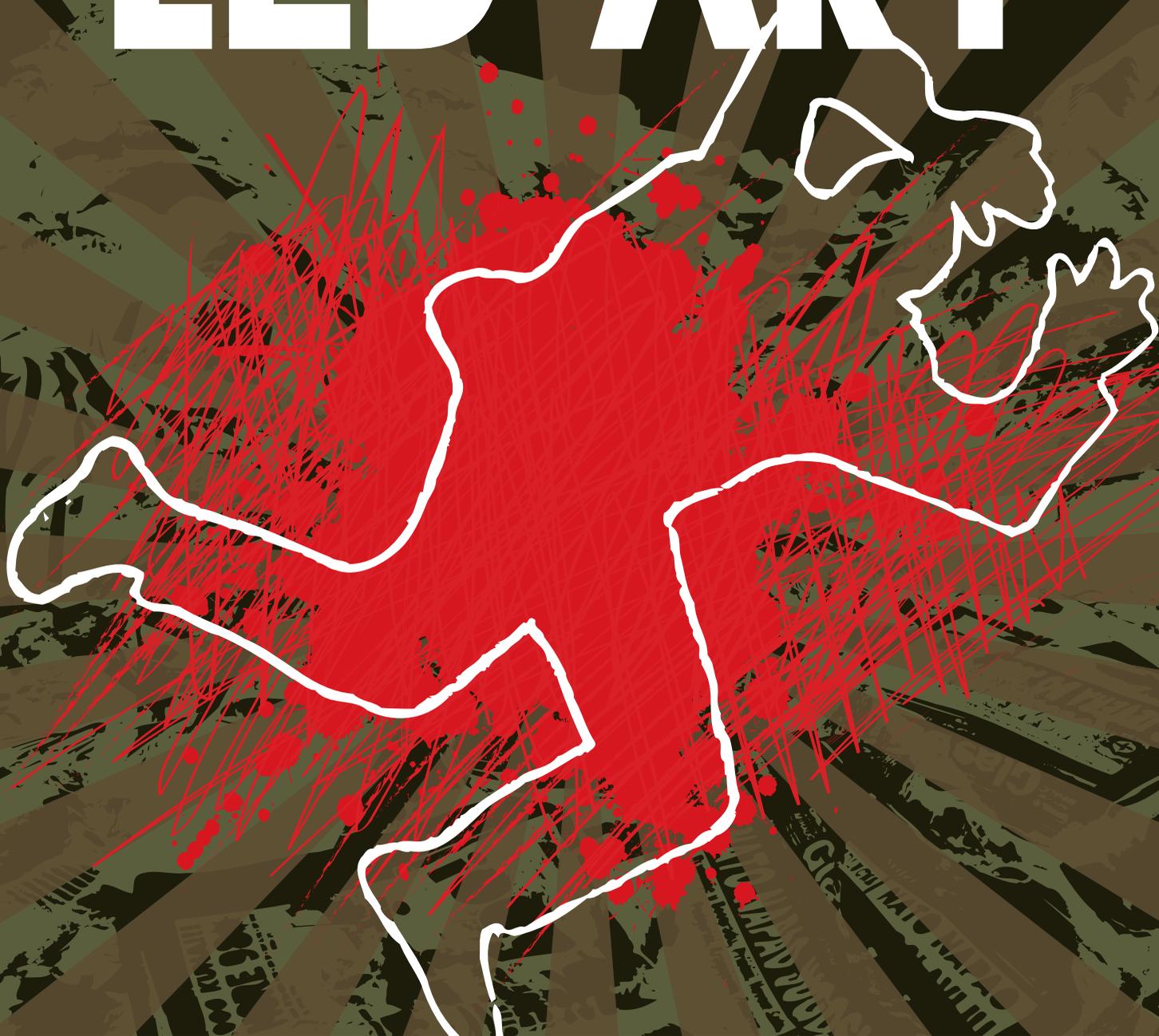
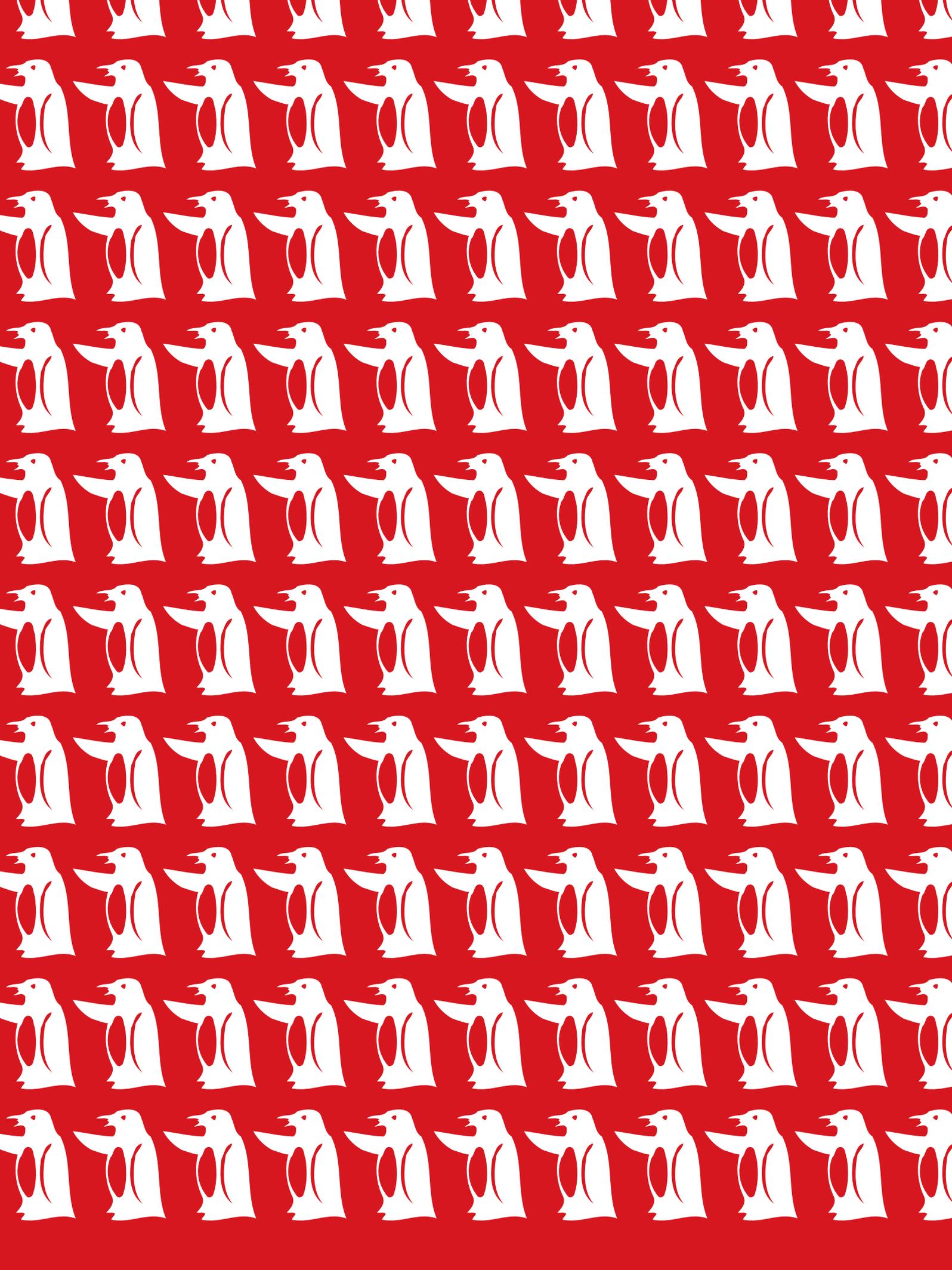


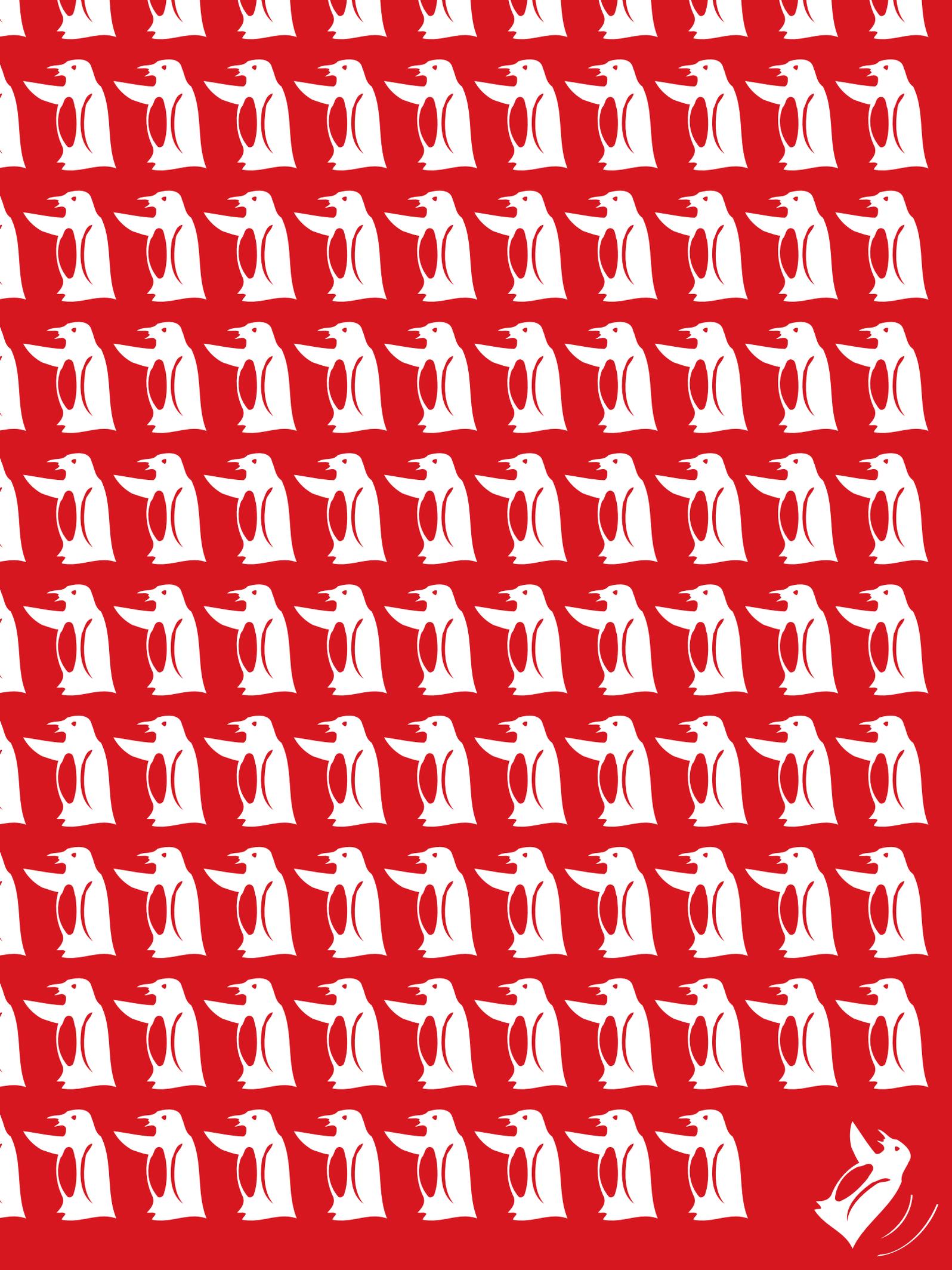
LED ART



DOCUMENTS OF TIME :

1993-2003









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LED ART –
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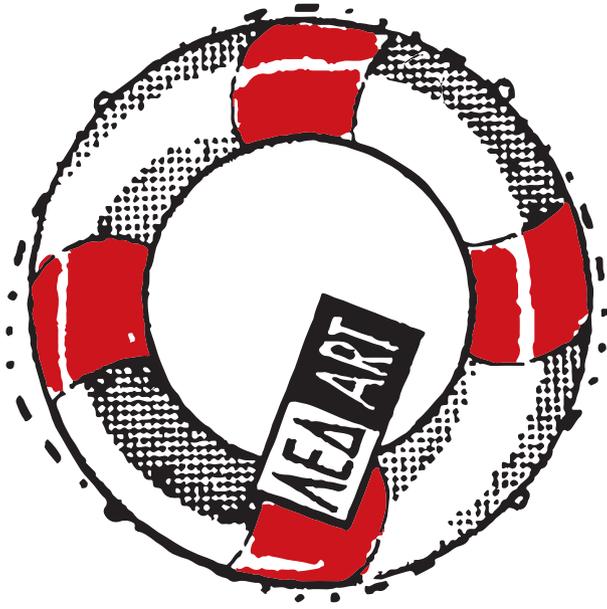
Translated by
Goran Mimica and Svetozar Poštić

Multi-media center Led Art
Novi Sad 2020.

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LED ART OR RECONSTRUCTION OF CRIME IN THE BALKANS

While refusing to participate in destruction, slaughter, robbery and rape, we take ourselves out of traditional space. By rejecting the conformist way of thinking and the old rut - we live and create ceaselessly. We discover a new way. A way in between.

| | | |
|---------------|--|----------------|
| Parallel Life | While refusing to participate in destruction, slaughter, robbery, rape, we take ourselves out of traditional space. By rejecting the conformist way of thinking and the old rut - we live and create ceaselessly. We discover a new way. A way in between. | Parallel World |
|---------------|--|----------------|

PRINCIPLES

1. LED ART is an impetus. Creativity as a method to resist and overcome the present situation. Creating despite everything. A firm for art production.
2. LED ART is concerned with the repackaging of the existing and re-evaluation of the found. It uses non- natural conditions (a temperature of -20°C) and the change of states of matter (water-ice-water) as a method of artistic action.
3. LED ART performs in urban environments. It removes itself from government institutions and traditional exhibition spaces (galleries, museums, communes) and uses the atypical (freezing chambers, refrigerator trucks, iced terrain, garages, streets).
4. LED ART is made up of creative individuals, regardless of their craft (painters, musicians, playwrights, writers and the like).
5. LED ART does not belong to any political group. It is not interested in power struggles or politicizing. It does not allow the manipulation of its work.
6. LED ART maintains records of its work (video, photography, etc.). This is a recognition of individual effort and can be used with permission.
7. LED ART performs in public with its works too: video, photography, posters, postcards, badges, manifestos, products with the LED ART name.
8. All action by the group is signed by LED ART.
9. Self-promotion by exploiting the group name is frowned upon. That will come with better times.
10. Individual performances are allowed with the agreement of the group.
11. LED ART is not interested in local criteria.
12. Sponsors finance the group's work.
13. LED ART is permanently open to new ideas and projects.



Photo: Vesna Pavlović
Refrigerated truck - gallery arrives
in front of the
Youth Centre Belgrade

Silvia Dražić

FROZEN ART AS STORAGE FOR RAGE

In May of 1993, that long-forgotten, lost, cruel and shameful year, on Nikola Džafo's initiative (his obsession with freezing had already become obvious in *Exposing to the Labyrinth*), and with help from Gabriela Pajević and Dragoslav Krnajski, the presentation of **Frozen Art**, aka **Led Art**, took place in the Dom Omladine Gallery and inside the freezer truck parked in front of it. The Soros Foundation joined the project, along with PKB Company, which put its freezer trucks, the future exhibition space, at the artist's disposal. All the important Belgrade artists active in the contemporary art scene and Radio B92, at that time still alive and efficient in criticism, joined the project. The atmosphere and all the exhibits, including the exhibition's main motto: *Remain here. The winter of foreign skies won't cool you off the way this one will freeze you*, unmistakably indicated the intention to shift artistic work into a social and political zone, which meant a different vision of art's mission and the demands placed on it.

This event signalled the birth of one of the longest-running artistic groups in these parts, a group that has managed to survive to this day, through constant re-invention of its own practices, its very structure, accompanying the social and political environment while never adjusting to and/or accepting opportunism, but rather critically intervening, provoking and subverting.

It began as an informal, professionally heterogeneous and varied group which focused on various segments of society, criticising and questioning politics in the 1990s. Through public actions, sometimes happening at the epicentre of social upheavals, where artists often invested their own bodies, the artistic act became a strategy to subvert the ruling regime. *The Flood*, *Crime Reconstruction*, *Public Haircut*, *Chair*, *Sobering Up*, *With a Mirrors at the Cordon*, *Public Works*, *Iconomahia*, *Kunstlager - Living in Serbia*, are just some of the actions that cut into the public space and de-composed it.

By following the political environment, *Led Art* became more institutionalised in the 2000s and acted, via *Art Klinika's* projects, as a critical corrective in the fields of arts and culture, while questioning the current, and non-existent, culture politics. It focused on the idea of a utopia as a regulative idea in whose name, or under whose sign, various programmes,



1987/1990.

Kosovo Polje, April 24th 1987. President of the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Council, Slobodan Milošević and the leader of the Kosovo Communists Azem Vlasi come to the meeting of local communists to discuss the situation in Kosovo. 15000 people dissatisfied about their status in the Province gather in front of Dom Kulture. Fight with police begins. When Milošević heard about that he says his famous sentence: No one is allowed to beat you."



The year 1988 is marked by 'demonstrations of truth' across Serbia. Protection of jeopardized rights of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo is demanded. Attempts to organize these demonstrations in other republics of Yugoslavia are not successful, but they incite nationalism. On 'demonstration of all demonstrations', held on Usce on November 19. 1988, Milovan Vitezović utters the famous sentence: 'Our history will remember this year as the year when people happened to us.' 'The happening of the people' become the main excuse and the main slogan of Milošević politics. (S. Djukić, *How the leaders happened*, Belgrade, 1992).



1 9 8 7 / 1 1 9 9 0.
February 1989. In front of the Yugoslav parliament, according to official estimates, million people protest. Support to the Presidency is upheld, responsibility for Albanian demonstrations in Kosovo is demanded, and 'Arrest Vlasi' is shouted. Milošević answers with a promise 'They will be arrested'!

In June 1989, national hysteria in Serbia is at its peak. Slobodan Milošević becomes the national leader of all Serbs and the undisputed figure of Serbian politics.



On June 26 1989 in Gazimestan, on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, Slobodan Milošević said: "Six centuries later, we are again battling and facing battles. They are not armed ones, though that is not excluded. Regardless of what kind of battles they are, they cannot be fought without determination, courage and sacrifice."

Gazi-Mestan, Vidovdan, June 28th 1989, on the sixhundred-years anniversary of the battle of Kosovo. The peak of national hysteria. According to the estimates of the organizers, around two million people gather. On one of the signs it says 'Who trust his mother, father and Sloba, will live happily in beautiful Serbia'. At noon sharp, as in a Hollywood show, a helicopter with Slobodan Milošević lands on the lawn behind the main stage. A shout of a huge crowd welcomes him. 'Slobo, slobodo' (Slobo, Freedom). The people sang: 'Tsar Lazar, you didn't have luck, for Slobo to walk next to you.' (S. Djukic, same) Milošević addresses the crowd with words: 'Due to social circumstances, this great, sixhundred-year anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, happened in the year in which Serbia, after many decades, regained its state, national and spiritual integrity. It is not, therefore, hard to answer the old question today: what are we going to face Milos with.'

actions and performances were organised. Perspectives, Shock Gallery, Kino Klinika, Ready for the Public and a series of *ad hoc* performances and actions were the initiators, mouthpieces and integral part of the Serbian independent art scene.

In 2004, Led Art published a monograph dedicated to its tenth anniversary: *Led Art: the documents of time 1993-2003*. This could have been the usual artistic group retrospective, were it not for the fact that the texts and photographs had been framed with an exhaustive 10-year chronology of its activity and actions in social and political life. By precise quotations, simply listing and piling up, this chronology became a testimony to the years of infamy and bad deeds, belligerent nationalism crowned by enthusiastic populism with the bloody wars that destroyed Yugoslavia in the background. Exactly by being pressed into that frame, and in its counter effect, the artistic and social practice of Led Art gained in power and weight.

After ten years, faced with fatigue and a crisis in production and reception, and that of the addressee Art Klinika was talking to, the group announced its own euthanasia and transformation into Šok Zadruga (Shock Cooperative). This was a new format of Led Art's work, which based its artistic practice - as an answer to neoliberal economic, social and political reforms - on re-activating elementary and disinterested cooperation and unity, while searching for non-conventional strategies for its own survival. This allowed the group to publish its second book.

Books continue to be published. They are mostly classics of world literature, which new generations have to conquer and adopt again and again, or there are critical editions, but most of all they are commercial bestsellers which are suffocating today's publishing.

What might be the reasons to re-publish a monograph about a local group of artists who share artistic and political stances, and do it in a *lingua franca* in order to secure its wider accessibility?

One of the reasons could certainly be its emotionally and ideologically barren chronology, a simple comment-free list that represents a shocking testimony to the political, economic and social abyss that accompanied the fall of the old world. No less important is the publisher's desire to pad this chronology with events from reality which remained outside the public domain, whose meaning only later became obvious. To correct the flaw, to repay the debt.

In October 2011, in collaboration with Women in Black, Art Klinika performed We Give You Back the Tank in front of the Republic of Serbia Parliament. This recalled Vladimir Živković, a soldier from Valjevo, who drove his armoured military vehicle in front of the Yugoslav Parliament and parked it there. The only existing photograph of his action shows a tank in front of the Parliament building, a group of confused people, one policeman and two apparently young soldiers. Almost irrelevant. But on a closer look, it is clear that amidst the mindless nationalistic euphoria, warmongering heat and reckless waste of lives, there was another voice - the voice of dissent, resistance, which was not only invisible and unrecognised, but was also condemned and persecuted. This episode, erased from the memory of history, found its deserved place in the book's second edition.

But there was also a more pressing need for this publication. If we compare Led Art's early years of formation and activity, the social, political and war-ridden turmoil of the 1990s, with the period we live in now, we can see that during the last thirty years, except for a brief break at the

turn of the century, there has been a gradual but unstoppable backsliding to where we used to be. The social environment is almost the same, the same political practices and the same ruling strategies are active and supported by a controlled and obscure media. What is more, the people are the same. There is no war, but war rhetoric continues. "Enemies" are constantly multiplying. The centres of power are even more powerful and do not compromise, and are thus faster in their attacks on any attempt to think critically and autonomously. On the other hand, the thin social tissue, in which solidarity and the feeling of unity has been slowly dying, and the anaemic and already exhausted opposition, together tame any longer-term attempt to rebel.

During the 1990s there was a wider social foundation on which Led Art could be heard and understood, and with which to act. Today that is almost invisible. It seems that the times of art activism that intervened in public space and stimulated critical thinking, are gone too. Activism has become part of globalisation and neoliberal geography and thus, it has been tamed, neutralised and is considered somehow a part of a social choreography.

Exactly for this reason it is tempting to re-think about Led Art.

German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk, studied rage and its conceptualisation as one of the unrecognised initiators in the panorama of world history. The way material goods are piled with the desire to generate fortunes, the same going for non-monetary goods (such as works of art, knowledge in libraries and salvation in churches), rage too can be stored. Political parties and movements, which manipulate the ire of small "shareholders," are examples of rage storage. According to Sloterdijk rage could be transformed into more valuable products and then re-invested.

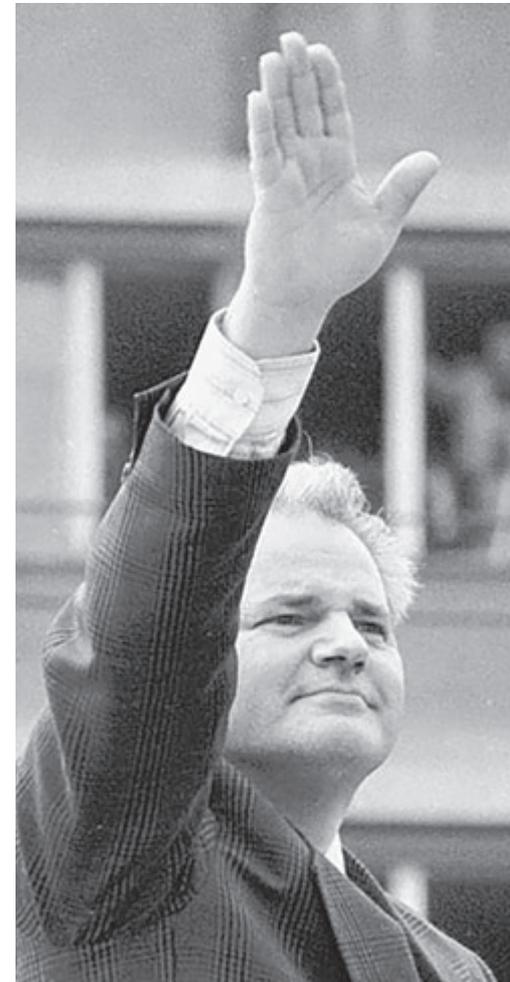
Can Led Art and its actions be understood as a way of accumulating and transforming rage into works of art whose final intention is not artistic, but as an intervention that broaches the fields of politics and society? In this sense, the report on Led Art's actions and performances can be seen, or read, as a manual for art strategies of subversion and, for this reason, is precious today. Because rage exists and it grows, but it is also dissipated, fragmented, muted and not articulated in the various layers of society, professions, geographical locations, in the waiting of wasted lives and lost futures. Its self-awareness and "giving" energy has not yet been awoken, and art, with its articulation, noise and demonstrative silence, could proclaim it and render it visible.

In year 1990. After introducing the multi-party system, there is 'a flood' of political parties in Yugoslavia. Parties with a national marker gather most supporters. In the elections in all republics those parties win, and one of the first moves after gaining power is the turning of state media into party stages from which, before the real war, the war of words begins. Serbian Radio Television and the Belgrade daily 'Politika' become the most powerful weapons of the regime in Serbia. The media preparation for war started by the Yugoslav communists is continued by the nationalists. The survival of Yugoslavia, in Serbia exclusively connected to the political and ideological concept of Slobodan Milosevic: all Serbs in one country, is brought into question. Not a single option, as loose confederation, asymmetrical federation, association of independent republics, is not accepted.

1 9 8 7 / 1 9 9 0.

1991.

January - Serbs and Montenegrins form armed volunteer troops in Kosovo preparing for the conflict with Albanians. However, shootings begin in Knin. Ille-



gal, armed groups appear in other parts of the country, and the Presidency of Yugoslavia warn that that arms are being secretly brought to the country and distributed to the citizens 'according to national and political criteria'. Across Croatia demonstrations of support for the Head Office and across Serbia for the Yugoslav Presidency and the Yugoslav National Army. The execution of plan RAM begins with illegal arming of Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

January 10th - In Belgrade a meeting of presidents of Yugoslav republics is held on which the future political system of Yugoslavia is discussed, because of the tense inter-republics and inter-national relationships. Negotiations, on which suggestions about 'modern federation' and 'loose confederation' are discussed end with complete failure at the end of August. The most rigid negotiator is Slobodan Milosevic who insist that all Serbs have to stay with the borders of one country.

February 28th - Self-proclaimed government of SAO Krajina adopts a resolution of separation with Croatia.

March 9th - Demonstrations of Serbian opposition in Belgrade. Objective reporting of the state television is demanded. Tanks of the Yugoslav National Army enter the streets of Belgrade. Result: two perished and a few dozens hurt demonstrators. Vuk Draskovic, one of the opposition leaders, arrested. In the next few days protests in the city center continued by the students of Belgrade university.



March 11th - Parents at the Confluence - Children on Terazije. Parallel protests in Belgrade. The first one organized by the sympathizers of SPS (Serbian Party of Socialists - Milosevic's party), the second by students and opposition supporters.

March 16th - Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic orders, al-

Velimir Ćurgus Kazimir

OF FROST AND FIRE

The things are crystal clear: the thawing of the planet is a global phenomenon. At the same time there is a freezing in human relationships. This simple "tit-for-tat" entropy could become, in the future, the element of destruction for all those who see the source of all evil in modernity and the "new world order". If we define modernity as atomic energy, genetics and the fluoridation of water, a direct connection between the "spoiling of life and people" and trends in art and philosophy can easily be revealed.

When, at the beginning of the 90s, and literally overnight, we felt imprisoned in a monstrous hybrid system conceived by Communists, nationalists and mythomaniacs, it was clear that the last line of defence was the one connecting the personal (intimate) and the creative. Resistance to Milosevic's regime was not only of a political or ideological nature. A lot was aesthetic, intellectual and emotional which originated from the very nature of our relationship with the intellectual and artistic bigwigs of the regime.

At that time, surprisingly, very few asked how we were all going to survive, because the economics of private lives were at a low level. Much more often the question was: how we were to be able to live after everything. The feelings of horror and terror that were reaching us from the "front" - Croatia, Bosnia, information about the most horrible crimes done in "our" and "their" name, made the daily life become a kind of routine surreality where creative escapes, though short-term, were the only safety net in order not to go mad. Of course, for some there was the possibility to go somewhere else. Some of us took it.

When today, after all these years, I think about LedArt I can't help speculating: is it possible that everything we have gone through gets repeated? History which repeats itself even in the form of farce, sounds horrifying.

In the time when cheap patriotism pretends to be the national brand, I can't help but feel content, not only because I was on the right side but because I also participated in something that defended the Serbian brand in an honest and profound way. Art, on its own, requires certain sacrifices. LedArt has doubled the sacrifice, made it at the same time completely ritualistic and personal. All of this was pretty much uncertain, somehow instinctive. We couldn't have known when it was all going to end. We were not sure if we were going to live to that day. Some kind of turning point was the civil protests in 1996/1997, but after those, with Kosovo and the NATO bombardments, a time came when we expected the terror to be less selective and spread to the whole society.

It would be good to save these feelings of helplessness and stubbornness for the times that are coming. No matter how much the world gets warmer, I still feel cold around my heart. A glance at, and the memory of, what LedArt has done and meant, reassure me that it was better to be among the hunted rather than among the hunting posse. The former used to hide in ice and there they could be at peace, warm up a bit and have a rest. From there they used to jump into fiery situations. It would be nice if frost and fire find the place where they could get on well together the same way we got on well with ourselves during the dark and uncertain times.

Miško Šuvaković

FRAGMENTS ABOUT TRACES OF ART, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

Led art is a project of provocative art intervention in the field of ideology and in the field of politics of current society and culture. More specifically, Led art is a mode (group, movement, phenomenon) of art action taking place on dramatical, cruel and rough borders of art, ideology, politics and, certainly, of everyday late-socialist and post-socialist existence. Led art was created during 1992, and has been active to this date. The founder of the project is the Novi Sad and Belgrade artist Nikola Džafo, and numerous close, distant, known and anonymous collaborators (artists, friends, journalists, passers-by, opponents...) participated in the work of the group.

It concerns a dynamic inter-subjective interaction of intentional and haphazard collaborators and accomplices within a concrete art project. That interaction through art reflects the state of society. It concerns a dynamic current system of inter-subjective relationships, and not of a stable, fixed and set group of artists or activists. The concept of Led art is formulated as a cynically/allegorically oriented project of "frozen art" in the late totalitarian Serbian society. The concept and the phenomenon of "freezing" has been chosen as an obvious "sign" (symbol, metaphor, allegory-motto, anti-motto, emptied motto) of the indicated critical and cynical state of society moving through totalitarianism, the infection of judicial institutions, the entropy of ideologies, civil and para-civil wars, brutal violence, political transformations and social transition etc... Led art projects are a sort of indicative monitors on which a "horror society" is faced with its own demonic images, ghostly figures, indicative black-outs, censored transparencies, invoked illusions and hidden constructions. For Led art performed and performs in a complex state of the disintegration of the self-managing Socialism of Tito's Yugoslavia, in a state of national-communist dictatorship of Slobodan Milošević, in a state of the explosion of nationalist-racist mood within the post-communist society, in a state of an emancipating civil protest and a state of the establishment of a transparent or, more often, un-transparent pro-liberal transitional post-Socialism. For all of the indicated social states Led art produces, i.e. simulacrally performs a local tactics of interacting with *machines* of societal production, exchange and spending of concrete reality. Their work is sometimes

legedly because of the situation in Sandzak, Kosovo and Metohija, mobilization of the security forces reserves and emergency formation of additional militia forces in Serbia.

March 25th - In Karadjordjevo, in a secret meeting, presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman agree on division of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the downfall of the very popular premier, Ante Marković.

March 31st - Plitvice. Armed conflict between the Croatian police and Serbs: two killed, 20 wounded.

April 1st - In Serbian villages around Vinkovci and Vukovar (Croatia) barricades set up, and in Knin bombs explode in Croatian homes and shops.

April 10th - Near the town of Visoko the first illegal shipment of Arms to the Serbs in Bosnia intercepted, as a part of the plan RAM.

April 17th - Slovenian parliament adopts the Law of military obligation under which all Slovenian soldiers who served more than seven months are withdrawn from the YNA. The suggestion for a Law about the withdrawal of YNA from Slovenia with three years is also examined. - Milošević visits Chilandar monastery (Mount Athos) and promises Serbian help in the restoration of the monastery. He is received by prior Paisius with four other monks, while other monks withdraw into their cells as a sign of protest.

April 18th - In Croatian parliament a law is passed under which within Croatian police National Guard Corps is formed as a professional armed formation under the command of the Ministry of defense.



May 2nd - In Borovo Selo shootings between Serbian paramilitary formations and members of the Croatian police begin: 35 dead.

1 9 9 1.
May 3rd - Demonstration of Croats in Zadar and Shibenik during which Serbian belongings is destroyed, has a tragic outcome on May 6th when, in a Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) attack on the headquarters of the Navy area in Split, a nineteen-year old soldier from Kavadarci (Macedonia) is gunned down.

May 13th - The firing of Serbian workers, who by May 3rd have not signed a declaration of loyalty to Croatia, begins.

May 16th - The parliament of SAO Krajina votes unilaterally on joining the Republic of Serbia.

May 28th - Serbian member of the Bosnian presidency, Nikola Koljevic, in a conversation with Muslims of Eastern Herzegovian says he will resign as a member of the Presidency if one Muslim leaves under pressure. During the next year Easter Herzegovina is 'cleansed' of Muslims.



June 2nd - In a public announcement, Vojislav Seselj says he is against any Yugoslavia, and to Slovenes and Croats he sends a message they can leave, but without Serbian land, and what is left will be Serbia "the strongest state in the Balkans."

June 21st - The Leaders of Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina announce that only Slobodan Milosevic has a right to represent Serbs from BH in negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia.

June 25th - Slovenia and Croatia declare independence.

June 27th - In an attempt to occupy borders and airports in

mimetic, sometimes metonymic, sometimes illusionary, sometimes sophisticated, sometimes infantile, sometimes rebellious, sometimes brutal, sometimes attractive, sometimes erotic, sometimes self-critical, sometimes anti-war, sometimes post-war, sometimes economical, sometimes entropic etc... Not a single position of their performance is stable and secure. The instability and insecurity are indicative and demonstrative means of reacting within concrete social conflicts.

What characterizes the performance of Led art is not a supply of a specific kind of produced and created art works centered on aesthetics and art (paintings, sculptures, objects, *ready made*, graffiti, photography, text, installation, ambience, performance), but a conceptualized and politically elaborated art action for which an indicative, executive and phenomenal effects in relation to the dominant ideology (which means reality constructions) are important. This is the central place of Led art "activism": a move from the position of a populist, political self-identification to the individual and inter-subjective, self-critical and critical position of performing ideological paradoxes within a specific society. Actions are a sort of a "battle ground" and a "probe" with which the artist as a cultural worker, facing societal monitors, reveals the borders of a possible world in which we live. The work of Led art is directed towards concrete macro- and micro-social states, which means that provocative actions take place in a context of a normal, canonized, customized or determined social reality. Realized projects demonstrate how social meanings and images of social reality (i.e. ideology – effects of the *ideological apparatus* of a concrete society) reveal and disclose "mechanisms" of their work, performance, output and representation for us and us in the game of power, rule and domination...

After the fall of the Berlin wall, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the second Yugoslavia, after NATO intervention in Serbia, the Gulf war and the war in Iraq, i.e. after the disintegration of the block, binary division of the world – art is not an area of autonomous aesthetic expression. Art became a vehicle with which a society faces its own representations and identifications. The world of today is an order who does not exist anymore as a *binary* relationship between two poles (East/Communism and West/Liberalism), but as a post-block horizontal distribution of "sense" and "power", i.e. political system-mapping of current geographical cultures (societies, religions, micro-communities).

In the American context, the contemporary art practice is directed towards articulation, regulation and transformation of seemingly post-political micro-social problems. Art practices are directed, for example, towards racial, ethnic, gender, generation, even class differences, conflicts and traumatic slips within a contemporary late-capitalist and imperialist society. In the Western-European context, contemporary art practices are directed towards a re-examination of the united European society through historical layering of political traces ranging from micro-politics to macro-politics, i.e. from global to the local level. In the European context, the problem is the presentation of potential relationships between the particular and universal (aesthetic and political), and the entire and non-entire (above-European and national European), i.e. the traumatic relationship, ours, theirs and other peoples' (local, foreign, visiting)... In the European East it is a matter of different art "strategies" and "tactics" of integration into Western art using new media (as necessary media of global culture) to point out local micro and macro-political narrations (history, current event, identity, ethical, political, class). For example, in Russian art one can follow a transformation from the Soviet perestroika-art of the 80's to the new activism and radical cynicism of the transitional artists of

the 90's who are facing, after the break-down of the real socialism, crises and paradoxes of the transition... In Russian art demonstrates a painful paradoxical concept of the absent and empty utopia (Kulik, Brener). In Slovenian art, represented by the movement NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst), in the last twenty years, there is a development of retro-avant-gard principles ranging from cynical-cold-excess in the late Socialism to the systematic mapping of artistic, cultural and political East-European (i.e. post-Socialist) identities.

In Serbia, there is an appearance of complex approaches to the politicization of art during the 90's ranging from a right-wing, national and religious renewal of "authentic art" (various national-realisms) to alternative art critiques, subversions and deconstructions of "ideologies" of the regime in power at the time and the dominant culture. Various art tactics directed towards criticism, subversion and deconstruction of the regime's "policy" were created during the 90's within the frame of a neo-conceptual media and nomadic art work. Authors like Balint Sombathy, Raša Todosijević or the *anonymous artist* developed their work from meta-critical and meta-political procedures of conceptual art of the 70's. Sculptor Mrđan Bajić and painter Mileta Prodanović established during the 90's, after an experience of eclectic post-modernism of the 80's, their approaches to deconstructing the highly aesthetic and autonomous models of representation with the national culture. Certain authors began neo-conceptual media research of post-socialist identities (Zoran Naskovski, Nikola Pilipović, Marija Vauda, Milica Tomić). Some other authors came out of the alternative gaps between high and pop culture and set up their work against anti-urban influence of the dominant nationalist para-patriarchal cultural politics. They offered their soft, subtle and overt research (in the areas of design and painting) of possible worlds of real or fictional communication (Škart group, Zoran Markuš, Uroš Đurić). Magnet group created dramatic, shocking, direct and collective performances done on the marginal, unstable area between the ruling populist *doxa*, media constructions of reality and shocking breaks or inversions of presented political discourse.

In such a broad context of late-Socialist and post-Socialist art practices, Led Art projects can be identified as critical and critique tactics of stating a problem for different stages (situations) of "ideological apparatus" effect transformation from real Socialism to topical, transitional pro-liberalism. Thus, for every one of these stages specific, politically oriented art actions confronted the viewer-accomplice with discourses in a surrounding (knowledge, beliefs, feelings) and their current political functions. Led Art projects are examples of art confronting the viewer-accomplice with limits of artistic and political universality, which means with frames of the decisive here-and-now.

Slovenia, YNA clashes with member of Slovenian Territorial Defense. According the announcement of Slovenian Red Cross, in conflicts lasting less than ten days, 60 soldiers died and 280 were wounded. Slovenia won the media war and the support of the West. Croatia demanded that YNA retreats to barracks, not to stop the security organs in establishing legal order and threatened that otherwise it will confront the ZNG to the Army. In Bosansko Grahovo, the unification of Bosanska Krajina (region of BH with Serbian majority) and SAO Krajina is proclaimed and the Declaration of "Serbian Union" is proclaimed as an "imperative task".

June 28th - EU decides to send a peace mission to Yugoslavia.



July 4th - In Knin Krajina a clash near the village of Ljubovo between Croatian police and "Knindjas" (armed Serbs under the command of captain Dragan). Clashes in the village Tenja and around Osijek. Croatia accuses YNA to have sided with the Chetniks.

July 7th - Under the auspices of EU "Mutual declaration about peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis" is adopted on Brioni. Yugoslav leaders reached an agreement that Slovenia and Croatia suspend their proclamations of independence to three months, that YNA retreats from Slovenia, that Slovenia demobilizes its Territorial Defense troops, that negotiations about the future of the country begin and that the EU mission is sent to Croatia and Slovenia.

July 24th - After the decision of the Yugoslav presidency, the retreat of YNA from Slovenia begins. Clashes in Croatia continue. - More citizens of Yugoslavia leave the country of sends their children abroad. Young men drafted into military also leave, unwilling to participate 'in the war which is not theirs.'



1

Were the 1990s wars inevitable?
Did Serbia participate in wars?
Better a good war than a bad peace.

If success in war is guaranteed,
then it should be fought.
War casualties are bearable if
victory is accomplished.
The victims of previous wars
should be avenged.

2

Should a tank be turned into a monument?
A tank is allowed on the streets.
Tank to the junkyard.

If your dad bought you a tank:
Would you drive it into artists?
Would you drive it to Parliament?
Who cares about the tank.

3

Is every deserter a coward
Is it bravery to desert
Do you know a deserter

A Tank at Parliament

(Belgrade, September 23 1991)

A reminder of the events that were forgotten, of misplaced photos and other news. An urban legend, photomontage, madness, performance or lost voice. A voice which proves that there was another side to the nationalistic warmongering and mindless and arrogant waste of others' lives. The voice of mutinies and resistance, the mass return of the civil guard to Valjevo, Kragujevac, Gornji Milanovac, Kosijerić, Rača, Smedervska Palanka, Bogatić, etc. The voice that questioned the categories of patriotism, betrayal and desertion in a non-existent war. The voice which made Vladimir Živković, a civil guard from Valjevo, drive his armoured vehicle and park it in front of the Parliament building in September 1991. That voice is still strong today and is accompanied by the aura of courage and heroes.

By remembering this act of individual bravery and political awareness we only ask:

Is there history outside history? Events can be interpreted and re-interpreted. Some are celebrated, some forgotten, thrown out of history. Who becomes part of history? By what merits? Who is dealing out those tickets for history? While acknowledging the old truth that history is written by the victors, we wonder if this means legitimising crime.



Photo: Zoran Raš

Tank in front of the parliament
Photo: Zoran Raš



In his book *The Yugoslav National Army and the Fall of Yugoslavia* Vukšić illustrates the anti-war mood among the civil guards with the case of a group of soldiers who left their positions in Croatia and came to Belgrade.

“No-one wanted to talk to them, they took them to the barracks in Topčider and forbade them to contact Military Headquarters. Vladimir Živković, a soldier from Valjevo, drove his armoured vehicle in front of the Parliament building, and Miroslav Milenković committed suicide not far from Šid,” writes Vukšić.

1991. July 28th - Sarajevo. In concert for peace, organized by JUTEL, more than 50.000 people from the entire country are gathered. Peres de Cuelhar, secretary general of the UN also sends his message of support to the peace gathering.

August 2nd - Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic rejects the EU peace mission.

August 3rd - Branslav Matic Beli, member of the Central government of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and leader of the Serbian guard is killed in Belgrade in front of his house.

August 7th - In an interview to Sky News, Milosevic says that Croatia can leave Yugoslavia, "but without the Serbian people in it."

August 11th - Lines of refugees leave Croatia for Bosnia and Serbia.

August 21st - 25th - Croatian government blocks the YNA barracks and cut their electricity, water and food supplies. Escalation of clashes in many parts of Croatia, the fiercest ones in Vukovar.



September 2nd - Under the pressure of EU ministers, the first of 14 truces that year signed in Belgrade. As a rule, clashes after the signing of truce become even more fierce.

September 7th - Under the auspices of the EU a Peace conference for Yugoslavia presided by Lord Peter Carrington, former British foreign minister, begins in The Hague. Between September 7th 1991. until July 14th 1992. Thirteen plenum meetings held. "Arrangement for general solution of the Yugoslav crisis", changed during the conference never satisfying all the sides, is offered to the Yugoslav leaders.

September 14th - 15th - Five hundred grenades fall on Osijek, mortar attack on Vukovar and Vinkovci continued. Air-strike

Predrag Kočović

RECONSTRUCTING CRIME OR RECONSTRUCTING SENSE IN THE BALKANS

In conditions of extreme conflict, which exist on three levels - Serbia vs the international community, Serbia vs the new states in the region and the Serbian regime vs the citizens of Serbia - a certain number of artists formed the Led Art group, whose artistic action often happens amidst those conditions and, as conflict initiated by the group itself through its social and artistic engagement during the hardest years in the history of modern Yugoslavia (now Serbia and Montenegro). In its ten-year existence, Led Art has commented on the most significant events since 1993: the civil war and destruction of Yugoslavia, inflation, poverty, ever-growing discrimination, demonstrations, NATO intervention, "the final showdown" with the previous regime...

HOW'S THAT?

The group was founded on the initiative of Nikola Džafo, who is still the main actor, immediately after his Frozen Art project (a freezer truck in Belgrade, 1993). What seemed more important than the event itself was whether to abstain from or radically respond to such radical circumstances. Abstaining wouldn't be a "dishonourable answer," considering the fact that the artistic activity (especially if not determined by the circumstances and presented in an official system of culture and arts) could be recognised and manipulated as agreement, support, collaboration, neutrality in conditions of sharp conflict, where, just as in "any dirty war", there are no neutrals. The other option turned out to be more productive and ethical, as both Džafo's previous activity (Exposing to the Labyrinth, public performance), and Dragoslav Krnajska's (theme works: Armature Night, exhibition Carnival in ULUS Gallery) had clearly shown, and, led by the same instinct, Novi Sad artists Dragan Živančević and Slobodan Vilček joined. This all means that such response was a personal and poetic view of the group's founders. The author of this text will attempt to demonstrate how this response continued to be articulated further, during the collective work.

FIRST AND SECOND STEPS

The very hyphen in EST-ETIKA, emphasised by the caesura in many statements issued by the main actors, clearly pointed to the group's focusing their efforts on the question of ethics, or at least equate it with aesthetics. This almost-innocent formulation acquired a new meaning in reality, in accordance with the circumstances of the totalitarian pretensions of regime and the complete isolation of the country. Led Art was given an opportunity, fully exploited, to judge art *ipso facto*, by the power of an artistic act in difficult conditions and with the purpose of everybody's salvation. That is the most visible dimension of the group's activity, giving the fastest answer to the question "What are they doing?", and can be defined as an example of *activist realism* - obviously not realism as mimesis, reproduction, selecting or interpreting, but realism as a problematizing of reality and direct confrontation with the other. The best examples are the confrontation between the students and citizens on one side, often on "no-man's land," and the police: With a Mirrors at the Cordon (the police line was reflected in mirrors carried by protesters); President's S.O.S. (life belts made of ice for the President), Accident Graphics - Crime Reconstruction (a simulation of a crime scene); STOLica for the King (two meanings: hundred faces and chair) and others.

Thus, Led Art is the protagonist of engaged art in Serbia, something seen in Tiananmen Square, or if we go further into the past, during the student turmoil in Europe and anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in the 1960s. Led Art is made up of a more aware and creative group of people with no illusions that art will be made "obsolete" in the future and thus should not be content with just pragmatic (political) results of the action. Confronting themselves with reality, Led Art artists asked what happens to art when it finds itself in such (bad) circumstances? They felt on their own skin that the possibility of mass erosion of society means that art is seriously questioned. Demonstrating interest for social conditions, they have been searching for convincing answers and not just for victory over the "scumbags all around us." More so, because as artists they found themselves in a frustrating situation: rather than being recognised in their most productive years as representatives of the epoch in which they communicate with equals, they were forced to give the best in retrograde situations, already concluded historically. This is why their repertoire reserves a special place for "art as an event," a kind of an *interactive allegoric show*, a genre which could be seen as an anthropological play. These "shows" are somewhat different than above mentioned *tête-à-tête* actions (although they too have similar characteristics) and they have multi-directional, multi-meaning protest and collective self-reflection.

Kunstlager was one of the most successful actions and should be described at this point. The citizens of Serbia had found themselves surrounded by two fences (the international sanitary parameter and the ruling regime), so Led Art added a third - the barbed wire of a re-enacted concentration camp located in Katolička Porta (the square behind the city's cathedral). The situation was perfectly orchestrated. From the printed material (we will talk about its aesthetics later on), to hair-cutting tents, "camp games," military uniforms and those of the *kapos* (city cleaning service), camp caldrons and fire, it was all designed to harass the citizens with a certain dose of sadism, which was not only symbolic.

Aggression towards the innocent or the blood of frustration? - were some of the questions asked. "People" were forced to stand in columns, join in the "games" and hair cutting, convinced that the harassment was

alarm in Zagreb, mobilization of YNA reserves in Montenegro.

September 19th - Lines of YNA tanks set out from Belgrade to Sid.

September 20th - YNA reserves from Serbia and Montenegro brought to Herzegovina to guard the inter-ethnic relations. Frequent shootings. Muslims and Croats flee Eastern Herzegovina. Clashes continued in Okucani, Sinj, Sibenik and Vinkovci.

September 26th - UN adopts Resolution 713 about complete arms embargo to Yugoslavia.



September 30th - Kosovo Albanians in a referendum announce their pretensions to independent state of Kosovo.

October 2nd - Fighting's around Dubrovnik begin. In the next few days, the environs devastated, and the bombed city stays without water and electricity.

October 4th - "The decimated" Presidency of Yugoslavia, left only with the representatives of Serbia, Montenegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo, still holds meetings and makes decision in Belgrade.

October 5th - In a Belgrade anti-war demonstration, a signing of the petition for the salvation of Dubrovnik organized.



October 8th - After the expiration of the three-month moratorium of Brioni, Croatia and Slovenia declare independence. UN Secretary general names former US State secretary Cyrus Vance as a special envoy to Yugoslavia.

October 15th - Delegates of SDA and HDZ in BH parliament adopt a memorandum of a sovereign BH. In sign of protest, delegates of SDS leave the meeting.

October 21st - "The decimated" Presidency of SFRY rejects the suggestion of EU for Yugoslavia to become a loose association of sovereign republics.

October 24th - Serbian delegates in BH proclaim the Parliament of Serbian people.

November 3rd - Croatian paramilitary formations drive out the people and destroy 18 Serbian villages in western Slavonia.

November 10th - Four-member Presidency of SFRY calls from UN troops to come to Yugoslavia.

November 18th - YNA conquers and destroys Vukovar. The battle for Vukovar last 86 days, there is a few thousands civilians killed, 90 percent of the buildings completely destroyed, damage estimated as two billion dollars. Out of 45000 inhabitants, around 10000 that have stayed in town, come out of cellars where they spent almost three months. Colonel Mile Mrksic, Commander of the YNA forces, says to the state agency Tanjug: "We brought down Vukovar, the hardest and the most fortified Ustasha fortress thanks to the courage and ability of the members of the motorized guard YNA unit from Belgrade, volunteers and the members of the Territorial defense! Yugoslavia acquired new national heroes!".



November 27th - With Resolution 721 UN gives its support to the foundation of peace-keeping forces for Yugoslavia under condition that the Agreement about



virtual and without real consequences. The "Camp" was delivering the message to "them" not to "us." The performance ended on an "altruistic" tone - with "forgiveness:" people were granted mercy, forgiven for enduring torture; looking at them, the "master" felt that he was forgiven too; he blessed the people, served them beans from a caldron, which the people ate while peacefully queuing, smiling and still... hungry.

The same concept applies to Iconomahia. The theatre group Torpedo was engaged for this occasion. Its members stood in an improvised boxing ring destroying art works. They were dressed in uniforms and had an arsenal of destructive tools: hammers, metal bars, all sorts of shredders... Occasionally, a member of the group would walk through the crowd carrying a work of art, asking if anybody would feel sorry for the work's destruction (sculpture, graphic work). He or she talked directly to someone in the crowd: "Would you save this work?" or "Do you want to save this?" Someone would react with a smile. "I'll give you 100 German marks. No? Here, how about 50?" he would extend his hand as if to make a deal. "Twenty? Ten?" And many good works disappeared... Along those lines of "anthropological interest" one could understand the video and photo documents during the event, and in particular the surveys that were going around

LED ART AND AESTHETICS

The next aspect of the group's activity concerns "rejecting aesthetics," which was often wrongly understood. In fact, it was striving for artistic and therefore aesthetic creativity. In other words, if there were any rejection of aesthetics it regarded *aestheticism* as a form of escapism, loneliness and escape from society (or alternatively: joining the "bad society.") But Led Art would not forbid access to "aesthetic arts" in its projects and actions. On the contrary, many artists who went through Led Art were clearly of that provenance.

However, in the context and meaning of their actions, their work had a completely different meaning, it was manipulated as if it were a text - often it was reduced to the symbolic presence of an artistic object, stripped of its own pretensions in its own politics - sometimes in a destructive way, especially in those actions where the group simulated the position of power. The objects created in ice, in freezers, are less a conscious choice of form, meltable and already former, but more of an awareness which found itself facing a choice: is it going to build its word into *nothing* with all the solidity of the durable material of a painting or sculpture, or is it going to multiply into *something* which, despite its transience, is above the demanded collaboration.

All those who were part of Led Art chose the second option with no regrets that it gave them only the syntax - rather than connotation or context, which they themselves gave - and reduced the works to morpheme, phoneme, even lower - to "nothing."

This particularly applies to Iconomahia, where artists' works were broken, torn to pieces, just to be shredded, and then stored in plastic vacuum bags. However, it seems that using linguistics was too cold and merciless towards what was happening among the artists involved:

While packing the bits in boxes an invisible puzzle is created; there is the symbolic exchange of the most intimate creation and destruction of a drawing for the experience of a drawing, an object for a sculpture. No-one outside that circle can gain anything except "spiritual stupidity", be-

cause by losing nothing, he/she does not recognise that which he/she is losing. In this way a public act becomes a secret initiation into a cult and the society of "who doesn't know cannot be made to understand, who knows already understands everything" or "Who hasn't seen, doesn't understand, who has seen - it matters not if he talks about it or is silent" - the secret society, which is possible here and now, regardless of the world and the epoch (introductory text for the action).

As much as these words register the unsurmountable abyss between "them" and "us," and even hint at pulling out as a possibility (which, fortunately won't happen), the very action speaks about the intention to destroy the material carrier of arts, meaning its objectivity and physicality, and its very *tehne*, skill, which in the regime production served to maximally glorify non-values. The pink world (referring to Pink, a popular TV channel), turbo-folk, the glitter behind which one might suspect lurk venereal diseases, "patriotic" arts that flooded the once-respected national institutions, various kitsch-illusionists who had become star painters overnight, hyper production of a series of presidential portraits, which first appeared as oil on canvas, a monumental sculpture of Milošević's era, these are all reasons for this re-action. It convincingly demonstrates why relationships with a "painting" and "sculpture" had to be completely different in times when pornography (*por-ne* - without spirit, without soul) replaced aesthetic objects.

But that is not all about Led Art and aesthetics. The group gave importance to aesthetics (in the sense of beauty) in some aspects of its work. Indeed, it is inseparable from many overlapping meanings and significant characteristics of accompanying graphic works, objects and mini-objects in autonomous projects and post-production "leftovers." Keith Haring, Victorian borders, Morava (river in Serbia) ornaments, cartoons, logo-writing between the world wars, American design from the the early 20th century, but also Bauhaus discipline - all of this can be found on labels and wrappings on products from Vinča Dump, There Was a Bridge and the To Live In Serbia series. Unlike ArtDump, which had been conceived as an ecological work in progress, other productions were "for the occasion," which is clear from the titles.

They are commercial, meant for the market, always with emphasised market emblems (recycle, eco product, bio, tested on), always with irony (there was a bridge, tested on humans), as a particular interpretation of the dominant insignia of global traffic. What is common to all those sets, except design? It is always the ugly, horrible, tragic content of these objects. 100% polluted water and air from Vinca (Serbian Nuclear Institute), a spot that caused skin rash (Artdeponija), parts of bridges destroyed in the NATO bombardment, bomb fragments soaked in Danube water or brandy ("bridge rakija"), or packed in adequate souvenir boxes, used on postcards, photos of the same bridges (There Was a Bridge). They are not ready-made, because the intentions are different from those of Duchamp, or Dubuffet's *objet trouvé*, which although "natural," perfectly goes into a glass of aesthetics.

What Led Art is saying, which is exactly the difference from the above-mentioned, is that these fragments of the world are not those which come into resonance with the projected, subjective system of thought (aesthetic, political) but that they are the product of non-freedom, the artists being part of it. These objects are neither "selected" nor "found," but are real examples of the current aggression towards nature and humans, so complete and thorough that an artist cannot choose them as "something else, appropriate for arts," but has to emanate them from within.

the truce reached four years earlier in Geneva is respected.

November 29th - Arbitrary commission of the Peace conference about Yugoslavia (Badenter's commission) gives its expert opinion that SFR Yugoslavia is found in the process of "disappearance" (dissolution, extinction) and that all the republics are its successors.

December 19th - Republic of Serbian Krajina proclaims Knin as their capital, a Milan Babic as president of the Republic. Two territorially unconnected units in Croatia under the control of Serbs and the YNA, known as Serbian autonomous region of Krajina and Serbian region Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem are thus connected. RSK seeks the recognition from Serbia and the UN.

December 23rd - Germany recognizes Slovenia and Croatia. Alija Izetbegovic requests the deployment of UN peace-keeping troops into Bosnia.

1992.

January 15th - EU recognized Slovenia and Croatia. First clashes of YNA with Croatian paramilitary formations HOS in western Herzegovina.



January 18th - Bosnian Serbs proclaimed Serbian Republic of BH. Radovan Karadzic elected as the first president.

February 24th - UN adopted Resolution 743 about UN peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia, whereby 14000 people are supposed to be deployed. The capital of BH, Sarajevo, as neutral territory, is chosen as the headquarters of the 'blue helmets.'

February 29th - March 1st - The independence of BH confirmed by a referendum boycotted by Bosnian Serbs who demand an ethnic division of the republic. The tension during the referendum culminates when before a church in downtown Sarajevo a Serb is

1 9 9 2
killed on his son's wedding. The city is rapidly evacuated, and 'barricades' appear on every corner, first Serbian, then Muslim. 'The barricades' appear in other cities of BH. Velibor Ostojic and Todor Dutina, high officials of SDS, say that barricades are the answer to the referendum and the shot at the Serbian flag, 'the symbol of Serbian people.' In a matter of hours the city is blocked with barricades controlled by armed civilians with stockings on their faces.

March 5th - In all the cities of BH citizens came out to squares to express protest against the civil war and politicians who are not able to guarantee peace to the citizens.

March 9th - 7th - An international conference about BH is held in Brussels. The drafted document about the peaceful solution of Bosnian crisis does not suit either side. Dobrica Cosic sent his word to Serbian intellectuals in Sarajevo: "We Serbs, Muslims and Croats, respecting historical experiences and the present state between us, have to split as justly as possible to remove the reasons to hate and kill each other"; which is, in fact, a suggestion for "humane movement of people."

March 17th - The situation in BH became more tense. YNA blocked Mostar. On the territory of former Yugoslavia about a million refugees.

March 26th - Constitution of Serbian Republic of BH proclaimed. YNA left the territory of Macedonia.

April 1st - The number of clashes and armed incidents increases in Bosnia. According to Bosnian sources, Serbs in Bosnia, with the help of YNA and paramilitary formation begin ethnic cleansing in the river valleys of Drina, Sava and Una. In Serbian parliament, representative Vojislav Seselj declares that Croats in Serbia should be, according



They are in the body of Led Art's work not because they are different, but because they are the same. *Horror* has become a regular metabolite, which is now in the head, now in blood, brandy, culture... But let's go back to the beginning. In a pretty bottle with the letters "Bridge-brandy" and "tested on humans" and with the label packed with pieces of stories from some past - what does one get when a bottle with good drink and pieces of tragedy sits well in the hand, and above all, with a pretty label produced by humorous post-modern levelling after the symbolic end of history? Or, if you prefer, what produces *pretty* in the post-modern tone of this product, which can be orally consumed when served by Led Art? Almost forgot: and when you have to pay big money for it (is it as a piece of art or as brandy?); Maybe the product is a "being" strangely like you, which extends one hand towards taste (in you) - just like Warhol's electric chair, in which you are actually sitting, say in 1999 - and the other towards the money (in your pocket). In these works money is, besides aesthetic design, more of a poetic moment than the desire to make profit (despite sounding cynical). Otherwise, a potential buyer would never ask himself: Has Led Art thrown tragic human content into a shredder and offered a painful tragedy to the madness of consumption? In such a way as to chuck it far away from the daily world games of "yes-no," while the question "was it necessary to kill people in Serbia (and elsewhere) or not?" finally becomes pointless. Has Led Art (unintentionally) done that, even with all the reservations it claims to have? Never! But this answer would not be possible if Led Art had done things differently. With these acts, aesthetics, the "found" (facts), the pragmatic and ethical, all intermingle in a typical Led Art way, by offering uncertain "ellipsis" instead of the certain "circles" and "squares" of categoric answers. Led Art offered the very principle of the uncertain, a condensation of noise and racket which drives those craving for the Story mad, leaving them to tremble like a diagonal between pixels. The group's critical reception reacts similarly: *If the Led Art project goes as planned, it is bound to become a cultural phenomenon in these parts, which is never going to be properly explained during the period of its performance. Led Art is too much of a mirror of our reality - sensations, irrationality, confusion, rhythm and everything else that makes a simple life here and now. Just as we are not able to be rational towards reality, we are not able to observe Led Art simply as a cultural phenomenon. Led Art is a current thing.*" (Darka Radosavljević, *The Great Flood in Two Acts, Borba*, 6-7 November 1993).

The edible items created for the Art Cookbook action, brought this: "Art has finally made something useful...or was it just a prolonged agony, torture of a poor old woman and art" (an old woman ate a piece of art). Led Art's good intention in all of this - though after all that's been said we might question it - was that the produced tension, just like that created by dissonant notes, must be productive and lead towards the solution. Approaching the city dumps as places where the consequences of civilisation, culture and art are gathered, Led Art created catharsis with incredible ease. When Led Art calls upon *the consumers to free themselves from fear, stop the evil and abyss and give us hope in salvation*, that call

HIBERNATION

If actions, such as Iconomahia, are symbolically destroying the possibility of kitsch, thus saving art *per negotiationem*, then the action of freezing art (along with the commercial production of objects by the group) does so in a positive way: *New conditions in society are understood as a change of the aggregate state of water, meaning freezing (turning water into ice*

and vice versa - melting), which symbolically represents several layers of existential questioning. On the one hand, freezing is slowing the life functions down to death (euthanasia), and on the other, hibernation, during which the values are preserved from decay, while hoping the future will justify the defrosting as the possibility of a new, healthy beginning (Gabriela Pajević).

Then comes The Flood, Locality No1, Locality No2, actions which also rely on the symbolic and per(formative) potential of the old material in a new role (before Led Art it was Clocotrism who used ice in their performances The Man of Ice). Just as the "warm" ones were, these actions are "metaphorical" and offered to the market as a set of products. Clearly, they were not made of ice, and represent all those props and objects which members of the group and their guest artists used in their performances (forensic chalk, gloves, hats, masks) or the above-described "pretty-horrific" objects. The silence of those objects, exhibited on the same shelves with apparently similar objects (Beoizlog, 1998, 1999), is a specific form of irony, but also an example of conquering new, unusual exhibition spaces. By "bottling" such content and by simulating serial production, yet another special conservation of art was performed: when going into the privileged space of art would be bad *art politics* and when the encounter between these objects and "consumers" as *the mystification of an art work and an artist*, would mean nothing else but the defeat of art, such a move would be actually forced. (For sure the Beoizlog "souvenir shop" would be in doubt by the presence of Led Art products, which gained another layer of meaning, a new "ethic.") This was a decisive programme position which speaks clearly about the group's activity, just like the hibernation does (not so obvious at first glance). The manifests and pamphlets from the group's early activity do this clearly:

Parallel Life

While refusing to participate in destruction, slaughter, robbery, rape, we take ourselves out of traditional space. By rejecting the conformist way of thinking and the old rut - we live and create ceaselessly. We discover a new way. A way in between.

Parallel World

Or:

Led Art performs in an urban environment. It takes itself out of government institutions and classic exhibition venues (galleries, museums, colonies) and uses the atypical (freezing chambers, freezer lorries, ice fields, garages, streets) (Led Art, Principles, 1993).

That territory had been already taken by regime artists and their projects, which misused the "temple nature" of those spaces. In these conditions art could be saved (seemingly) by working against itself: by avoiding its places - the traditional places of seduction, like an Archimedes point of art politics - just to then return into the same spaces with a newly-acquired credibility and new trump cards.

With such a dimension in its activity we can conclude that Led Art stands before aesthetic value (the substance of art) - which seemed already lost under the flood of regime kitsch and total destruction - as someone who is searching for a new, fruitful, life-saving, and above all presentation context while being in unfavourable circumstances all around. Fruitful from the point of view of artistic interest and life-saving for art's sake; often finding it, paradoxically, amidst the maelstrom of forces, in barely

to the principle of retribution, be packed into lorries and sent to Zagreb."

April 2nd - Paramilitary formations of Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan take Bijeljina. Serbs working for Bosnian police leave their duty because of, as they underline, "the abuse of the police for political aims" and form Serbian national police.



April 4rd - The presidency of BH, without Serbian members, decides to mobilize the Territorial Defense, police and civil protection reserve.

April 6th - Citizens of Sarajevo, wishing to stop further national clashes, surround the building of the republic's parliament, demanding the formation of the National salvation government. Sniper shooters from Holiday Inn hotel shoot at the demonstrators, two bombs fall on the city. Eight are killed, 50 demonstrators wounded. Among the first war victims is Suada, a fifth-year medical student. The day after, anti-war protests are held in several cities in BH, the EU recognized BH, Serbs with the support of YNA began the siege of Sarajevo, PLN organized defense of the city.

April 7th - USA recognized independence of Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia. Croatia recognized independence and sovereignty of BH, which does not stop it from participating in armed clashes on the side of Bosnian Croats. Serbian parliament in Banja Luka proclaimed independent Serbian Republic.

April 8th - Bosnian Serb forces with the help of Arkan's paramilitary formations and artillery

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support of YNA entered Zvornik. Mass murders of non-Serbian civilians committed. Officially founded armed formation of Bosnian Croats, Croatian Defence Council (HVO) - Serbian members of the BH Presidency Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic resigned, the Presidency continued to function as the supreme governing organ in BH.

April 9th - Bombing of Mostar began, armed clashes across BH continued despite the reached agreement about the cease fire between YNA general Milutin Kukanjac, Alija Izetbegovic and Radovan Karadzic. YNA 'protects inter-ethnic relations,' Serbs 'defend centuries-old hearths,' Muslims and Croats defend themselves from 'Serbian aggression.' - Murat Sabanovic occupied the dam of the Visegrad hydroelectric plant and for almost twenty days threatened he would destroy it if YNA does not retreat from the city's vicinity.

April 10th - Serbian ministry of information announces that 'on the territory of Republika Srpska there are no paramilitary formations.' - From the bomb planted in downtown Zagreb, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the residence of the Zagreb-Ljubljana arch-bishop badly damaged. Until then, 60 buildings of the SOC already destroyed or badly damaged.

April 11th - 12th - The seventh round of negotiations in Sarajevo about arms control and dismissal of paramilitary forces. Clashes continued. Lines of refugees set out in different directions.

April 15th - Presidency of BH Serbian Republic declared immediate war danger and founded Territorial Defense of the Serbian people in BH. Bosnian presidency founded BH Army joined by 260 YNA officers. - Trial for treason of YNA General Vlada Trifunovic is set up in Belgrade, because he surrendered the Varazdin corps, under his command, to Croats. Stating he was 'left to his own means,' Trifunovic says his choice was 'either to be traitor or a dead man.' Parallel to the military court process in Belgrade, he is also accused in Zagreb for crime against civilians.

April 18th - Radovan Karadzic announced to journalists that

favourable circumstances; or in spaces only seemingly favourable to art, while in fact, leaning towards the consumption of its surrogates; on the front line, always considering "the day after."

