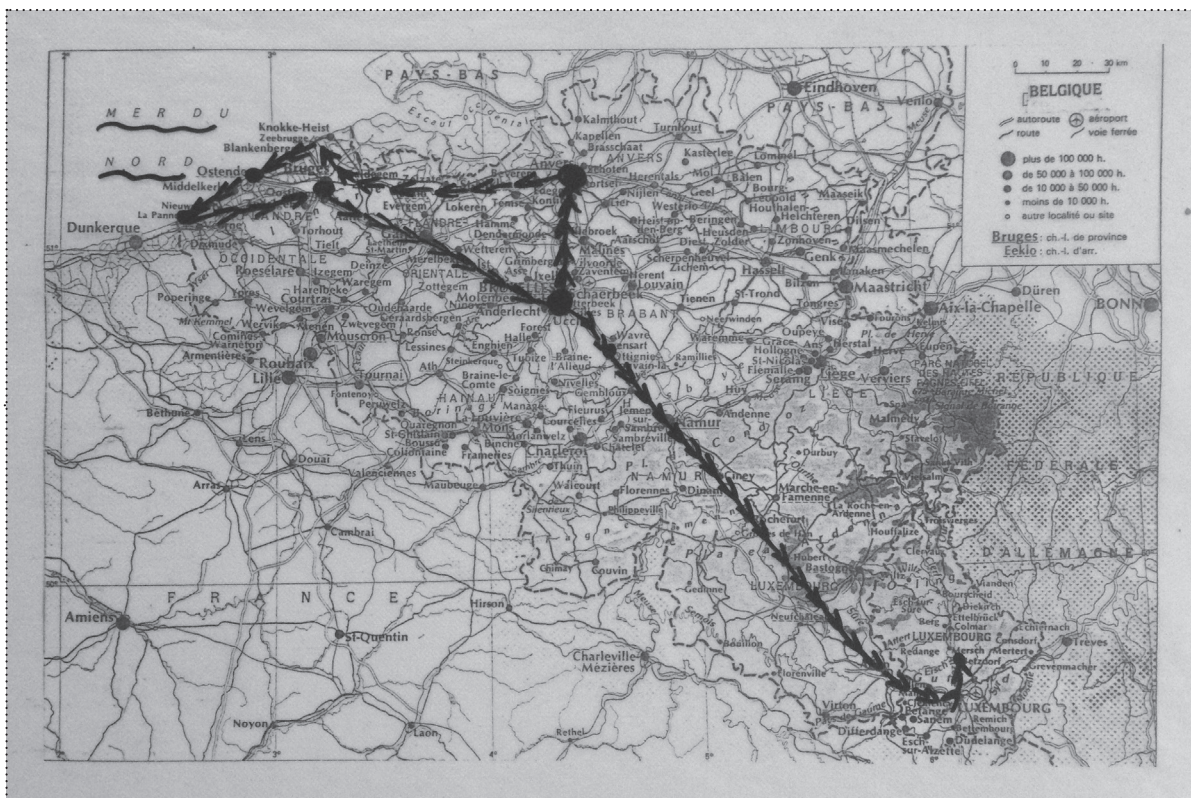


# MIGRACIJA KAO NUŽNOST: UMJETNIČKO DJELOVANJE KOLEKTIVA *MIGRATIVE ART* 1991.–1996.

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MARKOVIĆ

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# MIGRATION AS A NECESSITY: ARTISTIC ACTIVITY OF THE *MIGRATIVE ART* COLLECTIVE (1991–1996)

## PREGLEDNI RAD

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**SAŽETAK:** U fokusu je rada istraživanje o djelovanju kolektiva *Migrative Art* koji je službeno osnovan u Belgiji 1992. godine, dok se njegovo formiranje u idejnom smislu prati od 1991. godine. Kolektiv su činili umjetnici s prostora bivše Jugoslavije u egzilu, a na susrete i okupljanja pozivani su umjetnici s postjugoslavenskog prostora. Kolektiv *Migrative Art*, „oslobađao je teritorije” činom „umjetničke okupacije” organizirajući različite akcije poput koncerata, filmskih projekcija, izložbi, performansa, razgovora, instalacija i akcija u javnom prostoru. Cilj kolektiva bio je s jedne strane uspostavljanje izgubljenog kontakta građana bivše federacije, a s druge „unošenje umjetnosti” na belgijska sveučilišta i među belgijske studente. Istraživanje prati akcije kolektiva od 1991. do 1996. godine koje su bile održane u nekoliko gradova: Bruxellesu, Antverpenu, Louvain-la-Neuveu, Esch-sur-Alzetteu i Luksemburgu. Kao glavni rad kolektiva uspostavlja se organiziranje „nemogućeg susreta”.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** kolektiv *Migrative Art*, migracija, egzil, postjugoslavenska umjetnost, „nemoguć susret”, zakopavanje umjetničkih radova, medijska šutnja

MAPA KORAKA ZA TREĆI SUSRET (BELGIJA-LUKSEMBURG),  
 FLOMASTER NA MAŠNJOM PROZIRNOM PAPIRU, 1994.–1995.  
 (ARHIVÁ IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)

MAP OF STEPS FOR THE THIRD ENCOUNTER (BELGIUM-  
 LUXEMBOURG), FELT PEN ON TRANSPARENT WAX PAPER,  
 1994/95 (ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

## REVIEW PAPER

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**ABSTRACT:** The paper focuses on the activity of *Migrative Art* collective, officially established in Belgium in 1992, tracing its conceptual formation from 1991 onwards. The collective consisted of artists from ex-Yugoslavia living in exile and inviting artists from the post-Yugoslav area to encounters and gatherings. *Migrative Art* “liberated territories” by acts of “artistic occupation”, organizing various events such as concerts, film projections, exhibitions, performances, talks, installations, and actions in public space. The collective’s aim was to re-establish the lost contact between people from the former Yugoslav federation, as well as to “introduce art” to Belgian universities and Belgian students. This research follows the collective’s actions during the period from 1991–1996 held in various cities: Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain-la-Neuve, Esch-sur-Alzette, and Luxembourg. Organization of an “impossible encounter” is presented as the collective’s major artwork.

**KEYWORDS:** *Migrative Art* collective, migration, exile, post-Yugoslav art, “impossible encounter”, burying artworks, mediatic silence

„Ono što se na prvi pogled činilo kao incident koji ništa nije uspjelo osujetiti, postajao je kroz godine umjetnički kolektiv čije je jedino umjetničko djelo bio nemogući susret građana bivše republike Jugoslavije.”<sup>1</sup>

Ivana Momčilović, dramaturginja

Subjekti migracije označeni su kao oni bez doma, bez domovine – koje povjesničarka i teoretičarka umjetnosti Irit Rogoff imenuje terminom *unhomed* – a karakterizira ih izmještenost, raseljenost, dislociranost, pitanje pripadnosti i nepripadnosti. Pripadanje se, prema Irit Rogoff, može definirati kroz set političke realnosti, epistemološke strukture i značenjskog sustava. Rogoff prvenstveno ističe geografiju kao teoriju spoznaje i sustav klasifikacije, a tek onda kao način lokacije i mjesto kolektivne, nacionalne, kulturne, lingvističke i topografske povijesti.<sup>2</sup> Umjesto kreiranja univerzalnog narativa u povijesti umjetnosti, Rogoff pozicionira znanje i značenje u lokalnu, diskurzivnu i subjektivističku poziciju. U tom smislu ovaj se rad neće fokusirati na predstavljanje univerzalnih procesa migracija i njezinih posljedica na suvremeno društvo i umjetnost, već će pokušati ponuditi lokaliziranu geografiju prelaska, dislociranosti i izmještenosti na primjeru umjetničkog kolektiva koji je dijalektiku migracija/emigracija kao čina pobune ugradio u temelj svojeg umjetničkog djelovanja.

U klimi društvene atrofije, izraženog nacionalizma te ratnih zbivanja

“What seemed at first like an incident which anything was unable to obstruct, turned over the years into an art collective whose sole artwork was an impossible encounter between the citizens of ex-Yugoslavia.”<sup>1</sup>

Ivana Momčilović, dramaturge

Subjects of migration are defined as individuals with no home and no homeland – those whom historian and art theoretician Irit Rogoff has termed *unhomed* – characterized by displacement, dissipation, dislocation, the question of belonging and not-belonging. According to Rogoff, belonging may be defined as a sum of political reality, epistemological structure, and semantic system. Geography is primarily defined as an epistemic theory and a system of classification, and only secondarily as a way of localization and a site of collective, national, cultural, linguistic, and topographic history.<sup>2</sup> Instead of creating a universal narrative in art history, Rogoff has positioned knowledge and meaning locally, discursively, and subjectively. In that sense, this paper will not focus on presenting the universal processes of migration and its consequences for the contemporary society and art, but rather seek to offer a localized geography of passage, dislocation, and displacement by using the example of an art collective that has inscribed the dialectics of migrations/emigrations as an act of rebellion into the very foundations of its artistic activity.

SONJA SAVIĆ I SVETOKRET (KASNIJE KOLEKTIV EI-MIGRATIVE ART),  
BEOGRAD, 1991. IZ CIKLUSA GDE SAM KAD ME MOJA ZEMLJA ZOVE U  
RAT?. FOTO: ALEKSANDAR MILOSAVLJEVIĆ



SONJA SAVIĆ AND SVETOKRET (LATER EI-MIGRATIVE ART), BELGRADE,  
1991. FROM THE SERIES WHERE AM I WHEN MY COUNTRY CALLS ME TO  
WAR? PHOTO: ALEKSANDAR MILOSAVLJEVIĆ

na prostoru bivše Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije (SFRJ) intenziviran je proces migracija građana bivše države prema novim geografskim određenjima. Nastaje i kao odgovor na nemogućnost uspostavljanja i/ili opstanka političke alternative u vrijeme vladavine Slobodana Miloševića i Socijalističke partije Srbije (SPS) u Srbiji, kada je protok informacija, sloboda izražavanja i sam društveni život potpao pod nacionalističku partijsku dominaciju i kontrolu, što je u većoj ili manjoj mjeri bilo prisutno i u drugim (post) jugoslavenskim republikama.<sup>3</sup> Kulminacija raspada Jugoslavije kao multinacionalne države obilježena je oružanim sukobom Jugoslavenske Narodne Armije (JNA) i slovenske Teritorijalne obrane 25. lipnja 1991., čime je počeo rat na teritoriju SFRJ, a nastavljen je nizom vojnih manevara na području Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine i Kosova sve do kraja posljednjeg desetljeća 20. stoljeća.<sup>4</sup> Te su godine na teritoriju Srbije bile obilježene sankcijama međunarodne zajednice protiv Savezne Republike Jugoslavije (uvedene rezolucijom Vijeća sigurnosti Ujedinjenih naroda), kao i ekonomskim kolapsom izazvanim enormnom inflacijom.<sup>5</sup> Poricanje realnosti rata postaje jedan od glavnih narativa ovog perioda oko kojeg se konstruiraju različite strategije aktivnog i pasivnog otpora stanovništva kao svojevrzni modeli opstanka.<sup>6</sup> U vremenu sofisticirane cenzure slobodne misli, kontrole radijskih, televizijskih i tiskanih medija te marginalizacije nezavisnih medija, sužavao se prostor za pokušaj udružene borbe, otpora i diskursa alternative.<sup>7</sup>

In a climate of social atrophy, rampant nationalism, and armed conflicts after the fall of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), migration of its former citizens towards new geographic destinations became more intense. It was also a response to the impossibility of establishing and/or maintaining a political alternative at the time when Slobodan Milošević and the Socialist Party of Serbia ruled over the country, and when the flow of information, the freedom of speech, and social life in general were obstructed by nationalist party domination and control, which was to various extents also the case in other post-(Yugoslav) republics.<sup>3</sup> The dissolution of Yugoslavia as a multinational state was marked by an armed conflict between the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and the Slovenian Territorial Defence on June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1991, which started the war in the territory of the SFRY and triggered a series of military manoeuvres in the territories of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, which lasted until the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> In Serbia, those years were marked by an embargo of the international community against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (launched by the resolution of the UN Security Council), as well as an economic collapse triggered by enormous monetary inflation.<sup>5</sup> Ignoring the realities of war became one of the dominant narratives in this period, used to construct various strategies of active and passive resistance of the population as a mode of survival.<sup>6</sup> In the era of sophisticated censorship imposed upon free thinking and

Nastojanja da se stvori alternativni prostor i prostor kritike jednim je dijelom ostvaren odlaskom na teren Drugoga, napuštanjem zemlje, migracijom i emigracijom te potragom za prostorom slobode. Kao produkt navedene situacije, a iz stanja bunta i revolta te potrebe za prekidom participacije u postojećem društvenom polju, nastaje kolektiv *Migrative Art* koji otvara prostor za kritiku, razmjenu ideja, mišljenja i stavova, prostor za susret i odašiljanje proturatnih, dezidentitarnih i transnacionalnih poruka.

U Belgiji 1992. godine počinje djelovati skupina mladih stvaralaca, kreativaca, umjetnika, glumaca, književnika, glazbenika i filozofa okupljenih oko projekta *Migrative Art*.<sup>8</sup> Projekt je pokrenula dramaturginja iz Beograda Ivana Momčilović, koja je od 1991. boravila u egzilu u Bruxellesu.<sup>9</sup> Nastanku kolektiva u idejnom je smislu prethodila dramaturška inicijativa Svetokret nastala prema konceptu i realizaciji Ivane Momčilović, kao dio emisije *Ritam Srca* koju je uređivao i vodio Milan Petrović – Tica na radiju B92 tijekom 1991. i 1992. godine. Važno mjesto u „magnetnom polju” oko *Svetokreta* zauzima glumica Sonja Savić, koja je u vremenu prekinutih jugoslavenskih veza bila svojevrsan „provodnik” prema umjetnicima širom bivše Jugoslavije, posebno prema *Kugla glumištu* i Darku Rundeku iz Hrvatske, kao i Draganu Živadinovu iz *Rdečeg pilota* iz Slovenije.<sup>10</sup> *Svetokret* u Beogradu 1991. organizira fotografsku akciju *Gde sam kad me moja zemlja zove u rat?* u okviru koje Sonja Savić „slavi” svoj rođendan u kavezu s golubovima, u

nekoj vrsti nulte, nepomične migracije. U prostoru uvjetovane (i žicom ograđene) slobode, između interijornosti kaveza i šupljikave eksterijornosti, Sonja je na pravi način dočarala melankoliju paradoksalnog osjećaja „slobode” u Beogradu u vrijeme raspada SFR Jugoslavije. U fotosceni, prema preciznom dramaturškom predlošku, dominira rođendanska torta namijenjena pticama koje će – za razliku od ljudi – ubrzo nakon okidanja fotoaparata, prevladati teritorijalnu uvjetovanost.<sup>11</sup> Od akcija *Svetokreta* u Beogradu, preko kratkotrajne *Avgustovske grupe* u Londonu (nastale tranzitnim zadržavanjem njegovih osnivača u Velikoj Britaniji), *Migrative Art* prerastao je u kolektiv čiji je cilj bio okupiti umjetnike s postjugoslavenskog prostora, ali i one u emigraciji, te im omogućiti prostor „zabranjenog susreta” za zajedničko djelovanje, stvaranje i promišljanje umjetnosti kao sredstva pobune. Osim umjetnika u egzilu koji su početkom 1990. napustili jugoslavenski prostor, kolektiv su u širem smislu činili svi pozvani umjetnici i građani bivše federacije koji se nisu uklapali u novonastale nacionalističke diskurse.<sup>12</sup> Odlučni da progovore o tjeskobama rata i raspada zajedničke države, da izađu iz prostora tišine, kontrole i prinudne izolacije, počinju se aktivno sastajati u Belgiji.<sup>13</sup> Kolektiv *Migrative Art* organizirao je različite akcije poput koncerata, filmskih projekcija, izložbi, performansa, razgovora, instalacija akcija i razgovora u javnom prostoru. U periodu od 1992. do 1996. godine održana su četiri susreta u nekoliko gradova u Belgiji i

of control over radio, television, and the printed mass media, the space where joint struggle, resistance, and alternative discourse could have developed was significantly narrowed.<sup>7</sup> Efforts to create an alternative space and space for criticism were partly realized by moving to the territory of the Other, by leaving the country, by migration and emigration, and by a quest for an area of freedom. As a product of this situation, and resulting from the state of rebellion and revolt, as well as the need to stop participating in the existing social field, the *Migrative Art* collective emerged and created a space for criticism, for exchange of ideas, thoughts, and positions, for encounter and for transmitting anti-war, dissident, and transnational messages.

