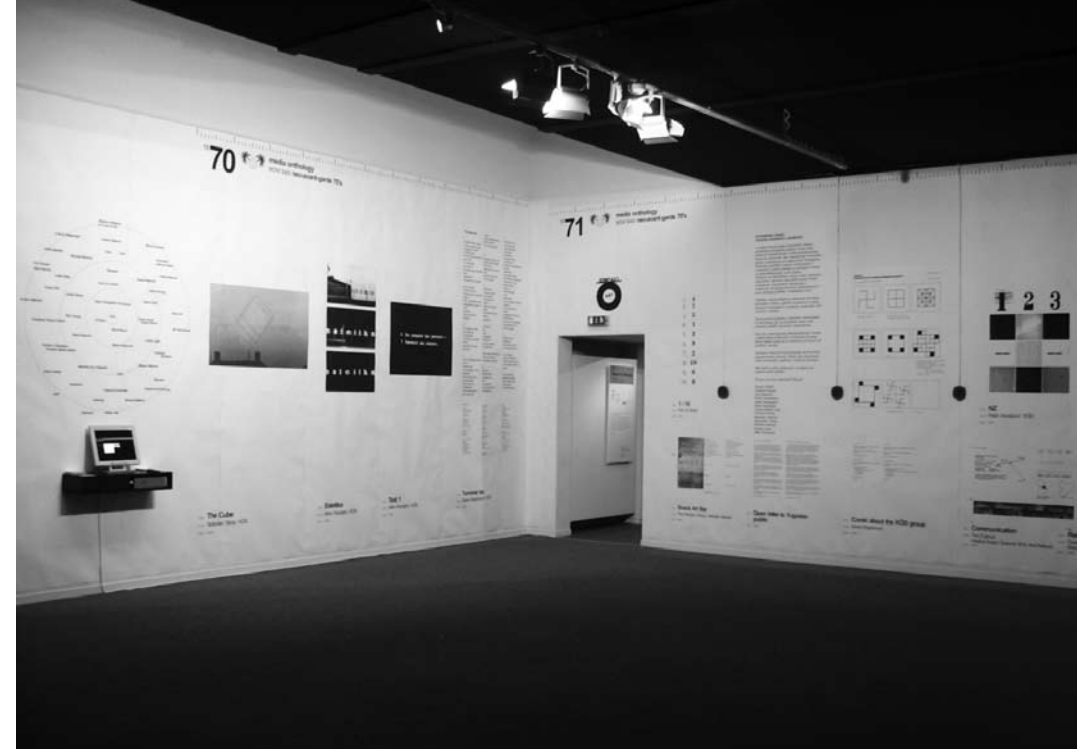
The protagonists of the Novi Sad conceptual artistic scene created through their work a universal non-territorial discourse, observed in their unrestrained communication and freedom of expression. At the same time, their engagement was based on the local context, precisely referring to specificities of the times and the locality which they were working in.

The exhibition "The Continuous Arts Class" is part of a long-term project entitled The Continuous Arts Class; a symbolic follow up of the "The Public Arts Class" project, which was carried out in 1970 on the Danube Pier in Novi Sad by the protagonists of the current conceptual artistic scene.

"The Continuous Arts Class" aims at presenting a fruitful and creative production through documentation, action, exhibitions and performances of great significance for Europe and the region. The realisation of this project indicates a common belief that it is possible to interpret the importance that this artistic scene had for art history of that time. An interdisciplinary approach is needed in order to recognise the practices of that period, which would correspond to the practice itself. This means it should include visual arts, linguistics, performance, conceptual art, philosophy, sociology and literature.

The goal of "The Continuous Art Class" project is to recognise and overcome the problem and negative selection perpetuating in our cultural environment. Introducing to a wider audience the activities of individuals and groups that were active during the 1960's and 1970's; thus enabling the establishment of continuity from this period, which constitutes a necessary basis for rejuvenation of current cultural values and cultural production.