LED ART AND OTHERS

Another of Led Art's important successes is the role of the artistic scene initiator, and concerns as much the care for the status of art as for social changes. In its actions the group manages to connect two worlds of art: one, which by the "set" tradition, stands high above the lower world of practice and identifies itself as an individual-intimate search for "values"; and the second, the world of non-aesthetic art, which, following a somewhat younger and different programme, opts for the margins and, besides producing the "non-conventional," it eats into the system of art, or it merely mimics those who used to do it. We often find it behind the labels "alternative," "counterculture," "underground" and such¹. This division should be taken with caution, particularly the way it is marked (heightened tone taken from the modernist tradition of "certain demarcations"), but we cannot deny that locally it is still strong.

This "unification" was possible, first of all, thanks to the fact that the core members, before the group was formed, had gained artistic affirmation in traditional media while clearly inclining towards peripheral areas, just to step over that border too and find themselves in search of ways which would overcome the insufficiency of both models. Insufficiency in regard to the volatile circumstances, in which it was impossible to actualise one's art while queueing in the corridors of the official art system, or to work in a closed, poorly communicative circle of the alternative system (Led Art found itself briefly in the alternative system, in fact in the role of co-founder of one of the most important - Centre for Cultural Decontamination). Not only did it create the Centre's visual identity, but Led Art assumed the responsibility of organising and realising the fine arts programme, while collaborating on defining and realising the theatrical one. Understanding the shortcomings of this positioning in culture, the group left the Veljković Pavilion with *the aim not to stop energy on the outskirts of our city, but to move from static to active action horizontally. The group was not content with its decorative and drumming role in the Centre; it marked this in characteristic fashion with the Escape From the Centre performance.* (May 1996)

This determination, this duplicity in aims, or simple freedom in relationship towards multiplicity, allowed the group to communicate with ease with other artists of seemingly opposite ideas; a redeeming aim, which gave the group a realistic dimension, and facilitated encounters which would under normal circumstances be hard to imagine. Led Art did not become the alternative, but it offered an alternative to the state of isolation and general depression, while offering a way of acting in sync with social turmoil and being present in all important places, which would become well-known in the meantime. The members went to the conflict spots, outside of galleries and ateliers, to the places of heightened social temperature, always with the perfect feeling for the right place-right time, while having a role of moderator, mediator, someone who would burn itself and the art of others while demonstrating its own art programme and practice.

¹ This way of action, while losing its authentic historical context (avant-garde, neo-avant-garde, "new practice"), and the appearance of postmodernism and the consumer market system of art, acquired a waxed face or ritualised memory, that is, renewed staging (similar to medieval mysteries), sedimented in its own subsystem of art, or it established itself as a poetic standard on the main stage; often both; the latter internationally.

LED ART AND PAST

In the phenomenology of avant-guard and neo-avant-guard there is very little which could be recognised as emphatic in the methods and artefacts (although there have been some), unlike in Nazi art and social realism. The emphatic were the ideological subtext, the will to transform society into an aesthetic product, the "social sculpture" or "utopia as a craft," meaning ideology as a master pattern. It is not hard to imagine that in the atmosphere of eternal destruction of a generation, threatened in its very foundations of humanity, it chose the reconstruction of meaning and values which would take it to the slippery ground of surviving projects. Especially when things have to be proven on the axiomatic level, meaning, good is good and evil is evil, stupid is stupid... This, however, could not have happened...

In significantly changed conditions, both globally and locally, Led Art referred to certain past illusions, those of historic avant-guard in particular: calling for collective enlightenment, public works, "sobering," literacy... and often in the form of multimedia shows, through *the synthesis of fine arts, theatre, music and poetry* (public works, *The Flood*) similar to the times when "streets should be turned into brushes and squares into palettes." It is known how these projects ended - these shows ended with the crowd being dispersed by batons and with cries *we'll give you art*.

The Russian experiment looked particularly "nice" to Led Art partially because of "fundamental actions" (the socio-political conditions are tragically/comically similar) and declared aims, which is clear in the "literacy" project *Svitak* (Oktobarski Salon, 1999, curated by Jovan Despotović, with the Magnet and Penix groups, plus several independent artists), where the same aims were attacked with sarcasm, even Dadaist nihilism, giving us "collaterally" evidence of historically completed projects, but above all clear coordinates of here and now. As much as Led Art couldn't resist the challenge of testing the *power of action*, it refused to follow the call to exaggerate, that is, with art one can accomplish more than with money, an army or other powers. Auto-irony appears sharp: *Svitak* (alphabet) - meant for those in whose hands it would never end up - contains vulgarity that "outshone" that of those coming from regime media production. While testifying to *cultural illiteracy of old men* (Jovan Despotović), it also testifies to the hopeless (?) weakness of art where its very creators (partially) give up on their own cultural needs. However, "one must navigate, but doesn't have to live" - this pathetic fatalistic slogan from the walls of Carthage in a new post-historic version reads: "that which we can is the only thing we also must," where "must" does not cross the border set up by *can*.

As for the "new practices" of the late 1960s and early 1970s, with which Led Art shares similar themes (the social and public status of art and artists, the art system, politicisation of art...), it found itself facing different problems and naturally, proposed a different answer. One of the most prominent actors of "new art" in Serbia, Raša Todosijević, participated in many actions of the group.

In order to better understand the differences in circumstances, let's hear his words from the 1970s: *Not Duchamps but Bonnard, not Malevich but Chagall, not Pop but New Figuration; Klein was spat on theoretically and in practice*. Although Todosijević denied the norms of *socialist modernism* as a prescribed measure of freedom and value of those times, we cannot question that Bonnard, Chagall and New Figuration are undeniable val-

Serbs can take Sarajevo in two hours, but they don't want to do it before a political agreement about the division of the city. - On April 16th in Sarajevo daily 'Oslobodjenje' Abdulah Sidran in a post-scriptum of a text wrote "It is 11:51 now: over the radio the manager of the Bare cemetery says that there is no place for burying the dead anymore."

April 22nd - UNICEF Office in Belgrade warned that the provision of help, food and drugs to children in war-afflicted areas in BH is disabled. - In Belgrade on the Republika Square a concert for peace called 'Don't count on us,' is held with around 50 thousand young people.



April 27th - Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), mutual state of Serbia and Montenegro, is founded.

April 29th - Bosnian territorial defense and the police blocks YNA barracks.

May 1st - YNA kept Alija Izetbegovic as hostage in Lukavica army barracks.

May 2nd - In Sarajevo's, the main post office, Electrodistribution, Municipal parliament, Presidency of BH, Urgency Clinic and several schools and colleges bombed.

May 3rd - In Dobrovoljacka Street in Sarajevo, a YNA line is attacked while withdrawing towards Lukavica. Twenty-eight soldiers killed, several injured soldiers and civilians. As a reprisal, the city again under a grenade shower, and armed ambushes on the roads bring it almost to an entire isolation, hunger threatens.

May 4th - Presidency of BH officially blames FRY and YNA for aggression. Center of Sarajevo rocketed. Mostar under permanent bombardment for 30 days.

May 7th - Retreat of YNA from BH begins, government of Republika Srpska forms armed forces tak-

ing over Serbs, members of YNA from Bosnia. - BH Army forces killed a number of Serbs in a Sarajevo suburb Pofalici. - Croatia published data according to which in the war in that republic 5000 people died, 6000 are missing, 3100 are imprisoned and 20000 wounded. Economical damage is estimated to 37% of the country's economical potential.

May 8th - Slobodan Milosevic announced that Serbia is not involved in the war in Bosnia. - Germany introduced visas for citizens from the former Yugoslavia, except for Slovenes and Croats. - According to UNHCR sources, there are 1022529 refugees within former Yugoslavia.

May 10th - The health crisis headquarters in BH announced that during 44 days of war in Bosnia, according to incomplete data, 1320 people are killed, 6700 injured and 1900 disappeared. The number of refugees in the republic is 320000, and the number of citizens who fled its territory around 350000. According to the data of Serbian Refugee Commission, there are 350000 refugees in Serbia, from which 120000 from BH.

May 15th - In Sarajevo, after frontal street clashes of Serbian armed forces and Bosnian territorial defence, new agreement about a cease fire under the protection of UN is reached. - In Tuzla a YNA convoy is attacked, 49 perished. - Ambassadors of USA and EU left Belgrade.

May 19th - Because of the blockade of three YNA barracks in Sarajevo, Serbs, held a line of refugee consisting of 10 buses and 2000 private cars with about 5000 women and children, which, organized by the First Children Embassy, set out from Sarajevo towards Split. - More and more people are leaving Sarajevo, seeking connections to get places in military planes and buses.

May 22nd - According to a MKCK announcement, armed groups in BH stop convoys with humanitarian aid, lorries with food and medicine are overtaken.

May 24th - In a pre-election gathering in Novi Sad, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Seselj declared: "I can't wait for Croatians to start the war in Krajina, so we can finish what we started," and then again called for driving

ues, no matter how limited from the then-tendencies in art they were, just as each norm originating from "above" was. In the 1990s, however, the "value as a norm" could not be denied, because the officially sponsored kitsch, i.e. pornography, could not be denied as an every *nothing*.

In other words, *A Slap to Social Taste* was not possible because there was no taste. But let's hear him again: "While other artists were digging through the Balkan mud looking for the roots of mystic creation in a nostalgic remembering of pastures of the homeland (newly-composed folk art)... we are people whose spirit is defined by the Urban environment." About *The Frozen Times*, the artist said: *I am here (Frozen Art, 1993) because my work is a negation of cultural bullshit, of those rooted in nationalistic kitsch. Nationalistic mythology should be taken to paroxysm.* The veil of simulacrum covers everything, when nothing can be denied as the non-truth, then there is nothing else left to do but what Baudrillard suggests: *You can't get off from that merry-go-around, but you can spin it even more*, of course, from a language point of view, the only thing still possible. That's why the "paroxysm" of Led Art's flags, edible tragedies, alphabet books... (paroxysm is here with quotation marks, which will be explained in the last chapter).

Was there any "passion" in what Led Art was doing? From everything said earlier, it is clear there was none. But, "passion," in quotation marks was always "somewhere there." Although many actions resembled a carnival and were moments of great catharsis, both of the group and the co-actors, only echo of the voice of heroic modernism was heard, and that was more like a dead person's fart, "dead history" with a flicker of life left in its tail, enough to twitch it in forgotten corners like that inhabited by Led Art. Led Art, too, sometimes released wind, literally (Move Your Arse, action to promote participation in the 2000 election. Novi Sad, Belgrade.) There was optimism...

LOCAL, GLOBAL, POSTMODERNISM AND CORRECTION OF STYLE – THE END OF LED ART?

Talking about Baudrillard, rocking simulacrum is a bit like rocking the cradles of the dead. From sign to sign, from address to address in the Chaosmos of signs, scattered, shattered... Baudrillard wrote: "The consequences of that dismantling can be only fatal. Every thing which has lost its idea resembles a man who has lost his shadow - he falls into madness in which he disappears."

The post-modernist discourse grows from what is usually called criticism of narration. Made into law in the laboratory of post-structuralism, it develops and arms itself with the artistic and para-theoretic, while reflecting and slandering the "post-modern" state as its *genius loci*. He adds that the connection between meanings, beings and things is broken, that "the truth has the face of a lie" (Lacan) and that "the value is scattered in its fracturing" (Baudrillard), but also that, "thanks to NATO, Kant's dream of eternal peace is being created," as Francis Fukuyama claims in his well-known *The End of History?* This state on a practical, thus aesthetic, level (for us of particular interest), is often put in relation to theory via the axis of reversed symmetry; or, nomadism is for sure erotic; the gliding between Fascism and Stalinism, i.e. between different and clashing language models of the past, brings a certain productive pleasure (travesties) in art and

theory, but in history it is a head game. Or: it is not surprising that fracturing of values and truths with the face of lies appear in the state of "all is permitted" if the practical deconstruction unfolds in the depersonalised sphere of economic power, where a number causes a chain reaction with civil war as a consequence. No-one is ever guilty because one only serves the "autonomous legality," an autonomous automatics of sign where *every thing has lost its idea* and where nobody remembers that the economy has anything to do with bread.

One example of "gliding in frameless" is the phenomenon of tribalism (K. Popper) which we recognise *now and there* the way we lived it *then and here*. For Serbs it is a monolith WE and ALL in many mutations (*We Are All Innocent*, 1991, and *We Are All Guilty*, 2001), but also *now and there* as a tribal alliance of Great Britain and the USA, which, while bombarding Iraq, is deconstructing the United Nations - *deconstructs* because it doesn't reject its object, but it de-thrones it and uses it as its own moment, unlike the *destruction* of the UN. And that comes after Kant's dream of eternal peace has been accomplished!

Led Art played a lot with *truth and value*, and it has, most importantly, an existential experience of deconstruction as capital from which many would profit. In front of Milošević's regime (he is a very "post-modern dictator" in the sense of the Frankenstein mask of early post-modernism which marked his divination: he is Tito and Karađorđe and saint Sava... - depending how you look at him, there is always a side which would please an awakened phantasm), and in front of the international community, which blessed and allowed the realisation of all nationalist projects except one, which it deconstructed with bombs, Led Art enjoyed the fruits of a *state* which would lead itself to paroxysm and was hard to connect with the heights of pain, always with entropy, fracturing, weakening, softening...

With a cruel twist a local plan became global. Recognising this twist, the group wanted to share its existential experience and it prepared an object as a gift for the Berlin Art Academy. But the wooden beam from the Novi Sad Bridge never arrived at its destination because the intention was deconstructed not there but here, where it was least expected. The work was judged as too sentimental and was not supported. A rather horrible explanation, isn't it? Or, was it just the use of the language of aesthetics in this game of power and coquetry? Post-modernism has the pretty face of a grinning rascal who knows everything, he could be told nothing new. Sometimes you wish you could slap him, don't you? He knows every trick, he is so ghastly and chic. If you adopt his strategies, you end up among those like him, you'll end up slapping your own cheek...

Ultimately, this problem must be considered. Activist realism, "axiomatic plan," the axiological (ethics, aesthetics), the position in a "pocket" of history - are aspects and the location of the group's activity, which should be read from a somewhat different angle from that in which it appears almost as a reflex; meaning, not as regressively forced in local conditions, but with a wide-open eye for global conditions and tendencies, as a step towards the progressive (symbolic) overcoming of the post-modern state, which had already been hinted at for some time. Post-modernist theory absolutely does not allow this possibility.

In the maelstrom, seen as the (synchronised) dynamics of history's movements, thinking-being of this state is able to curve, like a black hole, similar efforts and turn them in the opposite direction, so that "overcoming of p.m.s." appears as an image of itself in a post-modern mirror, similar to the Belgrade "Modernism after post-modernism" experiment, in which

Croats out of Serbia. Since the government, generally, doesn't react to these threats, in some parts of Vojvodina (the well known case is village Hrtkovci) citizens of non-Serbian nationality are driven out.

May 27th - In Downtown Sarajevo, in Vase Miskina Street, a grenade thrown on people waiting in line for bread. 16 people killed, 144 wounded. - In Geneva, International Committee of Red Cross decided to withdraw its representatives from Bosnia, concluding there was never such flagrant violation of human rights as on this territory.

May 28th - After 52 days of war and siege of the city, Sarajevo is thus far most heavily bombed and destroyed. Hundreds of dead, the city without electricity, water or food.

May 30th - Because of inciting and participating in the war in Bosnia, UN security council voted on Resolution 757 and sanctions, unprecedented in the history of UN, which introduced: complete economic blockade of all scientific, cultural and athletic relations. - In Belgrade in front of the Yugoslav drama theater, a few hundred dramatists with a one-hour silence expressed their protest against the war and condolences with all its victims.

May 31st - Organized by Center for anti-war action and a part of the opposition parties in Belgrade, a few tenths of thousands of citizens, people of Belgrade expressed their condolences with all the victims of the war in Bosnia by carrying a 13000 meter-long black tape. - On the Dubrovnik-Herzegovinian front new clashes between Croatian and Serbian forces. Artillery attacks on Dubrovnik and Trebinje.



Photo: Goranka Matić

June 2nd - Officials of Serbia and FRY try to convince people that with "resolute measures" the government will see that that "the unjust and unprovoked sanctions" do not threaten the living standard. Data show a reverse effect - dinar is worth less, lines in front of grocery stores are longer, black-market becomes a way of survival. In July around 40 percent of factories stop working, and in September 300000 people are sent to forced leaves.

June 4th - Around 1000 students of the Faculty of Electoengineering in Belgrade in silence expressed their protest against those "who showed their inability which helped a rapid fall of dignity and standard of the citizens of Serbia." - In downtown Belgrade in front of hotel "Moscow" on the "silent protest" Yugoslav athletes, candidates for Olympic games in Barcelona, protest against the ban for Yugoslav athletes to participate in international competitions. - In an interview to a British TV network "Channel 4" Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic announced: "If my departure from the post is the price for abolishing the sanctions and for a just solution, that's the cheapest way, that is not a problem at all."

June 7th - Seven days after the cease fire agreement, fighting in BH continued. In Sarajevo, artillery duels last for twenty hours. The world is shocked by TV pictures from prisoner camps held by Serbs. - One of the heads of Bosnian Serbs offered to exchange people with Muslims - Serbs from Zenica would come to Banja Luka, and Muslim and Croats from Banja Luka would move to Zenica. - Sarajevans increasingly greet each other with "Death to Fascism, freedom to people."

June 8th - The request of a group of academics for the withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic supported with the action "Scientists for the Salvation of Serbia," in which, in front of the Serbian Academy for Arts and Sciences, 3000 signatures are collected. - Thirty student organizations from Belgrade University made an Announcement to request the formation of a government of national salvation, withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic, abolition

either "nothing happened" or "post-modernism was deconstructed." Is Led Art a new utopian point of view, despite all the claims made in this text? In any case, by accepting this thesis, the relationship between *now/then* and *here/there* and *forever and everywhere*, gains the key meaning in interpreting the group's final intentions: Led Art accepts post-modernism as a correction of sense, richly using its tools (reading, killing and discharging of signs, pseudo-morphosis), but it doesn't exhaust itself in the post-modern negativity which sometimes edges dangerously, or blends into nihilism ("the practical doesn't have valid criteria") - in that sense the group really works on the reconstruction of sense. In that work there is no place for nostalgia for One, for renewal of the whole at the dawn of an absolute project "which leads to gas chambers" (Lyotard); Led Art wants to cross the circle of self-sodomy of a functionless language and heal the gap between humanity and reality, wake up from the self-hypnosis in which the confused subject of scattered humanity has found itself: humanity that could be questioned in an elementary sense - globally! - the way it was done exactly here. To take it to the world of practical, ethical, political and aesthetic heights, which are dubbed and lost in endless representation levels, not by calming it in order to offer the dangerous simplicity of the One, but to encourage it to act in all its complexity of obstacles, confusion and temptations. Above the negative, irritating condensation of noise and racket, which was sometimes pushed into the senses and organs of the recipients, hovered the optimism of patterns and chalk lines which bar the evil, smiles and farts in the face of the naughty, a deceiving face of childishness which wanted to connect people laterally and stimulate them to act not in the name of great utopian projects, but in the name of what they see in each other, and which was choked by fears and hate in the labyrinths of a somnambulist conscience and consciousness. Although all the games have been played out, one is always played with pleasure, trepidation and craving, but is shorter than epoch, history, story, and often turns into dead people in a freezer truck.

It would be horrible to say "Goodbye, Led Art."



Milena Dragičević Šešić

Led Art - refrigerator trucks, landfills, galleries

ETHICS WITHIN POETICS

Starting with the exhibition Exposing to the Labyrinth in Dom Omladine, which, in the wake of the national and war euphoria exhibits the worst visions and predictions that, unfortunately, become true, Nikola Džafa will attempt not to enter standard galleries in the classic manner (with exhibitions). Gathering around himself various artists of different generations and sensibilities, he is introducing them to new areas of reality, irritating both the organizers of cultural events and the audience, whom he makes reevaluate the comfort of artistic reception outside of the social context.

That first group of artists, which in Boleč, in a PKB refrigerator truck, attempted to realize works whose life will be precisely marked: from the moment of freezing (water in moulds, for example) to the moment of melting, when it will be irreparably destroyed, in the next few years will take over the function of the engine and mover of the visual scene, deeply embedded into political and social problems of the Serbian society. The "secret" war waging (for the reasons of higher national interests), the outside embargo and the inside walls built by the government created conditions for a deep criminalization and social stratification. There is disappearance of the middle class – the identity hinge of every society, and the future Museum of Frozen Art is filled with works placing in focus the very objects that are a part of its own, and a wider social identity.

Artistic foreboding that the awareness of working with ice, in the state of a horrible cold, and darkness as well, will be useful in the years to come, that we are facing an ice period in which the individual courage will be necessary, but also the readiness of a group of such individuals for joint creation, made the group, although never formed as such, continue art research projects, posing always new questions of our "counter-transitional" period. All these artists - Dragoljub Raša Todosijević, in the wake of the cycle Gott Liebt die Serben, Mrđan Bajić and Mileta Prodanović, Dragoslav Krnajska and Vera Stevanović, Talent, Slavimir Stojanović, Saša Marković-Mikrob, Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković – will continue individually, or in smaller groups, to radically pose questions in the language of visual arts. One can say that this very project is the beginning of the "war alternative," a different, radical and provocative art language leaning more towards the relaxed and witty means of the eighties.

The arrival of the works from Boleč, in a refrigerator truck, and their exhibition in front of Dom Omladine, with music of the End Band and a controlled entrance of "the audience", created a feeling of dedication to the common goal of the artists-participants and the audience. That ambivalent relationship between a reception grading, positively evaluating the work and, on the other side, knowing that it is destroying it with its very presence, somehow reflected the entirety of the moral dilemmas of the 90's. All that was happening was turning into its opposite. The events of March 9th 1991. were begun in order to destroy the TV "Bastille", only to acquire another one – Radio Bastille, and the lay-off of 1700 thinking men of the Serbian radio – TV organization. The student protest in the Summer of 1992. ended in an even less democratic Law of the University, and

of Serbian parliament and new elections. Students and professors are called on to strike until the complete fulfillment of their requests. - In Montenegro tickets for food introduced and Serbian government introduced measures for rational oil provision.

June 10th - As an answer to the increasing requests of many associations and institutions for withdrawal of Slobodan Milosevic from the political scene, the regime answers with telegrams, messages of support to Serbian president broadcast over Radio Television of Serbia.

June 13th - The "Kneeling Protest" held in Pioneer Park in Belgrade in front of the Presidency of Serbia, organized by the Composers' Association. Around a hundred musicians started this Gandian protest at five minutes to twelve, symbolically showing that it is the last moment for Milosevic's resignation.

June 14th - After a call by Citizens Union of Serbia, a few thousand inhabitants of Belgrade participated in performance "The Last Bell" sending a message to the current regime in Serbia that it's time has passed.

June 15th - With the gathering of around ten thousand students in front of the main building of the Belgrade University, "Student protest '92" began. - Organized by the Union of Serbian scientific institutes, a few hundred scientists at noon protested in Knez Mihajlo Street and publicly presented "The Document of Reason," and supported the Memo of the Serbian Orthodox church, the request of the action "Scientists for the salvation of Serbia and DEPOS," and supported the student requests, whose gathering they all together joined.



June 20th - Bosnian presidency announced the state of war, introduced general mobilization and work duty. - From the beginning of June on war fronts

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in Bosnia more than 57000 people perished, in camps more than 100000 people imprisoned, outside of Bosnian borders more than 650000 refugees.

June 21st - Croatian forces made an artillery attack on Knin and Drnis. On the Miljevac plateau a large number of Serbian fighters perished. Their bodies thrown into pits and exhumation not allowed till the end of September. - It was announced in Paris that the most modern spy planes began the control of embargo enforcement against Yugoslavia.

June 27th - French President Francois Mitterand, following his visit to Sarajevo where he tried to talk the Serbs into letting the transportation of humanitarian aid land on Sarajevo airport, announced that the situation in Sarajevo is "the grimmest he has seen in his life." - Government in Sarajevo announced that in the last 11 weeks in BH 7440 people perished, 267000 are wounded, 35000 missing, and 400000 have fled.

June 28th - In Belgrade on the plateau in front of the Federal parliament, a great "Vidovdan gathering" lasting eight days straight was organized by DEPOS.

June 30th - The first plane with humanitarian aid, French "Hercules" from Split landed on Sarajevo airport "Butmir." - In a protest march around ten thousand Belgrade students passed through downtown Belgrade symbolically carrying prison numbers.

July 2nd - UN Peace-keeping forces took over control over Sarajevo airport "Butmir." UN decided to send another 1500 international force soldiers to Sarajevo. In Krajina UNPROFOR took over the responsibility in sector "South," including the territory in question - "pink zones."

July 3rd - President of the Peace conference about Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington, welcome in Sarajevo with a grenade shower. - In Grude (Herzegovina) "Croatian Republic Herzeg-Bosnia" formed.

July 9th - Belgrade students on the 25th day of protests organize a march called "On the roads of the past." The police stops them from walking in front of the Serbian president Slo-

a new exodus of the best and the most energetic students. Corruption, inflation, life on a landfill end being metaphors – they become real life facts.

The key question: should one create in such conditions? Can one exhibit in such conditions? For whom is art made in those moments, persecutes not only Nikola Džafo, but also a large part of the art scene during the entire 90's. Džafo and Led Art think they have given the answer with the project "Frozen Art" about a possible way of exhibiting - exhibiting provocation, not aesthetization. Back in March of 1991. Dušan Otašević turned his paintings in gallery of Kulturni centar towards the wall, and on December 10th, 1996. in the Center for Cultural Decontamination, about a hundred artists, directors, theater critics, and painters will discuss can and should theaters work during the protest – i.e. during the time of aggressive militia control and the beating of protesters. Nikola Džafo found his answer about the meaning of art in the time of turmoil through numerous projects Art Cookbook, Vinča Dump etc.

Well kept bread, Vegetable soup, Universal Serbian mish-mash, 31 small bread, Humanitarian aid for birds, Little table, get set, Flour is truly fattening... those are only a few titles of art works, carrying a clear message. This is the time when instead of their salaries, professors, medicine workers, post-office clerks etc. receive sacks of flour and sugar, when top professionals start exchanging recipes for "cheap cakes" or home-made schweppes, times when cooking stops being a part of cultural identity, but only a requirement for survival. That is why these witty titles take one back to the period of childhood, when one was told the story of the vegetable soup, or read the fairy tale: Little Table, Get Set! but at the same time they place one in the contemporary context of one's role in the simulation of a happy reality – the role of a creator of strange and unusual breads, a kitchen wizard who produces happiness for his family out of nothing.

The new project – Vinča Dump, has been chosen for various reasons because the word Vinča synthesizes multiple identities of Serbian society, through numerous images and stereotypes.

- Vinča is "the first alphabet," propagated by the media as a world phenomenon of the literary man (a Serb!) from neolith
- Vinča is an archeological dig – the tradition, therefore that must be preserved
- Vinča is a top national science institute, a former dream of Yugoslavia about the world glory of atomic power
- Vinča is a landfill of radioactive waste (of the mentioned institute)
- Vinča, as a suburb, is a city landfill

So, the first expedition to Vinča, to the city landfill, is the expedition of exploration, the one supposed to enable the recycling to artists, but also to us, the consumers of "products" made by the artists. Shirts riddled by bullets, a can of stinky air tested on humans, soap for finally washing our hands from everything, chalk suggesting to the buyer an action-intervention (soon it will be used, during the Student protest 1996-97, chalk was employed by Led Art and other participants to do "the reconstruction of crime") etc. Carefully packed, with a brand label, well marketed products, they found their place in "Beozlog," as morbid Belgrade souvenirs, symbols of that brutal, bloody essence, packed often into the glamorous glitter of the Pink/Palma culture, just as our entire reality was "packed" into the design of the TV News.

Active participants of the group, beside Nikola Džafo, are at the time: Dragan Živančević, Dragoslav Krnajski, Goran Denić, Vesna Grginčević, Nebojša Milikić, Srđan Veljović. All of them will work, within the group and separately, on a number of important projects for the art scene and the new ethic establishment of an entirely crumbled and destroyed society, a society without a clear awareness about its own territorial and temporal borders, a society in which the hardest nationalist boo the anthem, in which humanitarian organizations take the refugees high up into the mountains so they wouldn't be seen, in which professors are on strike by taking away knowledge and the physician treatment... But, at the same time, it is a society in which seemingly everything functions. There is a parliament and schools and hospitals, theaters and galleries, fast railroads and oil holes, festivals (at least with spiritually close, Orthodox nations, or states under embargo...). That is why the actions of Led Art, as of other "alternatives" such as groups Škart, Apsolutno, Magnet, as well as their theater counterparts – Dah Teatar, Mimart, Easter Teatar – were extremely important in the light of establishing a critical thought and a critical public discourse that was freer in the so-called non-verbal form. (The word is the only thing an average politician and a police officer can recognize as dangerous – a critique using other means is not clearly enough articulated for a ban.)

A particularly important moment in the history of alternative movements of the 90's is the formation of two cultural centers – cinema Rex, managed by Radio B-92, and Center for Cultural Decontamination, lead by Borka Pavićević. Led Art and Nikola Džafo initiate a number of performances in the Center for Cultural Decontamination, which in an atmosphere of platforms, dialogues, thinking, acquire very precise meanings, much stronger than if they were performed in galleries.

It is no wonder that the Center for Cultural Decontamination was practically opened on January 1st 1995. with a performance of Led Art – which received the audience "with iced hearts and brine." Other performances followed, some in the famous Chair (4x4x4m), which was a part of N. Džafo's set design for Ana Miljanić's play *Mean Spirits*, such as the famous *Who Gives a Hair?*, in which at least twenty critically oriented intellectuals and artists (September 1995) had their hair cut. The very title of this performance indicates what in a year will become a trend – fighting by self-deprecation, sarcasm, slang usage. Civil and student protests will start using this very segment of art expression as the strongest weapon in the fight against the regime. The next performance, *Flags* (everyone has a right for his own flag), is a part of that spirit of anti-war alternative as well, which chooses the hardest, most cruel questions to show their meaninglessness, at least the meaninglessness of perishing for them.

After leaving the Center for Cultural Decontamination (the inability of establishing a dialogue is obviously equally difficult within the alternative as well), Led Art opens a new field of its activity – it starts its tour around Serbia, to Čačak, Kragujevac, Valjevo, Zrenjanin, Niš, Novi Sad. In every city the performance had a different meaning, a different starting point.

Led Art participates in a lot in the performances during the civil protests and during the bombing. The Novi Sad Souvenir presented images of destroyed objects – objects whose military, strategic value is practically nonexistent. The need to clearly express the stance, to act on the public scene, in the open city areas, is equally expressed in problems of ethical, political, and art. The project *Kunstlager*, realized in June 2000. is paradigmatic as a peculiar dialogue with the *Neue Slowenische Kunst*, with the current regime in Serbia, but with us as well – inhabitants who live in a

badan Milosevic's residence, and in front of the Serbian parliament the leader of Serbian Radicals Vojislav Seselj threatens the students with a revolver and curses them. The next day, "Student Protest '92" is ended with none of the student requests is fulfilled.



July 10th - In Belgrade, high commissioner for refugees Sada-ko Ogata thanked the people of Serbia for the admission of over 400000 refugees (from Croatia and Bosnia) into their homes.

July 13th - UN adopted Resolution 764 about Yugoslavia, the 14th one, which calls for the distribution of additional peace-keeping forces in Bosnia for securing the giving humanitarian aid.

July 15th - Organized by the Citizen Union and Center for Anti-war Action in front of the Federal parliament in Belgrade protest "Yellow Ribbon" held against discriminations and threats to members of other nationalities.

July 17th - Leaders of three warring sides in BH, Radovan Karadzic, Haris Silajdzic and Mate Boban in London signed an agreement about cease fire on the territory of the entire BH. War actions continued, Sarajevo showered with grenades, Sarajevo airport closed for distribution of humanitarian aid.

July 21st - Commander of UN-PROFOR, Canadian general Luis McKenzie, on the farewell press conference in Sarajevo announced he has never seen what is happening in BH and that he has in-

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formation that both Muslim and Serbian side have bombed their own people in order to create an image of the victim in the eyes of the international community.

August 10th - In Sarajevo, in the UNPROFOR building, an agreement about the evacuation of mothers and children from this town is signed.

August 13th - With the Resolution 771, UN Security council requested from all sides in BH to stop the violation of human rights and to allow members of international humanitarian organizations uninhibited entrance to prisoner camps. - From the beginning of war in Yugoslavia, 39 journalists have died.

August 24th - Special UN reporter Tadeusz Mazowiecki visited Bosnia in order to find the truth about prisoner camps. After the end of the visit, he says that the most brutal thing he saw while walking around Sarajevo and Banja Luka is ethnical cleansing of a few areas.

August 28th - With a peace agreement in London, Bosnian Serbs accepted that the heavy arms around Sarajevo be put under control of the UN. - In Sarajevo, in fire caused by a grenade, State building, one of the city's symbols, badly damaged.

August 30th - The five-month long siege of Gorazde halted. A line of Serbian refugees set out with the army.

September 3rd - Above Jase-nik, 34 kilometers west of Sarajevo, an Italian transporter with humanitarian aid brought down. Four members of the crew killed, distribution of aid halted for the next month. - In Geneva International conference about Bosnia led by UN's Cyrus Vance and EU's David Owen,



started. - The leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic became a hero of a new epic poem:

concentration camp, and accept that as something inevitable.

It is doubtless that Kunstlager is one of the strongest actions that drew a great attention of theoreticians and critiques, because it happened in the moments of the greatest repression of the regime, during the moments of beating the members of the People's Movement Otpor, as well as all the others who protested against the simulation of renewal and reconstruction. This action, as almost all the others of Led Art, received the support of the Open Society Fund, who systematically lead a cultural policy of support to the alternative critical voice of the artist, to the ones who in collaboration with other organizations of the civil sector attempted to at least point out the need of a change and a different, overt manner of looking at the world, without prejudices and nationalist emotions.

For that reason it is no wonder that the public performance of Led Art before the change was realized through the action Move Your Arse, as an incentive or at least a warning that, if we, little people, ordinary people, who always hid behind the saying that no one asks us anything, that we were powerless to stop the tanks go to Vukovar, to stop the war in Bosnia, to write about Knin as a Serbian town... if we don't move now - the responsibility will definitely be ours!

And the last public appearance of the group in File Serbia, practically ends this period of fighting, the period of engagement, critical, provocative art practice. Revelations which systematically ensued after October 5th 2000 - the revelation of refrigerator trucks with human bodies, mass graves, as well as the closings of public diners, social transformations... makes their work even more topical, requiring presently some new topics.

To conclude, a lot has been written and said about Led Art; true, more impressions than serious analyses. Still, there is no work about the art of the 90's in Serbia without the attention give to Led Art and their projects. Even when they participated as a group in some activities, as in Alter-image, a manifestation performed in September 1996. in the Center for Cultural Decontamination as the counterpart-accompanying program of BITEF, a great number of participants were practically at a point in time, or then, a part of Led Art as a movement.

The contribution of Led Art to the creation of a little spiritual community in a country that was more of a camp than a place for activity, is certainly great. The attempt of a group activity itself deserves respect, because here almost no other art group could have survived longer. The permanent attempt to tie itself to alternative institutions, CfCD, Workshop for repairing the city and Rex or the Novi Sad Cultural Center, also points out that Led Art is more active as a platform than a group closed for participation, fencing itself off from others.

Discovering Serbia, trips outside the line Subotica-Novı Sad-Belgrade, the traditional rout of the Serbian alternative, gave a great contribution, together with ANEM and a small number of other actors, to the creation of a critical public scene across Serbia.

So, Led Art is a peculiar phenomenon of the Serbian alternative scene, not only with its longevity, but also permanent attempts to tie itself to others, whether institutions or movements, realizing that only synergy can give some results. Nevertheless, that period is over. Is there a "departure into whiteness" now, which is, according to the words of Nikola Džafo, a departure into a neutral, virginal state? Or should we expect new "clobberings," new actions and new themes with mafia, organized crime and corruption? Led Art, now already Art klinika, will thus always have a sense of subversion, shaking, provocation.



Photo: V. Pavlović
Ice lifebelt



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Photo: Led Art documentation
Nikola Džafo, "Saint Sebastian"

NIKOLA DŽAFO: EXPOSING TO THE LABYRINTH / 4 X 4 X 4 = 64

(Belgrade, Dom Omladine, September 1992)

FRIDGE, the Obod-Cetinje model from 1950, property of Radio B92, is an exhibit that Nikola Džafo displayed in Dom Omladine, Belgrade, during the Exposing to the Labyrinth event, and is a predecessor of the idea of frozen art. In the general fearful atmosphere of war escalation, visitors stored everything they would like to save from the disaster in the fridge, or in their memories: messages, cigarette packets, matches, sweets, chocolate wrappers, books, cotton reels ...

"Pondering the dilemma of whether to paint or not, I arrived at the question of how to save the work of the artist. In order not to lose the warmth that was generated during the creation of works of art, freezers are needed. We could store the art in huge fridges. That would not be difficult. Firstly, the volume of art in these parts is relatively and absolutely tiny, taking a small place in society. Secondly, there is definitely a lot of space in fridges because there is less and less meat and other food commonly stored in those appliances. Via a huge transport of art, the current artistic production would be saved, and this action would perhaps animate the critics, art historians, the remaining artists ... to preserve what has already been created, which would (when the sun shines on it) spectacularly revive." (Nikola Džafo, The Time of Freezing, Belgrade, May 17 1993).

At the entrance to the gallery, where custom dictates silence and whispers, let us gather our feelings about everything we are living through on the other side of the threshold. Perhaps then we will be more ready to give in to our imagination before the offerings of Nikola Džafo, which he, Noah-like, has saved from the flood. Inside, let the 'exposing to the labyrinth' games start; games we are deprived of on the outside, where the ever-growing death dance of the barbarogenius beats.

We have somehow survived Vukovar and who can tell how we will meet the destruction of Sarajevo. If we comb the daily lies of garrulous deathlovers we can see a rising multitude of murdered, maimed, fleeing, miserable and disappeared, behind whom gape ruins and camps as signs of barbarity. The avalanche of hate and violence rolls like a storm accompanied by echoes of the cry "Long live Death!"

(Nebojša Popov, *Catalogue*)

"Radovan, steel man, The first leader after Karadjordje, Defend our freedom and faith On the cold Geneva lake."

September 8th - Commander of Sector "South" of UNPROFOR accused Serbian forces of Krajina for setting fire and pillaging Croatian houses and churches on the territory under the control of Krajina militia, and Croatian armed forces for breaking the cease fire.

September 9th - FRY government sent a request to the World Health Organization for urgent international humanitarian aid in medicine, sanitary material, food for newly born children because otherwise the health and biological survival of the population, half a million of refugees and 10000 wounded will be brought into question.

September 12th - Serbian artillery, concentrated in 11 spots around Sarajevo, put under the supervision of UNPROFOR.

September 14th - Command of UNPROFOR announces that, during the five-month mandate on the territory of former Yugoslavia, 16 members of UN peace-keeping forces were killed and 104 were wounded.

September 19th - With Resolution 777, UN Security Council excluded FRY from the world organization.

September 26th - The Banja Luka football club "Borac" came "ethically pure" after, on players' request, two Muslims were removed from of the team. The team's coach said: "We in Bosnia know what a religious war is, that is how it is and one cannot run away from it."

September 28th - Leaders of the Republic of Srpska Krajina threw away "the special status" in the frames of Republic of Croatia and said that RSK is the only one who can accept to be in the "Union of all Serbian States."

October 1st - On Pale "Serbian Sarajevo" constituted and the Council of Serbian Sarajevo elected. - Medical Crisis Center in Sarajevo announced that in the war in BH 14364 people and 1447 children have died. On the list there are 57000 missing, 8550 children.

October 3rd - Representatives of three confronted sides in BH

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obliged themselves in the seat of International Red Cross in Geneva to "unilaterally and unconditionally" release until the end of the month all civilian and military prisoners who did not transgress human rights, and they admitted there are 52 prisoner camps in Bosnia, 24 Serbian, 19 Muslim and 9 Croatian.

October 7th - UN Security Council unilaterally adopted Resolution 780 about a formation of an international commission of experts for investigation of war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. - At a meeting of Serbian government Slobodan Milosevic announced that "the political motive of the sanctions is calculated to weaken Serbia and make it give up, or to be disabled to express humanitarian solidarity with Serbs outside of Serbia," but sanctions can be seen at the same time as a challenge to Serbian economy and relying on own's strength.

October 19th - In Belgrade special units of Serbian Police took over the Federal Police building. - In Bosnia near the town of Vitez clashes between Muslims and Bosnian Croats started. - On Trebevic, a hill above Sarajevo, Russian poet Eduar Limonov in the company of host Radovan Karadzic fired from a machine gun on Sarajevo a whole box of 50 bullets.

October 21st - Serbian Chamber of Commerce published information about the effects of the economic sanctions on the economy of Serbia: 2599 companies with about 160000 workers and 273 firms with 7500 workers on the verge of bankruptcy, compared to September 1991, the production reduced by 30%, out of 2.3 million workers around 60% don't work, most of which are on forced leaves.

October 26th - Bosnian Croat forces drove out around 3000 Muslims from Prozor and destroyed the city with tank grenades.

October 27th - Representatives of Easter Herzegovina (Serbs) and Herzeg-Bosnia (Croats) reached a cease-fire agreement, forces of Bosnian Serbs, after a several-month siege entered Jajce, and in the vicinity of Travnik clashes between Muslims and Croats continued. - After conquering Jajce, Serbian forc-

PROJECTS, EXIBITIONS, ACTIONS...etc.

FROZEN ART

(Belgrade, May 15 1993)

Remain here,
the winter of foreign heaven shall not chill you
like this one freezes

LED ART (flyer)

WHY FROZEN ART?

One of the main consequences of the last few years has brought us to re-question all areas of human existence. In this context, culture and art become susceptible to changes: the drama of war and everything it brings - destruction, robbery, betrayal, hunger, death - have significantly narrowed the field of any work and creativity. Art found itself looking for the answers to two questions: Should it create in these conditions? If work continues which direction should it take? Led Art has adopted an attitude that the present, mostly negative trends, should be confronted by polemically organized creation. Wide open to all forms of artistic action, the group maintains two fundamental principles: communication between the most diverse forms of individual expression and an urban environment as the place of action. At the same time, the impossibility of communication with official cultural politics puts the group in the position of having to remove itself from those institutions which operate instruments of self-censorship. The new social conditions have been interpreted as the change of state of water, i.e. freezing (transformation of water into ice and vice versa - melting), which symbolizes several layers of existential questioning. On one hand, freezing means the slowing down of the life functions to death (euthanasia), and on the other, hibernation, during which values are preserved from degradation, hoping that the future will bring a reason for defrosting and a possibility of a new, healthy beginning. In fact the change of state is a situation which allows action. All we need is to discover natural mechanisms to allow this action. In this way a platform of experiment has been created on which a group of creative individuals who are ready to accept the harsh conditions (working in - 20°C) as a challenge have gathered. Frozen art concentrates on two directions: one is the kind of objects for permanent life in the cold, and the second is the ice works to be exhibited in the open and exposed to controlled melting
(Gabriela Pajević)

(...) In some way Led Art represents the consequent continuation of the concept which started with last year's exhibition Exposing to the Labyrinth which seems like hundred years ago. Those were the days when it was unimaginable to foresee events like Vukovar, which was nothing but the settling of scores between the primitive and the urban sensibilities. Labyrinth was just a reaction to the coming evil.

According to one of many definitions, art makes sense as long as the illusion that something can be improved exists, so we have arrived at the freezing process to show we can create in -20°C. Behind us, were neither the position, which was to be expected, nor the opposition, although the

whole exhibition was gaining some conflicting connotations. That is why the group, less numerous today than during the exhibition, decided to be neither left nor right, but to be truly independent. The opposition could not help us, seeing as it still is not defined, and our government was stupid enough not to understand that it could promote itself through this kind of exhibition. It has learned nothing from the Slovenian political culture which has supported projects not adhering to its general line.

(Miško Lazović - Nikola Džafa, *The Time of Calm Lambs, Nezavisni...*)

The Led Art promotional project took place in the hall in front of Dom Omladine, Belgrade. The exhibition was preceded by the two-week event Fruit Fields in the cold storage room of the PKB Factory in Boleč where all the exhibits were created.

(...) Two weeks' work in incredible conditions was "a crazy enough adventure" which attracted mostly young people. Dark labyrinths led to the freezer in the monumental Boleč building - through Galician mud and the sickly sweet stench of rotten apples and a mountain of unexported strawberries and blackberries. A few lightbulbs marked the route and where to squelch.

"This exhibition in cold storage addresses, in a fairly direct way, the climate in which we live and its temperature," says Mrđan Bajić, "with objects which are available to the people of Belgrade from 9 pm Saturday to Sunday evening in the refrigerated truck parked in front of Dom Omladine." (...)

(Savo Popović, *Art on Ice, Borba*, May 15-16 1993)

'Long-life' objects were exhibited in the freezer truck. Two ice sculptures (Winter by Dragoslav Krnajski and The Planet in the Armpit of Time by Svetlana Milić) were placed outside the freezer and subject to controlled melting.

(...) In front of the exhibition 'hall' was a long queue. Groups of ten enter at a time. There is no guide, cashier or guard. There is only a doorman who has to rush to open the heavy door of the freezer truck when he hears banging from inside and exchange old visitors for new ones. Just standing in the queue, with music, crowd and warmth in front of the freezer lit by spotlights, is true preparation for catharsis. Frozen art is an especially engaged and contemporary artistic project.

Against the background of a steady -20°C and generator noise, along the walls of the refrigerated truck are placed or hung various exhibits. The colours of ice dominate and through them peek dark colours - black, brown, blue... The old Yugoslav flag, with the star, is there too. It pokes out of the barrel but remains unfrozen. In one pot there is a Venetian gondola. Of course, the Canal is frozen. There are also modelled crosses, balls and cubes with messages printed both outside and inside. In ice are also telescreens, printers, powder-compacts, nail varnish, a feather inside the cage is free from ice... One of the most dramatic images, called 'Summertime Blues', is a pair of sneakers plunging into ice.



es shot at the column of 20000 refugees who set out from Jajce towards Travnik.

November 2nd - Croatian government announced that it is "completely exhausted with refugees from Bosnia" and that there is no possibility to accept new ones. - In Serbia, according to government data, 433326 refugees are taken care of, but estimates show a figure of 540000, of which 96% are placed in families, and the rest in mutual lodgings.

November 10th - President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic visited one of the largest oil sources in Backa, and said that this part of "Naftagas" works successfully and that it is a great response of the oilers of Serbia to the challenges of sanctions. "Serbia will not freeze, nor will it starve, nor will it bring into question it's state and national interests," Milosevic said.

November 16th - Resolution 787 of the UN Security Council introduces the sea and river blockade of FRY and the land transit traffic control is increased.

November 26th - Serbs driven out of Srebrenica for the third time stopped a convoy of humanitarian aid intended for Muslims in Srebrenica. A few thousand women made a living wall so they would stop the transit of a 19-vehicle convoy.

November 28th - According to the Serbian Ministry of Health, from the beginning of war in the former Yugoslavia, hospitals in Serbia accepted 11578 wounded.

December 11th - Resolution 798 of the UN Security council accused the mass, systematic and organized imprisonment and rape of women, especially Muslim women in BH.

December 14th - In talks with directors of large commercial organizations of Serbia, President Slobodan Milosevic stood against the logic of survival and the vegetating of Serbian industry during sanctions and reiterated that the blockade should be a challenge for an increased usage of developing possibilities.

December 16th - US Secretary of State Laurence Eagleberger accused Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes in Bosnia.

December 18th - International community founded the court for

war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

December 20th - In FR Yugoslavia early elections held on all levels. Slobodan Milosevic again elected as president of Serbia, and Socialist party of Serbia (SPS) got the majority in Serbian parliament, and the democratic opposition, after all the demonstrations, silent protests, petitions, received twenty seats more than in previous elections. Addressing the public a few days later, Milosevic said that the elections will end after the attempt of destabilizing the country and that his policy will have three tasks: establishing a permanent and just peace, revitalizing the economy and security of the people, fight against crime and corruption.

December 28th - Inflation in FR Yugoslavia, according to the final results for year 1992, reached a world record of 19810% - Kosovo Albanians presented in Pristina the Declaration of public opinion in which they are calling for the government in Belgrade "to stop the terror" against the Albanian people in Kosovo and express their readiness to enter serious and equal negotiations for finding a solution for the problem of Kosovo, without spilling blood, and in the interest of Albanians and Serbs.

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December 29th - After a renewed initiative of Serbian Radical Party, parliament of FR Yugoslavia voted against the President of Federal government Milan Panic. - Offensive of the Bosnian army on the banks of Drina, on the border of BH and Serbia drove around 10000 Serbs, mostly women and children across the border to Serbia.

"The 25 names involved in the Frozen Art project are not, in the artists' words, a long-formed and theoretically-defined group. It is obvious that they got involved in this project for both aesthetic and moral reasons. The questions they ask themselves and others, printed on the invitations, are: Should we be creating in these conditions? If we continue which direction should we take? It is meaningless to stop, says this manifesto, we should take a polemical attitude towards the present."

(V. Ćurgus, Ice - Symbol and Material, *Politika*, May 17 1993)

At the same time an exhibition of the sketches and photography created during the work process was held in the hall of Dom Omladine, which also included photography of the frozen objects. Part of the freezer truck exhibition included a video recorded during the preparation and consultation for the exhibition.

Additionally in the hall were exhibited Altar and masks by Saša 'Bambus' Marković and works by Nikola Džafo from the Exposing to the Labyrinth exhibition, the predecessors of Frozen Art. The malfunction of the freezer truck, which occurred during the night, caused irreparable damage to the objects, i.e. melting, which is why during the second day all the 'long-life' objects had to be taken out of the freezer and left to melt.

WEATHER FORECAST

Ice in May! It is an unusual occurrence for which meteorologists still have not been able to find an appropriate explanation. The only known fact is that similar cases were recorded in 1914, 1941 and 1980. It is an atmospheric micro-cataclysm which is usually short but remains for long in the memory of those who witness it. These changes are caused by disturbances on earth during which layering in the lower atmosphere occurs. It is uncertain how long the ice will remain and how this climate-shock will affect nature and people. Either way, we need to prepare for the long ice siege as well as for the sudden thaw, because there is a danger of floods which can imperil human lives and the things they have created.

Two things are certain: there is no danger of a great drought and we are witnessing yet another historic event in this country.

(Text broadcasted over speakers during the exhibition)



Photo: V. Pavlović On the eve of the opening of the exhibition "Frozen Art"

Photo: V. Pavlović



Unloading Dragoslav Krnajski's "Winter" Miodrag Živanović and Predrag Sokolović (in the forefront)

1993.

January 4th - Bosnian Serbs and Muslims refused to sign a document offered to the confronted sides by international mediators in Geneva. Negotiations suspended, the war continued. - It is estimated that around 100000 people, mostly young and educated, have left FR Yugoslavia during 1992. On the streets of Belgrade a badge that says "graduate, than emigrate" appears.

January 8th - Independent syndicate of RTV Serbia announced that from January 1st more than 1500 journalist and other employees of the media house have been sent to a forced vacation. According to the announcement of the President of the Executive committee of this syndicate, the criteria are: political orientation, non-Serbian family name and technological surplus.

January 16th - In Sarajevo eight people perished and twelve were injured from a grenade explosion that fell to a place where citizens were waiting in line for water.

January 19th - Special UN Human rights envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that all the warring parties are responsible for violence and ethnic cleansing.

January 22nd - After a year of relative peace, the war in Croatia burst into flames again. Croatia attacked the territory of Republic of Serbian Krajina in "pink zones" and occupied (freed) Maslenica bridge, airport Zemunik near Zadar and Peruca dam. President Goran Hadzic proclaimed a state of war on the whole territory of RSK and ordered special mobilization, and Ministry of foreign affairs of RSK sent a note to FRY asking for help. - RSK bureau in Belgrade officially started signing volunteers for deployment on the Krajina frontline, and unofficially began a forced mobilization of Serbian refugees from Croatia. Volunteers from Serbia

Frozen Art was promoted by:

Dragoljub 'Raša' Todosijević (Gott Liebt die Serben, height 220 cm); Jovan Čekić (Summertime Blues, 40x40x10 cm; ice, leather, textile, rubber); Dejan Anđelković and Jelica Radovanović (Untitled, 180x40x40 cm; ice, animal brain); Mileta Prodanović (Logos I, II, III, 50x50x50 cm; ice, bakelite, gilt, slate, acrylic); Mrđan Bajić (Infancy, Youth, Boyhood, Ice Age, 102x98x22 cm; ice, wood, projects); Dragoslav Krnajski (Winter, 300x100x60; ice); Talent (White Death, 19x19x10 cm; ice, egg); Branka Janković (Noli me tangere, 135x37 cm; ice, glass); Saša 'Mikrob' Marković (Flag, 40x46, 5x5; ice, paper, ink); Gabriela Pajević (Be Natural, 30x20x3 cm; ice, glass, paper, nylon); Nikola Džafo (Gondola, gondola, gondoli, ice, iron, plastic); Nenad Vitas (Stalker, 73x17x30 cm; ice PC, floppy disk, screen 12"); Vera Stevanović (The River Flows ... talk, talk, talk, uneven shape, ice, paper, celluloid); Milorad Cvetičanin (Untitled, 138x63 cm; ice, wood, metal, leather); Vera Stanišić (Letter); Suzana Jovanović and Emir Geljo (The Die Has Been Cast, ice); Milan Rakočević (Attempt - testing, ice, wool); Marija Ilić (We, Flowers, Always Sleep in Winter, 23x16 cm; ice, plastic, glass, paper); Svetlana Milić (The Planet in the Armpit of Time, 140x110x30 cm; ice, wood); Darija Kačić (Cabinet, Transplants, Migrations, 140x200 cm; ice, glass, mirror)

Vesna Pavlović (photography); Slavimir Stojanović (design)

Music: A) Talent B) The End bend /via/ Aleksandar Grujić, Gradimir Aleksić, Nenad Vitomirac

Project organizers: Dom Omladine, Belgrade, co-organizer Radio B92

Project assisted by: Soros Open Society Fund, PKB Voćarske Plantaže, Vreme, Arbor Novi Sad, Saatchi & Saatchi, Publikum, MarkNetig, Butcher shop Papak, Branka Perc's Mentor, the Academy of Fine Arts Novi Sad

To mark the occasion of the Frozen Art Project, the weekly *Vreme* published, on May 17 1993, a supplement titled The Time of Freezing

Editor of the publication: Mirko Mlakar, Associate: Dragoslav Krnajski
Photographs: Vesna Pavlović, Gradimir Aleksić, Talent, Nikola Majdak (light-maniac)

1993. led by Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan and Captain Dragan arrive in Krajina.

February 2nd - Association of Serbian Writers in Belgrade began the regular "Evening for Salvation of Culture" because of cleansing against the politically unfit in RTV Serbia, National Theater, Museum of Contemporary Art, Clinical Center of Belgrade and other institutions. - Around 30 members of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts sent a call to the public in which they announced that they bitterly follow and condemn the violent meddling of the government into social relations and work of public services and institutions.

February 3rd - As a sign of protest because of the attack on the actor Irfan Mensur in Belgrade, the majority of theaters in Serbia cancelled their performances.

February 5th - 8th - At peace negotiations in New York, RS President Radovan Karadzic was allowed to move in a radius of only ten blocks around the UN building. Radovan Karadzic's movement radius was cut from 40 kilometers around the seat of the UN, to only one, i.e. ten streets.

February 10th - After Milosevic promised to citizens, at the end of January, that he will fight for peace, economic prosperity and the cutting down of crime, Serbian government declared war on crime. Analysts, who are studying the sudden criminalisation of the society and who have already pointed out the connection between the government and crime, have expressed their doubt that "incendiaries can extinguish fires".

February 17th - High UN Commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata, announced that, because of political meddling of the warring parties in this organizations' work, she suspended humanitarian operations in most of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

February 26th - On the railroad Belgrade-Bar, on the station Strpci (Bosnia) around thirty armed men in uniforms stopped the train no. 671 and after checking the passengers' id's, took about 25 people of Muslim nationality to an unknown direction. Two months later Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic received the



Photo: V. Pavlović
Set-up in the refrigerated truck



Photo: V. Pavlović
 Mrđan Bajić, "Infancy, Youth, Boyhood, Ice age",
 102x98x22cm, ice, wood, projects

Photo: V. Pavlović
 Dragoljub 'Raša' Todosijević, "Gott liebt die Serben",
 220cm, flag of Yugoslavia, metal barrel, pig fat



relatives of the kidnapped and announced he will "dig out the earth and find the missing citizens". During a whole year the state has not found a way to declare the truth about the missing, not even to establish if they are alive or dead.

1 9 9 3.

February 28th - In the offensives of Muslim forces in eastern Bosnia, on the territory of Bratunac, around 600, mainly Serbian households are burned.



March 8th - The owner of one of the first private banks in Belgrade, Jezdimir Vasiljevic, fled with his family to Israel, leaving numerous account holders unpaid. Dafina Milanovic, the owner of the other para-state bank, tries on TV to convince her customers that "her investments are complete safe" and she will "never forsake them". Lines of desperate people in front of "Dafiment" bank are becoming longer.

March 9th - According to official estimates, the UN Security Council sanctions have damaged FRY in the amount of 10 billion dollars, from which only for import-export 2.5 billion dollars were lost in the first nine months of the blockade.

March 11th - Talking to the representatives of the Greek parliament, president of FR Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, said that the Berlin Congress and Yalta are repeating themselves, but Serbian people in Bosnia will not consent to orders and ultimatums. "As long as the principle of self-determination is valid, we will have a long-lasting war and unimaginable tragedies," Cosic said.

March 17th - Due to a lack of fuel and caboose parts, 118 trains are cancelled in Serbia. - A representative of UN-HCR, describing the tragic status of refugees in Srebrenica, said that thousands of people, including mothers and babies in their arms, are roaming in snow searching for food, that hospi-



tals are full of wounded, there are no medicine nor surgeons.

March 21st - According to the Serbian Ministry of science and technology, from 1970. to 1992. 586 doctors of science and experts with university and master degrees have emigrated, and 55% of them have done so in the past three years.

March 25th - Negotiations about the fate of BH that lasted for several months have failed. The peace plan of the Conference on former Yugoslavia co-presidents, Vance and Owen, was accepted by Bosnian Croats and Muslims but not by Bosnian Serbs.

March 29th - The evacuation of Muslims from Srebrenica is continued.

March 31st - The new UN Security Council Resolution 816 plans for the use of force in enforcement of the ban of all flights above Bosnia. Reason - the use of combat jets in Serbia on targets in Eastern Bosnia.

April 3rd - Although, under the threat of an international embargo, Milosevic asked that Bosnian Serbs sign the Vance-Owen peace plan, RS parliament rejected the draft of the maps included in the plan.

April 7th - Life has survived in Sarajevo. Security is placed in front of the synagogue. Alija Izetbegovic and other high political functionaries arrive on Seder, the most important Jewish holiday. - "Liberation" and bread are the only things that can be bought for dinars, all the rest for German marks. One egg - four marks.

April 8th - Another 1500 wounded and sick Muslim civilians have been evacuated from Srebrenica by UNHCR trucks. After gruesome bargaining, Mladic's army let the commander of UNPROFOR, the French general Philippe Morillon enter the city under siege.

April 15th - Clashes between Bosnian Muslims and Croats, which began in central Bosnia, have spread towards the south, to the territory of Jablanica.

April 18th - UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 820 which call for the tightening of sanctions on FR Yugoslavia, if by 26. April it does not convince Bosnian Muslims to sign the Vance-Owen plan.



Photo: V. Pavlović
Milorad Cvetičanin, "Untitled", 138x63 cm; ice, wood, metal, leather

Photo: V. Pavlović
Mileta Prodanović, "Logos I,II,III", 50x50x50cm, ice, bakelite, gild, slate, acrylic

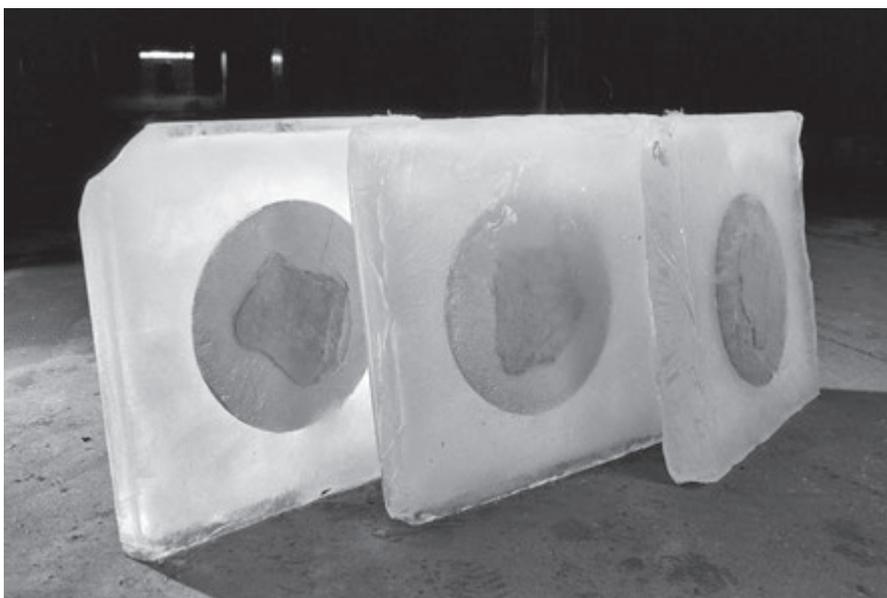




Photo: V. Pavlović
 Saša 'Mikrob' Marković, "Flag", 40x46, 5x5, ice, paper, ink

Photo: V. Pavlović
 Suzana Jovanović and Emir Geljo, "The die has been cast", ice



April 24th - In Novi Grad a decision was made about constituting a joint parliament of Serbian Republic and Republic of Serbian Krajina as another step in "unifying the western Serbian republics".

April 25th - In the presence of the peace envoy, Lord Owen, Presidents of FRY, Serbia and Montenegro, Dobrica Cosic, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic tried to convince Radovan Karadzic to sign the changed Vance-Owen peace plan. The next day RS parliament rejected the plan, and the sanctions on FRY by the international community are tightened.

April 30th - According to the announcement of a UNPROFOR representative, UN peace-keeping forces in the former Yugoslavia have 24915 troops, from the beginning of their mission (March 1992) 39 have perished and 414 members of those forces have been wounded.

May 1st-2nd - In Athens a Conference on peace in Bosnia was held in the presence of international mediators, representatives of warring parties in BH and representatives of Croatia and FR Yugoslavia. Radovan Karadzic agreed to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan under condition that RS parliament ratifies his signature afterwards. On the meeting of May 5-6 the RS parliament rejected the peace plan and refused to verify Karadzic's signature.

May 6th - UN Security Council adopted Resolution 824 in which Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Bihac, Gorazde and Srebrenica are declared "safe havens," and the warring parties are asked to stop all the armed attacks and all military actions.

May 7th - In Banjaluka in a bomb attack two ancient monuments of Islamic culture are destroyed - Ferhadi's and Arnaudi's mosques.

May 9th - In Mostar armed clashes between Croats and Muslims have begun. A large number of Muslims are imprisoned in the city's football stadium, and about ten buses full of Muslims have left for an unknown destination. In fights lasting for ten months, the city is almost completely destroyed and divided into the western, Croatian and the eastern, Muslim part.

May 12th - The leader of the Serbian Radicals, Vojislav Seselj, said in an interview to the Italian television that Italy, Austria, Croatia and all the other countries that give a logistic support to a possible air attack on Bosnian Serbs, will be bombed.

May 15th-16th - Bosnian Serbs rejected the Vance-Owen peace plan in a referendum. Their leader Radovan Karadzic announced that Serbs in Bosnia will survive even though they are completely alone and isolated, even from Serbia, and that Europe will soon realize that Serbs are defending Christianity from Muslim fundamentalism.

May 17th - The commander of Bosnian Serb forces, general Ratko Mladic, said to Reuters that, if it comes to a military intervention of the West, Bosnian Serbs will retaliate in such a way that Italy will be the first target, and London would be bombed as well.

May 18th - Bosko Brkic and Admira Ismic loved one another in Sarajevo and tried to leave it together, receiving guarantees from both sides on the crossing on Vrbanja bridge. On that place they expired together hit by sniper fire, for which both armies claimed to be that of the enemy.

May 20th - FRY state commission completed its work on "Memo about crimes on Serbian populace in eastern Bosnia" according to which until March of 1993. more than 1200 people were killed, and the number of wounded and hurt is between 2800 and 3200.

May 22nd - Ministers of foreign affairs of Russia, USA, France, Great Britain and Spain adopted in Washington the "Action program for establishing peace in Bosnia".

May 26th - UN Security Council adopted Resolution 827 about the foundation of the International court for war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

May 30th - A year after introducing sanctions, according to the official sources, damage done to FR Yugoslavia is 20 billion dollars, GDP has fallen for about 12 billion dollars, and import and export of goods and services for 9 billion dollars.

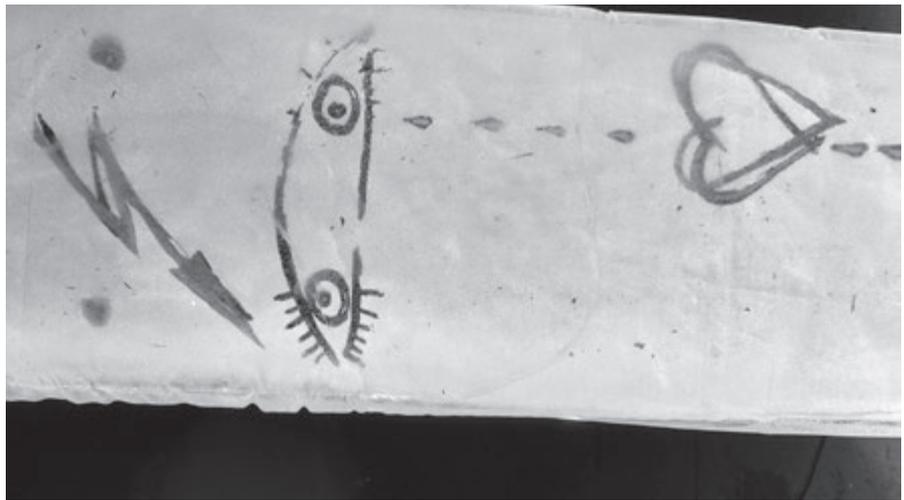


Photo: V. Pavlović
Branka Janković-Knežević, "Noli me tangere", 135x37cm, ice, glass

Photo: V. Pavlović
Nenad Vitas, "Stalker", 73x17x30cm, ice PC, floppy disc, screen 12"





Photo: V. Pavlović
Dejan Anđelković and Jelica Radovanović, "Untitled" 180x40x40cm, ice, animal brain

Photo: V. Pavlović
Vera Stevanović "The River Flows ... talk, talk, talk", uneven shape, ice, paper, celluloid



June 1st - Yugoslav parliament removed from duty President of FR Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, causing protest from several thousand citizens of Belgrade gathered around the parliament building. Led by the leader of SPO Vuk Draskovic and his wife Danica, the protestors tried to enter the parliament building. In a fight with the police, one police officer died, and 32 people were slightly wounded, including 13 policemen and a few journalists. The police arrested 121 people including Vuk Draskovic, his wife and several deputies of SPO.

June 8th - After the fall of Travnik into the hands of Muslims, around 8000 Croats, including 7000 civilians, found refuge on Vlasic under the control of Bosnian Serbs.

June 10th - American Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced new measures to completely isolate Serbia and Montenegro from the international community.

June 19th - On the Romanian-Bulgarian stretch of the Danube, the action of tightening the control of sanctions towards FR Yugoslavia by the Westeuropean Union has begun. - On the Saint Sava Plateau in Belgrade a demonstration of support to the arrested Vuk and Danica Draskovic held.

June 25th - Yugoslav parliament chose the new president of FR Yugoslavia, Zoran Lilic.

July 1st - The Yugoslav Government announced that the mandate of the KEBS Mission for Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina has expired, and said that it would allow it to stay under the condition of accepting FR Yugoslavia to the full-pledged membership under the right of one of the founders of the organization.

