

LJEVA MELANKOLIJA

PLJUNI ISTINI U OČI (A ZATIM BRZO ZATVORI OČI PRED ISTINOM)

Preputens
b
B.S. Paganje

o mrtve
smisla ne
postoji, ali
POTRAGA ZA
kijim ima
SMISLA - pronađi
smisla

GUBITAK

BEING TOGETHER "JAVNI PROSTOR"
TRAGANJE

BLAGO ~ ISTINA ~ FEARLESS SPEECH ~ SLOBODA

SKRIVENO (postoji li, gdje? u prošlosti, sad, buduć.)

2000 vrijeme - 1980.
- nakon smrti Tita
- "dekadentni socijalizam"

KOLEKTIVITET / SINGULARNOST

Ustav (povijest)
PROSTOR

učinci

DJELO / MISAO ~ Arendt (obrat) - moćnost
li misliti kao dekonstrukcija
thought-event, premostiti

svi pojmovi u "KOLEKTIVNO DJELO"

IVANA BAGO
ANTONIA MAJAČA

iskona -
unificirano kolektivno
tijelo > jedan program

PROGRAM
POTRAGA

SAD
Europa > identity politics
(program)

→ nemogućnost stvaranja alternative

② "ANARHIJA"
"Preparirani" -> oni koji
dopuštaju bit programa

① mogućnost > "alternativno";
kritičko djelovanje unutar već
postojec. programa >
samo-upravljanje
168. = pobune

- ind. geste
- totalni oblik

Zajedništva

Poetion

ERAT -> temelji se
na sl. post. kao
i društvo

G.S. autora -> nema manifesta - i oni
eruv. PERISTIL -> kasnije naratan

ant-pov. usmjerenje
je najopasnije

SPIT IN THE EYE OF TRUTH (THEN QUICKLY CLOSE YOUR EYES BEFORE IT)

"ovo"
GORGONA
↓
Coll. Actions

→ ART-ART, S-estis -> smogovima
PARRHESIA -> imenovane

*Dok sam bio student, ružio sam često,
Čitao Praxis, polemizirao vješto.
Anarhizam mi je bio u krvi – svi na barikade!
Sanjao sam kako vodim proletere mlade.
A danas, doktore, pomoz mi,
Teško mi je, vjeruj mi,
Što da radim bez akcije, po čitavi dan...*

Azra, '68 (1982.)

Po svemu sudeći, bezimena junak poznate rock-balade kulturne eksjugoslavenske grupe Azra pati od uznapredovale faze stanja koje je Walter Benjamin, pišući o njemačkom pjesniku Erichu Kästneru (1899.– 1974.), nazvao „melankolijom ljevice”. U tekstu *Resisting Left Melancholy* (čiji naslov odupiranje ovom “oboljenju” postavlja gotovo kao primarni cilj suvremene lijevo orijentirane misli i djelovanja), Wendy Brown Benjaminovu dijagnozu obrazlaže kao „jednoznačni epitet za revolucionarna-improvizatora koji je, u konačnici, više priklonjen određenoj političkoj analizi ili idealu – pa čak i propasti tog ideala – umjesto prepoznavanju mogućnosti za radikalnu promjenu u sadašnjosti”.¹ Nije riječ, nastavlja Brown, tek o nespremnosti, i, uopće, nedostatku potrebe za hvatanjem u koštac sa sadašnjim vremenom, nego i o svojevrsnom „narcizmu u odnosu na

TRAŽI BILO KAKAV NARATIV.
ANTI-NARATIV, NE-NARATIV,
PARA-NARATIV, POLU-NARATIV,
KVAZI-NARATIV, POST-NARATIV,
LOŠ NARATIV.

ALLAN MCCOLLUM, ALLEN
RUPPERSBERG: WHAT ONE
LOVES ABOUT LIFE ARE THE
THINGS THAT FADE

OGLASITE ZVONA,
OGLASITE TA ŽALOSNA ZVONA
SLOBODA JE DOŠLA I OTIŠLA.

RING THEM BELLS (FREEDOM HAS
COME AND GONE), THEE SILVER MT
ZION MEMORIAL ORCHESTRA &
TRA-LA-LA BAND, 2005.

vlastita politička opredjeljenja i identitete iz prošlosti”, što opet proizlazi iz same prirode melankolije koja privrženost izgubljenom objektu čini jačom od želje za oporavkom od tog gubitka. O kakvom je, međutim, gubitku riječ? Brown ga identificira prije svega kao neispunjenost obećanja ljevice da osigura pouzdan put do istine i pravde, u gubitku, mogli bismo reći, uvjerenja da je pronađen program i da je još jedino njegova realizacija upitna. Za melankoličnog junaka naše pjesme gubitak, čini se, počiva naprosto u nedostatku, tj. gubitku, „akcije”. Pjesmu je moguće čitati kao obračun jednog vremena s drugim, obračun „novog” vremena u kojem se autor stihova, pripadnik „novovalne”² generacije ranih i nabujalih 80-ih u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, Johnny Branimir Štulić, s podsmijehom razračunava sa sada već sredovječnim, među ostalim i seksualno nerealiziranim, šezdesetosmašem koji

*While I was a student, I had loads of fun
I read Praxis, debated with everyone
Anarchism was in my blood – to the barricades!
I dreamed that I would lead young proletarians.
And now, please doctor, help me
I find it so hard, believe me
What am I supposed to do the whole day, when there's no
action...*

Azra, '68 (1982)

All things considered, the anonymous hero of the famous rock-ballad, played by the legendary ex-Yugoslav band Azra, suffers from an advanced phase of a condition that Walter Benjamin, writing about the German poet Erich Kästner (1899-1974), defined as “left melancholy”. In her text *Resisting Left Melancholy* (whose very title suggests that resisting this “illness” should practically become the primary goal of contemporary leftist thought and action), Wendy Brown defines Benjamin’s diagnosis as an “unambivalent epithet for the revolutionary hack who is, finally, attached more to a particular political analysis or ideal – even to the failure of that ideal – than to seizing possibilities for radical change in the present.”¹ It is not only, Brown continues, a question of unwillingness or even a lack of any need to come to terms with the present, but also of “a certain narcissism with regard to one’s past political attachments

LOOK FOR NARRATIVE OF
ANY KIND. ANTI-NARRATIVE,
NON-NARRATIVE, PARA-
NARRATIVE, SEMI-NARRA-
TIVE, QUASI-NARRATIVE,
POST-NARRATIVE, BAD
NARRATIVE.

ALLAN MCCOLLUM, ALLEN
RUPPERSBERG: WHAT ONE
LOVES ABOUT LIFE ARE THE
THINGS THAT FADE

RING THEM BELLS
RING THEM SORROWFULL BELLS
NOW FREEDOM HAS COME AND GONE

“RING THEM BELLS (FREEDOM HAS
COME AND GONE)”, THEE SILVER MT
ZION MEMORIAL ORCHESTRA & TRA-
LA-LA BAND, 2005

and identity,” (which again originates in the very nature of melancholy) making the attachment to the object of one’s loss stronger than the willingness to recover from it. But wherein lies this loss? Brown identified it primarily as the failed promise of the Left to be able to offer a clear and certain path towards the right and the true; the loss, we might say, of a belief that the programme has been discovered and that the dubitable aspect is at best its realization.

For the melancholic hero of our song, the loss, as it seems, rests merely in the absence, i.e. loss of “action”. It is thus possible to interpret the song as a settling of accounts between two different historical periods, between the “new” era in which the author, Johnny Branimir Štulić, who belonged to the thriving New Wave generation from the early 80s in ex-Yugoslavia²,

NOVO VRIJEME

DRUGOVI!
 NAŠ RADNI ZADATAK
 U PRELAZNOJ BUDUĆNOSTI
 ČUVAJMO GRANICE MOGUĆNOSTI

DRUGOVI I DRUGARICE!
 NAŠA OBOSTRANA ŽELJA
 NAPRAVITI KORAK NAPRIJED
 U NOVOME SVJETLU
 2. POLUVRIJEME
 SNAŽNI MLADIĆI
 PREBACUJU SVJETSKI REKORD
 VISOKO
 VIŠE! PUNO VIŠE!
 PUNO VIŠE NEGO PRIJE RATA

NOVO VRIJEME. STARO STANJE
 NOVO VRIJEME ISTO SRANJE!

NOVO. NOVO. NOVO VRIJEME

DRUGOVI! (I DOMAĆICE)
 U POSTEPENOM PORASTU (PRAVO ZADOVOLJSTVO)
 U KRITIČNIM GODINAMA (MOŽE DONIJETI PROMJENE)
 OPET ĆEMO DOKAZATI (NEOTPORNOM ORGANIZMU)
 AKO BUDE TREBALO
 3 PUTA DNEVNO JEDNU
 ŽLIČICU UZ MALO VODE!

NOVO. NOVO. NOVO VRIJEME
 VRIJEME DANAS:
 DUBOKO PODRUČJE NISKOG ZRAČNOG PRITISKA.
 KOJE SE KREĆE OD ZAPADA PREMA URALU
 ZAHVATIT ĆE NOĆAS NAŠE KRAJEVE!

NOVO. NOVO. NOVO VRIJEME
 "NOVO VRIJEME, DRUGOVI, DONOSI SA SOBOM I NOVE ZADATKE!"
 (PODVUKAO JE NA KRAJU SVOG IZLAGANJA)

BULDOŽER, NOVO VRIJEME, 1980.

nije u stanju prepoznati, a kařmoli zajařiti novi val akcije. Umjesto učinkovite terapije, preostaje mu jedino placebo, u vidu obmanjujuće regresivne uspavanke: pripjeva koji priziva i ponavljanjem produbljuje lažnu nadu da će se „vratiti opet osam šezdeset”. Raslojavajući vrijeme na brojke i njima mjereći udaljenost od sadašnjosti do pojedinih trenutaka iz prošlosti, 2008. godine žaključili smo, između ostalog, i to da je od globalnih studentskih pobuna 1968-e prošlo četrdeset godina. Iz kojih smo se pozicija i pobuda pridruživali, odbijali ili naprosto smatrali irelevantnim pridružiti se obilježavanju te „godišnjice”? Jesmo li bliži nemoćnom, melankoličnom junaku spomenute pjesme, (zaljubljenom u vlastiti gubitak) ili ironičnoj, nadmoćnoj poziciji njezina autora? Tko smo, uostalom, ti zapitani, pretpostavljeni „mi”, s prvim licem množine koje se pojavljuje i u citiranom tekstu Wendy Brown i koje, u najmanju ruku nerealno, nepristojno, politički nekorektno i kolonizatorski, pretpostavlja ujedinjeni, homogeni subjekt? Ili je ta neoprezna pretpostavka tek još jedan simptom melankoličnog stanja – snivanja o izgubljenoj solidarnosti?

“P.S. se zanosi tajnom početnih godina; uspomena na nešto što je bilo a možda ni to.”³

U predgovoru svoje zbirke eseja obuhvaćenih nazivom *Between Past and Future* Hannah Arendt također govori o gubitku, ali na znatno drukčiji način. Polazeći od napisa francuskog pjesnika

IVANA
BAGO

ANTONIA
MAJACA

NEW TIMES¹

COMRADES!
 OUR MISSION
 IN THE TRANSITIONAL FUTURE
 IS TO GUARD THE BORDERS OF POSSIBILITIES
 COMRADES AND COMRADESSES!
 OUR COMMON WISH
 IS TO MAKE A STEP AHEAD
 IN A NEW LIGHT
 2ND HALF
 STRONG YOUNG MEN
 ARE BEATING THE WORLD RECORD
 HIGH
 HIGER! EVEN HIGHER!
 MUCH HIGHER THAN BEFORE THE WAR

NEW TIMES. OLD STATE.
 NEW TIMES. SAME CRAP!

NEW, NEW, NEW TIMES
 COMRADES! (AND HOUSEWIVES)
 IN A GRADUAL INCREASE (A TRUE PLEASURE)
 IN CRITICAL YEARS (IT CAN BRING ABOUT CHANGES)

WE WILL PROVE ONCE AGAIN (TO THE NON-RESISTANT ORGANISM)
 IF NECESSARY
 3 TIMES A DAY ONE
 SMALL SPOON WITH A DROP OF WATER

NEW, NEW, NEW TIMES
 THE WEATHER IN THE TIME OF TODAY A DEEP AREA OF LOW AIR
 PRESSURE
 MOVING FROM THE WEST TOWARDS THE URAL MOUNTAINS
 WILL REACH TONIGHT OUR REGION!
 NEW, NEW, NEW TIMES “NEW TIMES, COMRADES, SEEK ALSO
 COMMITMENT TO NEW TASKS!
 (HE POINTED OUT, CONCLUDING HIS SPEECH)

BULDOŽER, NOVO VRIJEME (NEW TIMES), 1980

¹TRANSLATION OF A 1980 SONG BY BULDOŽER

mocks the now middle-aged and, among other things, sexually frustrated sixty-eightier, who is incapable of recognizing the new wave of action, much less riding along with it. Instead of effective therapy, he is left with a placebo: a deceptive and regressive lullaby in the form of a refrain that evokes and, by repetition, deepens the false hope that “sixty + eight will come back again.”

Dissecting time into numbers and measuring the distance between the present and certain moments of the past, we observed, among other things, that in 2008 we were forty years away from the global student protests of 1968. What positions and intentions have we adopted in joining or rejecting this “anniversary”, or simply marking it as irrelevant? Are we closer to the powerless, melancholic hero of the song (who is in love with his own loss) or the sarcastic, superior position of its author? And who are the professed “we”, posing the question, with the first person plural that also appears in the above-quoted text by Wendy Brown and that, to say the least, unrealistically, rudely, in a politically incorrect and colonizing manner, presupposes a unified and homogeneous subject? Or is that heedless assumption simply another symptom of the melancholic condition – dreaming about some lost solidarity?

“P.S. is intoxicated by the secret of the early years; the memories of something that used to be and perhaps not even that.”³

In the preface to the collection of essays published under the title *Between Past and Future*, Hannah Arendt also writes about loss, but in a significantly different manner. Starting from the writing of the

PO ČEMU ĆE SE U KOLEKTIVNOJ BESVJESTI PAMTITI 2008.-A? U ZAGREBU, PO "HVATANJU U KOŠTAC" S ORGANIZIRANIM KRIMINALOM? U REGIJI KAO GODINA KADA JE KOSOVO DOBILLO NEZAVISNOST I KADA JE UHIĆEN RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ, T.J. DR. DABIĆ? INTERNACIONALNO KAO GODINA U KOJOJ SU S PRIJESTOLJA SIŠLI FIDEL CASTRO U KUBI I GEORGE W. BUSH U AMERICI? HOĆE LI 2008. GODINA OSTATI ZAPAMĆENA PO OLIMPIJSKIM IGRAMA U KINI, KOJE ĆE MOŽDA ZASJENITI RAT U JUŽNOJ OSETIJI? ČINI SE IPAK DA JE ONO PO ČEMU ĆEMO PAMTITI 2008. ZAPOČELO VEĆ U SJJEČNJU ISTE GODINE, PROBIJANJEM ONOGA ŠTO ZOVU "PSIHOLOŠKOM BARIJEROM" OD 100 USD ZA BAREL NAFTE. POVJESNICARI NAJAVLJUJU KRAJ JEDNE ERE

OBIKLJEŽENE ERUPCIJOM GLOBALNOG SLOBODNOG TRŽIŠTA KOJEGA JE, KAO ŠTO I BROKERI NA WALL STREET-U ZNAJU, PREDVIDIO SAM KARL MARX. SITUACIJA 2008., ČINI SE, NAPROSTO JOŠ JEDANPUT POTVRĐUJE NJEGOVE TEZE DA GLOBALNI KAPITALIZAM MOŽE FUNKCIONIRATI JEDINO U UVJETIMA STALNE NESTABILNOSTI, KAO SERIJA KRIZA. ONO ŠTO JE, MEĐUTIM, RAZLIKOVALO RAZDOBLJE PRIJE DRUGOG SVJETSKOG RATA OD SADAŠNJEGA JE ČINJENICA DA JE U TO VRIJEME POSTOJALA LJEVICA, KOJA JE DANAS NA POLITIČKOJ MARGINI. RADIKALNA DESNICA PAK FUNKCIONIRA KAO INSTRUMENT ZA NEGATIVNU LEGITIMACIJU, ČINEĆI SVE LIBERALNE OPCIJAMA, TZV. "MANJIM ZLOM".

Sumić

Ovo je onaj objekt u Kino klubu što je Pave radio od nekih plastičnih komada. Ili je snimljeno nešto slično tome. Možda je neka refleksija. Ili je to nešto drugo, nije mi baš jasno.

SL.1 / VIDI BILJEŠKU 5.

ILL.1 / SEE FOOTNOTE 5.