In 1992, a group of young artists, creative minds, actors, literary authors, musicians, and philosophers came together in Belgium, gathering around the *Migrative Art* project.<sup>8</sup> It was launched by Ivana Momčilović, a dramaturge from Belgrade who had been living in exile in Brussels since 1991.<sup>9</sup> Conceptually, the collective was preceded by the dramaturgical initiative *Svetokret*, organized and realized according to Momčilović's concept and as part of the programme called *Ritam Srca* (*Rhythm of the Heart*), designed and moderated by Milan Petrović – Tica at Radio B92 during 1991 and 1992. A crucial role in this “magnetic field” around *Svetokret* was played by actress Sonja Savić, who at the time of interrupted Yugoslav connections functioned as a sort of “connector” between

artists throughout the former Yugoslav area, especially *Kugla Glumište* and Darko Rundek from Croatia, and Dragan Živadinov from *Rdeči pilot* from Slovenia.<sup>10</sup> In 1991, *Svetokret* organized a photo-action in Belgrade titled *Gde sam kad me moja zemlja zove u rat?* (*Where Am I When My Country Calls Me to War?*), where Sonja Savić “celebrated” her birthday enclosed in a cage with pigeons, in a sort of immobile zero-migration. In a situation of conditional freedom surrounded by wire, between the interiority of the cage and the porous exteriority, Sonja managed to illustrate the melancholy of the paradoxical feeling of “freedom” in Belgrade at the time when Yugoslavia was dissolving. The photographic stage-set, made after a detailed dramaturgical concept, was dominated by a birthday cake intended for the birds, which – unlike humans – would overcome their territorial bounds soon after the photo-shooting.<sup>11</sup> From *Svetokret*'s actions in Belgrade to the short-lived *August Group* in London (whose founders were in transit in Great Britain), *Migrative Art* grew into a collective whose aim was to bring together artists from the post-Yugoslav area as well as those in emigration, offering them space for a “forbidden encounter” and joint activity, creation, and reflection in art as a means of rebellion. Besides artists in exile who had left Yugoslavia early in 1990, the collective in a broader sense consisted of all invited artists and citizens from the former federation who refused to accept the emerging nationalist discourses.<sup>12</sup> Determined to speak about the anxieties of war and

Luksemburgu, na kojima je oslobođeno osamnaest „umjetničkih teritorija”. Osim spomenute inicijalne ili protofaze kolektiva, u radu će biti predstavljena analiza najvažnijih akcija ovog kolektiva koja je podijeljena u dvije faze: prva faza mapira period od 1992. do 1994./1995. godine, s naglaskom na organiziranje „nemogućeg susreta” kao jedinog mogućeg umjetničkog rada; druga faza obuhvaća period 1995. i 1996. u kojem kolektiv *Migrative Art* problematizira kapitalističko društveno uređenje kao mjesto-prostor emigracije novonastalih emigranata kroz marksistički diskurs.<sup>14</sup>

### Od „nemogućeg susreta” do politike izmještanja – „oslobađanje teritorija” umjetničkom gestom „zauzimanja teritorija”

Kolektiv *Migrative Art* u periodu od 1992. do 1995. činili su mnogobrojni umjetnici, glazbenici, redatelji, glumci i intelektualci s prostora bivše Jugoslavije u (dobrovoljnoj) emigraciji i/ili (prisilnom) egzilu. Opresivni sustav koji se amplificirao na postjugoslavenskom prostoru, s naglaskom na monoidentitarne ideologije, uvjetovao je velika izmještanja i premještanja univerzalistički orijentiranih pojedinaca. Inicijatori susreta u tom trenutku posežu za idejom, konceptom ili životnom odlukom izmještanja, onog mentalnog i fizičkog. U teoriji francuskog filozofa Alaina Badioua prisutna je dijalektika (novog) mjesta i izmještanja. U kontekstu *4 Maja 1968*. A. Badiou, tako, upotrebljava sintagmu „intuitivna premještanja”,

odnosno „uvjerenje da je potrebno jednom zauvijek završiti s mjestima.”<sup>15</sup> Njegova formulacija politike u sprezi radnika i intelektualaca upućuje na prekid s „(...) politikom (hijerarhiziranih) ustaljenih mjesta odnosno politikom ‘svatko na svoje mjesto’, u smislu (lijeve ili desne)”, tako da „(...) stranke vladaju, sindikati zahtijevaju, intelektualci intelektualiziraju, radnici su u tvornici”.<sup>16</sup> Emancipatorski potencijal u djelovanju kolektiva *Migrative Art* upravo se može definirati badjuovskim terminom izmještanja/premještanja i ukidanjem bilo kakve vrste hijerarhijske politike u određivanju mjesta, kao i mjesta pripadnosti. Uz to, prihvaćanje pozicije novih proletera izazvane raspadom SFRJ – onih koji će iz ničega ponovno postati sve, i to upravo iz tog nemogućeg mjesta (manjka mjesta) – ključno je za razumijevanje rada ovog kolektiva koji je izmještanjem svojih akcija pokušao izbjeći zamke identifikacija s uobičajenim mjestima umjetnosti: institucijama, medijima i tržištem.

„Od 1992., kapitalna je akcija kolektiva osvajanje artistsčkog teritorija kao umjetnički odgovor na čovjekovu borbu za granicu. Artistsčke teritorije u vremenu su apstraktna tijela postavljena u realni socijalno-politički prostor. Skulptura s toplinom i temperaturom njezinih članova koji svojim kretanjem određuju njezine granice. *So the border is the human soul*.<sup>17</sup> Odgovarajući na totalnu okupaciju teritorija bivše Jugoslavije, skupina umjetnika iz bivše Jugoslavije osvojila je prvi umjetnički teritorij u lipnju 1992.

those related to the dissolution of their common state, and to step out of the space of silence, control, and forced isolation, they started with active meetings in Belgium.<sup>13</sup>

*Migrative Art* organized various events, such as concerts, film projections, exhibitions, performances, talks, installations, actions, and discussions in public space. In the period from 1992–1996, four meetings were held in several Belgian cities and in Luxembourg, where eighteen “art territories” were liberated. Besides this initial or proto-stage in the collective’s evolution, this paper offers an analysis of its major actions in two phases: the first mapping the period from 1992–1994/95, with an emphasis on organizing an “impossible encounter” as the only possible artwork, and the second focusing on 1995 and 1996, the years in which *Migrative Art* discussed the capitalist regime as a place-space of emigration for the newly created emigrants, based on a Marxist discourse.<sup>14</sup>

### From an “impossible encounter” to the politics of displacement: “Liberating territories” by the artistic gesture of “conquering territories”

In the period from 1992–1995, *Migrative Art* included a number of artists, musicians, actors, and intellectuals from the territory of former Yugoslavia in (voluntary) emigration and/or (forced) exile. The oppressive system was gaining ground in post-Yugoslav space, causing major displacements and replacements of universalistically

oriented individuals with its accent on mono-identity ideologies. The initiators of encounters therefore based themselves on the idea, concept, and life decision of displacement, both mental and physical. The theory of French philosopher Alain Badiou has introduced the dialectics of (new) place and displacement. In the context of *Four Mays 1968*, he used the term “intuitive displacement” (*deplacement aveugle*) and the conviction that places should be done away with once for all.<sup>15</sup> His formulation of politics in terms of a joint effort of workers and intellectuals advocates a break with the “politics of (hierarchicized) commonplaces or the politics of ‘everyone to his own place’, in terms of (left of right),” which demands “parties to rule, unions to raise claims, intellectuals to intellectualize, workers to stay at the factory.”<sup>16</sup> The emancipatory potential in the activity of *Migrative Art* can, in fact, be defined by Badiou’s term of displacement/replacement and by abolishing any sort of hierarchical policy in determining place, including the place of belonging. Moreover, by accepting the position of the new proletariat, caused by the dissolution of the SFRY – those who have been naught and now shall be all, and will be so from that impossible place (or lack of place) – is crucial for understanding the work of this collective, which used displacement in its actions to avoid the traps of identification with the usual places of art: institutions, the media, and the market. “Since 1992, the collective’s capital action has been to conquer ‘artistic territory’ as an artistic response to man’s fight for the border.

Pisma umjetnika kao artistički teritorij br. 0 od tada okupljaju u Beneluxu 18 drugih teritorija.<sup>18</sup> Martin Van der Bellen, direktor umjetničkoga studentskog festivala u Louvain-la-Neuveu u Belgiji, koji je 1993. omogućio prvo okupljanje umjetnika s prostora bivše Jugoslavije, objašnjava: „*Migrative Art* predlaže eksperiment umjetničkog susreta između geografski različitih osoba, u cilju transgresije političke granice, danas vrlo često nacionalističke, dakle njezina prevladavanja.“<sup>19</sup> O takvom usmjerenju svjedoči i Manifest kolektiva: „Umjetnički teritorij projekt je slobodne, oslobođene emocije. Umjetnički je teritorij umjetnički odgovor na nove ksenofobične zakone prisutne širom svijeta. To je projekt pozitivne kolektivne energije. Ona je naš ljudski, umjetnički ‘rat’ protiv svih današnjih ratova usmjerenih na posesivnu dimenziju prisvajanja teritorija. Umjetnički teritorij znači da se teritorij može zauzeti samo kroz pozitivno kreativno djelovanje. I ne zauvijek. Ovaj su projekt pokrenuli jugoslavenski umjetnici koji su izgubili teritorij i posegnuli za stvaranjem umjetničkog teritorija na kojem svi mogu biti njihovi gosti.“<sup>20</sup> *Nultim artističkim teritorijem* kao nultim, početnim stanjem promišljanja i razmjene ideja i pisama, 1992. godine uspostavljen je prvi pokušaj da se djeluje u prostoru oslobođenom težine rata s kojeg se može reći vlastita istina.<sup>21</sup> Označen kao *Koncentracioni*

*kultur kamp*, osvajanje *Nultog artističkog teritorija* nikada nije realizirano, a trebalo se dogoditi u rafineriji Plan K, tvornici koja je bila jedan od prvih industrijskih prostora u Bruxellesu pretvorenih u umjetnički prostor.<sup>22</sup> Vizija okupljanja Jugoslavena, ne kao simbola nacionalnog identiteta, već nadidentitarnosti, bit će realizirana u sljedećim godinama. Spomenuti direktor studentskog festivala u studentskom gradu Louvain-la-Neuveu – i sam u to vrijeme tek svršeni student organizacije kulturnih djelatnosti na briselskom sveučilištu ULB – Martin Van der Bellen, pozvao je veliku skupinu jugoslavenskih umjetnika, predvođenu Ivanom Momčilović, da – sukladno njihovoj vlastitom prijedlogu – organiziraju „oslobađanje teritorija umjetničkim osvajanjem” ili tzv. *nemogući susret*. U cilju aktivne umjetničke participacije umjetnici su slali svoje prijedloge, inicijative i ideje, naručivali materijale te s Ivanom Momčilović dogovarali izložbe, performanse i akcije, što je vidljivo na osnovi vrlo opsežne pisane korespondencije u vidu pisama umjetnika ili poruka slanih telefaksom.<sup>23</sup> Aktivnosti poput koncerata, izložbi i performansa bile su realizirane već na drugom po redu<sup>24</sup> okupljanju održanom od 21. do 27. ožujka 1993. u studentskom gradu Louvain-la-Neuveu ispod velikog šatora.<sup>25</sup> Šator kao simbol privremenog smještaja apatrida u kretanju, tranzitornosti migranata koji traže utočište i sklonište ukazuje na nesigurnost ovog susreta, njegovu efemernost i fragilnost u vremenu krize nametnutih „stabilno-čvrstih” identiteta,

Artistic territories in time are abstract bodies situated in an actual socio-political space. Sculpture comprising the body warmth and spirit of its members, who define its borders with their movement. *So the border is the human soul.*<sup>17</sup> Reacting to the total occupation of the territory of former Yugoslavia, the group of artists from ex-Yugoslavia conquered their first artistic territory in June 1992. Letters of artists – known as the *Artistic Territory No. 0* – have since gathered together 18 other territories in Benelux.<sup>18</sup> Martin Van der Bellen, director of the student art festival in Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium, who facilitated the first meeting of artists from ex-Yugoslavia in 1993, explains it in the following way: “*Migrative Art* proposes an experiment of artistic encounter between geographically different persons, with an aim of transgressing political border, nowadays often nationalist, as a way to overcome it.”<sup>19</sup> The same position is evident in the collective’s *Manifesto*: “Artistic territory is the project of free, deliberate emotion. Artistic territory is the artistic answer to new xenophobic lows constituting nowadays, all around the world. It is a project of positive collective energy. It is our human, artistic ‘war’ against all the wars operating today with the possessive dimension of territory. Artistic territory means that you could occupy the territory only with the positive creative action. And not for ever. This project is initiated by ex-Yugoslav artists which lost the territory

and want to create artistic one where everybody can be their guest.”<sup>20</sup> With the *Artistic Territory No. 0* as the initial state of reflection and exchange of ideas and letters, created in 1992, a first attempt was made to act in a space free from the burden of war, a space where one could tell one’s own truth.<sup>21</sup> Marked as a *Concentration Culture Camp*, the conquest of *Artistic Territory No. 0* was never realized, and it was supposed to happen at the refinery Plan K, one of the first industrial complexes in Brussels transformed into an art venue.<sup>22</sup> The vision of bringing Yugoslavs together, not as symbols of national identities, but as a super-identity, would be realized in the following years. Martin Van der Bellen – himself at the time a recently graduated student in the field of organization of cultural activities at the Free University of Brussels – invited a large group of Yugoslav artists led by Ivana Momčilović to organize – according to their own proposal – “the liberation of territories by artistic conquest” or the so-called *impossible encounter*. Practicing active artistic participation, the artists sent in their proposals, initiatives, and ideas, ordered materials, and planned exhibitions, performances, and actions together with Ivana Momčilović, which is evident from their very extensive correspondence in the form of letters or telefax messages.<sup>23</sup> Activities such as concerts, exhibitions, and performances were already realized during the second<sup>24</sup> encounter,

koja je vladala na postjugoslavenskom prostoru.<sup>26</sup> Priprema aktivnosti kolektiva planirana je kroz povezivanje umjetnika te međusobnu razmjenu ideja.<sup>27</sup> Ovom je prilikom ispod šatora postavljena izložba kovčega, koja će postati konstanta svih sljedećih susreta kao dio kolektivne ideje univerzalističkih migracija napravljenih od pojedinačnih radova – *statementa* sudionika.<sup>28</sup> Mjesto sastanka i grad domaćin *Migrative Art* bio studentski grad Louvain-la-Neuve, ujedno najmlađi grad Belgije, nastao kao odgovor na separatističke identitarne tenzije flamanske lingvističke zajednice 1968., koja je željela odvojiti flamansko od frankofonskog sveučilišta Louvaina, jednog od najstarijih sveučilišnih gradova u Europi. Louvain-la-Neuve je grad bez automobila, groblja, zatvora, grad „vječne mladosti”, ali i ograničenog revolta jer je izgrađen nakon masovnih studentskih okupljanja 1968. te na njegovim malim trgovima tako nije više moguće okupljanje „kritične mase”. Baš su iz tih razloga situacionistička psiho-geografska lutanja bila velika inspiracija umjetnicima *Migrative Art*, koji su tijekom

drugog okupljanja 1993. godine inicirali akciju *Male magije, mini magije, mikro magije*, pozivajući studente i stanovnike Louvain-La-Neuvea na otkrivanje tajnih mikroporuka, umjetničkih intervencija u skrivenim zonama grada.<sup>29</sup>