July 3rd - UNHCR representative for the former Yugoslavia announced that delivering humanitarian aid to the jeopardized populace of BH is becoming more hopeless and that it is one of the most dangerous humanitarian missions in the world.

July 4th - In Banjaluka four mosques are blown up.

July 9th - The UN high commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata warned in Geneva that "300000 people in Sarajevo are on the

1 9 9 3: verge of a catastrophe, threatened not only by death from bombing, but equally from hunger, thirst and illnesses". - Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic delivered an abolition act of the SPO leader Vuk Draskovic and his wife Danica, and blamed the opposition of "embarrassing the country" and provoking events "that are under the dignity of the nation".

July 12th - In a Sarajevo residential area Dobrinja 12 people are killed and 15 wounded from a grenade while waiting in line for water.

July 13th - Dafina Milanovic, the owner of the private "Dafiment bank," who stopped fulfilling duties to her account holders and to whom she owes a few hundred million Deutsche marks, has been stopped at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border and brought back home.

July 14th - After a five-week long blockade, some parts of Sarajevo have received electricity and water.

July 16th - Yugoslav parliament adopted a rebalance of the budget from which the largest amount of 75.5% is reserved for the Yugoslav Army.

July 27th - In Geneva a new round of peace negotiations about BH has begun. On the frontlines clashes of the three warring parties are continued. Fights on the territory of Sarajevo, around Igman, are renewed.

July 28th - After repeated attacks on representatives of UNPROFOR on Sarajevo airport, UN General Secretary Butros Gali send a request to the NATO command to do all the necessary technical preparations for the use of force against Bosnian Serbs.

August 4th - Bosnian Serb forces conquered all the key positions on Igman and closed the circle around Sarajevo. Representatives of UNPROFOR arrive on Bjelasnica.

August 7th - Unable to enter Sarajevo and join the manifestation "The Day of Hiroshima," members of the Belgrade circle organized in Belgrade a humanitarian action under the name of "Sarajevo, my love".

August 14th - After the threat of NATO air attacks, Serbian forces

Photo: V. Pavlović
Gabriela Pajević, "Be natural", 30x20x3cm, ice, glass, paper, nylon



Photo: V. Pavlović
Nikola Džafo, "Gondola, gondola, gondoli", 30x45x26cm, ice, iron, plastic



Photo: V. Pavlović

Marija Ilić, "We, Flowers, Always Sleep in Winter", 23x16 cm; ice, plastic, glass, paper

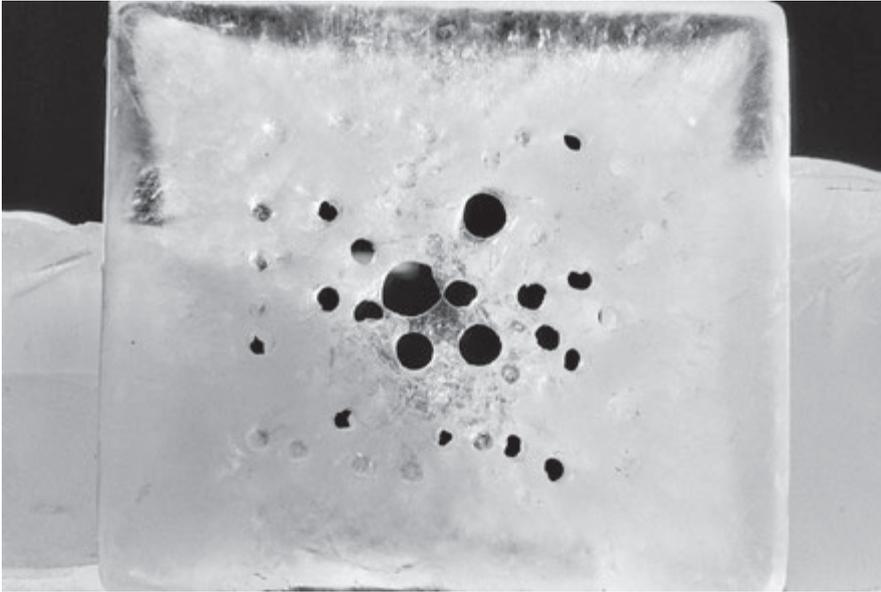
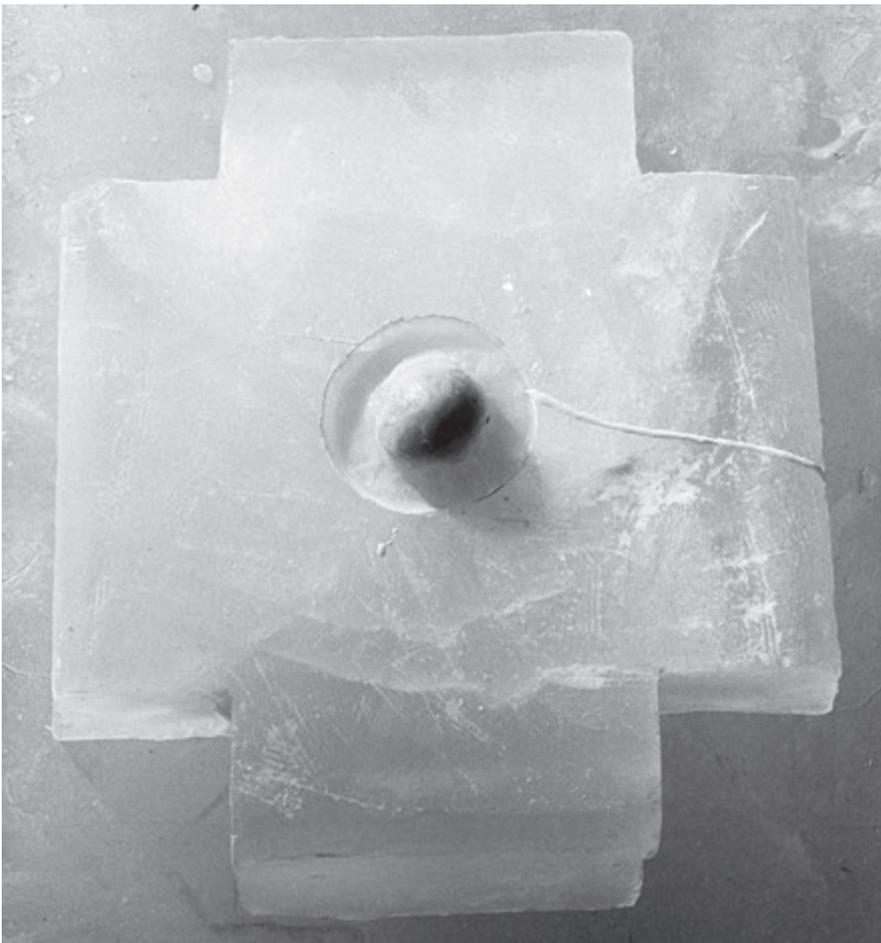


Photo: V. Pavlović

Talent, "White Death", 19x19x10 cm; ice, egg



withdrew from Igman and Bjelasnica and handed over their positions to UNPROFOR.

August 17th - In central Bosnia and the valley of river Neretva violent clashes between Bosnian Muslims and Croats are continued.

August 18th - The governments of FR Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro adopted a package of economic measures for repressing hyperinflation and better providing of the market. All the prices are placed under control and a rational provision of the citizens with basic foodstuffs with coupons is announced.

August 19th - After two months, the first UN humanitarian convoy arrived to the Muslim part of Mostar.

August 20th - Co-presidents of the Peace Conference about Former Yugoslavia, David Owen and Torwald Stoltenberg declared a ten-day break in Geneva peace talks, after they offered an agreement package to the three warring parties in BH under the system "take it or leave it".

August 22nd - A UNHCR representative in Zagreb blamed Croats for ethnic cleansing in Neretva valley stating there are more than 15000 imprisoned Muslims.

August 23rd - The KEBS Council blamed the Serbian government for "an alarming increase in repressive actions on Kosovo, in Vojvodina and Sandzak".

September 9th - Croatian artillery attacked Krajina Serb Army positions on the Lika frontline in the vicinity of Gospic (Medak pocket), on the border of UNPA zones. Three villages are destroyed and 50 Serbian fighters are killed, and the village inhabitants who did not succeed in fleeing, are massacred.

September 10th - World Health Organization in its report to the UN concluded that the health situation in Serbian and Montenegro is catastrophic.

September 11th - Serbian army of Krajina with long-range rockets targeted Karlovac (7 killed, 20 wounded), industrial zone of Sisak, Jastrebarsko and Zagreb. In Zagreb 7 people were hurt and 12 family houses damaged.

September 13th - In Serbia and Montenegro the first price increase after the freezing of

1 9 9 3. prices did not contribute to a better supply of the market. Shops are completely emptied, citizen face with the lack of basic necessities.

September 17th - After the withdrawal of Croatian forces from the "Medak pocket," members of UNPROFOR witnessed an "unrecorded destruction of Serbian villages," The report, published on October 7th says that units of Croatian army killed at least 70 civilians, that 48 persons are considered missing, and there is proof of planned killings of Serbian civilians, and that Croatian forces prepared a strategy of "burned land".

September 22nd - Yugoslav parliament adopted the Law of national currency denomination, according to which, starting from October 1st, a million dinars will be worth one dinar.

September 29th - In the self-proclaimed Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, the followers of Fikret Abdic formed a "living wall" of around 15000 women and children with the intention of stopping the army of Alija Izetbegovic to introduce military command in this region.

October 18th - UN Expert Commission for investigating war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia blamed all three sides in the Bosnian conflict for rape.

October 20th - Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic dismissed the parliament chosen on December 20th 1992. with an explanation that "certain political parties and their representatives in the parliament are blocking the mechanism of decision-making with their behaviour". The dismissal of the republican parliament is the culmination of the conflict between SPS and Seselj's radicals, their tacit coalition partner from January to September 1993. At the same time, the work of the federal parliament is blocked as well, because the status of the deputies from Serbia in the Council of republics has remained unclear. The early parliamentary elections are set for December 19th when, as Milosevic said, "the parliament Serbia will be proud of" will be chosen.

November 9th - In the clashes between Muslims and Croats, the

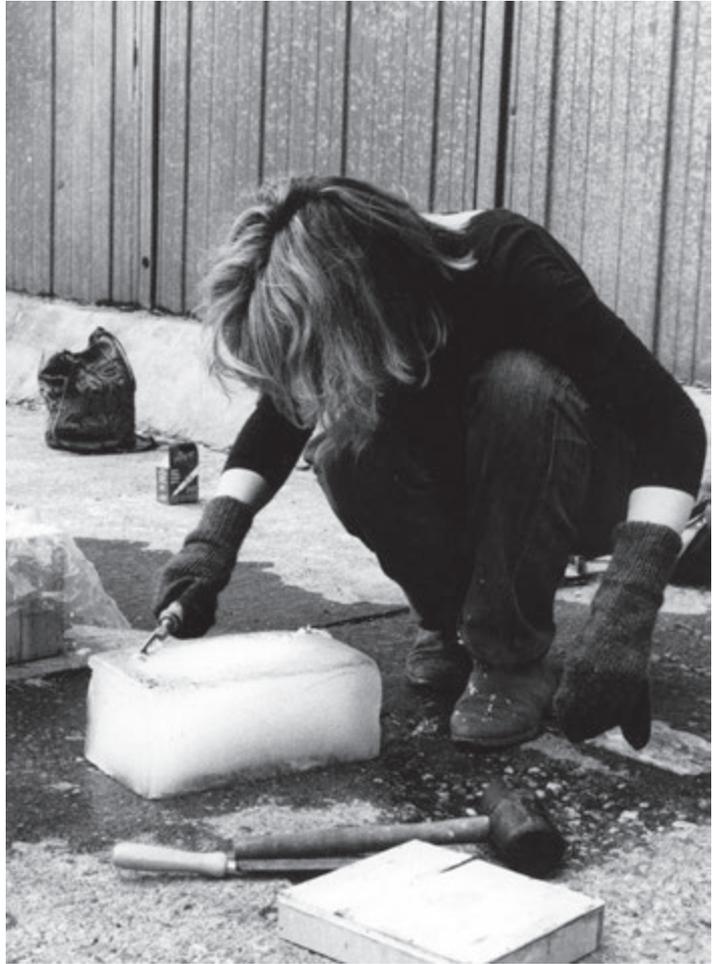
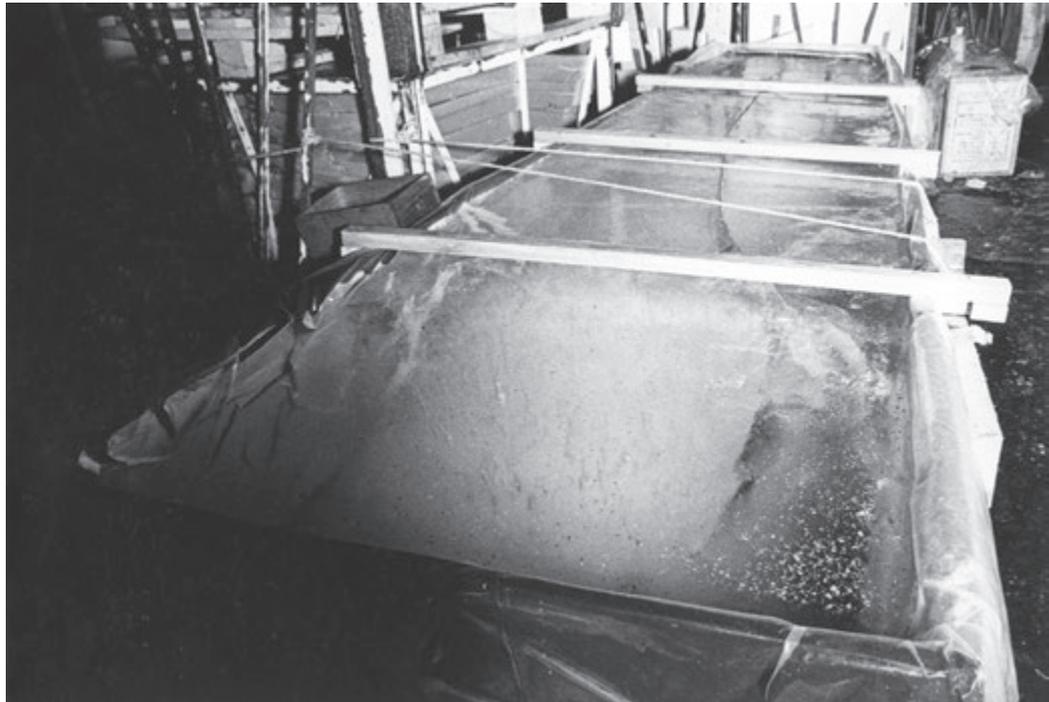


Photo: V. Pavlović
Darija Kačić, "Cabinet, Transplants, Migrations", 140x200 cm; ice, glass, mirror

Photo: V. Pavlović
Dragoslav Krnajski, "Winter", 300x100x60; ice



Vera Stanišić
"Letter"



Photo: V. Pavlović
Milan Rakočević, "Attempt",
testing, ice, wool

Svetlana Milić
"The Planet in the Armpit of Time",
140x110x30 cm; ice, wood

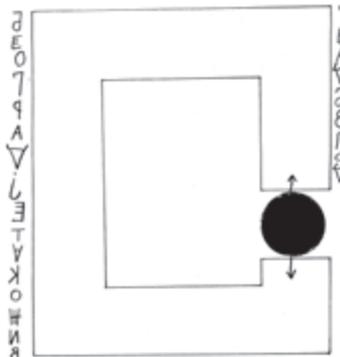


Photo: V. Pavlović
Jovan Ćekić, "Summertime Blues",
40x40x10 cm; ice, leather, textile, rubber



Old bridge in Mostar, the symbol of the city from the 16th century, under the protection of UNESCO, has been destroyed.



November 18th - Summoned by Sadako Ogata, the UN high commissioner for refugees, the representatives of the three warring parties in BH signed in Geneva the Declaration for free distribution of humanitarian aid and free and unconditional access to roads.

December 1st - According to the data of the Federal institute for statistics, inflation in November reached 20190 percent in FR Yugoslavia.

December 11th - In Serbia, the distribution of coupons for privileged and free acquisition of bread has begun.

December 19th - In spite of hyperinflation and increased social poverty, in the early parliamentary election SPS received 200000 votes more than the year before and 123 out of 250 places in the Serbian parliament.

December 28th - Yugoslav government introduced special taxes for citizens of FR Yugoslavia leaving the country: 10 Deutsche marks per person and 30 Deutsche marks per vehicle.

1994.



January - Yugoslav economy is in chaos, and economic social drama at its peak. No one can calculate how much the public deficit is. The federal government thinks that sanctions are the main cause for crises including hyperinflation. The increase in prices reaches the fantastic digit of 313,563,558 percent, prices on the average increase 62 percent a day, two percent a day and 0.029% a minute. - The municipal government in Belgrade took over the independent RTV station "Studio B".

January 4th - According to the decision of the RS parliament in Foca, after 500 years the name of the town is changed into Srbinja.

January 22nd - In Sarajevo six children have perished, and two are badly wounded from a grenade that fell on the street where children were playing. - On a Mostar playground four Muslim children are killed from a grenade launched from the Muslim side.

January 24th - Establishing the stabilization program of Dragošlav Avramović, the hyperinflation in Yugoslavia is stopped.

February 5th - On the Sarajevo downtown market Markale 68 people are killed, and around 200 are wounded from a grenade.

February 9th - NATO threatened it will bomb Serbian positions in Bosnia if the RS army does not withdraw its heavy weap-

Photo: V. Pavlović
Inside of the refrigerated truck



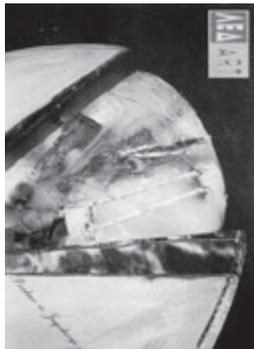


"Frozen Art" poster



Flyer

Postcards



ons 20 kilometers from Sarajevo within 10 days, or hands it over to UNPROFOR.

February 19th - Russian peace-keeping forces, who will be distributed on the territory from which Serbian heavy artillery has withdrawn, are received with bread and salt on Pale.

February 2nd - West of Banjaluka two American planes F-16, patrolling in the "no-fly zone," shot down four "Seagull" planes. "The radio ship" stationed in the extraterritorial waters of the Adriatic sea from where it broadcast Yugoslav program trying to give the true information about the war to the public, has stopped working.

March 1st - Bosnian Croats and Muslims signed in Washington an agreement about the Federation of BH and confederation with Croatia.

March 3rd - UN General secretary's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, asked from the Security Council an additional contingent of 10650 troops. On the territory of the former Yugoslavia there are already 32000 "blue helmets," three times more then it was originally planned, and the peace mission mandate has been extended nine times. - RS and RSK have joined the finances of Yugoslavia and adopted the Yugoslav dinar as their official currency.

March 19th - From the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, the UN Security Council has adopted 54 resolutions and 39 presidential announcement, and the expenses of the peace-keeping forces are 1.6 billion dollars.

March 22nd - A UN expert commission has established that at least 55000 crimes have been committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The data are not complete.



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Photo: V. Pavlović
Nikola Džafo, "Saint Sebastian"

Velimir Ćurgus Kazimir

THE ATTRACTION OF CHILL

Images, Tales, Commentaries

Winter, late afternoon. I am wading through the melting snow from work. Under my arm a carton box in which, rapped in plastic, six frozen chickens are bouncing left and right. I move the box from one side to the other. I manage to enter a tram near Tasmajdan. I place myself on the rear platform next to the metal rod. I don't manage to occupy a place near the rear window where the box could be safely placed. Terrible crowd. And the tram is simply crawling.

Somewhere near the monument to Vuk I feel that the box is totally drenched and that water mixed with blood starts dripping from it. I am waiting every second for the box to break and the chickens to mingle into the crowd. When I got out near Lyon, the only thing I could do is grab the box with both hands holding the semi-opened ends of the box. I think we gave away two chickens to someone because there was no place in the freezer. I don't remember when we prepared them for lunch.

My feet were always wet, even though the shoes looked decent and water-resistant. That was during the protest marches, in 1996. and 1997. During one protest speech, Zoran Đinđić promised that some day we will have new shoes and coats. But then, maybe, we won't have to protest. When freedom comes one day, we won't walk when we have to, but when we feel like it.

Winter, January 13th, 1997. In Belgrade New Year's Eve celebration, and I am at Palić. Palić is unimaginably frozen and motionless. The whole lake is a big block of ice. Carefully, I approach the lake and walk down the beach. Suddenly, I hear crackling and I get goose bumps. I realize those are my only winter shoes.

As soon as the spring came, we took two sacks of flour from the pantry. One half-empty and the other full. And I immediately called those to whom the flour would mean something. About ten years have passed from that day. I think I made bread twice meanwhile. Years ago, making bread was a part of my Sunday lunch ritual. That's how intimate pleasures are spent here.

Rumors are circling around that the purchase of the icemaker was one of the main goals of the boss' cabinet. Ordinary icemakers quickly became untrendy. The discovery of icemakers that can make ice in various shapes was very significant. I never had an opportunity to get acquainted more

April 1st - RS army attacked the territory of Gorazde, a UN safe haven. - In Prijedor a few dozens Muslim civilians killed.

April 7th - On the meeting of the Belgrade board of SPS, academy member Mihajlo Markovic said that Serbia is "the freest country in Europe" and that sanctions will soon be proved of being meaningless. "We are thin but healthy, others can be fat, but burdened with pathological signs," academy member Markovic said.

April 10th - Gorazde is undergoing a siege drama. NATO planes bombed Serbian positions around Gorazde. RS blamed UN of stepping on the side of Muslims and suspended contacts with UNPROFOR. Three days later the government of FR Yugoslavia introduced visas for members of UNPROFOR.

April 11th - The holy father John Paul II expressed his willingness to visit Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo in September. Only the Serbian Orthodox church was against it.

April 25th - In London the Contact group for coordinating diplomatic initiatives of USA, Russia and EU in Bosnia is formed.

April 26th - At the congress of Serbian intellectuals in Belgrade two documents are adopted: Protest against the satanization of Serbs in media and the Resolution, in which the aims of Serbian people are stated, ending with the phrase - "There is no alternative to the united Serbian state".

May 12th - In an interview to the American magazine "Vanity Fair" Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, talking about the international blockade of Serbia and Montenegro, said that the blockade is "counter-productive and genocidal" and nothing can be achieved with it, because "Serbia is very strong and rich". "We can endure even thousand years under the embargo, it cannot do anything to us," Milosevic said.

May 20th - During his visit to the agricultural fair in Novi Sad, Milosevic said: "There is no force or world pact that can predict or calculate with computers what a Serbian peasant can achieve and realize".

May 30th - In the Federation palace a conference "Two years later," dedicated to the process

and consequences of sanctions, was held in Belgrade. At the conference a fact was brought out that the direct damage from the international blockade is 35 billion dollars of lost GDP, and indirectly it is estimated to more than a 100 billion dollars. Because of the blockade, 2500 cancer patients have died, and the mortality of the inhabitants has increased, and the natality decreased. - According to the data of the Social politics Institute in Belgrade, in Serbia there is 680000 jobless, including 180000 of those who live thanks to various kinds of state help, and 500000 is supported by parents. Two thirds of those are under 30 years old, and half are qualified individuals. Between 600 and 800 workers are on forced leaves.

June 10th - The EU took control over Mostar.

June 20th - London newspaper "Independent" published that on the territory of the former Yugoslavia 63 Catholic, 243 Orthodox churches and 900 mosques have been destroyed, and that 500 monasteries and church buildings, and 550 mosques have been damaged.

July 18th-19th - RS parliament refused the Plan of territorial division of Bosnia, offered to the warring parties by the Contact group at the beginning of the month. The international community punished Yugoslavia by sharpening sanctions, the war in Bosnia continued.

August 4th - FR Yugoslavia stopped political and economic relations with Bosnian Serbs and closed the border on the Drina.

August 5th - NATO planes bombed Serbian positions after members of the RS army have taken arms from a UNPROFOR storage on Igman.

August 11th - Greek newspaper "Eleftherotypia," quoting reports from Sarajevo, published that from the beginning of the war in Bosnia, 275000 people are killed or missing, and of that number 139000 are Muslim (50.5%), 96000 Serbs (34.9%), 28000 Croats (10.2%) and 12000 Yugoslavs (4.41%). Out of 4384436 inhabitants living in Bosnia before the war, only 2879300 are left - On the territory of the Bosnian federation there are 1234800

closely to this wonder of technology and human consumer imagination. I imagine ice in the shape of little bears, stars, and genitals. Truly interesting. Zlatan Peručić is sipping whisky with his boss, and their glasses are full of bears jingling, jingling, jingling.

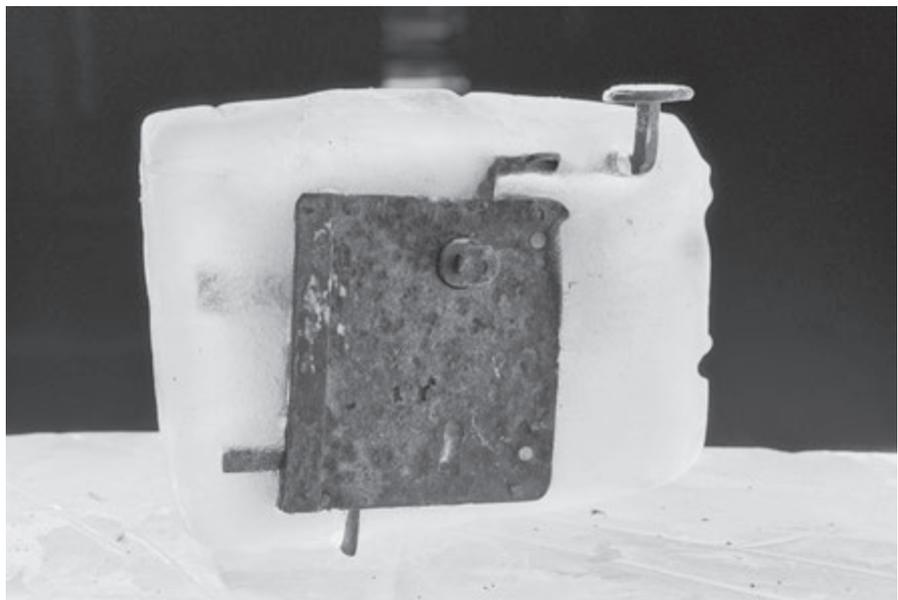
I was happy when I would manage to make ten Deutschmarks. Salary was given twice a month and the amount was never above ten marks. The feeling of poverty was so universal that I did not notice it. Occasionally it would glitter like a flash – exclusively as a consequence of sudden images and scenes that would overwhelm me. I remember a garage downtown, near Dom omladine. The metal gate widely open, full of people, mainly women, who are dragging the pork in large, black bags on the sidewalk. Some bags are torn, and the coagulated, dark blood is getting mixed with dust.

A shop window with female underwear on Crveni Krst. Winter, the end of 1992. In the heart of darkness. Wind breaking to the bones. An endless line of stopped, dark trolleys completely blocking the traffic. I am walking near the shop window glittering with bras, panties, and slips. That day in the newsroom a seventy-year-old man, I think an art critic, gave a long speech how Serbdom should be defended. I asked him why doesn't he pick up a weapon and go where he is supposed to. "And I will, I will," he responded vehemently. "I have a machine gun at home!" Of course, he didn't go anywhere, but he didn't stop threatening till his death. When I was walking next to the unreal shop window on Crveni Krst, I was suddenly overwhelmed with desperation. The fetishism of weapons and female underwear. Eros and Tanatos! And all that wrapped into ice and snow.

One day, a teary-eyed woman came into the Media center, then in Knez Mihajlova Street, where the guys from Led Art were hanging out. She was just repeating: "I am getting divorced." That day she found out that her husband moved from a civil, Anti-Milošević party, to a party in coalition with Milošević at the time.

How did we actually survive? That question seems nasty compared to the survival in Vukovar or Sarajevo. But still, one's own experience is always the most powerful. Maybe it is not a matter of survival as much as

Photo: V. Pavlović
Nikola Džafo, "Knob in ice"



it is about mental health. To stay mentally healthy, and in one piece, that could be a good question. Still, that is nonsensical as well. How many of our closest people – neighbors, friends, relatives... lived the entire time as if nothing were happening. Their lives did not change much. They kept their habits, vacationing in the summer at the coast, in Montenegro or in Greece, hanging out in their cafes, celebrating children's and grandmothers' birthdays, starting businesses... In short, they managed. That "normality" was the most terrible thing of all. That too, didn't pass without consequences.

We could talk about life. How life was hard and often unbearable. But still we are ready to forget everything. It is important to remember, even more important to be able to forget. There are two sorts of remembering and forgetting: personal and common. In what kind of agreement, if there is one at all, are those two sorts of memories? What is easier? More acceptable?

At first it seems what is personal is much closer and much more "graspable" than what is common. But what happens when remembering the common serves for forgetting the personal? That is the precisely the case with our memory.

It is much more acceptable and comfortable to talk about common cases – especially about criminals and their criminal politics – than about one's own role and place in such a system. Rejection and avoidance in facing the personal part, position and style of life in traumatizing periods is nothing particularly original and new. In that respect Serbs are not different than the French, Lithuanians and Russians.

I think it was Spring of 1997 when I read the novel by Peter Heg *The Feeling of Miss Smilla for Snow*. I cannot remember anymore how many words for snow do Greenland Eskimos have. Twenty, thirty? Those are words by which the character of snow in different weather conditions is described. For us there is the snow and the melting snow, all the rest is achieved with adjectives. With ice, the situation is even simpler. When I think about it a little better, it is not different with nouns connected to Serbs and Serbian tradition. The power of stereotypes is doubtlessly strongest in the field of culture and language. What one cannot offer as an official proof as a result of written evidence, one wants to draw from colloquial speech. That's why the vocabulary dedicated to blood and blood products is rather poor. We are much richer with terms related to milk and dairy products. I presume that Dayaks and Gourks have much more picturesque description of carnage and slaying than a single nation from the Balkans. Just as the dishes from giblets are a specialty of Hungarians and Belgians much more than of Serbs. That helps us very little in our story, though. Analyzing nations and cultural models using language peculiarities doesn't give good results. Even though it is very popular. Equally among those promoting the nationalist model as the only right one, and the one denying it. One of the favorite (trivial) illustrations of the Serbian character is the saying: "Sleeping as if slaughtered." With that, seemingly, the primordial relationship between everyday life and blood ritual is explained.

Ice, however, was something completely different. Ice epitomized trial, purity and danger at the same time. Exhibiting to the challenges of winter was a universal symbol of temptation and perseverance for many generations. From Korchagin to Davich, across the Igman march, heroes hardened themselves in the cold. Ideas about the power of trial with the cold we find in Jack London as well. Alaska and Serbia have some similarities – they are rich with ores and nature, and that is why they are obviously destined to be sold.

Muslims, 501700 Croats, 161100 Serbs and 167200 Yugoslavs, and in RS there are 731000 Serbs, 35000 Muslims, 10000 Croats and 62000 Yugoslavs and others. 13000 people have fled.

August 19th - According to the UNPROFOR data, from April 1992. on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, 100 members of the "blue helmets" are killed and 1007 are wounded.

August 20th - On Pale RS and RSK have announced the unification and adopted a document about the unification with FRY.

September 7th - Slobodan Milosevic, at the opening of the new factory "Jumko" in Vranje: "You all remember that a few years ago, while entering this great Yugoslav crisis, we have defined three main aims of our politics - peace, economic and cultural development, and fight against crime. Lead by those aims we have led a policy that has saved our country from war, and at the same time saved all its citizens and the whole Serbian nation from pressure, destruction, enslavement and the loss of liberty. Such a consistent policy, which was at first open to huge pressure from the international community, has achieved its success".

September 20th - A representative of UNHCR announced to newspapers: 955400 inhabitants of Bosnia had to leave their homes; on the territories under Serbian control, where according to the poll of 1991. 837000 Croats and Muslims lived, there is only 80000 left, and the largest changes in the national structure of the peoples are in Bijeljina and the Banjaluka region; on the territory of the Bosnian federation before the war 235000 Serbs lived, now there are 49000 left; the largest number of Serbs has left western Herzegovina, because before the war there were 43000 and now only 5000.

October 6th - At a press conference in Sarajevo, the Bosnian reis-ul-ulema Mustafa Cerić said that the UN and humanitarian organizations are corrupting Muslims: "We have to reject all that European trash, alcohol, drugs, prostitution and pork". The statement was followed by an action of inspectors who ordered butchers to throw out bacon and pork from their shops.

1 9 9 4. **October 14th** - According to the data published in the daily press, during the last twelve months the Yugoslav parliament has been "adjourning" for nine months.

October 17th - Members of the RS army kidnapped five UNHCR trucks with medicine near Sarajevo, although a part was reserved for Serbs as a present of the World Health Organization.

October 26th - In Sarajevo the tram traffic has been canceled because of a sniper attack that happened a day before, when nine people were wounded.

November 4th - In Zagreb ministers for foreign affairs from FR Yugoslavia and Croatia, Vladislav Jovanovic and Mate Granic have met for the first time after the break up of SFR Yugoslavia. - RS declared general mobilization, universities have shut down, and the students in RS and the ones studying in FRY have been ordered to report to their units immediately. Radovan Karadzic sent the message: "We are starting the decisive battle!"

November 9th - The Kosovo board for defense of human rights and liberties blamed the government in Serbia that they have been "systematically breaking human rights and liberties of Albanians in the Province". In the announcement it is said that "1721 Albanian has been physically abused," that during the ten months of this year 87 Albanians have been punished with prison sentences "because of their political believes" and that "under the justification of looking for weapons" 3216 Albanian homes have been searched.

November 10th - Serbian Republic Commissioner for refugees, Bratislava Morina, said: "The refugee Commission will quickly and cheaply build modern buildings on Kosovo and Metohija for 100000 refugees from the Croatian and Bosnian territories devastated by the war. - Citizen forum in Belgrade sent a petition to the European parliament and the Council of Europe with 170000 signatures from 16 European countries in which they ask from European countries to stop the repatriation of deserters from the former Yugoslavia. According to the estimates of this organization, around 100000 de-

The feeling of superior stamina and readiness for all kinds of trials were especially popular during the civil protests of 1996/97. Especially during the action Cordon Against Cordon. In the middle of the night, in Kolarčeva Street, at ten below zero, suddenly you feel the difference between standing in the crowd and the loneliness in Knez Mihajlova Street. How people can warm up!

Cold and poverty taught us solidarity and loyalty. Not all, of course. Led Art was a symbol of the common will for survival. In moral sense, above all.

Today the association to the refrigerator truck is morbid and one-dimensional. Could anyone have imagined that refrigerator trucks will one day be filled with corpses and pushed into rivers and lakes across Serbia? Before, I could imagine camps and mass usage of crematoriums. And the refrigerator truck, in its essence, is a very practical thing. And quite invisible.

What Led Art did was, in fact, a struggle against invisibility. Drastic symbols in drastic times usually lose sense quickly. Usage of ice as symbol, unfortunately, never became obsolete in Serbia. Ice and frozen state are topical again and again. Even when Slobodan Milošević ended up in the Hague.

With every new, horrible discovery, ice acquires a new meaning. That was the case with the discovery of Ivan Stambolić's grave. Two sneakers from the grave are the only think that kept their shape. And I immediately remembered the sneaker in ice from the first exhibition Frozen Art. Heavy, plated doors on the refrigerator truck parked in front of Dom omladine was the gate to the grave where we entered without tickets, voluntarily. This artificial Serbian Hades was entered in silence, and the door had to be quickly closed. The temperature kept at twenty below zero centigrade. I remember the powerful strike of cold and claustrophobia. In vain all the witty installations, in vain the ironic associations and allegories – a crypt is a crypt, there is always a certain fear that the door will never be opened again.



In the independent press "Vreme", "Borba", "Nezavisni", and "Republika", a vignette "Arbeit Macht Frei" occasionally appears, which Led Art uses as a sign of alert and warning



Photo: V.Pavlović
Cold storage units in Boleč

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Photo: V. Pavlović
Ice cake on the table at the "Flood"

Miško Lazović

A SKETCH FOR A PORTRAIT OF LED ART AS A YOUNG ARTIST

Perhaps it will be paradoxical if in Domanović's motherhood anything deserves such an epithet that, when we begin at last living in "boring times," sociologists of politics - and not cold-blooded, reptile-like estheticians - establish that the association/organization/society/art-guerilla gang Led Art was the most significant phenomenological appearance during the nineties.

The absence or overt destruction of any kind of meaningful cultural politics in post-gazimestan Serbia, "a closed society" (according to all the points of the Agnes Heller definition), schizophrenically decorated, like the May 1st carnations, dissidents allowed for decades, above all of literary tendencies. As they swallowed Gorky and Sholokhov as the climax of the benign avant-guard, they gave to themselves, after a political "martyrdom," a permission to define with their works what should be referential, oppositional, "adequate" cultural currents. And in their pathetic long novels, which don't start without around 500 pages of small print, literary heroes, "individual agricultural producers," cannot start or finish a single dialog about the sort of plum or potato in their native Šumadija or Montenegro without a tractate worthy of Platonic dialogues. From the civilizational use of the heroic arrival of Serbs to the Balkans, somewhere during the building of the first pyramids, to the international consequences of tense diplomatic relations between Liechtenstein and Virgin Islands. While they finish such a "haiku concise chit-chat," the draught, hale and rain can destroy the field, meadow and vineyard. Other authors chose a more comfortable status, and "disgusted with our situation" turned to the bitter escapism and useless linguistic exhibitionism. Naturally, always on a few hundred pages, which even relatives cannot stand any longer than through the panegyric preface and the author's introduction.

The visual "classics," who never moved away from easel painting with still nature and fish and apples as unavoidable motifs, stoically refused to notice how models can less frequently be found in their own freezers. Obviously the educators in their alma maters didn't explain that in certain times the stress in aesthetics can and must be on the other part of the term. Students of the School of Drama, after many years, remember the sentence of one of our most distinguished post-war theatrologists,

serters fled from the former Yugoslavia, but a lot of European countries do not reward them the political asylum.

November 21st - NATO aviation bombed Udbina airport in RSK, and two days later Serbian positions in the Bihac region, a UN safe haven.

December 7th - In Serbia and Montenegro electricity restrictions according to groups has begun.

December 10th - Government of FRY adopted a budget proposal for 1995. in which the largest part, 75% is allotted to financing the Yugoslav Army.

December 14th - Croatian government suggested a budget for 1995 of about five billion dollars, and almost half of it is allotted for financing the army and the police.

December 31st - After long negotiations, with the mediation of Jimmy Carter, the former US president, who was invited to Bosnia by Radovan Karadzic, Bosnian Serbs in Pale and the government in Sarajevo signed an agreement about a cease fire.

1995.

January 4th - The national and world public is protesting against the taking over of the daily "Borba" by the state and the pressure from the government on other independent media. The majority of the journalists have starting working at an independent paper "Nasa Borba".

January 10th - The prize of NIN for the best novel of the year was awarded to Vladimir Arsenijevic for his first novel "In the Underground".

January 17th - A conference of the International War Crimes Tribunal on the territory of the former Yugoslavia has begun in the Hague.

January 30th - On the jubilee of thousand days of Sarajevo siege, on the Republic square in Belgrade, a meeting with the name "A thousand nights in Sarajevo - Belgrade, good morning" was held.

January 31st - International mediators have given Croatian president Franjo Tudjman a suggested plan by a mini Contact group for

a political solution to the Krajina problem. The leadership of Krajina Serbs rejected to consider the suggestion.

February 2nd - Bosnian Serbs accepted the continuation of negotiations about the final solution of the crisis in Bosnia on the basis of the Contact group's peace plan, but not the plan itself. - Croatian ministry of navy, traffic and communications banned 22 radio and five TV local and private stations in Croatia.

February 4th - Entrance to the "Borba" building not allowed to the journalists and other employees of the paper "Nasa Borba". The newsroom started working in the premises of the United syndicate "Independence".

February 10th - Clashes in the Bihac regions have been renewed.

February 13th - Twenty-one person of Serbian nationality accused in front of the International war crimes tribunal committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

February 14th - Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said that the four-month seize fire is the "last silence" the Serbian side is accepting before the "final fight".

February 17th - In Tetovo Albanian demonstrations caused by the ban on classes at the illegal "Albanian university". In the clashes with the police one person killed and several wounded.

March 1st - Representatives of five countries members of the Contact group in Belgrade expect from Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic to finally make a decision about the Contact group's peace plan. Serbian president will accept the plan under the condition of stopping the sanctions, and the international mediators will stop the sanctions under the condition of mutual recognition of the former Yugoslav republics.

March 2nd - In Sarajevo Bosnian Independence day celebrated for the first time. President Izetbegovic called all the citizens to fight for the new state.

March 7th - A mutual command of Croatian Republic and Bosnian-Croatian federation formed.

Mirjana Miočinović: "Form radiates, but signifies as well." The respected professor resigned because her school was silent when "our liberators" set out with heavy artillery to create "a more beautiful and older Dubrovnik," whose centuries-old literature, among other South-Slavic ones, she taught to her students.

A full 77 months before somewhere, in October 1998, the young, angry Otpor activists made their existence known on the walls across Serbia, Led Art, by the means of a dozen provocative actions, performances and exhibitions, such as Who Gives a Hair?, How to Kill Time, or Move Your Arse, created File Serbia, painfully, without anesthesia, "reconstructed crimes" and constructively started waking up the quiet majority of the silent lambs.

A good part of art historians, blunted from sheer categorizations, only slightly noted that the happening of Nikola Džafo Exposing to the Labrynth in Belgrade's Dom Omladine, in September 1992, "is a certain precedent in his poetics, often cold, pop-artistic art of animal sexuality." It required much more skill to snug the other side of the invitation 64, the paradoxically formulated, existential questions, which called names and required equally direct answers, and the text for the catalogue was written by certainly the most hated Serbian intellectual, a member of the Academy, Bogdan Bogdanović. The master, whose beautiful monuments on the cemeteries of Vukovar and Mostar (placed in all the relevant anthologies of sacral architecture), "the bare-armed defenders of hearths, stoves and fire-places" were completely destroyed by the artillery, killing the victims of Fascism from World War Two for the second time.

In the hermetically closed Serbia and its citizens crazed with everyday tension of war and a not very subtly increased neurosis, in the country of plunder and new Glembajs, poverty and hopelessness of biblical depths with Master-Jezda and Dafina in dramatical roles of John the Baptist and Mother of God, and the grotesque of deviated and perverted values, the structure of the entire society disintegrated and rotted along horizontal



Photo: V. Pavlović
The interior of the cafe "Šmaug" on the eve of the performance "Flood", Novi Sad

and vertical lines. Nikola Džafo, spiritus movens, the engine, carburetor, starter and everything else in the informal group Led Art, with 24 other artists, patented the long-emptied freezers as the last haven of euthanasia and hibernation of a marginalized and cynically humiliated culture. Not culture in the more narrow meaning of the word, but the way Freud treated it - as the sum of all civilizational achievements of the Homo sapiens. That's how within the exhibition Frozen Art, on May 15th on the walls of a freezer truck, next to the classically conceptualized works, one could find frozen printers, powder boxes, monitors, Venetian gondolas, a feather in a cage, Summertime Blues used-up sneakers, who couldn't run away as far as possible from the global "Hickistan." While the members of conceptual groups from the late sixties and early seventies voluntarily disowned the works of their creative individuality for the sake of an imagined concept, "the frozen ones" kept their own poetics, and the main idea was to preserve the Idea (the capital "I" is important fundamentally and semantically) from the coming barbarians.

After the change of Milošević's reign from Cesarean to Bonapartian phase, necrophiles and high-octane patriots could be hardly heard from the noise with which the Student and oppositional Vidovdan protests fundamentally aired out Belgrade, so "some they acquired a permission and an order from "someone in charge" to occupy the always suspicious Novi Sad.

Why such an introduction before apocalyptic-claustrophobic performance Flood in Novi Sad, somewhere in the Autumn of 1993, which I consider the turning point in the biography of the group, then definitely acquiring a status of an "enemy of the state." Only because the whole-day event was a real catharsis for Novi Sad who, it seems, had given up on itself. As an assistant on board of the unsinkable sailing boat Led Art, I received the assignment to acquire permission from the police for a street happening in Zmaj Jovina. Putting on a melancholy Bambi smile, I received the necessary piece of paper (with a stamp of three-quarters of a meter) from a good-natured female clerk, with the explanation that we are celebrating the idyll of the coming winter holidays. There was a lot more trouble with the policemen in charge, who read the two printed lines three times, probably expecting my panicky reaction and wondering why the citizens, even with grandchildren in strollers, are not protesting the fact that they have to jump, steeple-chase style, over 1600 ice blocks in the middle of Zmaj Jovina Street. I don't know about others, but the street, for me, was never a symbol of the bronze Miletić, his choleric son-in-law Jaša Tomić or Miša Dimitrijević tending toward subtle intrigues, but only of Mihajlo Polit Desančić, refined and probably the first libertarian of Vojvodina, who never lost weight while shedding tears with Obilić, "Czar" Lazar, Toplica and Kosančić.

Having arrived from Belgrade with the image of a heavily oppositional project (how proud and incomprehensible that sounds), the parties of principally democratic and civil tendencies openly tried to politicize and instrumentalize the Flood. But, one of them (today, and it seems for times to come an efficient ingredient of relevant governing boards) couldn't stand with his gastrointestinal system the fact that among sponsors we had a millenium official Christian church. Another functionary of subtle morals like a dragonfly, was bothered that our sponsor, a director of a state firm, associates the aunt's thigh too much to the weight of a lady who shook Serbia a decade and a half of diarrhea. If he were a little more courageous, he could have invited Goran Marković, as a firm witness, and the memories of his theatrical *Wounds* from 1985 (having known Goran I

March 10th - In Belgrade, economist Mladjan Dinkic published a book "Economy of destruction - a great robbery of the people". The book experienced five editions and spent a long time on the top of the best-seller lists.

March 13th - Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, under the pressure of international mediators, accepted the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia.

March 17th - In Serbia a campaign against humanitarian organization Soros is on its way.

March 21st - In Center Sava business-club a convention of Yugoslav United Left was held. Theater director Ljubisa Ristic was nominated for its president, and 31 functionary, most of which are directors of successful firms, are elected to the YUL direction. Mirjana Markovic, the wife of president Slobodan Milosevic, was elected as Direction's director.

March 25th-28th - A sudden increase in the street currency (1:3-4.5) caused a turmoil on the black market. The "Assassin" on the dinar has not been found.

April 7th - In Pristina 71 Albanian policemen have been accused of organizing paramilitary forces in Kosovo. A series of trials followed in other towns in Kosovo.

April 10th - The situation in Bosnia is worsening and it is leading to the inflammation of clashes, international observers have noted.

April 14th - Serbian Information Minister Ratomir Vico said that "with the noise about suffocating the press, someone wants to overthrow the government," that the press in Serbia is "extraordinarily free" and that the campaign against independent media "does not exist". - World health organization announced that in the former Yugoslavia around one million people need medical help because of psychological traumas caused by the war.

April 26th - The Kosovo Board for protecting human rights and liberties announced that since the beginning of the year repression's in Kosovo have been on the increase and that in the first three months violence has been used against 2092 Albanians.

1 9 9 5.

May 1st - The end of the four-month, badly-abided cease fire in Bosnia. The offensive in the Sarajevo surroundings begin.

May 2nd - Croatian offensive on western Slavonia under the name of "Lightning" started with the artillery attack on Pakrac. After a few days Croatian military occupied the whole territory. - Croatian airplanes bombed a column of refugees going back to Bosnia from Okucani.

May 3rd - Radovan Karadzic said that in RS he has no more obligations towards the UN Security council resolutions, nor towards international organizations, especially not towards UNPROFOR.

May 14th - "Bosnian Army has resolutely started liberating the occupied territories", Rasim Delic, the commander of the Army headquarters, said. - Violent clashes on the territory of Sarajevo have started.

May 19th - Slovenian government refused to issue the visa to Serbian Patriarch Paul.

May 25th - 71 people were killed and 150 wounded in Tuzla from Bosnian Serb grenades.

May 26th - After NATO air strikes on Serbian positions, Bosnian Serbs started to block UN peace-keeping forces. In a few days 370 members of "blue helmets" have been arrested, and photographs with UN soldiers tied to electric poles have travelled the world.

June 8th - According to the words of the UN spokesperson Susan Manuel, in the southern part of western Slavonia, there are less than 1000 Serbs left out of 15000 that were there before the Croatian military action.

June 10th - The former Swedish premier Karl Bilt was elected the new president of the International conference about the former Yugoslavia, .

June 12th - Serbian ministry of culture has annulled the Soros Yugoslav Foundation registration.

June 14th - Bosnian army is grouping its forces north of Sarajevo. On the entire territory of Bosnia, the sign of general danger has been given and the police curfew introduced.

June 19th - RS announced the state of war in the region of Sarajevo.

know for sure that he wouldn't invite his parents Olivera and Rade as witnesses, otherwise never suspected by anyone normal).

According to the principle "act locally, destroy globally," "the frozen ones" didn't have any problems in communicating with their audiences at exhibitions and happenings in Stockholm, the Czech town Plasa near Plzen, Berlin, the capital of Istria miners Labinj; and presenting themselves as a far more penetrating brand of utopically wonderfully conceived and non-xenophobic "Other Serbia." Certainly much more effective that the tours of the opposition leaders around the world, where they would be received by the third assistant of the second deputy of the resource ministries. And according to the thorough research about xenophobia, done by Dr Božidar Jakšić at the Institute for philosophy and social theory, close to 70 percent of inhabitants of Serbia was totally or almost totally convinced that the whole world hates them. Probably because of the universally immeasurable beauty, intelligence and heroism. Who will even know that?

Researches prone to reminiscences from a secure temporal distance might some day, when it won't be of any use or importance to anyone (except perhaps as a theme for writing master's and doctoral theses not read even by relatives), attempt to explain why did Novi Sad at the end of 1992 fall into the paws of the Socialists and the Radicals. The Young Marx and Nikola Pašić would shave their beards before turning around in their graves if they would know who is referring to their ideological theses and political practice. OK, the elections were not as boring as in, say, Switzerland or Denmark, but with a brawl specific for every Balkan bar proud of its tradition; still, the elections were decent. And the results are hardly explainable for the city that bragged so much of its multicultural and multiconfessional tolerance so that it forgot how it self-lovingly gave itself the epithet of Serbian Athens.

(People from Zemun, unfortunately, didn't learn anything from the Novi Sad Calvary, so four years later they let the Radicals turn their city with baroque overtones into a kiosque-town, unbearable for decent life).

The Socialists, experienced Commies (I don't equal them by any means with honest Communist who identify their favorite ideology with the early-Christian understanding of social justice), trained for decades in committees of different level, knew where the money is kept, so they gave to their coalition partners, with a lot of empty pomp, beside some parade functions, the sector of the useless culture. Dr Savo Čekić (anonymous for the most serious professionals) was named as the resource minister and he, "fearing for his security" from Sarajevo, proving his competence, announced his haiku biography with about twenty pseudo-literal "studies," as money as lazy authors write in a year. Only a few months later it was found out that his academic titles are counterfeited, but, during his short parasitic reign he managed to colonize in Novi Sad various human fauna. Perhaps the most exotic being was Goran Marić, ideologist of mediocre rank, high third class, alias Malkolm Muharem, at the beginning of the eighties one of the ideologists and managers of the Sarajevo's "new primitivism," who managed to discover how punk/new wave and Chetniks perfectly correspond, and that thousands of decibels of Sex Pistols, and the anthem-like The Guard of King Peter Marched should be added to the bombing of Sarajevo.

During the Spring/Summer of 1993. the married couple Bjelica-Pajkić, Draagoo Bokan and his uncle Dragoš Kalajić could have received permanent residence in Novi Sad according to all the positive-legal acts. For

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there wasn't a single work day during a week when they were not invited to "innovatively" analyze their ideologically confused galimathias of Russian mystics of a special sort, say Solovyov and Danilevsky, the confused royalism of Charles Morass, dumb corporationism of "the never forgotten" Dimitrije (Mita for short) Ljotić. Even for hot heads and empty stomachs - a hardly digestible mass.

The French sociological school has determined the term "cultural culture" explaining the promotion of the "l'art pour l'art" endowment used by the state order to eternalize its military and political power in that way as well, and to leave it to the descendents forever. Thus the semi-literate Radicals, whose parade lord-mayor took a crucial test in chemistry thirteen times, left to descendents the grandiose festivity Rites of Light, conceptualized as if it were happening in the politically boring Finland or on Mount Sinai, and not only a hundred kilometers away from the heavy artillery front. Only one incense was needed to enlighten the initiators and their lost followers, who don't even know how incense is used in medicine to bring back to sanity the ones who have lost their consciousness of wits.

There was Shakespeare's Othello on those Rites in a theatrically blasphemous context, just to impress the plebeians, but the central event of pre-tentious title Manifest of the Serbian Right, for whose promotion actors, ballet dancers, musicians, peasants, citizens, and children were used to coincide with the happening of Isidora Bjelica, but with a profane price during the times when very few people in Serbia could brag with a salary over three Deutschmarks. It seems that they still cannot afford the lady's vibrators without denying themselves the Baikal black caviar. And how would I know that, when I was always hanging!

It is a pity that Džafo and certain members of Led Art, instead of the Center for Cultural Decontamination in Belgrade, didn't found in Novi Sad in 1993. A Center for cultural disinfection, desinsection and deratization because so many germs, imbeciles, rats and roaches crawled in the capital of Vojvodina.

Epilogue

Revolutions, even those with a reform prefix, as a rule eat up, it seems, or at least corrode, their children and staff, so Led Art (unfortunately) won't go into the storage room of history. For someone in Novi Sad, Belgrade and Zemun has to remind "the lister democrats" how hollow their legality, legitimacy and image are if they have to "verify" them every summer with its rodent festivals. Of course, with good donations. It is not important if they are promoting the stench of the warm nationalist lair or the ecstasy over the "newly discovered Europe," Orfelin, Dositej and Venclović have long ago discovered the "Old Continent" for Serbs, but they knew one could travel from Greenwich left and right.

P.S. Appropriate occasions and celebrations should assume a little pre-tentious baroque Krleža-like style - but, as Thomas Mann would say, "about fuckers one can talk only in the language they can understand."

June 26th - According to a UN announcement, 2500 reserves, refugees, are mobilized in Serbia. The federal minister of police Vukasin Jovanovic said he is not familiar with the fact that in FRY there is a general force mobilization in progress.

June 28th - In Prizren, during the celebration of Vidovdan, a monument to tzar Dusan has been uncovered, and in Obilic to Milos Obilic.

July 3rd - The Yugoslav national basketball team became the champion of Europe in Athens. The third-placed Croatians left the award ceremony.

July 5th - The Kosovo Albanian leader, Ibrahim Rugova, said that the state of Kosovo is functioning and it has organized political life.

July 11th - Bosnian Serbs occupied Srebrenica, a UN safe haven. Two weeks later (July 25th), Zepa, the second UN safe-haven, was taken. More than 30000 people, mostly women and children, taken to the territory under the control of the Sarajevo government. Later, there were reports about mass murders proclaimed by the UN as the most severe ones since World War Two. According to some data 4000-6000 people were massacred.



July 13th - In Cetinje auto-cefalous Montenegrin Orthodox Church was proclaimed.

July 18th - In the vicinity of Osijek clashes of Krajina Serbs and Croatian units.



July 25th - RS Army entered Zepa, the inhabitants withdrew towards Tuzla. Clashes on all the Bosnian



Photo: V. Pavlović
Public work in Zmaj Jovina street started at 10am, by unloading 1560kg of ice blocks

FLOOD

(Novi Sad, October 1993)

(PRE)FLOOD

Attracted by Led Art's noteworthy promotional project Frozen Art, and the group's growing image, interest in this new project was shown by the Democratic Party and people connected with it: Vlada Rakić, Bogdan Nikolajević, Olga Skakun, Đorđe Bašić, Vesna Katić and Dragan Srećkov. The organizer should have been the gallery Most and the Cultural-Educational Community of Novi Sad. Artists from Novi Sad showed interest in it and offered their co-operation.

Non Realized Ideas

Miloš Vujanović: Frozen Chameleons. In the streets, in the frozen ether, there were only chameleons. Mastering the technique of mimicry at an unimaginable level, they looked like sketches in ice.

Željko Piškorić: Ice Periscope.

Dejan Radovanović:

1. The Sinking of Atlantis. A floating construction (installation), made by joint co-operation, is closed in a block of ice, which is then weighted with stones and sand. The ice block is thrown into the Danube, where it sinks. Through melting the installation loses its weight, is freed and comes to the surface.

2. Melting. A few ice blocks are placed around refrigerator trucks containing exhibits. The visitors, with the warmth of their palms or some other source of heat melt desired shapes into the ice.

3. Chain. On the reverse of an ice block the word "chain" is written and then another layer of ice is added so in that way the "chain" is in a sandwich. By melting the ice, "chain" also disappears.

Vera Mihalj: Chequered Story. In the space of ice cube there are plastic (or made of coloured wax) letters which spell the words: day, dream, night.

Dragan Živančević: Frozen Smile. In the yellow coloured ice cube there is an oval shaped object made of false teeth.

Rastko Čurčić: Penetration/Dipping. An upside down pyramid is placed in a base made of ice. Half way into the pyramid is a figure of a diver made

fronts are continuing. - Special UN reporter for human rights Tadeusz Mazowiecki accused Bosnian Serbs for mass murders in Srebrenica.

July 26th - The International war-crimes tribunal accused Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and Milan Martić.

July 28th - Tadeusz Mazowiecki resigned. - Serbian Parliament banned TV broadcast of the parliament meetings. The opposition announced a boycott of parliament meetings.

August 2nd - American Congress decided to unilaterally end the embargo on arms to the Sarajevo government.

August 4th - Operation "Storm". Croatian army entered RSK. Around 250000 million people left their homes and set out, in the largest refugee wave in Europe after World War II, to Bosnia and FR Yugoslavia.



August 6th - President Tudjman, escorted by the highest Croatian functionaries, arrived to Knin.

August 7th - Yugoslav Army mobilizes special army branch reserves. Dozens of trucks with rockets set out from Belgrade towards the Croatian border.

August 8th - Croatian planes targeted Krajina refugee columns.

August 12th - After four years the first train set out from Split to Knin.

August 13th - USA started a diplomatic action of livening the peace process on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

August 15th - Clashes on the Trebinje-Dubrovnik territory renewed.

August 28th - In a grenade explosion in Sarajevo 37 people were killed, 85 wounded. UN representatives blamed Bosnian Serbs for the civilian massacre.

August 29th - In Belgrade an agreement revealed about a united RS and FRY delegation that will negotiate about the peace process in Bosnia. Serbian president given the right to negotiate in the name of the whole delegation, and, in case of necessity, his vote will be worth two votes. The agreement was also signed by the Serbian Patriarch Paul, but the holy Synod, after the signing of the Dayton peace agreement, withdrew that signature.

August 30th - NATO planes started a series of attacks on Bosnian Serb position, radar and communication installations. Air operations ceased on September the 14th, when the leadership of RS signed an agreement on withdrawing the heavy artillery to 20 kilometers from Sarajevo.

September 1st - Croatian government drafted a bill which addresses the temporary management of the abandoned property of the Serbs who have fled.

September 15th - On the territory of Banjaluka region about 100000 refugee.

September 26th - In New York ministers of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia signed a document about constitutional principles of Bosnia set to divide Bosnia into two entities. "The agreement brings us closer to the final aim of the Bosnian peace process," American president Bill Clinton said.

September 28th - Macedonia accepted to the Council of Europe.

October 2nd - Macedonian president Kiro Gligorov, after a talk with Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, announced an establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

October 3rd - In Skoplje, an attempt to assassinate Kiro Gligorov. In a bomb explosion Gligorov is badly wounded, but his life is not in danger.

October 5th - Possibility that a peace agreement will be reached incited even stronger clashes in Bosnia.

October 11th - Croatian and Bosnian military forces entered

of frozen meat. At the place of conflict (diving spot), the figure is cut in two and both halves separate. If the sculpture is exposed in the freezer truck, the ice part of the installation is washed over and over with water in order to gain a transparent surface on which four two-dimensional images of the figure's dipped part are projected. If it is all done in open space, the sculpture changes its shape and composition. The temporarily halted process of rotting continues, so the result of the thaw is a mass of undefined form, unpleasant taste and smell.

Slobodan Vilček: The Fish Crucifix.

Dejan Radovanović: Ice Graphic. Pigments melted in water are frozen in several cuboid forms. The frozen pieces are placed on a sand foundation. The thawing pigments create monotype on the sand foundation.

Igor Cvejanović: Intervention on Invented Objects. By not accepting objects the way they are, with intervention we search for another possibility of accepting reality. Freezing objects and the uncertain expectation awaiting defrosting, is an experimental record of a given moment.

Aleksandra Ketig and Dragan Gucunski: Poster-Announcement. On top of the poster that was printed to mark the opening of the new Serbian National Theatre building in Novi Sad, was written the following text: "This is the biggest iceberg in Novi Sad. It appeared in 1981 and we thought we could light a fire inside it. It did not work. Only a few, later, dared to melt it. Nobody wanted this either. There is a high probability that it will continue to cool those remaining true Novisadians, Vojvodinians, Yugoslavs for a long time yet. Let Prometheus come quickly!" The intention was to hold the project simultaneously in two localities in Novi Sad: in a refrigerator truck in front of the theatre, where a concert of Novi Sad rock bands would also take place. The gallery Most would hold the documentation. Because of financial problems the project was never realized.

The project, later named Flood, nevertheless survived thanks to the sponsors and it was co-organized by the Academy of Fine Art of Novi Sad and the newspaper *Nezavisni*.

Conceived and realized as a multimedia event, Flood unfolded through two different actions: as Public Work, a morning street performance, and Flood, an evening event, a synthesis of painting, theatre, music and poetry. The introduction to this project was several days' work in the Novi Sad milk factory, where the ice objects were created.

Photo: V. Pavlović

Loading the ice: Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafro, Talent, and Dragoslav Krnajski, Slavko Hauptman in the back

PUBLIC WORK

The morning session started at 10 am in the pedestrianized area of Novi Sad (Zmaj Jovina Street), in front of the offices of *Nezavisni*. The members of Led Art, Nikola Džafo, Dragan Krnajski, Dragan Živančević, Slobodan Vilček, Gabriela Pajevic and Vera Mihalj performed Public Work: in the presence of many observers and casual passers-by, they unloaded 104 ice blocks (weighing 1.560 kg) from the refrigerated truck of the Novi Sad milk factory, built a wall of ice thus partitioning the street. Visitors, commenting enthusiastically, placed "gifts" on the wall: a red rose, a loaf of bread, a focaccia.



Photo: V. Pavlović Preparation and freezing of ice blocks in the "Novosađska mlekar" cold storage: Slobodan Vilček, Zoran Pantelić, and Vladislav Šešlija



Mrkonjic grad and continued their advance towards Banjaluka. In Banjaluka, Prijedor and Doboj a police curfew introduced, schools, restaurants and bars are closed. - UN High Commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata, said that Serbs left in Krajina are exposed to terror and that many of them have been killed.

October 12th - The 35. cease fire agreement in Bosnia has started.

November 1st - In a military base in Dayton (Ohio) peace negotiations about Bosnia and Herzegovina have started. Before leaving for USA Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic sent a message: "Take care of Yugoslavia for me".

November 2nd - Serbian parliament ended the first autumn session at which, without the deputies from the four largest opposition parties, around twenty laws are adopted.

November 12th - After twelve days of negotiations, the participants of the Dayton negotiations have reached an agreement about eastern Slavonia. This territory is definitely given to Croatia.

November 21st - After three weeks of negotiations in Right Patterson military base in Dayton, presidents of Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia and the international mediators signed the peace agreement for Bosnia. The agreement has been announced in FR Yugoslavia as the triumph of peace, and on the same day president Milosevic has started receiving greetings from all over Serbia.

November 23rd - United nations suspended sanction to FRY introduced in May of 1992. The suspension does not include the access to international institutions, nor membership in those institutions. - President of the RS parliament and a member of the negotiation team in Dayton, Momcilo Krajisnik, said that Bosnian Serbs are not satisfied with the agreement reached in Dayton. Karadzic warned that Sarajevo will become the new Beirut. Civil protests in Serbian parts of Sarajevo.

December 6th - "If forced to leave their homes, the inhabitants of the Serbian part of Sarajevo will burn everything behind them", said vice-president of Bosnian Serbs, Dragan Dragic.

December 10th - The first American marines arrived to Sarajevo.
- In Zenica the first Bosnian army military parade was held.

December 14th - In the Elisean palace in Paris a peace agreement on the end of the Bosnian war, debated for 44 months, was finally signed. The agreement was signed by presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, president of France and USA, the German chancellor, Russian, British and Spanish premiers. The peace agreement contains four pages of text, 12 appendices and more than a 100 detailed maps.

December 16th - UN Security Council adopted a resolution giving NATO the power to take over the duties in Bosnian peace operations.

December 17th - Slobodan Milosevic refused to come to the RS parliament meeting and to report to deputies about the peace negotiations in Dayton. - Radovan Karadzic said that "Dayton solutions are from the Serbian point of view devastating".

December 19th - In spite of the protests, in Serbia the forced payment of taxes from peasants and confiscation of their property continued.

December 20th - After four years, telephone lines between Yugoslavia and Croatia established. Only 60 lines not enough for normal communication.

1996.

January 2nd - According to the official announcements, there are between four and five thousand mines in Bosnia. The cleaning will last for thirty years.

January 4th - In Sarajevo, Karl Bilt, UN high commissioner, took office, with a task to enforce the civilian part of the Dayton agreement.

January 6th - "With the establishment of peace and the end of our five-year combat, a Serbian epoch, started with the Karageorge uprising in 1804, an epoch of hard fighting for freedom and unification, is over". Radovan Karadzic said for the Christmas and Orthodox New Year greeting.



Photo: V. Pavlović
The street is partitioned off by a wall



Photo: V. Pavlović
Passers-by leave gifts on the wall: pogača, loaves of bread, apples, a red rose...



January 10th - Bosnian parliament decided on the amnesty of individuals who have committed crime during the war. The amnesty does not include people who have committed war crimes.

January 15th - Croatian president Franjo Tudjman said in Sabor that in 1995, the formation of independent Croatia and its total international confirmation is completed. - Around two third of Croatian students intend to leave the country after the end of their studies, the Zagreb student Council and the Independent syndicate for science and high education's have announced.

January 16th - Retired American general Jacques Klein named as temporary administrator for eastern Slavonia.

January 23rd - In Prijedor the number of refugees reached the number of the city's inhabitants, and the Red Cross warned that the humanitarian situation is catastrophic. - According to the World Bank estimates, the price of the complete recovery of Bosnia will cost between thirty and forty billion dollars, and the recovery of the basic infrastructure will cost about 4.8 billion dollars.

January 31st - The UN general secretary's special envoy for human rights, Elisabeth Ren, estimated that in Bosnia there is from 200 to 300 mass graves. - The first prize of the Belgrade daily "Nasa Borba" for tolerance is awarded to the writer Aleksandar Tisma. According to the opinion of the jury, his entire opus is directed toward intolerance.

February 3rd - 57000 soldiers of IFOR have arrived to Bosnia, 10 brigade and 3 division main headquarters are established.

February 4th - American State secretary Warren Christopher visited Belgrade for the first time after five years since his predecessor, James Baker, did so.

February 23rd - Accompanied with a furious campaign of the state media, the Supreme court of Serbia annulled the Soros Foundations registration for Yugoslavia. The Foundation was registered again in June under the name of the Open Society Foundation.



March 2nd - In Belgrade Center Sava the Third Congress of the SPS with the motto "The step to the 21st century" held. Slobodan Milosevic again chosen as the president of the party. "The Congress solemnly cut all the ties with the past, declared political amnesty and explained to Serbs they should not be ashamed of anything, but, the others, on the contrary, owe them only gratitude". (Belgrade weekly "Vreme") - The four-year UN mission in Bosnia and Croatia is brought to an end. In the UN peace mission 38000 soldiers, 1500 civilians and more than 3000 local staff participated.

March 7th - Croatian government declared August 5th, the day when the Croatian units entered Knin, as the state holiday with the name "The day of the homeland gratitude". - The Hague tribunal issued the international warrant for the former RSK president Milan Martić.