New Media Center_kuda.org, Novi Sad



"Trajni čas umetnosti", u okviru internacionalne izložbe "On Difference #1", Württembergischer Kunstverein, Štuttgart, maj - jul 2005.
"The Continuous Art Class", at the international exhibition "On Difference #1", Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart, May - July 2005.



Trajni čas umetnosti

Radikalna praksa, fleksibilna umetnost, dogmatski okvir

Prikazana mapa je proistekla iz istraživanja u okviru projekta “Trajni čas umetnosti”. Mapa predstavlja mrežu protagonista i referenci umetničke, društvene i političke teorije i prakse, koja je uticala na novosadsku neoavangardu šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina XX veka. Mapa pokriva polje istorijskih avangardi sa početka dvadesetog veka, preko posleratne neoavangarde, pa sve do savremene umetničke produkcije.

The Continuous Arts Class

Radical Practices, Flexible Art, Dogmatic Framework / Work in Progress

The map presented originated in the research within the “The Continuous Arts Class” project. The map is a network of protagonists and references within the artistic, social and political theory and practices that made a strong impact on the Novi Sad neoavant-garde of the 60’s and 70’s. The map covers historical avant-garde movements and arts from the early 20th Century, through the postwar avant-garde, up to contemporary artistic production.

OTVORENO PISMO JUGOSLOVENSKOJ JAVNOSTI

U KULTURI NOVOG SADA (VOJVODINE) VLADA U POSLEDNJE DVE GODINE POLITIKA ČVRSTE RUKE, POTPUNA BIROKRATIZACIJA I INSTITUCIONALIZOVANJE KULTURNIH AKTIVNOSTI, KAO I EKSPANZIJA MONOPOLA GRUPE I POJEDINACA NA ODGOVORNIM FUNKCIJAMA.

ARBITRAŽA POLITIČKIH ORGANA I FUNKCIONERA U UMETNOSTI I KULTURI POSTALA JE UOBIČAJENI METOD ZA DISKVALIFIKOVANJE NOVIH POJAVA.

ODRŽAVA SE HIJERARHIJSKI ODNOS MEDJU KULTURNIM RADNICIMA I APRIORNO DISKVALIFIKOVANJE MLADIH STVARALACA I SAVREMENIH TENDENCIJA U UMETNOSTI.

BAVLJENJE KULTUROM PRETVORENO JE U IZVOR STICANJA POLITIČKE I MATERIJALNE MOĆI.

POLITIČKO I ADMINISTRATIVNO REŠAVANJE STVORILO JE ATMOSFERU STRAHA, UGROZILO PROGRESIVNU MISAO, SLOBODU STVARALAŠTVA I BAVLJENJE UMETNOŠĆU ČINI MUČNIM I RIZIČNIM.

SAMOUPRAVNA PRAKSA U ATMOSFERI STRAHOVLADE JE NEMOGUĆE, JER SE POVERENJE VLASTI UVEK UKAZUJE POLITIČKI "ISPRAVNIM" POJEDINCIMA.

SVE OVO ONEMOGUĆAVA DEMOKRATIZACIJU KULTURE I UKLJUČIVANJE UMETNOSTI U DRUŠTVENE PROCESE - ČEMU SLEDE OSUDE DA JE UMETNOST ODVOJENA OD DRUŠTVA I NARODA.

SREDSTVA MASOVNIH KOMUNIKACIJA DEZINFORMIŠU JUGOSLOVENSKU JAVNOST I DELUJU KAO PRODUŽENA RUKA MONOPOLA U POLITIČKOJ I KULTURNOJ STRUKTURI.

NAŠ JEZIK JE JEZIK UMETNOSTI I NE ŽELIMO DA POSTANE JEZIK POLITIČKI.