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

SUMIĆ

THIS IS THE OBJECT IN THE CINEMA CLUB WHICH PAVE MADE OUT OF SOME PLASTIC PIECES. OR THE PHOTO'S SHOWING SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THAT. MAYBE IT'S A REFLECTION OF SOME SORT. OR IS IT SOMETHING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT - IT'S NOT QUITE CLEAR TO ME.

IN THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUSNESS, WHAT WILL 2008 BE REMEMBERED BY? IN ZAGREB, AS A YEAR OF "CONFRONTING AND DEALING WITH" ORGANIZED CRIME? IN THE REGION AS A YEAR WHEN KOSOVO WON INDEPENDENCE AND WHEN RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ, I.E. DR DABIĆ, WAS ARRESTED? INTERNATIONALLY, AS A YEAR WHEN FIDEL CASTRO LEFT THE THRONE IN CUBA AND GEORGE W. BUSH IN AMERICA? WILL 2008 BE REMEMBERED BY THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN CHINA, WHICH WILL MAYBE OVERSHADOW THE WAR IN SOUTH OSETIA? IT SEEMS THAT THE ONE THING WE WILL REMEMBER 2008 BY STARTED ALREADY IN JANUARY OF THE SAME YEAR, BY BREAKING THROUGH THE SO-CALLED PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIER OF \$100 PER BARREL

OIL. HISTORIANS PREDICT AN END TO AN ERA MARKED BY THE GLOBAL ERRUPTION OF FREE MARKET WHICH, AS EVEN BROKERS ON WALL STREET KNOW VERY WELL, WAS PREDICTED BY KARL MARX HIMSELF. IT SEEMS THAT THE SITUATION IN 2008 ONCE MORE CONFIRMS HIS THESES THAT GLOBAL CAPITALISM CAN FUNCTION ONLY AS A SERIES OF CRISES. WHAT DISTINGUISHED THE PERIOD BEFORE THE WORLD WAR II FROM TODAY IS THE FACT THAT AT THAT TIME THE LEFT EXISTED AND IS NOW AT POLITICAL MARGINS. RADICAL RIGHT, HOWEVER, FUNCTIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR NEGATIVE LEGITIMIZATION, MAKING ALL LIBERAL OPTIONS INTO SEEMINGLY BETTER OPTIONS, THE SO-CALLED "LESSER EVIL".

René Chara, nastalih za vrijeme njegova sudjelovanja u francuskom pokretu otpora, ona poimanje gubitka (također) poetizira govoreći o „izgubljenom blagu revolucija”.⁴ Međutim, za razliku od Brown koja se usmjerava na konkretnu političku orijentaciju i gubitak njezina „obećanja”, Arendt blago revolucija pronalazi upravo u onom nedokučivom, bezimеноm, onom što pripada sferi zgsunutog iskustva, koje je moguće samo živjeti, ali nikako definirati ili prenijeti budućim pokoljenjima – čak ni u obliku imena, a kamoli usustavljenog programa djelovanja. Paradoksalno, čini se da je upravo onima koji su ga živjeli ono sada najneuhvatljivije i „najbezimenije”.⁵ U zapisima o kojima piše Arendt, Char predskazuje nadolazeći gubitak svog „blaga” – intenzivnog, osjetilnog, iskustvenog, na neki način bazičnoga stanja u kojem se zatekao kao pripadnik pokreta otpora: „Ako preživim, znam da ću se morati rasti s aromom ovih esencijalnih godina, te potiho odbaciti (ne potisnuti) moje blago.”⁶ Revolucionarna borba ili možda revolucionarno stanje subjekta se, kroz Charove zapise i Arendtinu interpretaciju, postavlja tako ne kao obećanje novog početka, već kao slutnja gubitka usred iznenadnog bljeska trenutka doživljene istine – čak ako je taj bljesak i bio samo privid. Char to opisuje kao stanje krajnje ogoljenosti subjekta od svega suvišnog, od svih maski, od neiskrenosti. To je stanje u kojem se subjekt konačno istodobno pronalazi i nadilazi svoju pojedinačnost, u kojem okončava „potragu [za samim sobom] ne kroz ovladavanje vještinama, već u goljoj nezadovoljenosti.”⁷

French poet René Char from the period of his engagement in the French resistance movement, she (likewise) poeticises the notion of loss by speaking of the “lost treasure of the revolutions”.⁴ However, unlike Brown, who focuses on a specific political orientation and the loss of its “promise”, Arendt finds the treasure of the revolutions precisely in that elusive, nameless entity that belongs to the sphere of concentrated experience, which can be only lived, but can not be defined or passed on to future generations – not even as a name, much less as a structured programme for action. Paradoxically, it is exactly those who have lived it that now find it to be the most “nameless” and elusive.⁵ In the writings to which Arendt refers, Char predicted the coming loss of his “treasure” – an intense, sensual, experiential, in a way fundamental state in which he found himself as a member of the resistance movement: “If I survive, I know that I shall have to break with the aroma of these essential years, silently reject (not repress) my treasure.”⁶ Revolutionary struggle, or perhaps the revolutionary state of a subject, is put forward, both in Char’s writing and in Arendt’s interpretation, not as the promise of a new beginning, but as a sense of loss in the midst of a sudden, flashing moment of experienced truth – even if that flash was only an apparition. Char described it as a state of extreme nakedness of the subject, as being stripped of all that was superfluous, of all masks or insincerities. It is a state in which the subject finally encounters himself and at the same time surpasses his individuality, in which he thus ceases to be “in quest of [himself] without mastery, in naked unsatisfaction.”⁷

Čak i u takvom trenutku pronalaska, koincidencije sa samim sobom, ne postiže se sloboda, ona je tada možda na najmanjoj mogućoj razdaljini, ali i dalje je tek privid: „Prilikom svakog zajedničkog objeda, sloboda je pozvana da nam se pridruži. Stolac ostaje prazan, ali mjesto je pripremljeno.”⁸ Za Arendt, preduvjet nagovještaja slobode ovdje ne podrazumijeva oslobođenje od neprijateljske tiranije, nego začetak stvaranja zajedničkog, „javnog” prostora među pripadnicima pokreta.

Kolektivno djelo

KRITIČKO-RACIONALNI PRISTUP

Kolektivno djelo je sušta suprotnost onom nastojanju kojim smo neprestano obuzeti kao pojedinci: afirmacija ličnosti, koja se potvrđuje i ostvaruje u svom individualnom djelu. Svjedoči o svojoj sudbini, jer i ne može o tuđoj, ako ne želi rizik neistine i iskonstruiranosti. Da li ipak želim kolektivno djelo?

Kolektivno djelo

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Da li ipak želim Kolektivno djelo ?

Želim.

Da li je Kolektivno djelo moguće?

Pretpostavljam da je potreban zajednički cilj, zatim podudarnost misli i volje. Srodnost osjećanja. I neko, barem minimalno, zajedničko oduševljenje. Za "konstruktivno" Kolektivno djelo potreban je svakako još i određen zajednički program rada.

GORGONSKI PRISTUP

Prvi projekt

– Kolektivno djelo šulja se potajno između naših ruku i ulazi kriomice kroz vrata Širinog salona. U velikoj tajnosti pribire svoje dijelove, skuplja svoje komade u nerazgovjetnu cjelinu punu određenog smisla. Noću se nehotice rasipa i ponovo traži, jer još ne poznaje svoju kolektivnu suštinu. Nekoliko dana spava vrlo nemirno, sanja nesuvisle slike, i preobrazava se postepeno u završeno djelo. (Šira još o svemu nezna ništa.) Pred samo otvorenje pokušava da pobjegne, ali Šira, koji je u međuvremenu nešto saznao, zaključava salon. Na dan otvorenja Kolektivno djelo je vrlo smužđeno i blijedo, gotovo nevidljivo, vrlo nehomogeno, jedva postoji. Od posjetilaca nitko na njega ne obraća pažnju, iako su svi vrlo dobro raspoloženi. – Slijedećih dana Kolektivno djelo izjeda tajna bolest, potpuno gubi pamćenje, i kopni kao komad snijega na ulici. Prilikom zatvaranja izložbe konstatira se da više i ne postoji. Ostaje samo mala mlaka neodređene tekućine u jednom uglu salona. Slave se karmine.

Drugi projekt

Kolektivno djelo ostvaruje se na ovaj način:

Prvog dana ulazi u salon prvi Gorgonaš (redosljed je po abecednom redu

ODGOVOR ĐURE SEDERA NA UPIT JE LI MOGUĆE NAPRAVITI KOLEKTIVNO DJELO, 1963.

DURO SEDER'S RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE A COLLECTIVE WORK, 1963

THE COLLECTIVE WORK

CRITICAL - RATIONAL APPROACH

THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS THE COMPLETE OPPOSITE OF THE EFFORTS WE ARE CONSTANTLY MAKING AS INDIVIDUALS: TO AFFIRM THE PERSON, WHO IS CONFIRMED AND REALISED IN THE INDIVIDUAL WORK. THE INDIVIDUAL TESTIFIES TO HIS/HER DESTINY. BECAUSE HE/SHE CAN NOT TESTIFY TO SOMEONE ELSE'S WITHOUT TO BE UNTRUTHFUL AND ARTIFICIAL. DO I DESIRE A COLLECTIVE WORK ALL THE SAME? I DO.

IS A COLLECTIVE WORK POSSIBLE?

I SUPPOSE THAT IT WOULD NEED A COMMON GOAL, AND EQUALITY OF THOUGHT AND WILL. KINDERED FEELINGS. AND SOME, AT LEAST MINIMAL, COMMON ENTHUSIASM. A 'CONSTRUCTIVE' COLLECTIVE WORK CERTAINLY ALSO DEMANDS A CERTAIN COMMON PROGRAM OF THE WORK.

GORGONIAN APPROACH

FIRST PROJECT

A COLLECTIVE WORK IS SECRETLY CREEPING BETWEEN OUR HANDS AND FUTELY ENTERING THROUGH THE DOOR OF THE ŠIRA'S SALON. IT IS ASSEMBLING ITS PARTS INN GREAT SECRECY, GATHERING THE PIECES INTO AN INDISTINCT WHOLE FULL OF A CERTAIN KIND OF MEANING. AT NIGHT IT INADVERTEDLY FALLS APART AND LOOKS FOR ITSELF AGAIN, BECAUSE IT DOES NOT YET KNOW ITS COLLECTIVE ESSENCE. FOR SEVERAL DAYS IT SLEEPS RESTLESSLY, DREAMS UNCONNECTED PICTURES, AND GRADUALLY IT TRANSFORMS ITSELF INTO A FINISHED WORK. (ŠIRA STILL KNOWS NOTHING ABOUT IT.) JUST BEFORE THE OPENING IT TRIES TO RUN AWAY,

BUT ŠIRA, WHO HAS IN THE MEANTIME FOUND SOMETHING OUT, LOCKS THE SALON. ON THE OPENING DAY THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS VERY DOWNCAST AND PALE, ALMOST INVISIBLE, VERY INHOMOGENEOUS, IT HARDLY EXISTS. NONE OF THE VISITORS PAY ANY ATTENTION TO IT ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ALL IN VERY GOOD SPIRITS. DURING THE FOLLOWING DAYS THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS DEVoured BY A SECRET ILLNESS, IT SUFFERS COMPLETE MEMORY LOSS AND MELTS AWAY LIKE A PIECE OF SNOW IN THE STREET. WHEN THE EXHIBITION CLOSES IT IS SEEN

NOT TO EXIST ANY LONGER. ALL THAT REMAINS IS A SMALL POOL OF LIQUID IN ONE CORNER OF THE SALON. THE WAKE IS CELEBRATED.

SECOND PROJECT

THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS PRODUCED AS FOLLOWS. ON THE FIRST DAY THE FIRST GORGONIAN ENTERS THE SALON (THEY COME IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER OR ELSE LOTS ARE CAST) AND STARTS THE COLLECTIVE WORK.

IVANA BAGO

ANTONIA MAJACA

Želim.

Da li je Kolektivno djelo moguće?

Pretpostavljam da je potreban zajednički cilj, zatim podudarnost misli i volje. Srodnost osjećanja. I neko, barem minimalno, zajedničko oduševljenje. Za „konstruktivno“ Kolektivno djelo potreban je svakako još i određen zajednički program rada.

U navedenom kratkom tekstu susrećemo neke od ključnih pojmova koji nam rastvaraju niše asocijativnog čitanja cijelog

jednog razdoblja, njegove atmosfere i (neostvarivosti) njegova transformativnog potencijala: kolektivitet, pojedinac, istina, neistina, potraga, misao, djelo, prisutnost ili odsutnost programa. Tekst je izvadak iz jedne u nizu „domaćih zadaća“ koje su međusobno izmjenjivali pripadnici zagrebačke umjetničke grupe Gorgona⁹. U ovom slučaju, zadatak svim članovima grupe bio je odgovoriti na pitanje: je li moguće načiniti kolektivno djelo? Odgovarajući na to pitanje Đuro Seder razmatra „kritičko-racionalni pristup“

Ili se baca kocka) i započinje Kolektivno djelo.

Drugog dana ulazi drugi Gorgonaš i nastavlja kolektivno djelo.

Trećeg dana ulazi treći Gorgonaš po istom poslu.

Četvrtog dana četvrti Gorgonaš kreira Kolektivno djelo.

Petoga dana peti, a šestoga šesti Gorgonaš.

Sedmoga dana sedmi Gorgonaš.

Slijedeća tri dana rezervirana su za eventualne nepoznate Gorgonaše, koji bi možda željeli sudjelovati.

Nakon toga je Kolektivno djelo gotovo.

Bitna je u ovom projektu zajamčena tajnost. Naime, da ni jedan od Gorgonaša koji slijedi, nema pojma o onome što je prethodnik napravio. Dozvoljena je apsolutna sloboda kreiranja.¹

Na dan otvorenja Kolektivno djelo zapanjuje svoje stvaraocce i publiku. Šira je očajan.

Treći projekt

Kolektivno djelo je naručeno u nepoznatoj radionici i gospodična tajnica izvještava da je gotovo. Na dan otvorenja svi Gorgonaši uz pomoć Nikole unose Kolektivno djelo oprezno u salon. Pozivnice su razaslane i Mikac je već podijelio plakate. U zadnji čas konstatira se s užasom, da je kolektivno djelo preveliko i ne može se unijeti kroz vrata. U općoj konsternaciji prisutnih autora i uzvanika, u gužvi zastoja saobraćaja izazvanog Kolektivnim djelom, pada odluka da se izložba Kolektivnog djela odgađja.

Četvrti projekt

Kolektivno djelo je završeno. Izložba je već davno održana i prelazi se na razmatranje mogućnosti drugih važnih pothvata.

VIZIJE

Kolektivno djelo nema lica.

Kolektivno djelo nezna govoriti.

Kolektivno djelo ne poznaje svoj početak, ima samo kraj.

Kolektivno djelo se ne može predvidjeti kao forma, samo kao nastojanje.

Konačni izgled Kolektivnog djela nije uopće važan.

D. SEDER



FOTO-POZIRANJE NA SAMOSTALNOJ IZLOŽBI JULIJA KNIFERA U GALERJI SUVREMENE UMJETNOSTI U ZAGREBU (FOTOGRAFIJA: BRANKO BALIĆ), 1966.

PHOTO-SESSION AT JULIJE KNIFER'S SOLO EXHIBITION AT GALLERY OF CONTEMPORARY ART IN ZAGREB (PHOTO: BRANKO BALIĆ), 1966

THIRD PROJECT

THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS COMMISSIONED IN AN UNKNOWN WORKSHOP AND THE YOUNG WHO IS SECRETARY THERE SENDS WORD THAT IT IS FINISHED. ON THE OPENING DAY ALL THE GORGONIAN WITH THE HELP OF NIKOLA, CAREFULLY BRING THE COLLECTIVE WORK INTO THE SALON. THE INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN SENT AND MIKAC HAS ALREADY HANDED OUT THE POSTERS. AT THE LAST MOMENT THEY DISCOVER, TO THEIR HORROR, THAT THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS TOO BIG TO BE BROUGHT IN THROUGH THE DOOR. DURING GENERAL CONSTERNATION AMONG THE AUTHORS AND THE GUESTS, IN THE TRAFFIC JAM CAUSED BY THE COLLECTIVE WORK, IT IS DECIDED TO PUT THE EXHIBITION OFF.

FOURTH PROJECT

THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS FINISHED. THE EXHIBITION WAS HELD LONG AGO AND WE MOVE ON TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITIES OF OTHER IMPORTANT UNDERTAKINGS.

VISIONS

THE COLLECTIVE WORK HAS NO FACE.
THE COLLECTIVE WORK CAN NOT SPEAK.
THE COLLECTIVE WORK DOES NOT KNOW ITS BEGINNING, IT ONLY HAS AN END.
THE COLLECTIVE WORK CANNOT BE FORESEEN AS A FORM, ONLY AS AN EFFORT.
THE FINAL APPEARANCE OF THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS OF NO CONSEQUENCE AT ALL.