March 9th - The demonstration on the Republic square under the slogan "For changes, together," with around 20000 people, marked in Belgrade the anniversary of the March events in 1991. This is the beginning of the election campaign of the future coalition

Impressions and explanations were recorded by Gordana Draganić and Miško Lazović:

"First I see myself in this ice. I am thinking what if I was that mammoth that was frozen and thawed. The near future will either freeze us or melt us but that mammoth will remain. The more ice the more freshness of spirit."
(Jovan Komšić.)

"Thank God the ice is travelling on its way. That is always the sign that the river will flow with the full power of its current."
(Branislava Kostić)

"It seems that us, Gypsies, turned out to be the smartest nation in the world. We only sing and do not think bad about anybody, just like those icebreakers here."
(Anonymous)

"We thaw with the help of ice. We have to smuggle our spirit into better times."
(Boris Kovač)

"When this thing melts they are going to use electricity on us and we will die like chickens."
(Anonymous)

"Here, we are talking about the freezing of life."
(Anonymous)

"The way ice melts fast, the same way we rot. In fact, we have already evaporated."
(Anonymous)

The president of the Society of Independent Journalists, Mile Isakov, treated the spectators to a gypsy orchestra brought from a nearby restaurant and sung with them A Long, Cold Winter is Coming (a paraphrase of First Snow, a song by Dr. Spira) and The End of the World is Nigh.

The ice wall melted during that day freeing frozen-in objects alluding to the present political situation in the country: worthless banknotes, empty gun shells, empty whiskey bottles, toilet paper, daily press, red 'pioneer' scarves...



FLOOD

Flood, a multimedia performance, was realized in the evening hours in cafe Šmaug, the site of an old brothel house.

The beginning of the performance was announced by ship's horn (the Titanic on the poster) which summoned some 200 visitors waiting patiently outside. A costumed cashier handed over "tickets", ice cubes, at the entrance, and Saša Marković (aka Bambus, Mikrob, and Groom) gave out masks, specially made for the occasion, and a flyer to the visitors. The text of the flyer was: Flood. When the water rose only lighthouses remained. Loves. The watchmen's towers. That is where the lighthouse men live with their families. They brought machines for taking photographs. They make masks, insert money, take photos. They fool around. Do some serious work. Around them the storm rages, people are drowning, cows' carcasses are floating by. Shit too. And pirates' flags. Sodomy. And after 40 days the storm stops and water starts descending...

The entrance to cafe Šmaug and the inside was covered in black foil. The subtle light by Szélesi László, a lighting engineer from the Novi Sad Theatre, suggested the atmosphere of brothel. The door was shut behind the last visitor. At first there was complete darkness and then spotlights lit the stone tables. Some 40 objects of ice were arranged on them. Their creators gave up their artistic vanity and joined the collective project. A plastic lobster and a pile of food, kitchen knives and roses, a doll and a walkman, a snorkelling mask, photos, boiled eggs, plastic foil, white and black mummies and rotten fruit... poked out of ice. A necklace set with eyes and life-jackets hung from the ceiling and walls. Some objects were on the floor and in the corners. Put in position several hours earlier, the objects had partially melted and the water was dripping on the marble floor. Actresses, dressed as prostitutes, gyrated on the stands, cleaning ladies swept the floor with brooms and collected the water, while actors, dressed as policemen, supervised and checked the crowd 'keeping control of the situation' that way. Convincing 'obstructions' were created and performed by Ratko Radivojević and Suzana Jovanović, the Led Art producer.



Ticket - ice cube. Olivera Stamenković as the ticket officer and Vesna Grginčević as a visitor

"Together" (SPO, GSS, DS).



March 18th - According to the report of the commission who did the poll, in Banjaluka one out three inhabitants is a refugee.

March 19th - Invited by the American State secretary Warren Christopher, presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman and the vice-president of the Bosnian Federation, Ejup Ganic, met in Geneva.

March 22nd - The International war crimes tribunal in The Hague accused Zejnil Delalic, Zdravko Mucic, Hazim Delic and Esad Landza for crimes committed against Serbs in 1992. in Celebic camp near Konjic.

March 29th - According to the data of the Croatian Ministry of defense, in Croatia 7021 people were killed, 24824 are wounded, and 1243 are considered missing since the beginning of the war.

April 4th - The exhumation from the mass grave in Mrkonjic Grad is finished. Bodies of 181 Serbian soldiers and civilians killed by the members of Croatian army when in October of 1995. they took the city, have been dug out.

April 12th - The Leadership of RS refused to go to Brussels to the Conference for Donations for the recovery of Bosnia within the united Bosnian delegation. Organizers said they will help RS with 1.4 billion dollars if Radovan Karadzic and Radovan Karadzic leave the political scene.

April 24th - Serbian Radio Television stopped showing the News of the Montenegrin TV.

May 2nd - IFOR representatives opened the bridge across the Sava between Stara Gradiska and Bosanska Gradiska and suggested it should be named "The Bridge of Hope". The bridge was called "The Bridge of brotherhood-unity" before the war.

1 9 9 6 . May 5th - Refugees are manipulated by all three sides in Bosnia, a representatives of UNHCR said.



Photo: V. Pavlović Saša Marković with a "Groom" mask

May 7th - According to the results of a public opinion poll by the Information agency USIA, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic are more popular then the year before. - In The Hague the trial of Dusan Tadic began, the first war crime trials in front of the International tribunal after Nurnberg and Tokyo. - The civil traffic highway Belgrade-Zagreb and the oil line between FR Yugoslavia and Croatia opened.

May 9th - UN Security Council called for FR Yugoslavia to expedite without delay three officers of the Yugoslav National Army accused of war crimes - Mile Mrksic, Miroslav Radic and Veselin Sljivancanin. - A wave of strikes in Serbia started with the mass protest of workers in Nis.

May 13th - Around a thousand workers of IMT, gathered in front of the Serbian government building, with the shouts "Avram, Avram," "We don't give Avram" and "Avram, don't give the money to the robbers," welcome the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dragoslav Avramovic.

May 14th - "With a total blockade of negotiations with the international financial organizations, the federal government is pushing us toward complete disaster and that is not normal", governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dragoslav Avramovic said in a two-hour expose in front of the Federal parliament Council of Citizens deputies. The next day, both Councils of



"Policeman" Ratko Radivojević



Photo: V. Pavlović "New Art Forum" orchestra will perform W.A.Mozart's composition "Tuba Mirum", transcribed by Nineta Avramović



Photo: V. Pavlović Collective installation "Ice feast"

Photo: V. Pavlović Nikola Džafo, "Knives in water"



the FRY parliament voted for the replacement of Avramovic from the duty of the NBY governor.

May 25th - Croatian president Franjo Tudjman criticized the "humiliating conditions" imposed on Croatia to enter the Council of Europe.

May 29th - In the vicinity of Bijeljina the bridge that connects the territories of Bosnian Federation and RS bombed.

June 25th - Yugoslav president Zoran Lilic and presidents of Serbia and Montenegro Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, in an announcement said just before the beginning of the RS Parliament session on Pale, asked for the replacement of Radovan Karadzic because of his unfulfilment of the Dayton peace agreement.

June 27th - The international war crimes tribunal revealed 17 new accusations against Serbs and Croats. For war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, a total of 74 people are accused. The search for evidence against Karadzic and Mladic accused of genocide in Bosnia and other war crimes from May 1992. to July 1995. has begun.

June 28th - Across Kosovo Serbs celebrated Vidovdan. The central celebration held in Gnjilane where a monument to Prince Lazar is revealed.

June 29th - SDS again elected Radovan Karadzic as the party president.

June 30th - At the first local post-war elections in Bosnia held in Mostar, national parties, SDA and HDZ won. Thanks to the strong IFOR and international police presence, elections were held without incidents. The city has remained divided. - Under a strong pressure from the international community and the Serbian president, Radovan Karadzic conveyed his presidential duties to the vice-president of RS, Biljana Plavsic, and signed an official declaration that he is withdrawing from public life of RS. Only then OEBS allowed SDS to participate in the first post-war elections in Bosnia.

July 13th - At the parallel Albanian university in Pristina nine new doctors of philosophy, professors and lecturers at faculties of that university were

1 9 9 6. presented. The parallel Albanian university is founded five year ago and since then 40 doctors were proclaimed, and 3400 students have graduated.

July 16th - Results in repatriation of refugees seven months after the signing of the Dayton agreement are very poor: Only 100000 refugees have returned to Bosnia, and during the same period 90000 people have left their homes, a UNHCR representative said.

July 17th - A Hague tribunal research team has dug out the remains of 86 people from a mass grave near Cerska, not far from Srebrenica.

July 19th - After four years, a semi-automatic telephone communication between Belgrade and Sarajevo has been established.

July 22nd - The president of Croatian Independent Democrats and a former member of the SFRY presidency, Stipe Mesic, said in an interview to "Feral Tribune" that there is an open dictatorship in Croatia, and that all the elements of a totalitarian regime are present. - For the second anniversary since its foundation, the Yugoslav Left organized a cultural program on the Republic square called "JUL in July".

August 3rd - In Kosovo three police stations are under attack. - Milan Martic in an announcement to "Vreme": "Milosevic has deceived us. Krajina fell due to treason of Slobodan Milosevic, we have trusted him like God".

August 5th - Croatian president Franjo Tudjman said at the anniversary of the operation "Storm" that in Knin Croatia has achieved "historical results" and that "Knin is returned into the arms of mother Croatia, pure as it was in the times of Zvonimir". - The international Red cross announced that around 10,000 Serbs, who have remained in the Knin Krajina after the operation "Storm," are exposed to crimes, torture, violence and killings.

August 7th - In Athens presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman met, and expressed their readiness to completely normalize the relations between FR Yugoslavia and Croatia. Agreement about the normalization of rela-

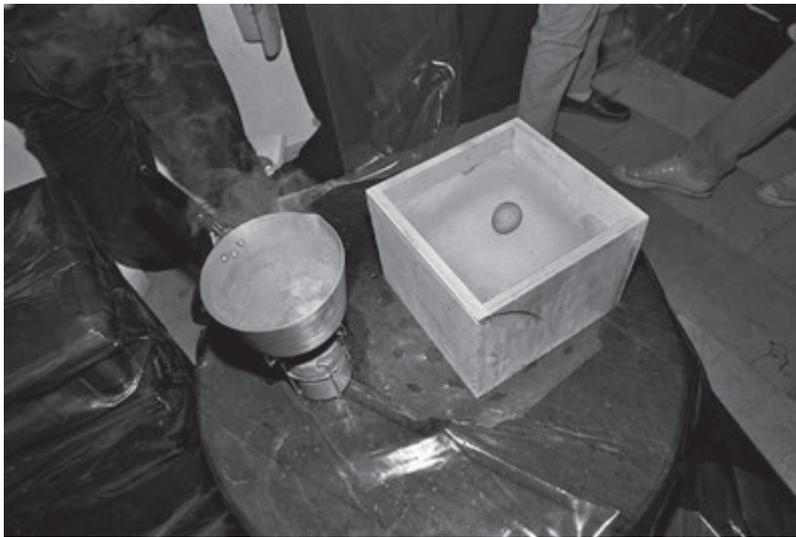


Photo: V. Pavlović Talent: props for the performance Boiling eggs on ice

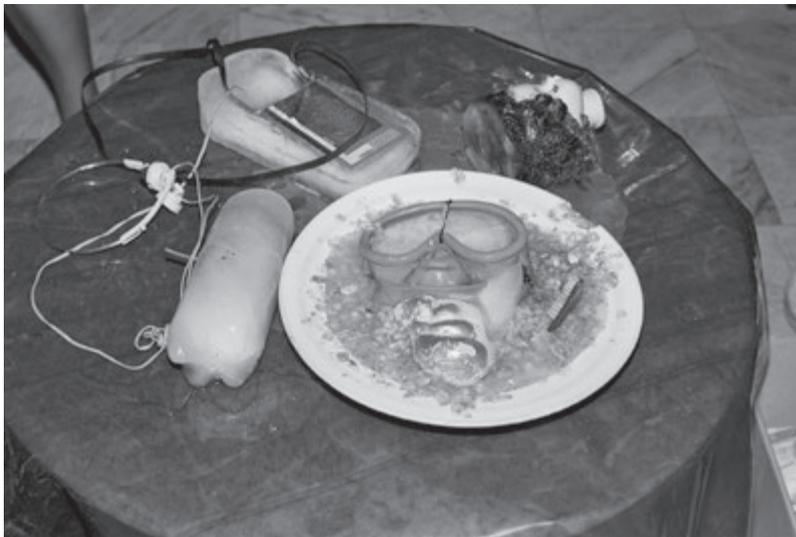


Photo: V. Pavlović Collective installation



Photo: V. Pavlović Zizi Stone mummies



Photo: V. Pavlović "Disarray"



Photo: V. Pavlović
"Broken glass" by Zoran Pantelić



Photo: V. Pavlović
Frozen inventory of Slavko Hauptman



Photo: V. Pavlović
Cake à la Slobodan Viliček

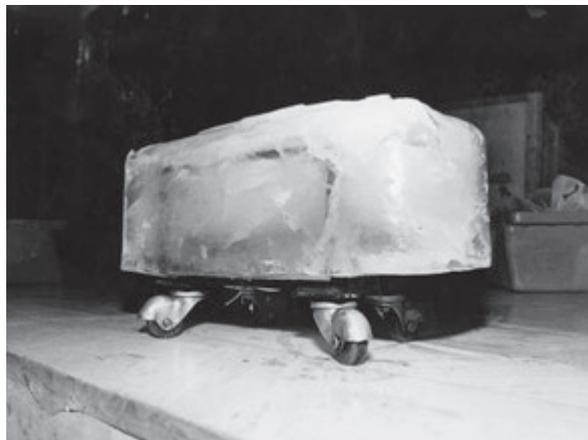


Photo: V. Pavlović
Ice "Fifi" by Nikola Džafo

tions is signed on August 23rd.

August 15th - After four years, the Sarajevo airport is opened again.

August 23rd - In Belgrade the International war crimes court office is opened.

September 1st - Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic achieved an agreement with Ibrahim Rugova for the Albanian students and teachers to return to public schools. - In Belgrade the agreement on the coalition "Together" (SPO, DS, GSS) is signed.

September 14th - At the first post-war elections in Bosnia national parties won.

September 20th - President of the Democratic party Zoran Djindjic is convicted to four months in prison, conditionally to two years, because of a DS announcement in the newspaper "Telegraf" in which the Serbian premier is accused of embezzlement with the wheat.

September 23rd - A refugee poll in FRY shows that a total of 566,375 refugees is registered, and 537,937 of those are found in Serbia, and 28,338 in Montenegro.

September 27th - The former NBY governor, Dragoslav Avramovic, accepted to head the coalition "Together". Avramovic gave up on leading the coalition in the upcoming election on October 9th.

September 28th - In Vucitrn, Kosovo, two explosives are thrown into the military quarters, and in the village of Rudnik a police station and a police post near Podujevo have been attacked.

October 2nd - With Resolution 1074 the UN Security Council annulled the economic sanctions introduced to FRY in 1992. The property and financial means still remain frozen, until the "problem of inheritance" is not solved between the new countries that came out of the former Yugoslavia.

October 4th - The District Attorney of the Zadar-Knin region accused Momcilo Perisic, the commander of the Yugoslav Army headquarters, for war crimes.

October 7th - From the mass grave Ovcara near Vukovar a total of 200 bodies are dug out, researchers of the International war crimes tribunal said. - The

1996. Yugoslav government announced there is no need to pass a new law about the collaboration of FRY with the International war crimes tribunal in the Hague.

October 27th - In FRY in the past three years there was not even one strike, said Darko Marinkovic from the Political science institute and the chief of the United syndicate "Independence" expert team.

November 3rd - Federal and local elections held in Yugoslavia, and in Montenegro for the republic's parliament. Federal elections were won by the parties in power in Serbia and Montenegro, SPS and DPS. The candidates of DPS received the highest number of votes for the republic parliament as well. The second round of local elections in Serbia set for November 17th. Kosovo Albanians boycotted the elections.

November 9th - The war commander general Ratko Mladic fired from the position of the Army commander.

November 17th - In 188 Serbian regions the second round of local election held. The coalition "Together" won in several Belgrade regions and all the larger towns in Serbia.

November 19th - At the first demonstration of the coalition "Together", because of the election result riggins, 35,000 people gathered in Nis. During the next few days demonstrations began in Belgrade and several Serbian towns. The local government in Nis, Smederevska Palanka, Jagodina, Pancevo, Uzice is trying to annul the elections. The opposition is conquering Belgrade.



November 20th - In Zagreb mass civil protests caused by taking away the frequency to Radio 101, the only independent local radio station in Croatia, have begun.

November 21st - The inhabitants of Belgrade who have gathered in front of the Serbian parliament, in which the leaders of the co-



Photo: V. Pavlović Violently throwing out the audience: "We'll give you art!"



The "Flood" ended on October 23 in the VLV Gallery with an exhibition of photographs and showing the video of the whole action

The voice came over the loudspeaker:

The ark you have to build, her dimensions have to be correctly measured. On the fifth day I designed her shape. Her bottom has to be 12 ika. 10 gara her sides are high. I made six decks. Her width I divided in seven parts. Her inside I divided into nine parts. 6 sara of asphalt I threw into the furnace. I loaded samples of every seed I had. I led my family and tribe into the ark. With the first sign of dawn a black cloud climbed the sky and in it raged Adad. Six days and nights the wind blows, flood, south wind is destroying earth. And the whole humanity turned into clay, fields became flat as roofs. I opened the window and light fell on my face. The Misir Hill gripped the ark and wouldn't let her swing. (Gilgamesh)

Make yourself a chest of gopher wood. Of all the living, of all bodies take two to preserve their lives. And the length make 300 cubits, and width 50 and height 30. And make it three stories: bottom, second, third. And make slots in the chest. Coat it with tar on the outside and inside. And Noah entered ... in twos... it was... And on the seventh day the Flood came. On that day all the springs of the great abyss broke and all the dams of heaven opened. And for 40 days the flood was and waters came, and the chest started to float. All the bodies that moved on earth died. And after 40 days Noah opened the windows in the ark. And on the 17th day of the 7th month the ark touched Ararat mountain. (Bible)

The Flood poetry was replaced by a particular performance of Mozart's Requiem, a composition by Nineta Avramović, performed by New Art Forum orchestra.

This strange, decadent and cataclysmic atmosphere, which lasted just over half an hour, was suddenly interrupted by organized 'police' terror: the destruction of the frozen objects and the forceful ejection of the audience accompanied by the yells 'Out!' and 'Art my arse!' etc.

Participants:

Ice objects: Dejan Anđelković, Miša Cvetičanin, Nikola Džafro, Ivan Gjafo, Dragan Gucunski, Slavko Hauptman, Sanja Ketig, Jovan Komšić, Dragoslav Krnajski, Violeta Labat, Miško Lazović, Vera Mihalj, Gabriela Pajević, Zoran Pantelić, Dragan Pankov, Jelica Radovanović, brothers Savanović, Miodrag Smajić, Vera Stevanović, Lidija Srebotnjak, Zizi Stone, Talent, Slobodan 'Willy' Vilček, Srđan Jovanović 'Weiss', Vladislav Šešlija, Dragan Živančević

Masks: Saša 'Mladoženja' Marković

Flag: Raša Todosijević

Actors: Ratko Radivojević, Lidija Stevanović, Gordana Kamenarović, Mihajlo 'Badža' Pleskonjić, Nenad Vujanović, Tijana Maksimović ...

New Art Forum: Višnja Kosanović (flute), Vera Božović (oboe), Eri Csilla (violin), Slobodan Dragaš (trumpet), Vladimir Nežić (trombone), Nebojša Pandurović (cello), Nineta Avramović (composer, percussion)

Photography: Vesna Pavlović

Camera: Milica and Dubravko Badalić

Lighting: Szélesi László, Dubravko Badalić

Poster, postcards: Dragan Živančević

Organizer: Suzana Jovanović

Technical Assistance: Maja Padrov, Jelena Bulatović and Predrag Tošić

alition "Together" are on strike for the second day, started the real "walk," lead by the heads of the coalition "Together". The protests are continued in the next few days, the number of participants with whistles or trumpets in their mouths is estimated between a 100 and 300 thousand.



November 22nd - On the plateau in front of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, the student "Protest '96" has begun, together with civil protests, held in all the university towns in Serbia.

November 26th - From the protest columns the people of Belgrade threw eggs on the municipal parliament and on the building of the Radio television of Serbia and "Politika" as well. - The demonstrations supporting the protests in Belgrade have begun in Podgorica organized by the coalition "People's unity".



November 27th - The police stopped the students from coming to Dedinje during their protest walk. - The Belgrade independent radio station B-92, which has daily reported the protest gatherings in Belgrade, stopped broadcasting their program. - The Belgrade demonstrators broke the windows on the buildings of "Politika" and RTS.

December 1st - The president of the Serbian parliament, Dragan Tomic, said that the demonstrations of the coalition "Together" are destructive and violent with all the characteristics of pro-fascist groups and ideologies". - The Belgrade police warned the demonstrators that their gatherings "have elements



of violence and sharp violation of law”.

December 3rd - Yugoslav Ministry of traffic and communications banned Radio B-92 and Radio Index.

December 5th - Under the pressure of the national and international public, the Belgrade independent radio B92 received the signal for broadcasting their program again. The break in their work was explained by “the malfunction of the antenna caused by flooding of the coaxial cable”. Radio Index continued broadcasting as well.

December 6th - The European Union accused the government in Belgrade of undemocratic behaviour.

December 11th - American president Bill Clinton said that the elections in Serbia have to be recognized. A warning to president Milosevic was sent by the US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and NATO representatives. - Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic answered that the elections in Serbia are regular and that democracy is a Serbian tradition.

December 13th - The UN Security Council adopted the resolution which transforms the international forces in charge of enforcing peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (IFOR) into forces for the stabilization of peace (SFOR), and their mandate is extended from December 20th 1996. for another 18 months.

December 18th - After being stopped again to enter Dedinje, Belgrade students symbolically marked the “Forbidden city”. - Organized by SPS, demonstrations in support of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic started throughout Serbia.

December 24th - Before the beginning of the demonstration supporting Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, Ivica Lazovic, a member of SPO, has been badly wounded in Knez Mihajlova Street. - On Terazije, a demonstration



The project was supported by: The Novi Sad Milk Factory, The Soros Foundation, AMB Grafika, DES Interior, Cafe Šmaug, Agency Alef Art, Snack bar Leštar Stevana, Gallery VLV, The Viscount's Office of St. Rok, Gallery Zlatni Presek, The Academy of Fine Arts Novi Sad, and weekly magazine *Nezavisni*, Carpentry Arbor.

Witness Statements

...We arrived at the house and waited to be let in. A uniformed man stood at the door. I am not sure if it was a man or a woman. Nothing was happening. From time to time somebody would open the door, look at us and disappear back in. We waited.

The door finally opened and the doorman let us in. Everyone received an ice cube. Darkness was around us. They distributed some masks and told us to put them on. We passed through the nylon curtain. A ship horn was heard and an engine started. It was still dark everywhere.

I heard a voice: An ark you have to build. Her dimensions carefully measured. On the fifth day I designed it

...Her bottom is 12 ika. Her walls were ten gara tall. I made six decks. Her width I divided into seven parts. Her inside I divided into nine parts. I threw six sara of asphalt into the furnace. All the seeds of living things I had, I loaded them all. I led my family into the ark. With the first sign of dawn a black cloud climbed the sky and in it ... It's been six days and six nights the wind blows. Flood. The south wind is destroying the earth. And the whole humanity turned into clay. Fields became flat roofs. I opened the window and light fell on my face. The Misir Hill grabbed the ark and prevented her from swinging.

Then we entered a dark chamber. There were some dim lights and I could understand better where I was. It was some kind of a ship. Life-jackets hung on the walls.

It was dripping on all sides. Some objects made of ice hung from the ceiling: pyramids, cubes, something hit me on my face and I realized it was frozen eyes...

It was crowded. I saw five or six ladies of the night standing or sitting, chatting and flirting. They were semi-naked and wore black glasses. When one approached them they laughed and said: “We shall perish!”

On the tables and everywhere around us were all sorts of things: a lobster amidst green salad leaves... I approached and saw it was completely frozen. When I took a better look I realized that everything was frozen. A birthday cake with candles on it, some photos, a map of old Yugoslavia, a snorkelling mask, a cabbage head, milk in a carton hung from the ceiling, even some eggs were cooking on an ice cube.

People in uniform walked among us (5 or 6 of them, I think). They wore black glasses but had no hats. They acted naturally. They walked around, looked and touched objects, just like we did. They were smoking. Their truncheons were swinging from their belts. I noticed also a small stage with an orchestra on it. They were not playing. Just sitting. I continued to walk. I noticed that everything seemed to be melting slowly and water was all over the floor. The ice cube in my hand was melting too. A cleaner in rubber boots pushed me aside. With a cloth, broom and bucket she collected water and she was repeating: ‘we shall perish... we shall perish...’ Later she repeated the same to her colleague in the corner. Then the musicians moved. They started playing. A three-coloured flag was

spread behind them, a strange star had been placed on top of the old one. Then a sound. Like thunder, an explosion... All went quiet for a moment, and then the people in uniform started yelling: 'Out! Out! Everybody out! Throw them out!'

They pushed us and chased us through the water, they turned the tables upside down and everything got spilled. Objects, food...

The ladies of the night started laughing and screaming hysterically. The people in uniform continued yelling: Out! Get lost! Come on!

The doorman appeared too and also yelled: Come on! Get out! Go!

I saw a cleaner collecting the spilt food. She crammed it in her overall pockets. Some of it she ate.

All the lights came on. They continued to push us. At the door I turned back and saw the destruction behind us.

Statement taken on October 16 1993, in Novi Sad.

The witness: Gordana Kamenarović

POST(FLOOD) – THE EXHIBITION IN THE VLV GALLERY

The Flood ended on October 23 1993 in the VLV Gallery with an exhibition of photographs that were taken during the Public Work and multimedia happening in cafe Šmaug. A video of the whole action was shown. The expected discussion failed to materialize.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) Questions and answers, a multitude of associations, many possible readings, all of this could cause serious thinking and facing up to the state of things which all hurts too much at the moment. Freezing, melting, de-personalization of artistic acts, collectivism, short-termedness of a piece of work, forceful destruction, flood. Not at all encouraging. Nevertheless... these are conscious artistic acts. Huge energy has been invested and it must exist somewhere here. What now and what later?

If the Led Art project continues as envisaged, it is on the right way to becoming a cultural phenomenon of our region which will never be perfectly explained during the performance itself. Led Art is too much of a mirror of our reality - sensations, irrationality, confusion, rhythm and all the rest that is making our life here and now. It is hard to see Led Art as an exclusively socio-cultural event, because we are not capable of consciously or rationally relating to reality anymore. Led Art is a contemporary event.

(Darka Radosavljević, Flood in Two Acts, *Borba*, November 6 and 7 1993)

(...) If we, through the vision of the artist's superego like through some concave lens, transpose and strengthen the spirit's photons that emit the complete socio-cultural climate, then ice, being solid, workable and pliable, is the only justifiable material at this moment. The forms emanating from such an ambiguous material, bear the stamp of associations of the physics of

"For Serbia" held at the same time when the supporters of the coalition "Together" have been holding their protest gatherings on Republic square for more than a month. Strong police forces blocked the center of the city to separate the two parties. The incident nonetheless happens, and after the end of the protest, the police intervenes as well.

December 25th - President of the Montenegrin government, Milo Djukanovic, said in the Montenegrin parliament that the republic will use its constitutional rights and protect the interests of Montenegro, "if there is not a more efficient reaction from Serbia and cooperation in trying to reintegrate the country into the international community.

December 27th - Chief of the OEBS commission and the former Spanish premier Felipe Gonsales said that, after a seven-day checking of the election regularity in Serbia, the coalition "Together" won in the local elections in 13 Serbian cities and nine Belgrade boroughs. - Head of the Yugoslav diplomacy, Milan Milutinovic appraised the report of the OEBS commission as "constructive and balanced," but also said that in some parts of the report "the pots are mistaken". - Groups of young people in civilian close with sticks and bats brutally beat the passers-by on Terazije after the end of the opposition protest.

December 28th - The police stopped Belgrade students from taking the "walk" on the 35. day of the student protest.



1 9 9 6.
December 31st - In the New Year address to the nation Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic promised that the next year will be the year of reforms.



1997.

January 1st - The Civil protest in Serbia reached its culmination on New Year's eve. Across Serbia, the New Year was celebrated on city squares in a very joyful and noisy atmosphere. On the Republic Square in Belgrade a few thousand inhabitants of the capital gathered. - Banging on pots and pans, the people of Belgrade started the action of trying to be louder than the prime news broadcast of RTS, TV Daily.



January 3rd - Civil and student protests across Serbia continued in an atmosphere of a particular carnival, in spite of the deployment of strong police forces, which on December 26th 1996. started blocking the protest walks.

matter, they are humorous and with their simplicity can be interpreted in the widest sense.

(Slobodan Vilček, Independent Flood, supplement of *Nezavisni*, Novi Sad)

(...) Artistic energy, as one of the forms of human thought, is preserved and brought almost to a complete halt, but without stopping. In this form it's been left to controlled melting, creating a 'flood' of artistic energy. With a huge wave and big washdown a plateau for all future encounters has been prepared, by means of openness and free associations. The transportability and mobility of this system establishes, out of the event's leftovers, a network of reference points for a new sense of future.

(Gabriela Pajević, Independent Flood, Supplement of *Nezavisni*, Novi Sad)

FLOOD POETICS

And your cold house shall be like this: out of six slices make quarters and divide them into three. Choose a few chunks of space, knead them, then take a full measure from it. Your points shall be on the height, width and depth. When you create the place put time inside making sure it won't leak out. Of all things take as much as you need. Take some water, mix it three or four times and let your things fall in it. Out of this shall come all for our life and dreams, and let it freeze. Prepare an ice feast and human moulds, and put all that lives inside, bit by bit. Seal all openings well and keep them like that. When darkness falls everything turns into water and salvation into flood. When the clay breaks but nothing grows from it, put your head under one of your arms and under the other one put the cold house. Not a puddle should be left behind you, then in the next place stop and eat and drink not to forget. (Gabriela Pajević)

To flood. To sink. Flooded. The flood. Make something or someone sink. To sit on the bottom. To sink the ship. Submarine. Boat. Flood. To flood. Destroy. To take someone's life. To soak the washing. To dip. To find oneself flooded. To sink. To drown. He-drowner. She-drowner. The place-of-drowning. Draining rain. Floody. Flood water. Dipped. Dipped in. To dive. Sunk from air. From land. From the sea. After us - flood. Holy Script. Matthew. Mark. Luke. John. Koran. Talmud. Puranai. Tantra. Rain. Rainy. Rain-some. Raingod. Drop. Droplet. Downpour. Draining rain. Current. Umbrella. Raingauge. Rainbow. Rainbow colours. Hail.

Sleet. Cold. Cooling. Air-conditioning. Fridge. Freezer. Icy. Dry Ice. Frost. Winter. Ice machine. Ice calorimeter. Chalk. Ice age. Icicle. Mortuary. Ice ball. Ice factory. Ice coffee. Iceberg. Glacier. Wave. Waving. Wavy. Tempest. Flood. (Ratko Radivojević)

The size is impossible to determine, the shape is impossible to touch, old age is impossible to count. No end and no beginning, state of fearful obedience, eternal -1000°C. Ice, iceberg, icicle, doesn't matter... Jehovah had the courage to come closer, perhaps he sneaked, waited for the right moment, the resignation of Iciness (I'll call it like that) or there was someone else with him that he sacrificed, intentionally, to draw attention somewhere else - to find the right moment, a flick - a conscious irresponsibility of Iciness, unimportant... Jehovah managed to take advantage of what was allowed to him. The rest is known: all the springs of the abyss

unleashed, heaven's dams broke, the Belting Rain hit the earth enough to last 40 days and 40 nights. Such a slaughter on earth has not been surpassed yet. Such courage - thoughtfulness in order to select, accommodate, save the wrong ones. Caprice and mistake. Horrifying is the heat, chaos and senselessness. Jehovah's job is to steal the moment of conscious irresponsibility and resignation of supernatural states. Mine is to pave the path I walk with Ice. (Nikola Džafo)

...I, empath, from

Upper Land of the Bottom Kingdom See:

Sand comes from all directions, and Muddy water swallows,

Equally,

Stone blocks of temples, Straw shacks,

Greedily swallows forgotten Smiles on mummies' faces

Wrapped in black and white bandages Useless, because

Worms crawl on half-rotten bodies Carving a splendid arabesque

In decaying flesh.

Crystal ball breaks into million bits.

In shining mirrors a reflection of fish-monster. And horrifying voice comes from the sky: "Grim, grim, for those living on earth..."

And stench, terrible stench spreads

Down the Valley of the Great Rulers (Zizi Stone)



Photo: Miodrag Smajić

January 6th - A few hundred thousand people of Belgrade gathered in front of the Saint Sava temple to celebrate Christmas eve. The police did not stop the columns of citizens and students to pass the city center.

January 7th - President of the Montenegrin parliament, Svetozar Marovic, said that if a quick democratic solution to the crisis in Serbia is not found, "Montenegro will have to seriously think about its next steps". This point marks the beginning of the crisis between Serbia and Montenegro ("two eyes in one head"), but also the division between the president of Montenegro, Momir Bulatovic, and its premier, Milo Djukanovic.

January 12th - The Belgian newspaper "Libre Belgique" suggested that the Nobel prize for peace be given to Belgrade students, because they proved how in a non-violent way resistance to a dictatorship can be expressed.

January 13th - With a noisy celebration of Serbian New Year in cities across Serbia, citizens expressed their revolt against the non-recognition of the local elections in Serbia.

January 23rd - In Brussels another unsuccessful round of negotiations about the succession of the former Yugoslavia is held.

January 25th - In the hospital of the Belgrade military academy, Nikola Koljevic, the former vice-president of the Serbian Republic, expired after an attempt to commit suicide on January 16th.



January 27th - A police picket withdrew after seven days from Kolarceva Street in downtown Belgrade. Student protests celebrated the successful end of the action "pickets against pickets" with a two-hour walk in the central Belgrade streets. - In the

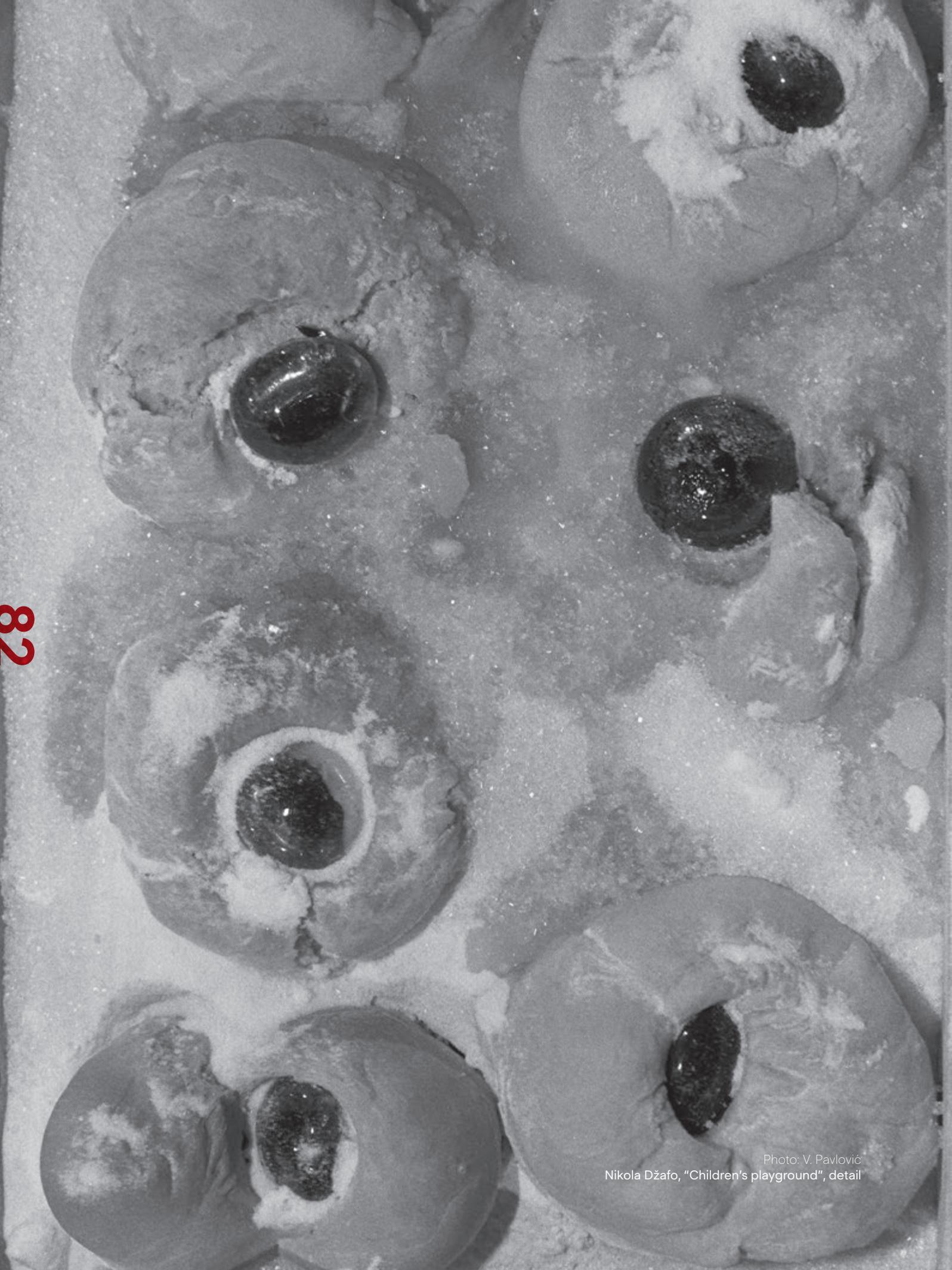


Photo: V. Pavlović
Nikola Džafo, "Children's playground", detail



ART COOKBOOK

(Belgrade, an abandoned garage next to the Jazzbina Club, December 17 1993)

By government decree (whose number remains a mystery), a monthly ration of basic living articles per capita has been defined. The package contains: 6.25kg of flour, 0.5kg of sugar, 250g of salt, 750g of oil, 500g of washing powder (or soap). The artists invited understood the named articles as material to work on. Realized in artistic form, the comestible objects are first exhibited in an abandoned garage next to the Jazzbina Club, with the tasting to follow.

Objects were exhibited by:

Gradimir Aleksić, Dejan Anđelković, Mrđan Bajić, Velimir Čurgus Kazimir, Vuk Ćosić, Jovan Ćekić, Nikola Džafo, Suzana Jovanović, Darija Kačić, Dragoslav Krnajski, Saša 'Mladoženja' Marković, Vera Mihalj, Gabriela Pajević, Branko Popović, Mileta Prodanović, Željko Radić, Jelica Radovanović, Vera Stevanović, Talent, Raša Todosijević, Dragan Živančević, Slobodan 'Willy' Vilček, Miloš Vujanović, Savanović brothers, Klipani u Puding, Lazar Stojanović, Mirjana Ognjanović, Bing and Čipola Kolt, Zizi Bon-Bon

Documentation: Vesna Pavlović (photography)

Camera and editing: Milica Badalić, Dubravko Badalić

Sponsors: Spona, Jazzbina, Soros, B 92, Agency MarkNetig, Gradimir 'Dada' Božić, the Academy of Fine Arts Novi Sad, Vreme, Agency Alef Art

RECIPES

Mirjana Ognjanović: **Content Serbian Foccacia Or Flour Indeed Fattens**

Ingredients: flour, water, water-colours.

Prepare a focaccia in the shape of a content Serbian (flour, water to taste) and bake at 150°C in the oven for half an hour. To be eaten only in the case of true love for food.

walk of Saint Sava in Belgrade, led by Serbian Patriarch Paul, more than 100,000 citizens participated. - After five and a half years, the passenger rail communication between Croatia and Yugoslavia established.

1 9 9 7.



January 29th - In Serbia 600 elementary and high schools are on strike, and in Vojvodina more than 300. - According to the results of Belgrade Humanities Institute research, due to the announcement of the election results, more than 700,000 people are participating in the protests in Serbia, which is 12 percent of the citizens above the age of 18.

January 31st - In the vicinity of Vucitrn in Kosovo, three Albanians are killed and three Serbian policemen are wounded.

February 2nd - The police drove away the protesters near Branko's bridge in Belgrade with the use of water cannons and sticks. Running after the demonstrators, the police broke into the Faculty of Philosophy. More than fifty people are hurt.

February 3rd - Protesting against the use of force against the peaceful protestors in Belgrade, the film festival FEST was stopped, the Faculty of Philosophy ceased all the activity, and the People's theater stopped working.

February 5th - According to the announcement of the coalition "Together" from February 2nd to 5th in police actions in Belgrade more than a hundred people are arrested and more than 300 hurt. The protests are continued.



February 11th - Serbian parliament adopted a special law (lex specialis) by which the results of local elections are recognized. Expressing distrust towards the government, citizens continued the protests until the formation of local parliaments. - Mandate taken away from Nebojsa Covic, SPS deputy in the Serbian parliament and the mayor of Belgrade - In Serbia 1800 out of 2200 schools on strike because of low and unpaid teacher wages. - In Belgrade all the 238 kindergartens are on strike.

February 18th - According to the words of Croatian general Zvonimir Cervenko, in Croatia at least 13,000 square kilometers are under mines, and of that number 7,600 in eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem.

February 19th - Belgrade students marked full three months of protests. - USA officially announced that the outer wall of sanctions towards FRY stays valid until the situation in Kosovo is not improved, a full cooperation with the Hague tribunal is not established, a progress in negotiations about succession is not achieved and a general democratization of Yugoslavia is not reached.

February 21st - Belgrade parliament is constituted, the first one in which the ruling SPS does not have majority. Zoran Djindjic is elected mayor.



February 28th - In Belgrade an Agreement about the establishment of special relations and cooperation between FRY and RS is signed. The agreement was not recognized by the BH parliament, nor the international community.

March 7th - After 106 days of student protests, University of Belgrade chancellor Dragutin Velickovic and student vice-chancellor Vojin Djurdjevic have resigned. The protest is ended on March 20th when the resignations are finally adopt-

Slobodan Vilček: **Nail Soup "Five To 12"**

Ingredients: 3 family members (an uninvited guest), one nail (iron, the bigger the better), flour, salt, sugar, oil (very little), a bit of paint (weather-proof), natron paper (bad quality, local), coal (coke, calorific)... and other ingredients to taste. One nail (to taste), soak until soft in three fingers of water. Lay the table with a cloth (an old-fashioned one, like your grandmother's), close your eyes tightly so they whiten, and consume the meal in the good-all-days cookbook. Bon appetite!



Gabriela Pajević: **Merry Christmas, Mister Lawrence**, for 10 people

Ingredients: flour, oil, sugar, water, 500g of sugar, 1/2 litre of oil, flour as needed.



Combine all ingredients to make a semi-soft dough. Roll it out and with a small spoon select little circles that will represent heads. Cut the rest into finger-sized sticks. These are legs and arms, stick them to the heads and bake. When done, pour thick caramel on the backs of the figures so that the bodies do not fall apart. Tie a ribbon around the necks and hang them on the Christmas tree.

And this is how to make the Christmas tree: stick any kind of metal bar into some sand in an old pot. Wrap it with barbed wire. Fix the candles with metal holders, like a normal Christmas tree. Hang the tiny dough people. Cut thick filo dough into finger-thick noodles and decorate the tree like you would with tinsel. Place candles, light them and celebrate.

This kind of Christmas tree is practical and satisfying because it can be re-used at Christmases to come, but it can't be set on fire and burn the house down, therefore it is recommended for housewives with little children.

Velimir Ćurgus Kazimir: **Table, Spread Yourself! Bread**, for 4-5 averagely starving people.

Ingredients: flour, oil, water = 10g of yeast, sugar.

Mix the yeast with the sugar and tepid water, wait until it rises, mix in 1 kg of flour, three teaspoons of salt, three tablespoons of oil and, of course some warm water. Let it sit for an hour, shape it and bake at 180°C for an hour.



Dragan Živančević: **Iron Enriched Bread**

You need: flour, salt, oil, yeast, approx. 50 cm of rusty chain. Make a dough, as usual, then add the chain, leaving more of it sticking out of the loaf. Bake until the chain becomes white-hot. Prepared in this way the bread is very rich in iron, as during the baking process at high temperature the iron expands (gastronomic dilatation) and iron particles are transferred to the dough. In addition, the chain has another, if not more important role: finally you will be able to stop dreading the moment that someone, in an instant, could steal your hard-earned bread: with a chain you can secure the iron bread to a metal bar, radiator or the leg of a table. And finally, when you have completely peeled away all the bread and only the chain is left, don't throw it away but re-use it for other comestibles.



ed. Students have spent 119 days straight on the streets, which is a new world record.

March 8th - UN General Secretary, Kofi Anan, in the report about the state of human rights of Serbs in Croatia argued that in Krajina and western Slavonia maltreatment, robbery and attacks on the remaining Serbian population is continued, and he expressed his concern that Croatian soldiers and police officers are not involved in those incidents.

April 10th - In New York in "Carnegie Corporation" under the auspices of the "Project for ethnic relations," without the consent about any topical question, a three-day Serbian-Albanian round table about Kosovo is held, in which representatives of Serbian opposition and Kosovo Albanian parties have participated.

April 11th - In Belgrade, in "Mama mia" restaurant, the deputy of the Serbian Ministry of Police, general-colonel Radovan Stojcic-Badza is killed.

April 12th - Pope John Paul II visited Sarajevo. The Head of the Roman Catholic Church greeted all three constituents in BH - Croats, Muslims and Serbs, and called them to material and spiritual restoration of Bosnia.

April 17th - The UN Human Rights Commission extended the mandate to the special envoy for the former Yugoslavia, Elisabeth Ren, to questions concerning the fate of the missing persons. It is estimated that on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there are more than 20,000 missing persons.

April 24th - The regional court in Zadar convicted, in absence, the head of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, general-colonel Momcilo Perisic, to twenty years in prison for crimes against humanity and international law and for war crime against civilian population, committed in August

and September of 1991. in Zadar and the vicinity.



April 29th - The end of the coalition "Together". The finale of the several week-long argument between the partners: Vuk Draskovic announced he will enter the election campaign by himself.

May 4th - According to the data of the Croatian office for war victims, from 1991. to 1995. in Croatia 268 children perished, 1004 were wounded, and 110 have received serious wounds with terminal consequences from activating the remaining explosive devices and wrong handling of fire arms.

May 5th - From the beginning of the year on the territory of Belgrade forty people have been killed, and in the entire last year only 51 homicide was committed, "Politika" announced. According to the official data, every other murder is unsolved.

May 10th - Milan Kurepa, a world-famous scientist, physics professor at a Belgrade faculty said: "In science we will not reach the level of 1985. until year 2020".

May 16th - Members of the Contact group in a meeting in Brussels said that all the three parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are sabotaging the Dayton agreement, and as the main danger marked the growing nationalism and separatism of Bosnian Serbs and Croats, as well as the intention of Muslims to achieve a dominant position among other ethnic groups in Bosnia.

May 17th - Belgrade University is about to collapse, thousands of young, educated experts have left the country. The announcement of Dusan Kanazir, minister of science and technology, that there is not enough money for the purchase of foreign magazines and books, shocked the academic public.

Dragan Živančević: **Well-Guarded Bread**

New statistics by the National Health Organization point towards the rise in anaemia in the population of our country. This occurrence is caused by irregular and monotonous nutrition which lacks ingredients rich in iron and other minerals. The MUP (Police) regularly inform us about increasing crime, especially widespread theft. Starting with these two facts, our team of MICRO-bioticians (minimization in nutrition) arrived at this recipe:

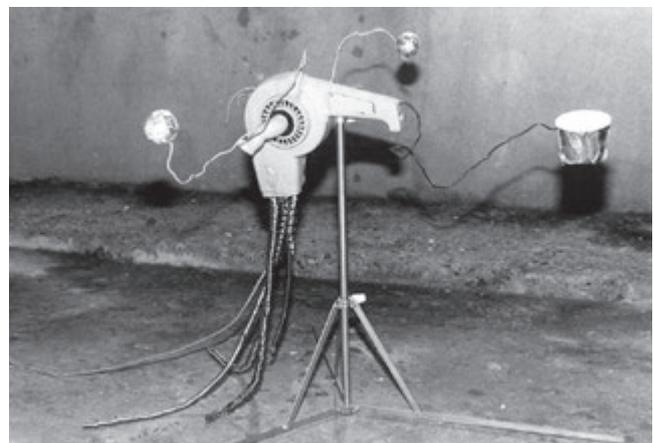


Klipani u Pudingu: **Strawberry Ice Bombs For Four Schmucks**

Ingredients: flour, oil, grizeta.

Pour a moderate quantity of flour and oil into the specially adapted tail of the grizeta. At the same time the grizeta will, through its trunk, spit the delicacies: golden particles - strawberry ice bombs.

The grizeta is a rare animal, bred only at the ranch of the Klipani u Pudingu circle where it, together with the members, walks the tea-parties of sweet passion.





PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) The exhibition lasted three hours. During this time, the exhibits were photographed and recipes prepared. Breads of various shapes ended up in the stomachs of the artists and curious visitors. As far as we know there were no complaints. The only objection heard was the one about the hardness of the bread, despite the fact that the majority had already got used to stale bread, albeit not shaped artistically.

Dough certainly proved to be an exceptional artistic material. It was shown that everything kneaded does have an artistic application. And not just artistic.

(V.C., The Mixing Art, *Politika*, December 27 1993)

(...) The exhibition, which was a tasty whim, and recipes which should be realized and then archived, are the freshest example of the survival of something that is art, despite time. Every l'art pour l'art is condemned at its birth. How much hunger in the eyes of an old lady who stared at objects made of flour, oil and sugar (FOS)! And how happy she was when they gave her a piece of bread! Art has finally created something useful, mumbled a journalist, and then, with a glass full of tepid water, returned his gaze to the dark-haired girl across the room. Or was it all, that Friday, just prolonged agony, torture of the poor old lady and art as well.

(Mirko Mlakar, FOS-art, *Vreme*, December 27 1993)

(...) Promotion of Art Cookbook, as a look at our daily life of organized primitivism, is just the beginning of what the "baker trio," Krnajs-ki-Džafo-Pajević, intends to do. All the artists, plus the visitors interested in DIY work, created the recipes which will be published in the volume: Art Cookbook - Additions to the New Artistic Cookbook. This way a type of parallel system will be legitimized: things happen even on an empty stomach. It is not going to be, in the words of Zoran Gluščević, speaking about kitsch, "an impression of fake bliss."

(Vojkan Ristić, Hunger as an Aesthetic Provocation, *Voždovačke Novine*, January 27 1994)

May 27th - Ministers of foreign affairs of Croatia and Yugoslavia, Mate Granic and Milan Milutinovic signed in Zagreb a consular convention. Yugoslav minister was received by president Tudjman.

May 29th - In Belgrade a few thousand pensioners held a protest. The slogans: "Trash containers and pensioners' buffet," "Pensioners are dying from hunger," "People's government is humiliating pensioners". - Yugoslav president Zoran Lilic said the problem of Kosovo "does not exist".

May 31st - American Secretary of State Madelin Albright visited Zagreb and Belgrade and said to presidents Tudjman and Milosevic that the Dayton agreement has to be entirely enforced, with a special request that a safe return of all the refugees and the extradition of war criminals to the Hague tribunal is allowed.

June 3rd - 670 Doctors of Philosophy have left Croatia in the past four years, Slobodan Bjelajac, professor at the Math and Science Faculty in Split said.

June 6th - After a protest in downtown Belgrade, around 2,000 health workers walked the city streets blowing into whistles and trumpets yelling: "We want salaries and medicine".

June 8th - Croatian president Tudjman arrived to Vukovar by the "train of peace and settlement" and said that the return of all Serbs to Croatia will not be allowed.

June 15th - Tudjman again elected as Croatian president with 1,337,990 (61,41%) of votes. 2,218,448 voters or 54 percent of the electorate have participated in the elections.

June 17th - Yugoslav ministry of telecommunications banned a large number of private and independent radio stations. Independent Electronic Media Association said that it is "so far the biggest action against the right of freedom of the press in Yugoslavia". Within a month program was stopped on 23 local radio and TV stations.

June 24th - In front of the Hague tribunal a trial to the Croatian general Tihomir Blaskic, accused of ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Central Bosnia between 1992. and 1994. has begun



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The final game of the ice hockey playoffs "Partizan" - "Crvena zvezda"

LOCALITY NO 1

(Subotica, Sports Stadium, February 19 1994)



The project was performed in collaboration with the Q Group from Subotica and Children's Club Soros in the Sports Stadium, in Subotica.

The intervention consisted of: painting a frozen pitch with associative colour pictures. Later a game of hockey between Hockey Club Spartak and Hockey Club Košice was played on the painted pitch.

In search of a clear message about naked human existence, which becomes dangerous only after one provokes it with weapons, we arrive at archetypes which stir a key thought, the one that opens paths leading from basic fears. These messages, clear in idea and expression, act almost like messages from some extra-terrestrial civilization, possibly because we have forgotten the essence of human existence.

July 1st - President of RS Biljana Plavsic accused Radovan Karadzic of being involved in state crime and that he still controls the government in Pale. The president twice dismissed the RS parliament and set a date for parliamentary elections. The RS government said that the decision is "not constitutional".

July 3rd - Sarajevo daily "Liberation" published that, during the war in Bosnia, high functionaries of RS and Bosnian federation were involved in crime. "Tanks could not enter or leave Sarajevo, but during the days of fiercest siege, trucks with cigarettes made in Macedonia and Nish went through, and in front of the snipers people with bags full of money safely passed," the newspaper claims.

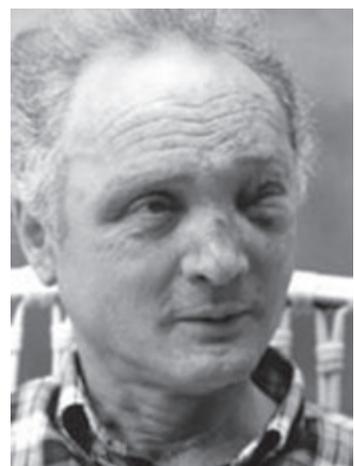
July 8th - President of RS Biljana Plavsic refused the invitation of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic to come to Belgrade, inviting him to come to Banjaluka.

July 11th - The ruling Democratic Party of Socialists in Montenegro is divided between the supporters of president Momir Bulatovic and premier Milo Djukanovic.

July 14th - The international war crimes tribunal in the Hague convicted Dusan Tadic to twenty years in prison. - UN Security council extended the mandate to peace-keeping forces on Prevlaka and eastern Slavonia until January 15. 1998.

July 15th - Yugoslav parliament elected Slobodan Milosevic for president. - Slovenian parliament ratified the agreement about joining the European Union.

July 16th - After a duel between the leader of Serbian Radicals Seselj and lawyer Nikola Barovic on BK television, Seselj's bodyguard beat up Barovic.



July 18th - Croatian government adopted the Report about the state of human rights in Croatia for 1996. without a single example of breaking the rights.

July 20th - The Main board of SDS on Pale expelled Biljana Plavsic from the party.

July 26th - Mayors of Doboje, Brcko, Bijeljina, Samac and Zvornik refused to sign a document about enforcing the Dayton agreement which was, according to the agreement on the Dayton conference, the condition for receiving twenty million Deutsche marks for reconstructing the infrastructure.

August 3rd - The Metropolitan of Zagreb-Ljubljana and the entire Italy, John, held a service in the Orthodox church of Prophet Saint Elijia in Zadar for the first time since 1991. Around of thousand believers were present at the service.

August 5th - On the two-year anniversary of the military action "Storm" and the exodus of the Serbian population from Knin Krajina, on the full Ban Jelacic Square in Zagreb Croatian president Franjo Tudjman gave the president's oath.

August 7th - The illegal organization "Kosovo Liberation Army" (UCK) took over the responsibility for armed attacks on Kosovo and called the ethnic Albanians to support an armed uprising.



August 15th - The Pentagon announced that, before local elections in BH, USA will temporarily increase the number of their troops in Bosnia, mostly by 50 percent.

August 20th - The government of RS accused Biljana Plavsic of committing, with the help of international forces, a coup and betrayed her country, and two days later the government "stopped the relations" with the president.

That's why the action manifested itself through the searching for and finding archetypal paintings. To use terms from archaeology, "the diggings" were done in the open-air skating rink, and both public and players appeared in the role of witnesses to this phenomenon. Instead of by-passing the art, visitors were led directly inside it by the skating rink having been turned into a surrealist image.

Coincidental elements (this time on 46° 05' 55" east longitude) often bring important archaeological discoveries. The particularity of the artefacts we are talking about lies in the deeply frozen, millennial layer of multicoloured paintings on the 30x60 metre space. The segments of the picture symbolically co-exist with the time we live in, despite the assumption that they were created thousands of years ago. The fact that the spot of discovery is permanently covered in ice, of unknown technology, indicates a first class attraction, taking into account the climate instability in these parts.

The wider meaning of the segment and a comprehensive analysis of its associative magic character is not possible, because we are not familiar with socio-structure of today's Subotica. However, the fact that the paintings show a highly specialized art of associations, questions every attempt to date the findings. The theory that it is a calculated message from an unknown civilization more powerful than ours and cryogenically frozen in a shallow layer of earth, is plausible.

The wisest brains in our country are predicting similar discoveries in unlikely localities which, placed alongside the previous one, will allow us to determine the questions posed by the pictorial script. (Flyer)



Drawing on the ice rink at the Small Sports Stadium in Subotica, followed by a snowstorm (white spots in the photo are not a technical error but show flakes)



Photo: G.Pajević

Hockey player Marko Židarević Zida, surrounded by Led Art crew: Dragoslav Krnajski, Vesna Pavlović, Slobodan Vilček, Saša Marković, Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafo

Participants:

Dubravko Badalić, Vuk Ćosić, Nikola Džafo, Suzana Jovanović, Kisferenc Éva, Kothenc Imre, Dragoslav Krnajski, Franjo Mačković, Saša Marković, Slavko Matković, Vera Mihalj, Gabriela Pajević, Vesna Pavlović, Petar Popović, Szabó Edit, Szalma László, Miodrag Smajić, Talent, Török István, Slobodan Vilček, Miloš Vujanović, Milić Vuksanović, Dragan Živančević

The Project was supported by: the Open University of Subotica, HC Spartak, Soros, Children's Club Soros, the Academy of Fine Arts Novi Sad

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) The event of the discovery of the imaginary pre-civilization layer in the Subotica Hockey Club ice rink, with its form, vitality and co-ordinated atmospheric conditions (fake snow), has been, so far, the most faithful demonstration of Led Art's essence. A collage of separate visions, story through images, archetype script (Q Group, Saša 'Mladoženja' Marković, Nikola Džafo, Slobodan Vilček, Miodrag Smajić, Dragoslav Krnajski, Dragan Živančević, Vera Mihalj) resulted in a concise message of peace and unity, artistically stable, and visually easily recognizable. (...)

(Slobodan Vilček 'Willex', A Long Icy Voyage, *Nezavisni*, February 25 - March 11 1994)

Just before the friendly match between HC Spartak and HC Košice (Slovakia), on February 19, at 6pm, a structurally complex composition of ice paintings and colours will be shown. It contains several segments which allude to various objects and living creatures from this or some other world. During the nights of 17th, 18th and 19th February members of Led Art (Belgrade) and Q Group prepared the ice paintings of Locality N° 1 on the skating rink of HC Spartak.

(*Subotičke Novine*, February 18 1994)

August 28th - Biljana Plavsic founded a new political party in Banjaluka, Serbian People's Union. - A few thousand demonstrators clashed with SFOR forces in Brcko, Bijeljina, Zvornik and Janja. U Brcko five civilians and one American soldier hurt, and 15 UN vehicles destroyed. SFOR troops retreated from Brcko.

September 1st - The presidential and parliamentary election in Serbia will be boycotted by 16 opposition parties. Candidates for president of Serbia are: Seselj, Draskovic, Lilic and Obradovic.

September 5th - Mother Theresa (87), the Nobel prize for peace laureate died in Calcutta.

September 6th - Alija Izetbegovic said at the second congress of SDA: "We fulfilled our main election promises from 1990. We saved Bosnia, we set up a basis for a democratic government, especially the freedom of political action and the freedom of the press and stopped the revenge of any kind".

September 9th - USA warned the government in Pale that soon it will face "a strong military action" of international forces if the "inflammatory" propaganda against the Dayton agreement is not stopped.

September 12th - In Kosovo a series of armed attacks on police forces has begun.

September 13th-14th - Local elections held in Bosnia. In the majority of regions national parties won.

September 21st - In Serbia presidential and parliamentary elections held. Out of 250 seats, the majority was won by the left coalition (110), then SRS (82) and SP0 (45). Since none of the presidential candidates did not receive the necessary number of votes, Zoran Lilic, the candidate of the left coalition and Vojislav Seselj, the candidate of SRS passed into the second round. - According to the official data in Serbia during the first six months of 1997. 153 murders are committed. In FRY 65,000 serious crimes, including murders, have not been solved.

September 29th - The leader of SRS and the candidate for Serbian president Vojislav Seselj

1997. said that Great Serbia remains his goal and it would be best "if Great Serbia would one day border with great Germany".

September 30th - The deputies of SPS, JUL, SPO and SRS replaced the mayor of Belgrade Zoran Djindjic.

October 1st - Serbian police broke the peaceful demonstrations of Albanian students who requested the return of university in Kosovo with tear gas and sticks. - The representatives of SFOR took over three transmitters of Serbian radio television in RS.

October 5th - At the presidential elections in Montenegro not one of the eight candidates received the necessary majority, Two wings of DPS passed into the second election round: Momir Bulatovic with 147,615 (47,45%) and Milo Djukanovic with 145,348 (46,72%) votes. In the second round on October 19th Milo Djukanovic won. Milosevic acquired a real political rivalry. - Serbia did not get a president in the second election round, because less than half of the registered voters voted (48,97%).

October 17th - In Belgrade Yugoslav Drama Theater burned.

October 18th - In downtown Belgrade a group of skinheads beat up to death a thirteen-year old gipsy, Dusan Jovanovic. The public expressed its concern because of the growing fascism in the society and inability of police to stop the violence.

October 20th - About 37,000 Croats live in the apartments and houses whose proprietors are Serbs, and 50,000 people in Croatia live in the apartments which are not theirs, a Croatian official said.

October 22nd - SPS announced that presidential elections in Montenegro, won by Djukanovic, represent "an ordinary farce and scandal" and that the electoral victory was stolen "with the help of proven enemies - the Islamic fundamentalists, Albanian and Ustasha separatists".

October 24th - In Belgrade Zoran Todorovic Kundak (38), secretary of the Yugoslav Left Direction, director of "Beopetrol" and a close friend of the Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic's family, was killed.



Photo: V. Pavlović Tricolor and trio Marković, Živančević, Džafo

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Posters



LOCALITY NO 2

(Belgrade, the Pionir Ice-rink, February 25 1994)



A week after Locality No 1 a similar project took place in the Pionir Ice-rink in Belgrade minutes before the third play-off match between the hockey teams Partizan and Zvezda. With its ice painting technique, Led Art has shown to everybody (including the players and considerable TV audience) their peaceloving predecessor Bogumil. Out of the centre of

October 30th - President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic said that on January 15th of next year he will pass over the power to the people, not to Djukanovic.

November 6th - In Serbia volunteer Slobodan Misic was arrested after he admitted to the newspaper "Vranjske" he killed 70-80 people on the Vukovar and Bosnian front.

November 10th - The president of Croatian Independent Democrats and once a close associate of Croatian president, Josip Manolic, said to the Rijeka "Novi list" that Franjo Tujman and the Croatian police were already in 1991. informed about the massacres of Serbian civilians in Pakracka Poljana.

November 13th - Yugoslav and Chinese presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Jiang Tzemin signed in Beijing the mutual Declaration about friendly relations and cooperation's between the two countries. In Belgrade the building of "China town" is announced.

November 21st - On the two-year anniversary of the Dayton peace agreement, UN High Commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata said in Geneva that around 400,000 refugees and displaced persons have returned to Bosnia, mainly to those parts where their nationality represents majority. There are 700,000 people abroad, and 800,000 have not yet returned to their homes.

November 27th - On Kosovo sporadic, but open armed clashes of Serbian security forces and armed Albanian have begun.

December 7th - On the repeated presidential elections in Serbia in the first round not a single candidate received the necessary majority of votes. In the second round on December 21st, the candidate of the Left, Milan Milutinovic, won.



December 16th - The high representative for Bosnia, Carlos Westendorp used his new rights for the first time and declared the Law about Bosnian citizenship. Westendorp declared the majority of laws which could not be passed in the Bosnian parliament.

December 22nd - American president Bill Clinton visited Sarajevo and called Serbs, Croats and Muslims to forget the past and turn to future.

December 30th - In the clash between Albanian students and the police in Kosovo, 82 persons are hurt.

1998.

January 8th - At a meeting in Washington the Contact group invited Kosovo Albanians and the government in Belgrade to establish a dialogue.

January 11th - Fifteen members of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 22 University professors, eight writers and nine doctors signed the Second Declaration for stopping the procedure against the former president of RS Radovan Karadzic in front of the International Tribunal in the Hague, and the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Paul, also signed and gave it a blessing.

January 12th - The strike of the Municipal traffic company started in Belgrade. For the first time in the hundred-year history of public transportation not one vehicle of the company showed up on Belgrade streets. The strike lasted for six days.

January 15th - At a parliament session in Cetinje, the newly elected president of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic, gave his solemn oath. In Podgorica about forty people are hurt in a clash of the police and the supporters of Momir Bulatovic, who is making his last attempts to keep the power in Montenegro. - Croatia took control over eastern Slavonia. A ceremony in Borovo Naselje, near Vukovar, the end of the two-year mission of UNTAES in that region.

January 18th - Milorad Dodik elected as prime minister of RS.

January 26th - EU confirmed to RS the initial financial help of six million equis.

the ice, like from some ice universe, appeared a face with the sun in his forehead and hand saluting with the sign of peace and forgiveness. In this way Bogumil, thanks to Led Art, sent the world a message of peace and best wishes for the future.

The game was played on the painted rink.

Photo: V. Pavlović

Drawing on the ice rink at the "Pionir" sports hall: D. Krnajski, N. Džafo





Photo: V. Pavlović
The third final ice hockey game "Partizan" - "Crvena zvezda"

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) Locality No 2 also tied itself with a visual symbolism of bogumil's monuments. We can even say that, with small interventions on colour and specific ice underneath, a replica was made of the most reknown face of the gravestones. (...)

(Slobodan Vilček, *Discovering Ice*, *Vreme*, March 7 1994)

In Partizan everyone is ready to celebrate the championship title tonight. Admission is free, the cafe will work on an "everything-one-dinar" system, LED ART will paint the ice and a folk band of trumpeters has been invited.

(M.M., *Partizan's Match-Ball*, *Politika*, February 25 1994)

January 27th - Deputy chief of the Kosovo region Veljko Odalovic announced that in Kosovo from 1991. more than 182 terrorist attacks have been committed, in which 14 policemen and 29 Serbs civilians and "loyal" Albanians were killed, and in the clashes with the security 11 terrorists were "liquidated", and more than 80 people were wounded.

January 28th - The Council of Europe parliament warned "that the political situation in FRY is worsening," and "threatening with serious consequences the stability of the Balkan region."

January 29th - For the first time after the Bosnian war the Belgrade theater Atelje 212 performed in Sarajevo.

January 31st - The seat of the RS government moved from Pale to Banjaluka.

February 2nd - Belgrade daily "Nasa Borba" awarded "the Prize for tolerance" to the Independent union of Albanian students from Kosovo. The awarded didn't come to the ceremony.

February 4th - In an accidentally caused explosion of a hand grenade "kasikara" in School of economics in Belgrade 14 students are hurt.

February 5th - Bishop of Raska-Prizren, Arthemius, said that in Kosovo Serbs and Albanians are in danger, the former from the Kosovo Liberation Army, and the latter from the Serbian police.

February 7th - Organized by UN-HCR, Djordje Balasevic had two concerts in Sarajevo. Skenderija was full: about 7000 people welcome Balasevic with ovations. The profit of 140,000 Deutsche Marks Balasevic awarded to the children who had suffered from mines in Bosnia.