### Kovčezi kao (ekstra)teritorijalnost

Kovčezi se pojavljuju i na najvećem okupljanju do tada tj. četvrtom susretu održanom u razdoblju od 28. prosinca 1994. do 12. siječnja 1995., na stolovima specijalno postavljenima za tu priliku ispred perona Središnje željezničke stanice u Antwerpenu, gdje je organizirana njihova „izložba”. Iz dokumentacije se zapaža da su neki od njih dugo promišljeni i pripremani, dok su drugi nastali *in situ*.<sup>30</sup> Helena Klakočar izlaže kao jedini sadržaj svoje prtljage skulpturicu ljubavnika u zagrljaju izrađenu od tijesta i prelivenu prozirnrom želatinom. Jelica Radovanović i Dejan Anđelković razvijaju ideju o kovčezima, njihovu sadržaju i poruci koju žele prenijeti. Iznimno snažan dojam ostavlja Jeličin kovčeg iznutra

IZLOŽBA KOČERA NA GLAVNOJ  
ŽELEZNIČKOJ STANICI U  
ANTWERPENU, 1994.–1995. (FOTO  
ARHIVA JELICE RADOVANOVIĆ I  
DEJANA ANĐELKOVIĆA)



EXHIBITION OF SUITCASES  
AT THE CENTRAL RAILWAY  
STATION IN ANTWERP, 1994/95  
(PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF JELICA  
RADOVANOVIĆ AND DEJAN  
ANĐELKOVIĆ)

which took place from 21-27 March 1993 in a large tent at the student town of Louvain-la-Neuve.<sup>25</sup> The tent functioned here as a symbol of temporary accommodation of stateless persons in movement, a transitory migrants looking for a refuge and shelter, illustrating the precarious nature of this encounter, its ephemerality and fragility at the time of crisis imposed by “stable and firm” identities, dominant in the former Yugoslav space.<sup>26</sup> The collective’s activities were planned by establishing contacts between artists and facilitating their exchange of ideas.<sup>27</sup> On that particular occasion, an exhibition of suitcases was set up in the tent, which would become a constant element of all future encounters as part of the collective idea of universalist migrations consisting of the participant’s individual works-statements.<sup>28</sup>

Louvain-la-Neuve, the place of encounter and the host town of *Migrative Art*, was a very young town at the time, created in 1968 as a result of separatist identity tensions of the Flemish linguistic community that wanted to separate Flemish from French speaking University of Louvain, one of the oldest university

centres in Europe. Louvain-la-Neuve was a town with no cars, cemeteries, or prisons, a town of “eternal youth” as well as a town of limited possibilities for rebellion, since it was built after the mass student protests of 1968, with small squares that made it impossible for a “critical mass” to come together. It was for these reasons that the situationist psycho-geographic ruminations were a huge inspiration for the participants of *Migrative Art*. During the second encounter in 1993, they initiated an action called *Small Magic, Mini Magic, Micro Magic*, where they invited the students and inhabitants of Louvain-La-Neuve to discover secret micro-messages and artistic interventions in the hidden zones of the city.<sup>29</sup>

### Suitcases as (extra-)territoriality

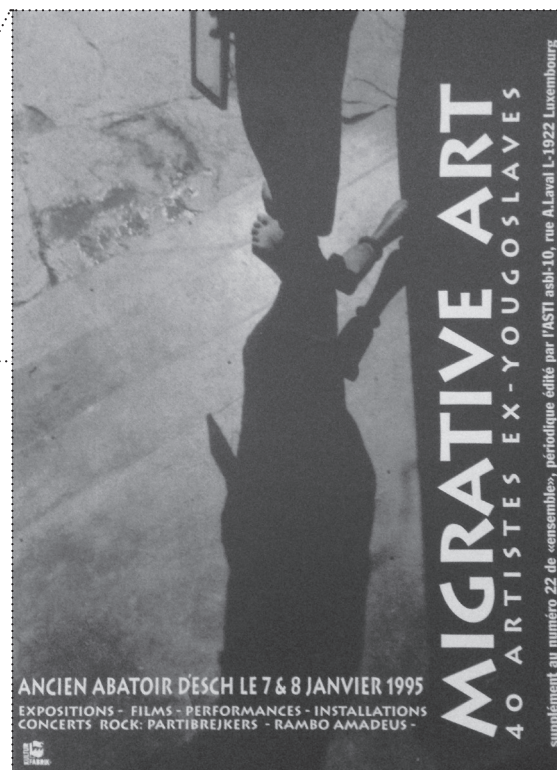
Suitcases were also present at the largest meeting to that point, the so-called “fourth encounter”, which took place from December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1994 – January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1995, displayed on “exhibition” tables set up for the occasion in front of a platform

obložen ogledalima, čiji sadržaj postaje upravo ona – uvijek tranzitna i promjenjiva – realnost izvan kovčega.<sup>31</sup> Iako kovčuge tradicionalno možemo promatrati kao simbol migracije, izmještenosti i nostalgije, Irit Rogoff smatra da se okretanje ka nostalgiji u modernističkom smislu čitanja/tumačenja dovodi u vezu s alatom ideološke konstrukcije i modernističke utopije novih početaka i propalih krajeva te ne smije biti određujuće u ovakvim narativima.<sup>32</sup> Migracije s jugoslavenskog prostora bilježe se još od 1950-ih, pogotovo u trenutku ekonomskog „čuda“ Savezne Republike Njemačke koja prima radnu snagu (*gastarbajtere*), goste – radnike iz zemalja jugoistočne i istočne Europe.<sup>33</sup> Treći svijet u srcu Zapada time funkcionira kroz slike gladi, siromaštva, često označenih kao konstrukcije „onoga tamo“ koje uvijek zahtijeva rješenje, filantropiju, pomoć ili vojnu intervenciju Prvog svijeta ili njegovu ciničnu „velikodušnu“ ponudu da se ondje, umjesto humanitarnih akcija, pronađe mjesto (ali nikada ravnopravno) za radnu snagu Trećeg svijeta.<sup>34</sup> Tvrdeći da nečija domovina nije nikada sam kovčeg, Irit Rogoff naglašava da postoji napredak u „suočavanju muzealizacije kovčega kao simbola sjećanja i nostalgije, tranzitnosti – zapadno ‘nepromjenjivosti’ i

njezinoj stalnoj ekonomskoj superiornosti”.<sup>35</sup> Četvrti je susret kolektiva, osim spomenute izložbe kovčega u Antverpenu, predviđao osvajanje umjetničkih teritorija, odnosno njihovo oslobođenje u nekoliko gradova, odvajajući se od striktnoga studentskog konteksta: Antverpenu, Bruxellesu, Luksemburgu i Esch-sur-Alzetteu.<sup>36</sup> Iscrtane karte na prozirnem papiru prikazuju putanju kretanja sudionika, a predstavljale su pozivnice za ovo novo osvajanje/oslobođanje teritorija.<sup>37</sup> Željeznička stanica u Antverpenu postala je tom prilikom pozornica i za izvedbu performansa članova *Kugla glumišta* Zlatka Burića – Kiće, Milana Vukšića – Cikija, skupine danskih umjetnika i istraživača eksperimentalnog zvuka *Telepathic International Group*, kao i nastup i koncert Ramba Amadeusa i mnogih drugih.<sup>38</sup> U spomenutom tekstu koji prati akcije kolektiva

PROGRAMSKI KATALOG *MIGRATIVE ARTA* ZA TREĆI SUSRET, 1994.–1995.; U OKVIRU PROJEKTA LUKSEMBURG: KULTURNA PRIJESTOLNICA EUROPE. FOTO NA KORIČAMA: CHARLEY CASE (ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)

PROGRAMME CATALOGUE OF *MIGRATIVE ART'S* THIRD ENCOUNTER, 1994/95, PART OF THE PROJECT *LUXEMBOURG: EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE*, COVER PHOTO: CHARLEY CASE (ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)



at the Central Railway Station in Antwerp. It can be gathered from the documents that some of the artworks were carefully conceived and prepared, while others were made *in situ*.<sup>30</sup> Helena Klakočar displayed as the only content of her luggage a statuette of lovers in embrace, made of dough and glazed with transparent gelatine. Once they arrived, Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković elaborated on the idea of the suitcases, their content, and the message they sought to transmit. Jelica’s suitcase was especially powerful, as it was lined with mirrors on the inside, which reality – always transitory and changeable outside the suitcase – became its single content.<sup>31</sup>

Even though traditionally suitcases can be considered as symbols of migration, displacement, and nostalgia, Irit Rogoff has argued that resorting to nostalgia in the modernist sense of reading/interpretation can be seen as a tool of ideological construction and modernist utopia of the new beginnings and failed endings, which is why it should not determine such narratives.<sup>32</sup> Migrations from the space of Socialist Yugoslavia are documented as early as the 1950s, especially after the *Wirtschaftswunder* in West Germany, when the country started inviting foreign labour (*Gastarbeiter*), worker-guests from South Eastern and Eastern Europe.<sup>33</sup> The Third

World in the heart of the West was thus manifested through the images of hunger and poverty, often marked as constructs of “that over there” and permanently demanding a solution, philanthropy, aid, or military intervention of the First World, or at least its cynically “magnanimous” offer to receive workers from the Third World, finding a place for them (but never on equal terms) instead of granting humanitarian aid.<sup>34</sup> Emphasizing that a suitcase can never be someone’s homeland, Rogoff has argued that there is a progress in facing the musealization of the suitcase as a symbol of memory and nostalgia, of transience – of the Western “immutability” and its permanent economic superiority.<sup>35</sup> Besides this suitcase exhibition in Antwerp, the collective’s fourth





ZAKOPAVANJE RADOVA  
U KULTURFABRIKU,  
LUKSEMBURG, 1995.  
(FOTO ARHIVA IVANE  
MOMČILOVIĆ)

122 BURYING ARTWORKS  
AT KULTURFABRIK,  
LUXEMBOURG, 1995  
(PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF  
IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

Martin Van der Bellen opisuje dan u Muzeju prirodnih znanosti u Bruxellesu, u kojem naglašava susret Jugoslavena s dinosaurima kao izumrlom vrstom, uspoređujući ih s ljudima koji pogođeni ratom mogu nestati svakog trenutka, sumirajući da je riječ o dvije različite vrste u nestajanju.<sup>39</sup> U Esch-sur-Alzetteu (Luksemburg) održane su višednevne akcije u Kulturfabriku, nekadašnjem postrojenju mesarske industrije pretvorenim u kulturni centar, gdje su izvođeni performansi, oslikavani zidovi, izlagani i zakopavani umjetnički radovi.

### Ljudi od brašna na pločniku

„Sonja je s Belgijancima zauzela neki izlog, dečki u kožnim jaknama, ona eterična, živi glazbeni slikopis. TIG na trgu. Kolica iz samoposluživanja preparirana žicama viole. Mi pravimo ljude od brašna na pločniku i otpuhujemo ih. Dolazi Ciki i mnogo drugih koji su nam se pridružili: Boris Bakal kuha juhe od morskih algi, Mrđan Bajić predstavlja kovčeg emigranta, Jelica Radovanović po zidovima crta napad sitnih životinja... Rundek drnda po gitari. Članovi slovenskog *Beton dansa* plešući se zakucavaju tijelima u zidove. Aleš s filmskim slikama Sarajeva. Ekipa Košmar. Ivana Momčilović držala je paukove niti cijele te akcije *Migrative Art*. Dok stojimo sa Sonjom kraj tog izloga, na početku ne znamo kako razgovarati. Samo ugoda susreta i tvrdoglavost neodustajanja.

MIGRATIVE (IS) ART.; POZIVNICA ZA JEDAN OD SUSRETA (ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)

MIGRATIVE (IS) ART, INVITATION FOR ONE OF THE ENCOUNTERS (ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

encounter envisioned a conquest of artistic territories, i.e. their liberation, in several cities, moving away from the strictly student context: Antwerp, Brussels, Luxembourg, and Esch-sur-Alzette.<sup>36</sup> Maps drawn on transparent paper showed the participants' itineraries and were also invitations to this new conquest/liberation of territories.<sup>37</sup> The railway station in Antwerp was also turned into a stage for a performance of members of *Kugla glumište*: Zlatko Burić – Kićo and Milan Vukšić – Ciki, a group of Danish artists and researchers of experimental sound called *Telepathic International Group*, a concert and performance of Rambo Amadeus, and many others.<sup>38</sup> In the aforementioned text on the collective's actions, Van der Bellen described a day at the Museum of Natural Sciences in Brussels, including an encounter between the Yugoslavs and the dinosaurs as an extinct species, comparing the latter to humans who – affected by the war – could vanish any time, summarizing that both species are destined to disappearance.<sup>39</sup> In Esch-sur-Alzette (Luxembourg), actions took place on several days at the Kulturfabrik, a former butchery complex transformed into a cultural centre, with performances, mural painting, the exhibition and burial of artworks.