D. SEDER

PLIJNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

ON THE SECOND DAY THE SECOND GORGONIAN ENTERS AND CONTINUES THE COLLECTIVE WORK.
ON THE THIRD DAY THE THIRD GORGONIAN ENTERS AND DOES THE SAME.
ON THE FOURTH DAY THE FOURTH GORGONIAN CREATES THE COLLECTIVE WORK.
ON THE FIFTH DAY THE FIFTH, AND ON THE SIXTHS DAY THE SIXTH GORGONIAN WORKS.
ON THE SEVENTH DAY THE SEVENTH GORGONIAN.

THE NEXT THREE DAYS ARE RESERVED FOR GORGONIAN WHO MAY BE UNKNOWN AND WHO MAY WANT TO PARTICIPATE. AFTER THIS THE COLLECTIVE WORK IS FINISHED. A GUARANTEE OF SECRECY IS ESSENTIAL IN THIS PROJECT. NONE OF THE GORGONIAN HAVE ANY IDEA OF WHAT THEIR PREDECESSORS DID. ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS ALLOWED.
ON THE OPENING DAY THE COLLECTIVE WORK AMAZES ITS CREATORS AND THE PUBLIC. ŠIRA IS DESPERATE.

ideji kolektivnog djela da bi mu, u nastavku teksta, suprotstavio „gorgonski pristup”, koji se prethodnim zdravo-konstruktivnim postavkama istodobno izruguje ali na neki način i čezne za njima. Blagonaklono se smije gotovo djetinjoj naivnosti vjerovanja da je, pod pretpostavkom da su svi uvjeti zadovoljeni i sve pripreme obavljene, moguće ostvariti zadani cilj. Unatoč tome, upušta se u avanturu igre pokušaja i promašaja, traženja ulaznih punktova, obilazeći s različitih strana mogućnost ostvarenja „nemogućeg projekta”. U četiri ponuđena nacrtu za kolektivno djelo, svaki put nešto pođe po zlu, i to na vrlo različite načine: u prvom je ono nevidljivo, u drugom nije ostvareno kolektivno, u trećem je njegov oblik neodgovarajući prostoru/instituciji koja ga pokazuje, dok u četvrtom samo djelo postaje redundantno i nepotrebno... Ono što povezuje sve navedene primjere je nekompatibilnost institucija i sustava — čiji je predstavnik ovdje Šira, vlasnik uramljivačkog salona koji je Gorgona unajmljivala za izložbe — i utopijske ideje poput „Kolektivnog djela”: ono postoji sve dok se ne počne materijalizirati u konkretnim prostorno-vremenskim uvjetima.

KAKO U POTPUNOSTI NESTATI?¹

GODINE 1969., STUDENTIMA KLASJE DAVIDA ASKEVOLDA NA NOVA SCOTIA COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN (NSCAD) U HALIFAXU U KANADI, UMJETNIK ROBERT BARRY ŠALJE TELEFAKSONOM JEDNOSTAVNU INSTRUKCIJU ZA IZVEDBU GRUPNOG RADA: STUDENTI TREBAJU OSMISLITI ZAJEDNIČKU IDEJU O KOJOJ NE SMIJU NIKOME IZVAN SKUPINE NIŠTA REĆI. RAD ČE POSTOJATI SVE DOK IDEJA OSTANE TAJNA, SKRIVENA UNUTAR GRUPE. AKO NETKO ODA TAJNU, RAD PRESTAJE POSTOJATI.

¹ «How to Disappear Completely», naziv pjesme na albumu *Kid A* (2000) grupe Radiohead

Više akcije! Manje suza!¹⁰

Uspostavljanjem narativa o otklonu kojega podrazumijeva specifični „gorgonski” pristup, moguće je uspostaviti i temeljne odrednice djelovanja grupe ili po riječima Dimitrija Bašičevića Mangelosa – “gorgonašenja”. Premda Mangelos, pišući Moskovski manifest 1977. godine, povodom Gorgonine „posthumne” izložbe¹¹, ovaj naziv koristi s dozom ironije, proglašavajući istodobno smrt Gorgone i smrt umjetnosti, on će nam ipak poslužiti kako bismo se, barem ovdje, otrgli beznađu imenovanja i kako

BORIM SE S TEKSTOM! PROŠLI SU SATI, A JOŠ SAM U CRTICAMA, NAZNAKAMA? PROLAZEĆI KROZ NJIH, SVE MI SE ČINI MOGUĆE, ZAPISUJEM NA MARGINAMA, POBJEDONOSNO STAVLJAM USKLIČNIKE! ČINI MI SE DA JE PROBLEM UPRAVO U TOM DA SE NE MOGU PREPUSTITI EKSPERIMENTU, DA NEPRESTANO MISLIM DA TREBA POSTOJATI PLAN, PROGRAM DJELOVANJA, PROGRAM PISANJA, A TO JE UPRAVO ONO PROTIV ČEGA “USTAJEMO” U OVOM TEKSTU, PROTIV PROGRAMA PISANJA I PROGRAMA KAO TAKVOG, PROTIV NJEGOVE NEMOGUĆNOSTI DA DOTAKNE ISTINU. MOŽDA ZATO JER JE ODLUKA O EKSPERIMENTU IPAK ODLUKA? JER JE I ONA NEKI PROGRAM? BOJIM SE, JER ZNAM DA, KAD JEDNOM KRENEM, MORAM NASTAVITI; DA SVAKA RIJEČ VODI DRUGOJ, SVAKO SLOVO ZAREZU, SVAKA TOČKA RAZMAKU. A RAZMAK MEĐUPROSTORU U KOJEM SE NEMA ŠTO VIŠE REĆI. ILI NE ŽELI.

² “Moraš jednom i pucat, ne mo’š samo dodavat.” Slaven Bilić, izbornik hrvatske nogometne reprezentacije

“KOKETNI, ČAK I VESELI NIHILIZAM. PREPOZNAJE SE DA SE NEMA ŠTO REĆI, NO UNATOČ TOME, NASTAVLJA SE GOVORITI. OTKRIČEM DA SE NEMA ŠTO REĆI, TRAJI SE NAČIN DA SE ONDA KAŽE TO.” SUSAN SONTAG, *THE AESTHETICS OF SILENCE*

Even in such moment of discovery, of coincidence with oneself, one does not achieve freedom; it is perhaps at the least possible distance, but even so remains an apparition: “At every meal that we eat together, freedom is invited to sit down. The chair remains vacant, but the place is set.”⁸ For Arendt, a precondition for the proposition of freedom does not entail liberation from hostile tyranny, but the beginning of creating a common, “public” space among the members of the movement.

Collective work

CRITICAL-RATIONAL APPROACH

The Collective Work is the complete opposite of the efforts we are constantly making as individuals: to affirm the person, who is confirmed and realised in the individual work. The individual testifies to his/her destiny. Because he/she can not testify to someone else's without to be untruthful and artificial.

Do I desire a Collective Work all the same?

I do.

Is a Collective Work possible?

I suppose that it would need a common goal, and equality of thought and will. Kindered feelings. And some, at least minimal, common enthusiasm. A ‘constructive’ Collective work certainly also demands a certain common program of the work.

This short text lists some of the crucial concepts that open up niches of associative reading of an entire era, its atmosphere and its (unrealizable) transformative potential: collectivity,

individual, truth, fallacy, quest, thought, work, presence or absence of a programme. It is an excerpt from one of the “homeworks” that members of the Zagreb art group Gorgona⁹ used to exchange. In this case, the task for all group members was to answer the following question: Is it possible to make a collective work? In his answer, Đuro Seder considered the “critical-rational approach” to the idea of collective work, only to oppose it later in his text through the “Gorgonic approach,” which mocked the preceding commonsensical and constructive premises, though in a way longing for them as well. The “Gorgonic approach” benignly laughs at the almost childish naïveté of belief that, if all conditions are met and all preparations done, it is possible to realize the intended goal. Despite that, it plunges into the adventure of trials and errors, of seeking entry points, circling around the possibility of realizing the “impossible project,” and looking at it from various sides. In four suggested plans for collective work, each time something goes wrong, and in very different ways: first it is invisible, then it hasn’t been achieved collectively, in the third case its form does not correspond to the space/institution that presents it, in the fourth the very work becomes redundant and useless... What links all the examples is the incompatibility of institutions and the system (represented here by Šira, the owner of the frame shop that Gorgona rented for exhibitions) and the utopian idea, such as the “Collective Work”: it exists only until it begins to materialize in specific spatial and temporal circumstances.

bismo se, u čast Gorgone, distancirali od blasfemičnog učinka nazivanja Gorgonina — „gorgonašenja”? — djelovanjem. Izričući nešto, neminovno se otvara prostor za njegovu negaciju, za poziciju oponiranja koja nam se, naviknutima razmišljati u dihotomijama, ukazuje. Je li „misao” odgovarajući suprotni pol djelovanju, nužan kako bi se zatvorio ovaj dihotomijski par? Kao što povijest revolucija sažimlje pričom o davno izgubljenom blagu koje se, s vremena na vrijeme, iznenada pojavljuje pa opet nestaje, tako i intelektualnu povijest 20. stoljeća Arendt interpretira kao dvostruko ponovljeno okretanje izmjeničnih faza „misli” i „akcije” („thought” i „action”). Uslijed krize metafizike koja više nije u stanju ni postaviti prava pitanja, a kamoli ponuditi odgovore, generacija egzistencijalista s početka 20. stoljeća utočište pronalazi u obratu k akciji. S druge strane,

„KNJIŽEVNOST, ZAKLJUČIO JE SARTRE, FUNKCIONIRA KAO BURŽUJSKA ZAMJENA ZA STVARNI ANGAŽMAN U SVIJETU.”
([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/JEAN-PAUL_SARTRE](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Paul_Sartre))

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

generacija René Chara, nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, tijekom kojega je prisiljena na djelovanje, okreće se ponovno polju misli, potrebi promišljanja neposredne prošlosti. Arendt svoju knjigu obavljuje 1961., dakle prije nego što je mogla svjedočiti svjetskim zbivanjima 1968., još jednom obratu iz „misli” u akciju. Niti Gorgona, koja svoje djelovanje kao grupa završava 1966., još nije usred tog obrata. Ona tek iscrtava putanju „gorgonašenja”, stalno iscrtavanje mogućeg „odmaka”, putanju koju ćemo kasnije slijediti kroz zbivanja na lokalnoj umjetničkoj sceni koncertom šezdesetih i tijekom sedamdesetih.

„Gorgona ponekad nije radila ništa, samo je živjela.”¹²

Gorgona živi početkom šezdesetih godina, u doba, još uvijek vrhunca, projekta izgradnje jugoslavenskog samoupravnog

“PRIJE NEGO ŠTO NAPIŠEM PJESMU,
MORAM POKUPITI SMEČE U SVOJOJ ULICI.”
(VLADO MARTEK)

MOGUĆE VARIJACIJE NA MARTEKA:
PRIJE NEGO ŠTO NAPIŠEM PJESMU,
MORAM POKUPITI SMEČE U SVOJOJ ULICI.
PRIJE NEGO ŠTO NAPIŠEM PJESMU,
MORAM POKUPITI SMEČE U SVOJOJ UMJETNOSTI.
PRIJE NEGO ŠTO NAPIŠEM PJESMU,
MORAM POKUPITI UMJETNOST U SVOM SMEČU.
PRIJE NEGO ŠTO NAPIŠEM PJESMU,
MORAM NEODLOŽIVO ODGODITI ODGAĐANJE.

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

More Action! Less Tears!¹⁰

By establishing a narrative of deviation, implied by the peculiar “Gorgonic” approach, it is possible to establish the basic determinants of the group’s activity or, to use the term of Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos – “Gorgonizing”. Even though Mangelos, writing his *Moscow Manifesto* in 1977, on the occasion of Gorgona’s “posthumous” exhibition¹¹, used this term with a touch of irony, proclaiming both Gorgona’s death and the death of art, it may still help us to, at least here, resist the helplessness of naming and honour Gorgona by distancing ourselves from the blasphemous effect of calling Gorgona’s — “Gorgonizing”? — an activity.

“HOW TO DISAPPEAR COMPLETELY?” IN 1969 THE ARTIST ROBERT BARRY FAXED A SIMPLE INSTRUCTION FOR MAKING A COLLABORATIVE WORK, AS AN ASSIGNMENT FOR THE STUDENTS OF DAVID ASKEVOLD’S CLASS AT NOVA SCOTIA COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN (NSCAD) IN HALIFAX, CANADA. ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTION, THE STUDENTS WERE SUPPOSED TO COME UP WITH A SHARED IDEA WHICH WOULD BE KEPT SECRET FROM ANYONE OUTSIDE THE GROUP. THE WORK WILL EXIST AS LONG AS THE IDEA REMAINS SECRET, HIDDEN INSIDE THE GROUP. IF SOMEONE GIVES AWAY THE SECRET, THE WORK CEASES TO EXIST.

¹⁰“How to Disappear Completely”, title of a song from Radiohead’s *Kid A* album (2000)

I STRUGGLE WITH THE TEXT! HOURS HAVE PASSES AND I’M STILL TANGLED UP IN BITS, CLUES. GOING OVER THEM, EVERYTHING SEEMS POSSIBLE, I JOT DOWN IN THE MARGINS, I INSERT EXCLAMATION MARKS VICTORIOUSLY! IT SEEMS THAT THE PROBLEM IS EXACTLY THE FACT THAT I CAN’T GIVE IN TO THE EXPERIMENT, THAT I KEEP THINKING THERE NEEDS TO BE A PLAN, A PROGRAM OF ACTION, A PROGRAM OF WRITING, WHICH IS EXACTLY WHAT WE ARE ‘RISING’ AGAINST IN THIS TEXT; AGAINST A PROGRAM OF WRITING AND PROGRAM IN GENERAL, AGAINST ITS INCAPACITY TO REACH THE TRUTH. IT MIGHT BE BECAUSE THE DECISION TO EXPERIMENT IS STILL IN ITSELF A DECISION? BECAUSE IT ALSO IMPLIES A PROGRAM? I’M AFRAID, FOR I KNOW THAT ONCE I START, I MUST CONTINUE; THAT EACH WORD LEADS TO ANOTHER, EACH LETTER TO A COMMA, EACH FULL STOP TO A SPACE. AND A SPACE TO A SPACE BETWEEN, IN WHICH THERE IS NOTHING LEFT TO SAY. OR NOTHING THAT WANTS TO BE SAID.

¹¹“You have to shoot eventually, you can’t just pass the ball around”, Slaven Bilić, Croatian football team coach

“A COQUETTISH, EVEN CHEERFUL NIHIILISM. ONE RECOGNIZES THE IMPERATIVE OF SILENCE, BUT GOES ON SPEAKING ANYWAY. DISCOVERING THAT ONE HAS NOTHING TO SAY, ONE SEEKS A WAY TO SAY THAT.”

SUSAN SONTAG, *THE AESTHETICS OF SILENCE*

socijalizma i Titova vanjskopolitičkog programa Trećeg puta. Suvremena umjetnost tog vremena ide u korak s novim društvom u izgradnji: utekavši, bez previše opiranja, socrealističkoj paradigmi aktivne participacije umjetnosti u društvu, ona tu participaciju svejedno ostvaruje u dva dominantna visoko modernistička projekta tijekom 50-ih i 60-ih godina: pokrete Exat 51 i Nove tendencije, koji se temelje na ikonoklazmu, na postavkama geometrijske apstrakcije, konstruktivizma, ideji integracije umjetnosti u društvo putem redefiniranja pojma primijenjene umjetnosti, intermedijalnosti, kibernetike itd. Ukratko, riječ je o umjetnosti koja, baš kao i novo jugoslavensko društvo, ima jasno definiran program: čak više od godinu dana prije prve

izložbe, tj. prije nego su javnosti uopće pokazali svoja djela početkom 1953., pripadnici grupe Exat 51 javno čitaju svoj manifest 1951. godine. Samim izricanjem programa (jezikom kao performativom) započinje i njegovo ostvarivanje. Kao i u umjetnosti, atmosfera cjelokupnog društva je, mogli bismo reći, atmosfera „konstruktivnog” pristupa Kolektivnom djelu, pristupa koji ujedinjuje čitavo društvo u homogeni, nediferencirani subjekt, sa zajedničkim ciljem, podudarnošću misli i djela, te zajedničkim programom djelovanja. Iako bi upravo Sederovo razmatranje kritičko-racionalnog i gorgonskog pristupa Kolektivnom djelu moglo biti jedan među mogućim manifestima, Gorgona, za razliku od grupe Exat 51, nema manifest – ona ponekad nije radila ništa,

N A C R T J E D N O G O B J A Š N J E N J A

Mislim da treba ~~reći~~ odmah reći da je Gorgona svojom ne-neophodnošću davni početak određen da bude bez razvoja i cilja. Veoma ograničena na početak koji traje, nedefinirana i neodrediva, sličnost njenih suprotnosti i veze njihovih struktura temelje se na neprihvatanju.