February 13th - The main prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal, Louise Arbor visited Belgrade.

February 20th - Serbian National Party of Milan Djukic in Zagreb made an excuse to the Croatian people "for all the criminal acts certain Serbs have possibly committed in Croatia." - Frequent armed attacks of the KLA in the region of Srbica in Kosovo.

February 21st - At the fourth Congress of the Croatian Homeland Union as the party's pres-

Photo: Gradimir Aleksić
Painter killed
stealing his own painting



ACCIDENTAL GRAPHICS

After a murder, police usually mark the place of the incident. A line is drawn around the shape of the victim in the position he is found in. Then they take away the unfortunate person and the drawing remains.

Led Art organized free treatment sessions (lowering the temperature). They conducted a survey with the following questions:

Do you bother anyone? Do you have enemies?

Have you ever had subversive thoughts? Have you ever read *The Trial* by Kafka?

Most gave positive answers, therefore Led Art concluded that they belonged to the part of the population that can be eliminated by means of high temperature. In order to prevent this Led Art applied a cure called The Balkan Chalk Circle. They invited those present to imagine a situation in which their lives could be jeopardized. They write and think about possible scenarios, full of danger. Led Art places an ice heart in the chalk forensic line. The heart melts (dies) instead of the real one.



ident Franjo Tudjman was chosen again.

February 28th - In the region of Drenica in Kosovo clashes began between the members of KLA and Serbian police in which, in the following few days, more than 80 people were killed, mostly women and children.

March 1st - Slobodan Milosevic sent telegrams of condolences to the families of the policemen killed in clashes in Drenica, and told the Albanians not to let the blood flow.

March 2nd - Using sticks, water cannons and tear gas, the police dispersed Kosovo Albanian demonstrators in Pristina. Demonstrations were continued across Kosovo, and tens of thousands are present on funerals of the perished.

March 4th - KLA invited all the militarily capable Kosovo Albanians to join in, and threatened with revenge "for the slaughter in the region of Drenica." - In Brussels the NATO council said that Kosovo is not only the inner question of FRY, but that of the international community.

March 6th - Adem Jasari, one of the leaders of the KLA is killed. Serbian police announced that "a terrorist nucleus" in Donji Prekaz, near Srbica, has been destroyed. - The Albanian population, mainly women, children and old people from the region of Drenica, started leaving their homes.

March 10th - Under the pressure of USA and EU, without previously formulated views, the Serbian government invited Kosovo Albanians to negotiations and formed a negotiation team.

March 12th - Kosovo Albanians refused the invitation to negotiations by the Serbian government.

March 14th - Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic refused the intermediary mission of EU lead by Felipe Gonzales.

March 20th - Members of the Contact group agreed to continue the pressure in Brussels on the participants in the Kosovo crisis, because not one side has done enough to fulfill the explicitly formulated demands of the Group on March 9th.

March 21st - In Kosovo second parallel parliamentary elections

8. and presidential elections held.
9 For president of Kosovo Republic
9 Ibrahim Rugova was chosen again.
1 - The former president of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic founded Socialist Peoples Party (SNP).

March 23rd - Through mediation of a catholic organization Saint Egidio, Serbian government and Kosovo Albanians reached an agreement about the return of Albanian pupils and students to school buildings. Students of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality started a protest.

March 24th - Six months after parliamentary elections, Serbian parliament chose a new government to which Serbian Radicals were accepted for the first time. Vojislav Seselj is one of five vice presidents of the government. Clashes in Kosovo in the region of Decani.

April 22nd - Serbian and Albanian sources announced movements of Yugoslav Army units in the region of Decani.

April 23rd - Organized by Milosevic, in Serbia a referendum about foreign mediation in solving the problem in Kosovo and Metohija is held. 73.05 percent of registered voters turned out, and 94.73 percent voted against foreign mediation.

April 26th - Sarajevo rock band "Indeksi" held a concert in Belgrade for the first time after 1992.

April 29th - Because of a worsening situation in Kosovo, the Contact group in Rome adopted a sanction packet against FRY involving the freezing of property abroad and the blockade of public investments.

May 1st - International mediators strengthened their presence on the Albanian-Yugoslav border.

May 4th - For the first time since the war in Slovenia in 1991. in Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana Yugoslav Drama Theater from Belgrade held a performance. - The head of the Serbian negotiation team Ratko Markovic set the 13. meeting in Pristina. "In the previous 12 talks representatives of all ethnic groups on Kosmet participated, except Albanians. Representatives of Muslims, Gypsies, Turks, Egyptians participated," Markovic said, and RTS announced. - At a press conference in Podgorica, President of



Photo: G. Aleksic



Photo: G. Aleksić

Montenegro Djukanovic blamed Slobodan Milosevic for wanting to provoke a war in Montenegro

May 7th - British newspaper "Daily telegraph" announced, in a report from Pristina, that sporadic clashes between Serbs and Kosovo Albanians are turning into a guerilla war of low intensity.

May 9th - American special envoys Robert Gelbard and Richard Holbrook visited Belgrade and Pristina with an attempt to force the Serbian and Albanian side to begin unconditional negotiations. President of FRY told them that FRY is not accepting the policy of pressures and that "the question of participation of foreign mediators in solving the problem in Kosovo was taken of the agenda with a public referendum."

May 11th - According to the writing of the London "Guardian," former members of the Yugoslav police, fired from the state service in 1989, form "the organizational backbone" of the illegal KLA, whose number has increased from 150 to 12,000 in March.

May 12th - Continuing the suffocation of the free press and oppositional voices, the government of FRY passed a law introducing enormously high compensations for the temporary usage of radio frequencies and TV channels.

May 15th - After an intensive pressure of the American mediator Richard Holbrook, Slobodan Milosevic and Ibrahim Rugova met for the first time in Beli dvor in Belgrade. Even though it was agreed that their meetings were going to be held once a week, that was their only meeting in 1998.

May 18th - The parliament of FRY voted the president of the Federal government Radoje Kotic out of the office, and elected Momir Bulatovic as the next president. - The parliament and the government of Montenegro voted against these decisions, and declared the federal government illegitimate.

May 19th - The fortieth day of the peaceful protest of Kosovo Albanians is held. The protest's slogan, "Kosovo, the largest prison in the world." - After the decision of the Serbian gov-

ernment, the school year at the University of Pristina ended early.

May 23rd - Serbian president Milan Milutinovic said at the Novi Sad fair that Serbia has food three times more than it needs and that it is sure in it's own future.

May 26th - Serbian parliament adopted the Law of University. The police brutally dispersed students and professors protesting in front of the parliament building. Several people wounded and arrested.

May 29th - Clinton received Rugova.

May 30th - Under the slogan "We also have the right to live," in the center of Pristina about 20,000 children of Kosovo Albanians from 2 to 14 years old protested.

May 31st - In parliamentary elections in Montenegro coalition "To live better - Milo Djukanovic" won.

June 1st - World agencies announcing about the fiercest clashes from the beginning of the year in the region of Decani and Djakovica in Kosovo. "The New York Times" announced the KLA is controlling forty percent of the Kosovo territory and from March in Kosovo more than 200 people were killed. - World media are announcing about "the bestialities of Serbian soldiers and paramilitary formations" against the Albanian population.

June 2nd - The police in Belgrade has stopped and brutally beaten students who tried to walk to the seat of the Serbian government and express their protest against the new Law of University.

June 3rd - Eight war ships of the regular navy NATO forces in the Mediterranean arrived to Slovenian harbours.

June 4th - A few tens of thousands Kosovo Albanians held a half-hour protest in the center of Pristina with the slogan "NATO - not on the border with Kosovo, but in Kosovo."

June 6th - The Yugoslav Army headquarters announced that the statements about a large number of refugees leaving Kosovo and fleeing to Albania are unfounded, and blamed the members of



Photo: G. Aleksić
Nine lives of Šaban the cat, 1994

WHAT TO FREEZE / WHAT TO DEFROST?

(Vreme, Belgrade, June - August 1994)

FROZEN STATE OF SPIRIT

If we choose to understand the freezer as something for turning things into eternal ice (no return from there), then we'd choose to freeze the state of the spirit in Serbia. This state can be defined with the phrase "New Serbian Order," which came into being at about the same time as the "New World Order" - a fairly vague category whose meanings depend on different interpretations. It means all, therefore nothing! Only in Serbia has it been recognized as a negative thing, dangerous for Serbian people. "New Serbian Order" is defined as its opposite, and its motto could be: "I am a Serbian and everything that is not Serbian is foreign to me!"

It is necessary to freeze the state of the spirit which allowed Serbia to be flooded with kitsch folk music and kitsch new believers, with so-called politicians and so-called journalists. Turn into ice the state of the spirit which silently endures the unbearable quantity of violence, robbery, corruption, vulgarity, stupidity... Freeze the state of spirit which allows the shopping for underpants (made in Turkey. What irony!!!) and other illegally imported goods on the flea markets. Freeze the state of the spirit which is best understood in the following words: "Quiet, it's not that bad, we have enough to eat." If we manage to freeze it all, the question "What to defrost in Serbia?" would be answered soon.

For this project Led Art needs a total change of climate - a new ice age. But, who knows... (Led) Ar(t)s longa, vita brevis!

S.I.P. (June 13 1994)

THREE WISHES

To immediately freeze anybody who approaches a child, a woman, a civilian, a village, a town with a weapon..., like the Russian winter did to Napoleon and Hitler's armies. To freeze their erect violence, their destructive "poetic" power. To freeze them before tears or blood flow, freeze them in movement, in propaganda, giving orders, in the act. Led Art's question - What to freeze? - is a question for children. It could go like this: What would you do if you had a magic wand or what would be your three wishes?

What would a child say, what would almighty Voltron do?

To freeze, to follow the disease in which the patient hallucinates against everything that is not himself - different language, different colours, habits, clothes, rituals, signs, flowers, products, songs, changes of state, books, films. To freeze the Balkan Spy, a disease that spreads like fire and which is hard to stop by rational means and negotiations.

But where can we find an ice cube this big?

the KLA for violence against civilians.

June 7th - In Pristina strong police forces dispersed a protest walk of Kosovo Albanians, who protested under the slogan "Kosovo - the largest prison in the world," for the 57. consecutive day.

June 9th - JUL called for "the patriotic forces in FRY to unite into a front for defending the country, after the undemocratic elections in Montenegro." - The Supreme Yugoslav Defense Council announced from a conference in Belgrade that the Yugoslav Army and the police are entirely in control of the state border and are successfully enforcing the measures guaranteeing the security of FRY.

June 10th - UNHCR announced that around 1.8 million people are displaced on the territory of the former Yugoslavia: 595,000 have fled to a country within the borders of the former Yugoslavia, 254,000 people into another country, and 945,000 are internally displaced in the region.

June 12th - NATO threatened FRY with a military intervention. The Contact group, with an exception of Russia, forbade the flights to JAT. - The chief prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal Louise Arbour said that the researchers of the Tribunal would be sent to Kosovo.

June 16th - Presidents of FRY and Russia, Slobodan Milosevic and Boris Yeltsin, signed in Moscow a joint declaration about Kosovo. NATO council said that with that statement Milosevic didn't guarantee he will fulfill the strict request of the Contact group to withdraw the security forces from Kosovo, and NATO will continue "the strongest possible pressure" on the president of FRY.

June 23rd - KLA arrived close to Pristina.

June 24th - As a mark of support for the Montenegrin leadership efforts for reform, the US Ministry of finances excluded Montenegro from sanction imposed on FRY on June 8th.

June 29th - Slavko Dokmanovic, accused of war crimes in Croatia in 1992. committed suicide in his cell in Scheweningen prison, near the Hague.

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July 1st - Darko Asanin, a former boxer and a businessman, according to the writings of the Belgrade press connected to the underground and close to the political establishment of Serbia and FRY, killed in Belgrade.

July 8th - The chief of the deputy club of New Democracy in Serbian parliament, Zarko Jokanovic, said that the only achievements of the republican government after 100 days are "devaluation, inflation and mobilization."

July 9th - Croatian economist, Branko Horvat, in an interview for the "Novi List" of Rijeka, said that Croatia is spending on military two times more than the former Yugoslavia and three times more than western European countries.

July 16th - A group of American senators suggested to the US Senate a resolution requesting the accusation of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes. They called for the White house to "hand over the evidence against Milosevic" to the Hague tribunal.

July 20th - Representatives of Hungarians from Vojvodina and Muslims from Sandzak requested the establishment of a permanent OEBS mission in Vojvodina and Sandzak.

July 22nd - President of Serbian parliament, Dragan Tomic said that the situation in Kosovo in Metohija is "under control" and that the police is achieving "excellent results in the field," and for the KLA that "it is not an army, but a group of a few road gangs of local Albanians helped by war dogs, mujahedins and world criminals." - The parallel parliament of Kosovo Albanians announced a Declaration recognizing the KLA.

July 27th - UNHCR announced that in Kosovo more than 100,000 people had left their homes, and that since the beginning of the clashes more than 150,000 people have fled Kosovo into other parts of FRY and Albania.

July 30th - An OEBS mission, after a seven-day visit to Yugoslavia, announced that "the crisis in Kosovo has entered a phase with unpredictable consequences."

August 1st - Escalation of conflicts in Kosovo. Kosovo Albanian sources in Pristina an-

Imagine the Dutch cutting down all their tulips because they are of Turkish origin? The madness of nationalistic programmes has to be frozen. But could that defrost Vukovar, Derventa, Sarajevo, Mostar, Brčko... Could it defrost Bosnia?

Or, let's put it this way: perhaps we should freeze those little values that are left - healthy towns and people - to preserve them for some better times when the prince with a sword, or partisans, cut through the frozen forest, wake up the sleeping beauty and people and fatherland.

Maybe it is not too late to decide who and for how long to freeze and defrost.

Maybe there is still time for everyone to imagine that they have a magic wand or that they are Voltron, or have enough strength to shout "enough!" and to do as much as he/she can to freeze the theory and practice of nation, race, religions and leaders of crusades and territorial wars. Let us go and defrost airports and roads.

M.I.J. (June 20 1994)

ESKIMOS ARE NOT SERBS

Is it worth explaining why we hate somebody? Until yesterday it was not necessary. The science of hate (hateology) has developed so magnificently in all directions and levels, that it is absolutely essential today to provide as complete an explanation of hate as possible. The development of hateology in these parts has been so strong that whole departments of sociological, political and economic sciences are involved in the methodology and axiology of hate. It is only a matter of days when the Serbian Academy of Science will open a similar branch. (A famous philosopher, Mihailo Marković, is particularly active in developing the theory of hateology).

Love needs two, they say, hate too. This has become meaningless due to the recent development of our technology and science. Hate is a value on its own. It exists even when the object of it is not present, or rather is not aware of causing any hate. A typical example of this is Eskimos.

And now let us follow the scientific and objective path and see the reasons to hate Eskimos:

1. Eskimos are of Mongolian origin and live in the north of our planet. Their look, tradition and life conditions are disgusting on their own;
2. As a nation they never declared themselves;
3. They never had enough strength to define even the territory of their state. In that sense they are an unconstitutional nation;
4. They never even tried to establish what is their land and what is ice and snow;
5. They don't know what war is (the word does not exist in their language);
6. They don't steal (although they've never heard of the 10 commandments);
7. They are not jealous - they don't know what the following 'order' means: do not covet your neighbour's wife. Every true Eskimo is ready to offer you his wife if by chance you happen to stop by;
8. Eskimos don't have family or village namedays;
9. Eskimos have no beard;
10. They don't know what pork is. They eat mostly fish seasoned with fish oil;
11. They don't live in the forest;

12. They are sensitive to alcohol - with one bottle of Belgrade beer you can make the whole village drunk;
13. They don't have windows, so their neighbours can't spy on them;
14. They are not ashamed of their bodies - they freely undress in front of strangers;
15. They don't know the power of money, banking, profits etc.;
16. Women and men have equal rights, unless they decide otherwise;
17. Old Eskimos don't interfere in the lives of the young. When they sense that the end is near, they retire to the frozen desert never to return;
18. Although they highly respect their ancestors, they don't know where their graves are;
19. They never beat their children;
20. They love their children very much and are not ashamed to show it;
21. Eskimos are not Buddhists, Christians or Moslems;
22. They don't know what cakes are;
23. They don't torture animals;
24. They don't have TV and don't regret it;
25. They care about their folklore but don't make a show of it;
26. They don't know what borders, fences or deeds are;
27. They don't have court cases between themselves because they don't have a concept of courts;
28. They don't have jails or understand what Led Art is about;
29. They don't know what a godfather is, and they don't kill and curse godfathers;
30. Eskimos do not go to the army;
31. Eskimos eat with fingers, just like the whole of Europe in the Middle Ages;
32. Instead of the constant digging through the memory and leftovers of their own ancestors, Eskimos make toys for their children; toys made of animal bones;

Eskimos are different. They are not Serbs.

Velimir Ćurgus (June 27 1994)

FREEZE ALL OASES

Oases exist. Here and now. Sounds incredible. They survive thanks to their own laws of metaphysics and alchemy. They are like miracles. The oases of spirit, humanity, reason, tolerance, peace. Oases of non hysterical art. Art that is not heated, horny. Neither sky-blue nor with the hero's halo. Neither sceptre nor coat-of-arms. Art whose ears are not filled with gunshots and shootings. Oases of truth. They are few, but do exist. Therefore precious. People live in them despite everything and everybody. Let's freeze oases. Keep them from extinction. Remember them with an ice sculpture, photo, video, written word. Preserve them for one smile of Maria, Merima, Miriam. For the day when, free from fear, it will be possible to walk any street in any town. Will it? For the moment when destruction and demolition stop. Will they? Yes - with enough determination and endurance. With will, strength and confidence. With action against action. To the end.

Because no state or appearance is final or unchangeable. The ice will melt (either by someone's mistake or intention). Until then the crystal oasis will shine, lit by the rainbow's spectrum. I draw a heart shape around the frozen oasis. As proof that someone still has one.

Zizi Oaza (July 4 1994)

nounced that Serbian forces are using cannons and rocket-propelled grenades earth-earth.

August 7th - The Western European Union called for NATO to intervene in Kosovo: "The limits of what the international community can tolerate without an intervention have been reached. We find ourselves in the midst of a catastrophe with more than 600 killed, more than 5,000 prisoners, 200,000 refugees and 300 destroyed villages: Bosnia is repeating itself..."

August 9th - The Yugoslav national basketball team became the world basketball champion. The success of the basketball players was noisily celebrated on squares and street of Belgrade and other towns in Yugoslavia.

August 13th - According to the estimates of the American ministry of finances the war in Kosovo costs Serbia two million dollars daily.

August 16th - Serbian security forces entered an empty village Junik on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, after laying a siege on it for ten days.

August 27th - EU and OEBS protested because of the manner in which the Yugoslav government is treating foreign journalists who are trying to report about the clashes in Kosovo - not issuing visas, disallowing access, expelling and physical attacks.

September 7th - OEBS and BH didn't allow the leader of SRS Vojislav Seselj to participate in the pre-election campaign in BH.

September 12th - In Ulcinj the number of refugees from Kosovo exceeded the number of inhabitants.

September 12th - 13th - At the second post-war general elections in Bosnia national parties won again. In the following days, the international mediators in BH warned both entities that, in spite of the results, only those who respect the Dayton agreement will have the support of the international community.

September 14th - Croatia has to cultivate "the winning spirit of the operations 'Glimmer' and 'Storm,' while solving their current problems," Franjo Tudjman said at the opening of the



Photo: V. Pavlović
Part of the ambiance for the play "The Demons",
Centre for Cultural Decontamination Belgrade

Borka Pavićević

FROZEN HEART

So, it's been ten years of work of Led Art, an art association, a group, a realized critical cultural concept. On October 9th it will be ten years of work of the anti-war activist society "Women in Black." Decades, centuries. Associations and societies that became institutions. Institutions of public, artistic and political life. In a historical period in which so much was spent, so much human and material treasure. And in which, in spite of everything, so much was created. And a lot was created by the ones who during all these years brought into question the general destruction.

When we were younger and we lived in a formed system, "to destroy meant to create" (Wigotsky). That was resistance, resistance to everything totalitarian.

During the last decade, encountering the collective and individual death, to create meant to destroy. To destroy the dogma and the madness of such bloody and defeating actions. Still, today there is more of those who know what the deal was. Preparing the exhibition File Serbia in 2000, even today, browsing through the pages of the catalogue, one can still say how much was done in art and culture to bring into question nationalism, xenophobia and war.

That is not simple to say, first because a chosen and necessary critique of nationalist "spiritual" forces was executed and, second, more complex, because for years it was fair and normal to speak first about the horror the "others" and "other cultures" went through.

It was tasteless - including the NATO pact intervention - to talk about all the present concepts, movements and acts. Simply because "the others" suffered so much, because death "in the surroundings" was such.

That's why the other side "spent" the experiences of the antiwar movement culture concept. Jul is Cool munched and integrated what it could have used with the reversed prefix. When turbo-folk on the Republika square, Sloboda square, Theater square, replaced rock at the beginning of the NATO intervention, everything was supposed to be clear. As the still insufficiently researched "Target culture" and "Target" itself is nothing other than the reversed, stolen "Black ribbon" reworked for its own "souvenir" aims. Kunstlager, Led Art and Nikola Džafo would say Pink-Concentration Camp, Concamp.

Out of the need for a strong homogenization of the group, all together against and all together for, completely natural for overcoming the surroundings and the events called in the media today "that what hap-

74. international Zagreb fair. Tudjman blamed the press for defeatism, and the international community for trying to destabilize Croatia.

September 17th - The leader of the Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, at a press conference in Belgrade called for preparations for a possible NATO aggression on FRY and predicted "a merciless war."

September 22nd - Minister of Justice in the Serbian government, Dragoljub Jankovic said that because of terrorism 178 Kosovo Albanians have been charged. 927 persons are under investigation, of which 419 are fleeing, and 538 are imprisoned.

September 23rd - UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1199 demanding the immediate cease of fire and the start of negotiations in order to end the conflict in Kosovo and announced further actions and additional measures if the Resolution is not respected. The only one who didn't vote was the representative of China.

September 24th - NATO Council confirmed the issuing of "a warning act" (ACT WARN) for a limited action from the air and for "air operation in stages" in Kosovo.

September 28th - Serbian parliament formed a Temporary executive council of Kosovo and Metohija into which representatives of Kosovo Albanians did not enter. - According to Serbian sources clashes in Kosovo have ceased, according to Albanian they are still going on.

October 1st - At a press conference in Belgrade, Vojislav Seselj threatened that NATO soldiers will be exposed to attacks of Serbia and FRY everywhere in the world, if it comes to a military intervention in Kosovo.

October 4th - Yugoslavia is strongly orientated towards peace and ready to solve all the open questions in a peaceful way, but, if attacked, it will defend itself with all possible means, the Supreme Defense Council of FRY concluded.

October 5th - Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic said in a conversation with the American mediator Richard Holbrook that the threats of aggression, di-



rected towards FRY, are a "criminal act" and they represent "a support for Albanian criminals, and not the Albanian nation."

October 8th - Serbian government added a Bill about special measures in the conditions of NATO armed attack threats, according to which the foreign radio station broadcasts and publication of texts in which defeatism is spread are not allowed to the media.

October 13th - After a week of intensive negotiations with the American envoy Richard Holbrook, Milosevic accepted the presence of the OEBS verification mission in Kosovo, which will overlook the enforcement of UN Resolution 1199 from land. The NATO air mission "eagle's eye" will supervise the enforcement of the Resolution from the air. Two days later this negotiation was signed by the head of the Yugoslav army Headquarters, Momcilo Perisic, and the Commander of NATO, Wesley Clarke.

October 16th - NATO decided to extend the deadline up to which Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic has to fulfill the requests of the UN Security Council resolution about Kosovo, i.e. to withdraw military and special units from Kosovo until October 27th. - Yugoslav Army units in Kosovo started withdrawing into their home barracks. Clashes of lower intensity continued in Kosovo.

October 19th - NATO verified the renewing of violence in Kosovo and slow fulfillment of the Yugoslav government's duties and the withdrawing of troops. - Vojislav Seselj initiated Yugoslav membership into the Union of Russia and Belarus.

October 20th - Serbian parliament adopted the Law of public information, which includes a sharper punishment against the media. The violation court in Belgrade, in the next few days, badly punished the owners and

pened," so one could expect the word "happening" for some of the execution sites, Led Art reacts with "the freezer truck," straight into the heart of darkness of that reality, reality as the realization of Latin-American soap operas. One of the manifest principles during those times was: personal instead of group promotion is not allowed. It will happen when a positive change ensues.

Have those times changed?

I am thinking about it in the beautiful dwelling of Nikola Džafo in Petrovaradin, underneath the Fortress. It wasn't difficult to guess that on that very address Nikola Džafo resides and works. Because, the entrance is colorful, and behind the gate one can see the greenery and flowers, and Mediterranean flowers. In the garden, the yard, on the stone floor, from time to time an incusted plaque in mosaic comes up, with the image and the appearance of a rabbit.

The rabbit was in the winter of 1995 in the Center for Cultural Decontamination, in Museo as its original title goes, and Veljković Pavilion as we named it in honor of the Veljković family. Rabbits free and rabbits in cages, frozen rabbits and those with frozen hearts that melted only in the heat of the human body and breath. It was cold, and everybody was warm because the Center was opened. At the entrance there were barricades made of sacks full of sand and cement found in the Pavilion. On the wall the things we found on the floors in the forms of historical documents and maps. The maps, old maps, and maps which were just carried out that year with the Dayton agreement, among others, maps carried by everyone, maps devouring people, persecuting them, maps of ethnic cleansing, we as a map, refugees, borders, the war for territories and against inhabitants, that will be one of the constant themes of Led Art and the Center for cultural decontamination.

But the siren is equally important. It was a siren rewound with a handle, an old siren and an old handle, and when you wind it, it resounds with a persistent, panicky, upsetting, warning and consoling sound. The meanings of the sirens were then for the first time shown on a flyer. The siren for alarm, the siren for the start of danger, the siren for the end of danger.

On April 24th, 1999, I was holding in my hands the very same Civil defense flyer that was supposed to explain to us how to react and what to do. A real flyer and real sirens were heard. The NATO intervention or bombing had started.

After five years of warning, after five years of sirens as a cultural concept. What is older, reality or art, reality or concept?

Led Art gave all it had to identify reality, to name it, to confront it, to show it its aspect, to call it and beckon it. To anticipate it and to form it critically, in order to warn, in order to break "bad eternity."

Did a change for the better ensue?

I am thinking about it in Džafo's garden, and a change for the better ensued because I am watching the beautiful windows of this calm dwelling, because I am thinking about him personally, thinking about the creator, painter, man of purple imagination, I am watching at the green color of the window, the color of the windows of the courtyard apartments in the Center for Cultural Decontamination. And there are plants everywhere, the tree in the yard has grown, now it is huge and it is casting a shadow. It was only a branch, a twig, when we came to clear up, freeze and warm up while working.

Somewhere at the beginning of the war there was an interview with Nikola Džafo in *Vreme*, done by Mirko Mlakar, our friend, he left for Split, came back during the war years. On the photograph, stylized a la Salvador Dali, Džafo is smiling devilishly, full of strength, noise and anger, strength that was such that he had things to freeze, it was a fire that chose ice. Frozen heart, Heart on the Asphalt, Heart in Priština, Ten thousand tears frozen into cubes.

A beautiful morning in Džafo's garden. Light and shadows, the exciting peace of his studio. I am looking if there are still birds whose wings break, what is on the pictures with strong colors of the surrounding and the whiteness of man. Is that ice or a great empathy which for a while froze in order to preserve him for the big storage room, for the archive, for history which will some day be discovered?

How much need for eternity was there in the entire most directly engaged art of Led Art. How much was "the freezer truck" a warning idea before it happened, and when it happened, that sum of meanings travelling from here on the river, on land, on sea, and carrying with it a frozen heart, frozen bones, frozen things for final deciphering, personal belongings, objects of identifications, straight over there, somewhere where the fate will be redeemed and where there will be justice and human dignity forever.

How many artists, that many refrigerators, year 1995.

What do people today have in their refrigerators? And what can be found in all the stolen refrigerators from Vukovar to Kosovo? And where are all those refrigerators? The loaded refrigerators, carried refrigerators, the moved refrigerators. And "Freezer Trucks".

I am sitting with Džafo in the unique dining room of his dwelling. Every object, every little thing, everything has a shape, everything is an art object, as the whole space is an art space. Concentrated peace, almost a tranquil atmosphere. And from every catalogue, from every paper, from every painting, from every schedule there is a torrent of a frozen art sum, pain and empathy towards victims and the defeated. This is where marginality in its most subtle, most precious and chose style resides. This is where the heart resides. In the rabbit, it burns.

There are flags fluttering, the flags are nailed to the wall, there are mirrors everywhere, maps, hair-cuttings, chairs. On one of them Ivan Stambolić's book *The Road to Nowhere* is promoted, when no one else dared or could have done it. *Fight Against Fear*. Ivan wasn't afraid either.

An image in *Vreme*. War times. On the Chair there is Slobodan Inić, also gone now, sitting, at the bottom of the Chair there is Radomir Konstantinović leaning on its giant leg. Then he talked about a profound meaning of marginality, the guarantee of the existence of the meaning of the future. That sum of humanity and culture preserving its very meaning, or substance, or essence, is moving along a marginal road. That's how the cultural and civil thread lives. On the roads of the chosen marginality.

Once Džafo ordered me, during the action *Coming to Your Senses*, it happened when mister Avramović was replaced, to go with drumbeaters and horses down Belgrade streets and to announce the action. I was standing in front of the Student Cultural Center and thinking what has happened in that institution in the eighties, how important all of it was. When the decisive gallery of modern art was there. Later, still drumming, I came to the Center for Cultural Decontamination, into the crowded yard.

Today I think that the rebellion all these ten years brought the continuity of "destruction as creation" and "creation as destruction." That freezing

the editors of several Belgrade newspapers. - The newsrooms of the Belgrade dailies "Danas", "Dnevni telegraf" and "Nasa Borba" have been unsealed only after an eight-day ban on the publication of these newspapers.

October 27th - The NATO Council temporarily postponed the action order about a military intervention against targets in Yugoslavia.

November 4th - In the county of Stimlje in Kosovo clashes against the police and armed groups of Kosovo Albanians are renewed, Serbian and Albanian sources confirmed.

November 6th - The Dean of the Belgrade Faculty of Philology, Radmilo Marojevic, cancelled the Department for general literature and Theory of Literature, which has existed at this faculty for more than thirty years.

November 12th - In Gracanica the representatives of Kosovo Serbs and metropolitan of Raska-Prizren, Arthemius handed the suggestion for the Kosovo agreement to Christopher Hill, noting that it means including Kosovo Serbs into the dialogue.

November 24th - Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic replaced the Head of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters colonel-general Momcilo Perisic. Perisic refused the offered place of the consultant to the prime minister for questions of defense.

November 29th - The London newspaper "Observer" published that the American president Bill Clinton gave a green light for the enforcement of the secret plan for the deposing of the Slobodan Milosevic regime and the breaking of what is left of the federal Yugoslavia.

December 1st - In the Belgrade center "Sava" a celebration of the 80-year anniversary of Yugoslavia was held. Present at the celebration, which marked the signing of the treaty between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes about the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was the president of FRY with his wife, Mira Markovic, and the highest Yugoslav officials. - The political representative of the illegal KLA Adem Demaci announced at a press conference in Pristina the requests of Kosovo Albanians: the status of a federal unit in the

1 9 9 8. transitional period and international guarantees that Albanians will have a right for self-termination after three years.



December 3rd - Yugoslav parliament adopted the budget for 1999. with the amount of 15 billion and 848 million dinars, 63.5 percent higher than the budget for 1998. The largest part of the budget, 69.65 percent is reserved for financing the defense of FRY.

December 7th - The President of the Serbian government, Mirko Marjanovic, in an expose in the Serbian parliament, announced a further increase in production and standard in the next year. - On the black foreign currency market in FRY a rate of 8.8 dinars for a Deutsche Mark reached. Marjanovic blamed "the smugglers" and the "doings of the so-called free press" for the increase of the Mark.



December 13th - Yugoslav president, Slobadan Milosevic, said in an interview to the "Washington Post" that the Yugoslav army will stop NATO troops from entering into the Yugoslav territory and that FRY will treat every presence of foreign troops in Kosovo as an act of aggression.

December 15th - In Zagreb the accusation is raised against Dinko Sakic, the former commander of the Ustasha concentration camp in Jasenovac for crimes against humanity and the violation of war rights, causing the death of more than 2,000 people in the period of nine months during 1944.

December 22nd - In Kosovo and Metohija there are no more dis-



Photo: V. Pavlović

Borka Pavićević at Slavija announces to the people about the Day of Ice and Freezing

made the heart possible. That it is here. "In ice cubes, as many little, red hears from aluminum were frozen, hearts that after melting stay on the street and in hands as a symbol of good will, the distribution of nice wishes and responsibility for a misfortune still reigning."

Has something changed?

Everything has changed. The trauma is still present, The Freezer Trucks are here, everything is here, everything is in reality, the whole sum of history. Everything is visible, the description of the image is in front of us. Nikola Džafo is moving in his yard with conquered strength that can be calm and that can jump. Beauty and peace of Džafo's space rests on a secret, and on the truth dwelling in heart, a frozen, hot heart.

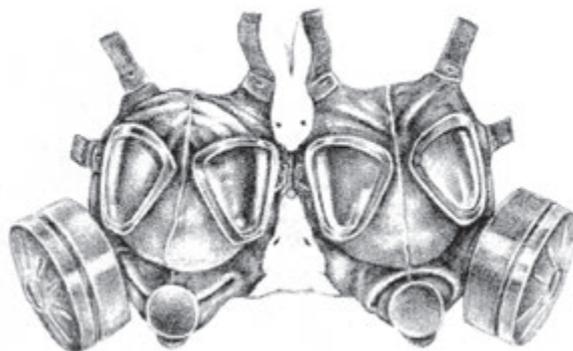
ACTIVITIES IN THE CENTRE FOR CULTURAL DECONTAMINATION (CCD)

(January 1 1995 - May 17 1996)

At exactly 12 midday, on January 1 1995 the sound of sirens announced the start of the work of the Centre for Cultural Decontamination in the once beautiful but now crumbling home of the old Veljkovic family of Belgrade in Birčanin Street. In the space surrounded by the cold and cracked walls of what was once one of the first art galleries in the Balkans (built by Stojan Veljković in 1931), and thanks to the creative energy of people from the Centre for Cultural Decontamination, a new gathering place was opened for all the people who wished to protect themselves in these dark times. Borka Pavičević, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajski, Ana Miljanić, Milan Mihajlović, Dragan Živančević, Suzana Jovanović, Dubravka Knežević, Dejan Radovanović, Dragan Dangubić, Stanka Čorić Dangubić, Vera Mihalj, Dubravko and Milica Badalić, Vesna Grginčević, Zoran Jovanović, Nikola 'Mlađi' Majdak and Vesna Pavlović started the full-scale decontamination which does not allow the division into healthy and sick. When something gets spoilt, dirtied, ruined, shameful, poisoned then it is crucial to immediately clean the filth which has covered people and their thoughts in the last few years in this country through mixing, melting, connecting and cross-breeding.

Demanding ethics within the (po)etics the CCD started the long process of "peeling the upper section of the poisoned layers" by organizing various "cultural therapies" meant to freeze the alarm and performing a mental drainage. At the opening of the CCD, the first therapy was organized by Led Art, accompanied by the music of Shumman, Mozart and Haydn. Visitors were greeted with 'ice hearts and hangover brew' and led into the exhibition space decorated with important dates in the lives of the Veljković family.

(Marija Gajicki, The Art Production Machine,
Nezavisni, August 25 1995)



Design: D. Živančević

placed persons in the open and there are no humanitarian problems state officials are not solving, it was announced from the cabinet of Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic after his talks with Sadako Ogata, the UN high commissioner for refugees.

December 27th - OEBS warned that the increase of violence in Kosovo is jeopardizing the verification mission of that organization in Kosovo and he announced the reassessment of their activities. - Serbs from Podujevo evacuated children "to a safe place" and asked from the state to undertake measures against the illegal KLA. - RS president Nikola Poplasen said that RS inhabitants "are completely sure" that they will imminently be re-integrated into Serbia and FRY.

December 29th - NATO announced it is ready to intervene in Kosovo if violence in that province is increased and asked the Yugoslav government and armed Kosovo Albanians to respect the truce.

1999.

January 1st - President of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic: "Yugoslavia is entering the new year with the burden of international isolation, unsolved Kosovo problem, grave economic and social difficulties and unclear relationships in the federation." - President of the Serbian parliament, Dragan Tomic: "We are a really strange country, we can survive these sanctions no western state would survive, but we still did. I believe that irritates them and they are saying: 'what haven't we done to those, and they are like that.'" - In Kosovo incidents and murders are continuing.

January 5th - According to the data of the Belgrade Human rights foundation, last year in Kosovo 2,000 people have been killed.

January 8th - Yugoslav army headquarters said that the army and the police fulfilled all the assigned tasks in breaking the terrorist gangs and the creation of conditions necessary for solving the Kosovo crisis. - KLA arrested eight Yugoslav army soldiers. Soldiers are released on January 13th with the mediation of the Kosovo verification mission (KVM).

January 10th - Around two thirds of inhabitants of FRY and Croatia, mainly youth, intend to leave the country because of ethnic tensions, newspaper "Novi list" from Rijeka reported, citing the research of the International organization for migration.

January 11th - In Pristina the editor in chief of the information center of Kosovo Albanians, Enver Maljoku, one of Rugova's closest associates, is killed. His death represents a message to all the Albanians who shared his conviction that war has an alternative.

January 12th - At a press conference in the Serbian government three presidents: dr Vojislav Seselj, dr Milovan Bojic and dr Ratko Markovic "revealed" how Serbian government "got in possession of the secret CIA document." "The secret CIA document" allegedly demasks the financial connections between the foreign powers and local traitors.

January 16th - In the village Racak in Kosovo 45 Albanian corpses are found. The head of KVM, William Walker, blamed Serbian security forces for the massacre and asked for an urgent arrival of the Hague war crimes tribunal researcher to Kosovo. - Serbian president, Milan Milutinovic, blamed Walker for violating his mandate, lying and protecting Albanian terrorists. Two days later Yugoslav government declared Walker as an unwanted person with an obligation to leave the country within 48 hours. - SPO entered the reconstructed Yugoslav government, Vuk Draskovic becomes vice-president.

STOLICA (CHAIR)

The multipurpose polygonal exhibit CHAIR (STOLica - in serbian = 100 + faces), a sculpture by Nikola Džafo (4x4x4 m) entered the Veljković Pavilion as an important element of the scenography for Dostoevsky's *The Possessed* adapted by A. Camus, premiered at the CCD and directed by Ana Miljanić.

The chair was later used for various functions and was an important element of the events performed on it: Who Gives a Hair?, Flags, Nest, book promotions, discussions...



Danijela Petrović and Nikola Džafo



PUBLIC HAIRCUT "WHO GIVES A HAIR?"

The ethical (aesthetical) artistic performance Who Gives a Hair? was held on the initiative of Nikola Džafo, on September 7 1995 in the Veljković Pavilion, as part of the CCD's September decontamination programme.

At the wail of a siren, on the CHAIR, the haircutting session started exactly at noon, in the presence of one black and one white rabbit and members of the public. Nikola Džafo started by climbing on the chair and letting the scissors work on his 90 cm long hair.

Participants: Vesna Grginčević, Nela Antonović, Tanja Petovar, Marija Gajicki, Ana Miljanić, Gabriela Pajević, Gordana Pantelić, Mirna Kosanović, Borka Pavićević, Dragoslav Krnajski, Maša Badalić, Milica Badalić,

Dubravko Badalić, Slavica Vučetić, Zoran Jovanović and Danijela Petrović (the hairdresser). Erland Josselson, Andrej and Dragan Živančević, Elena Popović, Srba Gajicki, Aleksandra Kolarić and Milan Bajac later joined in the voluntary gesture of giving their hair. The shorn hair, which during the act of the public haircut became the decontaminator, was later packed, marked with the label 'decontaminator' and deposited in freezers, therefore becoming a part of the Led art Process. All participants in the performance received certificates.

The Handbook of Hair With Haircutting Aesthetics was edited by Vesna Grginčević and Aleksandra Kolarić. The poster, certificate and printed material were designed by Dragan Živančević. The recording and live broadcast of the performance was organized by Milica and Dubravko Badalić. The *Who Gives a Hair?*, N° 2 performance took place on November 21 1995 as a part of the CCD presentation held in Novi Sad (Radivoj Ćirpanov University).

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) Nikola Džafo, initiator of the public haircutting event, decided to have his 90 cm long hair (uncut since 1991) cut on the giant chair. In this way, a personal decision to have his hair ('a flag he has carried on his head') cut, was turned into a public performance by an artist who resists living under moral pressure.

Volunteers from the audience let their hair be cut in public too, consciously participating in this event which clearly portrays the time we live in. Between the two possibilities of "opposing the current" and "going along with it", those that had their hair cut made a clear choice. (...)

(Marija Gajicki, *Who Gives a Hair?*, *Vreme*, October 2 1995)

FLAGS

(Belgrade, September 8 1995 and Novi Sad November 22 1995)

Starting from the claim that everyone has the right to his own flag, Led Art announced the competition.

1. Everyone has the right to their own flag
2. Everyone has the right to raise and lower their flag
3. To wave it
4. To throw it under the enemy's feet
5. To wave to a friend who is leaving or returning
6. To wrap themselves in their flag
7. To pat their face dry with their flag after the morning splash
8. To use their flag to escape from prison
9. To scare children with their flag
10. To use their flag however

If you already have your flag send it to us. If you want your own flag send us your ideas.

(Copy of the public competition)

January 19th - The decision of the Yugoslav government to kick out Walker and block the international research of the murder of 45 Kosovo Albanians caused sharp reactions from the West and Russia, NATO repeated its threats to bomb targets in FRY.

January 22nd - Yugoslav government froze the enforcement of the decision to drive out Walker.

January 27th - UNHCR Belgrade office announced there is no more Serbian population in 98 villages in central and western Kosovo.

January 29th - Contact group called the government in Belgrade and Kosovo Albanians to begin peace negotiations until February 6th in Rambouillet in France.

February 2nd - State media in Serbia started a campaign against NATO.

February 5th - The state took over the ownership of the company "ICN Yugoslavia" in Belgrade.

February 6th - French president Jacques Chirac opened the peace conference about Kosovo in Rambouillet.

February 16th - Negotiations in Rambouillet entered their tenth day, and the two sides haven't reached an agreement in a single point.

February 19th - President of FRY, Slobodan Milosevic, said that Yugoslavia won't give away Kosovo "even for the price of bombardment" and refused to meet the American mediator Christopher Hill. - Western diplomats started leaving Serbia.

February 23rd - Negotiations in Rambouillet stopped after 17 days without signing a treaty.

February 24th - In Salonika NATO forces for Kosovo started disembarking.

February 26th - The Vojvodina teachers' syndicate blamed the Serbian government that, by "convicting" teachers to "professional and moral humiliation," it convicted the young generation for "uneducation" and also "betrayed the vital interests" of Serbia.

February 27th - SRS president and Serbian government vice-president, Vojislav Seselj, at a demonstration in Bel-



1 9 9 9. grade threatened the neighboring countries with war if they allow Serbia to be attacked from their territory, and to Kosovo Albanians he said they will disappear from Kosovo if Americans attack Serbia. - SPS organized numerous "protests for defense of Serbia" in which it called the people to oppose the possible NATO attacks.

March 1st - After more than three months, students of the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade ended their boycott of classes after the new dean, Rade Bozovic, signed the document bringing eight fired professors back to work.

March 5th - High representative in BH, Carlos Westendorp, replaced RS president Nikola Poplasen. SPS asked for an urgent replacement of Westendorp.

March 9th - In the south and north of Kosovo, clashes between the representatives of the Yugoslav army and the KLA. - Serbian police published wanted posters for "terrorists," representatives of the KLA including three members of the Albanian team at the negotiations in France.

March 12th - In Belgrade the deputy of the Criminal direction head of Serbian police, colonel Milorad Vlahovic, is killed.

March 15th - Military stint extended in FRY for thirty days. - Before the continuation of the negotiations in Paris, the Serbian government shoot from the heaviest verbal weapon with the basic message "better war, than pact." - In the international centre "Kleber" in Paris negotiations about Kosovo are continued.

March 16th - The Pentagon blamed FRY for concentrating troops in Kosovo and preparing for war. - In Macedonia 6,000 refugees from Kosovo and 12,000 NATO soldiers.

March 19th - The Contact group announced it is postponing the negotiations about Kosovo and it won't start them again if Belgrade doesn't accept the agreement about the autonomy suggested by the international mediators and doesn't withdraw the police and military forces from the province with the supervision of the international military observers. - Western countries started evacuating diplomats from Belgrade and called



Several people responded to this invitation and during the September decontamination raised their flags: Raša Todosijević, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajski, Dušan Otašević, Vera Stevanović, Saša 'Mikrob-Mladoženja' Marković, Vuk Veličković, Mihael Milunović, Nela Antonović (Mimart), Slobodan Vilček, Ljubiša Bogosavljević, Staniša Dautović, Vesna Grginčević and Slobodan 'Cober' Čelebić.

The CCD guest, Erland Jossefson, responded to the journalist's question: N.B.: You have seen in this Gallery various personal flags. What would yours look like?

Erland Jossefson: I don't have a personal flag. You see, artists here live in a dramatic situation, and the flag is just another sign of the drama which is happening around. If I made my own flag it would not be exactly connected with my own drama, because the flag in Sweden is not that important. It is pretty, but nobody sets it on fire if angry. It does not have such a dramatic element. I don't know what mine would look like.

When I entered this fantastic room (Veljković Pavilion) I immediately saw that it was possible to put drama onto a flag, even several dramas onto one flag. If I wanted to make a flag I would need one year to think how but the idea is fantastic and exciting. This kind of artistic centre, with various events, playing, flags, paintings is very interesting. In conditions when there is the threat that civic and cultural work might die out, this kind of work is exceptionally important for the future.

(Gordana Suša and Erland Jossefson, We are Happy to Lose Territories, Naša Borba, Belgrade...)

PROJECT X

(Belgrade, April 16 1996)

The sugared facade of Project X cannot hide the many years of agony and deception served up to us by the regime.

The architecture of the regime has sunk firm foundations for fostering hatred, for inciting war, based on fear, hunger and disease, the rescinding of human rights, freedoms, the elimination of the independent media... The appearance of change offered by Project X causes bitterness, disappointment and poses the question: are you aware of the fact that by your participation in Project X you are supporting the regime which is as sweet as diabetes?

Looking at Project X by young Serbian architects, organized by the Belgrade City Hall, which finishes today, Led Art group wants to demonstrate

its reservations. So, at 12 o'clock in the Sugar Plant, Led Art will present their performance. Led Art explained its disagreement with the megalomania of this project and its consequences in the pamphlet. (...)

(O.M., Sweet Façade, *Naša Borba*, April 16 1996)

(...) talking to *Vreme* Nikola Džafro points out that the reaction of Led Art is inspired by the desire for a dialogue - 'so that other side of the story could be heard'. He also points out that some (para)state organs used this project for self-promotion. Just to remind you, among the sponsors are: the Belgrade City Hall, the Ministry of Culture, KPGT Fund, CIP-Europolis, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Serbian Ministry of Finance, the Ministry for Ties With Serbs Outside Serbia (...)

(V.R., The Architecture of Regime, *Vreme*, April 20 1996)

ESCAPE FROM THE CENTRE – THE ICE-DAY

(Belgrade, May 17 1996)

The third anniversary of Led Art was marked by a richly documented exhibition of Led Art's activities in the Veljković Pavilion. The cultural-artistic-culinary programme in honour of Led Art started with the choreodrama *Iceman* by MimArt Theatre. Then the pupils of Lujo Davičo ballet school performed The Deaf Dance from Lika and Nebojša Popov, in his role as cook, prepared 100 litres of beans in a vat.



It turned out that The Ice Day, later called The Escape From the Centre marked the formal ending of Led Art's collaboration with the CCD.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) The Ice Day celebration in the CCD was a rich event in every respect. In addition to a three-year Led Art retrospective (in Veljković Pavilion), there was a rich cultural and artistic programme. Among others, the MimArt Theatre performed accompanied by the drummer Igor Barabaršnjikov, while Borka Pavičević with her 'Yamaha' drum walked the nearby streets inviting people to celebrate the Ice Day. There was also Andrija Barilo on his mare 'Košava' and the folk-dancing group from Lujo Davičo school. Outside, in the beautiful courtyard, Nebojša Popov prepared bean stew. (...)

(Velimir Čurgus Kazimir, The Day of Ice and Beans, *Nezavisni*, May 24 1996)

the citizens to leave FRY. The verifiers in Kosovo (1,400) were given the order to leave Kosovo.

March 20th - After the Law of University in Serbia the Law of scientific research is passed. The majority of scientist is saying that freedom of scientific research doesn't exist and that the coalition in power is dictating everything: the Law is allowing the minister, the government and the state to flexibly and freely direct the means to projects they are assessing to be of the so-called national interest.

March 23rd - The mission of the special American envoy Richard Holbrook in Belgrade is finished unsuccessfully. Milosevic kept his poise not to allow foreign troops in Kosovo. - Serbian parliament declared themselves against the arrival of foreign troops. - USA warned Belgrade that the planned NATO air attacks on targets in Yugoslavia will be "quick, sharp and painful." - NATO General secretary, Javier Solana, ordered the forces of the western alliance to attack FRY to "stop a humanitarian catastrophe" in Kosovo. - Yugoslav government declared the state of direct war danger.

March 24th - At 20.00 o'clock NATO air strikes on military targets in FRY began. The strike has begun with cruise missiles from American planes B-52 and B-2 and from the British frigate "Splendid" and British planes "Harrier GR7". - In the first series the area of eight cities is targeted. The first explosions were heard on the territory of Pristina. The YA Headquarters said that 20 military objects are un-



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der attack. Yugoslav government declared the state of war. The bombing of FRY lasted without stopping for 77 days.

June 10th - Representatives of the Yugoslav army and NATO signed on June 10th in Kumanovo a military-technical agreement about a complete withdrawal of the Yugoslav military and Serbian police from Kosovo. In the next few months in the province 45,000 soldiers from the international forces squad under the command of NATO are deployed, as well as 3,000 international police. - President of FRY, Slobodan Milosevic addressed the citizens of Yugoslavia on the same day, congratulated them on peace and called for the renovation of the country.



June 28th - On the ten-year anniversary at Gazimentan in Kosovo, when Slobodan Milosevic in front of about a million people promised to Serbs from Kosovo protection and security, in province the international management is being established, tens of thousand of Serbs are leaving Kosovo, and the ones who are staying are exposed to revenge of the Albanian extremists.

July 1st - A Technician at a Leskovac local TV station, Ivan Novkovic, during the half-time of basketball game Yugoslavia-Germany, stopped the broadcast and called the viewers to protest against the government. Four days later, the first anti-regime demonstrations began in town that was considered one of the strongholds of Milosevic's power.

ESCAPE FROM THE CENTRE - C'MON - SNAP OUT OF IT

(Kragujevac, July 12 1996)

At midday, on 1st January 1995, members of Led Art (Nikola Džafro, Dragoslav Krnajski and Suzana Jovanović) with Borka Pavićević, Ana Miljanić and Dubravka Knežević realized the first decontamination in the Veljković Pavilion (CCD).

Participation entailed being responsible for the Centre's production, but by limiting the decision making process and despite futile attempts to solve this problem, Led Art was forced to freeze its collaboration with the CCD after a year and a half of activity. The projects realized during this period were easily recognizable as Led Art actions.

Voluntary withdrawal of Led Art is the consequence of AESTHETIC cleansing, as a direct result of Led Art's disagreement with having a purely decorative role. The final decision was made on 17th May 1996 (the third anniversary of Led Art in CCD), when the Ice Day was announced. This marked Led Art's first visit to the CCD and the announcement of Escape From the Centre Project.

Led Art undertook the concept of cultural decontamination with the intention to take its energy beyond the limits of our town, and to go from static to active participation on a horizontal level, establishing also communication currently limited and confined to the level of oral lore (drummer's message)

The Escape From the Centre Project initiated the Led Art tour around the country: C'MON - snap out of it, C'MON Kragujevac, C'MON Užice, C'MON Čačak, C'MON Valjevo, C'MON Zrenjanin, C'MON Zaječar, C'MON Nis, C'MON Novi Sad.

(Beorama, July-August 1996)

C'MON KRAGUJEVAC: THE THRONE IS LOOKING FOR THE CAPITAL

(Kragujevac, July 12 1996)

This project was realized with the participation of: Led Art, UGS Nezavisnost and the daily *Republika*. The performance started in the morning of July 12 1996 with the setting up of the CHAIR/THRONE in the centre of Kragujevac, in front of the Pionir Supermarket. The throne then patiently waited for the bus bringing participants, the cook and the entourage from Belgrade. The latter was made up of Led Art members, the Trade Union Nezavisni, MimArt Theatre and journalists.

C'MON Survey

At 12 midday exactly, the C'MON survey started next to the throne. Members of Led Art conducted it and they were overwhelmed by the an-

swers and response from the curious citizens of Kragujevac. The words "Throne" and "Government" were two most checked words in Question No 1. The most checked words in Question No 2 were "Government" and "Death Penalty." Three participants wished to freeze the word "Union". The most frequent answers in Question No 3 were: "Dove," "Government" and "Union".

At the same time in the UGS Nezavisnost office in Kragujevac, a round table was held. The host was Nebojsa Popov who addressed many questions and current socio-political doubts. The throne was dismantled after the survey and round table.

In an organized procession, headed by the truck carrying the dismantled throne, the escape from the centre of Kragujevac followed. The procession went to the centre of the workers' estate The Old Colony. There, the throne was reassembled and joined the bean cooking competition, held to help the population snap out of it. The cooks were Nebojša Popov and the host who cooked beans in two 100 litre vats. When the beans were ready the three-member jury tasted from both vats and decided that the first prize should be shared. On big tables in front of the Sports Hall the big 'snapping out' started. Participants and many curious people joined the tasting.

Having 'snapped out' MimArt Theatre performed their play *Come Closer*. The tickets (ice cubes) were distributed among the visitors and part of the scenography was a big melting ice cube. At the end of the artistic programme, a dove of peace (twice champion of Serbia), was released from the throne, and the popular feast with accordion music continued late into the afternoon.

July 4th - Marko Milosevic, son of the Yugoslav president, owner of the company "Madonna," opened a athletic-entertainment center in Pozarevac "Bamby Park," built during NATO air raids on FRY.

July 7th - President Milosevic ordained 910 members of Serbian police and 168 workers of other institutions "for a great contribution to the heroic defense of the country from aggression."

July 8th - According to the Belgrade weekly NIN, in the past three months almost a third of independent radio and TV stations in Serbia stopped working. - In Belgrade the head of the Police station Savski Venac, colonel Dragan Simic, was killed. - According to the data of the Yugoslav Red Cross, there are 100,000 displaced persons from Kosovo in Serbia and Montenegro, lives of a about a million inhabitants of FRY is imperiled, and the number of public kitchen users has increased from 14,000 to 50,000.

July 11th - According to the estimate of the former head of the legal service of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, attorney Tihomir Stojanovic, in military courts in FRY there is currently around 23,000 cases against military subjects because of draft-evasion and desertion.

July 12th - Citing the Serbian Ministry of justice, the International Committee of Red Cross announced that there are 2,095 Kosovo Albanians in Serbian prisons.

July 15th - After NATO bombing, Yugoslavia has returned to the level of the first half of the 19th century on the scale of relative degree of progress, independent economists announced.

July 21st - Head of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, General Dragoljub Ojdanic, said that in NATO aggression on FRY, 524 members of the Yugoslav Army have lost their lives, and 37 are missing.

July 24th - In the village of Staro Gacko in Kosovo 14 Serbs were killed while reaping wheat on their estates.

August 5th - According to the data of UNHCR, 176,753 people from Kosovo, including a few thousand refugees from Croatia and Bosnia placed in the prov-



Photo V. Pavlović
Escape from the centre, CCD 1996.
Serbian Deaf Kolo mounted on a horse Košava



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Photo: Dragoslav Krnajski
Crime reconstruction in the
Student Protests,
Belgrade 1997

LED ART IN THE STUDENT PROTESTS

(Belgrade, January - February 1997)

At the end of 1996 and the beginning of 1997 the streets of Belgrade and other larger cities of Serbia were the battleground of a large civil rebellion manifested by 24-hour walks of protest. The trigger for this unique happening was the steeling of votes to the opposition Coalition Together in local elections in Serbia, on November 3rd and 17th 1996. For the first time after many decades, citizens, suspecting deception, decided not to allow government fraud. A handful of manipulated students and citizens, as the protesters were called by the regime media, did not even back up in front of police pickets, night sticks, beatings, water cannons and other brutal forms of government aggression. After persistent walks, but also under the pressure of international public, Slobodan Milošević was forced to come up with an extraordinary legal action and indirectly admit the defeat and electoral theft. It is estimated that during the walks that lasted for three months, only in Belgrade around 10 million students and citizens have walked by. The symbolical finale of these events happened in Belgrade on February 21st by taking down the red star from the parliament building.

Led Art participated in protests with three actions.

WITH A MIRRORS AT THE CORDON

(Let's Give Them Back the Picture)
Belgrade, January 21 1997

Strong police forces have blocked citizens to show their dissatisfaction with walks since December 26th 1996. In Kolarčeva Street the police set up a cordon and block the passage to Terazije. Parallel to the cordon, citizens set up their own cordon, and this action is called With a Cordon on the Cordon. Kolarčeva Street is turned into a place of constant happenings. A number of professional associations support the students, and members of Led Art and the painters guild initiate the action With a Mirrors at the Cordon. The idea the bringing of mirrors to the police in the cordons, so the image of the government will caught in the reflection, has the principle performance role.

ince, fled to Serbia and Montenegro since the beginning of June.

August 15th - Serbian Prime Minister, Mirko Marjanovic, in an interview to Belgrade daily "Politika" blamed the opposition block Unity for Changes (SZP) for being a terrorist organization, and leaders of SZP for being "hired, paid killers," recruited by NATO.

August 17th - The police in Belgrade beat up and arrested the initiator of the civil protest in Valjevo, painter Bogoljub Arsenijevic Maki. Arsenijevic was convicted to three years in prison on November 15th.

August 20th - Student movement "Otpor" (Resistance) and the crisis headquarters of the University of Nis Student Union, organized "a birthday party" celebrating Milosevic's birthday with the title "What's up, Doc?"

August 22nd - Kosovo clashes cost FRY 60 billion dollars and their inhabitants became poorer than Albanians, and thus the poorest in Europe, the influential British "Economist Intelligence Unit" estimated.

August 24th - UNHCR announced that there are about 30,000 Serbs left in Kosovo (from 200,000 who were there before the withdrawal of Serbian security forces). According to Serbian sources, that number is between 70,000 and 100,000.

September 2nd - Serbian Red Cross announced that national kitchens will be open in all 189 counties in the Republic.

September 21st - On the border with Serbia near Sremska Raca, the entire issue of the Banjaluka independent weekly "Reporter" was confiscated. - Due to frequent university and high-

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Photo: D. Krnajski

1 9 9 9 . school student arrests, members of "Otpor" announced that the government has declared "war on students."

September 29th - Using force, the police in Belgrade stopped about 20,000 demonstrators from coming to Dedinje, where the residence of President Milosevic is found. A few thousand people and a few dozen policemen were hurt.

October 1st - More than 50.000 participants of the opposition block SZP demonstrations in more than 20 towns and villages in Serbia condemned the police attack on demonstrators in Belgrade.

October 3rd - In a heavy traffic accident near Lazarevac a functionary of SPO Veselin Boskovic, Danica Draskovic's brother and three more party members have perished. Leader of SPO, Vuk Draskovic, who was lightly hurt, condemned the government for a homicide attempt at him. In a further investigation the Serbian secret police is suspected for the assassination.



October 5th - Near Urosevac in Kosovo, Americans built the largest military base after the Vietnam war. "Camp Bondstill" stretches on the territory of 283 hectares and it is surrounded by eight kilometers of barbed wire.

October 8th - With the inaugural ceremony in KFOR press center, in the great hall of the former athletic-cultural center "Boro and Ramiz" in downtown Pristina, German general Klaus Reinhardt took over the function of the Kosovo international force commander.

October 11th - Milosevic visited a few reconstructed bridges and overpasses on highway Belgrade-Nis. While opening the new railroad station in Leskovac, Milosevic blamed the organizers of protests across Serbian towns for being "cowards, blackmailers and toadies."

Ljubomir Gligorijević

POWER AND MIRROR

HOVERING

Between a shallow shoe and the foot there is a "weak shoe" place enabling us with our finger to reach the sole, its smooth, elegant arch, charmingly, humbly tightened in the darkness of a shoe. Maybe it is a question of important acupuncture spots or the only reachable places of itch, maybe an instinctive separation of the walking memory is attempted, or an attempt of hovering...; nevertheless, it is hard to resist such challenges of bodily flatter.

IMAGE

In the seventies, in the issue of Film News dedicated to the near-far-east tour of the Yugoslav state functionaries, one could see how the current prime minister, sitting on a sofa with his host, is placing the ankle on one foot on the knee of the other and pushing his finger, as live as a tongue in the mouth, into the shallow show. It was only a detail from a rich repertoire of spontaneous expressions of satisfaction and general joy of living of the officials visiting the hospitable, traditional friends. Already after the first scenes of these News (the regular foreplay to a movie similar to the program schedule of today's TV news), the audience in the hall of the Belgrade Cultural Center was given an opportunity in a public place, but anonymously, under the protection of cinema darkness, perhaps for the first time in the long political history, ironically yet without punishment, to gaily approach the government. Laughter ceaselessly resounded in the hall through the entire duration of the journal. As if the old layers of historical and ideological coverings around the personality of politicians momentarily disappeared. It was laughter only mute motion burlesques could cause, with a note that film news didn't enjoy the help of an accelerated image device. Since it didn't stop during the entire showing, the laughter practically anticipated the events shown. It was helped by the media as well. The filmed dignitary often, and regularly with a little delay, noticed the eye of the camera. And he looked at it with the corner of his eye when needed, and he turned towards it. That was always followed with a correction in behavior caused by the breath-taking abundance of used and unused reason for enjoyment (finger and shoe, finger and shirt,

Photo: V. Pavlović



hand and pocket, throat and tie, hand and button, nose and handkerchief, both hands, both legs, the face for drink, the face for the anthem). The eye of the camera became the premier's personal mirror not noticed by his surroundings, and a public, documented space was changed into a space of his intimacy. The spectators in the hall, therefore, were allowed to watch through that mirror and, "unnoticed", behind that mirror, in the dark, to laugh their heads off. Of course, this one, as all the other issues of Filmske Novosti covered the events of the past week, and was shown only for a week.

MIRROR

According to the concept of Nikola Džafa, a member of the group Led Art, in the action Let's Give Them Back the Picture (With a Mirrors at the Cordon) carried out on January 21st 1997, as a part of the broader action of the Student protest 1996/97. With a Mirrors at the Cordon, the main performance role belonged to numerous mirrors mockingly brought over to the police in the cordon lines. Naturally derived from the previously realized actions of the peaceful confrontation of students with private personalities in the police picket line, the new action gave a symbolical role to the mirror, assigning it to the government in general, to "the one above." The demonstratively expressed joy of carrying, holding, lifting (!) mirrors in order to, finally, publicly capture and show the image of the government, made the pure, shining reality of mirror become a significant aesthetic fact of the action as a whole, its conceptual and objective point. During the action, however, the mirrors often replaced faces of their carriers so that every policeman personally found himself in front of a faceless partner without respect. That contributed for this action of visual artists to step out of the frames of the former behavior in the protest, always in good spirit, and to partially jeopardize the basic idea of the action: then, i.e. before February 2nd, the policeman was avoided as a direct rival; after February 2nd, the date of the brutal police violence, conceptualizing and performing such an action would have been practically impossible. The gesture of bringing a mirror to a policeman, to invitation to confronting the policemen with themselves, is insulting, and the participants of the

October 13th - At about 400 places in Kosovo mass graves and proves of killings which, in principle, require research, have been found, said the Hague Tribunal spokesman.

October 16th - According to the estimates of the British weekly for military questions "Jane's defense weekly" and BBC, the war in Kosovo cost more than 30 billion pounds, NATO planes threw on FRY more than 23,000 bombs and rockets, Yugoslav economy has suffered a damage of more than 1.74 billion pounds, and there are about 500,000 mines and 10,000 unexploded missiles scattered around Kosovo.

October 19th - Nis daily "Narodne novine" are penalized with 200,000 dinars for breaking the Law of Public Information.

October 26th - Company "Dan graf," the founder and publisher of newspaper "Danas" is penalized on the basis of an accusation from Vojislav Seselj for the amount of 280,000 dinars under the Law of Information.

October 28th - The police in Belgrade confiscated the entire issue for Belgrade the newsletter of SZP "Changes" intended for distribution in Belgrade, and arrested a functionary of the municipal committee of DS, while a member of the media team of SZP, Cedomir Jovanovic is penalized with 320,000 under the Law of Information.

November 4th - FRY ceased monetary transactions with Montenegro.

November 8th - Committee for Protection of Journalists with its seat in New York expressed their concern to the Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Information and mentioned that under the Law of Public Information of Serbia, independent media have been fined with 19,6 million dinars in separate cases.

November 9th - The police stopped and excluded from traffic a few buses who were transporting supporters of SZP from several towns in Serbia to the protest set up during the Republic parliament session, and also stopped the supporters of SZP in Belgrade to demonstrate in front of the parliament building, breaking the demonstrations of about 2,000 Belgrade students with sticks.

November 10th - Printer ABC "Grafika" received nine more convictions from Belgrade judges for violations, and was fined with an additional 808,000 dinars for printing newsletter "Changes" of SZP. - A five-month investigation of international investigators and pathologists concluded that in Kosovo 2,108 Albanians were killed, and their remains were buried in 195 graves.

November 16th - Membership of Serbian universities in Association of European University (European rector conference) is suspended.

November 20th - Milosevic ordained 216 members of Serbian police.

November 23rd - Belgrade weekly "Nedeljni telegraf" fined with 160.000 dinars for violating the Law of Public Information.

December 4th - SRS condemned certain opposition parties, especially SPO, for trying to turn the political life of Serbia into a "sick tirade of slander, lies and forgeries" and announced complaints against media who conveyed that "slander." Drastic fines to Belgrade dailies "Blic" and "Danas" and to TV "Studio B" followed.

December 6th - The EU doubled the number of people banned to enter their member states, extending it to 597 names. - SPO submitted a complaint to the District Prosecutor in Belgrade and a demand for starting an investigation against the chief of Serbian State Security, Radomir Markovic and Belgrade secret police, Milan Radonjic, blaming them for the assassination of four members of SPO and an assassination attempt on Vuk Draskovic.

December 11th - In Zagreb president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, died.

December 14th - The Hague tribunal convicted Goran Jeliscic to 40 years in prison for murder, torture and robbery of Muslims and Croats in Brcko in 1992.

December 19th - President of FR Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, ordained 163 special unit members of the Serbian police.

December 21st - Serbian parliament adopted the budget of

action themselves were exposed to a very concrete, physical and moral risk. And at the very place where an unwanted noise on the informational line of action was anticipated, its other aesthetic effect appeared. The action was conceived and acted out during the "soft" protest, and the shunning of the action participants and the avoidance of one's own policeman face in the mirror partly disfunctionalized the mirror of the action. And the uncomfortable feeling among participants of both sides of the action, as excrements unworthy of reality, which intersected in the plain of every lifted mirror, so mutually smeared, became heavily condemning life contents of the falling state now submitted to the world to observe.

And then, mirror is a strong object. It existed even before its technical birth, it has been a part of nature forever, able to embrace eternity, it doesn't depend on shape, still less on frame, its separate buds easily return to the imaginary whole, and, what is here of particular significance, it has all the conditions for magical efficiency. It is possible to compare our subjective relationship to the mirror, our dependency on it, only perhaps with our dependency on our own shadow or the blood we are losing. Perhaps it is only the reflected sun the one capable of lifting the magical power of mirror up to that level. That is where the figurative power of bearing the mirror of reign comes from. That is why it can be said that in the action Let's Give Them Back the Picture, the social relations causing the action of offering the mirror to the government had a significance of an aesthetic material, and the behavior of the mass with mirrors -- the significance of aesthetic construction. For that reason, on the other hand, the question of the status of the mirror in that action can be posed again, now with the relationship to its real place in the bearing of the regime, to its practical, extreme place in the space of action. It turns out that the highly placed mirrors in search of the imaginary image of the regime confirm that the figurative place of the government and the real place of sun are exchangeable, that the mirror in search of power is comparable to the mirror in search of the sun. That's how the first-rate power of this action is achieved, the value of the virtually open mirror also, this time based on its clarity.