### Flour people on the pavement

“Sonja occupied the window-shop together with the Belgians,

Iz tih aktivnosti kasnije se razvio *Migrative Art*, pokret umjetnika iz nekadašnje Jugoslavije i svemirskih suboraca drugih prostora – u borbi protiv rata i nacionalizma... Ivana Momčilović bavila se nekim malim magijama pa smo dobivali karte za autobuse Eurolines ili bismo ponekad jeli u restoranima čiji su vlasnici bili različitih nacionalnosti s naših prostora, a, gle čuda, podržavali su naš umjetnički projekt. Pravio sam ležeće ljudske skulpture od brašna, mljevene paprike i lišća, a Sonja bi izigravala mangupa i čudila se gdje je nestala dramaturgija. Plesao sam s granama na rukavima, znao sam da joj se to sviđa. Postojala je priča o sovjetskom astronautu kojeg su zaboravili u svemiru nakon raspada države (...) Među glavicama kelja Dejan Anđelković gradio je Tatlinovu spiralu od šiblja.”<sup>40</sup>

Prostorne *ad hoc* kreacije, ritualne koreografije *in situ*, ples s vatrom, minivatrometi i zakopavanje radova postaju nezaobilazni dio ovih susreta, kao dio efemernog spektakla i čina njegova obilježavanja. Posljednji dan svakog okupljanja bio je rezerviran za zakopavanje



boys in leather jackets, she always ethereal, a pure musical film. TIG on the square. A supermarket trolley taxidermed with viola strings. We are making flour people on the pavement and blowing them away. Ciki is coming and many others, joining us: Boris Bakal is cooking soups with seaweeds, Mrđan Bajić is presenting an emigrant suitcase, Jelica Radovanović is drawing an attack of tiny animals on the walls... Rundek is strumming the guitar. Members of the Slovenian *Beton Dans* dance and slam their bodies against the walls. Aleš with the film scenes of Sarajevo. A nightmare team. Ivana Momčilović held the spider web of all that *Migrative Art* action together. While we are standing with Sonja next to that window-shop, at first we don't know what to say. There's only the joy of encounter and the stubbornness of not giving up. It is from these activities that *Migrative Art* would later evolve into the movement of artists from former Yugoslavia and of cosmic fighters from other spaces – standing together in our fight against war and nationalism... Ivana Momčilović was performing small acts of

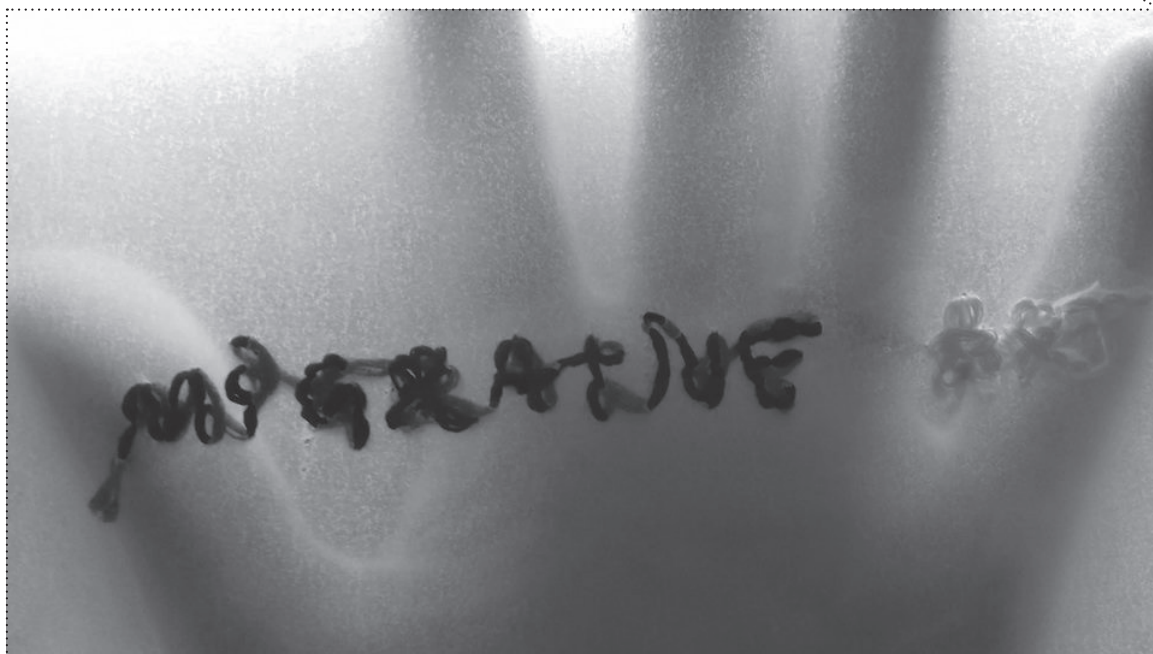


DEJAN ANDELKOVIĆ, *REKONSTRUKCIJA TALJINOVG SPOMENIKA TREĆOJ INTERNACIONALI*,  
KULTURFABRIK, LUKSEMBURĀ, 1995. FOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (FOTO ARHIVA JELICE  
RADOVANOVIĆ I DEJANA ANDELKOVIĆA; FOTO ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)

*MIGRATIVE ART / HUMAN ENERGY PROJECT*,  
VEZ KONCEM NA MASNOM PAPIRU (DETALJ), IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ, BELGIJA, 1994.  
(ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ); POČETNA STRANICA „STAKLENE KNJIGE“, 1995.

DEJAN ANDELKOVIĆ, *RECONSTRUCTING TALIN'S MONUMENT TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL*,  
KULTURFABRIK, LUXEMBOURG, 1995. PHOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF  
JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ AND DEJAN ANDELKOVIĆ; PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

*MIGRATIVE ART / HUMAN ENERGY PROJECT*,  
EMBROIDERY ON WAX PAPER (DETAIL), IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ, BELGIUM, 1994  
(ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ), FIRST PAGE OF THE BOOK: WINDOW / MIRROR, 1995



radova kao sigurni dogovor, zavjet da će se okupljeni migranti – umjetnici ponovno sresti, zavjet da umjetnost za vrijeme trajanja ratova treba konzervirati, napraviti radikalni akt, kroz razvijanje nove, zadane temporalnosti. Umjetnici *Migrative Arta* imali su ideju da se radovi otkopaju „kada prođu ratovi”.<sup>41</sup> Radovi su do danas ostali zakopani, što predstavlja možda novo poglavlje i svakako novu moguću temporalnost u kronologiji postojanja *Migrative Arta*.<sup>42</sup> Jedna od ideja umjetnosti tijekom 1990-ih bila je težnja da se umjetnost zaštititi i prezervira, da se spremi za sigurna vremena, kada ratovi prođu, kada se povuče medijski mrak, u osvit novog doba. Umjetnost je, u kontekstu djelovanja kolektiva *Migrative Art*, bilo važno ukloniti na sigurno, brinuti se o njoj, ne dopustiti da je suvremeni trenutak društvene krize, svijeta zatočenog u globalizacijskim procesima i masovnom nasilju, proguta i uništi. Karakteristična za rad kolektiva upravo je nužnost da prati širi društveni i politički kontekst, dok se s druge strane radikalnom gestom zakopavanja radova umjetnost sklanja i čuva od istog tog političkog konteksta iz kojeg je proizašla. Analogija su tome umjetnički događaji u Beogradu tijekom devedesetih, kada se otvaraju slični procesi koji ukazuju na subverzivne akcije, pararitualne simboličke provokacije dnevne realne politike. Jedan od važnih događaja predstavlja zaleđivanje umjetničkih radova u kamionu hladnjači u središtu Beograda 1993. godine. Akciju u javnom prostoru provela je skupina *Led Art* koja svoj rad temelji na provokativnim umjetničkim intervencijama u polju ideologije i u

polju politike ratno-kriznog društva i kulture devedesetih godina.<sup>43</sup> „(...) Projekti poput ovog bili su rijetke vitalne točke hibernirane scene i okupljenim su sudionicima omogućavali dozu zaštite, kao i mogućnost da kroz jasan i nedvosmislen čin iskažu društveni stav, održavali su komunikaciju među sve depresivnijim i izoliranijim autorima.”<sup>44</sup>

### Marxov egzil i Marxovo nasljeđe

Radovi kolektiva *Migrative Art* od 1995. godine provocirani su, osim globalnim tokovima, dualnim kretanjem kapitala i ljudi. Globalizacija je pridonijela lakšem i jednostavnijem povezivanju, ali i međuovisnosti pojedinih dijelova svijeta. Na nju možemo gledati kao na sklop ekonomskih, socijalnih, političkih i kulturnih procesa koji dovode do jednostavnije povezanosti različitih dijelova svijeta.<sup>45</sup> Sumirajući globalizaciju i njezino kretanje, Hardt i Negri predlažu termin imperija kao ključ za njezino razumijevanje.<sup>46</sup> Imperij predstavlja globalizaciju kao vladavinu koja sve aktere uključuje u poredak kao cjelinu. S tim u vezi imperij ne prikazuje sebe kao „povijesni poredak” koji je proizašao iz osvajanja, već kao poredak koji zaustavlja „tijek povijesti” i tako postojeće stanje stvari fiksira za vječnost.<sup>47</sup> Naime, Hardt i Negri konceptualiziraju imperij kao decentraliziranu i deterritorijaliziranu strukturu, smatrajući da je država pobijeđena i da društva vladaju svijetom, u smislu da su velika transnacionalna društva nadišla jurisdikciju i autoritet nacionalnih država.<sup>48</sup> U tom kontekstu možemo promatrati

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magic, so we would get some tickets for Eurolines buses or eat in restaurants owned by people of various Yugoslav nationalities, and by miracle, they supported our art project. I was making reclining sculptures of people out of flour, paprika powder, and leaves, and Sonja was playing the bad guy, wondering where all the dramaturgy had gone. I danced with branches on my sleeves, because I knew she liked it. There was a story of a Soviet astronaut forgotten in the cosmos after the fall of the State (...) Among the cabbage heads, Dejan Andelković was building Tatlin's spiral out of wicker.”<sup>40</sup>

*Ad hoc* spatial creations, ritual choreographies *in situ*, fire dance, mini fireworks, and burying artworks became an integral part of these encounters as ephemeral spectacles and acts marking its various phases. Thus, the last day was always reserved for burying the artworks as a sure agreement, a vow that the migrants-artists who had come there would meet again, a vow that art should be conserved until the end of war by means of such radical acts and by developing a new given temporality. Artists from *Migrative Art* had the idea that these artworks would be dug out again “once the wars were over.”<sup>41</sup> However, the artworks have remained buried to the present day, which is perhaps a new chapter and certainly a potentially new temporality in the chronology of *Migrative Art*.<sup>42</sup> One of the ideas of art in the 1990s was the desire to protect and preserve art, to put it aside for some safer times in the future, when the wars are over and the darkness in the mass media has cleared,

at the dawn of a new age. In the view of *Migrative Art*, art was to be kept safe, to be taken care of – one shouldn't allow the moment of social crisis and the world captured in globalization processes and massive violence to devour and destroy it. A characteristic feature of the collective was the need of commenting on the broader social and political context, at the same time using the radical gesture of burying artworks in order to preserve art from the same political context that had generated it. An analogy is the art events in Belgrade during the 1990s, with similar subversive actions and para-ritual, symbolical provocations against daily politics. One of such events was the act of freezing artworks in a deep freezer truck in the heart of Belgrade, which took place in 1993. It was performed by the *Led Art* group, which based its art on provoking art interventions in the field of ideology and politics of the society in a war crisis and the culture of the 90s.<sup>43</sup> “Projects such as this one were the rare vital points in a hibernated art scene and offered a feeling of safety to the participants, as well as the possibility to express their attitude through clear and unambiguous acts, at the same time maintaining communication between the increasingly depressed and isolated artists.”<sup>44</sup>

### Marx's exile and Marx's legacy

After 1995, artworks by *Migrative Art* were provoked not only by global flows, but also by the dual movement of capital and people. Globalisation contributed in easier and smoother connections, yet it

djelovanje kolektiva *Migrative Art* koji prelazi i nadilazi postojeće nacionalne granice te anticipira vlastiti umjetnički, slobodni i fluentni teritorij.

Od ideje *nemogućeg susreta* i dijaloga sa svijetom u smislu opservacija općega političkog, ekonomskog, društvenog i geografskog diskursa, *Migrative Art* tijekom 1995. i 1996. godine ulazi u dublje problematiziranje emigracije/imigracije/migracije te odnosa moći i kapitala. Od 1995. godine, nakon višegodišnjeg djelovanja, kolektiv pokušava redefinirati svoje ciljeve, pristupe, kao i metode i alate rada. Osvajanje umjetničkih teritorija i participacija u zajedničkim akcijama izdvojili su grupu sudionika koja nastavlja intenzivno promišljati o globalnim fenomenima, protoku kapitala, tranzicijskoj uvjetovanosti i (ne)mogućoj politici emancipacije.

Jezgru kolektiva od tada čine većinom umjetnici s prostora bivše Jugoslavije u egzilu: Ivana Momčilović, dramaturginja iz Beograda s adresom u Bruxellesu, Helena Klakočar i Milan Vukšić – Ciki, članovi *Kugla glumišta* iz Zagreba koji su u to vrijeme živjeli u Nizozemskoj, Zlatko Burić – Kičo, glumac iz *Kugla glumišta* s prebivalištem u Danskoj, Ljubomir Jakić, prevoditelj i koordinator kulturnih aktivnosti s adresom u Bruxellesu, a od 1995. im se iz Srbije priključuju Jelica Radovanović, Dejan Anđelković i mađioničar Rade Pilipović – Griffoni (članovi umjetničke skupine *Sweet Dreams Baby*).<sup>49</sup> Tijekom 1996. godine održane su dvije kapitalne akcije kolektiva u Bruxellesu: *Postavljanje zastave* kolektiva *Migrative Art* ispred Europskog parlamenta te performans *Sklapanje dogovora* u kući Karla Marxa. *Postavljanje zastave* ispred Europskog parlamenta

POSTAVLJANJE ZASTAVE *MIGRATIVE ARTA* ISPRED EU PARLAMENTA, BRUXELLES, 1996. FOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (FOTO ARHIVA JELICE RADOVANOVIĆ I DEJANA ANĐELKOVIĆA; FOTO ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)



PLACING THE FLAG OF *MIGRATIVE ART* IN FRONT OF THE EU PARLAMENT, BRUSSELS, 1996. PHOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ AND DEJAN ANĐELKOVIĆ; PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

also created interdependence between certain parts of the world. It could be viewed as a set of economic, social, political, and cultural processes facilitating the connection between various regions.<sup>45</sup> Summarizing globalization and its progress, Hardt and Negri have proposed the term “empire” as a key to its understanding.<sup>46</sup> The Empire presents globalization as a rule that includes all subjects into its order as a whole. Thus, the Empire does not present itself as a “historical regime” generated from conquest, but a regime that halts the “flow of history” and fixates the present state for eternity.<sup>47</sup> Namely, Hardt and Negri have conceptualized the Empire as a decentralized and de-territorialized structure, arguing that the state has been defeated and that it is the societies that now rule the world, as huge transnational societies have overcome the

SKLAPANJE DOGOVORA U KUĆI KARLA MARXA, BRUXELLES, 1996. FOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (FOTO ARHIVA JELICE RADOVANOVIĆ I DEJANA ANĐELKOVIĆA)



SIGNING THE CONTRACT AT KARL MARX'S HOUSE, BRUSSELS, 1996. PHOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ AND DEJAN ANĐELKOVIĆ)

jurisdiction and authority of national states.<sup>48</sup> It is in this context that one can view the activity of *Migrative Art* as it transgresses and overcomes the existing national borders, anticipating its own artistic, free, and fluid territory.