Čega? Na neprihvatanju, ako je odgovor obavezan, onih procesa koji joj se nude kao spasenje u njenoj tajanstvenoj boli, a u kojima ona ne vidi nego potvrde svoje nesreće.

Oskudnost njenog predmeta i neprestani početak njene egzistencije uslovljuju se međusobnim ukidanjem. Ona se ponovo rađa i ponovno pokušava roditi. Ona nema što dodati ni reći, ona se ~~irealizira~~.

JOSIP VANIŠTA, "NACRT JEDNOG OBJAŠNJENJA", 1961.

IVANA BAGO

JOSIP VANIŠTA, "A DRAFT OF AN EXPLANATION", 1961

ANTONIA MAJACA

A DRAFT OF AN EXPLANATION

I THINK IT MUST IMMEDIATELY BE SAID THAT GORGONA, BEING SO UNNECESSARY, IS THAT ANCIENT BEGINNING THAT IS PREDESTINED NOT TO HAVE ANY DEVELOPMENT OR GOAL. IT IS STRICTLY LIMITED TO A PERMANENT BEGINNING, UNDEFINED AND INDEFINABLE, THE SIMILARITY OF ITS OPPOSITES AND THE LINKS BETWEEN THEIR STRUCTURES BASED ON NON-ACCEPTANCE. OF WHAT? OF NON-ACCEPTANCE, IF WE MUST GIVE AN ANSWER, OF PROCESSES THAT THE GORGONA IS OFFERED AS SALVATION FROM ITS MYSTERIOUS PAIN, AND IN WHICH IT CANNOT BUT SEE CONFIRMATION OF ITS UNHAPPINESS. THE SPARSITY OF WHAT IT DEALS WITH AND THE UNENDING BEGINNING OF ITS EXISTENCE ARE MUTUALLY CONDITIONED BECAUSE THEY ANNUL ONE ANOTHER. THE GORGONA IS ALWAYS BEING REBORN AND ALWAYS TRYING TO REGIVE BIRTH. IT HAS NOTHING TO ADD OR SAY, IT IRRREALISES ITSELF.

By stating something, one inevitably opens up space for its negation, for a stance of opposition that imposes itself upon us, who are used to thinking in dichotomies. Is "thinking" a relevant counterpart of acting, necessary to complete the dichotomy pair?

Just as she illustrates the history of revolutions through the story of a long-lost treasure that reappears from time to time only to disappear again, Arendt interprets the intellectual history of the 20th century as a repeated alternation of the phases of "thought" and "action". Due to the crisis of metaphysics, which was no longer capable even of formulating the right questions, much less of offering answers, the generation of early 20th-century existentialists found their refuge in action. On the other hand, the generation of René Char, after World War II in which it was forced to act, returned to the realm of thought, compelled to rethink its recent past.

Arendt published her book in 1961, before she could witness the world events of 1968 as another passage from "thought" to action. Neither did Gorgona, which ended its activity as a group in 1966, witness this turn. It was still outlining the trajectory of "Gorgonizing", a constant outlining of a potential "deviation" – a trajectory we are going to follow through the events that took place on the art scene in the late 60s and 70s.

"LITERATURE, SARTRE CONCLUDED, FUNCTIONED AS A BOURGEOIS SUBSTITUTE FOR REAL COMMITMENT IN THE WORLD."
([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/JEAN-PAUL_SARTRE](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Paul_Sartre))

samo je živjela. Vjerojatno baš tu treba tražiti značenje riječi Josipa Vaništa koji kaže da je možda „Marijan Jevšovar bio najbliži istini kada je rekao da su se gorgonaši ponašali kao da nisu živjeli u komunizmu”, od kojeg Gorgona ”bježi”, kako kaže Vaništa, u iracionalno, nerazumljivo, u „osjećaj neobičnosti”, unoseći „tamne sastojke” u egzistenciju.¹³ Iz društva nametnutog i nepokolebljivog optimizma Gorgona se izmiče u bliskost, prijateljstvo, duhovnu srodnost, u zajedništvo umjesto kolektiviteta. Gorgona nema manifest ni program, a i kada bi ga imala, ne bi ga imala potrebu čitati; jasne poruke nema, a tako ni njezina adresata. Nije izvjesna identifikacija ni s ovako neuhvatljivo postavljenim „programom” grupe, a ni samo pripadanje grupi nije nešto

”BECKETT JE NAZNAČIO ŽELJU DA SE UMJETNOST ODREKNE SVIH DALJNJIH NASTOJANJA DA INTERVENIRA U STVARI ‘NA RAZINI IZVEDIVOG’; UMJETNOST SE TREBA POUČITI, ‘UMORNA OD SVOJIH SITNIH EKSPLOATIRANJA, UMORNA OD PRETVARANJA DA JE SPOSOBNA, DA JOJ IDE MALO BOLJE NEGO POZNATOJ STAROJ STVARI, DA NAPREĐUJE NA MRTVOM PUTU’. ALTERNATIVA SE SASTOJALA U ‘ISKAZIVANJU DA SE NEMA ŠTO ISKAZATI, DA SE NEMA ČIME ISKAZATI, DA SE NE POSJEDUJE MOĆ ISKAZIVANJA, NI ŽELJA ZA ISKAZIVANJEM, DOK ISTOVREMENO SAM ČIN ISKAZIVANJA POSTOJI KAO OBEVEZA’. OTKUD PROIZLAZI OVA OBEVEZA? SAMA ESTETIKA SMRTI OD OVE ŽELJE ČINI NEŠTO NEPOPRAVLJIVO ŽIVO.”
SUSAN SONTAG, *THE AESTHETICS OF SILENCE*

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

“Sometimes Gorgona did nothing, it just lived.”¹²

Gorgona lived in the early 60s, at the time when the project of building up Yugoslav self-managed socialism and Tito’s programme of the “third path” was still at its pinnacle. The contemporary art of those times went side by side with the new society: although it escaped, without too much resistance, the social realist paradigm of active participation of art in society, it still achieved this participation through two dominant, highly modernist projects of the 50s and 60s: Exat 51 and the New Tendencies, both based on iconoclasm, the principles of geometric abstraction, constructivism, intermediality, cybernetic, the idea of integrating art into society by redefining the notion of applied art, etc. Briefly, it was an art that, just like the new Yugoslav society, had a clearly defined programme: - more than a year before their first exhibition, i.e. before they had even shown their work to the public early in 1953, the members of Exat 51 group publicly read their manifesto in 1951. The very act of declaring a program (the effect of language as performative) is thus the initial point of its

”BEFORE I WRITE A POEM, I MUST CLEAR AWAY THE RUBBISH IN MY STREET.”
(VLADO MARTEK)

POSSIBLE VARIATIONS ON MARTEK:

BEFORE I WRITE A POEM, I MUST CLEAR AWAY THE RUBBISH IN MY STREET.
BEFORE I WRITE A POEM, I MUST CLEAR AWAY THE RUBBISH IN MY ART.
BEFORE I WRITE A POEM, I MUST CLEAR AWAY THE ART IN MY RUBBISH.
BEFORE I WRITE A POEM, I MUST POSTPONE POSTPONING WITHOUT DELAY.

što se podrazumijeva: „Mi nismo Gorgona, mi samo tražimo Gorgonu u okolnom svijetu.”¹⁴

„Ništa još nije ovdje ali neki oblik već može da mu odgovara.”¹⁵

Gorgonin postulat „nedjelovanja”, bezrezultatnosti, dematerijalizacije, poigravanja s nemogućnostima, istupanja iz racionalnog u apsurd, prazninu, tišinu, paradoks, često se karakterizira kao nihilizam ili ismijavanje određenih društvenih i umjetničkih formi.¹⁶ Gorgona je, međutim, mnogo bliža klasičnom egzistencijalističkom poimanju subjekta kao Camusova Sizifa. Gorgona nije odustajanje od umjetnosti, njezino poništavanje, nije atentat na umjetnost, nego potraga za njom, njezino *postajanje*. Nihilizam ukida smisao same potrage, dok je za Gorgonu potraga upravo jedino što posjeduje smisao. Kada na 50-ak kućnih adresa šalju pozivnice koje sadrže samo natpis: „Izvolite prisustvovati”, bez naznake o tome čemu, kada i gdje, to nije samo izrugivanje konvencionalnim sistemima cirkulacije unutar institucije umjetnosti, kako se to često naglašava; to je istodobno poziv na „neobičnost”, poziv na očuđavanje svakodnevnog, poziv na stupanje u prazninu kako bi započela potraga za onim čemu bi se *moglo* prisustvovati.

realization. Like in art, the “atmosphere” of the society as a whole was, one might say, the atmosphere of the “constructive” approach to the Collective Work, an approach that unified the entire society into a homogeneous, undifferentiated subject, entailing a common goal, the correspondence between thought and action, and a joint working programme.

Even though Seder’s reflection on constructive and Gorgonic approaches to Collective Work could be understood as one among its possible manifestos, unlike Exat 51, Gorgona had no manifesto – it sometimes did nothing, it just lived. Perhaps this is where we should look for the meaning of a comment by Josip Vaništa, who said that “perhaps Marijan Jevšovar was nearest to the truth when he said that the Gorgonians behaved as if they were not living in Communism,” from which they were “escaping”, as Vaništa said, into the irrational, the incomprehensible, the “feeling of unusualness,” introducing “dark ingredients” into the existence.¹³ From the society of forced and relentless optimism, Gorgona slipped into closeness, friendship, spiritual kinship, togetherness in stead of collectiveness. Gorgona had no manifesto and no programme; and even if it had had one, it would have not felt the need to read it out; there was no clear message and thus no addressee. Identification with even such a loosely construed “programme” was equally uncertain as the group membership itself: “We are not Gorgona, we are just searching for Gorgona in the world that surrounds us.”¹⁴

Možda upravo takav pristup - koji u prvi plan postavlja sam čin potrage za mogućnostima - omogućava nužno istupanje iz dihotomijskih zamki, između misli i akcije, između pripadanja i otpadništva, između otpora i njegove neutralizacije, između umjetnika i institucije. Gorgona djeluje u međuprostoru ovih suprotnosti: ne samo da njezini članovi nisu društveni otpadnici, nego svi redom sudjeluju kao aktivni protagonisti spomenutih „konstruktivnih“ pristupa izgradnje umjetnosti i socijalističkog društva, kao uspješni umjetnici, kritičari, arhitekti, itd. Gorgona je, na neki način, njihov paralelni život, skupina dvojnika koji su opet, tek ponekad „fantomi“, a često je i sama Gorgona „konstruktivna“, prije svega u smislu samoorganizacije i samoinstitucionalizirajućeg djelovanja (organiziranjem izložbi u salonu Šira, produkcijom antičasopisa Gorgona, uspostavljanjem kontakata s protagonistima srodnih internacionalnih umjetničkih pokreta, itd.).

Ipak, čini se da je danas najprivlačniji segment njihova djelovanja upravo u onom nematerijalnom, procesualnom, onome što, da se vratimo na početak teksta, nije moguće imenovati – onome što René Char naziva „blagom“, a Vaništa „tajnom početnih godina“. To je prostor praznine koji, zbijen između nasuprotnih silnica prošlosti i budućnosti, kako ga naznačava Hannah Arendt, razrješenje dihotomijskog odnosa misli i akcije nalazi u konceptu misli kao događaja („thought-event“), praznini („gap“) u kojoj se priprema trpeza za dolazak slobode

29. SVIBNJA 1975. GRUPA ŠESTORICE AUTORA U NASELJU SOPOT U NOVOM ZAGREBU ODRŽAVA IZLOŽBU-AKCIJU NA KOJOJ SU SUDJELOVALI DEMUR, JERMAN, MLADEN I SVEN STILINOVIĆ I FEDOR VUČEMILOVIĆ. DEMUR NIJE OSOBNO PRISUSTVOVAO ALI JE NAPISAO TEKST-RAD:

- KAKO NIJE MOGUĆE MIJENJATI SVIJET? MIJENJAJUĆI SEBE MIJENJAMO SVIJET.
- MOLIM DA SE PRAZNINA KOJU SAM UČINIO SVOJIM IZOSTANKOM PROZOVE (SHVATI) KAO AKT-RAD.
- SVE JE PROGLAŠENO, SVE JE NAPRAVLJENO, SVE JE NAPISANO –A MENE NEMA.
- USPOSTAVLJAM SITUACIJU NEGATIVA AKCIJE, KAO STVARAN PROCES RADA – MOGUĆNOST NEGATIVA AKCIJE.
- TO BI BILA U STVARI SUBLIMACIJA (KONKRETIZACIJA) STANJA (MOJEG).
- SUBLIMACIJA STANJA KAO NE-ANONIMNI SIGNAL ILI SIGNALI NASUPROT SISTEMU SUSTAVU KOLIČINI ANONIMNIH PORUKA I SIGNALA
- PORUKE SU SISTEMATIZIRANI SIGNALI.
- PORUKA JE ORGANIZAM A SIGNAL ČELIJA
- MENE NEMA
- NEGATIV AKCIJE - NEAKCIJA KAO – AKCIJA.
- NASLOV: OBRADA MOTIVA „IMA-NEMA“ ILI „IMA – NE IMA“.
- ZA MENE SU TO ISKUSTVA (DA SE U ISTI ZID NE LUPI GLAVOM).

IVANA
BAGO

ANTONIA
MAJACA

“Nothing Is Here Yet But Some Form May Already Fit It.”¹⁵

Gorgona's principle of “non-action”, outcome-lessness, dematerialization, playing with impossibilities, stepping out of the material and into the absurd and the void, into silence and paradox, has often been characterized as nihilism or mocking of certain social and artistic forms.¹⁶ However, Gorgona was much closer to the classical existentialist understanding of the subject, such as Camus's Sisyphus. Gorgona was not about abandoning art or about its abolition, it was not an assault on art, but a quest for it, its *becoming*. Whereas nihilism abolishes the very sense of the quest, for Gorgona it was the only thing that made sense at all. When the group sent invitations to 50 private addresses, containing only the words “You are invited to attend”, with no explanation as to what, when, or where, they were not only mocking the conventional systems of circulation within art institutions, as it has often been stated; it was at the same time an invitation to “unusualness”, to an estrangement of the everyday, to stepping into the void in order to start the quest for something one *could* attend. Perhaps precisely such an approach – which gives priority to the the quest for possibilities - facilitates the necessary escape from the traps of dichotomy, between thought and action, between participating and dropping out, between resistance and its neutralization, between the artist and the institution. Gorgona operated in the space between these opposites: not only were its

ON 29 MAY 1975 THE GROUP OF SIX ARTISTS ORGANIZED AN EXHIBITION-ACTION, AT THE HOUSING ESTATE SOPOT, IN NOVI ZAGREB, WITH DEMUR, JERMAN, MLADEN I SVEN STILINOVIĆ I FEDOR VUČEMILOVIĆ PARTICIPATING. DEMUR'S PARTICIPATION DIDN'T INVOLVE HIS PRESENCE – INSTEAD, HE WROTE A TEXT/WORK:

- HOW IS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO CHANGE THE WORLD? BY CHANGING OURSELVES WE CHANGE THE WORLD.
- I ASK THAT THE EMPTINESS RESULTING FROM MY ABSENCE BE LABELED (UNDERSTOOD) AS AN ACT/WORK.
- ALL HAS BEEN DECLARED, ALL HAS BEEN MADE, ALL WRITTEN DOWN – AND I'M NOT THERE.
- I CREATE A SITUATION OF A NEGATIVE OF THE AC-

TION, AS A TRUE WORK PROCESS – THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGATIVE OF AN ACTION.