SCREAM

In the narrowest visual practice, that value was fully realized by Brancusi in the series Bird in Space (1912-1940). He based that series on the motif of "Mayastra," the bird whose screaming warns of danger! After the versions in which the open beak screaming was replaced with the arched form turned upwards, the multiply used final solution appeared, in which the passed form of the open beak was replaced with an elliptic plane of the diagonally cut basic shape of the bird's body. With elongation and gradual widening of the size of the body, a structure turned upwards appeared, suitable for changing roles of all the basic dynamic lines of the bird's representations. The diagonal cut of the fully open beak naturally ends the gradual filling of the bird's torso space, and to the bird seen from the front gives a strong upside down move, the bodily source of the scream; seen from the side, however, that same line becomes the line of the rear, it brings in the dynamics of the opposite arch, back move ("wing") and the sharp profile of the cut ellipse of the open beak draws to the "poke" of the whole into space. That double, contradictory dynamic and denotational connection has, however, a unique outcome, first of all in the dynamically rounded body of the represented bird's figure, and

then in liberating that body from the stand, from the weight, i.e. in letting the body of the represented bird into the free space. And considering Brancusi's polishing of every material to a silky mirror-like shining, the slanted ellipse plain of the open beak is actually the mirror-like plain turned upwards; it follows the general dynamic elan, opens the body and serves the interaction with sunshine as the mediator of eternity. As the whole body of this bird serves for the opening of the beak to offer itself to the sun, the interaction with sunshine makes the ellipse mirror-like plain of the open beak keep the whole body of the bird in an eternal space.

Brancusi's commentaries and personal shots of the statues, lighted in the way to enable the interaction with eternity, reflect a longing for the realized "essence of flight." "Flight, what happiness!" he says, and dreams of a bird as a "project increasing to fill out the sky." Ezra Pound rationalized that by mentioning a Buddhist contemplating Universe.

But in the basis of Brancusi's ellipse there is the scream... He conceptualized the other sculpture in which he used the mirror-like ellipse shape, as The New-born (1915). That was the shape of "the first scream."

With the help of a dramatic context, the mirrors lifted in the action Let's Give Them Back the Picture were used in that way. In order to reach the government.



Photo: V. Pavlović

MONUMENT

But "the use" of sculpture in approaching the aesthetic effects of the action Let's Give Them Back the Picture doesn't have to end at that point. The action was, as mentioned earlier, a part of an older, main action With a Mirrors at the Cordon. After several months of civil protests, expressed with a massive appearance and long walks along the main city streets, the government decided to intervene for the first time. In order to stop the walks that became the most natural, the most accessible form of a spontaneous mass participation in the protest, it placed a police picket in an intelligently picked street. That street is a wide, but short passage between two largest, most representative Belgrade squares, practically the crucial artery without an independent urban runway, ideal to accept

republic for year 2000. in the amount of 28 billion and 930 million dinars, from which the largest amount is dedicated to the police.

December 23rd - "Novine vranjske" fined with 800,000 dinars for violating the Law of Public information.

December 31st - Reconstruction and development of the country will be the main task of FRY in 2000, Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, said in the New Year address to citizens on RTS.

2000.

January 14th - The Hague tribunal convicted five Bosnian Croats to sentences of 5 to 25 years in prison for slaughter of Muslims in Ahmici. - Representatives of movement "Otpor" celebrated the Orthodox New year on Republic square in Belgrade under the slogan "This is the year."

January 15th - Zeljko Raznjajovic Arkan, Milenko Mandic Manda and Dragan Garic were killed in the Belgrade hotel "Intercontinental." On January 22nd, the police announced that the assassination was committed by Dobrosav Gajic.

January 21st - Belgrade daily "Dan" fined with 270,000 dinars after the complaint by the state news agency Tanjug. For the first time after the adoption of the controversial Law of information a medium acted against a medium.

January 26th - The Hague Tribunal came up with the final conviction for Dusan Tadic (44) for war crimes committed during the war in Bosnia. The first man tried in the Hague tribunal was convicted to 20 years in prison. The trial lasted for almost four years.

February 3rd - After monetary, the traffic of goods was also stopped between Serbia and Montenegro.

February 7th - Pavle Bulatovic, Yugoslav minister of defense was killed in Belgrade. Dragoljub Ojdanic, the former head of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, became the new minister of defense, and Nebojsa Pavkovic became the new head of the army.

2000. February 10th - President of the Serbian Radical Party and vice-president of the Serbian government, Vojislav Seselj, condemned some media, especially Radio B-92, for being "American mercenaries and worse than the biggest criminals," thus marking the beginning of another synchronized action of the Ministry of information and telecommunications against the independent media. - Belgrade weekly NIN fined for violating the Law of public information with 150,000 dinars.

February 14th - The EU enlarged the list of names banned from getting entry visas to EU countries from 600 to more than 900 names.

February 17th - At the fourth congress of SPS in Belgrade Slobodan Milosevic said that in Serbia there is no opposition, and he called the opposition leaders "new janissaries." The highest party functionaries blamed the Serbian opposition for "treason" and collaboration with countries which participated in bombing FRY. The Congress was held under the slogan "Reconstruction-development-reforms."

February 18th - Belgrade daily "Danas" was fined with 300,000 dinars under the Serbian Law of information.

February 20th - During seven days the police in Serbia arrested 24 activists of the organization "Otpor" for putting up posters and drawing graffiti.

February 21st - Yugoslav institute for statistics marked the drop in production of 23.21 percent in 1999. in relation to the previous year. The average salary in January was 1,694 dinars (75 Deutsche Marks) in FRY.

February 24th - Belgrade daily "Vecernje Novosti" fined with 290,000 dinars, and Belgrade television "Studio B" with 220,000 dinars under the Serbian Law of Information.

February 25th - The International Red Cross announced that the fate of about 3,000 people from Kosovo is still unknown. Among the missing, the majority is Albanian. - In Pristina the sport center "Boro and Ramiz" is burned to the ground.

March 3rd - War commander of Bosnian Croat forces, General Ti-



Photo: V. Pavlović

a picket of the policemen as an unbreakable cork for stopping the free circulation of the walking columns. But, as neutral as it looked as a place, it enabled the human bodies of participants from both sides to form an unanticipated, favored scene for protests.

That short, wide street between squares where the gathering of protesters acquired a critical mass enabled the confrontation with the government permanently, directly and in a stable form. Along the police picket, a picket of citizens was formed, also with permanent guards. In that manner a permanent, small empty space was formed between two pickets that played a crucial role in the further direction of the protest. That space became a space of individual contacts with members of the police picket, often unfriendly, but also seductive, including love messages, also a scene for various political and cultural manifestations, music, drama, and dance shows and performances created exclusively for the occasion. It was a space with clear connotations of two sides with opposite aspirations in a conflict, but a manifested good will and a colossal imagination of the mass in the protest. This is where the new charm of Belgrade was born. On that scene between two picket lines and the buildings in Kolarčeva Street the mirrors in the actions Let's Give Them Back the Picture were also lifted. The mirrors of this action and that scene as its particular base deserve a status of a monument in the historical remembrance of the city and the nation.



Photo: V. Pavlović

PRESIDENT'S LIFE BELT (THE PRESIDENT'S SOS) – SALVATION FOR ALL OF US

February 11 1997

Led Art society for freezing and diluting, helping the president, offers its product

FROZEN LIFE BELT

Usage instructions

1. Use immediately or
2. Keep the belt by freezing it from diluting Facts about the belt:

It is born on -25 C The birth lasts for 24 h

First came to this world in performance Flood, in October 1993 in

Novi Sad

P.S. Starting from this year, led art warmly recommends it.

During the street performance of The President's SOS, held on February 11th, the student demonstrators and members of LED ART moved in procession carrying two ice life-belts - a gift for President Slobodan Milošević. The life-belts were taken to the Parliament. The students tried to present this gift to the President but were prevented from doing so by the police.

Photo: D. Krnajski



homir Blaski was convicted in the Hague to 45 years in prison for crimes committed against Muslims in Central Bosnia in 1992-1994.

March 4th - USA offered five million dollars for information that will help arrest Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Around 10,000 wanted posters are posted in public places in Bosnia.

March 6th - Belgrade television "Studio B" is fined with 450,000 dinars under the Serbian Information Law.

March 12th - Serbian police stopped broadcasting of the Radio Television Pozega program.

March 16th - Yugoslav Ministry of telecommunications confiscated the equipment from the TV Pirostok antenna.

March 20th - Branimir Stanić, the former commander of the paramilitary formation Serbian Guard, founded by SPO at the beginning of the combat in Croatia, was killed on the parking lot of the Belgrade hotel "Serbia."

March 30th - Journalists, publishers, members of the electronic media and organizations for the protection of media freedom from the whole world started a campaign in Brussels for protecting the independent media and journalists in Serbia.

March 31st - Weekly "Kikindske novine" fined with 280,000 dinars for violating the Public Information Law.

April 1st - Yugoslav government devaluated the official rate of dinar from 3.3 to 6.0 for a Deutsch Mark, while on the black market, dinar reached 22 dinars for a Deutsch Mark.

April 3rd - Members of SFOR in Pale arrested Momcilo Krajisnik, the high functionary of Serbian Democratic Party, former president of the RS parliament. Krajisnik was immediately transported to the Hague.

April 5th - Journalists of the Belgrade independent media - dailies "Danas", "Glas javnosti" and "Blic," agencies "Beta" and "Fonet" and Studio B were thrown out from the session of Culture and Information Board of the Serbian parliament under the directions from Seselj's radi-

2 0 0 0. cal. Independent media journalists were thwarted in the next few months from reporting from the Serbian parliament Board sessions.

April 6th - "Narodne novine" from Nis were fined with 300,000 dinars for violating the Law of public information.

April 10th - Belgrade television "Studio B" is fined with 450,000 dinars under the Serbian Law of information.

April 11th - Belgrade weekly "Vreme" is fined with a total of 350,000 dinars under the Law of Public Information.

April 14th - Serbian opposition started a coordinated action for democratic changes in the country with a demonstration in downtown Belgrade with the slogan "Stop to terror - for democratic elections."

April 15th - High functionaries of SPS condemned the Serbian opposition for "openly moving to the enemy's side" and said that the messages the opposition leaders sent to citizens in the Belgrade meeting are "worse than NATO bombs." Dragan Tomic called the opposition "slime," and the demonstration "the blackest fascism."

April 18th - Weekly "Kikindske novine" is fined with 200,000 dinars under the Serbian Information Law, which, including the previous eight fines, makes a total of 1,080,000 dinars. - News agency Beta is fined with 310,000 dinars. The total fines for media in Serbia, since adopting the Information Law on October 20th, 1998. surpassed the digit of 28 million dinars.

April 25th - Zika Petrovic, the director of Yugoslav airlines, is killed in Belgrade.

April 27th - Zoran Uskokovic-Skole and Milos Stevanovic are killed in Belgrade.

May 2nd - Workers of the disco club "Madona" in Pozarevac, owned by Marko Milosevic, son of the Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, beat up "Otpor" activists Momcilo Veljkovic and Radojko Lukovic.

May 3rd - FRY is among the countries violating freedom of the press the most, and Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, is one of the "ten enemies of the

CRIME RECONSTRUCTION

(Belgrade, February 18 1997)

The regime is pushing us into incidental states, and life of every individual in the last weeks was at least once in danger. Let's mark those incidental places where we were during critical situations by drawing around our bodies on the asphalt with a chalk.

(the text of the flyer)



Photo: D. Krnajski
Beginning of Crime reconstruction action in front of Plato square



Photo: D. Krnajski



Photo: D. Krnajski

press" on the lists published by international organizations "Freedom House" and Committee for journalist protection on the World Freedom of the Press day. - A judge in Pozarevac fined, for two days in a row, Belgrade television "Studio B" with a total of 730,000 dinars. The new fine of 450,000 came on May 5th in Belgrade. The fines are connected to the incident in Pozarevac.

May 4th - The International journalist federation and World newspaper publisher association declared May 19th as the day for the action of support to the free media in Serbia. - Yugoslav Army Headquarters, in an announcement to the public, condemned the opposition party leaders for endangering the security of the country.

May 5th - Belgrade weekly "Vreme" is fined with 200,000 dinars, and daily "Blic" with 280,000, in relation to the incident in Pozarevac.

May 8th - According to the data of the "Otpor" Belgrade office, around 400 activists of this organization is arrested in the past year and a half, and they spent more than 11,000 hours in the police.

May 9th - The police blocked all the entrances to Pozarevac and all the exits from larger cities in Serbia in order to stop the demonstration of the Serbian opposition in that city. At the same time, the police arrested several dozens of functionaries and activists of the opposition parties in several Serbian towns, as well as members of the movement "Otpor" and journalists of local and foreign media. Among the arrested is Miroslav Filipovic, correspondent of the Belgrade daily "Danas" and France Press from Kraljevo. Resignations and firing of judges in Pozarevac followed.

May 15th - It is demanded from the government to stop using violence on citizens and to call for elections on all levels under democratic and fair conditions at protest meetings organized by the leading parties in Serbia.

May 16th - The Crisis headquarters of "Otpor," the opposition and non-government organizations is formed in Novi Sad. - The ruling SPS described the action of

2 0 0 0. SPS as the continuation of the aggression on FRY "in the most severe and dirtiest" manner - by using terrorist attacks under the orders of NATO, and demanded the strictest punishment of "terrorists."

May 17th - Serbian government took over Belgrade radio and television "Studio B" by breaking of the police into news-rooms. By taking over "Studio B" the broadcasting of the independent radio stations "Indeks" and "B2-92," as well as the daily "Blic," whose rooms are found in the same building, is also halted. Belgrade has remained without non-government electronic media. The government tried in different ways to thwart the independent electronic media in Serbia in the following months, and opened new ones under the state control and the control of the ruling parties.

May 18th - A few dozen citizens are hurt, and a lot more are arrested during and after the opposition protest in several towns in Serbia because of government action against the independent media. - Yugoslav Army Headquarters announced that the military is ready to "execute all the special tasks," and Serbian police announced that the "violence and terrorism in the country will be eradicated, with the strong support of the people." - JUL suggested to the Serbian government and parliament to urgently adopt a law for fighting terrorism.

May 22nd - A group of 143 Albanians from Djakovica is convicted, for a criminal act of terrorism, to a total of 1632 years in prison at the Pec court presiding in Nis. The conviction was made without determining individual responsibility and it caused mass protests of Albanians in Kosovo.

May 25th - Student movement "Otpor", at its founding session in Belgrade, grew into a citizen association with the title National Movement Otpor.

May 26th - Around 180 professors and associates left Belgrade University since the adoption of the University Law on May 28th 1998, the Alternative Educational Net announced. - Belgrade daily "Danas" is fined with a total of 570,000 dinars under the Public Information Law of Serbia.



Photo: D. Krnajski
Position of police cordon in Kolarčeva street - "incidental chalk" reconstruction

Crime Reconstruction action, by Led Art members and student demonstrators, held on 18th February 1997 was a continuation and practical application of "forensic graphics," a previously well-thought-out theory. The performance followed the events of 3rd and 4th February at Branko's Bridge, when the police attacked the demonstrators with water cannon and brutally beat up dozens of people. The action consisted of marking the place of the incident. In this way the artists, with the help of many volunteers, tried to reconstruct the crime. They marked the spots where the bodies fell with chalk (volunteers acting as victims). Neither did this action pass without incident because a 'Tavria' car with a Ruma licence plate rammed into the crowd, interrupting the performance.



May 31st - The adviser for security of the Montenegrin president, Goran Djugic, was killed in Podgorica.

June 1st - Belgrade weekly NIN is fined with 230,000 dinars, thus bringing the total of fines' amount under the Serbian Information Law to almost 31 million dinars.

June 3rd - In Gracanica, president of the Serbian National Council, Archbishop Arthemius, familiarized the delegation of the European parliament with the devastating results of the UN mission in Kosovo, mentioning that in the past year in Kosovo, over 800 Serbs and non-Albanians have been killed, 1200 persons were kidnapped, and more than 80 churches and monasteries destroyed, and that two-thirds of the Serbian population is driven out of Kosovo, leaving thousands of burned and ravaged homes.

June 11th - According to the UN police data, a year after the beginning of the UN mission in Kosovo, 500 murders were committed, almost 60 percent of which are against non-Albanians, a certain degree of violence, threatening and arson is always present. Since January 2000. every week five or six murders happen on the average. According to the data of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, around 1,000 people are killed, 879 hurt and 867 kidnapped in the past 11 months in Kosovo and Metohija, 4,573 terrorist attacks have been committed, including 1,158 after the end of the KLA demilitarization. - The international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia announced that there is no basis for starting a formal investigation about possible NATO crimes during the bombing of Yugoslavia.

June 14th - The Hague war crimes tribunal investigators found this year in Kosovo new 140 graves and dug out hundreds of victims, spokesman of the Prosecution, Paul Reasley, announced.

June 15th - In Budva an armed attack on Vuk Draskovic is committed, in which the leader of SPO is lightly wounded.

June 21st - The Hague tribunal main prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, announced that since April of this year, 97 bodies from 450 mass graves have been dug out.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Yesterday's action by students at the University of Belgrade, Crime Reconstruction was forcefully interrupted. More than 20.000 students in the square in Kolarceva Street were outlining the spots where incidents had occurred during the previous 89 days of the protest, and also marking the shapes of their own bodies on the asphalt. While a group of women was chalking the footmarks of the 'blue cordon' (police), next to the Albania Palace, the driver of a 'Tavria', (licence number RU 72725) rammed full speed into the students, almost running over the security personnel. When the car stopped, the driver got out and wounded one student with a hunting knife. (...)

(D.B. Vukajlović, A Student Wounded With Hunting Knife, *Blic*, February 19 1997)

(...) Yesterday's student protest started with Crime Reconstruction. The situation on the street resembled a crime scene investigation after a murder.

A dozen students happily volunteered to lie as "victims," while their colleagues, helped by the members of Led Art, outlined the shapes of the "wounded" with chalk and aerosols. Several students, acting as policemen, arrested two students, and calling them "pro-fascists," threw them up against the wall, searched them and chalked their outlines on the walls of surrounding buildings. In Vasina Street, at the place where the police cordon used to stop students, during the time of student protests, a chalk sign was put up saying: Stop Cordon. (...)

(The Student Protest 1996/97. Crime Reconstruction in the Shadow of an Incident. The Driver Pulled a Knife, Students Destroyed 'Tavria', *Dnevni Telegraf*, Belgrade, February 19 1997)

BELGRADE (Beta Agency) - On the 89th day of protests the Belgrade students performed a Belgrade, Crime Reconstruction action, which symbolically showed that the life of every individual had been in danger at some point during the last weeks. In front of the Faculty of Philosophy, in Kolarčeva Street, where students had stood for seven days in a row in front of the police cordon, some 10.000 students chalked dozens of body shapes in the place they had found themselves on the nights of 2nd and 3rd February.

(BeoNET, February 19 1997)



Photo: S. Veljović
Actors of Labin case performance,
Landfill "May 1st" Labin, 1999



Ivan Čolović

PILGRIMAGE. DIRECTION – LANDFILL

When Nikola Džafro and Dragan Živančević came up with the idea to organize an artistic sanctification of a landfill, for example the one in Vinča, they wanted to know what I thought about it, i.e. what is the opinion of an ethnologist interested in sacred objects. The idea that city landfills can be places of artistic pilgrimage immediately appealed to me. I realized that artists are right: In the times of a general search for identity, for the answer to the question who and what we are, an important direction was forgotten, the one leading to landfills, those holy mounts of waste and garbage.

If identity is found, as many searchers for it say, in something we once had end then rejected, then the landfills are doubtlessly places that can satisfy the wish for a renewed discovery of what we are, at least as much as other institutions like cemeteries, museums, archives. In order for this statement not to sound like a sarcastic and blasphemous mixing of different kinds of waste, I have to remind that in some highly developed countries garbage and landfills acquired a certain national significance. For example, in Great Britain there is a garbage museum (The UK Museum of Ordure).

Artists have long discovered the sacred side of trash. There were artists (Rauschenberg, for example) who created works out of waste or incorporated various trashes in them. One of them (Piero Manzoni), exhibited around 1960. a numbered series of cans with "the artists dung." But I am not familiar that someone, a group of artists, organized a mystical-artistic ascendance to the mountain of our used and discarded life.

The photos made on the Vinča landfill and later, on the Niš landfill Mediana - all that junk, those wrecks, colorless rags, wires hanging from them, shapeless objects, burned tires, all those worn-out handles, perforated pots, and even more that wavy hill of trash keeping in its entrails that inconceivable thing our decades-long waste turned into - so, those photos show the scene of passion: one can clearly see that those suffering, beat up and discarded objects are waiting for the hour of resurrection. Contemplation on a landfill, the moment of introspection in trash, awakens in the artists arrived there, but also in all the pilgrims interested in the truth about themselves and the world, the incomparable experience of a moment of eternity.

June 23rd - On the occasion of the International day of fight against torture, Yugoslav center for Children's rights announced that police in Serbia, since May 17th, arrested, beside 600 adults, 25 under-aged children as well.

June 24th - At a press conference in Cavtat, after a meeting with Croatian president, Stjepan Mesic, president of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic, apologized to the Croatian people for the participation of Montenegrins in the aggression on the territory of Dubrovnik in 1991. and 1992.

June 30th - Yugoslav government withdrew the Terrorism Law from the parliamentary procedure after SRS suddenly decided not to vote for the suggested Law.

July 6th - Yugoslav parliament adopted amendments to the Federal constitution according to which the president of FRY in the Council of republics will be directly chosen, the circumstance allowing Milosevic to be voted once again as the president of FRY. Montenegro didn't accept the changes to the Federal constitution.

July 11th - In the presence of high official of Bosnia and the international community in Potocari near Srebrenica, a commemoration on the occasion of the murder of a large number of Srebrenica Bosnians is held. It is estimated that the Serb Bosnian forces, while conquering Srebrenica in 1995, killed about 7,000 people.

July 26th - The Nis Military Court convicted Miroslav Filipovic, reporter of the Belgrade newspaper "Danas" and press agency France-Press, to seven years in prison for espionage and spreading false news. The conviction caused a series of protests in the country and abroad.

August 9th - Belgrade weekly "Danas" is fined with 340,000 dinars under the Public Information Law, for the seventh time since the adoption of the Law.

August 14th - The representatives of KFOR took over the factory "Trepca" under the excuse of pollution. About 900 KFOR soldiers participated in the action, while four soldiers and six Serbs were hurt. The UN Mission for Kosovo ended the taking

over of all the large systems in the province.

August 16th - KFOR announced that from June 1999. to July 2000. 101 person have perished from mines in Kosovo. Of 1,1415 mine field registered in Kosovo, 359 have been cleared.

August 25th - In Belgrade Ivan Stambolic, the former president of Serbian presidency disappeared. His remains were found in 2003, and the secret police is suspected for murder.

August 30th - A strong repression of the regime before the elections in Serbia, the increase of tensions between the followers of Milosevic and Djukanovic in Montenegro and increased incidents between armed Albanians and Serbian police in the south of Serbia, marked the end of august and the beginning of September in FR Yugoslavia.

September 1st - In Belgrade Center "Sava" at a pre-election convention in front of 3,000 people, Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) signed "The Agreement with Serbia", by which it promised it will bring democratic changes into Serbia, cancel international sanctions, arrange the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro in a democratic way and establish a competent and responsible government.

September 5th - The international Committee of Red Cross asked for a ban on cassette bomb usage for military purposes, saying that during the first twelve months after the war in Kosovo, the unexploded remains of the cassette bombs, mines and other deadly devices, took 500 lives.

September 8th - The police in Vladicin Han brutally beat up seven "otpor" activists" inflicting grave physical wounds, after taking them to the police station because of putting up posters.

September 11th - In restaurant "Knez" in Belgrade, Zvonko Plecic (38) was killed, and Svetislav Conic and Nenad Antic were seriously injured.

September 12th - At the request of the Hague tribunal, Croatian government arrested more than ten people, including General Ivan Andabak and colonel Mirko Oreskovic, under suspicion for being responsible for crimes

That experience can never happen in the advertised places of eternity, although their custodians give out a certificate that you were there, where you came from and where you will finally arrive. Proust knew that eternity is actually found in the trivial, in the taste of a cookie dipped into tea, and Sima Pandurović saw the moments of eternity in the smells carried by the wind. Nikola Džafo and Ledartians are walking the same way, but farther still, and they find eternity in a broken teacup and a smelly smoke constantly breezing through the landfill.

FIRST EXPEDITION – THE VINČA DUMP

(Vinča, October 31 1997)

The body of a new-born baby was found on Monday at around 4pm on the rubbish dump in Vinca. The dustmen found the little corpse in the middle of a pile of rubbish. The rubbish had already been compacted by a bulldozer which made it impossible to establish from which part of town and at what time this particular container with the dead baby, whose sex remains unknown, had been brought to the dump. The Refuse Collection Service immediately called the police.

(*Dnevni Telegraph*, July 9 1997)

The above text from the daily press motivated the members of Led Art to use Belgrade's Vinča dump as a medium for diagnosis and understanding of the social changes and the deviations in society which have manifested themselves as consequences of the "Balkan Syndrome," i.e. many years' civil war, political turbulence and general impoverishment of the population. Presuming that they would find concrete proof pointing to the general level of material, emotional and cultural standards of Yugoslav society at the site, the members of Led Art, Happy Gallery SKC, Eko Centre and the Workshop to Repair the City, announced a competition to attract members to the team of the first artistic-scientific-exploratory expedition to the Vinča dump. Invitations No1 and No2 to the experts were published during August-October in the daily and weekly press: *Danas*, *Naša Borba*, *Vreme* and *Beorama*.

At the same time an invitation was sent to all ecological groups in Serbia, the Serbian Environmental Minister and to the Mayor of Belgrade:

Dear SIRS,

We would like to inform you that the multimedia group LED ART, magazine Beorama and Happy Gallery from Belgrade are preparing a unique artistic-scientific-exploratory expedition to the Vinča Dump which should take place in October of this year. An invitation to experts was published in most newspapers. Why? Pollution is the num-

ber one problem all over the world. Unfortunately we have to say the same for this country. Garbage, rubbish, scum, filth, carcasses, dung, junk and leftovers have become Serbia's most precious assets. The problem of what to do with garbage needs to be addressed immediately if we don't want it to overwhelm us.

The purpose of this expedition is to get to know and explore domestic garbage and note any progress in the field of garbagology. From experts in different fields we expect valuable observations and useful advice which will, we hope, contribute to, if not solving then at least defining the problem.

It is important to underline that starting the artistic-ecological initiative "clean up your own backyard first," Serbia will finally catch up with the world and join in the search for the solution to this global problem.

We hope you will send your experts and join our artistic struggle against garbage.

Yours faithfully, LED ART

The Expedition Vinča Dump '97 was held on October 31.

The following responded to the invitation: Mrđan Bajić (sculptor); Miloš Božić

Gabriela Vasić (painter): This action is a challenge of consciousness and conscience. By participating in this project I would like to contribute to a more human relationship with the planet and its inhabitants, and to draw the Government's attention to the possible consequences of this irresponsible and unethical attitude towards our environment. My intention is to bury the garbage.

Vesna Grginčević (writer): I see the garbage which surrounds us in a spiritual sense, and dumps its earthly material embodiment, as a great labyrinth. Is there an exit? On Vinča Dump I shall start unravelling the red thread.



Expedition: B. Karanović, D. Kamperelić, N. Skočajić, N. Mijatović, N. Milikić, S. Pešić, S. Milić, G. Vasić, M. Božić, M. Filipović, K. Ristić, M. Bajić (standing), P. Jončić, N. Džafo, D. Živančević, V. Grginčević, G. Denić (squatting)

committed against Serbian civilians in Gospić in 1991.

September 17th - The Head of the Yugoslav Military Headquarters, general Nebojsa Pavkovic, said in Pozarevac that September 24th, the day when the elections will take place, is "D-Day" and that the military will stop attempts to "grab power by force on the streets."

September 23rd - Yugoslav government kicked out a dozen foreign journalists who came to report from elections, and a group of twenty foreign reporters was ordered to leave FR Yugoslavia.

September 24th - After a ten-year rule of Socialists and their leader, Slobodan Milosevic, the united Serbian opposition won power in local elections in Serbia, the majority in the Federal parliament, and the candidate of DOS for Yugoslav president, Vojislav Kostunica, beat the SPS-JUL candidate, Slobodan Milosevic. According to the final results, Kostunica won 50.24 percent and Milosevic 37.15 percent of electors' votes.



September 27th - A few thousand people in downtown Belgrade and about half-a-million across Serbia excitedly greeted the announcement of the electoral victory of DOS and the decision of the opposition leader not to accept the possible second round of presidential elections.

September 28th - The federal electoral commission announced the final results of the presidential elections, according to which the new round of presidential elections is going to take place on October 8th. It caused massive protests of DOS supporters across Serbia. During the next eleven days, Serbia goes through the toughest political crisis since Milosevic came to power.

September 29th - Highschool students in Gornji Milanovac and miners of the Kolubara mine Tam-

0. nava are the first to answer
0 the call for civil disobedience
0 and a general strike until the
2 recognition of the election re-
0 sults. During the next few days,
0 a wave of strikes engulfed all
0 of Serbia. A blockade of high-
0 ways began. Serbia is on the
0 brink of a civil war.

October 2nd - In an announcement to citizens on RTS on the eve of the second electoral round, Milošević said that his consciousness is "completely clear," and he called for citizens to "protect the country from invasion" and warned that the victory of DOS is leading to the break-up of the country. A general strike and highway blockade are paralyzing Serbia. Strikes and protests in state media also began.

October 3rd - The police started arresting participants of the city blockade actions. Serbian government threatened it will thwart the protests. The beginning of the school year at universities is postponed. FIFA postponed all the international matches in FR Yugoslavia.

October 4th - Yugoslav constitutional court annulled the presidential elections. DOS called the citizens to meet in front of the Yugoslav parliament the next day. During the night, columns of buses from entire Serbia set out towards Belgrade breaking police blockades set up on roads.

October 5th - After backing up a few times because of tear gas, shot at protesters in front to the Yugoslav parliament in downtown Belgrade, citizens first entered the parliament, and a little later into the TV building. Revolted citizens caused fire in which both buildings were considerably damaged. One girl died, three persons were wounded from fire arms, and about a hundred people are hurt in clashed of protestors with the police in Belgrade.



Photo: D. Krnjajski

Goran Denić (artist): Does it give light? To light.

Dragan Živančević (designer)

Petar Jončić (journalist): I'd like to see whether something 'scandalous' will happen; I will watch, record and write about this action-expedition.

Dobrica Kamperelić (lawyer/artist): I always gladly accept Ecological Artistic initiatives, the way I accept Dadaist ideas of establishing the New World, new arts, new spirituality... from the ruins of the Old World (society), or its leftovers. Cleansing of not just material junk at the places where art is expected, but also cleansing of mental pollution, means that I take this action as a rich sort of catharsis. I want to revive the art of fire (started a couple of years ago in England and then also accepted in the USA) in this place too; in the form of the Ego Alter Trip performance in which I would first create an installation made of refuse, a new Merzbau in the Yugoslav way on a Belgrade dump as a symbol of consumers' madness here and now... Then follows the fire and ritual of (symbolic) burning of a piece of art accompanied by apocalyptic music by Mechanical Bride (Indianapolis) and their Dada Yama Song.



Branimir Karanović (professor): I am going to the dump to take a series of photos.

Dragoslav Krnajski (painter)

Nada Mijatović (reporter): I want a clean town. I want to enlighten the people.

Nebojša Milikić (geologist, palaeontologist): I lost my keys. Maybe I'll find them at the dump.

Svetlana Milić (painter)

Smiljana Pešić (photography student, Belgrade): I support ecological action and I am motivated by professional curiosity. I would like to photograph objects on the site. I will try to make something nice out of something ugly.

Kristina Ristić (painter): Garbage is a great inspiration. I want to get to know it through work and in a new way bring people closer to their own junk. To start with I would like to take some photos and collect some material for sculptures.

Nadežda Skočajić (photography student, Belgrade): This is a unique opportunity to visit dumps, because they are usually impossible to access. If people saw how it all looks, perhaps they would start to think of how to cut down on or use their junk better. The things people reject have a soul and I'd like to photograph ghosts of garbage.

Filimir (multimedia artist): The dump is the beginning and the end of many things, a sum of forms and materials turned into millions of micro and macro images. The dump is a place of extraordinary visual and sense provocation and possibilities to start creative work. Out of the present, randomly picked material, I would like to make an object-installation which I would burn immediately.

Nikola Džafo (painter): We organized this expedition in order for people to get to know the space of some 42.000 square metres whose insides are constantly boiling because of fermentation and gasses. We want people to get the picture and inspiration there. I see the Vinča Dump ideal as a golf course. We don't have one here. I don't think even Tito had one.

All participants were required to show special passes to the guard at the gates. A Crime Reconstruction and forensic graphics performance took place there. The guard accompanied the expedition and presented the following facts:

The Vinča Dump was activated in 1997. It occupies some 42.000 square metres and it is encircled by 5 km of barbed wire. It is located near the "Boris Kidric" Institute for Nuclear Sciences and the archaeological site of a prehistoric civilization, known as Vinča Culture. The dump does not have appropriate technology to deposit, press and cover the garbage. Neither have any facilities been installed to prevent pollution of the underground and surface waters, nor any gas-control facilities, which has led to the current lack of hygiene and numerous other problems. The dump is inhabited by families of collectors of recyclable materials. The locality also has its landmarks - the eternal flame (gas) and the black lake (refuse waters).

During their visit, the artists photographed the locality and its inhabitants. Some sample-objects and materials were collected for scientific and artistic treatment.

October 6th - Constitutional court confirmed the victory of Vojislav Kostunica in the first round. Slobodan Milosevic congratulated Vojislav Kostunica on the electoral win.

October 7th - Yugoslav parliament is constituted. Vojislav Kostunica swore an oath in front of both houses of parliament. During the next few days, Kostunica received numerous state officials, EU and USA cancelled economic sanctions to Yugoslavia renewed three years earlier because of the situation in Kosovo, the process of reconciliation with Europe and the normalization of relationship with the West and neighboring countries is opened. - Marko Milosevic, son of the former president Slobodan Milosevic left the country, after enraged citizens of Pozarevac pulled down a big sign of his disco club "Madonna" and demolished his technical equipment store "Cybernet." In Athens, Belgrade businessman, Vanja Bokan, is killed. Lawyer Bozovic said that the Athens press related the murder of Bokan to the change of power in Belgrade.

October 9th - Parties represented in Serbian parliament reached an agreement to vote for the break up of the government and to form a temporary government of experts, as well as to hold new elections for Serbian parliament. Serbian minister of foreign affairs, Vljajko Stojiljkovic, resigned.

October 17th - A group of founders and once prominent members of SPS demanded the replacement of the party president, Slobodan Milosevic, and his closest associates. Thus the break up of the political party that dominated the Serbian political scene for a decade began.

October 24th - After the deputies of SRS postponed and obstructed the session for a few times, Serbian parliament voted for the temporary Serbian government of experts, which will secure the functioning of the country until the parliamentary elections on December 23th. The government is formed by DOS, SPO and SPS, and Milomir Minic (SPS) is elected president.

November 1st - FRY is accepted to the UN.

November 4th - The new government of FRY is elected, represented

by DOS, SNP, SNS and non-government organization Group 17 plus. Zoran Zizic (SNP) is the premier. The government of Montenegro announced they do not recognize the federal government.

November 7th - In Belgrade, the investigation judge of the District court, Nebojsa Simeunovic, is declared missing. His body is found in river Sava on December 3rd.

November 11th - In an interview to "Danas," Yugoslav president, Vojislav Kostunica, declared that the Hague tribunal represents for him the least important thing.

November 17th - In Dayton the fifth anniversary of signing the peace agreement ending the war in Bosnia, is marked. Not one of the signers from the former Yugoslavia participated in the ceremony - Franjo Tudjman, then president of Croatia, died at the end of the previous year, Alija Izetbegovic withdrew from the Bosnian presidency, and the signer from FRY, then president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, was in the meantime accused for war crimes. The American president, Bill Clinton, was awarded a prize for peace (Dayton Peace Prize) for the occasion.

November 21st - The Hague tribunal war crimes experts found in 520 mass graves in Kosovo about 4,000 bodies and body parts, Carla del Ponte, the chief prosecutor announced in the UN Security Council.

November 22nd - Five years after the end of war in Bosnia, more than 20,000 people are still considered missing, the International Red Cross announced.

December 6th - According to the analysis of the Center of economic research of the Humanities Institute in Belgrade, sixty percent of Serbian population is poor, and five percent is the rich elite.

December 11th - Belgrade District prosecution started an investigation against the former director of Federal Customs, Mihaly Kertes, because of financial embezzlement. Kertes is arrested on December 15th, but was released after a few days, declaring his deputy immunity.

December 12th - In Belgrade the accusation against the president

A survey was conducted. 55 questionnaires were compiled.

Question N° 1: When you hear the word DUMP do you think of (circle); garbage, rubbish, junk, a full garbage bin, culture, something you ate, government, trade union, area, disease, death penalty, golf course, rats, fight, other (add your own)...

The three most circled answers were: garbage (14 times), junk (7), government (6). The participants added: sanctuary, money, civilization shit, Auschwitz, 1 million Vikend cigarette butts, nuclear waste, horror stories, jail, accommodation and the Roma workplace, the treasury, potential, flea market, hole, crazy pigs.

Question N° 2: When you hear the word Vinča you think of: a thousand years of culture, archaeologists, government, Chernobyl, zyklon, village, death penalty, Leonardo da Vinci, painting auction.

The majority circled: Chernobyl (15 times), archaeologists (6), a thousand years of culture (6). They added: the survivor club, Danube, first writing, the French Revolution, the scream of a castrated lemur, whale, producers and controllers of radioactive lightning conductors, science, institute, brains, dialectic annihilation of history, cheating, Titanic, nuclear waste, radioactive dump.

Question N° 3: When you hear the word LED ART do you think of: ice, art, hard, cold, life jacket, kitsch, stalker, incident, crap, dump, penguins, government, polar bear, add your own...

Three most popular answers were: art (10), ice (8), penguins (6). They added: pop-art, lonely hearts, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajska, change of state, the art of making ice cream, the art of one-foot skating, a novel in the head of a trolley-bus, a pleasant day out at the suburban dump, snow queen, smart fooling around, Slovenia, two young men, super, salvation, per aspera ad astra, a great simple symbolism of our surrounding - real art, a rejected doorless fridge, Nikola and Suzana, fermentation, crystallization, ice cream.

During the visit to the dump there was a performance The Red Thread Roll Is Unravelling, and just before going to the dump an SOS ice life-belt was left.



PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) Twenty artists of various profiles participated in the expedition. They examined the 40.000 square metres of the Vinča Dump. They photographed the dump, made garbage sculptures, performed, and their "products" will be shown to the public in an exhibition to be organized at the City Refuse Collection Service which supported this Led Art expedition, at an as yet unspecified date. (...)

(A.A., Garbage and "Garbage" Everywhere Around Us, *Blic*, November 8-9 1997)

(...)The purpose of this first expedition to the only operative city dump is to make artists, ecologists and other participants in the expedition familiar with the place where each one of us leaves 640g of refuse daily and to decide on its future function (...)

(P.J., The Garbage Dance, *Dnevni Telegraph*, October 31 1997)

(...) At the very entrance to the Vinča Dump, the artists were joined by the guide who told them that the dump occupies 42.000 square metres and that there are many places where various ongoing processes occur including a fire which has been burning constantly for 2 years. The artists started from the place where the flames constantly emerge and then they dispersed into smaller groups who photographed some sections and details of the dump and collected various objects for removal. "The main idea is that artists conceive this space in their heads as a new solution, as the space where concerts and events could be held...", said Nikola Džafo to *Dnevni Telegraph*. (...)

(P. Jončić, Inspirational Junk, *Dnevni Telegraph*, November 2 1997)

Photo: Srđan Veljović
Landfill "Mediana", detail



of the Federal Electoral Commission, Borivoj Vukicevic, and three members of the commission, is announced, for abusing the official duties during the September elections in Yugoslavia. - In Brussels the first donation conference for FRY is held, where it is concluded that it is urgent to provide 1.4 billion dollars for Yugoslavia.

December 18th - In Brussels, negotiations for the former SFRY succession is renewed, after the Yugoslav government gave up on the statement that FRY is the only her of the former country.

December 23rd - At first post-Milosevic parliamentary elections in Serbia, DOS won by a large margin. Mandates in Serbian parliament were also gained by Milosevic's socialists, Seselj's radicals and the Party of Serbian Unity.

2001.

January 8th - In Podgorica, a high functionary of the Montenegrin secret police, Darko Raspopovic, is killed.

January 10th - The former president of RS, Biljana Plavsic, voluntarily turned herself in to the Hague Tribunal, where she is accused for genocide, crimes against humanity and other crimes in 1991. and 1992. in Bosnia. After Serbian government gave guarantees, Plavsic is set free until the beginning of the trial.

January 22nd - Council of Europe parliament allowed Yugoslavia the status of a special guest.

January 23rd - The first visit of the Hague Tribunal chief prosecutor, Carla del Ponte in Belgrade. During talks with Yugoslav president Vojislav Kostunica, different points of view concerning collaboration of FRY and the Tribunal are expressed.

January 24th - Council of Europe warned Belgrade that the complete and all-encompassing collaboration with the International war crimes tribunal in the Hague is one of the conditions for Yugoslavia to join this pan-European organization.

January 25th - Serbian parliament chose the new government. President of Democratic party,



Photo: Srđan Veljović
Nikola Šindik outlines actors in the performance,
Belgrade 1999

Ljiljana Pešikan Ljuštanović

URBAN CHARMS OF LED ART

When one talks about the magic of art, that can have multi-layered meaning. It could mean that we give to art the power once reserved for magic, that with words, gestures, objects, art influences future events and changes them, but, even more, that art is something attractive, seductive, also something we don't believe in anymore, as we don't believe in charm or an amulet. Referring to the magic of art could perhaps mean that art seduces its consumer, "enchants him" sings him lullabies, does not allow him to see the rough dirt of everyday life... Still when we talk about artistic magic of Led Art none of these meanings are entirely applicable.

Those who have been gathered around this art project during the past ten years all the time or temporarily, were not driven to the refrigerator lorry, landfill, street, roads and squares because of inability of more or less traditional forms of creation to confront the muddy waters of "debauchery and lechery", but the awareness about the duty of artist not "to participate in destruction, slaughter, rape" with his creation. They were moved by the readiness to fight, to move and be threatened, to resist, not because they are powerful but because they cannot stay passive participants. Instead of helping their consumers to close their eyes and ears as tightly as possible, instead of offering a comforting illusion, they decided to make us see and hear even what we did not intend to.

The dreadful course of events made the nameless war victims swim out of the Danube in the refrigerator lorry, made "the art and life meet in the area of Twilight Zone" and things irretrievably changed. The first art performance of Led Art, Frozen Art performed in a refrigerator lorry, on the plateau in front of Dom omladine, with the swimming out of this second refrigerator lorry, lost - if it ever had one - the impression of a light artistic game. It also lost its character of typical post-modern concern with fragments of meaning and search in "chaosmos" of innumerable possibilities. "The systematic sabotage of mimesis," construction of a multi-layered, fragmentary, unstable image of an unstable world full of problems, Led Art inherited from postmodernism, but the horrific embodiment of its presentiments took it farther from the typical postmodern heterotopy, enriching it with a meaning of a particular dark prophecy, act of magic, vision of the future that only obtains its full meaning. If the (final?) Led Art performance is realized, if the imaginary artistic convoy consisting of four refrigerator lorries really makes it to the suburb, the margin of Venice, if the icy life belts plunge into the muddy waters of Venetian canals, that would be a chance to show the world a different face, to offer a different picture of our existence and activity in the last decade of the past millennium.

Zoran Djindjic, was elected as his prime minister.



February 3rd - Former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, in an interview to the Italian daily "Stampa," said he will not appear in front of the Hague Tribunal and added that the court is an immoral and illegal institution similar to concentration camps from the past.

February 6th - The former minister of internal affairs of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Zoran Sokolovic, is found dead in a car in his native village of Lepene near Knjazevac.

February 8th - The first delegation of EU to Belgrade headed by the High representative for foreign and security politics, Javier Solana, who was the general secretary of NATO during the bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999. Protests of about 1,000 citizens in front of the Federation palace.

February 12th - Serbian parliament adopted the Amnesty Law, in which 4,167 people are included.

February 13th - The former general director of Serbian Television, Dragoljub Milanovic, is arrested for suspicion of being responsible for the death of 16 workers during NATO bombing of that media house on April 23rd, 1999. Milanovic was released from prison on October 26th and will defend himself from freedom.

February 14th - Serbian parliament annulled the Public information Law under which the former regime severely fined the media.

2 0 0 1. February 16th - In a bomb attack on a bus near Podujevo, ten persons of Serb nationality died, and 43 were injured.

February 18th - In clashes between Yugoslav security forces and groups of armed Albanians in south Serbia, in the past 18 months a total of 29 people died, including 12 Serbian police officers, 12 civilians, one representative of the Yugoslav Army and four representatives of armed Albanian groups, and more than 40 are wounded, it was announced in the government press center in Bujanovac.

February 22nd - After returning to the country, the owner of the bankrupt pyramidal savings bank "Jugoskandik," Jezdimir Vasiljevic, who fled FRY eight years ago, was arrested. Vasiljevic was allowed to leave the prison and defend himself from freedom. - The international Hague Tribunal convicted Dragoljub Kunarac, Radimir Kovac and Zoran Vukovic to 28, 29 and 12 years in prison for rape and keeping in custody Muslim women and girls in Foca.

February 24th - Former secret police chief, Radimir Markovic, is arrested with two other protagonists in the Ibar road events in October 1999. when four functionaries of SPO were killed, and the party leader, Vuk Draskovic, was lightly hurt. His custody term was extended to three more months in prison. Markovic was convicted to a year in prison on July 6th for giving away classified information.

February 26th - The Hague Tribunal convicted the former Bosnian Croat politician, Dario Kordic, and the commander of the anti-aircraft brigade in Vitez, Mario Cerkez, to 25 and 15 years in prison for ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Central Bosnia.

February 27th - In the annual State department report about the state of human rights in the world, the fall of the former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, from power, was appraised by the US government as the most important event in 2000. - EU decided to limit the earlier sanctions against the regime in Belgrade only to Slobodan Milosevic and members of his family as well as against people accused for war crimes in the Hagues Tribunal.

A Russian children story tells that the sky above us once upon a time was a gigantic mirror. Everything people on earth did, was mirrored in it, exposed to the judgment of all who would lift their heads and look above them. Then, the story says, there was no egoism and hatred. Man looked at his next of kin and saw that his acts, sorrows, joys are same as the acts of sorrow, joy of other people. People of different races and customs looked at each other in the heavenly mirror and learned that differences is not dangerous but exciting. And then, the giant monkey, a stupid and limited creature who always looked only in front of him, broke the heavenly mirror. Instead of the permanent daylight, darkness came to the world. People did not see their own and others' acts and were gradually forgetting everything they knew. Only a few still sense that the stars on the heavenly vault are pieces of the broken mirror and look at them for a long time searching for the heavenly reflection and the measurement of their earthly existence.

When during the 1996 protest Ledartians stood in front of the picket fence with mirrors in their hands, they didn't bring the mirror only to the petrified "official persons," breaking the illusion about possible anonymity, sinking into the official rules and hiding behind the order, but they, above all, offered the unbeautified reflection to the ugly face of time, making it see itself without the TV make-up, without powerful ideological masks, the way it is: mean, violent, frightened. That's how pictures doomed to oblivion were created, momentary, intrepid, even if someone tried to freeze them on a photograph. With every movement of a mirror, Ledartians irretrievably destroyed a type of their own work, or perhaps they permanently buried it somewhere in the labyrinths of consciousness of those who looked at themselves... At the same time they - like an ancient sorcery, which in the mirror captures the reflections of the othersided, or it covers it in order to close the border - committed a special magical act. Maybe they did not show to people and to the time only their temporary reflection but also something of the threatening future abyss, which the former man tried to see in glass or the glittering water mirror. Maybe they captured the reflection in order to turn it and make it into its opposite, as the vila in a song for calling the rain who, while turning the mirror, turns the bright sky and calls the much-needed rain. Maybe by building obsessive labyrinths of mirrors, they drove themselves and us to see our face as a measure and the reflection of time we live in? Maybe they offered a conversation with the dead, who, according to the old Balkan believes, in the spring could see themselves again in the mirror placed above a well? Maybe they were building a ritual circle - pomana - the one in which the dancers with mirrors tucked around their waists call the dead, to bid them farewell, and thus closed the border between this and that world. And maybe they are, from the broken pieces, building again the ancient mirror in which man clearly saw himself and the others?

The mirror of time and our existence in it could be the ice itself. The little lake of clear water in a frozen life belt, kept on a photograph; smooth surface of cross with an impressed illegible message; dirty ice from which broken pieces of a consumer culture and (spent?) art are peeking, but also the traces of our immediate past. Like the former flag of a country that doesn't exist, gondolas and sneakers in which the echo of someone steps is frozen.

Created from water, ice has for Ledartians kept its pre-mordial mythic and magic ambivalence. Just like the water is the source of all-encompassing birth, ice can appear here as a dream about guarding, the one which will keep the objects, thoughts and dreams unspoiled, pristine and

pure for a future time, like a seed. – According to an old belief all the hair a person cuts during his lifetime should be placed in a chest, so that in the other world he could answer for every hair string. Ledartians put their cut hair in a deep freeze. Maybe so that, kept in ice, it would welcome a great future judgment in which all of us will answer for every thought and for every hair?

At the same time, water is also a calamity of destruction and regression, and ice not only guards but also destroys. It can be seen as a metaphor and embodiment of the final calamity: "in ice one can find monitors, printers, powder-boxes, nail polish, a feather in a cage is free of ice" (V. Ćurgus). On the ice of the end Kranjčević's Last Adam writes a question mark. Even in "micro cataclysm," shaped by Ledartians, every frozen object, every sign and shape asked a question of his own and general meaning.

This calamity does not end with melting because, as an anonymous participant of the performance (Pre)flood: "when this melts, they will turn electricity on us, and we will die like chicken." It melts and spreads itself, encompassing everything. Frozen color pigments engraved in sand, a figure of a jumper made out of frozen meat. Noah's ark of this new flood was Titanic, who once again sank in the place of a former brothel, among the participants of the performance, visitors, with orchestra, cleaning ladies, actresses who, playing them, called the spirits of former night ladies.

According to its syncretism, the domain of expression and the domain of function, Led Art performances directly recall ancient magical rituals, since they are similarly based on the relationship between plastic art elements, text, movement, rhythm, melody, using various equipment, often the one used by traditional magic, like mirrors, hair, trash, red thread. As a resistance to concrete political and spiritual state, but also in attempt to overcome the fragmentation of all types of modern life and art, these performances are realized as multi-medial artistic acts, as an expression of a desire for a type of 'unification' and 'wholeness' of one's own existence and creation.

In the borderline time, in the last decade of the millenium, Ledartians consciously moved to the margin, to the frontier, which in traditional culture belonged to magic. They go down to cellars, stand on crossroads, go to landfills. Their efforts expose the world of Vinča landfill with a permanent fire and muddy waters. (The waters of the underworld, the ones lurking sinners and the ones used for cursing, are always muddy). That black water from the borderline of our lives and the canned Vinča air is brought by Ledartians to the elite space of an expensive downtown shop, as an amulet or as a warning about the growing unclean space of the frontier. Dealing with landfills, Ledartians reveal to us a tragicomic paradox: Vinča is a valuable archeological find of prehistoric culture and a landfill, and the Niš landfill is called Mediana, same as the antique city. Moreover, they, like archeologists in search of ancient cultures, do their research and diggings in landfills, in discarded objects discovering the coveted artistry and a powerful metaphorical charge.

Here on the landfill - on the sacred and unclean frontier - they begin to uncoil the magical red thread. That thread could be analogous to those pieces of red yarn who was through centuries folded around the bedside of a mother giving birth, around the neck of a colt, around the horn of a good calf, to protect it from curses and evil, a warning and a reminder that we are folded and tied up by the bloody traces of war. It could also represent the red thread used for measuring the deceased, a warning that death is all around us, but also the one sorceresses used for measuring

March 3rd - Representatives of the Hague war crimes Tribunal in Kosovo announced that in village Kraljane, near Klina, they found 35 burned bodies, whose identification is not possible because only bones and the remains of damaged clothes were found.

March 5th - Prosecution in Rijeka opened the process against the so-called "Gospic Five," Tihomir Oreskovic, Ivica Rocic, Stjepan Grandic, Mirko Norac and Milan Canic for crimes against humanity on the territory of Gospic in October 1991.

March 11th - In Belgrade, the best man of Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, former tough guy and a secret police associate, Milan Djordjevic - Candy, is killed. His two friends, Milos Roknic and Dusan Milovanovic, are also killed, and Djordjevic's son is wounded.

March 12th - War mayor of Bosanski Samac, Blagoje Simic, voluntarily turned himself in to the Hague war-crimes Tribunal.

March 23rd - Serbian police in Belgrade arrested and turned over to the Hague Tribunal Bosnian citizen and former mayor of Prijedor, Milomir Stakic.

March 27th - 218 Albanians are released from Serbian prisons under the new Yugoslav Amnesty Law. According to the data of the Kosovo mission MKCK up till now 1,593 Albanians have been freed, and 436 are still in Serbian prisons.

March 30th - In Serbia, there is 420,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav republics registered in Serbia, according to the survey done from March 9th to 31st. Montenegro did not answer the request of the Yugoslav government for registering refugees in that republic.

April 1st - Former president of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, suspected for the abuse of power, was arrested. - Milosevic was given a 30-day custody, which was later extended to two more months. The arrest started on March 30th, and ended after two days and negotiations with the new government that lasted for seven hours. The arrest was preceded by the day-and-night guarding of his house by supporters of the SPS and JUL. After the arrest, Marija Milosevic, the daughter of the for-

mer president, fired a few shots from a fire arm.

April 3rd - Vice president of SPS and president of Serbia, Milan Milutinovic, resigned from all the functions in that party.

April 9th - In Belgrade, the president of "Delta Holding," Miroslav Miskovic, was arrested, and released the next day after fulfilling all the requirements of the kidnappers. After three weeks, the French government turned over five people suspected in the kidnapping.

April 15th - Representatives of SFOR arrested RS Army colonel Dragan Obrenovic and turned him over to the Hague Tribunal where he was accused of collaboration in the massacre of Muslims in Srebrenica.

April 30th - In Belgrade, in front of the TV Pink building on Dedinje, a Montenegrin police officer, Milan Rajkovic, was killed.

May 3rd - Information about Albanian mass graves killed in 1999. in Kosovo and refrigerator lorries that brought them to Serbia are reaching the public.

May 4th - A team of Hague investigators began exhumations from mass graves on the territory of Skelisce near Hrvatska Dubica where 56 Croatian civilians are supposedly buried.

May 7th - In Banjaluka, a few thousand protesters stopped the laying of the foundation for the renovation of Ferhad-Pasha's mosque, destroyed on May 7th, 1993.

May 23rd - Humanitarian law Foundation informed the Minister of Justice, the police and the president of Serbian parliament that a lorry with corpses from the time of NATO bombardment is found in a lake near Kokin Brod.

May 25th - An agreement about the division of former Yugoslav property was signed in Vienna.

May 30th - Since the arrival of international forces to Kosovo in June 1999. until the end of May 2001. 5,450 terrorist attacks have been committed, 1,086 persons were killed, and 1,046 kidnapped, Serbian minister for internal affairs, Dusan Mihajlovic, announced at a Serbian parliament session.

a sick person and making a circle through which he crawled, simulating temporary death and a new, healthy and cleansed birth.

In that folding of a red thread, in cutting and putting away hair, in drawing around one's body with a line of incidental graphic - there is a peculiar taming of death, a weary solidarity with the dead. While on the streets of some other towns real corpses are falling, the walkway of Novi Sad is laid with the living who let their bodies leave a black trace on the asphalt, a frightening puddle of darkness. Or they photograph themselves in the stencil of an incidental graphic, in abstract line of virtual body whose death is the death of all of us. Ancient magical rites (haircutting, putting away the hair, measuring and drawing around the body) are linked in these performances with mythemes of the modern world. On a naked, brutal throne of power, stripped down to simple lines of a gigantic stool, prisoners of a virtual camp are getting a haircut. Or - judging from the ironic implication written on a brochure *Who cuts your hair* (Who gives a damn about you) - is the hair of the meek and submissive human sheep being cut?

The call to "let a sound" at least with one's butt is directed also to the human sheep, submissive citizen with the motto "be quiet, it's good till it's not worse." Faced with an essential derangement of social construction, Ledartians are not turning to microcosm of human body, to its upper sphere, the head (epitomizing purity, thought, control) but to the lower, represented with behind, which, as opposed to head, epitomizes hunger, unclean world of instincts, and its essential subversion. In the carnival atmosphere the world is turning upside down. Ledartians photograph theirs and other people's behinds instead of a faces. Butthead in the same circle unifies the submissive head and the loud behind, rolls of toilet paper enter the exhibition area together with bright, insolent and daring folk sayings.

Due to the fact that it is unclean and low, behind represented a powerful protection in traditional cultures. When we suspect that someone wishes us misfortune, one should grab his behind, slapping and showing behind, which the present day expresses hatred toward enemy, but, at the same time, his potential evil power is weakened. The naked butt and its voting is here confronted with the pathetic loftiness of the joyful projects, deriding and driving them away as the curse and powers of evil were driven away.

The entire effort of Led Art is interwoven with urban spirit. Searching for a new, middle road, consciously yielding to the ethical (still mostly reached in the domain of esthetic) they are living the avant-garde rebellion against the obvious, the tacky, against the set expressions, thoughts and feelings, against the used-up classic art. Avant-garde, as a stylistic formation, brings "the poetics of confrontation and esthetic revaluation," which in many cases means stepping over the limits of genres, artistic disciplines, art and reality. This, on the other hand, results in a series of artistic and para-artistic forms marked by syncretism and multi-mediality. As an important aspect of its activity, the members of Led Art realize a rebellion against war, plunder, murder and social and political project generating it. Operating with mythemes of a consumer society, they reach universal anthropological archetypes. Thus they articulate their rebellion and lack of consent with a particular manipulation of objects, words, their own bodies, with things traditional magic operated with, trying to empower mechanisms of social and cosmic phenomena. That's where the circle closes, because returning to the body, gestures, words and objects some of its pre-mordial, primary meanings, Led Art questions the nature and genesis of artistic metaphor anew, going back to the native sources of esthetic.

THE FAIR OF SECONDARY USAGE AND MISUNDERSTOOD

(Cinema Rex, Belgrade, November 13 - December 1 1997)

The Fair of Secondary Usage & Misunderstood Products was held in the Cinema Rex from November 30 to December 1 1997. Led Art exhibited a production line of recyclable junk, for sale, which was the result of the first artistic-scientific-exploratory expedition to the Vinča Dump. The production programme contained: Forensic Chalk, Black Water, Life Saver Soap, Vinča Findings, Vinča Luft, Ice Fish.



Photo: Đ. Šanta

June 11th - A correspondent of "Vecernje novosti" Milan Pantic, was killed in front of his apartment in Jagodina.

June 15th - In the vicinity of Kladovo, near Petrovo Selo, a mass grave was found where between 25 and 30 bodies were buried.

June 18th - District court in Pristina convicted a former police officer, Zoran Stanojevic, to 15 years in prison for murdering a civilian in the village of Racak, near Stimlje, in 1999.

June 23rd - The Federal government adopted the Amendment about collaboration with the Hague tribunal.

June 28th - Former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, is handed over to the Hague tribunal under the Serbian government amendment. - Forty corpses have been exhumated from the mass grave in a training field for Special terrorist units near Batajnica.

June 30th - About a hundred hooligans and political extremists beat up a few gays and lesbians on the Republika Square in Belgrade, thus stopping the first gay parade in Serbia. Seven police officers and seven citizens were hurt in the event.

July 14th - Serbian government announced that the refrigerator lorry that floated out of the lake of hydroelectric plant Perucac contained between 50 and 60 corpses. It is suspected that the lorry was driven into the lake in April 1999.

July 17th - The Hague Tribunal investigators in Kosovo proved the existence of 876 graves, and they dug out 4,392 victims as well as hundreds of body parts.

July 21st - One of the owners of the Belgrade football club "Zvezdara", Miroslav Trojanovic-Trojke, was killed in Belgrade.

July 25th - Croatian Army general, Rahim Ademi, accused in front of the Hague Tribunal for crimes against humanity against Serbs in 1993. in Medacki dzep, near Gospic, Croatia, voluntarily turned himself in to the court.

July 26th - The Hague Tribunal released the accusation against the retired Croatian army gener-

al Anto Gotovina who is accused for crimes committed against Serbs during and after the operation "Storm" in 1995. in Krajina, in Croatia. Since then Gotovina has been on the run.

July 31st - The Hague tribunal convicted Stevan Todorovic to ten years in prison for war crimes committed against Muslims and Croats in Bosanski Samac in 1992. and 1993.

August 2nd - The Hague Tribunal came up with the first sentence for genocide. The former RS army general Radislav Krstic is convicted to 46 years in prison for participating in the massacre of 8,000 Muslims in Srebrenica.

August 5th - A former Serbian secret police member, Momir Gavrilovic, is killed in Belgrade.

August 10th - SFOR representatives in Banjaluka arrested VRS colonel, Vidoje Blagojevic, accused by the Hagues Tribunal for war crimes committed in Bosnia.

August 17th - DSS decided to withdraw its representatives from the Serbian government.

August 28th - Serbian police announced that in the mass graves revealed so far in Serbia, more than 340 corpses of Kosovo Albanians have been found.

September 7th - From a massive grave in the vicinity of village Cancari, near Srebrenica,

BEOWINDOW – PROMOTION OF THE PRDUCTION PROGRAMME

(Belgrade, January 20 1998)

As part of the promotion of the Vinča production programme another performance was held in the Belgrade Cultural Centre bookshop Beowindow titled Photographing Against the Jinx. The photo session was realized with the help of a "shutter" - a blackboard with a forensic drawing with a hole for the head. A volunteer is photographed sticking his head through the opening. Preserving the moment of "jinx," the "victim" becomes immune to future ones. Srđan Veljović and Dragoslav Krnajski were the photographers. The "shutter" was donated to Beowindow.

Participants: Nebojša Milikić, Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafo, Goran Denić, Vesna Grginčević and Srđan Veljović

PRESS CLIPPINGS

In the Belgrade Cultural Centre bookshop a promotion of the Led Art project, Vinča Dump '97, was held. This unusual group finds its art in a 'necrophilic' submerging into objects dumped and rejected once and for all in the Vinča suburb - a symbol of ancient culture and nuclear radiation. (...)

(Danas, January 26 1998)



Photo: S. Veljović



Photo: S. Veljović Danica Prodanović, Gabriela Vasić, Dragan Živančević, Vera Vujošević

Following their expedition to the Vinča Dump, Led Art created artistic exhibits from objects thrown away by the inhabitants of Belgrade, which, as the group's leader Nikola Dzafo says, should awaken the ecological conscience of the citizens and draw attention to our own garbage. Tins full of air, banknotes from the time of hyperinflation (1993) and wrapped chalk, found themselves in windows along with cups, notebooks, magazines, books. All can be purchased until January 31. (...)

(*Dnevni Telegraph*, January 22 1998)

(...) Drawing our attention to the Vinča Dump, which has existed for twenty years taking up some 40.000 square metres, LED ART artists have a message: "We don't need to produce new garbage, but to work on the existing one and in that way join in with society's trends with new categories like recycling." (...)

(*Politika Ekspres*, January 21 1998)

Certificate of being
photographed
against the Jinx



13 bodies have been exhumed. Pathologists have so far exhumed over 4,000 bodies of Srebrenica victims, and it is believed that hundreds more are buried at unknown locations.

September 15th - From a mass grave in the vicinity of Bajina Basta, 48 more human corpses are recovered.

September 18th - Belgrade district court announced that from a mass grave in Batajnica, near Belgrade, at least 269 corpses have been recovered.

September 25th - One of the Bosnian army war commanders, Sefer Halilovic, turned himself in to the Hague war-crimes Tribunal.

October 12th - According to the data of the Bosnian Federation Commission for Missing Persons, 372 corpses of Muslim civilians killed by Serbian forces during the Bosnian war have been recovered from mass graves not far from Prijedor.

October 21st - Retired Yugoslav General Pavle Strugar, accused for crimes in Dubrovnik at the end of 1991. by the International court in Hague, turned himself in to that court. After guarantees from the Montenegrin government, Strugar was released from prison on November 30. until the beginning of the trial.

October 25th - On the donation conference of the Southeast Europe Stability Pact in Bucharest, FRY received help of 430 million euros.

October 26th - Dobrosav Gavric is convicted to twenty years in prison for murder of Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, leader of a paramilitary formation, and two more people in hotel "Intercontinental" on January 15th of last year.

October 28th - At the Hague Tribunal, former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, refused to plead for the crimes against humanity accusation in Croatia and said that the accusation is declaring the victim as the guilty side.

November 2nd - The Hague Tribunal convicted Bosnian Serbs, Miroslav Kvočka, Dragoljub Prcać, Milojica Kos, Mladja Radic and Zoran Zigic for crimes against humanity and war crimes against Muslims and Croats in camps in Omarska, Karaterm and Trnopolje in 1992, and Prijedor in RS, to 8, 5, 6, 20 and 25 years in prison, respectively. - After more than half-a-century, religion classes are introduced into schools in Serbia.

November 8th - Members of the Serbian Special Operation Unit, "Red Berets," began a protest at their training center in Kula. Four days later they blocked the center in Kula with transporters, fully armed, and a part of a Belgrade highway. Protest was ended on November 17th after negotiations with Serbian government and replacement of the State security chief, Goran Petrovic.

November 12th - Yugoslav retired deputy admiral, Miodrag Jokic, accused for war crimes on the territory of Dubrovnik in 1991, voluntarily turned himself in to the Hague Tribunal.

November 13th - The Hague Tribunal convicted Bosnian Serbs, Dusko Sikirica, Damir Dosen and Dragan Kolundzija to prison sentences of 15, five and three years for crimes committed against Muslim civilians in 1992. in Keraterm prison camp in Prijedor.

November 16th - The Paris Club annulled 66 percent of the debt of FRY.



November 17th - In Kosovo parliamentary elections were held, in which the Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK) of Ibrahim Rugova

URBAN PROVOCATION - FORENSIC CHALK

(Green Bell, Zrenjanin, February 1 1998)



Poster

The project Urban Provocation organized by the Green Bell Club from Zrenjanin, unfolded in three phases: the Led Art Documents exhibition, performances and a treasure hunt.

The Crime Reconstruction performance was held in the club. It consisted of outlining in forensic chalk the body of a volunteer - a "victim," on a black paper, on a 1:1 scale. Twelve drawings were made. Photographing Against the Jinx was conducted by Miroslav Perić and Aleksandar Pajtić.

A 'shutter' was donated to the Green Bell Club.

The participants and observes could help themselves to a new product - "forensic dwarf" - a cookie. The inhabitants of Zrenjanin heard about the treasure hunt through Love, a local radio station: nine cats were drawn in forensic chalk in different parts of the town. First to find all the cats receives the prize.

The following participated in Urban Provocation: Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajski, Goran Denić, Vesna Grginčević and Nebojša Milikić.