Having started from the idea of an “impossible encounter” and a dialogue with the world in terms of observations on the general political, economic, social, and geographical discourse, in 1995 and 1996 *Migrative Art* became involved more deeply into the discussion of emigration/immigration/migration as well as power and capital relations. From 1995, after several years of activity, the collective sought to redefine its goals, approaches, methods, and tools. Conquering artistic territories and participation in joint actions had distilled a core of participants who wanted to reflect



SKLAPANJE DOGOVORA U KUĆI KARLA MARXA, BRUXELLES, 1996. FOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (FOTO ARHIVA JELICE RADOVANOVIĆ I DEJANA ANDELKOVIĆA)

SIGNING THE CONTRACT AT KARL MARX'S HOUSE, BRUSSELS, 1996. PHOTO: JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ (PHOTO-ARCHIVE OF JELICA RADOVANOVIĆ AND DEJAN ANDELKOVIĆ)

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odigralo se na jednom od praznih mjesta u nizu izloženih zastava ispred zgrade parlamenta EU, gdje je zabodena zastava kolektiva *Migrative Art*, fiksirana konopcem na granu drveta. Oslikana crnom bojom na bijeloj pozadini, zastava prikazuje Zemljinu kuglu prošaranu meridijanima koja se pretače u petokraku. Zastava je nastala prema ideji belgijskog umjetnika Charleyja Casea, na platnu koje je oslikala Helena Klakočar.<sup>50</sup> Ona postaje znak apatridskog kretanja, a rađa se iz ideje o uspostavljanju umjetničkoga oslobođenog/slobodnog teritorija na mjestima i u trenucima gdje umjetnici djeluju i rade. Zastava *Migrative Art* ovom je akcijom ravnopravno uvrštena u niz zastava zemalja članica Europske unije, ali je istovremeno postavljena nasuprot same zastave EU-a koja krase Europski parlament, jukstapozicionirajući time reprezentaciju njezine logike slobodnog tržišta (robe) i kapitala, ali nikako ne i ljudi. Problematiziranje razlike između Prvog i Trećeg svijeta, njihovih granica i međudnosa, pripadnosti i nepripadnosti nacionalnim



identitetima u administrativnom središtu Europe u fokusu je rada *Postavljanje zastave*. Migrantski i apatridski nastup kolektiva *Migrative Art* također predstavlja svojevrсно jukstapozicioniranje NSK-a institucionalizaciji formiranja vlastite države i državnih atributa *par excellence* (putovnica, ambasada, konzulata) početkom devedesetih.<sup>51</sup>

Druga značajna fotoakcija/performans *Sklapanje dogovora* izvedena je 1996. u kući u kojoj je živio i radio Karl Marx. Na fotografiji koja dokumentira ovaj događaj velika hobotnica koja se prelijeva preko „ruku koje sklapaju dogovor” svjedoči upravo o uspostavljenom dogovoru između dva poslovna čovjeka (Dejan Anđelković i Milan Vukšić – Ciki). Za nastanak rada upotrijebljen je motiv hobotnice koji je Slavoj Žižek upotrebljavao kao metaforu za jedan od elemenata razvoja kapitala, a to je da se stvor koji nije u svojem uobičajenom okruženju pretvara u čudovište.<sup>52</sup> Kada je u svojem elementu, u morskoj vodi, hobotnica manifestira optimum svojeg habitusa, ali kada se nađe izvan svojeg elementa, izgleda kao „mlohava hladetina”.<sup>53</sup> Postavljanje hobotnice koja izgleda kao neprikladan višak u srcu dramaturške scene te susret „dviju delegacija” koje sklapaju apsurdni ugovor u fokusu su rada koji funkcionira poput slijepe mrlje na mjestu moći.<sup>54</sup> Ovdje je uspostavljena cjelokupna manifestacija imitiranja građanskog, uljudnog ponašanja s ekscesom koji generira sliku „potkupljivog” dogovora. Činjenica da je performans održan u kući u kojoj je Karl Marx – također u egzilu

KOLEKTIV MIGRATIVE ART, LOGO ZA PEČAT KOLEKTIVA  
(DOKUMENTARNA ARHIVA IVANE MOMČILOVIĆ)

MIGRATIVE ART COLLECTIVE, STAMP LOGO (DOCUMENTARY  
ARCHIVE OF IVANA MOMČILOVIĆ)

more intensely on global phenomena, the flow of capital, the state of transition, and the (im)possible politics of emancipation. This core consisted mostly of exiled artists from the former Yugoslav area: Ivana Momčilović, a dramaturge from Belgrade, who at the time lived in Brussels, Helena Klakočar and Milan Vukšić – Ciki, members of *Kugla glumišta* from Zagreb living in the Netherlands at the time, Zlatko Burić – Kićo, an actor from *Kugla glumišta* living in Denmark, and Ljubomir Jakić, translator and cultural coordinator living in Brussels. In 1995, they were joined by several artists from Serbia: Jelica Radovanović, Dejan Anđelković, and magician Rade Pilipović – Griffoni (members of the art group *Sweet Dreams Baby*).<sup>49</sup> In 1996, the collective performed two major actions in Brussels: *Placing the Flag* in front of the European parliament and *Signing the Agreement* in Karl Marx's house. The first action used a gap in the line of flags exhibited in front of the EU parliament, where *Migrative Art* placed its own flag, fixed on a tree branch by rope.

Painted black on white, the flag showed planet Earth intersected by meridians forming a five-pointed star. The flag was designed by the Belgian artist Charley Case and painted on canvas by Helena Klakočar.<sup>50</sup> It became a symbol of stateless movement and reflected the idea of establishing an artistic liberated/free territory in places and moments where and when the artists were active. By this action, the flag of *Migrative Art* joined the flags of the EU member states on an equal footing, at the same time countering the very flag of the EU adorning the European parliament and representing the logic of the free market of goods and capital, but never the people. Discussing the differences between the First and Third World, their borders and relations, belonging and not belonging to national identities in the administrative centre of Europe – those were the issues on which *Placing the Flag* focused. The migrant and stateless action of *Migrative Art* also contrasted NSK in terms of institutionalizing one's own State and its attributes *par excellence* (passport, embassy, consulate) in the early 1990s.<sup>51</sup> The other major photo-action/performance, *Signing the Agreement*, took place in 1996 at a house where Karl Marx used to live and work. In a photograph documenting the event, a large octopus spilling over the “hands signing the agreement” witnesses an agreement between two businessmen (Dejan Anđelković and Milan Vukšić – Ciki). The group continued to use the octopus motif, which Slavoj Žižek had employed as a metaphor for one of the

u Bruxellesu – 1847. napisao *Manifest komunističke partije*, nije slučajnost. Naime, osim vlastitog statusa migranta i prognanika koji ga je i doveo u Bruxelles (a koji je također morao napustiti preko noći 1848. godine zbog progona policije uslijed svojih komunističkih djelatnosti pa je i *Manifest* tiskan u Londonu), Marx u *Manifestu* dotiče dvije teme od iznimne važnosti za nadidentitarnu i univerzalističku orijentaciju kolektiva *Migrative Art*.<sup>55</sup> To su univerzalnost (nacionalnost i ukidanje nacionalnog identiteta), kao i razoran karakter, odnosno „pretvaranje u dim svega što (kapital) dotakne”.<sup>56</sup>

Nekonzistentnosti buržoazijske politike profita i odnosa eksploatacije moguće je, prema Marxu, suprotstaviti samo politiku „otrežnjenja”, a prema kolektivu *Migrative Art*, politiku drugačije, emancipatorske izmještenosti, nefiksnosti, slobodne teritorijalnosti i nepostojećeg, praznog identiteta. Nadilaženjem nacionalnih granica i ideje monoidentitarnosti, kao i geografskih teritorija koje proglašava umjetničkim, kolektiv *Migrative Art* kroz umjetnost provodi emancipatorsku politiku oslobođenja.

### Nevidljivi građani i fikcija sjećanja<sup>57</sup>

Kolektiv *Migrative Art* belgijskim je filmom dokumentarne fikcije *Što se dogodilo s mojim prijateljima? (Qui sont devenus mes amis?)* još dublje ušao u promišljanje o migraciji, apatridstvu, emigraciji, egzilu, angažiranosti i deteritorijalnosti pojedinca. Film je nastao

1996. godine u Belgiji prema scenariju Ivane Momčilović, u režiji belgijskoga filmskog redatelja Philippea de Pierponta.<sup>58</sup> Rad na filmu počeo je tijekom 1994., kada umjetnici i Ivanini prijatelji, s četiri strane svijeta, počinju na njezin poziv razmjenjivati s njom pisma i snimke nastale Kodakovom kamerom Super 8 (koja donosi dodatni prizvuk i boju minulih vremena).<sup>59</sup> U porukama kućne radinosti zabilježenima kamerom Super 8, kasnije objedinjenima u filmu, protagonisti govore o svojoj (e)migracijskoj svakodnevici (u smislu unutrašnjih i vanjskih egzila) prenoseći isječke iz života oblikovanih novonastalim okolnostima postsocijalizma i prelaska na kapitalističke uvjete života i mišljenja. Sve je to upravo na tragu Marxovih predviđanja da je „buržoazija sa svih dotada dostojanstvenih profesija, na koje se gledalo sa strahopoštovanjem, skinula svetačku aureolu. Ona je liječnika, pravnika, svećenika, pjesnika i znanstvenika pretvorila u svoje plaćene najamne radnike.”<sup>60</sup>

Film tako govori o ljudima koji su ostali u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i žive u unutrašnjem egzilu ili su napustili zemlju, postajući time ne samo ekonomski nego i ratni emigranti, zamjenjujući svoje profesije za najamni rad.<sup>61</sup> Neki od protagonista su Vlada Divljan (Sydney), Zlatko Burić – Kićo (Kopenhagen), Milica Tomić i Branimir Stojanović (Beograd), Sanja Džeba i Aleš Kurt (Pariz – Sarajevo), Helena Klakočar i Milan Vukšić – Ciki (Zagreb – Tilburg), Mirjana Danilović, Milan Nedeljković (London), Milan Petrović – Tica (Beograd) i dr. Svatko od spomenutih sudionika Ivani šalje snimku,

elements in the evolution of capital, namely that a creature out of its usual habitat tends to turn into a monster.<sup>52</sup> When in its element, in seawater, the octopus manifests the optimum of its habitat, but when outside, it resembles “wobbly jelly.”<sup>53</sup> Placing an octopus like an inopportune intruder in the heart of the dramaturgical scene and the encounter between the “two delegations” signing an absurd agreement are in the focus of this artwork, which functions like a blind spot in the site of power.<sup>54</sup> This action manifests the entire imitation of polite bourgeois behaviour, with excess that generates the image of a “bribed” agreement. The fact that the performance took place at the house in which Karl Marx – while also in exile in Brussels – wrote his *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1847, is not accidental. Namely, besides being a migrant and an exile, which brought him to Brussels (which he also had to leave abruptly in 1848 when threatened by arrest because of his communist activities, which is the reason why the *Manifesto* was published in London), Marx is touching two issues of extreme importance for the supra-identitarian and universalist orientation of the *Migrative Art* collective.<sup>55</sup> These are universality (supra-nationality and abolition of national identities) and its decomposing character, aimed at “melting into air all that is solid.”<sup>56</sup>

According to Marx, the inconsistency of the bourgeois politics of profit and the relations of exploitation can be countered only by a politics of “sobering”; and according to *Migrative Art*, by a politics of

different, emancipatory displacement, non-fixation, free territoriality and a non-existent, empty identity. By overcoming national borders and the idea of mono-identity, as well as geographic territories, which it declared as artistic, *Migrative Art* practiced the emancipatory politics of liberation through art.

### Invisible citizens and the fiction of memory<sup>57</sup>

With Belgian film of documentary fiction, titled *What Have My Friends Become? (Qui sont devenus mes amis?)*, *Migrative Art* entered even deeper into its reflections on migrations, statelessness, emigration, exile, the engagement and deterritoriality of individuals. The film was produced in 1996 in Belgium, based on a script by Ivana Momčilović and directed by the Belgian filmmaker Philippe de Pierpont.<sup>58</sup> The work on the film started in 1994, when artists and Ivana’s friends from all parts of the world started exchanging with her letters and shots made by Kodak’s Super 8 (a film with a touch and colour of bygone times).<sup>59</sup> In these home videos on Super 8, later assembled to make the film, the protagonists spoke of their everyday lives as (e)migrants (their internal and external exile), transmitting excerpts from their lives defined by the newly created circumstances in post-socialism and their adaptation to the capitalist working and thinking conditions. All this exactly corresponds to Marx’s predictions that “the bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and



priču ili videoperformans o svojoj trenutačnoj situaciji kroz umjetničku opservaciju i analizu novonastale migrantske realnosti. Tako, između ostalih, Zlatko Burić – Kićo, „nevidljivi čovjek” Kopenhaga, otvara narativ nevidljivosti pojedinca u emigraciji gdje zapravo prošlost više ne postoji, već samo okrutna sadašnjost i neizvjesna budućnost.<sup>62</sup> Omotan od glave do pete u zavoje, čovjek bez lica, anonimnog tijela, sa šeširom kao jedinim osobnim znakom, stoji na raskrižju kopenhaskih ulica a da nitko od prolaznika ne primjećuje njegovo postojanje. Svaka priča od njih jedanaest ima isti metaforični i izmješteni rakurs.<sup>63</sup> Ivana odgovara svakome od njih, najavljujući svoju enigmatičnu prisutnost/odsutnost u filmu svojim pismima – komentarima.<sup>64</sup>

Film je premijerno prikazan u briselskom teatru Beursschouwburg, kada se kolektiv *Migrative Art* ponovno jednim dijelom okupio, čime je nastavljena praksa zajedničkih susreta kao na *Migrative Art* teritorijima. Film je prikazan na više festivala, a dobio je nagradu za najbolji dokumentarni film na festivalu u Vic-Le-Comteu u Francuskoj i brončanu medalju na TV festivalu u Monte Carlu 1996. godine.<sup>65</sup>

### Umjesto zaključka

Akcije kolektiva *Migrative Art* u okviru umjetničkog konteksta 1990-ih godina podržavaju ideju suvremene umjetnosti koja više nije geografski ni nacionalno određena, u smislu u kojem biva

vidljiva u modernističkom ili postmodernističkom stanju, kada su umjetnici bili definirani nacionalnom pripadnošću te državom u kojoj žive. Umjetnički rad tijekom ovog desetljeća usmjeren je na emigrantske sekundarne kulturalne kontekste.<sup>66</sup> Kolektiv *Migrative Art* odbija formalnu reprezentaciju, akademsku formu izložbe, a javni prostor, posebice urbani kontekst, zatim sveučilište i mjesta sveučilišta (amfiteatri, predvorja, studentske menze i studentske organizacije), kao i povremeno *stricto sensu* izložbeni prostor<sup>67</sup>, za članove kolektiva postaju pozornica za stvaranje i perpetuiranje stvarnosti.<sup>68</sup> Specifična situacija na teritoriju Srbije (ali i cijele bivše Jugoslavije), uvjetovana ratnim stradanjima, izolacijom, embargom i sankcijama, proizvela je čitavu generaciju umjetnika koja se razvijala u uvjetima izolacije, bez mogućnosti dugogodišnje razmjene ideja s drugim sredinama.<sup>69</sup> Osnivanje kolektiva izvan matične zemlje koja više nije postojala, u Belgiji, zemlji sjedištu Europske unije, nastaje kao radikalni čin nužnoga umjetničkog djelovanja protiv izolacije i sve veće marginalizacije ljudi, a i umjetnosti.