- THIS IS IN FACT THE SUBLIMATION (CONCRETIZATION) OF A STATE (MINE).
- THE SUBLIMATION OF A STATE AS AN ANONYMOUS SIGNAL OR SIGNALS IN OPPOSITION TO THE SYSTEM STRUCTURE THE ABUNDANCE OF ANONYMOUS SIGNALS AND MESSAGES.
- MESSAGES ARE SYSTEMATIZED SIGNALS.
- MESSAGE IS THE ORGANISM AND SIGNAL A CELL.
- I'M NOT THERE.
- THE NEGATIVE OF ACTION – INACTION AS – ACTION
- TITLE: RENDERING OF THE MOTIF “THERE IS-THERE ISN'T” OR “THERE IS – THERE NOT IS”
- THESE FOR ME ARE EXPERIENCES (NOT TO BUMP THE HEAD AGAINST THE SAME WALL)

“BECKETT HAS ANNOUNCED THE WISH THAT ART WOULD RENOUNCE ALL FURTHER PROJECTS FOR DISTURBING MATTERS ON ‘THE PLANE OF THE FEASIBLE.’ THAT ART WOULD RETIRE, ‘WEARY OF PUNY EXPLOITS. WEARY OF PRETENDING TO BE ABLE, OF BEING ABLE, OF DOING A LITTLE BETTER THE SAME OLD THING, OF GOING FURTHER ALONG A DREARY ROAD.’ THE ALTERNATIVE IS AN ART CONSISTING OF ‘THE EXPRESSION THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO

EXPRESS, NOTHING WITH WHICH TO EXPRESS, NOTHING FROM WHICH TO EXPRESS, NO POWER TO EXPRESS, NO DESIRE TO EXPRESS, TOGETHER WITH THE OBLIGATION TO EXPRESS.’ FROM WHERE DOES THIS OBLIGATION DERIVE? THE VERY AESTHETICS OF THE DEATH WISH SEEMS TO MAKE OF THAT WISH SOMETHING INCORRIGIBLY LIVELY.”
SUSAN SONTAG, *THE AESTHETICS OF SILENCE*.

u goste, čije će mjesto za stolom biti pripremljeno jedino pod uvjetom postojanja onog zajedničkog, „javnog” prostora među prisutnima.¹⁷

Govoreći o Gorgoni – ali ne samo o njoj, nego o njoj kao primjeru prostora trajne potrage koji aktivira mogućnosti emancipatorskog iščitavanja suvremene umjetnosti uopće – taj neuhvatljivi i uvijek iznova stvarani „javni prostor” želimo ovdje shvatiti ne u pojmu jedinstvenog kolektiviteta niti u pojmu mnoštva interesnih skupina s definiranim programima, nego u samom načinu poimanja zajedništva, onoga što, na tragu Jeana Luc-Nancyja i njegova razmatranja pojma „bivanja sa”, zamišljamo „singularnim pluralitetom” – bivanjem u kojem „ja” ne dolazi ispred „mi”, pri čemu „mi” nije zatvoreno u „singularnost” i jasno definirano izvana. „Bivanje sa” podrazumijeva uzajamnost koja ne poništava slobodu pojedinačnog, te stvara zajednicu koja nema strogo definirane granice i odrednice.¹⁸

Želimo ga, također, zamisliti „javnim”, ne po kriteriju ekspanzije njegova odjeka, nego po kriteriju intenziteta mogućnosti koje se iscrtavaju u samom zajedništvu, u smislu okupiranja ili nastanjanja zajedničkog mentalnog i društvenog prostora, a bez napuštanja vlastite „singularnosti”. Riječ je o prostoru između, onom koji je javan utoliko što prestaje biti orijentiran isključivo na individualne „istine”, ali odbacuje i one kolektivne. Međutim, on nije (nužno) glasan, niti se obra-

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members far from being social outcasts, they were all actively participating in those “constructive” approaches to art and the socialist society – as successful artists, art critics, architects, etc. In a way, Gorgona was their parallel life, a group of doubles who were, again, only sometimes “phantoms”, while Gorgona was often “constructive” in itself, above all in terms of self-organization and its self-institutionalizing activities (organizing exhibitions in Šira’s salon, editing the Gorgona anti-journal, establishing contacts with members of parallel international art movements, etc.).

And yet, it seems that today the most appealing segment of their activities is precisely that immaterial and processual one, that which is – going back to the beginning of this text – impossible to name; what René Char called “treasure” and Vaništa “the secret of the early years.” It is a space of emptiness which, concentrated between the opposite vectors of the past and future, as Hannah Arendt defined it, offers a resolution of the dichotomic relation of thought and action in the concept of the “thought-event”, the “gap” in which the table is prepared for freedom, whose place will be set only under the condition that there is a common, “public” space among those who are attending.¹⁷ Speaking of Gorgona – both Gorgona as such and Gorgona as an example of a space of eternal quest activating the potentials of an emancipatory reading of contemporary art in general – we wish to understand this elusive and permanently recreated

ća specifičnom adresatu – nije, u smislu suvremenog poimanja „odnosa s javnošću”, niti jasan, niti usmjeren „javnosti”.

“ČIN APSTRAHIRANJA NE-IMPERIJALNE UMJETNOSTI NE UZIMA U OBZIR NEKU SPECIFIČNU JAVNOST ILI PUBLIKU. NE-IMPERIJALNA UMJETNOST POVODI SE NEKOM VRSTOM ARISTOKRATSKO-PROLETERSKE ETIKE: SAMA PO SEBI, ČINI ONO ŠTO KAŽE, BEZ RAZLIKOVANJA MEĐU LJUDIMA.”
ALAIN BADIOU, PETNAEST POSTULATA O SUVREMENOJ UMJETNOSTI

Polja jagoda zauvijek¹⁹

Upravo se u traženju „skloništa” od konvencionalno shvaćenog pojma javnog prostora, kao i skloništa od oficijelnih javnih prostora i institucija, otvara mogućnost njegove reimaginacije. Za Gorgonu, kao i, primjerice, za rusku skupinu Collective Actions ili slovensku grupu OHO, izmještanje iz homogeniziranog urbanog okoliša jedan je od preduvjeta



FOTO-POZIRANJE ČLANOVA I PRIJATELJA GORGONE
(FOTOGRAFIJE: BRANKO BALIĆ) 1961.

PHOTO-SESSION WITH THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF GORGONA
(PHOTO: BRANKO BALIĆ), 1961

“public space” not through the notion of unique collectivism, or the notion of the plurality of interest groups with defined programmes, but through ways of understanding togetherness itself. Following Jean Luc-Nancy and his consideration of the notion of “being with”, this togetherness is understood through the concept of a “singular plural” – a sort of being in which “I” does not come before “we”, whereby “we” is not enclosed in “singular” or clearly defined from the outside. “Being with” presupposes a mutuality that does not abolish freedom of the individual, creating a community with no strictly defined borders or determinants.¹⁸

We also imagine the “public space” as being “public” not by the scope of its echo, but by the intensity of potentials that are outlined precisely through “being together”, in terms of occupying or inhabiting a common mental and social space, but without abandoning one’s “singularity”. It is an intermediate space, which is public because it is no longer oriented exclusively to individual “truths”, but at the same time it rejects also the collective ones. It is, however, not (necessarily) loud or speaking to a specific addressee – it is neither, in terms of the contemporary understanding of “public relations,” clear nor directed at the “public”.

“THE ABSTRACTION OF NON-IMPERIAL ART IS NOT CONCERNED WITH ANY PARTICULAR PUBLIC OR AUDIENCE. NON-IMPERIAL ART IS RELATED TO A KIND OF ARISTOCRATIC-PROLETARIAN ETHIC: ALONE, IT DOES WHAT IT SAYS, WITHOUT DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN KINDS OF PEOPLE.”
ALAIN BADIOU, FIFTEEN THESES ON CONTEMPORARY ART

ovog ponovnog promišljanja. Odvođenje (malobrojne i bliske) publike u snijegom prekrivenu šumu kako bi tamo promatrali „prazne akcije” (Collective Actions), nešto ezoteričnija gesta ostavljanja tragova u krajolik u grupe OHO (koja je istodobno i jedna od rijetkih jugoslavenskih inačica *land arta*), podrazumijevaju iste procese kao međuprostorno izmještanje Gorgone za koju „priroda”, čini se, predstavlja potencijal neutralnog, ideološki nezasićenog prostora, koji je moguće iznova izmisliti (*footingom* ili zajedničkim šetnjama u prirodi, „komisijskim pregledima” godišnjih doba, slanjem razglednica s putovanja koje sadrže motive morskih i planinskih pejzaža, „nemogućim prijedlozima” rezanja jednog dijela zagrebačke planine Medvednice, itd.), u kojemu međutim te eskapističke „misije” ostaju bez jasno naznačenog adresata.

JOSIP VANIŠTA, MISLI ZA MJESECE: MISLI ZA LIPANJ, 1964.

ALLAN KAPROW PRIREDIO JE HAPPENING NA SEGALOVOJ FARMI, KRAJ MORA NA PLAŽI, NA KRAJU DANA. MUŠKARCI I ŽENE NA KOJE NITKO NE OBRAĆA PAŽNJU: ONI GLEDAJU IGRU VJETRA U RASLINJU, NA POVRŠINI MORA: NEMA BOLJE PREDSTAVE OD ČASA U KOJEM SE ŽIVI, NI LJEPŠEG DIJALOGA OD RAZGOVORA S PRIJATELJIMA. NIJE LI TO ZAPRAVO NAPUŠTANJE DJELATNOSTI PLASTIČNOG ILI KAZALIŠNOG GOVORA ZA PREPOZNAVANJE REALNOG I SVAKIDAŠNJEG. UMJETNOST POSTAJE SPOREDNA. KONAČNO. (ALLAN JOUFFROY, J.J. LEVEQUE: KRIZA SADRŽAJA U DANAŠNJOJ UMJETNOSTI, AUJOURD'HUI, 1964.)

Izmještanje se događa i u vremenu: korištenjem arhaičnih formi i arhaičnog jezika, antedatiranjem dokumenata, zapisnika sa sastanaka. Te, „fantomske” inačice gorgonaških dvojnika zaista ne žive u komunizmu, one žive možda baš u nekoj vrsti, kako je to Henri Lefebvre, inspiriran mediteranskim vedrim nebom i vjerojatno pokojom čašicom kakva dobra pošipa, tijekom sudjelovanja u jednom od izdanja Korčulanske ljetne škole²⁰ (koja se također izmješta na otok!), šarmantno nazvao „dionizijskim socijalizmom”.²¹ I kasnije su, nakon što je koncem šezdesetih homogenost državotvornog ili reprezentativnog javnog prostora, u smislu društvenog i umjetničkog djelovanja, itekako „načeta”, umjetnici ipak mnogo češće koristili taktike izmještanja, nego direktne konfrontacije u „javnosti”. Grupa šestorice autora²² izložbe-akcije izvodi na ulici, ali i na savskom kupalištu, na moru, na fakultetima, itd.; „grupa” Penzioner Tihomir Simčić²³ svoju dekonstrukciju slučajnosti kao ključnog momenta nastanka umjetničkog djela testira u haustorima, zabačenim gradskim ulicama, Sanja Iveković poigrava se granicama intimnog (i ženskog) i državotvornog (patrijarhalnog), uznemirujući – sa svog balkona kao još jednog „međuprostora” – službeni posjet druga Tita Zagrebu, itd. U tom traganju za prostorom iz/pre/raz/mještanja stvara se „javni prostor” u onom smislu u kojem ga naznačava Arendt:

Strawberry Fields Forever

It is precisely the search for a “refuge” from the conventional understanding of public space, a shelter from official public spaces and institutions, that opens up the possibility of its re-imagination. For Gorgona, just like the Russian group Collective Actions or the Slovenian OHO, dislocation from homogenized urban environment is a precondition for that rethinking. Taking the (small and familiar) audience to a snow-covered forest in order to observe “empty actions” or the somewhat more esoteric OHO’s gesture of leaving traces in landscape (in a rare Yugoslav variant of *land art*) presuppose the same processes as the interspatial dislocation of Gorgona, for whom “nature”, as it seems, represents the potential of neutral, ideologically unsaturated space, which can be reinvented (by *footing* or by joint nature walks, the “committee checks” of the seasons, sending postcards with maritime or mountain scenes, “impossible suggestions,” such as cutting off a slice of Mount Medvednica, etc.), in which these escapist “missions”,

JOSIP VANIŠTA, THOUGHTS FOR MONTHS: THOUGHTS FOR JUNE, 1964

ALLAN KAPROW ORGANISAE A HAPPENING ON SEGAL'S FARM, NEAR THE SEA, ON A BEACH, AT THE END OF THE DAY. MEN AND WOMEN NO ONE PAYS ANY ATTENTION TO ARE LOOKING AT THE WIND AT THE PLAYING IN THE PLANTS, ON THE SURFACE OF THE SEA: THERE IS NO BETTER PERFORMANCE THAN THE MOMENT ONE IS LIVING IN, NOR A MORE BEAUTIFUL DIALOGUE THAN A CONVERSATION WITH FRIENDS. IS THIS NOT, IN FACT, ABANDONING ARTIFICIAL OR THEATRE SPEECH TO REALISE WHAT IS REAL AND WHAT BELONGS TO EVERYDAY LIFE. ART BECOMES SECONDARY. FINALLY. (ALLAN JOUFFROY, J.J. LEVEQUE: "THE CRISIS OF ART TODAY", AUJOURD'HUI, APRIL 1964.)

however, remain without a clearly stated addressee.

The dislocation can also take place in time: by using archaic forms and archaic language, by antedating documents or session minutes. Indeed, these “phantom” variants of Gorgonic doubles barely lived in communism; instead, they probably lived exactly in the kind of space that Henri Lefebvre, inspired by clear Mediterranean skies and perhaps a glass or two of good red wine during Korčula Summer School¹⁹ (which was also dislocated on the island!), so charmingly dubbed “Dionysian socialism.” Even later, after the homogeneity of political or representative public space had substantially eroded in the late 60s in terms of public and artistic activity, artists tended to employ strategies of dislocation much more often than they engaged in direct confrontations with the “public”. The Group of Six Artists²⁰ performed their exhibitions-actions in the street, but also in public bath on River Sava, at the seaside, at the university, etc.; the “group” Senior Citizen Tihomir Simčić²¹ tested its deconstruction of incidentality as the key moment of creating a work of art in hallways and back allies; Sanja Iveković played with the borderlines of the intimate (feminine) and the authoritarian (patriarchal) by disturbing – from her balcony as another “intermediate space” – the official visit of Marshall Tito in Zagreb. Through this quest for the space of dis/trans/de-location, they created a “public space” in the same sense of the word in which it had been defined by Arendt: regardless of the number of obser-

"NO, PORED OFICIJELNOG RADA ŠKOLE VRLA SU DRAGOCJENI BILI I TZV. NEFORMALNI RAZGOVORI SVIH UČESNIKA, ŠTO SU SE VODILI PO ČITAVOJ KORČULI, U ŠETNJAMA KAO I NAROČITO UVEČE U KOJEM RESTAURANTU POD VEDRIM NEBOM. UPRAVO SU TI TRENUCI OSTALI U NAJVEĆEM UGODNOM SJEČANJU SVIMA, A NAROČITO STRANIM UČESNICIMA, KOJI SU TE I TAKVE SUSRETE U NEFORMALNIM RAZGOVORIMA UVEĆE DO U KASNIJE SATE POD VEDRIM MEDITERANSKIM NEBOM I SPECIFIČNOM ATMOSFEROM DOŽIVLJAVALI KAO NEŠTO NEZABORAVNO. TA SE ATMOSFERA TEŠKO MOŽE UKRATKO OPISATI: BILE SU TO DIVNE VEČERI PUNE DUHA I DOBROG RASPOLOŽENJA, GDJE SE MOGLA NAKON OFICIJELNIH DISKUSIJA TOKOM DANA U PLENUMU I SEKCIJAMA RAZGOVARATI NA NAJLEŽERNIJI I NAJNEPOSREDNIJI NAČIN, BEZ OFICIJELNIH REGULA I OBVEZA. TAKO SU PO OPĆEM PRIZNANJU SVIH UČESNIKA, A POSEBNO INOZEMNIH, UPRAVO TO KAO DOPUNA SLUŽBENIMA BILI NAJLJEPŠI I NAJPLODNIJI U OPĆEM SMISLU SUSRETI I RAZGOVORI NA KORČULI. ZBOG TE SPECIFIČNE MEDITERANSKE ATMOSFERE OVE JE DISKUSIJE POD VEDRIM NEBOM FRANCUŠKI FILOZOF HENRI LEFEBVRE NAZVAO "DIONIZIJSKIM SOCIJALIZMOM". BILA JE TO ZA NJEGA ATMOSFERA, GDJE ČOVJEK U PRIRODNO LIJEPOM AMBIJENTU TRAŽI SKLAD I LJEPOTU I U LJUDSKIM ODNOSIMA. RIJEČ JE O DUHOVITOM DIJALOGU UZ VEDRO RASPOLOŽENJE, TRAŽENJE SMISLA ŽIVOTA U PRISNOM LJUDSKOM SUSRETU S DRUGIM DUHOVNO BLSKIM, SMISAO ZA IGRO I ČISTU LJUDSKU NEPOSREDNOST S OBRIZOM NA NAJDUBLJE ŽIVOTNE PROBLEME, U KOJOJ DUH POSTAJE LEPRŠAV, OTVOREN ZA SVE SITUACIJE NJEMU PRIPADNE, U SLOBODI SVOG PUNOG IZRAŽAJA. I TO JE ONO ŠTO SE SVIĐALO STRANIM UČESNICIMA NA KORČULI, O ČEMU SU PORED OSTALOGA NAKNADNO PISALI U INOZEMSTVU I NAMA SAMIMA U SVOJOK PODRŠCI ZA DALJNJI NASTAVAK RADA ŠKOLE".

MILAN KANGRGA, "KORČULANSKA LJETNA ŠKOLA"

GRUPA ŠESTORICE AUTORA, "KOMENTARI PROLAZNIKA SA IZLOŽBI-AKCIJA NA TRGU REPUBLIKE..."