GRUPA ZA NOVE UMETNOSTI "FEBRUAR"
KOD NOVOSADSKJE "TRIBINE MLADIH" :

Branko Andrić s.r, Slavko Bogdanović s.r,
Čedomir Drča s. r, Janez Kocijančič s.r,
Vladimir Kopicl s.r, Božidar Mandić s.r,
Miroslav Mandić s.r, Mirko Radojičić s.r,
Ane Raković s.r, Dušan Sabo s.r,
Slobodan Tišma s.r, Vujica Rešin Tucić s.r
Peđa Vranešević s.r, Miša Živanović s.r.

Open Letter to the Yugoslav Public

In the last two years in the culture of Novi Sad (and Vojvodina) reigns the politic of the firm hand, complete bureaucratization and institutionalization of culture activities, as well as expansion of monopoly that certain groups and individuals on responsible positions have.

Arbitration of political bodies and officials in the art and culture has become usual method for disqualification of new phenomena. Hierarchical relation among cultural workers and a priori disqualification of young creators and contemporary tendencies in art is being sustained. Dealing with culture is turned into the source for gaining political and material power.

Political and administrative decision-making created the atmosphere of fear and endangered progressive thinking, freedom of creation and made working in the art field sickening and hazardous.

Self-management practice in the reign of terror atmosphere is impossible, because the trust of the government is always given to politically "correct" individuals.

All of these things are disabling democratization of culture and involvement of art in the social processes - which is followed by accusations that art is isolated from society and people.

Mass media misinform the Yugoslav public and act as extended arm of the monopoly inside political and culture structures.

Our language is art and we do not want it to become political language.

Sent 12.02.1971.

New arts group "February"
KOD of Novi Sad "Youth Tribune"

Branko Andrić s.r, Slavko Bogdanović s.r,
Čedomir Drča s.r, Janez Kocijančič s.r,
Vladimir Kopicl s.r, Božidar Mandić s.r,
Miroslav Mandić s.r, Mirko Radojičić s.r,
Ana Raković s.r, Dušan Sabo s.r,
Slobodan Tišma s.r, Vujica Rešin Tucić s.r
Peđa Vranešević s.r, Miša Živanović s.r.

Peđa Vranešević
12. II 1971.

Realizovani projekti u okviru "Trajnog časa umetnosti"

- Pseudo-opera "Kralj šume" u režiji Andraša Urbana, autora Slobodana Tišme
- Obrada i digitalizacija legata Bogdanke i Dejana Poznanovića
- Javna tribina "Kultura u centru grada" povodom 50 godina od osnivanja "Tribine mladih" u Novom Sadu, Kulturni Centar Novi Sad, decembar 2004. godine
- Predstavljanje novosadske neoavangardne i konceptualne scene šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina na izložbi "Belgrade Inc." kao poseban deo pod nazivom "Novi Sad Konc.", Vienna Secession, Beč, jul 2004. godine
- Predstavljanje novosadske neoavangardne i konceptualne scene šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina na internacionalnoj izložbi "On Difference #1", Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, maj 2005. godine
- Izložba "Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neoavangarda 60-ih i 70-ih godina XX veka", Muzej savremene umetnosti Novi Sad, novembar 2005. godine
- Publikacija "Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neoavangarda 60-ih i 70-ih godina XX veka", urednik: Centar za nove medije_kuda.org, izdavač: Revolver, Archiv für aktuelle Kunst, Frankfurt, 43 str., novembar 2005. godine
- Izložba "Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neoavangarda 60-ih i 70-ih godina XX veka", Galerija Nova, Zagreb, januar 2006. godine
- Predstavljanje novosadske neoavangardne i konceptualne scene šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina u okviru izložbe "Medijska ontologija, Mapiranje društvene i umetničke istorije Novog Sada", Galerija ArtPoint, KulturKontakt, Beč, Austrija, maj 2006. godine
- Predstavljanje novosadske neoavangardne i konceptualne scene šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina u okviru izložbe "Medijska ontologija, Mapiranje društvene i umetničke istorije Novog Sada", MEDIEN KUNSTLABOR, Kunsthaus Graz, Grac, Austrija, septembar 2006. godine