Proizvođenjem nove realnosti na teritoriju Drugoga, izmještanjem i kretanjem u cilju transidentitarnosti i transnacionalnosti, stvoren je novi prostor koji je bio nužan za izražavanje slobodne misli i slobodu umjetnosti, ali i umjetnika – kako onih u egzilu tako i drugih koji su dolazili s prostora bivše Jugoslavije. To se posebno vidi u prvoj fazi razvoja kolektiva (1992.–1995.), koja mapira fizička izmještanja u cilju prevladavanja mjesta kao takvog. „Osvajanje” novih prostora

looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers.”<sup>60</sup>

The film thus tells of people who remained in ex-Yugoslavia, living in inner exile, or left the country and became not only economic, but also war emigrants, replacing their occupations through waged labour.<sup>61</sup> The protagonists included Vlada Divljan (Sydney), Zlatko Burić – Kićo (Copenhagen), Milica Tomić and Branimir Stojanović (Belgrade), Sanja Džeba and Aleš Kurt (Paris – Sarajevo), Helena Klakočar and Milan Vukšić – Ciki (Zagreb – Tilburg), Mirjana Danilović and Milan Nedeljković (London), Milan Petrović – Tica (Belgrade), and others. Each of them sent to Ivana a recording, a story, or a video-performance of their current situation seen through the prism of art, an analysis of their new migrant reality. Thus, Zlatko Burić – Kićo, an “invisible man” in Copenhagen, opened up a narrative on the invisibility of the individual in emigration, where the past actually no longer exists, only a cruel present and an uncertain past.<sup>62</sup> Wrapped in bandages from head to foot, a man with no face, an anonymous body with a hat as his only personal sign, he stood at a crossing in Copenhagen without being noticed by the passers-by. Each of the eleven stories had the same metaphorical and displaced angle.<sup>63</sup> Ivana answered to each one of them, heralding her enigmatic presence in / absence from the film with her letters-commentaries.<sup>64</sup>

The film had a premiere at the Beursschouwburg theatre in Brussels, when *Migrative Art* partly came together again, continuing their

practice of encounters in artistic territories. The film was shown at several festivals and won the first award for a documentary at Vic-Le-Comte in France, as well as the bronze medal at the Monte Carlo TV-festival in 1996.<sup>65</sup>

### Instead of a conclusion

In the art context of the 1990s, actions of *Migrative Art* supported the idea of contemporary art that was no longer determined by geographical or national parameters, in which it had emerged in the age of modernism or post-modernism, when artists were defined by their nationality and the state they lived in. In the 1990s, artistic activity focused on the secondary emigrant cultural contexts.<sup>66</sup> The *Migrative Art* collective rejected formal representation and the academic form of exhibition; for its members, it was the public space, especially the urban context, the university and its sites (amphitheatres, assembly halls, student canteens, and student organizations), occasionally also the exhibition area *stricto sensu*,<sup>67</sup> that became a stage for creating and perpetuating the reality.<sup>68</sup> The specific situation in Serbia (and all of former Yugoslavia) caused by warfare, embargo, and sanctions produced an entire generation of artists evolving in the conditions of isolation, without a chance to have a long-term exchange with other settings.<sup>69</sup> Founding a collective outside of their home country, which no more existed, in Belgium as the seat of the European Union, was a radical act of necessary artistic action against the isolation and the increasing marginalization of people as well as art.

i teritorija, imaginarno brisanje granica, njihovo oslobađanje, ritualni plesovi, performansi i zakopavanje radova postaju važne i nužne strategije otpora, kao i radikalne političke poruke izražene jezikom umjetnosti. Temeljnom pristupu problematiziranja političkog pejzaža postsocijalističkog (globalno-kapitalističkog) svijeta kolektiv se posvećuje 1995. i 1996. godine. Radovi iz ovog perioda, kao što su *Postavljanje zastave* i *Sklapanje dogovora*, promišljeni su u rakursu marksističkog diskursa, a problematiziraju pitanja kapitalizma, globalizacije i središta moći. Ukidanjem bilo kakve hijerarhijske politike u određivanju mjesta, mjesta pripadnosti te nadilaženju mjesta u fizičkom i mentalnom smislu, ogleđa se emancipatorski potencijal kolektiva u kontekstu ratnih zbivanja na prostoru bivše SFRJ. Poseban segment emancipatorskog potencijala *Migrative Arta* očitava se i u odlukama i akcijama njegovih članova koje bi mogle biti predmet nastavka ovog teksta i daljnjeg istraživanja. Prije svega, činjenica da se tek sada, naknadno, piše o ovoj inicijativi i praksama/politikama kolektiva nastalog prije 25 godina leži u odluci kolektiva o odbijanju, u vrijeme (medijskog) rata, bilo kakve reprezentacije i kontakta s medijima (koji su funkcionirali u vrijeme sukoba na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, ali i izvan nje).<sup>70</sup> Njihove su se akcije tada, a i sve do danas, temeljile na onome što su nazvali „medijskom šutnjom”. Učincima njihovih akcija, strategiji ovakve „nereprezentativnosti”, evaluaciji i dometu njihovih akcija uz „medijsku šutnju” trebalo bi svakako posvetiti više pozornosti u sljedećem periodu. Druga važna,

emancipatorska intuicija/odluke povezana je sa *statementom*: „Od veljače do srpnja 1994. čini se potrebnim uvesti umjetnost na zapadna (istočna) sveučilišta”, što je od prvog trenutka imalo za cilj, osim internog okupljanja ex-Jugoslavena, emancipatorsko otvaranje prema (europskim) belgijskim studentima.<sup>71</sup> To što se su neki od njih koji su davnih 1990-ih bili publika, domaćini ili sudionici kolektiva *Migrative Art* i u svojem profesionalnom životu nastavili baviti migracijama i što ih je susret s „planetom *Migrative Arta*” i „zaboravljenih astronauta Jugoslavije, negdje u belgijskoj orbiti” – kako su svjedočili – doživotno usmjerio, ostaje također kao hipotetička tema za nastavak ovog istraživanja i novih temporalnosti *Migrative Arta*, kolektiva izvan (linearnog) vremena i (ustaljenog) mjesta.

<sup>1</sup> Opis kolektiva u videu o kolektivu *Migrative Art*, videoarhiva Ivane Momčilović (dalje: videoarhiva I. M.).

<sup>2</sup> Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's visual culture*, London, Routledge, 2000., 21.

<sup>3</sup> Erik Gordi, *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji, Nacionalizam i razaranje alternative*, Beograd, 2001., 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ivan Čolović, „Sve je počelo u Srbiji”, u: Ivan Čolović (ur.), *Zid je mrtav, živeo zid*, Beograd, Biblioteka XX vek, 2009., 37–57.

<sup>5</sup> Isto.

<sup>6</sup> Jasmina Čubrilo, *Symptom. Dž, Jelica Radovanović i Dejan Anđelković*, Beograd, Fond Vujičić kolekcija, 2011., 45.

By producing a new reality in the territory of the Other, by displacement and movement towards transidentity and transnationality, the collective created new space, needed to express free ideas and the freedom of art, as well as the artists themselves – both those in exile and others coming from ex-Yugoslavia. This is especially evident on the first stage of development (1992–1995), which mapped physical displacement with the aim of overcoming place as such. The “conquest” of new places and territories, imaginary erasure of borders, their liberation, ritual dances, performances, and acts of burying artworks became important and necessary strategies of resistance, as well as radical political messages expressed through the language of art. In 1995 and 1996, the collective focused on the basic approach to discussing the post-socialist (global capitalist) world. Artworks from this period, such as *Placing the Flag* or *Signing the Contract*, were made from the perspective of Marxist discourse and discussed issues such as capitalism, globalization, and power centres. It is in abolishing all hierarchic policy in determining place, e.g. the place of belonging, and by overcoming place both physically and mentally, that the collective's emancipatory potential was manifested in the context of armed conflicts in the former Yugoslav area.

A special segment of the collective's emancipatory potential consists in the decisions and actions of its members, which may be a topic for continuing this text and for further research. First of all, the fact that this initiative and practices/politics of the collective has only now become a subject of analysis, although *Migrative Art* was

founded 25 years ago, is a result of their refusal, at the time of the (media) war, to have any representation or contact with the media (those that operated in the Yugoslav area as well as abroad).<sup>70</sup> Both then and today, their actions have been based on what they called “mediatic silence”. The effects of their actions, their strategy of “non-representation”, the evaluation and impact of their actions should by all means be investigated more thoroughly in the future. Another crucial emancipatory intuition/decision was linked to their statement: “In February – July 1994, it seems to me necessary to introduce art in Western (Eastern) Universities,” which from the outset aimed not only at organizing an internal gathering of ex-Yugoslavs, but also the emancipatory opening towards European (Belgian) students.<sup>71</sup> The fact that some of those who were the audience, hosts, or participants of *Migrative Art* back in the 1990s continued to be focus on migrations, and that the encounter with the “planet *Migrative Art*” and the “forgotten astronauts of Yugoslavia, somewhere in the Belgian orbit” – as they said – determined their lifelong interests, remains another hypothetical topic for a continuation of this research and the new temporalities of *Migrative Art*, a collective operating beyond (linear) time and (regular) place.

<sup>1</sup> The collective's description in the video *Migrative Art*, video-archive of Ivana Momčilović (hereafter: Video-archive I. M.).

<sup>7</sup> Eric Gordy detaljnije je pisao o poziciji režimskih i nezavisnih medija u Srbiji tijekom devedesetih. Vidi u: Eric Gordy, *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji, Nacionalizam i razaranje alternative*, Beograd, 2001., 73–114. (Napomena: navedena publikacija objavljena je u Srbiji, gdje se ime Erica Gordyja transkribira kao Erik Gordi).

<sup>8</sup> Ukazivanje na postojanje kolektiva *Migrative Art* u stručnoj literaturi prvi se put spominje kod Jasmine Čubrilo u: J. Čubrilo, bilj. 6, 52. O kolektivu je više informacija prikupljeno u intervjuu s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva Maje Marković (dalje: audioarhiva M. M.) (neobjavljeni materijal).

<sup>9</sup> Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>10</sup> „(...) Da nije bilo Sonje na licu mjesta, ne bi se na, slobodnom, umjetničkom teritoriju post-Jugoslavije, u studentskom belgijskom gradu Louvain-la-Neuveu, u proljeće 1993., sastali predstavnici *Kugla glumišta* (Hrvatska), *Rdečeg pilota* (Slovenija) i oni mnogobrojni koji su vjerovali da se duh internacionalizma ne sahranjuje ručnim bombama.” Iz nekrologa za Sonju Savić: Ivana Momčilović, „Sonja Savić Moderna Jugoslavica”, *Peščanik*, 30. 9. 2008., <http://pescanik.net/sonja-savic-15-09-1961-23-09-2008/> (pristupljeno 15. 11. 2017.)

<sup>11</sup> Dramaturški predložak prema konceptu Ivane Momčilović, realizacija *Svetokret*, kolovoz – rujan 1991. Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>12</sup> Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>13</sup> U videu o kolektivu *Migrative Art* kaže se: „Doći na teren Drugoga, razumjeti gdje smo i zašto; stvoriti prostor odakle je moguće reći svoju istinu, razumjeti da ta istina nije izolirana, nije usamljena. Vjerovati da je politički trenutak – trenutak odluke. Kako, kada, oko čega ujediniti vlastite teme i znanja u svijetu u kojem ljudi još umiru u strašnim mukama i gdje je patnja još uvijek dio svakodnevice?” Iz dokumentarnog videa o akcijama *Migrative Art*; tekst i koncepcija Ivana Momčilović u suradnji sa skupinom GSARA – Bruxelles (*Groupe Socialiste d'Action et de Réflexion sur l'Audiovisuel*), 1995., videoarhiva I. M.

<sup>14</sup> Godine 1997. kolektiv – dodavanjem slova u svojem nazivu – mijenja ime u kolektiv *El-Migrative Art*, mijenjajući i fokus djelovanja. Time započinje nova faza s manjim brojem inicijalnih članova koji ulaze dublje u polje radikalne i borbene imigracijske i emigracijske politike novonastalih zemalja.

<sup>15</sup> „Alain Badiou, čini nam se, odlučuje stvari koje u korijenu određuju solidarnost (bivanje s ljudima, uz ljude koji su prekoračili neko stanje situacije) označiti drugim imenom. Jedno od njih svakako je *intuitivno premeštanje* (...)”, u: Ivana Momčilović, „Palimpsest demokratije: Borba za reč – Čega je solidarnost ime kod Alaina Badioua?”, *Zarez*, XI/266, 1. 10. 2009., 29. <http://www.zarez.hr/system/issue/pdf/266/Z266.pdf> (pristupljeno 20. 10. 2017.); više u: Alain Badiou, *4 Maja 1968.*, Beograd, Edicija Jugoslavija, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> „Vežan za polisemičnu riječ *lieu* u francuskom jeziku, Alain Badiou je upotrebljava u malarmeovskom smislu označavanja mjesta zbiljanja, ali i istovremeno kao mjesta rangiranja (*place*), ustaljenog, strukturalnog, hijerarhiziranog smještanja određenih društvenih grupacija na unaprijed određena mjesta, položaje, 'namještenja'. Rezultat je separacija onoga što Badiou vlastitom kovanicom zove *esplace* (prostor-mjesto), kojoj suprotstavlja svoju drugu kovanicu *horlieu* (izvanmjesto), u dijalektici izvanmjesta protiv prostor-mjesta. Naime, proletarijat postoji svugdje gdje se događa izvanmjesto politike.” Ivana Momčilović, „(Neime Reč)” [komentar prijevoda, fusnota 56], u: Alain Badiou, *Čega je Sarkozy ime*, Beograd, Edicija Jugoslavija, 2014., 136.

<sup>17</sup> Veliki dio proglašenja *Migrative Art* bio je direktno juktapozicioniranje na osnivačke proglašenja *Neue Slowenische Kunst* (NSK). Dio ostavljen na engleskom konkretno je dijalog s njihovim proglašenjem, koji je originalno pisan na engleskom jeziku. Po njihovom temeljnom *statementu* kraj Jugoslavije naslućivao se još 1984. Preписка s Ivanom Momčilović, studeni 2017., digitalna arhiva M. M.; *Proglas NSK-a*, izvor: [https://passport.nsk.si/en/about\\_us](https://passport.nsk.si/en/about_us) (pristupljeno 20. 11. 2017.)

<sup>18</sup> Zlatko Burić – Kićo, „Razglednica za Sonju Savić”, u: Zdenka Tomić i Milomirka Cica Jovović (ur.), *Zbornik Sonja Savić: otvorena stranica*, Valjevo, Intelekt, 2011., 35–36. Članovi kolektiva *Migrative Art* naknadno su, na jednom od posljednjih susreta 1996. godine, odlučili da u *Teritorij br. 1* uvrste retrospektivu filmova jugoslavenskog glumca Slavka Štimca, koji je na poziv svojih kolegica Sonje Savić i Ivane Momčilović došao u Belgiju u lipnju 1992. Tada je u okviru *Migrative Art* za studente Šenske akademije (L'Institut des arts de diffusion, IAD) u Louvain-La-Neuveu održana prva javna kontekstualizacija „jugoslavenskog pitanja” – pitanja postojanja i nestajanja Jugoslavije. Preписка s Ivanom Momčilović, studeni 2017.,

<sup>2</sup> Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Erik Gordy, *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji, Nacionalizam i razaranje alternative* [Power culture in Serbia: Nationalism and the destruction of alternative culture] (Belgrade, 2001), 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ivan Čolović, “Sve je počelo u Srbiji” [Everything started in Serbia], in: *Zid je mrtav, žive zid*, ed. idem (Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek, 2009), 37–57.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>6</sup> Jasmina Čubrilo, *Symptom. DJ, Jelica Radovanović i Dejan Anđelković* (Belgrade: Fond Vujičić kolekcija, 2011), 45.

<sup>7</sup> Eric Gordy wrote in detail on the position of regime and independent media in Serbia during the 1990s. Cf. Gordy, *Kultura vlasti u Srbiji* (as in n. 3), 73–114.

<sup>8</sup> *Migrative Art* was first mentioned in scholarly literature by Jasmina Čubrilo (Čubrilo, *Symptom*, as in n. 6), 52. I have gathered additional information in an interview with Ivana Momčilović in January 2016, in Brussels; audio-archives of Maja Marković, unpublished material (hereafter: Audio-archives M. M.).

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archives M. M.).

<sup>10</sup> “(...) Had it not been for Sonja, right there, the representatives of *Kugla Glumište* (Croatia), *Rdeči pilot* (Slovenia), and all those other who believed that the spirit of internationalism cannot be buried by hand grenades wouldn't have come together in spring 1993 in the free artistic territory of post-Yugoslavia, in the Belgian student town of Louvain-la-Neuve.” From Sonja Savić's obituary: Ivana Momčilović, “Sonja Savić – Moderna Jugoslavica” [Sonja Savić – Modern Yugoslav woman], *Peščanik* (September 30, 2008), <http://pescanik.net/sonja-savic-15-09-1961-23-09-2008/> (last accessed on November 15, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Dramaturgical concept by Ivana Momčilović, realization by *Svetokret*, August-September 1991. Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archives M. M.).