Komentari prolaznika sa Izložbi-akcija na Trgu republike, 25.10.1975. i 17-19.7.1978. na kojoj su ridove imali B. Demur, Ž. Jerman, V. Martek, M. Stilinović i S. Stilino i i F Vučemilović.

- međunarodna glupost
- ili nešto snimaju ili neka Bijafrax onet našto radi
- da li je to folklor?
- dij duni vjetar da sve to strga!
- ovo je fantastično
- sravnje i zbilja za ubit
- bolje to nego krasti
- Umjesto da trg čistite vi smeće nosite
- to su bedasto'e
- oni ta zafirkavaju ljude da golubi ne mogu papeti
- naivci!
- ovo ve' ima političkih štih
- kroz prozor bi ga bacio da mi ovako nešto neko donese
- izrucivaju se sami sobi
- šta je to ? za to moraš biti bedast da bi razum'o
- moraš pitati jel je krava ili konj. to je današnja umjetnost
- nemamo za sk to vremena
- šta im to treba, neka tuku doma žene
- imi još gorih stvari-pizdarija
- pa to uopće nema nepa ni glave
- ovo je divno
- oni su bolesni
- da se ziduje Tin Ujević...
- hajde da budemo svi umjetnici!
- ja tu ne vidim ništa
- samo primitivac može misliti da je to dobro
- Da napišem: ne ovikij generacijo!
- ovo su neki padvičiri
- gdje dosta pizdarija, gladnasam
- svšta, svšta, Bog ih neće spasti
- na šta to liči? ja nisam toliko kulturni ili...
- ovo mi je najbolje: "ovo nije san" vidi se da je frajzer h'oman
- vaginalni teolog!
- njima su dobnodošli ljudi za pričanje gdje je tu stvarnost?
- crveni su pa pišaju po m-rodu
- čitam u novinama da će biti neka izložba, a ono glupost
- igrati se može čovjek i doma i ne na Trgu repub.
- to je takav razgovor da je svaki čovjek dobro došao
- ma to su vam ovako, mater!
- lijepo je, ne da je lijepo, nego pametno
- slaba tunka lova
- to su vam studenti, skupljaju za more
- tko bi mi znao prevesti šta to znači ...
- je li ovo neka reklama? ...nije!

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

GROUP OF SIX ARTISTS, "COMMENTS OF PEOPLE PASSING BY AT THE EXHIBITIONS-ACTIONS ON THE TRG REPUBLIKE..."

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

"HOWEVER, BESIDES THE OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOL, WHAT WAS VERY PRECIOUS WERE THE SO-CALLED INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS, WHICH TOOK PLACE ALL ACROSS THE KORČULA ISLAND, DURING WALKS AND ESPECIALLY IN THE EVENINGS, IN A RESTAURANT UNDER THE CLEAR SKY. IT IS EXACTLY THESE MOMENTS THAT REMAINED FOR EVERYONE AMONG THE MOST PLEASANT MEMORIES. THIS WAS ESPECIALLY SO FOR PARTICIPANTS FROM ABROAD WHO SAW THESE MEETINGS - INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS LASTING TILL LATE IN THE NIGHT, UNDER THE CLEAR MEDITERRANEAN SKY AND A PECULIAR ATMOSPHERE - AS SOMETHING UNFORGETTABLE. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THESE MEETINGS CAN HARDLY BE DESCRIBED IN BRIEF; THOSE WERE BEAUTIFUL EVENINGS, FILLED WITH SPIRIT AND GOOD MOOD, WHICH AFTER THE OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS AT THE ASSEMBLIES AND WITHIN SECTIONS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THE DAY, ENABLED US TO TALK IN THE MOST RELAXED AND DIRECT WAY, WITHOUT OFFICIAL REGULATIONS AND DUTIES. SO, ACCORDING TO THE ALL THE PARTICIPANTS, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM ABROAD, IT WAS EXACTLY THESE MEETINGS, FOLLOWING THE OFFICIAL ONES, THAT WERE THE MOST BEAUTIFUL AND THE MOST FRUITFUL, GENERALLY SPEAKING, IN KORČULA. DUE TO THIS PECULIAR MEDITERRANEAN ATMOSPHERE, THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHER HENRI LEFEBVRE HATCHED A NAME FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS UNDER THE CLEAR SKIES, CALLING THEM «THE DIONYSIAN SOCIALISM». FOR HIM, THIS IMPLIED AN ATMOSPHERE WHERE A MAN, IN A NATURALLY BEAUTIFUL ENVIRONMENT, SEEKS HARMONY AND BEAUTY IN HUMAN RELATIONS. IT INVOKES HUMOROUS DIALOGUE, A POSITIVE MOOD, SEARCHING FOR THE MEANING OF LIFE IN AN INTIMATE PERSONAL CONTACT WITH A SPIRITUAL PEER; THE SENSE OF GAME AND PURE HUMAN DIRECTNESS REGARDING THE DEEPEST PROBLEMS IN LIFE, IN WHICH THE SPIRIT BECOMES PLAYFUL. OPEN FOR ANY SITUATION IT RELATES WITH, IN THE FREEDOM OF ITS FULL EXPRESSION. THIS IS WHAT THE FOREIGN PARTICIPANTS LIKED ABOUT KORČULA, THIS IS WHAT THEY ALSO, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WROTE ABOUT ONCE THEY RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES, IN THEIR LETTERS ADDRESSING US AND EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE SCHOOL."

MILAN KANGRGA, "KORČULANSKA LJETNA ŠKOLA" [THE SUMMER SCHOOL OF KORČULA]

COMMENTS OF PEOPLE PASSING BY AT THE EXHIBITIONS-ACTIONS ON THE TRG REPUBLIKE WHICH TOOK PLACE ON 25/10/1975 AND FROM 17-19/7/1979. THE ARTISTS PARTICIPATING AT THESE EXHIBITIONS-ACTIONS WERE: B. DEMUR, Ž. JERMAN, V. MARTEK, M. STILINOVIĆ, S. STILINOVIĆ AND F. VUČEMILOVIĆ

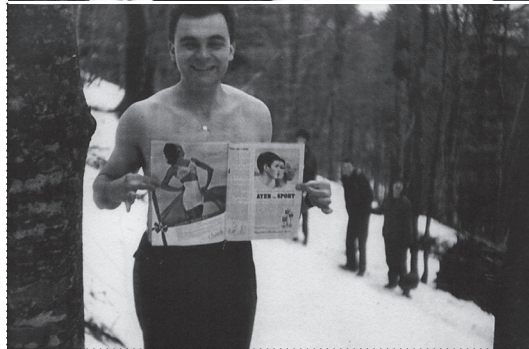
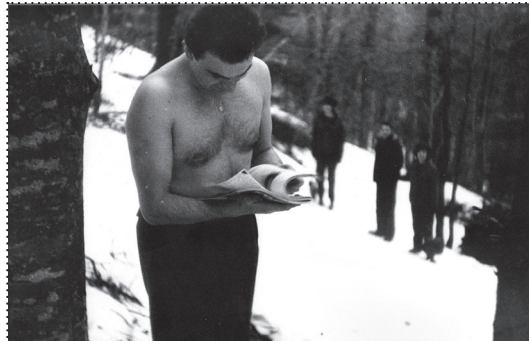
- INTERNATIONAL IDIOCY
- THEY'RE EITHER FILMING OR BIAFRA IS UP TO SOMETHING AGAIN
- IS THIS FOLKLORE?
- THE WIND SHOULD BLOW ALL THIS AWAY!
- THIS IS FANTASTIC
- THIS IS SHIT, REALLY AWFUL
- IT'S BETTER TO DO THIS THAN TO STEAL
- INSTEAD OF CLEANING UP THE SQUARE YOU'RE PILING IT UP WITH RUBBISH
- IT'S STUPID
- THEY ARE JUST BOTHERING PEOPLE TO PREVENT THEM FROM FEEDING THE PIGEONS
- HOW NAÏVE
- THIS HAS GOT POLITICAL CONNOTATIONS
- IF SOMETHING LIKE THIS WERE BROUGHT TO ME I WOULD THROW IT OUT OF THE WINDOW
- THEY'RE SENDING THEMSELVES UP
- WHAT IS THIS? YOU'VE GOT TO BE STUPID TO UNDERSTAND IT
- YOU'VE GOT TO ASK WHETHER IT'S A COW OR A HORSE, THAT'S MODERN ART FOR YOU
- WE DON'T HAVE TIME FOR THIS
- WHY DO THEY NEED THIS, WHY DON'T THEY JUST BEAT THEIR WOMEN AT HOME
- THERE'S WORSE BULLSHIT THAN THIS AROUND
- YOU CAN'T MAKE HEAD OR TAIL OF IT

- THIS IS WONDERFUL
- THEY ARE SICK
- IF TIN UJEVIĆ ROSE FROM HIS GRAVE
- LET'S ALL BE ARTISTS
- I DON'T SEE ANYTHING IN THIS
- ONLY A PRIMITIVE MAN CAN THINK THAT THIS IS GOOD
- SHALL I WRITE THIS FOR MY GENERATION: DON'T BE SCARED!
- THEY ARE SOME KIND OF LUNATICS
- ENOUGH OF THIS BULLSHIT, I'M HUNGRY
- WHAT NEXT, WHAT NEXT, GOD WON'T SAVE THEM
- WHAT IS THIS STUFF? I'M NOT VERY CULTURED OR...
- THIS IS THE BEST: THIS IS NOT A DREAM".
- YOU CAN TELL THAT THE GUY IS A HIPPY.
- A VAGINAL THEOLOGIAN
- THEY ARE GLAD THERE ARE PEOPLE AROUND BECAUSE THEY CAN TALK TO THEM
- WHERE IS REALITY IN ALL THIS?
- THEY ARE RED SO THEY PISS ON PEOPLE
- THE NEWSPAPERS MENTIONED AN EXHIBITION BUT THIS IS JUST RUBBISH
- YOU DON'T HAVE TO COME TO THE TRG REPUBLIKE TO PLAY, YOU CAN PLAY AT HOME TOO
- THE CONVERSATION IS SUCH THAT EVERYONE IS WELCOME
- THEY ARE SIMPLY AMATEURS
- IT IS BEAUTIFUL, NOT ONLY BEAUTIFUL BUT CLEVER TOO
- NOT MUCH MONEY IN IT
- THEY ARE STUDENTS, SAVING UP FOR THE SEASIDE
- WHO COULD TRANSLATE THIS FOR ME AND TELL ME WHAT IT MEANS...
- IS THIS SOME KIND OF ADVERTISEMENT? ...NO, IT'S NOT!

bez obzira na broj promatrača ili svjedoka bilo kojoj od tih „misli-događaja”, samim njihovim postvarenjem otvara se mogućnost novog, osnažujućeg polja „singularnog pluraliteta”, neke vrste radikalizirane uzajamnosti. Čak i ako nijednoj akciji, gesti, govoru itd. nije moguće mjeriti neposredan učinak ili jasno odrediti formu, one se nipošto ne mogu, kao što ističe Mladen Stilinović, smatrati nedužnima, nego nužno proizvode posljedice.²⁴

One, u konačnici, iz nevidljivih dovode i do stvaranja vidljivijih ili artikuliranih „međuprostora”, koji imaju potencijal i snagu onoga što Hakim Bey naziva „privremenim autonomnim zonama”²⁵. U tom smislu, te shvaćeno vrlo pojednostavljeno i linearno (nasuprot kompleksnoj i potpuno nepredvidivoj mreži uzroka i posljedica), umjetnička samoorganizirana inicijativa Podrum je tako neposredna posljedica odlaska na kupanje na Savsko kupalište članova Grupe šestorice autora. Akcija Tomislava Gotovca *Zagreb, volim te!* (1981.)²⁶ „nastavak” je njegova performans *Pokazivanje časopisa Elle* iz 1962., koji se odvio u mnogo „sigurnijem” prostoru planine Medvednica – stidljivo kako glede mjesta tako i glede „radnje”. No, njegovo polunago poziranje u prirodi s polunagim modelima iz ženskog časopisa zadobiva funkciju inicijacije u njegovo kasnije eksplicitno konfrontiranje sa živim urbanim

“ONO ŠTO POVJESNIČAR UMJETNOSTI MORA PROUČAVATI, SVIDALO SE TO NJEMU ILI NE, JEST DJELO KAO POSLJEDICA (EFEKT) I KAO UTJECAJ (AFEKT), A NE TEK KAO SIGURNO UDALJEN PROIZVOD JEDNOG DAVNO MINULOG DOBA.”
MIEKE BAL I NORMAN BRYSON, *SEMIOTICS AND ART HISTORY*



TOMISLAV GOTOVAC, *LEŽANJE GOL NA ASFALTU, LJUBLJENJE ASFALTA (ZAGREB, VOLIM TE!). HOMAGE TO HOWARD HAWKS' HATARI!*, DOKUMENTACIJA AKCIJE (FOTOGRAFIJA: IVAN POSAVEC), 1981.

TOMISLAV GOTOVAC, *POKAZIVANJE ČASOPISA ELLE* (FOTOGRAFIJA: IVICA HRIPKO), 1962.

IVANA BAGO

TOMISLAV GOTOVAC, *LYING NAKED ON THE PAVEMENT, KISSING THE PAVEMENT (ZAGREB, I LOVE YOU!). HOMAGE TO HOWARD HAWKS' HATARI!*, DOCUMENTATION OF THE ACTION (PHOTO BY: IVAN POSAVEC), 1981

TOMISLAV GOTOVAC, *THE PRESENTATION OF ELLE MAGAZINE* (PHOTO BY: IVICA HRIPKO), 1962

ANTONIA MAJACA



“WHAT ART HISTORIANS ARE BOUND TO EXAMINE, WHETHER THEY LIKE IT OR NOT, IS THE WORK AS EFFECT AND AFFECT, NOT ONLY AS A NEATLY REMOTE PRODUCT OF AN AGE LONG GONE.”
MIEKE BAL AND NORMAN BRYSON, *SEMIOTICS AND ART HISTORY*

vers or witnesses to any of these “thought-events”, their very realization was opening up the possibility of a new, emancipating field of “singular plurality”, a kind of radicalized mutuality. Even though it is impossible to measure the immediate impact of any such action, gesture, speech etc., or clearly define their form, they should by no means be considered harmless; instead, as Mladen Stilinović has pointed out, they necessarily produce consequences.²² Eventually, these invisible “intermediate spaces” lead to the creation of more visible and more articulated ones, which had the potential and the power of what Hakim Bey has termed “temporary autonomous zones.”²³ In that sense, understood in a very simplified and linear manner (unlike the complex and entirely unpredictable network of causes and consequences), the self-organized artistic initiative Podrum [Bašement] was a direct consequence of the Group of Six Artists taking a swim at the River Sava bathing resort. The action of Tomislav Gotovac entitled *Zagreb, I love you!* (1981)²⁴ is a “continuation” of his performance *The Presentation of Elle Magazine* from 1962, which took place in the much “safer” space of Mount Medvednica – shy in terms of both location and “action”. However, his half-naked posing in nature, together with half-naked models from the

gradskim tkivom (javnim prostorom u konvencionalnom smislu) i socijalističko-malograđanskim moralom.

„Pada kiša, podijeljeni su stavovi o tome da li da se ide na ulice ili ne.”²⁵

Te, 1961. godine vjerojatno nije ni moglo biti drukčije nego stidljivo. Možda zato jer je takvo istupanje iz igre (koje ju ipak, u konačnici, transformira) bio jedini mogući prostor koji se nudio kao „alternativa”: napuštanje dihotomije „za” i „protiv” te skliznuće sa šahovske ploče koja nudi mogućnost razvijanja strategije s dvije suprotstavljene boje, ali ne i uspostavljanje mnoštva novih figura i pravila igre. Možda zato jer, kako kaže ruski pjesnik i umjetnik Dmitri Aleksandrovič Prigov, u zaigranom aforizmu o (ne)mogućnosti oponiranja (ali istodobno i naprosto o čežnji za nečim što je drugdje, što god to bilo): *U Japanu bih bio Katul / U Rimu bih bio Hokusai / A u Rusiji sam onaj isti tip / Koji bi bio / Katul u Japanu / a u Rimu Hokusai.*

U društvu čije se postavke temelje na ideji jedinstvenog, homogenog javnog tijela, s jasno zacrtanim programom djelovanja, nema mogućnosti za druge programe, u smislu jasno postavljenih ciljeva i sukobljavanja različitih interesnih skupina. Zapadnjački liberalizam, s naglaskom na individu-

alnom umjesto kolektivnom, rezultira grupiranjem individualnih „programa” u ono što se naziva „politikom identiteta” – uspostavljanjem i stalnim preoblikovanjem mnoštva interesnih skupina s jasno artikuliranim ciljevima koji se, prije svega, ostvaruju u razvoju sektora civilnog društva i instituciji građanske akcije. U tom smislu se i umjetnost u takvom sistemu može, grubo rečeno, svojevolumino (ili pak njezinom aproprijacijom u područje društvenog djelovanja) staviti na raspolaganje nekima od specifičnih interesnih skupina, što rezultira izokretanjem, pa čak i poništavanjem, dihotomije aktivizma i umjetnosti. Pored mnogih umjetničkih pojava, tijekom šezdesetih i sedamdesetih, koje su uvelike srodne onome što se u lokalnom kontekstu nazivalo „novom umjetničkom praksom”, na Zapadu se tako javljaju i razne umjetničke skupine ili pravci kojima je cilj zagovaranje određenog projekta transformacije društvene realnosti: feminizma, borbe protiv rasizma, ekoloških pokreta, radničkih pokreta, pokreta za seksualne slobode itd.