"Zeleno zvono" entrance





Photo: S. Veljović
Nikola Džafo, "Flag", "Kunstlager",
Novi Sad 2000

Photo: Talent
Dragoslav Krnajski, "Winter" (detail),
"Frozen art", Belgrade 1993





Photo: Talent
Nikola Džafo, "Eye" (detail), "Frozen art", Belgrade 1993



Photo: M. Smajić
"Locality No 1", Subotica 1994



Photo: D. Krnjski
Installation for "Tuzla-Belgrade 1996" project,
Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade 1996



Photo: D. Krnjski
"Nine lives of Šaban the cat",
Belgrade 1994



Photo: D. Krnjski
Day of Ice - "Serbian Deaf", CCD, 1996



Photo: D. Krnajski
1997



Photo: D. Krnajski
"Reconstruction of crime", student and civil protest, Belgrade 1997

Photo: D. Krnajski
"SOS lifebelt for the landfill "Vinča",
1997



Photo: D. Krnajski
"SOS lifebelts for the president",
in front of the parliament,
Belgrade, 1997





Photo: S. Veljović
Expedition landfill "Mediana", Niš 1998
Nebojša Milikić, Vesna Grginčević, Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajski

Photo: D. Krnajski
Landfill "Vinča", 1997





Photo: S. Veljović
Landfill "Mediana"
Niš 1998



Photo: S. Veljović
Landfill "May 1st", Labin 1999
Newspaper "Glas Istre", NATO ATTACKED YUGOSLAVIA



Photo: S. Veljović
Performance while shooting a photo
story "Labin case", 1999



Photo: S. Veljović
Nataša Tomić-Veljović at "May 1st" landfill, Labin 1999



Photo: S. Veljović
Landfill "Mediana", Niš, 1998

Photo: Srđan Veljović and Rajko Tasić
"Crime reconstruction",
KUC "Lamparna",
Labin 1999





Photo: S. Veljović
Ring for "Iconomahia", Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade 1998



Photo: S. Veljović
Burning of artworks, "Iconomahia", 1998



Photo: Dragan Živančević
Destroyed Varadin bridge in the New Years Eve,
Novi Sad 1999



Photo: S. Veljović
Novi Sad souvenirs 2000





Photo: S. Veljović
Varadin bridge souvenirs, Led Art collection, 2000



Photo: S. Veljović

Our country is the biggest and the most beautiful concentration camp in the world.
"Kunstlager", Novi Sad, February 29 2000



Photo: S. Veljović

Public work, "Kunstlager"



Photo: S. Veljović
Flag, "Kunstlager"



Photo: S. Veljović
Flag (detail), "Kunstlager"



Photo: S. Veljović
Taking a picture with a beloved president, "Kunstlager"





Photo: S. Veljović
Frozen hair, "Kunstlager"



Photo: S. Veljović
"Penix" (Penis + Phoenix) in ice, "Kunstlager"



Photo: S. Veljović
Unloading of objects from the refrigerated truck. "Kunstlager"

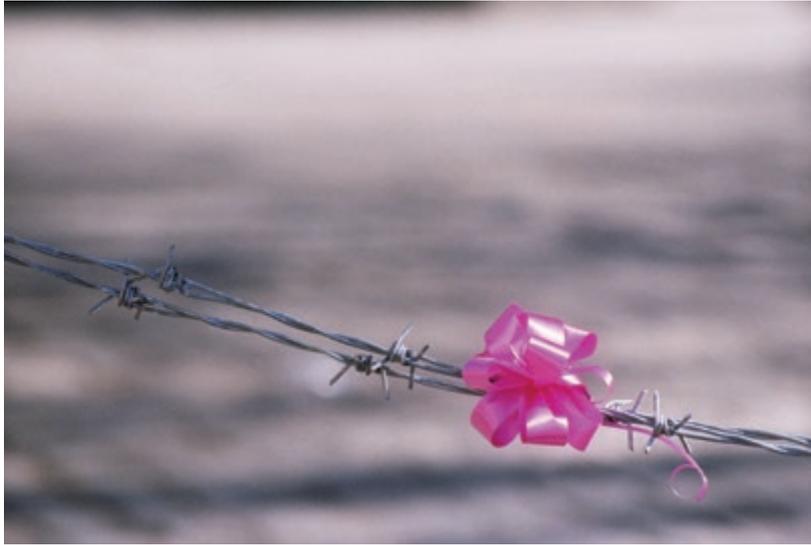


Photo: S. Veljović
White Rabbit, "Kunstlager"





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ГАЛЕРИЈА
СРБИЈА



Photo: S. Veljović

SECOND EXPEDITION – MEDIANA DUMP

(Niš, February 18-19 1998)

The process of examining and familiarizing oneself with domestic garbage was continued following an invitation by Marija Mitić from the Cultural Centre of Niš, which hosted a two day visit of Led Art in Niš and organized the second artistic-scientific-exploratory expedition to the Mediana Dump.

Participants: Goran Denić, Nikola Džafo, Vesna Grginčević, Dragoslav Krnajski, Nebojša Milikić, Dragan Živančević and Srđan Veljović (photographer).

DAY 1, FEBRUARY 18 1998, CRIME RECONSTRUCTION

In the Srbija (Serbia), a contemporary fine art gallery, the biggest and the most beautiful exhibition space in Niš, the whole Vinča production programme was shown during the morning hours. An exhibition of "black pictures," made during the Urban Provocation project in Zrenjanin was also organized. In the afternoon the Crime Reconstruction performance was held and 30 volunteers were outlined on black paper. In this way the exhibition was enriched with an additional 30 "black pictures." Among those drawn was Ratko Bradić, a gusle player from Kuršumljija.

SURVEY

A survey of visitors was held at the same time as the performance. 29 survey sheets were compiled.

Question N° 1: When you hear the word 'Dump' do you think of (circle): garbage, bins, rubbish, full bin, culture, something you ate, government, trade union, zone, disease, death penalty, golf course, rats, fight, add you own...The three most popular answers were: government (7 times), garbage (7) and rubbish (5).

Additional entries were: city, my room, violence, lie, cheat, I work in a mine and my life is bad, open stomach, graveyard, Belgrade.

won with 45.6 percent of votes, i.e. 47 places in the parliament. Serbian coalition "Return" won 11.34 percent of votes.

December 6th - President of Serbian parliament, Dragan Marsicanin, resigned. Natasa Micic voted as the new president.

December 21st - American Congress adopted a new law by which the announced help to Serbia of 115 million dollars is conditioned with entire fulfillment of international obligations, primarily collaboration with the International War Crimes Court in the Hague.

2002.

January 11th - Serbian government founded State Security Council with prime minister, Zoran Djindjic, at its head.

January 15th - In village Racak about 20,000 Kosovo Albanians marked the third anniversary of the murder of 45 people during the clash of Serbian security forces and armed Albanians in Kosovo in 1999. - A book of poetry by the leader of Bosnian Serbs and the Hague plaintiff, Radovan Karadzic, entitled From Crazy Spear to Black Fairy Tale, is presented in Workers' home in Novi Sad.

January 19th - "Wanted" posters of the former Bosnian Serbs leaders, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, are posted on the streets of Sarajevo, and a few days later in Banjaluka. On the posters, issued by the State Department, a reward of five million dollars is offered for information leading to their arrest.

January 23rd - Investigation of the Center of Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) in Podgorica and agency "Damar" show that in a referendum 46.7 percent of citizens would vote for an independent and internationally recognized Montenegro, while 41.9 percent would vote against it.

January 28th - In Pristina, representatives of KFOR and UNMIK police arrested three Albanian members of KLA suspected for war crimes in Kosovo from September 1998. to June 1999.

January 30th - Milosevic asked from the Hague court to al-



Photo: S. Veljović
Preparations for outlining, Gallery "Srbija"

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low him to defend himself from freedom, trying to convince the judges he "won't run away" and that he will "be present at all the sessions." The court refused his request.

February 1st - At the district court in Rijeka, former head of police in Gospic, Ivan Dasovic, confirmed that the political establishment at the time knew about the murders of Serbs in Gospic in 1991.

February 6th - Violation Council of Athens court ordered opening the accounts of the former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, his associates and Yugoslav companies in five Greek banks.

February 7th - Yugoslav government decided to stop financial help to the RS ministry of defense from March 1st.

February 12th - In front of the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, the trial of the former president of Serbia and FRY, the first country leader tried in front of an international court, began. The accusation condemns him for crimes against humanity, violation of laws and regulations of war and genocide during the wars in Croatia in 1992, Bosnia 1992-95, and Kosovo in 1999. The beginning of "the trial of the century" is followed by more than 1,000 reporters from the whole world. According to his own will, Milosevic will defend himself without a lawyer.

Question N° 2: When you hear the word "Vinča" do you think of: a thousand years of culture, archaeologists, government, Chernobyl, zyklon, village, death penalty, Leonardo da Vinci, painting auction. The majority circled: Chernobyl (10 times), archaeologists (4). They added: a nuclear institute, painting, art, diggings, army, bees, flying birds with diarrhoea, holiday resort, Iraq.

Question N° 3: When you hear the word LED ART do you think of: ice, art, hard, cold, life jacket, kitsch, stalker, incident, crap, dump, penguins, government, polar bear, add your own... The three most popular answers were: art (5), life jackets (4), cold (3). They added: a nice try to expand your vision, electronic art in Serbia, a white chalk drawing on a black background, a joke, white sugar, fridge, art and protection of the environment, freezer.



Photo: S. Veljović
Gusle player Ratko Bradić





Photo: S. Veljović
 Dragan Živančević in action: "victim" Boris Kandolf



Photo: S. Veljović
 "Victim" Natalija Živković

Photo: S. Veljović
 "Victims": Marija Peternel and Toni Konstadinov



Photographing against the jinx took its usual form, with a help of a photo "shutter." Srđan Veljović photographed the participants.

The "shutter" was donated to the Cultural Centre of Niš.

February 20th - According to the will of the Hague tribunal, retired deputy admiral of the Yugoslav military, Miodrag Jokic, accused for war crimes on the territory of Dubrovnik in 1991. temporarily released until the beginning of the trial.

February 28th - In search of Radovan Karadzic, representatives of SFOR executed an elaborate acrion on the territory of Celebic, but did not succeed in arresting the the war leader of the Bosnian Serbs accused for war crimes by the International court in the Hague.

March 5th - In a regular annual report about the state of human rights in the world, State department said that in Serbia a considerable progress was made in that respect in relation to the state under the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, but there are still ?serious problems."

March 13th - In the Federation palace in Belgrade, a series of separate and joint dialogues of republican and federal functionaries with the high representative of EU, Javier Solana, about the rearrangement of the Yugoslav federation.

2002. **March 14th** - In Belgrade the Agreement "Starting bases for rearrangement of the relationship between Serbia and Montenegro" (the Belgrade agreement) is reached. The agreement was signed by Yugoslav president Vojislav Kostunica, Montenegrin president, Milo Djukanovic, president of the Federal government, Miroljub Labus, prime ministers of those two republics, Zoran Djindjic and Filip Vujanovic, and high representative of EU, Javier Solana. It is agreed that the name of the country be Serbia and Montenegro.



March 16th - In an explosion the last Serbian house in an Albanian majority village Lucane, near Bujanovac, is destroyed.

March 18th - On the city cemetery in Novi Sad, 12 unidentified corpses, suspected to be victims of the war in Croatia, found in the Danube in 1991. and 1992. are exhumed. The bodies were handed over to Croatia.



March 23rd - On the occasion of the three-year anniversary of NATO bombing of FRY, president of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova said that March 24th, 1999. will be "the day when the freedom of Kosovo" began, and commander of KZK Agim Ceku called the date "the brightest day in the history of Kosovo." - In Sarajevo, it is announced that 18 bodies of Bosnian Muslims, killed in Eastern Bosnia 1992-95 were exhumed.

March 27th - The district prosecution in Split revealed the accusation against eight former military police officers for war crimes against civilian population in Split harbor Lora in 1992.



April 1st - RS bureau for relationship with the Hague tribunal announced that no one from RS accused for war crimes cannot receive guarantees for defense from freedom, because the one-month deadline for voluntary surrender has expired. - In a family house in village Repovac, near Bratunac in RS, former deputy commander of the RS Army Bratunac security brigade, Momir Nikolic, accused for genocide against Muslims in Srebrenica in 1995, is arrested and handed over to the Hague Tribunal.

April 6th - At the second congress of the Yugoslav left (JUL),

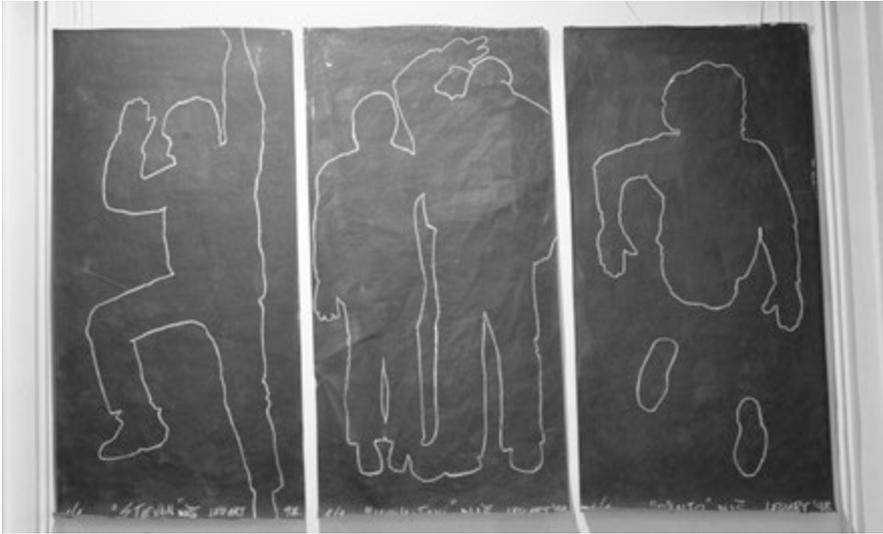


Photo: S. Veljović
 Gallery's security guard, Nataša Tomić, Dragoslav Krnajski, Goran Denić, Dragan Živančević, Nebojša Miličić, Marija Peternel, Perica Donkov, Nikola Džabo (standing), Srđan Veljović, Vesna Grginčević (lying), Boris Kandolf (squatting)



Mirjana Markovic is elected president of the party.

April 8th - District attorney in Prokuplje accused Sasa Cvijan and Dejan Demirovic, suspected for war crimes in Podujevo in March 1999. against Albanian civilians.

April 10th - In a report of Dutch experts, who investigated the circumstances of the fall of Srebrenica in the Bosnian war, it is estimated that the Dutch government and the UN bear a part of the responsibility for the massacre of about 7,500 Muslims in 1995. After that the Dutch government and the head of the Dutch army headquarters resigned. - Law of collaboration with the Hague Tribunal, that obliges the extradition of Yugoslav citizens accused for war crimes to that court, is adopted in the Yugoslav parliament.

April 11th - Former Serbian Minister of internal affairs, Vlatko Stojiljkovic, accused in front of the Hague court for crimes in Kosovo in 1999, committed suicide at the entrance to the Yugoslav parliament.

April 16th - At the Hague Tribunal, trial of doctor Milomir Stakic, accused for war crimes against Muslim and Croats in 1992. in Prijedor, began.

April 17th - The federal government called 23 people accused for war crimes by the Hague Tribunal to hand themselves in to that court. The call was answered by: Dragoljub Ojdanic, Milan Martić, Mile Mrksić, Nikola Sainović, Vladimir Kovacevic and Momcilo Gruban.

April 28th - A book called "Situacija" by Radovan Karadzic, war president of Serbian Republic accused at the Hague Tribunal, was presented at the counter of the Belgrade publisher "Igam" at the Novi Sad book fair,.

May 6th - At a local cemetery in Korenica (Lika) exhumation of the remains of victims killed in 1995. during the action of Croatian military "Storm" in Krajinna, began.

May 7th - A meeting of support to the former leader of Bosnian Serbs accused by the Hague Tribunal, Radovan Karadzic, is held on the Liberty square in Niksic in front of 2,000 people.

2 0 0 2.
May 14th - Serbian Minister of police, Dusan Mihajlovic, said that so far 400 corpses have been dug out on the territory of Serbia.

May 15th - In Bijeljina, remains of 30 members of the former Yugoslav National army, killed ten years earlier during the withdrawal of their units from the city, are buried with highest military honors in Tuzla. - In Croatia, after ten years, selling of Serbian press began.

June 1st - At the Ninth traditional meeting of Central European presidents held on Brdo kod Kranja in Slovenia, presidents of FRY and Croatia, Vojislav Kostunica and Stjepan Mesic, signed a joint announcement about the progress in the relationship between the two countries and they expressed their wishes for that process to progress more and to accelerate.

June 4th - Bosnian Serb Dragoljub Dragicevic, accused for participation in the kidnapping and liquidation of 17 Muslims in Sjeverin in October 1992. was arrested.

June 10th - Deputy chief of Serbian Police Security Department, lieutenant-general Bosko Buha was killed in Belgrade.

June 11th - At District court in Prokuplje, trial to the former reserve of the Yugoslav Army, Ivan Nikolic, for war crimes against the civil population in Kosovo in 1999. began. That was the first war-crime trial at a civil court in FRY. On July 8th, Nikolic was convicted to eight years in prison for murdering two Albanian civilians.

June 12th - All the DSS deputies left the session of the Serbian parliament, after the parliament decided to end the mandate for 21 deputies of that party.

June 13th - SFOR arrested Bosnian Serb, Darko Mrdja, in Prijedor, and handed him over to the Hague Tribunal. Mrdja is accused for participating in the massacre on the territory of Mount Vlasic in Bosnia, in August 1992.

June 17th - Exhumation and abduction of corpses suspected to be remains of the Albanians killed during the NATO bombing in Kosovo in 1999. began in Batajnica.

DAY 2, FEBRUARY 19, THE MEDIANA DUMP, NIS

Photo: S. Veljović

Nataša Tomić, Mima Tomanović, Perica Donkov, ?, Marija Peternel, Dragoslav Krnaiski (standing), ?, Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Nebojša Milikić, Vesna Grginčević (squatting)



On the second day Led Art, in the company of their hosts and the curious, visited the Mediana Dump. Facts about the dump: it's existed for 25 years and takes up 20.000 square metres. The dump's capacity will be sufficient for the next 10-15 years. 400 cubic metres of garbage is thrown away every day and 80% of it is household waste. The dump is close to the city cemetery and is not equipped with adequate technology for dumping, pressing and covering of garbage, nor does it have water protection facilities.

Led Art took photos of the dump and collected various materials intended for artistic and scientific examination. The Red Thread Is Unravelling performance, which had started in Vinča was continued here too.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

After Belgrade, Novi Sad and Zrenjanin, Led Art presented their work to Nis. In the Srbija Gallery these fighters against evil drew forensic shapes, photographed against bad luck and jinxes, and recruitment was organized for the Mediana Dump.

(Narodne Novine, Niš, February 19 1998)



CRIME RECONSTRUCTION – "BUSINESS TRIP"

(Priština, May 21 and 22 1998)

Led Art's first visit to Priština in 1994 (Gabriela Pajević, Suzana Jovanović, Dragoslav Krnajski) could be understood as a scouting action which was supposed to prepare the terrain for the Bazaar Project. Contacts were made with Ervin Ćatović and Shkëlzen Maliqi.

The next visit took place on May 21 and 22 with the Crime Reconstruction Project. The collaboration that had started in 1994 was continued. The group performed Forensic Graphics in front of the Fine Art Academy, next to the Avalon cafe.

The planned visit and performances in the Dodona gallery did not take place, due to the unfavourable conditions of co-operation between Serbian and Albanian artists. The gallery exhibits exclusively works by Albanian artists.

Host: Ervin Ćatović, painter

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Ratko Vučinić, Goran Denić.

The project was assisted by: Cinema Rex, Radio B92, Open Society Fund

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Since yesterday the Belgrade-Novi Sad artistic group LED ART has been in Priština on a "business trip." According to their leader Nikola Džafo the group is celebrating its fifth anniversary by "travelling around Yugoslavia and reconstructing crimes." They've been to Niš, Zrenjanin and now Priština thanks above all to the Open Society Fund. "We came here to communicate with the Albanian alternative and Serbian official cultural scene, in order to do something and check whether there is any animosity." (...)

(D.B., They Came to Reconstruct Crimes, *Naša Borba*, May 23-24 1998)



"Incidental graphics" in front of the Fine Art Academy, Priština

June 19th - The main prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal, Carla del Ponte asked the EU and the international community to continue "all political and economic pressure" on the government in Belgrade to make them fully cooperate with the court.

June 21st - Belgrade district court convicted the former Serbian Radio-Television director, Dragoljub Milanovic, to ten years in prison for the death of 16 workers of that media house during NATO bombing in 1999. Milanovic was released until the beginning of the complaint process.

July 7th - In Bratunac, representatives of SFOR arrested Bosnian Serb, Miroslav Deronjic, accused for crimes committed in May 1992. against Muslim civilians in village Glogovac, near Bratunac. - Book of poems for children entitled "There are miracles, there aren't miracles", by the former Bosnian Serb leader accused for war crimes in the Hague, Radovan Karadzic, is presented in Belgrade.

July 9th - In Srbinje (Foca) in Serbian Republic, SFOR arrested Bosnian Serb, Radovan Stankovic, accused for participating in the raping campaign of Muslim women in 1992. and 1993. and handed him over to the Hague Tribunal.

July 18th - Serbian parliament adopted laws about radio-diffusion, fight against organized crime and mafia, and law transforming the state security department of the Serbian police to an independent security-information agency.

July 26th - The Hague Tribunal released Milan Zec, retired Yugoslav admiral accused for war crimes in the vicinity of Dubrovnik in 1991.

July 27th - At a session in Novi Sad, the presidency of DOS decided to exclude the Democratic Party of Serbia from the ruling coalition.

August 3rd - Serbian prime minister, Zoran Djindjic, received in Prague the prize of the Vaclav Polak foundation for contribution to the progress of democracy in Serbia.

August 6th - After the exhumation of the remains of 200 Muslims from a mass grave in village Kamenica, the number of exhu-



Photo: D. Krnjski
Zmaj Jovina street after Led Art action

CRIME RECONSTRUCTION – GRAPHICS ON ASPHALT / ICE

(INFANT Festival, Zmaj Jovina Street, Novi Sad, June 28 1998)
Organizer: Cultural Centre of Novi Sad

Led Art's performance at this year's INFANT Festival coincided with its fifth anniversary. On this occasion the Crime Reconstruction and public work Graphics in Ice were held in Zmaj Jovina Street. The complete project was imagined as public provocation to establish a critical dialogue (communication) with the audience and accidental passers-by.

For this performance, a freezer-chamber was necessary where the first phase of the work was held, i.e. creating ice blocks. The work continued on the street, and consisted of printing graphics on the ice blocks. At the same time identical prints were made on paper, and then the members of Led Art placed the ice blocks as obstacles (they built a wall between Zmaj Jovina Street and Katolička Porta).

Five years previously (October 16 1993), in the morning hours, Led Art did the same thing (blocking the streets), and an evening performance Flood was held in Šmaug Cafe, when more than a hundred exhibits were left to thaw. Vesna Grgincevic says about the five years' work: "Flood was performed five years ago in this very place. In some way, this is a reminder and a celebration at the same time of our five years of activity."

(Silvia Čamber, *INFANT Bulletin*)

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Dragoslav Krnajski, Goran Denić, Ljubiša Bogosavljević, Vesna Grginčević, Ljubomir Vučinić, Miroslav Perić, Aleksandar Karišik.

Preserved "with steamroller on asphalt" were: Miodrag Isakov - member of Parliament, Ratimir Svirčević - member of local government, Ksenija Popović - Novi Sad Minister of Culture, Dragan Srećkov - director of the Cultural Centre of Novi Sad, Slavko Hauptman - Cold Storage director of the Novi Sad Milk Factory, Miša Ustalac - automechanic, Cvjetko Kostić - steamroller driver in KRO Put.

mated massacre victims in Srebrenica in 1995. climbed to about 6,000.

August 12th - President of SPS, Slobodan Milosevic, nominated the leader of SRS, Vojislav Seselj for the mutual candidate of the opposition patriotic forces at the upcoming presidential elections in Serbia from his prison cell in Scheweningen. The main SPS board rejected his nomination and decided to nominate Velimir Bata Zivojinovic as that party's candidate.

August 25th - President of SPS, Slobodan Milosevic, named member of the party's Main board, Bogoljub Bjelica, for his deputy as the party president, instead of Mirko Marjanovic who was so far fulfilling that duty.

September 9th - High court in Bijelo Polje convicted Nebojsa Ranisavljevic from Despotovac to 15 years in prison for participating in war crime against civilian population at station Strpci in 1993.

September 11th - At an Orthodox cemetery in Orahovac, in Kosovo, about 80 unmarked burying places were discovered.

September 13th - The Hague prosecution ended the evidence process against Milosevic according to the accusation for Kosovo during which 145 witnesses were called.

September 16th - Exhumation of the remains of NN persons whose bodies floated down Sava from the front to the territory of the Sremska Mitrovica county from 1991 to 1995. began at the New cemetery in Sremska Mitrovica.

September 20th - The Hague tribunal announced the accusation against the retired Croatian general, Janko Bobetko, accusing



2. him for crimes against humanity and violating the laws and regulation of war fare during the Croatian army action in Medacki Dzep in September 1993.

September 26th - Trial of the former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, is continued at the Hague tribunal with the evidence for crimes against humanity in Croatia and genocide during the war in Bosnia.

September 29th - Presidential elections in Serbia are held. DSS candidate, Vojislav Kostunica, and candidate of the group citizens, Mirosljub Labus, advanced to the second round.

September 30th - The Hague tribunal announced the accusation against Bosnian Serb, Ljubomir Borovcanin, for "participating in genocide" against Muslims in Srebrenica in Summer 1995.

October 2nd - Former RS president Biljana Plavsic pleaded guilty for crime against humanity during the war in Bosnia, and the prosecution withdrew the remaining seven points of the accusation, including the one for genocide.

October 9th - Trial for two members of the special anti-terrorist unit of the Serbian police, Sasa Cvjetan and Dejan Demirovic, now fleeing, began at a district court in Prokuplje. At the previous trial they were released for murder of 19 Albanian civilians, but the Supreme court returned the matter to a renewed trial.

October 11th - Military court in Nis convicted four members of the Yugoslav army to prison sentences of a few years for war crimes against civilian population during the war in Kosovo in 1999.

October 13th - Due to a lack of voter turnout, the second round of presidential elections in Serbia is not valid.

October 17th - The Hague Tribunal convicted Bosnian Serb, Milan Simic, to five years in prison, after admitting his guilt for crimes against humanity against Muslims and Croats in Bosanski Samac in 1992.

October 30th - Famous Yugoslav painter, Dragan Milosevic Tapi (53), died of a heart attack at a Serbian police station where he was brought for questioning.

The project was helped by: Novi Sad Milk Factory, KRO Put, GIGANT printing house, Dušan Popović, Miša Ustalac, Cvjetko Kostić, Panon Alcohol Factory from Crvenka, Štrand butcher shop, Studio Laser.



Photo: D. Krnajski
Cvjetko Kostić works, and Nikola Džafo watches

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) The Graphics in Ice public work, helped by a freezer and the creative imagination of Led Art, was realized as an ice exhibition with a strong symbolic charge. The scene with life jackets made of ice, which melt in front of the eyes of those who drown in the filthy mud of miserable daily life, could be understood by all those present as a message of awakening and bitterness. A life jacket is a life jacket. Ice is ice. Tautology is our destiny.

Graphics - interventions on incidental drawings.

Authors: Nebojša Milikić, Nikola Džafo, Dragoslav Krnajski, Vesna Grginčević, Dragan Živančević, Ljubomir Vučinić, Goran Denić

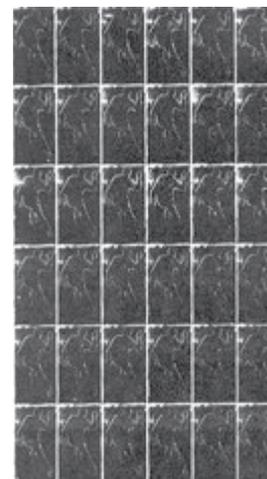




Photo: D. Krnajski
Graphics on ice become legend

The Heraclites' circle, like a life jacket, is philosophically actualized in the time of postmodernism, giving ground to the social circumstance interrupting its own security of hibernation. The life jacket and Heraclites' circle are not fixed metaphors of our times. Ice represents a milieu in which a crime is committed. The crime is the very brevity of metaphors, instability of the Heraclites circle. In front of our eyes the whole exhibition melted. Socialistic ice, hibernation of egalitarian ideals used to be some kind of security (...)

(Siniša Tucić, *Nezavisni*, Novi Sad, July 27 1998)

November 22nd - District court in Split acquitted eight former military police officers accused of crimes against Serbian civilians at the military prison "Lora".

November 25th - President of Montenegro, Milo Djukanovic, resigned. The next day, his deputy Filip Vujanovic offered him a mandate for forming a new Montenegrin government.

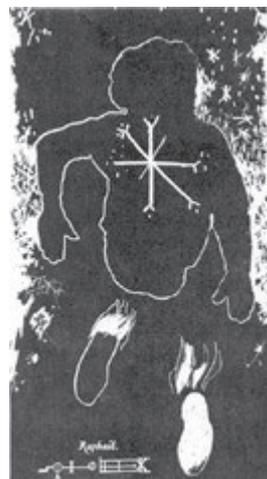
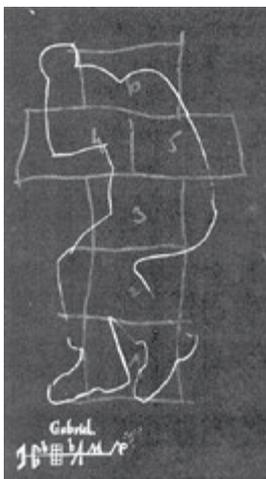
November 27th - 33 unidentified bodies thought to be victims of war in Bosnia and Croatia were exhumed at the Sabac cemetery.

December 6th - After months of negotiations, the Constitutional commission unanimously adopted the Constitution of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

December 8th - Repeated presidential elections in Serbia could not be accepted again, because less than half of the electoral body turned out at the elections. Most votes - 1,699,089 or 57.66 percent was won by the DSS candidate and Yugoslav president, Vojislav Kostunica. Candidate of SRS, Vojislav Seselj, won 1,063,296 votes or 36.08 percent.

December 17th - Yugoslav parliament ratified the Dayton agreement, signed in 1995, which ended the war in Bosnia.

December 19th - UN Security Council requested a full collaboration with the Hague Tribunal from the Yugoslav government, including arresting and handing over of suspects, providing witnesses and collaboration during investigations.



2002. December 20th - Dafina Milanovic, owner of the pyramidal bank during the time of Milosevic, accused of embezzlement of 19 million Deutsch Marks, is arrested in Germany.

December 22nd - At the unsuccessful presidential elections in Montenegro, the candidate of the Democratic party of Socialists (DPS), Filip Vujanovic, won most votes, more than 80 percent. Only 45.9 registered voters turned out at the elections.

2003.

January 20th - Milan Milutinovic is extradited to the Hague court, because his mandate as the Serbian president is expired. Together with Milosevic, Milutinovic was accused for war crime in Kosovo in 1999. as a commander. - Trial of Milan Lukic, Oliver Krsmanovic, both absent, and Dragutin Dragicevic and Djordje Sevic for crimes in Sjeverin, started at the Belgrade district court.

January 30th - A court in Belgrade convicted members of the Special operation units, Nenad Ilic and Nenad Bujosevic, for murdering members of SPO on the Ibar highway on October 3rd, 1999. to 15 years in prison, and Radomir Markovic, former chief of National security, was acquitted for organizing the four-fold murder and was convicted to seven years in prison for helping the executioners after committing the murder.

February 4th - Constitution and the pertaining laws of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was adopted in the Yugoslav parliament, thus formally ending the existence of FR Yugoslavia. - In a joint action of the Belgrade police and American agency DEA in Nova pazova, a factory of synthetic drug, one of the largest in Europe, was discovered.

February 15th - International war-crimes tribunal in the Hague accused the leader of the Serbian radical party, Vojislav Seselj, for crimes in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Seselj turned himself in to the Hague court on February 24th.

February 21st - Mirjana Markovic, wife of the former Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, left for Moscow.

A SLIGHTLY ICY SUMMERTIME EVENT

(Metamedia Centre Plasy/Czech Republic, July 14 - August 4 1998)



Photo: D. Živančević
Ice boat "Ahoy" in front of the exhibition pavilion,
guarded by "Belgrade Special Forces"

Set in the old monastery complex Plasy, the performance A Member of Belgrade Special Forces on a Business Trip was performed over several days. The same project was held on the streets of Pilsen and Prague, where the MBSF was photographed at all important official and tourist landmarks.

On Led Art's initiative, organized by the Hermit Foundation, on July 27 the first international expedition to Pilsen Dump took place. The artistic-exploratory team consisted of Led Art and MBSF members, artists from the Czech Republic, Germany, USA and Australia. This expedition was a logical continuation of LED ART's activities which had started in Yugoslavia with the intention of getting to know and explore domestic refuse, and compare it with foreign waste. The Pilsen dump was photographed, the action was recorded on video, new samples were collected and the continuing Red Thread Is Unravelling performance took place. The expedition finished with the usual outlining of bodies with forensic chalk.

During the stay in Plasy more than 30 forensic graphics were created using the technique of "forensic chalk on black paper." The hosts and many artists took part in this action.

On August 2, during the closing ceremony called Ledni Slavnost (A Slightly Icy Summertime Event) by the hosts in honour of Led Art, the three weeks of activities in four phases: documentation, performance, installation and video were shown.

The documentation part consisted of an exhibition of products made of recycled objects collected at the dump (flags, life gloves and other souvenirs from the dump) and a photography exhibition, created throughout the visit to the Czech Republic (particularly interesting was a series of Crime Reconstruction photos taken in the dark via a special technique).

Crime Reconstruction was performed in the cramped space of the monastery (Granary) with the participation of spectators. Simultaneously the Life Reconstruction of a Czech Family was held with the projection of slides found at the dump.

In the Ice Cellar an illuminated installation made of ice blocks, life jackets and frozen photos was organized. On offer in the monastery yard, were life jackets and the ice sculpture Ship.

At the end the Led Art video of the Pilsen dump expedition was shown.



Photo: D. Živančević
Karel Sidorjak at a landfill in Plzen

March 12th - Prime minister Zoran Djindjic is killed by a sniper shot in front of the Serbian parliament building. State of emergency is declared in Serbia. - Serbian government accused leaders of the "Zemun clan" Dusan Spasojevic and Mile Lukovic, and the former commander of the Special Operation Unit of the Serbian police, Milorad Lukovic Legija.

March 13th - Former chief and of the State security, Jovica Stanisic, and the creator and former commander of the Special Operation Unit, Franko Simatovic Frenki, are arrested.

March 18th - Svetlana Ceca Raznjatovic, a folk star, is arrested.

March 25th - The Special Operation Unit is cancelled by the Serbian government decision.

March 28th - The police found the body of Ivan Stambolic, kidnapped in August 2000. by the members of the Special Operation Unit, in Fruska Gora.

April 1st - The former Head of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, Nebojsa Pavkovic is arrested as a suspect for being involved in the attempt to liquidate Vuk Draskovic in Budva in June 2000.

April 3rd - By lifting the flag on a pole in front of the Palace of Europe in Strasbourg, Serbia and Montenegro became the 45. member of the Council of Europe.

April 23rd - President of Serbian parliament and the temporary president of Serbia, Natasa Micić, cancelled the state of emergency during which 10,000 people were arrested, and 4,500 people were kept in prison. The police announced that about 3,700 accusations are filed against 3,200 people for 5,600 criminal acts, including 15 murders, eight kidnappings, about 200 cases of distributing and selling drugs.

May 5th - The Hague court prosecution filed accusations against the former head of Serbian Secret Police, Jovica Stanisic and the former commander of the Special Operation Unit, Franko Simatovic Frenki, for participating in the joint criminal act in Bosnia and Croatia.

May 8th - On the administrative border of Serbia and Kosovo, representatives of the Serbian

2003. parliament handed over remains of 51 Albanians found in a mass grave in Batajnica to members of the international government.

May 23rd - According to the data of the Coordinating center for Kosovo and Metohija, out of a total of 1,357 people of Serbian nationality listed as killed, missing and kidnapped during armed clashes, 135 people were exhumated and 60 identified. Until the end of the year, exhumation of 800 more bodies at the discovered locations is still planned.

May 30th - Franko Simatovic Frenki is extradited to the Hague Tribunal. The government announced extradition of Jovica Stanisic. - Serbian government adopted a strategy draft against poverty. The data of a survey in 2002. show that one in ten inhabitants of Serbia is poor, i.e. there are 800,000 poor people or 250,000 poor families.

June 4th - The government announced the extradition of Jovica Stanisic.

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Vesna Grginčević, Miroslav Perić

The dump Expedition: Led Art and Karel Sidorjak, Jakub Patejdl, Tomaz Placek (Czech Republic), Jeremy Schaller (Germany), Allison Hunter (USA), Jo Truman (Australia)

The project was assisted by the Open Society Fund

PRESS CLIPPINGS

At the invitation of the Hermit Foundation Led Art participated in the festival in Plasy. This traditional manifestation was held on August 2. Led Art arrived and started their preparations on June 10. Speaking to *Blic* on behalf of Led Art Nikola Džafo said: "our artists performed the Belgrade Specialist daily." Then there was a visit to the Pilsen dump and comparison with the Belgrade one. The Mayor of Plasy was also present. At the end, with the action of freezing, a Crime Reconstruction was performed.

(Lj. J., Led Art at the Pilsen Dump, *Blic*, August 10 1998)

"Belgrade Special Forces" in front of Franz Kafka's house in Prague



Photo: D. Živančević
Artefacts from the Pilsen landfill



20TH MEMORIAL

NADEŽDA PETROVIĆ

(The Nadežda Petrović Gallery Čačak, September - October 1998)
Organizer: Jovan Despotović, art critic from Belgrade



Photo: D. Krnajski
"Graphics on asphalt", I.N.F.A.N.T, Novi

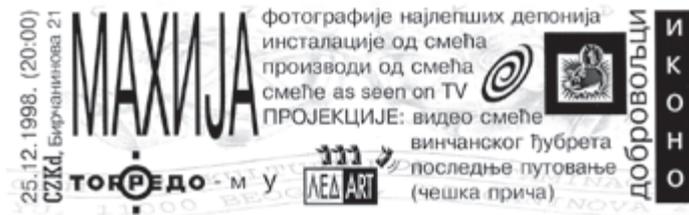
Exhibited documentary material - video recording and artefacts made during the Graphics on Asphalt street-action as part of the INFANT Festival in Novi Sad.

(...) It is obvious that Led Art is a symbolic frozen mirror of our icy reality. Its frozen art appears as an equivalent to the frozen reality of this time of general misery, crumbling, surviving in the country that was not in the war. In its actions Led Art emphasized anti-war and anti-nationalistic messages which we read in the texts accompanying their exhibitions and performances. It is also possible to conclude from the very title that they are interested in ecological problems, pollution (of the physical and spiritual worlds), the destruction of nature as a metaphor for the destruction of culture and art. (...)

(Jovan Despotović, *Exhibition Catalogue*)



Photo: S. Veljović
Pavilion "Veljković" during "Iconomahia"



ICONOMAHIA OR WITH TORPEDO INTO ICE

(Centre for Cultural Decontamination Belgrade, December 25 1998)
In collaboration with Torpedo Group

An extremely unusual exhibition/play, performed/shown in the Veljković Pavilion on December 25 1998, symbolically pointed out the continuing actuality of the process. It consisted of thirty-odd works by artists, slides and video projections of the recent actions by Led Art and Torpedo. The latter is a group working in the contemporary Belgrade theatrical scene. They organized a simulation of an artistic exhibition which was opened with a powerful, truly destructive action of "government" which on the spot destroyed the work, smashing it, ripping it via machines of destruction: shredders (for paper), smashers (for pulverizing hard matter). This live performance was called With Torpedo into Ice (like "with a hammer in the head") with the idea to smash the frozen reality - therefore also cultural, artistic and aesthetic: with fire against frozen!

The following participated in the performance: volunteers, artist-activists and numerous unaffiliated artists - iconvolunteers from our official and alternative scenes: Nikola Džafo, Saša 'Mikrob' Marković, Aleksandar Rafajlović, Ratko Vučinić, Nenad Bračić, Sanvila Porej, Dušan Junačkov, Božidar Babić, Uroš Đurić, Nebojša Milikić (he destroyed all his documentation from the Fight Against the Kiosk), Fatima Dedić, Miomir Grujičić Fleka, Predrag Kočović, Vera Maredo, Mihailo Petković, Goran Desančić, Gradimir Rajković, Miroslav Todosijević, Miroljub Filipović Filimir, Samuel, Ana Milovanović, Slađana Stojanović, Srđan Veljović (from Belgrade), the three-member Art Circus, Vesna Grginčević, Dragan Živančević (from Novi Sad), Saša Stojanović (from Leskovac).

The action finished with collecting the burned artistic rubbish into special bags (spacebags) as material- garbage for future actions, and feasting on top of the collected garbage.

Predrag Kočović, a painter, wrote the introduction and titled it Why Good and Intelligent People Destroy Their Work in which he made a historical and semantic overview: from traditional artistic creation to the works of recent art production, from last century's romantic vision of an artist as a genius with special skills, to the end of the 20th century's modernist utopias in which the work of art became a product to trade. On behalf of everybody the artist asks: After all of this, do we all become engaged artists, i.e. artist-moralists? Although this dilemma might hang in the air, it has nevertheless opened some space for new and perhaps different creative (self)destruction of new meanings and forms, as the continuation of those "aesthetic destructions, aesthetics of the revolting, aesthetic of the garbage," which is anyway what Led Art does. We have had many opportunities to see this over recent years, in different contexts and encouraged by the government.

These actions with their complex artistic acts, are an expression of the general social destruction in which a noticeable autodestruction of art is taking place, art which at the same time expresses a strong feeling of ethical consciousness. The audience witnessed a symbolic (literal too) act of multilayered meanings and implications: one of the side-phenomenon is, according to testimo-

Photo: S. Veljović
Artwork that no longer exists
by Nikola Džafo



nies, the amazing passivity of the small selected audience which calmly and without excitement, almost with compassion and understanding followed the action of the 'government' which not only destroyed the artistic work but even forced the authors to participate in it. One of many possible meanings could be the general depression and dullness of the defence mechanism which our totalitarian regime has stubbornly, and it seems successfully, built up over the last ten years.

Due to numerous restrictions, small groups of free artists have not managed to present themselves to a wider audience, and so all the activity of the CCD, who organized this project with energy and variety, takes place within the only possible framework - a socially marginalized one. From this we can make out the strong symbolism which connects the CCD and With Torpedo into Ice. This connection also established a firm correlation between this protest performance and the social and cultural reality here and now - during the Milošević total dictatorship.

The recent anti-iconomania, interpreted by Led Art and Torpedo Group, is the final phenomenon of a process which has been unfolding since the problem of the meaning of a picture came into existence. The end of this decade only established new causes for yet another fight in the struggle for the freedom of artistic expression, which are among the most relevant methods of resistance to totalitarianism regardless of their various significances.

(Jovan Despotović, 1996 - 1998 Republika)



Photo: S. Veljović

Predrag Kočović

WHY GOOD AND INTELLIGENT PEOPLE DESTROY THEIR WORK

According to legend, when the Emperor's emissaries got to Seneca, the stoic had already cut open his belly and then began to throw pieces of his intestines at them. He died by rising above his enemies, convinced that he had raised his death to the triumph of truth and justice. Judging by the grisliness of this act there is no doubt about Seneca's convictions.

What and to whom do we demonstrate by destroying our art? (which, to tell the truth, should not be compared with intestines, because the art of "digging the intestines" is long gone). We certainly do 'demonstrate', which is even recommended, our receiving and co-participation ('co-grieving' is perhaps a more fitting word for this occasion).

Let's start from "what":

Those with good intentions will say: "the fact of contemporary art on its death-bed, art which has lost its recipient and sponsor, is getting its symbolic announcement and confirmation."

And what about those with bad intentions, those often closer to the truth?

Isn't this a way of punishing cruel parents by self-confirmation? (stubbornly refusing food)?

Authority (the State and its outposts in culture? Or society, "the moment," epoch or civilization even?) does not give much but asks too much, so "Johnny boy, really got angry at everybody, sat on the tree and cut off his own d...", the only thing left to him - art?

I don't think so. It is too infantile, even for artists, but I couldn't swear there isn't some of it. How many times have we wished to smash a buyer over the head with that picture he wanted but wouldn't buy because it was too expensive? Although we should love our picture more than we hate a "mean buyer."

Artists are childish, but also too vain to defend themselves against humiliation with self-annihilation. Today in Belgrade, in Serbia, artists are too clever, too 'smart' to beat some eggs but not make an omelette in the end. So, is it an omelette then?

Or is this omelette made of the fine, moral-educative kind, which Seneca threw in the face of his enemies? Definitely not.

Of all "morals" - from paramecium's pragmatism whose horizon failed to spread beyond its cilia, and through a million years of quiet advancing, we arrived at the moral of the Old World, ancient philosopher-moralists, the Judeo-Christian understanding and practising of moral (which until recently the western civilization man identified with morality in general), all the way back to paramecium whose cilia today reach as far as Voyager and the edges of the Cosmos - the circle is closed; this is confirmed by a fine distinction in meanings of artistic creation and art-production.

The first term belongs to the 19th century and it is highly undesired - useless, while the second belongs to the 20th century - and has been used more and more. The first one is the fruit of a

romantic vision of a genius who is ruled by unknown mysterious powers of which the artist is nothing but the transmitter-Hermes; or a bit later, a vision of the artist as Creator with special skills whose secrets all sciences of the scientific optimism are trying to penetrate - the birth of the civic society.

A winding path of modernism leads to the second term. With the end of the great narrations and utopias came the end of the artist-prophet and preacher, and art became a product more than ever. Artist-hero, artist-victim, artist-prey of an easy-profit hunter - gave his place to the unscrupulous pragmatic, who does not even go to the supermarket without a sponsor, art-manager, art-dealer, marketing, never mind the adventure of art-production.

The art-producer joined those he was not able to defeat as the Creator. In the developed world, in a society of high competition, extremely dynamic both vertically and horizontally, a culmination spot has been reached in which the *vita brevis, ars longa* saying finally loses its second part. The vitality of an artist more and more resembles an animal survival instinct, and the system of art (cultural institutions, art market, critics, audience...) the food chain in some overcrowded tropical bio-community. Paradoxically, because of the sudden horrible economic dive, our circumstances are very much like the following: spings have dried up, and the thirsty ones are not ruling out any available means in the fight for some remaining puddles. There is only one "tiny" difference: artists from the game-rich-world are fighting for the existential maximum, while ours are fighting for the existential minimum.

Unlike periods of golden heteronomy of art, when it used to be the assistant of magic, religion, ethics, politics, now it is an assistant to and a weapon of capital profit, and the artist its thrilled shareholder who does not wish to trade places with those at the top, "those different from the others," or be the exemplary artist from the past.

After all of this, should we be engaged artists, artist-moralists?

So, the "what" is still undefined, although the first + the second could mean "something." What if "what" is possible as an aesthetic act?



Photo: S. Veljović
"Torpedo" destroys works of art



Photo: S. Veljović
Ivan Jevtović, Miloš Samolov, Ivan Tomić

The aesthetics of destruction, aesthetics of the revolting, aesthetics of garbage - which Led Art has been occupied with thoroughly and at length - I am thinking of a narrow meaning of aesthetics as the directly experienced.

This is possible, but then the "aesthesis" will remain hopelessly poor, whether in intensity or quality of the perception of the quotidian. I am afraid that not even Torpedo Group can enforce this kind of "aesthesis," which, anyway, it is not being asked to do, but to give its creative answer by destroying works of art and establishing its own "aesthetic goal."

What about the healing effects of catharsis - because we sacrifice only one drawing, one painting, and all the rest nevertheless stays untouched? Aristotle made us familiar with the importance of Catharsis - long live those that will lay their art to rest?

A bit of spiritual cleansing won't hurt. But who nowadays wants to redeem his artmachia through Aristotle? And what about irony?

The final act of Machia contains packing the leftovers in boxes and labelling them. Maybe that represents the beginning of semiosis, a creation of important and final meaning of all this confusion? I can imagine the ads: Granulated car - special offer!

Crushed glass eyes for stuffed birds - today only! Art on tap - dumping prices!

Divine paradox and immortal oxymoron - contradictio in adjecto: in the first case apparent contradiction, in the second - an absolute one.

From the semantic point of view the "what" is a full-blooded oxymoron: a round square.

In other words: we offer something that nobody can get otherwise, except as a funny silliness. Nobody - but Us.

How is it possible?

By packing leftovers in boxes we put together an invisible puzzle; a symbolic exchange of the most intimate experience of creating a picture for the experience of a drawing, one object for a

sculpture. Nobody outside our circle can get anything but 'funny silliness', because by not losing anything he can't recognize what he gains.

He doesn't know the password.

In this way a public act becomes a secret initiation into a cult and Society (if there are passwords there must be secret societies), and it remains secret despite all announcements and even this text.

The secret society of the "one who doesn't know cannot have it explained to him, and one who knows understands it all anyway" cult, or "one who didn't see does not understand, the one who saw - it's irrelevant whether he speaks or remains silent" - the secret society which is possible only here and now, against the rest of the world and the epoch. This way we have the answer to the question "to whom."

To us - of course, because We can no longer be friends with Everybody. A thin Omelette?

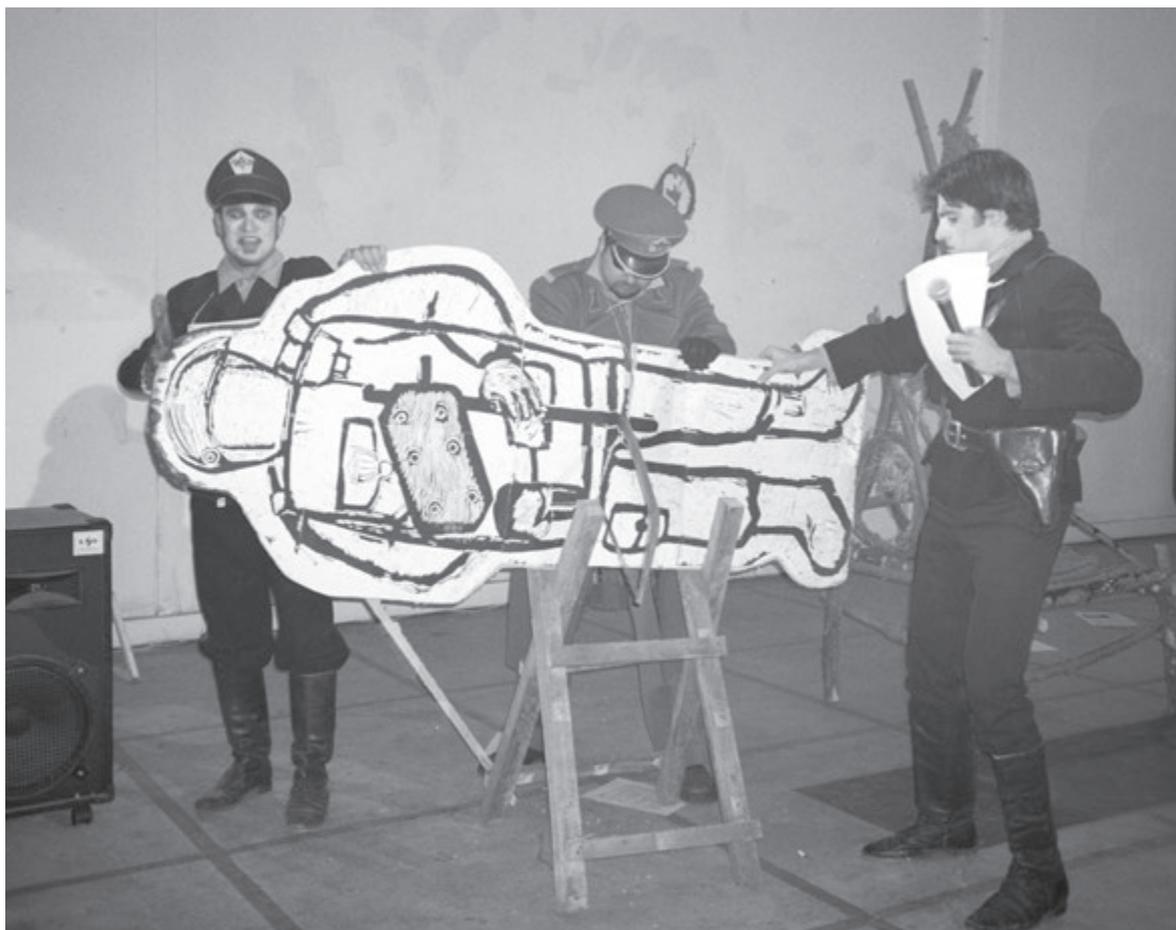


Photo: S. Veljović
Ivan Jevtović, Miloš Samolov, Ivan Tomić
and "Belgrade special forces"

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) A sledge hammer, a corn crusher, a saw, an axe, a shredder and a bonfire were the instruments with which the death sentence on works of art was carried out. The pieces were destroyed with the help of organized "torture and harassment" and the cursing of the artist-donators. This S&M scene was performed by the Torpedo theatre group, and our experience of paranormal living provided our enjoyment.

(Nataša Tomić, *Blic*, December 29 1998)

UNIVERSAL CALENDAR – HOW TO KILL TIME

(Cinema Rex Belgrade, January 14 1999)

The exhibition of calendar competition entries
With the collaboration of Art Circus from Novi Sad

Skupljamo kalendare:
- sa greškom
- lepe
- lične
- stare
- drugačije
- male i velike
-ružne
-omiljene i neomiljene
-pravimo buduće...

Pravo učešća pripada svakome ko sme da se uhvati ukoštac s vremenom i da pri tome koristi ono što ima i što nema, da bi savladao VREME
Konkurs je otvoren do 12. Januara 1999. godine
Javna prezentacija/izložba prispelih kreacija (instalacija, objekat, performans, video rad, zvučni zapis...), biće održan u petak, 14. januara od 20.00 do 22.00
Sledi nagrada publike i kritike.



cinema REX
Jevrejska 16
e-mail:www.rex.opennet.org
produkcija B92

For millions of years someone has been trying to organize our time, to conceptualize it and make it more beautiful, bring it closer and realize what we know how to do, but seemingly have forgotten. (...) Calendars have been accepted as examples of a constant repetition, as a reminder of endless movement, as symbols of death and rebirth. The calendars we are talking about demonstrate how to successfully connect the experiences of the past and the present, traditional and new ones, modern comprehension of time (...) The functionality is secondary, and the ontological dimension of calendars has been widened, because they are made to last forever. That is why artists have been invited: to secure their permanence and longevity by participating in this faustian project.

(Taken from the context of Establishing a Calendar Means Organizing Time, by Aleksandra Estel Bjelica, *Danas*; October 10-11 1998)

HOW TO KILL TIME AND STAY ALIVE?

While I write these lines, smoking my sixth or seventh Monte Carlo since this morning, which is slowly killing me but I am too weak to resist, I am thinking about one of the most important ideas of the late Dick Higgins from his text *Nine Fluxus Criteria* - presence in time, the ephemeral and the lasting. When Dr Ken Friedman, ten years ago, gave me an interview and said: "It is right to say that artistic movement, whose name goes back to the time of Greek philosophers and Buddhist analysis of time and existence in human experience, places a great emphasis on the element of time in art. This is obvious in the short Fluxus' performances, in which the term ephemeral is inherent, as well as in the floating objects and publications which Fluxus has always produced.

But the works of Fluxus often represent a completely different meaning of the lasting - compositions which last days and months, performances which in segments are performed over decades, even in contemporary works of art which grow and evolve over long periods." (*Delo*, N° 5-6, May - July issue, 1990). Fluxus = draining, drainage, signifies mostly meaning of time, especially artist's time... As time goes by, a disaster (ruin) is born out of it. We, egocentrics and egoists, are interested very much in explaining time, just like Ernst Renan writes in his essay *Our Time* - I like the past but I envy the future. So, the past. And the dream of future! And we all run away from the present. ("Oh, you who have terribly suffered, God will give you peace finally!")

I know that the majority of artists dream of extratemporality of both themselves and their works; isn't it the highest honour to be forever marked, hoping there won't be any apocalypse, to be studied, observed and respected for centuries on end? That is reason enough to kill time, but in a creative way: to make the leisure meaningful... So that out of rare but precious moments of revelation different works and activities can come, so that finally the artist's spit can, in the present darkness, illuminate like some headlamp an immeasurable and unbearable obscurity. Of course, the artist will stick with the idea of Stefan Moravsky, aesthete par excellence, about the spirit of time (*L'esprit du temps*) as an unavoidable determinant of art.

If he is intelligent he will place everything he creates in temporal and spiritual parameters, he will go back if necessary deep into the past, he will penetrate with his craft all the way back to classical and ancient Egyptian culture, he will avoid the essence of the dark here and now, and he will head for the coordinates of the worldwide future: he will be a surrealist and visionary, and he will give the surrounding garbage to those who call themselves alternative, different... Let those on the margins deal with the glut, with what this time offers to them.

But primeval (temporal) wildness (*hybris*) is eternal time, as Anton Nodilo points out in his essay *The Philosophy of Time* (*Delo*, N° 4-5, April - May 1991).

Those constrained and confined artists who create real art (and commercial, of course), and whose time is precious (time=money) cannot comprehend this. That is why they don't kill time. Of course, they're surviving. Sooner or later, in the labyrinth of time, the same question is lying in wait, the same question which Dieter Kamper in his *A Glance At the End of the World* asked himself and others (in fact it is in his polemical text titled *Between Simulation and Negentropy* (*The Destiny of the Single Individual at the End of the World*) - does history's end finish in catastrophe and what is the destiny of the individual on the other side of the apocalypse? Fukuyama's thesis

of the end of history and the beginning of superhistory is the optimal expression of the universal strivings of enlightened individuals and visions of future-oriented strategists of neohumanism.

Kamper writes about the consequences of waiting for the final event, about the freedom of the individual which is determined by the complexity of the situation, about some possible alternative between autism and automation, about being squeezed between the simulated unity of world and polarization.

But, what is happening with those artists who are ready to kill time in the vortex of contemporary hardship? What is happening in that melting pot of temporality, in the sphere of the daily/weekly... of time killing, how does that terra incognita - around the academic rationalism and non-conformism of those set to persist as artists - function?, what is happening in that huge field between the Nonbeing and Nonwhere? I would say - all and nothing. There are both killing of time with heavy fogs of eternity and flashes which light the general darkness... The alternative art, in Belgrade and elsewhere, lives its life by shooting time with blanks of temporariness. It does not even preach immortality. Of art. It only strives for the heavy daily defetishisation of so-called official and commercial art. It sticks out. It argues. Even when it gains positions, it does not announce the end of the killing. Of time. That's it...

(Dobrica Kamperelić, In Belgrade, January 31 1999)

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) From the luxury calendars of the SPS (Socialist Party of Serbia) and the JUL (Yugoslav United Left), to the luxury calendar-magazines for the rich, containing porno photographs of editors and journalists. Farm calendars, craftsmen's calendars, war profiteers and big government companies. Big war profiteers and names from the Hague list. Calendars with Tito, Pamela, the fight against AIDS, all of this in a society ravaged by diseases. A few nice ones and many ugly calendars. (...)

(R. Šejčić, Calendars of Our Lives, *Danas*, January 21 1999)

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Ratko Vučinić, Nenad Bračić, Miroljub 'Filimir' Filipović, Moca Jeremić, Idiot, Dobrica Kamperelić, Gradimir Rajković, Hana Rajković, Otpor, Omega (letter), Vera Maredo, F. Karies, Nebojša Popov (*Republika*), Mila Jurić, Aura, Danko Đurić, Fatima Dedić, Nikola Šindik, Srđan Veljović, Art Circus, Anonymous, Nebojša Milikić, Goran Denić, Saša 'Mikrob' Marković, Group FIA, Darijan Mihajlović

Calendars were donated by: Nenad Čanak (Vojvodina Socialdemocrats), Galeb Publishing, Stojkov Publishing, Marko Kljajić (Parson of the St. Rock, Petrovaradin), Cinema Rex

The project was helped by: MUŠ Shooting Gallery, Laser Studio Novi Sad, SUR Čuburska Lipa (main award sponsor)

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Photo: S. Veljović
Knez Mihajlova street before the outlining started

ULUS OPEN WAR ATELIER

(Belgrade, April 10 1999)

DESTRUCTION

And that strange voice of destruction flies in the crowd of individuals who will be scared. And in each one it will find the weak spot accessible by fear. And, indeed, it succeeds here. Those, who in such a way and to such an extent get scared, are already defeated, regardless of all the turns and changes a war can bring and even its final outcome. Heavier and harder than the destruction of material things is that inside people and among them, which only individuals can slowly estimate and comprehend. That destruction strips the last mask off a man's face, turns over his insides and brings forth unexpected characteristics, the opposite of what was known or thought about the man and what he believed of himself; this destruction alters the situations in families and changes sacred social norms and relationships, even those long considered fixed and eternal, like relationships between sexes.

(Ivo Andrić, *Uneasy Year*, extract)

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Nenad Bračić, Ratko Vučinić, Miroљjub Filipović, Dragan Ursulov, Dobrica Kamperelić, Srđan Veljović, Nikola Šindik, Zoran Vemić, Nataša Tomić, Gradimir Rajković, Ljubiša Bogosavljević, Saša Stojanović

Sponsor: ULUS, Belgrade Executors: Led Art and Penix Group



Photo: S. Veljović
Start of public work



Photo: S. Veljović
Ljubiša Bogosavljević



Photo: S. Veljović
Radomir Stančić



Photo: S. Veljović
Mira Stojković



Photo: S. Veljović
Borka Božović



Photo: S. Veljović
Zoran Vemić and
Goran Obradović

CRIME RECONSTRUCTION – ANTINATO ART ACTION

(Culture Against War and Violence, Novi Sad, April 16 1999)

GLORY TO HIM!

To the bone he paints but never quite painted. To the bone he shits But never quite shat.

To the bone he fucks But never quite fucked... To the bone he skins But never quite skinned. To the bone he salts

But never quite salted. To the bone he roasts But never quite roasted... Dear Citizens, with a moment of silence let's pay our respects to the UNKNOWN ONE*

*artist

Nikola Džafo



Photo: Aleksandra Miletić
Ratko Vučinić outlines
Ksenija Popović



Photo: A. Miletić
Outlining of Miško Lazović

Photo: A. Miletić
Ratko Vučinić, Dragan Živančević, Nikola Džafo

Photo: A. Miletić
Outlining of Sava Stepanov



Participants: Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Ratko Vučinić, Ljubiša Bogosavljević, Vesna Grginčević, Željko Piškorić, Slobodan Vilček

Outlined: Ksenija Popović, Dragan Srećkov, Gordana Novaković, Miško Lazović, Saša Nešković, Sveta – Total Fashion Agency, Andrea Uzelac, Sava Stepanov, Sonja Krnjski, Branislav, Danijela Nešković, Nikola Petrović, Branka Janković, Ranko Plavšić, Ana Džambarski, Miloš Dimitrijević, Radomir Ristić, Tamara Marinković, Edhem Cepalo, Dejan Vucelja, Radenko Čonkić, Biba Mijatović, Đorđe Subotić, Miroslav Čosić, Drago Divljan, Branislav Šainov, Simon Grabovac, Kristina Mićanović, Ružica Crnojački

Sponsors: Cultural Centre of Novi Sad, Ministry of Education and Culture Novi Sad



Photo: A. Miletić
Đorđe Subotić



Photo: A. Miletić
Ljubiša Bogosavljević and Biba Mijatović



Photo: A. Miletić
Miško Lazović



Photo: A. Miletić
Dragan Srećkov



Photo: A. Miletić
Outlining of Dragan Srećkov

PRESS CLIPPINGS

(...) During the public work which considered "the role of Balkan chalk in art" in Zmaj Jovina street, the town's main promenade, Nikola Džafo and his Led Art in the manner of forensic pathologists, via the form of "forensic drawings," portrayed known and unknown Novisadians.

(E.N.L., *Colour Against War, Glas*, April 17 1999)

"Led Art is a project which during the last two or three years has gathered the most renowned artists from all over the country" - says Dragan Živančević. Today to communicate is the most important thing for art, so Nikola Džafo, Slobodan Vilček, Ratko Vučinić, Vesna Grginčević and Željko Piškorić went out on the streets, together with other citizens, in order to say "No" to the destructive and ruinous politics against all nations who want to live normally, in peace.

(J.Bd., *War Atelier, Dnevnik*, April 16 1999)

Photo: S. Veljović
CAC "Lamparna", Labin (Croatia)



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CRIME RECONSTRUCTION

TRANSART FESTIVAL – ISTRIA 2000

(CAC Lamparna Labin /Croatia, October 2-3 1999)

The festival of the alternative Transart - Istria 2000 was organized by the artistic group Labin Art Express. led art performed a multimedial project consisting of three parts:



PHOTO SESSION

PHOTOGRAPHING AGAINST THE JINX

It took place in the morning, in Labin Miners' Square, as a street communication between the artists and passers-by. The performance was accompanied by an exhibition of large-format photo-documentation of Led Art's expeditions to the dumps.

The shutter (forensic chalk on a blackboard with a star-shaped slot for the head) created great interest in passers-by, and some thirty people had their photos taken.

While the citizens of Labin accepted this artistic provocation from Serbia with curiosity, the president of Hvidra Organization (Croatian War Veterans Association) understood this performance as an insult and tried to interrupt the photographing. In the daily press several articles appeared accusing the artists of "not recognizing the victims of the 1991-1993 civil war."

Photo: S. Veljović
Labin coal miners' square,
photographing against the jinx



Photo: S. Veljović



Photo: S. Veljović
Vlasta Tasić



Photo: S. Veljović
Rajko Tasić (in the middle)

FORENSIC CHALK PERFORMANCE

It took place in the evening hours in CAC Lamparna, the renovated miners' lamp storage-house. It consisted of outlining prostrate figures on black paper. Communication with the visitors who "flirted with their own death" went undisturbed, and twelve volunteers were outlined. During the festival the video from the expedition to the Pilzen Dump was shown (1998).



Photo: S. Veljović
Outlining of Ranko Vučinić



Photo: S. Veljović
Outlining of Dean Zahtila, director of
CAC "Lamparna"

Photo: S. Veljović
Dean Zahtila posing as a "victim"



Photo: S. Veljović
Led Art in Labin coal miners' uniforms: Dragan
Živančević, Ratko Vučinić, Vesna Grginčević, Nikola
Džafo, Nataša Tomić, Srđan Veljović



EXPEDITION TO THE MAY 1 DUMP IN LABIN

It took place on October 3 with the participation of local and international artists. The usual routine was performed: surveying, collecting samples, photographing objects and video recording.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Yesterday, around 11 am on Labin Miners' Square, the citizens of Labin with surprise and bewilderment observed a group of young people from Belgrade, who, in front of the Rajko Tasić Studio, photographed people and gave out the "photographing against the jinx" certificates. They also placed a cardboard "shutter" with a star-shaped opening for people's heads and on billboards hung photos of Serbian trucks with drivers whose mouths were covered with masks. In their words, their goal is to portray the victims of the wars from 1993-1999 and through the context of "art" demonstrate in Croatia that "war disasters are a Serbian thing." (...)

The president of the Labin Union of War Volunteers, Ante Augustinović and the secretary of Hvidra, Josip Kudić, demanded that the young Serbians remove all the posters from public places and stop the action. Angry citizens also contacted the Labin police. (...)

(B.B., Labinians Disturbed By Serbian Jinx, *Večernji List*, Zagreb, October 3 1999)

Justifiably, the Crime Reconstruction performance by the Yugoslav group of artists Led Art generated great interest. On huge pieces of paper, on the floor of Lamparna, they outlined prostrate bodies of volunteers in the style of forensic experts. The artistic vision of Led Art asked for particular "flirting with our own death." (...)

(Z. Radić, New Art From Old Mine, *Večernji List*, Zagreb, October 7 1999)

We didn't come to Croatia to talk politics. Our Crime Reconstruction project treats all victims in this region. We are analysing everything that has happened in the Balkans in these years so it does not happen to anyone again - stated the artists of Led Art from Belgrade, whose performance during Transart - Istria 2000 (a pilot project in Labin) last week caused the outrage of Labin's Hvidra and the Union of War Volunteers.

Led Art also photographs the city dumps in the places where they perform. The goal is, as they put it, to check whether garbage is the same everywhere, garbage as a source of nationalism. (...)