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archives M. M.).

<sup>13</sup> In a video on *Migrative Art*, one hears the following: “Coming to the terrain of the Other, understanding where we are and why; creating a space where one can speak out one's truth, understanding that this truth is not isolated or alone. Believing that the political moment is the moment of truth. How, when, around what should one

gather together one's issues and knowledge in a world where people are still dying in terrible agony, where suffering is still part of everyday life?” From a documentary on *Migrative Art*'s actions; text and concept by Ivana Momčilović in cooperation with GSARA – Brussels (*Groupe Socialiste d'Action et de Réflexion sur l'Audiovisuel*), 1995 (Video-archives I. M.).

<sup>14</sup> In 1997, the collective added two letters to their name and became *El-Migrative Art*, changing the focus of their activities as well and entering a new phase, with fewer initial members, but addressing more profoundly the issues related to the radical and militant immigration and emigration policies of the newly colonized countries.

<sup>15</sup> “Alain Badiou, as it seems, has decided to coin new names for things that essentially define solidarity (being with people, siding with people who have overcome a situation). One of such names is certainly *intuitive displacement* (...)” Ivana Momčilović, “Palimpsest demokratije: Borba za reč – Čega je solidarnost ime kod Alaina Badioua?” [Palimpsest of democracy: Fighting for words – What does solidarity stand for in Alain Badiou?], *Zarez* 11/266 (October 1, 2009), 29, <http://www.zarez.hr/system/issue/pdf/266/Z266.pdf> (last accessed on October 20, 2017). Cf. Alain Badiou, *Four Mays 1968*, Beograd, Edicija Jugoslavija, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> “In relation to the polysemic French word *lieu*, Alain Badiou uses it in Malarmean sense of demarcating a place of event as well as a place in ranking: an established, structural, hierarchized situation of specific social groups in pre-defined places, positions, 'situations'. The result is separation between what Badiou has defined by his own coined terms *esplace* (space-place) and *horlieu* (extra-place), in a dialectics of extra-place against space-place. Namely, the proletariat is everywhere where the extra-place of politics is happening.” Ivana Momčilović, “(Neime Reč)” [Noname Word], annotations to the translation, n. 56, in: Alain Badiou, *Čega je Sarkozy ime* [The Meaning of Sarkozy] (Belgrade: Edicija Jugoslavija, 2014), 136.

<sup>17</sup> A considerable part of *Migrative Art*'s statement can be juxtaposed to that of *Neue Slowenische Kunst* (NSK). It was partly written in English as it directly addressed NSK's foundation statement, which was originally in English. According to that statement, the fall of Yugoslavia could be predicted as early as 1984. Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital archive M. M.); *Statement of NSK*, [https://passport.nsk.si/en/about\\_us](https://passport.nsk.si/en/about_us) (last accessed on November 20, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> Zlatko Burić – Kićo, “Razglednica za Sonju Savić” [A postcard for Sonja Savić],

digitalna arhiva M. M.

<sup>19</sup> Martin Van der Bellen, „Créer au-delà des frontières nationalistes“ (Stvarati izvan nacionalističkih granica), *Bulletin de la Paix*, MIR-IRG, 1996.; arhiva Ivane Momčilović

<sup>20</sup> Prevedeno s engleskog, 1993. Dokumenti o djelovanju kolektiva *Migrative Art*, arhiva I. M.; intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>21</sup> Ovaj je susret predviđao izvođenje predstave *YU Astronauts* prema scenariju Ivane Momčilović, a u suradnji s belgijskim umjetnicima, kao i onima s prostora bivše SFRJ. Do realizacije predstave nikada nije došlo, zbog manjka sredstava i administrativnih problema povezanih s vizama sudionika. Sjedište *Migrative Arta* u toj se fazi belgijskog prapočetka nakratko smješta u scenski prostor na adresi Plateau 30, Rue du Berger u Bruxellesu, koji vode plesačica Ida de Vos i kipar Trudo Engels. Oni pružaju prostor – platformu za prve sastanke, a kasnije se ured u tom periodu seli u kuću povjesničarke umjetnosti jugoslavenskog porijekla Ivone Rot. Intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.; tiskani dokumenti o *Nultoj teritoriji*, s popisom pozvanih sudionika, natipkano bijelom mašinskom trakom na prozirnom papiru, arhiva I. M.

<sup>22</sup> Naziv *Koncentracioni kultur kamp* koncept je Branimira Stojanovića koji je tijekom 1991. i 1992. bio u egzilu u Bruxellesu te s Milicom Tomić aktivno sudjelovao u promišljanju svoje imigrantske pozicije. Tijekom realizacije prvog susreta Milica Tomić i Branimir Stojanović već su bili napustili Belgiju. Fotoarhiva I. M.; intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>23</sup> O tome svjedoče sačuvana pisma Mrđana Bajića, Ademira Arapovića, Mirsada Jazića i drugih, arhiva I. M.

<sup>24</sup> Vidi bilj. 18 o naknadnoj kronologiji okupljanja koju je napravio kolektiv.

<sup>25</sup> Na snimci s ovog događaja vidi se da je pod šatorom izlagao Mrđan Bajić. Na istom mjestu izvedena je predstava Borisa Bakala, Jasena Jakića i Branka Potočana (*ad hoc* skupina *Beton dans*). Između ostalih, bili su prisutni Sonja Savić, Darko Rundek, Dragan Živadinov, Aleš Kurt, Sanja Džeba, Maja Bajević, Kornelija Bajalo, Ljubomir Jakić i Ivana Momčilović. Videoarhiva Ivane Momčilović; dio podataka može se naći i u tekstu M. Van der Belena, bilj. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Dokumentacija o trećem susretu *Migrative Arta* tijekom 1994. nije pronađena, a prema sjećanju sudionika, poznato je da je održan u Louvain-la-Neuveu. Na njemu je sudjelovao dio *Kugla glumišta*, glazbeni sastav Partibrejkersi iz Srbije i mnogi drugi. Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>27</sup> Organizatori su za potrebe komunikacije s umjetnicima i organizacije susreta upotrebljavali nekoliko prostora u Bruxellesu, koji su se smjenjivali: kod povjesničarke umjetnosti Ivone Rot, koja je ponudila ured u svojoj kući u Avenue Molière u Bruxellesu; da bi se ured, ali i „glavni štab smještaja sudionika“ preselili majci Ivane Momčilović i njezinom suprugu (obitelj Tomašević-Gemoetz), u kuću na periferiji Bruxellesa na adresi Avenue Lima 8, gdje su se najduže zadržali. Jedno vrijeme – u samom početku – telefonska komunikacija bila je omogućena i u uredu belgijske stilistice Kaat Tilley, a kasnije i u okviru studentske organizacije u Louvain-la-Neuveu, kao i u briselskom kulturnom centru Les Halles de Schaarbeck. Prepiska s I. Momčilović, studeni 2017., digitalna arhiva M. M.

<sup>28</sup> Susret iz 1993. u postojećoj je dokumentaciji označen kao „osvajanje umjetničkog teritorija br. 1“. Vidi bilj. 17 o definitivnoj kronologiji teritorija. Foto, video i dokumentarna arhiva Ivane Momčilović; intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>29</sup> Prepiska s I. Momčilović, studeni 2017., digitalna arhiva M. M.

<sup>30</sup> Mirsad Jazić predlagao je nomadski kovčeg čiji bi se sadržaj sastojao od odjernih predmeta proizvedenih u Jugoslaviji, s etiketama Yugoexporta i drugih jugoslavenskih proizvođača, paradoksalno izlažući proizvode zemlje koja više ne postoji. Pismo je datirano 22. 12. 1994.; arhiva I. M.

<sup>31</sup> Intervju s Jelicom Radovanović i Dejanom Anđelkovićem, Beograd, kolovoz 2017., audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>32</sup> Irit Rogoff, *Terra Infirma: Geography's visual culture*, London, Routledge, 2000., 37–39.

<sup>33</sup> Isto., 58

<sup>34</sup> Isto., 59

<sup>35</sup> Isto., 60

<sup>36</sup> Katalog *Migrative Art*, arhiva I. M.; Luksemburg i Esch-sur-Alzette u okviru Luksemburga kao Kulturne prijestolnice Europe 1995.

in: *Sonja Savić: otvorena stranica*, ed. Zdenka Tomić and Milomirka Cica Jovović (Valjevo: Intelekt, 2011), 35–36. Later on, in one of their last meetings in 1996, members of *Migrative Art* decided to include a retrospective of films with Yugoslav actor Slavko Štimac, who had come to Belgium in June 1992 at the invitation of his colleagues Sonja Savić and Ivana Momčilović, in their *Territory No. 1*. It was then that the first public contextualization of the “Yugoslav question” – the question of existence and disappearance of Yugoslavia – was held for the students of the Academy of Dramatic Arts (L'Institut des arts de diffusion, IAD) in Louvain-La-Neuve. Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital archive M. M.).

<sup>19</sup> Martin Van der Bellen, “Créer au-delà des frontières nationalistes,” *Bulletin de la Paix* (MIR-IRG, 1996) (Archive I. M.).

<sup>20</sup> Documents on the activity of *Migrative Art* (Archive I. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>21</sup> This encounter was to include the performance *YU Astronauts* based on a script by Ivana Momčilović and in cooperation between artists from Belgium and the ex-Yugoslav territories. However, it was never realized owing to the lack of finances and to administrative problems linked to the impossibility of obtaining the visa for the participants. The seat of *Migrative Art* in those first beginnings in Belgium was at first in Plateau 30, Rue du Berger in Brussels, managed by dancer Ida de Vos and sculptor Trudo Engels. They offered the venue-platform for the first encounters and later on the office moved to the house of Ivona Rot, an art historian of Yugoslav origin. Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.); printed materials on the *Territory No. 0*, with a list of invited participants typewritten in white on transparent paper (Archive I. M.).

<sup>22</sup> The name *Concentration Culture Camp* was a concept of Branimir Stojanović, who spent the years 1991 and 1992 in exile in Brussels and actively reflected on his immigrant position together with Milica Tomić. By the time of the first encounter, Milica Tomić and Branimir Stojanović had already left Belgium (Photo-archive of I. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>23</sup> As evident from the preserved letters by Mrđan Bajić, Ademir Arapović, Mirsad Jazić, and others (Archive I. M.).

<sup>24</sup> See n. 18 on the later chronology of encounters, produced by the collective.

<sup>25</sup> In a recording of that meeting, one can see Mrđan Bajić exhibiting in the tent. At the same place, a performance of Boris Bakal, Jasen Jakić, and Branko Potočan (*ad hoc* group *Beton Dans*) took place and was attended, among others, by Sonja Savić, Darko Rundek, Dragan Živadinov, Aleš Kurt, Sanja Džeba, Maja Bajević, Kornelija Bajalo, Ljubomir Jakić, and Ivana Momčilović (Video-archive I. M.); some of these data can also be found in M. Van der Belen, as in n. 19).

<sup>26</sup> Documentation on the third encounter of *Migrative Art* in 1994 has apparently been lost, but according to its participants, it took place in Louvain-la-Neuve. Its participants included some members of *Kugla Glumište*, the music band Partibrejkersi from Serbia, and many others. Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>27</sup> For the purpose of communicating with the artists and organizing the encounter, the collective alternated between several locations in Brussels: at first, they stayed with art historian Ivona Rot, who had offered an office at her house in Avenue Molière, and then moved both the office and the “headquarters of participants’ accommodation” to Ivana Momčilović’s mother and her husband Tomašević-Gemoetz family), who lived in a house at the periphery, Avenue Lima 8, where the collective stayed for most of the time. For a while – at the very beginning – telephoning was also possible from the office of Belgian stylist Kaat Tilley, and later on from a student organization in Louvain-la-Neuve and the cultural centre Les Halles de Schaarbeck. Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital archive M. M.).

<sup>28</sup> In the existing documentation, the encounter of 1993 is called “the conquest of artistic territory No. 1.” Cf. n. 17 on the precise chronology of the territories (Photo-, video-, and documentary archive I. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>29</sup> Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital archive M. M.).

<sup>30</sup> Mirsad Jazić proposed a nomadic suitcase with clothes made in Yugoslavia, with labels of Yugoexport and other Yugoslav producers, paradoxically exhibiting products of a country that no longer existed. Letter from December 22, 1994 (Archive I. M.).

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković, Belgrade, August 2017 (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>32</sup> Rogoff, *Terra Infirma* (as in n. 2), 37–39.

<sup>37</sup> Pozivnica za Charleyja Casea: „Dragi Charley, zvijezde na nebu gradovi su na zemlji. Veliko je nebo ogledalo, ptice – to smo mi, migracije su umjetnost.” (u potpisu: Ivana Momčilović). Karte su djelo Ivane Momčilović kao geografije koraka i geografije kretanja. Intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.; arhiva I. M.

<sup>38</sup> Intervju sa Zlatkom Burićem – Kićom, travanj 2016., Zagreb; intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>39</sup> M. Van der Bellen, bilj. 19.

<sup>40</sup> Z. Burić – Kićo, bilj. 18, 35–36.

<sup>41</sup> Z. Burić – Kićo u sjećanju na S. Savić spominje akcije kolektiva *Migrative Art*, gdje, između ostalog, navodi: „Zakopavali smo skulpturice od tijesta u malim kutijicama. To je radila Helena Klakočar u nekim šumama Beneluxa i dogovorili smo se da ćemo ih otkopati kada rat prestane.” Isto.

<sup>42</sup> Prema razgovorima koji su vođeni s protagonistima ovih akcija, zna se da su radovi bili pažljivo konzervirani i „pohranjeni”, a riječ je o radovima Mrđana Bajića, Helene Klakočar, Charleyja Casea, Ademira Arapovića i drugih. Intervju s Mrđanom Bajićem, Jelicom Radovanović i Dejanom Anđelkovićem, srpanj 2016., Beograd, audioarhiva M. M.; intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>43</sup> Grupe *Magnet*, *Led Art* i *Spomenik* aktivistički i memorijski djelovale su na jugoslavenske ratove 1990-ih. Miško Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika*, Službeni glasnik, 2012., 213–214.

<sup>44</sup> Darka Radosavljević, „Istina je negde između”, u: *Remont Review – beogradska umetnička scena devedesetih*, Beograd, Remont, 2002., 7.

<sup>45</sup> Rade Kalanj, *Globalizacija i postmodernost*, Zagreb, Politička kultura, 2004., 62.

<sup>46</sup> Isto, 65.; Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, *Imperij*, Zagreb, Multimedijalni institut; Arkzin, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> R. Kalanj, bilj. 45, 65.

<sup>48</sup> Isto, 69.

<sup>49</sup> Dejan Anđelković i Jelica Radovanović prvi su se put susreli s kolektivom *Migrative Art* 1994. u okviru akcije *Flying University*, koja je, kao dio istog kolektiva, uz sudjelovanje studenata s belgijskih i francuskih sveučilišta, organizirana u

Studentskom kulturnom centru Beograd i u opustošenim samoposluživanjima Beograda za vrijeme međunarodnog embarga prema „lažnoj Jugoslaviji” (Srbiji). Tom su se prilikom održali susreti s beogradskim umjetnicima i javni razgovori. Prepiska s Ivanom Momčilović, studeni 2017., digitalna arhiva Maje Marković; intervju s Jelicom Radovanović i Dejanom Anđelkovićem, srpanj 2016., audioarhiva Maje Marković; fotografska i dokumentarna arhiva Ivane Momčilović; fotoarhiva Jelice Radovanović i Dejana Anđelkovića. Članovi kolektiva navode se i u: J. Čubrilo, bilj. 6, 52.