The Projects Realized Within "The Continuous Arts Class"

- A pseudo-opera "King of the Forest" directed by Andras Urban, written by Slobodan Tisma, May 2004
- Processing and digitalisation of the artistic legacy of Bogdanka and Dejan Poznanovic
- A colloquium entitled "Culture in the City Centre" at the Cultural Centre of Novi Sad the fiftieth anniversary of the Youth Tribune (originally Tribina mladih) in Novi Sad, December, 2004
- Presenting the Novi Sad neo avant-garde and conceptual art scene of the 1960's and 1970's at the exhibition "Belgrade Inc." as a separate part entitled "Novi Sad Konc.", Vienna Secession, July 2004
- Presenting the Novi Sad neo avant-garde and conceptual art scene of the 1960's and 1970's at the international exhibition "On Difference #1", Württembergischer Kunstverein Stuttgart, May 2005
- The exhibition "The Continuous Arts Class, The Novi Sad Neo Avant-Garde of the 1960's and 1970's", Museum of Contemporary Art Novi Sad, November 2005
- The publication "The Continuous Arts Class, The Novi Sad Neo Avant-Garde of the 1960's and 1970's", editor: New Media Center_kuda.org, publisher: Revolver, Archiv für aktuelle Kunst, Frankfurt, 43 p., November 2005
- The exhibition "The Continuous Arts Class, The Novi Sad Neo Avant-Garde of the 1960's and 1970's", Gallery Nova, Zagreb, January 2006
- Presenting the Novi Sad neo avant-garde and conceptual art scene of the 1960's and 1970's at the exhibition "Media ontology, Mapping of Social and Art History in Novi Sad", Gallery ArtPoint, KulturKontakt, Vienna, Austria, May 2006
- Presenting the Novi Sad neo avant-garde and conceptual art scene of the 1960's and 1970's at the exhibition "Media ontology, Mapping of Social and Art History in Novi Sad", MEDIEN KUNSTLABOR, Kunsthaus Graz, Austria, September 2006



Izložba "Trajni čas umetnosti", Galerija Nova, Zagreb, januar 2006. godine
The exhibition "The Continuous Art Class", Gallery Nova, Zagreb, January 2006

Centar za nove medije_kuda.org

Centar za nove medije_kuda.org je kolektiv posvećen novim tehnologijama, umetnosti, aktivizmu i politici. Centar za nove medije_kuda.org je organizacija koja okuplja umetnike, teoretičare, medijske aktiviste, istraživače i široku publiku na polju informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija (*ICT - Information and Communication Technologies*), novih kulturnih odnosa, savremene umetničke prakse i društvene teorije.

Aktivnost rada kuda.org je posvećena pitanjima uticaja elektronskih medija na društvo, na kreativnu upotrebu novih komunikacijskih tehnologija i na savremenu kulturnu i društvenu politiku. Neke od glavnih tema su interpretacije i analize istorije i značaja informacijskog društva, potencijala same informacije i rasprostranjenosti njenog uticaja na političke, ekonomske i kulturne odnose u savremenom društvu. Centar za nove medije_kuda.org otvara prostor za kulturu dijaloga, alternativne metode obrazovanja i istraživanja. Društvena pitanja, medijska kultura, nove tehnologije, politički aktivizam, umetnost, princip slobodnog softvera su oblasti kojima se Centar_kuda.org bavi.

<http://kuda.org>

New Media Center_kuda.org

New Media Center_kuda.org is a collective dedicated to new technologies, art, activism and politics. New Media Center_kuda.org is an organization which brings together artists, theoreticians, media activists, researchers and the wider public in the field of Information and Communication Technologies, new cultural relations, contemporary artistic practice, political activism and social theory.