U jugoslavenskom i istočnoeuropskom kontekstu, gdje se društvo temelji na ideološki uspostavljenoj jednakosti, svaka mogućnost takve vrste zagovaranja unaprijed se poništava: logički nije moguće, primjerice, tražiti jednakopravnost žena kada su one ionako već jednakopravne

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women’s magazine, adopted the function of initiation into his later blatant confrontations with living urban texture (public space in the conventional sense) and the socialist/petit-bourgeois morals.

“It’s raining and opinions on whether to take to the streets or not are divided.”²⁵

That year, in 1961, things probably could not have been anything else but shy. Perhaps it was because that way of quitting the game (which eventually transforms it) was the only possible space offered as an “alternative”: to abandon the dichotomy of “for” and “against” and to slip off the check board that offered merely the option of developing a strategy with two opposed colours, but not the one of creating a multitude of new figures or rules of the game. Perhaps it was because, as the Russian poet and artist Dmitry Aleksandrovich Prigov wrote in the playful aphorism on the (im)possibility of opposition (but at the same time simply on longing for something that is somewhere else, whatever that might be): *In Japan, I would be Catullus / And in Rome I would be Hokusai / And in Russia I am the same guy / Who would have been / Catullus in Japan / And in Rome, Hokusai.*

In a society whose premises are based on the idea of a

unique, homogeneous public body, with a clearly outlined programme of action, there is no possibility for other programmes, in terms of clearly defined goals and the confrontation between various interest groups. Western liberalism, with its emphasis on the individual rather than the collective, results in grouping individual “programmes” into what has been termed “identity politics” – by establishing and constantly reshaping a multitude of interest groups with clearly articulated goals, primarily realized through the development of the civil society sector and the institution of civic action. In that sense and roughly speaking, art can also be voluntarily, (or through its appropriation into the field of social action) placed at the disposal of a specific interest group, which results in overturning or even abolishing the activism-art dichotomy.

Beside numerous artistic phenomena, which were largely similar to what was in the local context called “new artistic practice,” various art groups and trends emerged in the West in the 60s and 70s, endorsing specific projects for transformation of the social reality: feminism, anti-racist struggle, ecological movements, workers’ movements, movements for sexual liberation, etc.

In the Yugoslav context, where the society was based on ideologically constituted equality, all possibilities of such

„drugarice”.²⁵ Relevantnost svakog pokušaja uvođenja takvih partikularnih diskursa vrlo se često neutralizirala optužbama da je riječ tek o još jednom kontaminirajućem (a socijalističkom društvu potpuno suvišnom) „uvozu sa Zapada”.

VARIJABLE O/NA ZAPADU

“MEĐUNARODNA GLUPOST” – KOMENTAR PROLAZNIKA NA RADOVE GRUPE ŠESTORICE AUTORA PREDSTAVLJENE NA JEDNOJ OD IZLOŽBI-AKCIJA NA TRGU REPUBLIKE U ZAGREBU.

“NIKAD NE RAZGOVARAJ O FILOZOFIJI ILI POLITICI U DISKOTECI”. (FRANK ZAPPA)

KADA JE DANNY COHN BANDIT 1968. GODINE PREUZEAO ADMINISTRATIVNU ZGRADU SVEUČILIŠNOG KAMPUSA NANTERRE, PRIDRUŽILI SU MU SE SITUACIONISTI SA SVOJIM AGIT-PROP- PAROLAMA.

“ARE YOU A CONSUMER OR A PARTICIPANT?”. STUDENTI SU PRVOTNO ISTUPILI PROTIV OBRAZOVNIH INSTITUCIJA KOJE SU ODRAŽAVALE DESNIČARSKU DE GAULLOVU VLADU S NAMJEROM DA JE DESTABILIZIRAJU. STVAR SE, MEĐUTIM, U KONAČNICI ISKRISTALIZIRALA KAO EUFORIJA HRANJENA DJETINJASTE UTOPIJE, KRATKOTRAJNI KARNEVALESKNI IZLET.

FRANK ZAPPA 1969. STUDENTIMA U LONDONU PORUČUJE: “NISAM ZA DEMONSTRACIJE”, A NA NJIHOVE ZVIŽDUKE NASTAVLJA: INFILTRIRAJTE SE U ESTABLISHMENT SVE DOK NE NASTANE NOVA GENERACIJA LJUČNIKA, PRAVNIKA, SUDACA ITD. POVIJEST POTVRĐUJE DA SU GA POSLUŠALI. NA KASNIJEM KONCERTU NETKO IZ PUBLIKE SE ŽALI ZBOG UNIFORMIRANIH “ORGANA REDA” NA KONCERTU NA ŠTO IM ZAPPA ODGOVARA: “SVI SU U OVOJ PROSTORIJI U UNIFORMI - NEMOJTE SE ZAVARAVATI!”.

1968. NA VENECIJANSKOM BIJENALU 600 POLICAJACA PREBILIO JE 111 DEMONSTRANATA PROTIV KORUMPIRANE ORGANIZACIJE BIJENALA I PROTIV RATA U VIJETNAMU. UMJETNIČKI KONTEKST SLIKA JE POLITIČKOG KONTEKSTA. U ARGENTINSKOM PAVILJONU DAVID LAMELAS IZLAŽE TELEFAKS, KOJI PRENOSI VIJESTI IZ VIJETNAMA. TO JE UJEDNO I JEDAN OD RIJETKIH RADOVA U SKLOPU BIJENALA KOJI JE IZRAVNO KOMENTIRAO RAT I KRITIČKI REFLEKTIRAO AMERIČKU VANJSKU POLITIKU.

Sa (starim) Titom u nove pobjede!

U međuvremenu, sa Zapada se službenim kanalima uvezilo puno toga, a prije svega ekonomsko uređenje koje, još od vremena privredne reforme 1965., koketira s liberalizmom i kapitalizmom te koje, koncem 60-ih godina, dovodi do velike ekonomske krize i suočavanja s činjenicom da se besklasno utopijsko društvo jednako postepeno pretvara u društvo socijalnih i klasnih razlika čiji su pripadnici, umjesto zaslužene plaće za rad na izgradnji domaće socijalizma često bili prisiljeni puno veću naknadu potražiti u gastarberskim radom na izgradnji stranog kapitalizma. Mnogi filmovi jugoslavenskog *crnog vala*, krajem šezdesetih i početkom sedamdesetih, cenzurirani su i „bunkerirani” upravo zbog toga što su, između ostalog, jasno upirali prstom u taj fenomen: bujanje kapitalističkog društva pod krinkom socijalističke revolucije. Iako su studentski protesti 1968. u Beogradu nastali spontano, kao pobuna protiv upotrebe nasilja od policije tijekom kaotičnog stanja koje je nastalo neuspješnom organizacijom koncerta brigadista omladinske radne akcije „Novi Beograd 68”, oni su bili itekako vezani uz nezadovoljstvo društveno-ekonomskim stanjem i perspektivom mladih, a jedna od studentskih parola koja se najviše pamti bila je: „Dolje crvena buržoazija”. Također, na globalnoj razini, gdje studenti u svakom primjeru staju u opoziciju ne samo vlasti nego i ideologiji koja ju legitimira, beogradski protesti (kojima se kasnije pridružuju i studenti u Zagrebu, Ljubljani i Sarajevu) specifični su po tome što zapravo ne ustaju protiv postojećeg

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endorsement were abolished in advance: it was logically impossible, for example, to demand equality of women when they were anyway already equal “comradesses”.²⁶ The relevance of any attempt at introducing such particular discourses was very often neutralized by accusations that they were merely another contaminating (and in a socialist society completely redundant) “import from the West.”

VARIABLES ON/IN THE WEST

“INTERNATIONAL IDIOCY” – COMMENT OF A PASSER-BY ON THE WORKS OF THE GROUP OF SIX ARTISTS PRESENTED AT ONE OF THE EXHIBITIONS-ACTIONS AT THE REPUBLIC SQUARE IN ZAGREB.

“NEVER DISCUSS PHILOSOPHY OR POLITICS IN A DISCO ENVIRONMENT.” (FRANK ZAPPA)

WHEN DANNY COHN BANDIT IN 1968 TOOK OVER THE NANTERRE CAMPUS ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, THE SITUATIONISTS JOINED IN WITH THEIR AGIT-PROP SLOGANS. “ARE YOU A CONSUMER OR A PARTICIPANT”? THE STUDENTS FIRST PROTESTED THE EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS THAT REFLECTED THE RIGHT-WING DE GAULLE GOVERNMENT, WITH THE INTENTION TO DESTABILIZE IT. THE WHOLE THING, HOWEVER, IN THE END TURNED OUT TO BE A EUPHORIC FEEDING OF A CHILDISH UTOPIA, A SHORT-TERM CARNEVALESQUE PICNIC.

IN 1969 FRANK ZAPPA TELLS THE LONDON STUDENTS: “I’M NOT BIG ON DEMONSTRATIONS”. FOL-

LOWED BY THEIR WHISTLES, HE CONTINUED: “INFILTRATE THE ESTABLISHMENT (...) UNTIL THERE’S ANOTHER GENERATION OF LAWYERS, DOCTORS, JUDGES.” HISTORY CONFIRMS THEY TOOK HIS ADVICE. IN ANOTHER CONCERT A MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE PROTESTED AGAINST THE UNIFORMED POLICEMEN AT THE CONCERT, TO WHICH ZAPPA REPLIED: “EVERYBODY IN THIS ROOM IS WEARING A UNIFORM AND DON’T KID YOURSELF!”

AT THE 1968 VENICE BIENNIAL 600 POLICEMEN BEAT DOWN 111 PEOPLE WHO PROTESTED AGAINST THE CORRUPTED ORGANIZATION OF THE BIENNIAL AND AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR. THE ART CONTEXT REFLECTS THE POLITICAL CONTEXT. IN THE ARGENTINE PAVILLION DAVID LAMELAS EXHIBITED A FAX MACHINE, DELIVERING NEWS FROM VIETNAM. IT WAS ONE OF THE RARE WORKS THAT REPRESENTED A DIRECT COMMENT ON THE WAR AND A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON THE US FOREIGN POLICY.

With (old) Tito into new victories!

In the meantime, many things were being imported from the West through official channels, above all, the economic system that, from the times of the Yugoslav economic reform in 1965, was flirting with liberalism and capitalism. The unsuccessful development of the reform caused a huge economic crisis in the late 60s, when Yugoslavia had to face the fact that its classless utopian society of equality was gradually turning into a society marked by social and class differences whose members, instead of obtaining their deserved award for building socialism at home, were often forced to seek a much better compensation for their *Gastarbeit* work on building up foreign capitalism. Many Yugoslav films of the so-called Black Wave were censured and “bunkered” in the late 60s and the early 70s precisely because they pointed their finger, among other things, to this particular phenomenon: the thriving of capitalism under the guise of a socialist revolution.

Even though the Belgrade student protests of 1968 were spontaneous and started as a rebellion against the use of violence by the police during the chaos caused by the deficient organization of a concert of Youth Work Action “New Belgrade 68,” they were by all means linked to the general dissatisfaction with the socio-economic situation and the lack of prospects for young people; thus, among the student slogans that are best remembered, the following stands out: “Down with the Red Bourgeoisie!”. Moreover, at the global level, where students were not only opposing the go-

sistema, nego traže njegovo „dosljedno provođenje“. Njihov program je, tako, „program SFRJ“, a njihova je odanost predvodniku tog programa Josipu Brozu Titu po svemu sudeći iskrena, a ne tek nužno potreban legitimacijski alat.²⁹ Iako je „napad“ s lijevih pozicija i pozivanje na dosljedno provođenje već postojećeg programa svakako lucidna metoda ukazivanja na paradokse tadašnjeg trenutka i licemjerstvo vladajućih „kneževa komuzima“, to je upravo ono što pokretu oduzima moć osporavanja, jer čini se da je nedostatak neke jasno artikulirane, „alternativne“ vizije budućnosti ono što, u konačnici, omogućava i tako elegantno gašenje pobune od strane vlasti: „Studentski proglasi bili su uglavnom načelne naravi i ograničeni na zahtjeve za ‘demokratizaciju našega društvenog i političkog sustava’. U toj općenitosti jedva da su bili različiti od službenih proglašenja SKJ.”³⁰ Ako

načelno prihvatimo tezu da „novo vrijeme nosi sa sobom i nove zadatke“, pozivanje na povratak zadacima postavljenim prije više od 20 godina je samo po sebi melankolična gesta. Upravo je to omogućilo Titu (pokretaču tog izvornog puta a sada, kako to već biva, i najvećem „knezu komunizma“) da u izravnom obraćanju mladima putem državne televizije zauzme očinsko-pokroviteljski stav te, neugodno iznenadivši i samo partijsko rukovodstvo, načelno podrži studentske zahtjeve i poruči zabrinutoj omladini da će sve njihove brige biti riješene. Danas je tužno pročitati da su studenti, nakon Titova govora kojega je zaključio riječima: *I najzad ja se još jedanput obraćam studentima: Vrijeme je da se prihvatite učenja, sada je vrijeme polaganja ispita i u tome vam želim mnogo uspjeha. Jer, bilo bi zaista šteta da izgubite još vremena – od oduševljenja zaplesali Kozaračko kolo.*³¹



PLJUNI ISTINI U OČI (A ZATIM BRZO ZATVORI OČI PRED ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE EYE OF TRUTH (THEN QUICKLY CLOSE YOUR EYES BEFORE IT)

U FILMU RANI RADOVI ŽELIMIRA ŽELINKA REDATELJ PRATI SKUPINU MLADIH LUTALICA KOJI U BESPUĆIMA RURALNE PANONSKE RAVNI PROKLAMIRAJU SAMO-OSTVARENJE SVAKOG POJEDINCA. NAKON DEBAKLA USLJED POKUŠAJA EMANCIPIATORSKOG POLUČAVANJA SELJAČKOG STANOVNIŠTVA, JEDNA OD PRIPADNICA GRUPE ZABRINUTA KOMENTIRA KAKO BI NJIHOVA MALA SKUPINA MOGLA IMATI PROBLEMA UPRAVO ZATO ŠTO SU GRUPE A NISU SE REGISTRIRALI: GRUPE UVIJEK PODRAZUMIJEVA ODREĐENI ZAJEDNIČKI PROGRAM I OKUPLJENOST OKO ZAJEDNIČKOG CILJA TE STOGA UVIJEK PREDSTAVLJA POTENCIJALNU PRIJETNJU SISTEMU. ŽILNIK IŠTRAŽUJE ŽIVOT MLADIH POBUJENJENIKA... OPISUJE NJIHOVU NEIZBJEŽNI PUT U NIHLIZAM... -SMRT ROMATIČARIMA-, ONI VIČU, OPTUŽUJUĆI SAMI SEBE. ČETvero MLADIH NAMJERIO SE NA SOCIALISTIČKU REVOLUCIJU U KOMUNISTIČKOJ ZEMLJI. NA PUTU OTKRIVAJU DA SU, KAO I SVI MI, NEMOĆNI PRED DRŽAVOM, IZOLIRANI I NESPOSOBNI ISHODOVATI IKAKVU REAKCIJU OD STRANE REŽIMA. DRŽAVA IH IGNORIRA. NJIHOV PROBLEM JE NAPROSTO U TOME DA SU NAPOLA REVOLUCIONARI JER JE NJIHOV NEPRIJATELJ (DRŽAVA) KOOPTIRAO NJIHOVU IDEOLOGIJU. PREUZETO IZ: «EARLY WORKS: HALF-WAY REVOLUTIONS», U: DOTSON RADER, GROVE PRESS INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL BOOK, VIDİ: [HTTP://WWW.ZELIMIRZILNIK.COM/CONTENT/VIEW/26/27/](http://www.zelimirzilnik.com/content/view/26/27/)

STUDENTSKA GIBANJA U LIPNJU 1968. (ISPRED STUDENTSKOG CENTRA U ZAGREBU)