<sup>50</sup> Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; intervju s Dejanom Anđelkovićem, kolovoz 2017.; dokumentarna i audioarhiva Maje Marković.

<sup>51</sup> Intervju s Jelicom Radovanović i Dejanom Anđelkovićem, kolovoz 2017., Beograd; dokumentarna i audioarhiva Maje Marković; intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>52</sup> Intervju s Dejanom Anđelkovićem, srpanj 2016., Beograd; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>53</sup> Intervju s Jelicom Radovanović i Dejanom Anđelkovićem, kolovoz 2017., Beograd; dokumentarna i audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>54</sup> Ovak se rad oslanja na historijat *Kugla glumišta*. Oni su stvarali predstave koje imaju jak ekscs i jak nadrealni moment u strukturi. Intervju s Dejanom Anđelkovićem, srpanj 2016., Beograd; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>55</sup> Louis Menand, „Karl Marx yesterday and today”, *The New Yorker*, 10. 10. 2016., <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/10/karl-marx-yesterday-and-today> (pristupljeno 20. 10. 2017.)

<sup>56</sup> „Nadalje, komunistima je prebačeno da žele ukinuti domovinu, narodnost. (...) Radnici nemaju domovine. Njima se ne može uzeti ono što nemaju (...) Nacionalna odbijanja i suprotnosti naroda sve više iščezavaju već s razvitkom buržoazije, sa slobodom trgovine, svjetskim tržištem, jednakošću industrijske proizvodnje i životnih odnosa koji njoj odgovaraju. (...) Pod slobodom se u okviru današnjih buržoazijskih odnosa proizvodnje podrazumijeva slobodna trgovina, slobodna kupovina i prodaja”, kao i: „Neprekidni prevrati u proizvodnji, neprekidno potresanje svih društvenih odnosa, vječna nesigurnost i kretanje izdvajaju buržoazijsku epohu od svih drugih. (...) Sve što je čvrsto i ustaljeno pretvara se u dim, sve što je sveto skrnavi se i ljudi napokon bivaju prisiljeni na

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 58

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 59

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 60

<sup>36</sup> Catalogue *Migrative Art* (Archive I. M.); Luxembourg and Esch-sur-Alzette as the cultural capital of Europe 1995.

<sup>37</sup> Invitation for Charley Case: “Dear Charley, the stars are in the sky, the cities on the earth. The great sky is a mirror, the birds – that is us, migrations are art.” (Signed by Ivana Momčilović) The maps were made by Ivana Momčilović as the geographies of steps and the geographies of movement. Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archiv M. M.; Audio-archiv I. M.).

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Zlatko Burić – Kićo, April 2016, Zagreb; interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>39</sup> Van der Bellen (as in n. 19).

<sup>40</sup> Zlatko Burić – Kićo (as in n. 18), 35–36.

<sup>41</sup> Remembering Sonja Savić, Zlatko Burić – Kićo mentioned actions organized by the *Migrative Art* collective: “We buried dough statuettes in small boxes. Helena Klakočar buried them in some forests in Benelux and we agreed that we would dig them out when the war ended.” Ibidem.

<sup>42</sup> Conversations with the protagonists of these actions reveal that the artworks were carefully conserved and “deposited”. They included works by Mrđan Bajić, Helena Klakočar, Charley Case, Admir Arapović, and others. Interview with Mrđan Bajić, Jelica Radovanović, and Dejan Anđelković, July 2016, Belgrade (Audio-archiv M. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>43</sup> *Magnet*, *Led Art*, and *Spomenik* were art groups that addressed the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s in terms of activism and memory. Cf. Miško Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika* [Art and politics] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 213-214.

<sup>44</sup> Darka Radosavljević, “Istina je negde između” [The truth is somewhere in between], in: *Remont Review – beogradska umetnička scena devedesetih* (Belgrade: Remont, 2002), 7.

<sup>45</sup> Rade Kalanj, *Globalizacija i postmodernost* [Globalization and postmodernity] (Zagreb: Politička kultura, 2004), 62.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 65.; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 2001).

<sup>47</sup> Kalanj (as in n. 45), 65.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>49</sup> Dejan Anđelković and Jelica Radovanović first met with the *Migrative Art* collective in 1994, at the *Flying University* action, organized by the collective and by students from Belgian and French universities at the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade and the empty supermarkets during the international embargo directed against the “false Yugoslavia” (Serbia). The action included encounters with Belgrade’s artists and public talks. Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital archive M. M.); interview with Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković, July 2016 (Audio-archiv M. M.); Photo- and documentary archive I. M.; Photo-archive of Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković). Members of the collective are listed in Čubrilo (as in n. 6), 52.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels; interview with Dejan Anđelković, August 2017 (Documentary and audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković, August 2017, Belgrade (Documentary and audio-archiv M. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Dejan Anđelković, July 2016, Belgrade (Audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Jelica Radovanović and Dejan Anđelković, August 2017, Belgrade (Documentary and audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>54</sup> This work is a reference to the history of *Kugla Glumište*, known for excessive and surrealist elements in their performances. Interview with Dejan Anđelković, July 2016, Belgrade (Audio-archiv M. M.).

<sup>55</sup> Louis Menand, “Karl Marx Yesterday and Today”, *The New Yorker*, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/10/10/karl-marx-yesterday-and-today> (last accessed on October 20, 2017).

<sup>56</sup> “We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing (...) countries and nationality. The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. (...) National differences and antagonism between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto. (...) By the freedom is meant, under the

svoj životni položaj, na svoje međusobne odnose pogledati trezvenim očima". Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, „Buržuji i proleteri“; „Proleteri i komunisti“, u: *Manifest komunističke partije*, Beograd, Kultura, 1963., 6–37.

<sup>57</sup> Termin „fikcija sjećanja“ pojavljuje se kod Jacquesa Rancièrea: „Il ne s'agit donc pas de conserver une mémoire, mais de la créer“ („Nije dakle riječ o konzerviranju sjećanja, već o njegovu stvaranju“), u: Jacques Rancièrea, *La fable cinématographique*, Seuil, 2001., 201. („Dokumentarna fikcija: Marker i fikcija sećanja“, u: *Filmska fabula*, Beograd, Klio, 2010.). Po ovom je terminu skupina umjetnika *Migrative Art* – kasnije okupljena u *El-Migrative Art* – izlagala u okviru eksperimentalnog projekta/izložbe *Fikcija (jugoslavenskog) sjećanja* na katedri za političke znanosti briselskog Slobodnog sveučilišta (ULB) 2011. godine.

<sup>58</sup> Film *Qui sont devenus mes amis? (Što se dogodilo s mojim prijateljima?)*, scenarij: Ivana Momčilović, režija: Philippe de Pierpont, Belgija, Francuska, 1996., 56'

<sup>59</sup> Intervju s Ivanom Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>60</sup> Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, „Buržuji i proleteri“; „Proleteri i komunisti“, u: *Manifest komunističke partije*, Beograd, Kultura, 1963., 6–25.

<sup>61</sup> Intervju sa Z. Burićem – Kićom, travanj 2016., Zagreb, audioarhiva M. M.; intervju s I. Momčilović, siječanj 2016., Bruxelles; audioarhiva M. M.

<sup>62</sup> Isto.

<sup>63</sup> Kritika u belgijskim dnevnim novinama *Le Soir* povodom prikazivanja filma *Que sont mes amis devenus?* na prvom programu belgijske televizije; Dominique Legrand, *Le Soir*, 24–11. 1995.; [http://www.lesoir.be/archive/recup/%25252Fune-nouvelle-vie-va-commencer-lettres-video-a-ivana-dis\\_t-19951124-Z0AAYJ.html](http://www.lesoir.be/archive/recup/%25252Fune-nouvelle-vie-va-commencer-lettres-video-a-ivana-dis_t-19951124-Z0AAYJ.html) (pristupljeno 20. 10. 2017.)

<sup>64</sup> „Dragi moji, prolaze tri godine u nadi da će navodni narodnooslobodilački ratovi stati i donijeti nam toliko željenu slobodu. Polako shvaćam da postajem emigrant – onaj koji dolazi iz Trećeg svijeta jer ga je ponijela zlatna groznica i koji se zbog toga teško vraća. Kome ovdje objasniti da to nismo bili mi? Kao umirovljenik kojem se već sve dogodilo, sjećam se svega, sve sitnije. Mislim na vas, na nas. Posebno na našu transnacionalnost na koju smo nekada bili toliko ponosni, istovremeno žureći iz našeg nesvrstanog raja ka 'zapadu'. Danas kada su neki od nas zapali zapadu i kada je 'zapad došao' do starih krajeva... Pišite... Ivana. P. S. Novac i roba slobodno

circuliraju ovim svijetom, mi ne. Do kada? P. S. Za Kiću: Dragi moj, evo što mi se čini: politika je tvoje tijelo, biti u prostoru, biti na ulici, uvijek biti u pokretu. I organizacija. Organizacija snova. Vaša je grupa, vaše kazalište 80-ih u Jugoslaviji za mene to. Dobar život želi ti Ivana.“ Iz filma, glas naratora: I. Momčilović. Iz pisama I. M. u filmu *Qui sont devenus mes amis?*, bilj. 33.

<sup>65</sup> Nagrade i ostvarenja za film *Qui sont devenus mes amis?*, bilj., 33. <http://www.iotaproduction.com/realisateurs/profil.php?id=26> (pristupljeno 20. 10. 2017.)

<sup>66</sup> Terry Smith, *Savremena umetnost i savremenost*, Beograd, Orion art, 2014., 11.

<sup>67</sup> Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je jedan dio kuće u Bruxellesu u kojoj je radio i živio K. Marx jedno vrijeme bio pretvoren u umjetničku galeriju (također i za vrijeme akcije *Migrative Art*).

<sup>68</sup> O umjetničkim praksama tijekom 1990-ih vidi: Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relacijska estetika | Postprodukcija*, Zagreb, Muzeji suvremene umjetnosti, 2013., 203.

<sup>69</sup> Ješa Denegri, „Umetnička scena devedesetih: U očekivanju ukupne obnove“, u: *Hijatusi modernizma i postmodernizma. Jedna teorijska kontraverza*, Časopis Projekta(r)t, br. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Novi Sad, ožujak 2001., 194.

<sup>70</sup> Iz prepiske s I. Momčilović, studeni 2017., digitalna arhiva M. M.

<sup>71</sup> „In february – July 1994 it seems to me necessary to introduce art on the Western (Eastern) Universities.“ Dio *statementa* pisan je kaligrafskim perom, na memorandumu AGL-a (Assemblée Générale des Etudiant-e-s de Louvain), Generalne skupštine studenata i studentica Louvaina. Tekst je služio kao platforma za program umjetničkog/estetskog obrazovanja za studente Louvain-la-Neuvea, koji je 1994. godine na poziv Studentske skupštine i Rektorata ovog sveučilišnog grada ugostio I. Momčilović i kasnije B. Bakala na period od nekoliko mjeseci. Iz prepiske s I. Momčilović, studeni 2017., kao i arhivska snimka dokumenta, siječanj 2016.; digitalna i fotoarhiva M. M.

present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying. (...) And further: “Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. (...) All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.” Marx and Engels, *Manifesto* (as in n. 35).

<sup>57</sup> The term “fiction of memory” occurs in Rancièrea: “Il ne s'agit donc pas de conserver une mémoire, mais de la créer” Rancièrea, *La fable cinématographique* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 201. Cf. “Dokumentarna fikcija: Marker i fikcija sećanja” [Documentary fiction: The marker and fiction of memory], in: *Filmska fabula* (Belgrade: Klio, 2010). It was by reference to this term that a group of *Migrative Art* artists – who later formed *El-Migrative Art* – exhibited within the experimental project *Fiction of (Yugoslav) Memory* at the Chair of Political Sciences, Free University of Brussels (ULB) in 2011.

<sup>58</sup> Film *Qui sont devenus mes amis? (Što se dogodilo s mojim prijateljima?)*, script: Ivana Momčilović, directed by: Philippe de Pierpont, Belgium and France, 1996, 56'.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>60</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “Bourgeois and Proletarians” and “Proletarians and Communists” in: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/> (last accessed on October 20, 2017).

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Zlatko Burić – Kićo, April 2016, Zagreb (Audio-archive M. M.); interview with Ivana Momčilović, January 2016, Brussels (Audio-archive M. M.).

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>63</sup> Review of *Que sont mes amis devenus?* in the Belgian daily *Le Soir* after the film was shown on the first channel of the Belgian television; Dominique Legrand, *Le Soir* (November 24, 1995), [http://www.lesoir.be/archive/recup/%25252Fune-nouvelle-vie-va-commencer-lettres-video-a-ivana-dis\\_t-19951124-Z0AAYJ.html](http://www.lesoir.be/archive/recup/%25252Fune-nouvelle-vie-va-commencer-lettres-video-a-ivana-dis_t-19951124-Z0AAYJ.html) (last accessed on October 20, 2017).

<sup>64</sup> “Dear friends, three years have passed in hoping that the alleged liberation wars would end and bring us freedom that we long for. I am slowly realizing that I have

become an emigrant – like those coming from the Third World carried by the golden rush and thus slow in returning home. How shall we explain here that it was not us? Like a senior to whom everything has already happened, I remember everything, in ever more details. I am thinking of you, or us. Especially of our transnationality, which we were once so proud of, at the same time rushing from our unallied paradise to the ‘West’. Today, when some of us have ended up in the West and when ‘the West has come’ to the old country... Write... Ivana. P. S. Money and goods circulate freely in this world, we do not. How long still? P. S. For Kiću: Dear friend, here is what I think: politics is your body, being in space, being in the street, always being on the move. And organization. Organization of dreams. Your group, your theatre in the 1980s, in Yugoslavia, that is what it means to me. I wish you a good life, Ivana.” Narrator’s voice: Ivana Momčilović. From Ivana Momčilović’s letters, *Qui sont devenus mes amis?* (as in n. 33).

<sup>65</sup> Awards and distinctions for the film *Qui sont devenus mes amis?* (as in n. 33), <http://www.iotaproduction.com/realisateurs/profil.php?id=26> (last accessed on October 20, 2017).

<sup>66</sup> Terry Smith, *Contemporary Art: World Currents* (London: Laurence King, 2011).  
<sup>67</sup> It is interesting to note that a part of the house in Brussels where Marx used to live has been turned into an art gallery (also during the *Migrative Art* action).

<sup>68</sup> On art practices during the 1990s, see: Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (France: Presses du réel, 2010), 21ff.

<sup>69</sup> Ješa Denegri, “Umetnička scena devedesetih: U očekivanju ukupne obnove” [Art scene in the 1990s: In expectation of a total reform], in: *Hijatusi modernizma i postmodernizma. Jedna teorijska kontraverza*, Časopis Projekta(r)t 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (Novi Sad, March 2001), 194.

<sup>70</sup> Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017 (Digital Archive M. M.).

<sup>71</sup> Part of the statement was written with a calligraphy pen, on the memorandum paper of AGL (Assemblée Générale des Etudiant-e-s de Louvain). The text served as a platform for the programme of artistic/aesthetic education for the students of Louvain-la-Neuve, which in 1994 received Ivana Momčilović and then Boris Bakal for a period of several months, at the invitation of the Student Council and the Rector’s Office. Correspondence with Ivana Momčilović, November 2017, and the archival photo of the document, January 2016 (Digital and photo-archive M. M.).