(Ivana Mikulićin, Roaming the Garbage of Nationalism, *Jutarnji List*, Zagreb, October 11 1999)



Photo: S. Veljović
Ratko Vučinić, Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević

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Photo: S. Veljović
At "May 1st" landfill in Labin: Vesna Grginčević, Rajko Tasić, Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević





Photo: S. Veljović
"At ten past three"



Participants: Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Ratko Vučinić, Srđan Veljović, Vesna Grginčević, Nataša Tomić Veljović

The project was helped by: APEXchanges Amsterdam, Open Society Fund Belgrade



Photo: S. Veljović
"Kunstlager", Novi Sad 2000, detail

KUNSTLAGER

(Cultural Centre of Novi Sad, February 29 2000)

The state in which we have found ourselves has been marked and conceived by a painting-theatrical-setting performance. The thesis that "Earth is the biggest and the most beautiful concentration camp in the world" is presented. Through an artistic provocation communication with visitors and accidental passers-by was established. Kunstlager is an answer and contro-thesis to the NKS (New Slovenian Kunst): it presumes and proposes a concentration camp as the modus with all its adjectives: no embassies, no passports or visas, no great State donations. Everyone is welcome to kunstlager. The door is open - Work makes free.

The project was done in two parts.

ARBEIT MACHT FREI

Open, public, daily work

In Katolička Porta an installation made of barbed wire was placed - Kunstlager. Inside the wire designated areas were organized for public work: ice-work-ice, haircutting, destruction of the Chair, survey, bean preparation, free lunch. The public work was supervised by a special trio.

"GAS CHAMBER"/WRONGDOING 2000

Closed, secret, evening event for the "privileged ones Wrongdoing 2000 (Piping Club) working under the slogan "It's a nice day today." Honorary guests of Wrongdoing were those people born on February 29.

Activities: photographing against the jinx, photographing with the birthday boys, drums symposium, documentary exhibition of Led Art (video and photo-documentation)

Kunstlager Questionnaire What is a wrongdoing?

27. When one steals, robs, kills
28. Yes, but it's not important
29. When one goes through the red light
30. When February has 29 days
31.

What is the purpose of beans?

34. To eat
35. Yes, but without any meat
36. To swallow
37. To snap out of it

Is our country "the biggest, the most beautiful, the most wonderful concentration camp in the world?"

1. No - there are even bigger, more beautiful, more wonderful ones
2. Yes - so what!

What is a Kunstlager?

1. It's a nice day, nice day, nice day ...
2. I don't get it
3. Artists sabotage and ruin, and who ruins had better not be.

Are we:

1. Traitors
2. Patriots
3. Opium for the masses
4. Fun for people Kunstlager are:

Participants: Zoran Andrejin, Goran Augustinov, Milica Badalić, Dubravko Badalić, Ljubiša Bogosavljević, Goran Denić, Perica Donkov, Nikola Džafo, Miroljub Filipović Filimir, Marija Gajicki, Vesna Grginčević, Dobrica Kamperelić, Aleksandar Karišik, Predrag Kočović, Miško Lazović, Nikola Macura, Igor Malešević, Dragan Matić, Aleksandar Medovarski, Slobodan Milinov Toba, Igor Milošević, Bojan Novaković, Đerđ Ozer, Željko Piškorić, Jelena Prebiračević, Ratko Radivojević, Saša Stojković, Đorđe Subotić, Nataša Tomić Veljović, Darko Topalović, Ivana Vasiljević, Srđan Veljović, Slobodan Vilček, Ratko Vučinić, Anđelija Vučurević, Miloš Vujanović, White Rabbit

Sponsor of Kunstlager: Ministry of Education and Culture in Novi Sad and Open Society Fund, Yugoslavia Media sponsor of Kunstlager: Radio IN

Kunstlager was supported by: KRO Čistoća; KRO Gradsko Zelenilo; The Novi Sad Milk Factory; Radio 021; Hairdresser Stil Sensitive Veternik; Hairdresser Novi Sad; Art Cirkus; Galeb Publishing Zemun; GIGANT Small Press; Standard Media Petrovaradin; Piping Club; Drezvej Club; *Nezavisni* Novi Sad; The Office of St. Rok Church Petrovaradin; the Fire Station Novi Sad; Arbor Carpentry Novi Sad; Korpaš Tyre Centre Petrovaradin; and Predrag Mitić, Ivan Putniković, Milenko Relić, Dragan Radojčić, Fürjes István.





Photo: S. Veljović
"Kunstlager" panorama



Photo: S. Veljović
Reading of the daily
commandment



Photo: S. Veljović
Raising of the flag -
Miško Lazović and
Miloš Vujanović



Photo: S. Veljović
Bowling next to the tricolor



Photo: S. Veljović
STOlica (Chair) -last moments



Photo: S. Veljović
Public haircutting: Marija Gajicki
and Goran Augustinov



Photo: S. Veljović
Nikola Macura, Nikola Džafo, Željko Piškorić,
Miloš Vujanović, Dragan Živančević



Photo: S. Veljović
Miroslav Ćosić and Darko Topalović



Muster I: Dragan Matić



Photo: Predrag Mitić



Muster II: Đorđe Subotić



Photo: Predrag Mitić

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Accompanied by Šizela, the most popular tune during the 78-day bombardment of Yugoslavia, in Katolicka Porta in Novi Sad, on February 29 of the leap year, Kunstlager - the most beautiful concentration camp in the world took place organized by the multimedial group Led Art. Soon the knee-high barbed-wire surrounded space was not big enough to accommodate all the "prisoners" who wished to join the "working activities of the camp." (...)

(A.Savanović, The Most Beautiful Concentration Camp in the World, *Blic*, March 2 2000)

After the many creative adventures over the years within their Crime Reconstruction in the Balkans project, Nikola Džafo and Led Art have finally located the present state of social anomalies in Kunstlager - the Biggest and Most Beautiful Concentration Camp in the World which drew many Novisadians inside the barbed-wire. In that way the overall-clad "cadets" of Kunstlager, under the supervision of a less-than- discreet camera and an evil-looking uniformed trio, performed public works with ice, unfolded the flag made of ice, sawed a huge chair on the scaffold, rid themselves of hair and crude matter needed by our economy, played games with ice balls and in the end "snapped out of it" and had their photos taken with the Leader among his admirers....

(M. Lazović, It's a Nice Day Today, *Glas Javnosti*, March 4 2000)

Our latest meeting with LED ART was on 29 February 2000 in Katolicka Porta in Novi Sad. The Kunstlager performance is the contamination of several obsessive themes which, with some variations, this 'brave new world' is concerned with. I'll dare, dear reader, to "translate" into the language of our dirty dailiness, what I saw and experienced: on the pile of garbage fenced by the barbed-wire, or concentration camp full of junk, isolated, humiliated, harassed, starved and frozen, marked, shorn, all of this with a song on my lips (how else?) which says that today is another "nice day," voluntarily forced (oxymoron?) into the imitation of something that used to be called life (...)

(Ivana Sekeruš, Seven Years of Fidelity or Led Art Continues, *Nezavisni*, March 15 2000)

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Design: D. Živančević



Dan: KATOLIČKA PORTA, 14h. Noć: PIPING KLUB, 21h

Списак Уметника

- Зоран Андрејић
- Горан Аугустинић
- Милош Басковић
- Љубица Ђокић
- Горан Димчић
- Владим Димчић
- Никола Ђафо
- Велимир Ђурић
- Марија Гајић
- Васко Грелић
- Добрислав Каленић
- Александар Каравић
- Бранко Кичић
- Милош Ђакић
- Милош Ђакић
- Милош Касар
- Драган Милић
- Милан Милошевић
- Љиљана Милошевић
- Љепа Поп
- Милош Раковић
- Милош Раковић
- Ратко Раковић
- Саша Стојић
- Љепа Субић
- Наташа Томић-Ђокић
- Дарко Томић
- Милош Васиљевић
- Срђан Васиљевић
- Славољуб Васиљковић
- Ратко Вучковић
- Александар Вучковић
- Милош Вучковић
- Драган Вучковић
- Тео Јањић
- Бубуњара, Курвара, Фриксари, Чистина, Стучајне проказнице и остали уметници



Супримоксатор Кунстлагера: Културни центар Нови Сад
 Викторијина Кунстлагера: Скулптурна галерија Нови Сад
 и Фонд за отворено друштво, Југославија
 Марјаска мексиканка Кунстлагера: Радеи 88

Кунстлагер подржали:

- КРО Чистина
- КРО Градско веће Ново Сад
- Новосадска мексика
- Радеи 88
- Скулптурна галерија ГИГАРТ
- Литостудео, Нови Сад
- Студио "Свај сонет" - Викторија
- Музеј урне Светог Рокa, Петроварадин
- Визуални "Корна", Петроварадин
- Историски, Клео
- Школарка "Талис", Земун
- Становари мекса, Петроварадин
- Радеи 88
- Милошевић, Нови Сад
- Објектне пројекте
- Петроварадинска дива, Нови Сад
- Амек, Нови Сад
- Бранко Милић
- Милош Вучковић
- Милош Вучковић
- Драган Вучковић
- Варијација Милошевић и Ви!



КУНСТЛАГЕР ПИТАЊИЦА



Шта је преступ?

- A) Када украдем, олпљачкам, убијем
- B) Да, али није битно
- C) Кад прођем кроз црвено
- D) Кад фебруар има 29 дана
- E)

Чому служи пасуљ?

- A) За јело
- B) Да, али без меса
- C) За гатање
- D) За опасување
- E)

Да ли је ова земља "највећи, најлепши, најчудеснији догор на свету"?

- A) Не - има већих, лепших, чудеснијих
- B) Да - па шта!
- C)

Шта је Кунстлагер?

- A) Данас нам је диван дан, диван дан, диван дан...
- B) Ништа не калирам
- C) Уметници рију и подривају, а ко рије боље да га није
- D)

Да ли смо ми

- A) издајници
- B) патриоте
- C) опијум за масе
- D) забавна за народ
- E)

Псеудоиме

Псеудопрезиме



THE SOUVENIR FROM NOVI SAD 2000 – THE VARADIN BRIDGE MEMENTO

(Fish Market Novi Sad, April 1 2000)

Co-organizer: Cultural Centre of Novi Sad

Letter to sponsors and media

To mark the anniversary of the destruction of the Varadin Bridge, Led Art and the Novi Sad Cultural Centre will hold a sale of various products from the Trashart Gallery production line, created in Belgrade and Novi Sad in 1998.

On the same occasion the Novi Sad Souvenir project will be promoted. This is an opportunity to examine the market and the intentions of consumers.

The sale and promotion will take place on the Fish Market from 9 am - 1 pm. It is an ideal place for it: 1. Saturday is market day, 2. Trashart Gallery does not have exhibition space in Novi Sad, 3 The symbolism of the fish market (trade, values, sales, bargaining) fits all sorts of speculations which accompany the building of the new Varadin Bridge in the old location.

On the fruit stalls Novisadians will have an opportunity to buy, at discount prices, a piece of Novi Sad history

Novi Sad Souvenir 2000 - Varadin Bridge (metal construction, timber, asphalt - all available on tap), along with other products of Trashart Gallery. All money raised will be donated to the Pfenix Fund for unknown artists.



Photo: S. Veljović

Check based on an anonymous tip: police officer, Nikola Džafo, and Ksenija Popović



Photo: S. Veljović
Fish Market, Novi Sad souvenir 2000

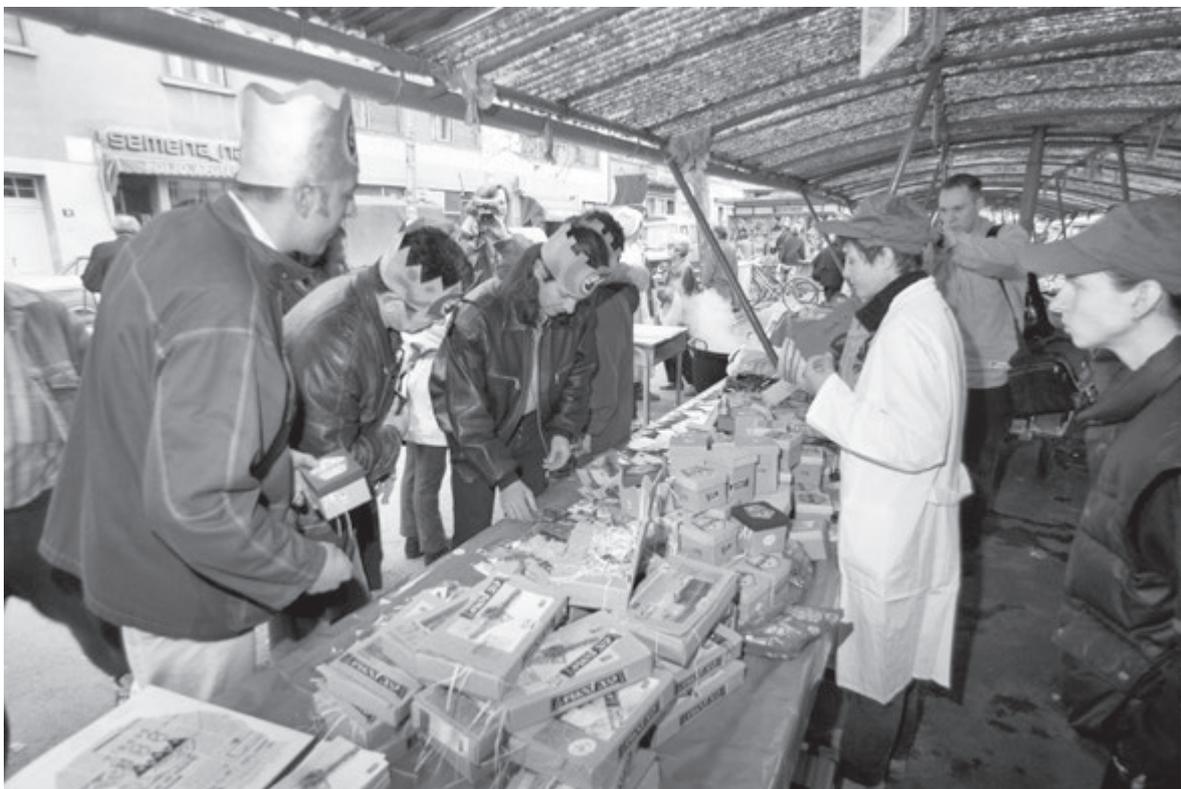


Photo: S. Veljović
Art Circus: "Monetarily monarchist action"



The souvenir sale event also includes:

1. The The Destroyed For the Burned exhibition: videos, documentary material, works connected with Varadin Bridge - guests of Trashart gallery;
2. A survey: who is responsible for the destruction of the bridges, who is supposed to rebuild the bridge and what kind of bridge do Novisadians want?,
3. High Noon - Free Lunch. The siren announcing the lunch is of a therapeutic character and should create in the citizens, instead of fear and panic, the habit of eating lunch regularly once a month.

The organizers expect that the sale of souvenirs and the accompanying programme will provoke awareness and the consciences of Novisadians, which could stimulate a public debate not just on the rebuilding and reconstruction of the destroyed bridges, but also on the quality of life and other vital questions.

Participants: Nikola Džafo, Dragan Živančević, Vesna Grginčević, Ratko Radivojević, Srđan Veljović, Nataša Tomić Veljović



Photo Slobodan Miletic

Petrovaradin priest Marko Kljajić blesses a part of the Varadin bridge at the NATO bombing demolition site. "Pillar of Shame" is a gift of Led Art to the city of Berlin to mark the exhibition "Engaged Art of Serbia" organized by the Centre for Cultural Decontamination, 2000.

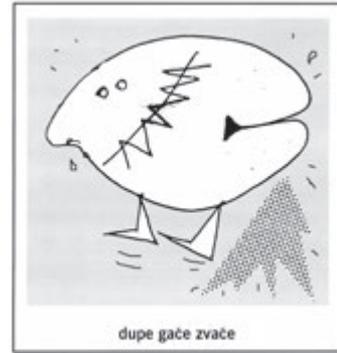


Photo: S. Veljović
Marketing: Ratko Radivojević and the White Rabbit

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Photo: D. Živančević
"Move Your Arse", elevator at Radio 021



MOVE YOUR ARSE

(TOUR D'VOJVODINA, OCTOBER 2000)

(Let your voice rip - holding it in can damage your health)

History

In order to animate the passive and demoralized city population of all ages and to awaken the voters' consciousness and encourage them to participate in the elections on September 24 2000, Led Art joined the pre-election campaign with the Move Your Arse (Let your voice rip - holding it in can damage your health) project.

Considering the fact that during the last ten years there has been a catastrophic decline in all values, including the language and culture of expression in Yugoslavia (Serbia), this project is based on colloquial idioms which are unavoidable in the everyday communication of all generations. These idioms are at the same time a global metaphor for the state in which society finds itself: to be in deep shit, to eat shit; but also for the general material and spiritual state: cutting off your ears in order to patch your arse, to talk out of your arse, to come from your arse into your head, not to give a shit (about anything)... The Move Your Arse idiom represents concrete action and for this reason has been chosen for the campaign slogan. Throughout the programme's production this slogan has been accompanied by photos of a naked male bottom (poster) and a stylized bottom - Arsehead (T-shirts, hats, shopping bags, flyer/survey sheets).

The performance part of the project relied on the eight-year experience of Led Art, which has been acquired through numerous provocative actions and performances held in the streets, squares, markets... The Move Your Arse campaign started in Novi Sad with a public photographing of naked bottoms, which was a clear message for the ruling regime about the participants' attitude. In front of the offices of Radio 021 and *Danas* newspaper (media support) a second photo session took place in which Arsehead T-shirts were given out, and the survey (Are You an Arsehead?) was conducted and the media called for the citizens to join the action with donations on the theme of bottoms. The artistic call to "let your voice rip" with a similar scenario was continued on the Tour de Vojvodina project (Pančevo, Vršac, Zrenjanin, September 18-21). This action was loosely linked to the Otpor movement via a volunteer network in the cities of Serbia. The Move Your Arse campaign finished on September 22 in Novi Sad with an exhibition of selected photographs and donations received during the project.

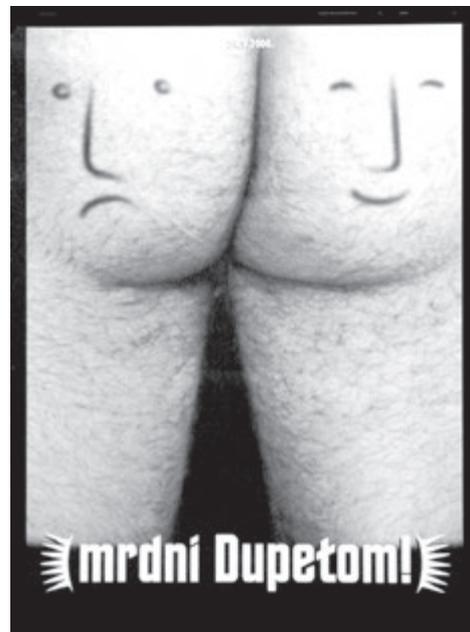




Photo: D. Živančević
Casting for "The best..."

THE CONTINUATION OF ACTION

After the democratic opposition election victory Led Art is continuing the Move Your Arse project as a wider social and artistic action.

1. Move Your Arse Publication.

The publication will be a catalogue which summarizes everything collected in previous activities and will be a starting point for all future *Move Your Arse* action, the universal need of society and every individual to fight for "his own arse."

This publication will contain:

- photographs taken during the Move Your Arse performance,
- citizens' donations on this theme: drawings, installations, objects,
- lexicology (dictionary material, phraseology, written word, sayings, excerpts from the works of national and international authors...)



Photo: D. Živančević
Casting for "The best..."

2. Move Your Arse Exhibition

It is mobile in character and visits towns that hosted Tour de Vojvodina action. The exhibition will also be organized in any town interested in this kind of activity, especially in big cities (Belgrade, Nis). The body of the exhibition contains photographs taken in previous actions. So far more than 300 photos have been taken, and for the Novi Sad exhibition 100 colour photos have been developed (standard format, 10x15). In order to make the exhibition more attractive it is necessary to widen the body of works by developing the rest of the photographs as well as enlarging 100 most successful photos in big format (50x70).

3. Postcards Move Your Arse

Printing of postcards with campaign motifs

Ljiljana Pešikan Ljuštanović

ALPHA AND OMEGA

They asked Dundara:
"Where are the gifts, Dundo?"
Dundara answers:
"I didn't saw nor knit,
But I ate and drank,
Stuffed the ass."

The traditional marriage ritual also contained the less known comic-derisive, parody-like, lascivious aspect turned towards sex and pigging out. Ass appears as the symbol of instinctive hunger and its satisfaction. In the above verses there is the abyss devouring of bridal gifts, the necessary part of the marital ritual and the complex relationship of exchange established by marriage, and the ordinary guests "without a title," without a given role in the ritual, are called, otherwise, free-loaders ("ass-loaders"). Thus the unity of the spiritual and the material, the wholeness and the unity of the archaic concept of the world are realized.

The microcosm of the human body with its separation of the lower and the upper sphere, the pure and the impure, the thought and the instinct, reiterates the structure of microcosm and its separation of the upper, heavenly, divine, immortal, bright, and the lower, earthly, human, mortal and vicious. The social order, the norm comes out of "the head." The open ass, on the other hand, epitomizes the naked, insatiated hunger, the dark, impure, foul world of the instincts. Thus the word ass, appearing in many different expressions with negative connotations, with its insatiable appetite - for food or sex, it doesn't matter - are nibbling on the power of reason, showing its essential tendency for subversion.

At the same time, the archaic man also possesses a deep awareness about the unity of these two poles of their own humanity. That's why in the ritual practice space is given to both.

On the other hand, high religions sharply separate these two domains:

Alpha is head, - alpha, that is the mind,
the beginning of everything, the builder of soul,
building in it the glitter of the future;
and omega, 'tis true, omega is the hip,
shame, belly, frivolity and vice,
the destruction of the clever builder -
that omega is the end to everything.

(Laza Kostić, *In Memory of Ruvarac*)

Still, Christian cultures know that one cannot "run away from the butt" - the time of carnival turns things upside-down. The power is taken away by the lower part of the body, and the world, like the sand clock, turns upside-down. The power of reason is overthrown, and the participant of the carnival, while the celebration is still going on, "is thinking with his ass," living out the instinctive and again realizing the essential unity of one's own humanity.

Itself belonging to the lower, the impure, the butt appears as a powerful weapon against demonic forces and spells. One should, therefore, grab his ass when someone wishes to harm him. Ass is used to close the door when leaving to ask the girl's hand, so the mouth would be shut if the young man is being slandered. Women brushed away hunger by lifting their skirts. To this date slapping one's own ass shows derision or driving away the rival.

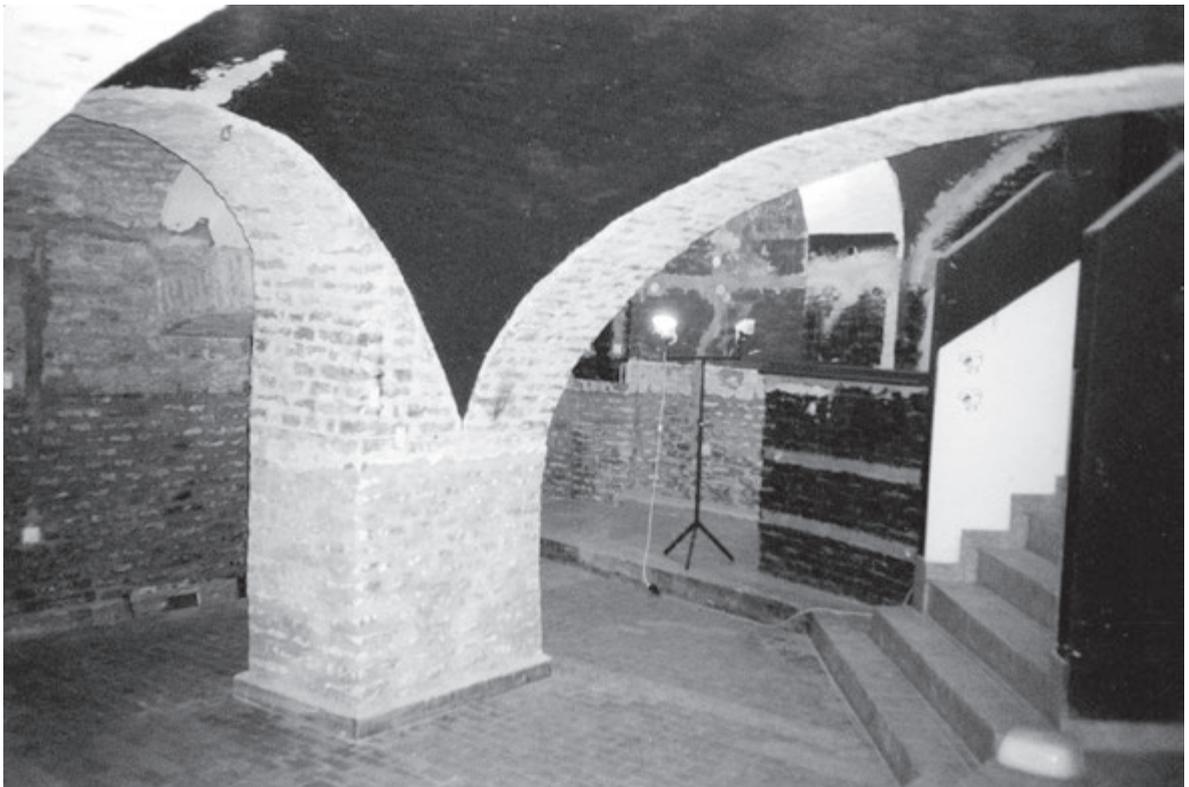
The authoritative power is also driven away by ass. Its seriousness and pathetic phrases is confronted with a bare ass and its shameless vote. As derision, as insult, as chasing away the spells, as the only weapon of the poor and the bare-assed - it doesn't matter. Ledartians introduce the subversive power of the instinctive and primordially human into the bloody political carnival of our time.

Photo: S. Veljović
Fire drawing in front of Student Cultural Centre



ART CLINIC

(Grčkoškolska Street 5, Novi Sad, 2000)



Led Art grew, from a group of artists gathering to do a project, at the beginning of 2000, into a registered local cultural institution (Multi-media center Led Art) with its seat in Novi Sad. In the working space which is actually a large basement, with very modest technical possibilities and with even more modest financial means, Led Art is initiating Art Clinic, whereby it attempts to cure the tired art producers and consumers.

On the flyer from the opening of Art Clinic it says:

- Art Clinic is a place where gathered doctors of different specialties are starting to treat themselves and others, and art is the means and the medicine.
- Art Clinic is founded with the therapy of admiring used to acquire self- confidence and to bring back faith into our own power and life.
- During the therapy of admiring own pulse is felt as well as the pulse of the environment, and the dialogue of the own "I" with the environment is established.
- Since so far we had relied on the state, foundations, ministries, opposition, new government, decontamination, reforms, from now on we believe only in stars and ourselves, "everyone minding their own business," so it wouldn't come to "hold your water while the repair people are gone."



Art Clinic (just as a medical institution), has its departments: reception (always opened calls), rehabilitation (attempt at selling art objects), intensive care unit – Shock gallery, the smallest in the Balkans (the gallery for one person). Shock gallery cultivates boundaries of different areas (The gallery was opened with a group exhibition Boundaries of Eroticism); it supports the autonomous visual expression, experiment and provocation as a starting point in its themes and the performance-show aspect; it promotes young artists. In that sense students of the Novi Sad art academy are supported (perspective artists in different categories chosen by a jury of laymen); all creative individuals have a right to exhibit in Shock gallery regardless of their professional qualification.

Occasionally there are different programs organized in Art Clinic (literary evenings, discussion), musical and film programs... Art Clinic reacts to all the events in the society. The most recent example is the local elections when Art Clinic promoted their candidate for mayor – White Rabbit. White Rabbit waged a real propaganda battle in the media (local radio, daily press, web-site) directing attention to numerous problems of artists and problems of art in general (the unresolved social and health insurance of artists, the absence of an adequate city gallery, art market, unresolved decrees...).

With Art Clinic Led Art is continuing to point out all the problems existing in the local community and on a wider social scale, and it seems that no end to them is near.

Vojin Ivkov, opening of Art Clinic with fire drawing in Zmaj Jovina street



A NEW PAST

(Marronnier Art Center and Insa Art Space Seoul/South Korea, December 1, 2004 - January 31, 2005)

The exhibition focuses on contemporary art in the Balkan region, which has drawn renewed attention in the international art world. Audiences can observe what harmony or explosive situations that the Balkan region, which is called the Orient of Europe, can create when it encounters Korea. Audiences can also contemplate disputed points in contemporary Korean art by understanding how the cultural belt which links Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, and Albania build up regions and international links, and tradition and contemporariness, all at the same time.

In Seoul, artists will co-operate with staff in-the-field, experimenting with practices of contemporary art. This is a project in which exhibitions are linked to workshops, symposiums, residences, and educational courses.

A NEW PAST

The international exhibition A New Past organized by Marronnier Art Center of the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation is the first contemporary Balkan art show to take place in Korea. Works by fourteen artists from central Balkan countries and three Korean artists displayed at this exhibition allow us to witness dynamic and exciting activities of contemporary arts from the Balkan region, which seemed so distant and foreign not so long ago.

In fact, our interest in this region is not accidental, because this exhibition A New Past is a project that continues and, at the same time, extends the awareness we had from the Memory of a City, the History of Space, the International Alternative Space Symposium organized by Insa Art Space, KCAF in 2002. At that time, a variety of cultural exchanges between mutually exclusive places such as Warsaw, Belgrade, Beirut, Yogyakarta and several cities of East Asia brought about far more questions and doubts than final answers. In particular, they made us realize the fact that the regions that have been oppressed and ignored in the history of modern Korea and various activities happening in those regions should be understood in depth and that those activities should be planned not as a one-time event, but as a part of a long-term project series. The central Balkan region around Belgrade makes a start of this project.

All the invited artists are from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia & Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo that once fell under the umbrella of Yugoslavia. Coming into the late 20th century, this region has suffered much ethnic conflict and a series of genocides due to complex political conditions and cultural heritages. Until recently, the region was regarded as "the Other" in media coverage of the West and language of contemporary art. (...)

A close look into the Balkan peninsula labeled collectively as "the Other" here reveals that there is in fact a variety of identities in that region. Those identities face one another as the other within the boundary of national, ethnic, geographical, racial, religious, and cultural differences and have survived repeated wars, their modern history of animosity and hostility, and hardship, adversity, and poverty. Such an array of unfortunate words can be applied directly to the modern history of Korea as well. Seen the other way around, we ourselves are the other to the various identities in the Balkan peninsula. In this respect, the culture and politics of the Other or the culture and politics of identity are significant motive of this project. The success of this project may be assessed some time later in the future, when this exhibition itself becomes history. (...)

Overviewing the last 20th century, an intellectual of Balkan calls the era the Age of Yugoslavia, because the entire phenomenon happened around the country expose the weakness of the mankind who cannot transcend conflicts, separation, and animosities among the species.(2) Yugoslavia, in spite of the current association with an ominous ending splattered with extreme violence and demolition, was one of the those names that marked an optimistic launch of a new era

with an awareness that a definition of a nation could not always be colliding into that of a state. Yugoslavia no longer exists in the Atlas book, but it continues to live within artists' personal sense of identity against the gravity of oblivion. Milica Tomić attempts to express the country's ideals, aspirations, and frustration caused by dissolution of dreams through her body. (...)

Looking at this portrait of two countries, former Yugoslavia and Korea, with the spectrum of the 20th century as a backdrop, I would dare call these invited artists "Kids of Revolution." "Revolution" in this expression refers to our everyday living through the entire time of entire time frame of the 20th century itself, instead of directing to one particular political incident, and the term, "kids" (instead of children docile to their parents and social norms) is intended to denote the rebellious and subversive nature of the prodigal. Such kids of revolution does not simply recollect and document the historical incidents of the last century, rather they provoke critical tension in this historically petrified moment and thrashes aside the gloomy present with bright future. LED ART's sales of broken pieces of a bridge from the NATO bombing on Novi Sad on top of flyingCity's miniature overpass removed from Cheongye Stream as souvenirs make those broken pieces of the bridge the metaphor for our memory; they become the monument of our oblivion for the present.

Paradoxically, the act of freezing art works in Frozen Art by LED ART becomes a symbol that aims for the future where thawing takes place.



Performance with Flyingcity troupe at Dongdaemun Market, a former baseball stadium

The artistic language and structural methodology used by the Kids of Revolution do not follow a set pattern. An aggressive visual language with strong, direct impact is employed on the one hand, but on the other hand, very modest suggestion that helps art with political intervention in a subtle way appeals to the public. The scope of media they favor is so wide and extensive to range from traditional painting to web project encompassing the genres of high art and subculture. They use both provocative visual languages and modest and controlled means to reach that goal. When Škart's Horkeskart plays music for a 150 year-old tree in front of a locksmith's shop in Belgrade, and when they get together with member of the collaboration with Single Mothers' Association to make record of their history using an old embroidery tradition, the group's work goes beyond the confines of the art world. (...)

Beck Jee-sook (chief curator, Marronnier Art Center of KCAF)



Ice wall in front of Marronnier Art Centre, Seoul

LED ART AND FLYINGCITY AT THE SAME DUTY

(Dongdaemun Market Seoul)

During the performance which also considered "the role of Balkan chalk in art" at Dongdaemun Market, Led Art in the manner of forensic pathologists, via the form of "forensic drawings," portrayed known and unknown people from Seoul. (After a murder, police usually mark the place of the incident. A line is drawn around the shape of the victim in the position he is found in. Then they take away the unfortunate person and the drawing remains. In order to prevent evil Led Art applied a cure called "The Balkan Chalk Circle." They invited those present to imagine a situation in which their lives could be jeopardized.) If Led Art and Flyingcity succeeded in drawing attention of ordinary people and provoked them to think just for a moment of all the problems they have, than the goal is reached.

The multi-purpose polygon object STOLica (read Throne) hit the Novi Sad streets on 2 June 1995. It appeared that day and surprised the inhabitants of Novi Sad. A group of children immediately set about using the object on offer. Others were given questions. Sit back in the STOLica, concentrate, because you are about to be surveyed. When you hear the word STOLica, what comes to mind: a piece of furniture, digested waste, death penalty, studying hard, a bar brawl, theatre play? The people of Novi Sad responded. The majority thought of an Emperor, and STOLica was seen as a Throne (a gigantic chair resembling a throne, empty! Only children still believe that the biggest STOLica in the country is empty! The throne is waiting for the Emperor! The Emperor is naked!). In second place is a desire to release the electricity and torture the guilty. Then comes alcohol (I wished I had a bar counter to go with this STOLica). All in all, the newborn STOLica played a throne, tried on one of its hundred faces and launched its multipurpose career.

The object was made possible by Telefonoteka, Arbor Carpentry, Standard Media, Centre For Cultural Decontamination (CCD) and Alef Art.

After Novi Sad, STOLica accomplished the hard task of moving to Belgrade, to the Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Veljković Pavilion, and was shown to the people of Belgrade. It survived *The Demons* theatre play, where it showed one of its hundred faces and hundred of possibilities.

Next came the task of participating in the September Decontamination organised by CCD. Who Gives a Hair? was realised in Veljković Pavilion on 7 September 1995, with the participation of Black and White Rabbit. Some twenty volunteer hair donors climbed into the STOLica on that occasion in order to express their personal views. Another face was revealed, a pre-image of the future, voluntary training of shame.

For October variations of the decontamination, STOLica went to Novi Sad (Radivoj Ćirpanov University) to repeat the public haircutting, then returned to CCD and suffered the Damar Concert (Vasil Hadžimanov, Igor Malešević).



Photo: Led Art documentation
At "Arbor" carpenter workshop



Photo: Led Art documentation
Zmaj Jovina street, Novi Sad workshop

Photo: Led Art documentation
At "Arbor" carpenter workshop





Photo: V. Pavlović
Installation for play "The Demons", CCD, 1995



Photo: CCD documentation
Book promotion of Ivan Stambolić's "Put u bespuće", CCD, 1995:
Radomir Konstantinović, Slobodan Inić, Borka Pavičević, Andrej Mitrović

At noon on 1 January 1996, STOLica was in the great NEST of CCD. There it also celebrated the Leap (February 29) and continued in hibernation waiting for spring and the snow to melt.

It proclaimed Ice Day on 17 May, when it offered protection from sun to Nebojša Popov, the first cook of the famous PASULJ (beans) dish for the Sobering Up of the people performance. It also rehearsed the performance BEGstvo (Escape) from the Centre.

Why did STOLica decide to escape, why did it opt for exile? The decision was inevitable, the throne must find its capital city.

Photo: Led Art documentation
STOLica in front of The Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina





Photo: Led Art documentation
STOLica in front of The Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina

Then came the LET's Go tour. The first destination: Kragujevac. The first host: UGS Nezavisnost. Accompanying events: the first Serbian national bean dish cooking competition, the first round table on politics and life, and the second LET's Go survey.

The tour had suffered a mishap that threatened to derail the project. From CCD to Kragujevac the trip had gone via the Old Fair in Belgrade. While waiting for instructions, the object endured an attack. That night someone managed to knock it over (650kg). However, no damage occurred. Rade Milojević managed to deliver it to the centre of Kragujevac. It was ready for the The Throne Is Looking For the Capital performance. On July 12 STOLica appeared in front of the Pionir Children Shopping Centre, where it patiently waited for participants, cooks and the entourage. The entourage was made up of members of led art, Nezavisnost Syndicate, MimArt Theatre and journalists.

At precisely noon, the Let's Go survey started. STOLica, the multi-purpose polygon object, premiered in Kragujevac, and the questionnaire began: 1. When you hear STOLica do you think of: throne, rough, soft, power, fall, armchair, syndicate, death penalty, pigeon, crap, beans, getting rich, fight. The same categories were offered with the second questionnaire: What needs freezing? And the third: What needs defrosting? The Let's Go survey was conducted by selected



members of Led Art, who were overwhelmed by the eager and enthusiastic citizens of Kragujevac. For the next two hours, to question 1 the respondents mostly circled the words "power" and "throne." For question 2 it was mostly "power" and "death penalty," while three answers preferred to freeze "syndicate." For question No. 3 the most frequent answer was "pigeon," then "power" (!) and "syndicate."

Following the survey, in a convoy headed by a truck with the dismantled throne on it, the Escape from Kragujevac to Stara Kolonija workers' village followed. STOLica was re-assembled and it joined the beans-to-sober-up-the-population cooking competition. There were two cauldrons with two cooks Nebojša Popov (Belgrade) and Dragan Romić (Kragujevac). They received an equal number of votes, both were winners, and the beans quickly disappeared. A dove of peace (a Serbian double champion pigeon) was released from the throne.

In the evening the throne was removed from the Stara Kolonija, in preparation for its next capital to answer the question: What place does it deserve?

The cold autumn of 1996 followed, then the even colder winter of 1997, and general unrest. The streets of Belgrade were teeming that winter, so this STOLica joined the protesters. On the invitation of the Vračar Commune, which hosted the leaders of free cities of Serbia, STOLica was guest of honour where it stayed for ten days. Then it moved to Kolarčeva Street to help the protest and Cordon on Cordon action. Day after day it stood there like a beacon for protesters. Nebojša Popov, with the help of Independent Syndicates, cooked beans for the hungry people. The clashes between the police and people were escalating, to reach the culmination on the night between the 1 and 2 February, when the police brutally attacked anyone and everyone. The witnesses claim that STOLica was a victim too and it disappeared that night.

A warrant was issued and a private detective agency Neša was hired.

Photo: D. Krnajski
"Nest", public haircutting, CCD, 1996





WANTED: CHAIR

On the night between 1st and 2nd February, while silently witnessing the uncalled-for events on the Republic Square, STOllica was brutally attacked by unidentified (in uniforms) assailants.

With brutal force its legs were broken and it was taken to an unknown destination. Eye witnesses are asked to report any information by calling 3239-003.

LED ART, UGS Nezavisnost, Republika

Letter, N. Džafo UGS Nezavisnost

SOBERING UP, STOLICA, ETC.

I made STOllica, a multi-purpose polygon object (2x2x2x4 m) in Novi Sad, with the help of a sponsor (value: 4,500 German marks). It disappeared in Belgrade the night of 2 February. A warrant was issued. The signatories were LED ART, Republika and UGS Nezavisnost and the warrant was published in all supporting media and it ended there. I'd like to point out that the pact of care for STOllica made after the second Sobering Up in Kolarčeva Street in Belgrade, where we joined the student protest and Cordon on Cordon action. UGS Nezavisnost took upon itself the care for STOllica, and Nebojša Popov, Milan Nikolić, Dušan Mitrović, Dragoslav Krnjski and Nikola Džafo participated in the agreement. We advised you to move STOllica to Nušićeva Street and the next place of sobering up, but that, unfortunately, didn't happen.

Whatever happened, we expect the following:

- To report the disappearance of STOllica to the police
- To inform the Vračar Commune that STOllica was moved from their territory to Stari Grad Commune,
- To inform the Stari Grad Commune that STOllica arrived in their territory from where it disappeared,
- To let us use the documentation from the first Sobering Up to the disappearance of STOllica (videos and photos):
- To settle the payments to Dragoslav Krnjski for photo development.

In order to trace STOllica I will hire a private detective and a lawyer to help me solve the STOllica-Sobering Up case.

The search for STOllica bore fruit. It was found in possession of the City Sanitation Services and, after necessary repairs, sent to recover in Vračar Commune but...

ANNOUNCEMENT

After successful recovery STOLica returns in front of the Vračar Commune Hall, where it will stay for the time being.

The recovery time is unknown for now, and the diagnosis is: *amnesia socialis* (the loss of throne dignity, artistic self-confidence, shaken pride, excessive shyness and inclination towards imagination)

Therapy: it is advised that STOLica should remain in front of the Vračar Commune Hall, where it had previously been well-treated.

It is expected that observers would understand the situation, considering the fact that STOLica is back amongst people, after going through heavy beating on the night of 2 February.

Republika, LED ART, Nezavisnost

STOLICA AGAIN IN VRAČAR

STOLica, by Nikola Džafo, was placed again in Commune Vračar on 12 April.

STOLica is of multimedia character and has always meant to stimulate associations or be a concrete motive for artistic and/or people's practical activity, with strong inter-connections. It started its journey in Novi Sad, during Zmaj Children Games, then moved to Vračar and then, during the Student Protest in Kolarčeva Street.

Briefly, it was located on Trg Nikole Pašića during the Sobering Up.

Between the nights of February 2 and 3, during the police intervention, our people, with minimum damage and on specific orders of the authorities, moved it from Kolarčeva Street. The destiny of STOLice became uncertain and a mystery to the artist. However, luckily, our people (Dragan Ignjatović was on duty that night) managed to save it.

Searching for it, the artist reached the City Sanitation Service and there our people performed surgery on its leg and, in accordance with Džafo's wishes, moved it to Vračar. Its next journey, Džafo claims, would take it back to the beginning, to Novi Sad, amongst the children, because it seems that they understood it best and took it seriously.

M. Milivojević

(JKP Gradska čistoća [City Sanitation Services], Belgrade, April 1977)



Photo: Led Art documentation
STOLica in Kolarčeva street in the eve of its disappearance



Photo: Led Art documentation
STOLica in Vračar

Mr Milan B. Milivojević, journalist for Čistoća, moved by the destiny of STOLica, wrote on this object:

Man spends most of his day sitting.

He uses a chair.

A chair has four legs. Only one person can sit on it.

STOLica can accept a hundred faces in itself, many more around.

This chair gathers people and inspires them to sit and think.

STOLica is democratic, anybody can use it any way it suits them. It is not a status symbol but it could be if you climb in it and imagine you are sitting on a throne, or some other kind of a power-inducing chair. Because it is democratic, it is expected that one day you will get up and leave it to someone else. If they pulled it from under you, you would know something's happening to you. In the best scenario, you are no longer seated, in the worst - you've been hanged!

If you believe you are a man of steel or marble, then it's fine, the chair will support you. If you weigh too much, it will give way. Because the smarter person always gives way. You can see further by standing on STOLica, more than the person at the bottom of the hill.

Always use a chair, because panels and round tables without chairs are gatherings without faces.

Respect it and take care of it, it will repay you in the best possible way.

If you lose it, you'll have to squat if you get tired.

A person who squats cannot think straight. It is difficult to do two things at the same time properly.

UNWANTED STOLICA

Regarding your request to reinstate STOLica, I regret to inform you that we are unable to grant your request. At present, we are removing illegally built housing on our territory, and reinstating STOLica would result in an illegal object. It would be inappropriate on our part to erect this structure in the middle of a fight against illegality.

The signatory of this unusual letter is Radmilo Belić, a high functionary in Vračar Commune. He wrote to Nikola Džafo, academy artist/painter, whose work, a multi-polygon chair, 2x2x2x4 metres, used to be located in front of the Commune's offices.

Građanin has already written about the destiny of this gigantic chair, which disappeared from Kolarčeva Street, where it stood during the Student Protest and Cordon On Cordon event. Having been found and placed in front of Vračar Commune following this unusual letter, STOLica was removed. Protests by the artist, Led Art, Independent Syndicate, Commune employees and the public were in vain. The bureaucratic will, inherited from earlier epochs, prevailed.

Nikola Džafo and Led Art were forced to write a public announcement, calling on all authorities in politically unaligned cities in Serbia to take STOLica and place it in an appropriate space in their cities.

(*Građanin*, 26-27 April 1997)

STOLICA HAD TO GO.

Vračar Comune Decree,
Department of Inspections
Sanitation Inspection
Number: 335-341/97
21 April 1997.
Belgrade, Njegoševa 77

Sanitation Inspector, Department of Inspections, Vračar Commune, Belgrade, in accordance with Article No. 192 (Sl. list, No. 55/96) and Article 2 of Sanitation Inspection (Sl. list Belgrade, No 18/92) hereby decrees:

Nikola Džafo, resident in Gospodar Jevremova Street No. 4, is hereby ordered to remove the chair (4x2 metres) from the sidewalk in Njegoševa Street No. 77 within a day upon receiving this decree, due to the above-mentioned object's being placed there without permission from Vračar Commune.





Photo: D. Krnjski
Protest 1996/97: assembling of the
STOlica in Kolarčeva street

FINDINGS

On 19 April 1997, the Sanitation Inspector concluded, upon examining the location, Njegoševa Street No. 77, that: the object, a 4x2-metre chair, was found on public property, illegally placed, and that its owner is Nikola Džafo.

Appeals against this decision must be lodged with the Secretariat for Inspection of the city of Belgrade, Communal Inspection, within 15 days of receipt of these findings, accompanied by a 5 dinar tax receipt, paid into account No. 40803-840-3151-020.

STOLica was taken temporarily to a Municipal Workshop.

Correspondence ensued about where STOLica could be moved and what to do with it.



Photo: D. Krnajski
In front of a department store, Kragujevac

Nothing happened. STOllica waited and waited...

It participated in the 11th International Triennial of Scenography and Costumes, organised by Sterijino Pozorje, and then went back to Novi Sad.

From 26 May to 5 June 1998 it proudly stood in front of the Museum of Revolution, as part of the scenography for *The Demons*. Nikola Džafo received the Special Jury Diploma for his multi-purpose polygon object STOllica.

Then, it moved in front of the Novi Sad Culture Centre and entertained the audience during the INFANT Festival. After the festival it lived in front of the Youth Theatre, where it disintegrated due to lack of care, weather conditions and its own madness.



Photo: N. Džafo
In front of the Youth Theatre in Novi Sad, just before leaving to "Kunstlager"

On 29 February 2000 it moved to Kunstlager.
The communal workers chopped it into firewood and cooked beans.
Some pieces were taken away by individuals and used as fuel.
That is how the multi-purpose polygon object STOlica ended its life.



Photo: S. Veljović
...it served for cooking beans



Photo: S. Veljović
STOLica chopped up in "Kunstlager" ...

FROM THE PRESS:

As part of the Novi Sad Summer at Radnički University, Stolica, a work by Academy Painter Nikola Džafo, was exhibited in Zmaj Jovina Street. It is made of wood, 2x2x4 metres, and exhibited on the site of the Zmajeve Dečje Igre Festival. In accordance with the artist's wishes, the reaction of the spectators is continuously recorded, thus creating another piece of art.

After the Festival, Stolica will visit other cities, all events recorded, and then it will return to Novi Sad.

(N. P., A giant chair for the people of Novi Sad, *Dnevnik*, 3 June 1995)

The biggest attraction in Zmaj Jovina Street is a four-meter high chair, created by the Academy Painter Nikola Džafo on the occasion of Zmaje Dečije Igre Festival. This exhibit especially attracts children. For them the chair's seat, which is two metres above ground level, as high as the Moon and could be reached with a little help from their parents. Ljiljana Gantar, the director of Radivoj Čirpanov Radnički University, which owns the sculpture, says that the chair will soon visit other towns in Serbia.

(Chair to the moon, *Večernje novosti*, 7 June 1995)

The Demons, by F. Dostoevsky, adapted by A. Camus, staged by CCD. Directed by Ana Miljanić, scenography by Nikola Džafo and Dragoslav Krnajski, music by Isidora Žebeljan, costumes Jelena Milić and Nada Petrović, Cast: Cvijeta Mesić, Irfan Mensur, Goran Šušljik, Sandra Nogić, Sergej Trifunović, Slobodan Beštić, Bojan Žirović, Milan Mihailović, Mirsad Tuka, Marija Opsenica-Živković, Sonja Vukičević and Hristina Popović.

The Demons premiered in Veljković Pavilion is characterised by two features: internal and external. Pavilion is a box-scene with an entrance door as the only opening which disturbs the geometry in which Nikola Džafo and Dragoslav Krnajski's scenography is fully expressed. Ice blocks were represented for this occasion by straw blocks and complimented with three video monitors which illustrated the scene. Buried in the straw, they marked the "border" between land and art (separating audience and stage) and were an effective environmental transformation. This way a certain interior conditioning was created, expressing the inversive mode which the director Ana Miljanić, successfully presented Camus' adaptation of Dostoevsky's novel. (...)

(Željko Jovanović, A Play As an Installation, *Danas*)



Photo: D. Krnjski
STOlica in Kolarčeva street in the eve of its disappearance,
February 2 1997

LED ART – IN BRIEF

For Led Art (Ice Art) it all started in 1993 in Belgrade, when a group of artists (and not only artists, but also "ordinary" citizens) carried out the performance Frozen Art in a specific "exhibition hall" of a claustrophobic refrigerator truck (which will later acquire a grizzly connotation). Before we analyze a few crucial projects of Led Art in more detail, it is necessary to briefly lay out the political and social circumstances leading to Frozen Art and directly influencing all the future activities of the group.

The political scene of a – up to that point – stable state is begging abruptly to change in 1980 with the death of Josip Broz Tito, the creator of the communist/socialist Yugoslavia, a globally known leader and one of the inceptors of the Non-Aligned movement. The former Yugoslavia is comprised of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia (with autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo), Montenegro and Macedonia. The population of Yugoslavia is ethnically diverse and mixed-up in all the republics. Still, the nations forming the majority are Serbs and Croats. Serbs live in Serbia, Croatia (Slavonia and the Croatian coast), in Kosovo they represent a minority although Kosovo is historically "the cradle of Serbdom," with numerous medieval monasteries (The Patriarchate of Peć), and there are Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. Croats live mostly in Croatia, Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Albanians are a majority in Kosovo, but they also live in Macedonia. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a typical example of cohabitation of many nations – Muslims lead in numbers, followed by Serbs and Croats.

Already at the end of the 1980s, in thus far a "brotherly" state, national awareness is awakening and strengthening, and certain politicians are stepping out and acquire a growing popularity among people. Slobodan Milošević is the president of the Serbian Communist Union and the unprecedented personality of Serbian politics. He is founding the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), which

is in its essence communist, and proclaiming the political motto "All Serbs in one state," which is at first directed toward preservation of Yugoslavia as a state. In Croatia, during the nineties, both Tito's general Franjo Tuđman, who founded Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), and the struggle for a Croatian independence (Tuđman becomes the first president of Croatia) are on the rise. Alija Izetbegović is founding the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and leading Bosnian Muslims, who see an opportunity for spreading the sphere of their influence as the majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Albanians in Kosovo, after Tito's death, are expressing their separatist ambitions and a strife to make Kosovo join Albania more clear. Ibrahim Rugova, the overt fighter for independent Kosovo – Great Albania, is stepping onto the political scene. All of them are propagating ethnically pure states, and that is the gist of the future civil wars.

Despite the attempts from abroad to reintegrate Yugoslavia in a peaceful way, by negotiating, war begins in 1991 in Slovenia and Croatia. The fiercest fight will be waged between Croats and Serbs in Croatia – in Slavonia around Vukovar and Osijek, on fronts near the coast around Dubrovnik, later Knin (the ethnic cleansing action "Storm," exile of 200,000 Serbs in August of 1995). Fierce fighting will transform the geographic and demographic map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mostar, Sarajevo, Srebrenica – Muslims, Serbs and Croats in combat: numerous concentration camps, mass graves, destruction of mosques and churches...).

It is very difficult and complicated to explain who is fighting whom on certain fronts, because everyone is practically fighting everyone else. The common feature for all fronts, imminently following armed clashes, is the destruction of cities, columns of refugees and an exchange of population between former republics, plunders and war profiteering, inflation and poverty, unemployment, increase of crime, "brain drain." Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia are becoming in-

dependent states, while in Serbia the regime of Slobodan Milosevic is stubbornly surviving and brutally ruling in the "depleted Yugoslavia" (Serbia and Montenegro).

In Kosovo Slobodan Milosevic is using military and the police as an answer to open terrorist actions of Albanians, and trying to re-establish the long-disturbed ethnic image of Kosovo – Serbs have been leaving Kosovo for more than a decade. The answer to Milosević's policy in Kosovo comes in March of 1999. with the NATO intervention. During the daily bombing that lasted for 78 days, military targets as well as industrial and civil buildings in all the larger cities of Serbia (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Pančevo, Niš, Priština) are destroyed, and a lot of civilians are among the victims. Already during the first days of bombing, Novi Sad is left without all of its three bridges, and bridges are the "favorite" NATO target across Serbia. On June 10, representatives of the Yugoslav Army and NATO signed a military-technical agreement for a complete withdrawal of Yugoslav military and Serbian police from Kosovo. On the same day Milosevic is addressing the citizens glorifying Serbian heroes who "gave their lives for protection of the fatherland, in the struggle for freedom and the dignity of its people." The dissatisfaction toward Milosević's regime in Serbia is at its peak, and on September 24, 2000, after a ten-year rule of the Socialists, the united Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) wins in local elections in Serbia, and Vojislav Koštunica is elected president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milošević does not want to give up power. Mass demonstrations are erupting in the country, Serbia is awoken, the fear against Milošević has disappeared. His regime finally falls on October 5, 2000, when demonstrators take over the building of the Yugoslav parliament in downtown Belgrade. A few months later, more precisely on April 1, 2001, Slobodan Milošević is arrested and handed over to the Hague war-crimes tribunal.

With the change of power and the arrest of S. Milošević, the long-expected peace and well-being does not appear in Yugoslavia. The depleted state (today the federal union of Serbia and Montenegro), is still beset by conflicts and a struggle for power between political parties, social discontentment and numerous strikes, crime and armed settlements between members of criminal clans. Murders of politicians and members of high military circles follow one after the other, and the peak comes with the murder of Serbian prime minister, Zoran Đinđić, in front of the entrance to the government building, in March 2003. In the recent presidential elections, after many unsuccessful attempts to choose the president of Serbia, the dem-

ocratic candidate Boris Tadić barely wins against the rightist candidate. Almost all the countries introduce visas for citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, privatization and capitalization create an army of laid-off and socially insecure worker, the number of suicides is on the rise, nationalism as well, it is clearer by the day that Serbia is losing Kosovo, the union of Serbia and Montenegro is breaking at its seams, and inflation is slowly but surely advancing... The majority of young, educated people still does not want to live in Serbia.

Frozen Art - Let us go back to the year 1993 when the group Led Art was formed. Although Belgrade, Novi Sad and other cities around are not directly exposed to war, the war and its consequences are more than present: the popular draft is in full flair, some are voluntarily signing up and proudly leaving for the front "to defend the fatherland," while others are hiding and fleeing the draft. The images of the dead and wounded, burned houses and destroyed cities, via TV sets are daily present in people's homes... Under the international sanctions, the economic situation in the country is catastrophic, poverty is evident: the stalls in stores are completely emptied, goods are acquired on the black market, the inflation is measured in millions of percents, prices increase on the average 62% per day, monthly salaries are barely 2-3 Deutschmarks (today 1-2 euros)... Rivers of dissatisfied people, mainly intellectuals, are fleeing from the country to keep their heads on their shoulders and to secure some kind of existence.

Where is art in all of that, and how do artists react to the "given conditions"? Some are withdrawing from art and public life altogether, while others see a different solution in labor. Frozen art was initiated by painter Nikola Džafo who, in an interview entitled *Utopia Is Not Destroying* expresses the basic idea: "With the dilemma to paint or not to paint on my mind, the question how to save art work came up. In order not to lose the warmth that appeared during the creation of those works, deep freezes are needed! We would preserve art in big refrigerators. That probably wouldn't be difficult. On one hand, there is relatively and absolutely little art here, it takes little place in the society. On the other hand, there is enough space in refrigerators, because there is less and less meat and other foods usually kept in those appliances. A part of the contemporary art production would be saved with massive transportation of art, and perhaps critics, art historians, other artists would be incited by that action... to keep the creations, which would, when (or if) sun shines, spectacularly come to life. Every gallery, all museums would have deep freezes.

Good performance, hah?"

The idea of frozen art is attracting a group of artists who accept the challenge to dive into the experiment in a refrigerator truck of a large agricultural-industrial complex, bankrupt as well. ("While refusing to participate in destruction, slaughter, robbery and rape, we take ourselves out of traditional space. By rejecting the conformist way of thinking and the old rut - we live and create ceaselessly. We discover a new way. A way in between.") At 20 below zero Celsius, ice objects into which artists apply objects from their surrounding, are made (a tank shell, a state flag, a stopped watch, worthless banknotes, a broken computer screen, an animal brain, metal drain, fish...). Instead of ice objects we will name titles of a few works: Gott Liebt Die Serben, The Dice Is Thrown, Flag, Winter...

The greatest "art" at that moment is to find a sponsor who would realize the project with little sources. Artists work without a pay, petrol is bought "in buckets," material is brought from private reserves, the refrigerator truck was lent for free... During a month of working in the refrigerator truck the name of the group Led Art naturally imposes itself, as well as the title of the exhibition Frozen Art, shown in the refrigerator truck in May 1993, and attracting a large public attention. (Less than a decade later, an "unartistic" refrigerator truck with corpses originating in Kosovo will appear from a lake near Kokin Brod in Serbia).

In order to understand frozen art we are offering a theoretical text that briefly explains the idea: "The last few years brought, as one of its basic results, re-questioning in all the areas of human existence. In that sense, culture and art become prone to changes: the war drama and all that goes with it - destruction, plunder, deceptions, hunger, death - considerably lowered the field of every work and creation. Art found itself in a situation to look for answers to two questions: Should one create in such conditions? If the work is continued, which direction should be taken? Led Art adopted the stance that one should polemically face the existing, mostly negative trends using creation. Widely open to all the aspects of artistic activity, the group presumes two things: communication between artists of different individual expressions, and urban background as the setting. At the same time, the inability to communicate with the official cultural politics brought the group into the position to place itself outside of institutions that possess instruments of particular censure of creation.

The newly developed social conditions were interpreted as the change of the state of water, i.e. freezing (turning water into ice and vice versa - melting), which symbolically represents multi-

ple layers of existential questioning. On one hand freezing is slowing down of life functions until death (euthanasia), and on the other hibernation, during which values are preserved from perishing, with the hope that the future will bring justification of melting as a possibility of a new, healthy beginning. The change of the state itself represents a situation enabling action. It is only necessary to discover natural mechanisms enabling action. The plane of experimentation, on which a layer of creative individuals ready to accept the hardened conditions as a challenge, is thus created. Frozen art is concentrated into two directions: one are objects for permanent life in a cold environment, and second are ice works exhibited outside and exposed to controlled melting."

In the same social circumstances, with similar means (ice, performance), the project **Flood** was performed in October 1993 in Novi Sad, so we will not dwell on it for long. We will single out the multi-layered structure of the Flood; in the matinee action, organized to provoke passers-by, the busy city street was partitioned with ice blocks, making it hard or incapacitating the passage of pedestrians (demonstration of poverty and international sanctions), and reactions and commentaries were recorded. In the evening performance, executed indoors, ice objects served at tables, "stuffed" with different things, were left to melt as an allusion to the biblical flood. The performance was done with the participation of visual artists, musicians and actors who simulated the atmosphere of a public house, in which the police finally destroys the exhibition, and, cussing, "bust" the gathering throwing out the participants and the audience out on the street.

While in the beginning ice is used as a metaphor and a material, in later practice, as a reaction to outside stimuli, Led Art resorts to other materials and actions: art-cookbook, crime-site chalk drawing or artistic/scientific research expeditions to city landfills. The group is trying to establish the "rules":

LED ART is an impetus. Creativity as a method to resist and overcome the present situation. Creating despite everything. A firm for art production.

LED ART is concerned with the repackaging of the existing and re-evaluation of the found. It uses non-natural conditions (a temperature of -20°C) and the change of states of matter (water-ice-water) as a method of artistic action.

LED ART performs in urban environments. It removes itself from government institutions and traditional exhibition spaces (galleries, museums, communes) and uses the atypical (freezing

chambers, refrigerator trucks, iced terrain, garages, streets).

LED ART is made up of creative individuals, regardless of their craft (painters, musicians, playwrights, writers and the like).

LED ART does not belong to any political group. It is not interested in power struggles or politicizing. It does not allow the manipulation of its work.

LED ART maintains records of its work (video, photography, etc.). This is a recognition of individual effort and can be used with permission.

LED ART performs in public with its works too: video, photography, posters, postcards, badges, manifestos, products with the LED ART name.

All action by the group is signed by LED ART.

Self-promotion by exploiting the group name is frowned upon. That will come with better times.

Individual performances are allowed with the agreement of the group.

LED ART is not interested in local criteria.

Sponsors finance the group's work.

LED ART is permanently open to new ideas and projects.

Art Cookbook (Belgrade, December 1993) was a direct answer to the government regulation about organized provisions (poverty is at its peak). The government regulates the monthly amount of basic products per capita. The packet contains: 6.25 kg of flour, 0.5 kg of sugar, 250 g of salt, 750 g of cooking oil. 500 g of washing soap and one bar soap. The invited authors used the named products as a material for artistic processing. Realized in an art form, the objects were exhibited in an abandoned garage, on the eve of parliamentary elections in Serbia. The edible objects were eaten by hungry visitors at the end of the show.

Project **Crime Reconstruction** was initiated in 1994, and it will be performed due to the intensification of war and opening of new fronts, mass-grave discoveries, student and civil demonstrations after vote-rigging, NATO intervention... Crime reconstruction is performed as a police investigation after a homicide, when the site of crime is marked with a white chalk. The drawing is done around the victim as it was found after death. If there are some objects found around the body, they are drawn around as well. The crime site is photographed, the victim is taken away, and the contour of the body drawn with chalk is left at the scene.

In practice, the crime-site drawing is used by Led Art as a talisman "against spells", wherein the participants of the performance become resistant to outside influences.

Drawing around the body becomes a favorite activity of Led Art readily accepted by participants,

onlookers, passers-by. Crime Reconstruction is done using different techniques: drawing around the contours of a body with chalk on sidewalks or black paper, "drawing around" with fire, taking pictures against spells, edible cake in human form...

The most renowned action of that kind was **performed during student and civil protests in Belgrade**, on February 18, 1997. Members of Led Art and the demonstrators performed a great "drawing around" at the place where the police had, just before that, attacked the demonstrators with water cannons and beat up dozens of citizens. At another time, life vests made of ice were carried in the action Phoo, Salvation For Us All. The life vests were tried to be handed over to Slobodan Milošević, but the group carrying them was stopped by the police. In the third action during the civil demonstrations mirrors were brought up to the faces of policemen in the picket line (Action With a Mirrors at the Cordon or Let's Give Them Back the Picture).

Landfills – Recycling - "A body of a newborn child was found on Monday around 4 P.M. on the landfill in Vinča. The garbage collectors found the corpse in a pile of trash already processed by a bulldozer, so the part of the city and at what time the container was brought cannot be determined, and the sex of the child is not known. The city garbage collection reported the case to the police right away."

The cited report from daily press will motivate the members of Led Art to use the Belgrade landfill Vinča (1997) as a means of setting up the diagnosis and understanding the social changes and deviation in the society. A letter-call is issued:

Dear All,

In the whole world, pollution represents the largest problem. With regret we have to state that the same applies to our country. Trash, garbage, waste, refuse, junk, litter, rubbish became in Serbia the bright spot and the greatest treasure. The dilemma about garbage should urgently be solved unless we want it to overwhelm us.

The aim of the expedition is the very familiarization and research of the local trash and an advance in the field of trashology. We expect from experts from different areas valuable observations and useful advice which will hopefully contribute to, if not solving, than at least focalizing the problem.

It is important to stress that with the start of the art-ecological initiative "Clean up your yard first" Serbia will finally catch up with the world and join in the attempt to solve the global question.

Under the assumption that on landfills one can find

evidence about the level of economical, emotional and cultural standard of the Yugoslav society, but also in search of identity that can be found in discarded objects, after landfill Vinča in Belgrade, in 1998 the group moved to the Niš landfill (the second largest city in Serbia). In order to compare local and international trash, Led Art will organize visits to landfills abroad: landfill Plzen in the Czech republic (1998), and landfill in Labin, Croatia (1999).

The usual procedure performed on every landfill is taking photos, shooting with a camera and collecting samples that are later processed. Attractively packaged, the new items are exhibited or sold in elite places. Thus recycling is introduced as a possibility for healing, improving, a return to the beginning.

The recycled part of the bridge in Novi Sad destroyed during the NATO bombing will take on a different meaning. On the anniversary of the destruction of the bridge, "not to forget," parts of the bridge (There was a bridge – Novi Sad souvenir 2000) will be exhibited at a city marketplace.

The project **Kunstlager** (art camp) with the subtitle To Live in Serbia and the motto "Our country is the largest and the prettiest camp in the world," could mark, according to its structure, the sum of all the activities of Led Art up to that point. The project was performed on February 29, 2000 in Novi Sad.

Marking the leap day in a year became a tradition of Led Art, and so visitors were invited on this day to participate in an ambience action-performance. On a city square in a space separated with barbed wire (transforming the *kunstlager* into a *concentration camp*), with the help of actors with camp-guard uniforms, with the unpopular signal of general (air) danger and the reading of the daily order, the street spectacle began. While beans (the Serbian national dish, a metaphor for poverty and the idiom of gaining awareness) were cooked in a large pot, a frozen flag was honored with the hymn *Happy birthday to you...* "The prisoners," dressed as street cleaners and visitors, voluntarily stamped at the entrance, could at the same time get their haircut and entertain themselves with ice-ball bowling or performing a job (*Arbeit macht's frei*) such as chopping wood, cooking beans, making the national flag from ice, and finally standing in line for lunch that was meanwhile prepared...

After the day action, the night performance was continued in the "Gas chamber": an exhibition of photos from previous projects, the showing of the tape of the day action, distribution of presents to people born on the leap day, taking photos against spells or shooting with the beloved "leader," all fol-

lowed by a drumming session and entertainment performed for the gathered camp elite.

A part of a published text about the project *Kunstlager* is very illustrative, so we will cite it here: "The entire concept was a continuation of the eight-year long action of Led Art called "Reconstruction of crime on the Balkans," which only represent direct critical reactions to the present political and social processes that have destroyed a European country, brought only (lost) wars to it, destruction, poverty, suffering and death. Or, as they say themselves: *Working with ice, crime prints, taking photos against spells, expeditions to landfills, trash – those are the elements of art magic supposed to free consumers from fear, to stop evil and the fall, and bring back faith in salvation.* Of course, as one can easily see, this is only one more – in this century (and millenium) certainly last – art utopia characteristic of epochs of totalitarian regimes attempting to direct attention of the lethargic public, and in our concrete case to do something for the liberation from fear and call for a political, ideological, social, professional and working resistance directed by these (artistic) means towards only one goal – changes from which our future literally depends upon."

(Written for the conference A New Past, Seoul 2004)





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