Center_kuda.org's work focuses on questions concerning the influence of the electronic media on society, on the creative use of new communication technologies, and on contemporary cultural and social policy. Some of the main issues include interpretation and analysis of the history and significance of the information society, the potential of information itself, and the diffusion of its influence on political, economic and cultural relationships in contemporary society. New Media Center_kuda.org opens space for both cultural dialog and alternative methods of education and research. A social question, media culture, new technologies art, and the Open Source and Free Software principal are areas in which Center_kuda.org is engaged.

<http://kuda.org>

Publikacija "Izostavljena istorija"

Publikacija "Izostavljena istorija" je objavljena u okviru dugoročnih projekata "Trajni čas umetnosti" koji je pokrenuo Centar za nove medije_kuda.org, 2005. godine i "Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti" koji su pokrenuli Prelom Kolektiv, Beograd, SCCA/pro.ba, Sarajevo, Što kako i za koga, Zagreb i Centar za nove medije_kuda.org, Novi Sad tokom 2006. godine.

Debata "Izostavljena istorija" je održana 18.11.2005. povodom otvaranja izložbe "Trajni čas umetnosti, Novosadska neo avangarda '60-ih i '70-ih godina XX veka", u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Novom Sadu u produkciji Centra za nove medije_kuda.org, Novi Sad.

Publication "Omitted History"

Publication "Omitted History" is published within long-term project "The Continuous Art Class" initiated by New Media Center_kuda.org in 2005, and within the project "Political Practices of (Post-) Yugoslav Art" initiated by Prelom Collective, Belgrade, SCCA/pro.ba, Sarajevo, WHW, What, How & for Whom, Zagreb and New Media Center_kuda.org in 2006.

The open discussion "Omitted History" is held on 18 November 2005 at the opening of the exhibition "The Continuous Art Class, Novi Sad Neo-Avantgarde of the 1960s and 1970s", in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Novi Sad, in production of New Media Center_kuda.org, Novi Sad.

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Urednik / Editor:
 Centar za nove medije_kuda.org
 New Media Center_kuda.org
 Braće Mogin 2, PO BOX 22
 21113 Novi Sad
 Republika Srbija / Serbia
 tel/fax: +381 21 512227
 mail: office@kuda.org
 url: <http://kuda.org>



Daniel Print
 Doža Đerđa 53
 21000 Novi Sad
 Srbija / Serbia
 tel: +381 (0)21 540 155
 fax: +381 (0)21 540 156

Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti **Political Practices of (Post-) Yugoslav Art**

PRELØM

Prelom Kolektiv

Avalska 3, 11000 Beograd / Belgrade

tel: +381 64 447 99 85

mail: prelom@prelomkolektiv.org

url: www.prelom.org



pro.ba

Centar za savremenu umetnost Sarajevo (SCCA/pro.ba)

Centre for Contemporary Art Sarajevo (SCCA/pro.ba)

Obala Maka Dizdara 3, 71000 Sarajevo

Bosna i Hercegovina / Bosnia and Herzegovina

tel: +387 33 665 304, +387 33 444 535

mail: scca@scca.ba

url: www.scca.ba & www.pro.ba

WHW

Što, kako i za koga? / What, How & for Whom

Baruna Trenka 4, 10000 Zagreb

Hrvatska / Croatia

tel: + 385 01 492 2478; + 385 01 482 8710

mail: whw@mi2.hr

url: <http://www.mi2.hr/whw/>



Centar za nove medije_ kuda.org

New Media Center_ kuda.org

Braće Mogin 2, PO BOX 22, 21113 Novi Sad

Republika Srbija / Republic of Serbia

tel/fax: +381 21 512227

mail: office@kuda.org

url: <http://kuda.org>



europaan cultural foundation ALMOSTREAL

Projekat "Političke prakse u (post-) jugoslovenskoj umetnosti" se odvija u okviru projekta ALMOSTREAL.

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The project "Political Practices of (Post-) Yugoslav Art" takes place in the framework of ALMOSTREAL.

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it is an integral part of its arts programme.