JULY 1968 STUDENT MOVEMENT (IN FRONT OF THE STUDENT CENTER IN ZAGREB)

vernment, but also the ideology that legitimized it, the Belgrade protests (later joined by the students from Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo) were specific in that they were actually not directed against the existing system, but demanded its “more consistent implementation.” Their programme was thus the “programme of SFRJ²⁷,” and their loyalty to the leader of that programme, Josip Broz Tito, was most probably genuine, rather than just a necessary tool of legitimization.²⁸ Even though the “attack” from the left positions and the call for implementing the existing programme more consistently was certainly a lucid method of pointing out the paradoxes of the moment and the hypocrisy of the leading “princes of Communism,” that was precisely what deprived the movement of its power of opposition, since it was apparently the lack of a clearly articulated “alternative” vision of the future that opened up the way for the eventual elegant suppression of the protest by the authorities: “The student proclamations were largely theoretical in nature and limited to demands for ‘democratizing our social and political system.’ In their generalization, they were hardly any different from the official proclamations of the Party.”²⁹ If we accept the hypothesis that “new times seek commitment to new tasks,” this call for returning to the tasks that had been set more than twenty years before was in itself a melancholic gesture. Precisely this made it possible for Tito (the initiator of that original path and now, as it usually develops, the greatest “prince of communism”) to adopt a paternal and patronizing stan-

ce in his speech addressing the students through state TV and – which came as an unpleasant surprise to the Party leadership itself – supporting their demands in principle and promising that all their concerns would be answered. From today’s perspective, it seems rather sad that the students – having heard the speech that Tito ended with the following words: *And finally, I wish to say to the students once again: It is time for you to return to your books, since you are now in the middle of the exam period, and I wish you lots of luck with that. It would really be a pity for you to lose more time – jubilantly joined in a “Kozara” wheel dance.*

IN EARLY WORKS BY ŽELIMIR ŽILNIK THE DIRECTOR FOLLOWS A GROUP OF YOUNG REBELS WHO, IN THE LIMITLESS PLANES OF THE PANONIAN COUNTRYSIDE, PROCLAIM THE SELF-REALIZATION OF EACH INDIVIDUAL. AFTER THE EFFORT TO TEACH AND EMANCIPATE THE PEASANTS TURNS INTO A FIASCO, ONE OF THE GROUP MEMBERS IS WORRIED THAT THEIR LITTLE GROUP MIGHT RUN INTO TROUBLE EXACTLY BECAUSE THEY ARE A GROUP BUT NOT A REGISTERED ONE. A GROUP ALWAYS REPRESENTS A COMMON PROGRAM AND FOCUS AROUND THE COMMON GOAL, WHICH IS WHY IT ALWAYS REPRESENTS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO THE SYSTEM. ŽILNIK EXAMINES THE LIFE OF THE YOUNG REBELS IN THE MODERN CORPORATE STATE, AND HE DESCRIBES THEIR INEVITABLE PASSAGE INTO NIHLIZM. FOR THAT IS WHAT ROMANTICISM, REFUSED AN UNAMBIGUOUS IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL DISCIPLINE, REFUSED POWER, BECOMES. “DEATH

TO THE ROMANTICS!” THEY CRY, CONDEMNING THEMSELVES. THE FOUR YOUNG PEOPLE ARE OUT TO CREATE A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN A COMMUNIST COUNTRY. AND ON THE WAY THEY DISCOVER THAT THEY ARE, LIKE THE REST OF US, IMPOTENT BEFORE THE STATE, ISOLATED AND INCAPABLE OF AFFECTING A SUFFICIENT RESPONSE FROM THE REGIME. (UNLESS ONE CONSIDERS A POLICE-ADMINISTERED HAIRCUT A SUFFICIENT RESPONSE. IT IS CERTAINLY A TOTALITARIAN ONE.) THE STATE DISREGARDS THEM. THEIR DIFFICULTY IS SIMPLY THAT THEY ARE HALF-WAY REVOLUTIONARIES BECAUSE THEIR ENEMY (THE STATE) HAS CO-OPTED THEIR IDEOLOGY. CITED FROM: «EARLY WORKS: HALF-WAY REVOLUTIONS”, IN: DOTSON RADER, GROVE PRESS INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL BOOK, AVAILABLE AT: [HTTP://WWW.ZELIMIRZILNIK.COM/CONTENT/VIEW/26/27/](http://www.zelimirzilnik.com/content/view/26/27/)

Karl Marx kao usamljeni antimarksist³²

Premda je, s obzirom na ono što se u isto vrijeme događalo u Čehoslovačkoj ili Argentini, 1968-a u Jugoslaviji nalik kazalištu za djecu, ona u lokalnom kontekstu ipak predstavlja prvo masovno protestno okupljanje i iskazivanje nezadovoljstva. Time je otvoren određeni prostor za slobodu govora i naznačen potencijal javnog okupljanja, koji će u istom periodu kulminirati studentskim nemirima u Zagrebu 1971., no ovaj put s jasno artikuliranim političkim programom koji, kao i program tadašnjeg hrvatskog partijskog vodstva, u prvi plan stavlja hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje i položaj Hrvatske unutar jugoslavenske federativne zajednice, pa konačno razrješenje ovih nemira (u vidu smjene hrvatskog vodstva i uhićenja vođa studentskog pokreta), stoga rezultira i mnogo ozbiljnijim društveno-političkim posljedicama. Iako su se i tzv. „prolječari”³³ obraćali Titu za podršku, jasno je da, u njihovu slučaju, on više nije tako jednostavno mogao iskoristiti

istu metodu neutralizacije nezadovoljstva. Oni su se, jednako tako, također pozivali na osnovne vrijednosti socijalističkog i samoupravnog društva te se, tijekom studentskih zborova, sukobili sa svojim „lijevim” kolegama – „šezdesetosmašima” upravo glede ispravnih shvaćanja marksizma. Postavke na kojima je utemeljeno društvo na taj je način teoretski moguće bezgranično interpretirati sve dok se nominalno ostaje unutar postojećih okvira – tako, primjerice, naslijeđe marksizma postaje polje legitimacije svih interesnih skupina: socijalističke države, filozofa okupljenih oko časopisa Praxis i Korčulanske ljetne škole, „lijevih” šezdesetosmaša i „desnih” prolječara, među kojima svi vlastiti diskurs legitimiraju u „ispravnom” shvaćanju marksizma. (Zanimljiv je detalj; primjerice, da se u jednoj od novinskih reakcija na čuveno predavanje Josepha Beuysa u beogradskom SKC-u autor članka obrušio upravo na Beuysovo iskrivljeno, „zapadnjačko” shvaćanje marksizma.)

MLADEN STILINOVIĆ, UMJETNIK PRI RADU (DETAIL), 1976.



MLADEN STILINOVIĆ, ARTIST AT WORK (DETAIL), 1976

Karl Marx as a lonesome anti-marxist³¹

Even though the 1968 in Yugoslavia may seem like children's theatre, taking into account what was going on in Czechoslovakia or Argentina, in the local context it was the first massive act of protest and an expression of dissatisfaction. It created a sort of space for the freedom of speech and demonstrated a potential of public association, which would culminate, in the same period, in the Zagreb student protests of 1971 – this time, however, with a clearly articulated political programme. Similarly to the programme of the Croatian official Party leadership at the time, it placed into the foreground the issue of Croatian national entity and the position of Croatia within the Yugoslav federative community, which is why the final solution of those protests (the deposing of the Croatian leadership and the imprisonment of student leaders) had far more serious social and political consequences. Even though the so-called "Spring activists"³² were also addressing Tito for support, it is clear that, in their case, it was no longer that simple to use the

same method in neutralizing dissatisfaction. They were equally referring to the basic values of socialist and self-managed society and they even conflicted, during the student meetings, with their "leftist" colleagues (the '68 activists) about the proper understanding of Marxism. Thus, it was possible to reinterpret endlessly the premises on which the society was based, as long as one nominally remained within the existing boundaries. The legacy of Marxism, for instance, became a field of legitimization for all interest groups; the socialist state, the philosophers around the Praxis journal and Korčula Summer School, the "leftist" '68 activists and the "rightist" Spring activists, all of which sought to legitimize their own discourse with their "proper" understanding of Marxism. (Interestingly, one of the newspaper comments on the famous lecture of Joseph Beuys at Belgrade's SKC condemned precisely Beuys's twisted, "Western" understanding of Marxism.) In any case, it seems that an "alternative" was possible only by "simulating" or "mimicking" the existing, i.e. accepted social

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"WORK IS DISEASE. KARL MARX." (MLADEN STILINOVIĆ)

U svakom slučaju, čini se da je „alternativa“ bila moguća jedino putem „simulacije“ ili „mimikrije“ postojećih, tj. prihvaćenih društvenih obrazaca i projekata, a koliko se daleko moglo ići u toj mimikriji društva i frazeologije koja mu je jedno od uporišta najbolje govori briljantna parola Mladena Stilinovića: „Napad na moju umjetnost napad je na socijalizam i napredak.“ Ovdje se ta igra razvija do logičkog paradoksa koji poništava razlike između dvije potencijalno suprotstavljene strane: kako napasti i onu umjetnost koja napada socijalizam i napredak a da socijalizam i napredak pritom ostanu netaknuti?

“RAD JE BOLEST. KARL MARX.” (MLADEN STILINOVIĆ)

VARIJABLE O UPITNIKU

GENE SWENSON: “SVIJET UMJETNOSTI SJEDI NA TEMPIRANOJ BOMBI DRUŠTVENE REVOLUCIJE”, TRAVANJ 1968.
 GENE SWENSON POTPUNO SAM PROTESTIRA ISPRED MUZEJA MOMA U NEW YORKU, NOSEĆI VELIKI UPITNIK. STRAŽARI SU UPOZORENI DA GA NE PUŠTAJU UNUTRA. PRIJE TOGA, DO 1968. SWENSON JE JEDAN OD NAJPRIZNATIJIH NJUJORSKIH KRITIČARA DA BI ZATIM POSTAO OGORČENI I PARANOIDNI OTPADNIK. NJEGOVA JE GESTA DONKIHOTOVSKA. KOJA JE, UISTINU, MOĆ UMJETNIKA PRED BJELOKOSNIM KULAMA INSTITUCIJA I DRŽAVE, AKO DJELUJE IZVANA, KAO USAMLJENI KOJOT S NERAZVIJENIM OČNJACIMA?

SLOVAČKI UMJETNIK JULIUS KOLLER OD ŠEZDESETIH UPOTREBLJAVA UPITNIK KAO SVOJ LOGO. 1978. GODINE IZVODI UNIVERZALNI FUTUROLOŠKI UPITNIK, SJEDeĆI, RASPOREĐEN NA POLJU S TRIDESETORO DJECE U OBLIKU UPITNIKA I NAZIVAJUĆI AKCIJU “KULTURNOM SITUACIJOM”. UPITNIK JE UPRT PREMA NEBU - NEMA INSTITUCIJE KOJOOJ SE OBRAČA. USMJEREN JE PREMA ONOME TKO GA NE VIDI ILI ONOME ŠTO ON SAM NE VIDI. PITANJE STRŠI U PRAZNINU, DJECA SU ZA SADA SAMO FORMA, MOGUĆI NOSITELJI PITANJA KOJE ĆE U BUDUĆNOSTI BITI MOGUĆE POSTAVITI.

PLJUNI ISTINI
 U OČI (A ZATIM
 BRZO ZATVORI
 OČI PRED
 ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
 EYE OF TRUTH
 (THEN QUICKLY
 CLOSE YOUR
 EYES BEFORE IT)

patterns and projects. How far one could go in that mimicry of the society and the phraseology that sustained it, becomes evident from a brilliant slogan by Mladen Stilinović: “An attack on my art is an attack on socialism and progress”. Here the game has been pushed to a logical paradox, erasing the differences between the two potentially opposed sides: how can one attack an art that attacks socialism and progress and at the same time preserve the socialism and progress intact?

You will find me, mother, in nirvana

In 1971, there were those who were neither “maspok”³³ activists - “Budiša’s men”, but they were not on the side of, let’s say, Žarko Puhovski either; they represented a current that was actually anarchoid, perhaps even anarchistic (...) There was a situationist action performed by Lino Veljak: he threw a stone and broke one of the windows of the University building as a sign of protest against the rector’s policy. The event has become an urban legend, although its veracity needn’t be doubted. This is the question to be asked now: are individual protests possible?³⁴

Who will be the first to throw the stone, and at whom? What is the role of those who have (ab)erred and fell out of the wheel dance? Those who have questioned the limits of tho-

Naći ćeš me, majko, u nirvani

Postojali su 1971. ljudi koji nisu bili maspokovci, „Budišini”, niti su bili na strani, recimo, Žarka Puhovskog, nego su predstavljali jednu struju koja je zapravo bila anarhoidna, ako već ne i anarhistička (...) Ima, naime, jedna situacionistička akcija koju je napravio Lino Veljak: kamenom je razbio prozor na zgradi Sveučilišta iz protesta protiv politike tadašnjeg rektora. Taj je događaj postao tzv. urbana legenda, iako ne treba sumnjati da je istinit. To je pitanje koje proizlazi iz ovoga – može li se raditi i individualne proteste?³⁴

Tko je prvi koji će baciti kamen, i na koga? Koja je uloga onih koji su (za)lutili ili ispali iz kola? Koji su istraživali granice misli i akcija bez manifesta i programa?. Akcija Crvenog Peristila, u kojoj je osmorica mladića, u siječnju 1968., prebojala središnji

CRVENI PERISTIL, DOKUMENTACIJA AKCIJE, 1968.



RED PERISTYLE, DOCUMENTATION OF ACTION, 1968

QUESTION MARK VARIABLES

GENE SWENSON: “THE ART WORLD IS SITTING ON A TIME BOMB OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION”, APRIL 1968.
 GENE SWENSON, CARRYING A BLUE QUESTION MARK PERCHED ON A POLE, IS PICKETING THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART IN NEW YORK. THE GUARDS HAVE BEEN WARNED NOT TO LET HIM INSIDE. SWENSON USED TO BE ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL NEW YORK’S CRITICS AND BECAME A BITTER AND PARANOID OUTCAST. HIS GESTURE IS A QUIXOTIC ONE. TO WHAT EXTENT DOES, IN FACT, THE ARTIST HAVE THE POWER IN THE FACE OF THE IVORY TOWERS OF INSTITUTIONS AND THE STATE, IF HE ACTS FROM OUTSIDE, AS A LONELY KOYOTE WITH UNDERDEVELOPED FANGS?

THE SLOVAK ARTIST JULIUS KOLLER USED QUESTION MARK AS HIS LOGO SINCE THE SIXTIES. IN 1978 HE PERFORMED THE UNIVERSAL FUTUROLOGICAL QUESTION MARK, BY SITTING DOWN IN A FIELD WITH THIRTY CHILDREN ARRANGED IN A FORM OF QUESTION MARK. HE CALLED THIS ACTION A “CULTURAL SITUATION”. THE QUESTION MARK POINTS TO THE SKY – THERE IS NO INSTITUTION IT ADDRESSES. IT ADDRESSES THE ONE WHO DOESN’T SEE IT OR THAT WHICH IT ITSELF DOESN’T SEE. THE QUESTION MARK PROTRUDES TOWARDS EMBTINESS. THE CHILDREN ARE FOR THE TIME BEING JUST A FORM, POSSIBLE BEARERS OF A QUESTION WHICH IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO RAISE IN THE FUTURE.

splitski trg Peristil (reprezentativni spomenik antičke rimske kulture), postala je jednom od urbanih legendi grada Splita ali i cjelokupne povijesti hrvatske umjetnosti. Akcija je često bila predmetom rasprava koje su tražile odgovor na pitanje o karakteru njezine motivacije: je li prebojavanje trga crvenom bojom bila dekonstrukcija crvene kao boje koja simbolizira vladajući komunistički režim ili se radilo, korištenjem iste boje i geometrijskog oblika pravokutnika, o referenci na povijesne ruske avangarde ili pak moskovski Crveni trg? Iznosili su se podaci da su postojale namjere članova grupe da se trg preboji u narančasto, čime bi se, opet navodno, asociralo na budizam ili pak naprosto radilo o povratku boje izbljedenim antičkim spomenicima. Sve te rašomonske diskusije upućivale su na neizvjesnost namjere umjetnika kao geste protesta protiv društva u kojem su živjeli, tj. crvene boje koja ga je simbolizirala, čime se relativizirao eventualni „politički” karakter akcije. Međutim, možda je upravo ovdje dobar trenutak da se prisjetimo „smrti autora” i samim time njegove namjere, a usredotočimo prije svega na učinak koji je proizveden, na posljedicu te geste, koja u lokalnom kontekstu predstavlja prvo takvo eksplicitno posezanje, prisvajanje i očuđavanje jednog reprezentativnog javnog prostora. (Ako se želimo poigrati kronologijom kao majkom dihotomije uzroka i posljedica, možemo li navesti razum na

skretanje u ludičku pretpostavku da je akcija Crveni Peristil, koja se dogodila na samom početku 1968. godine u jednom od jugoslavenskih perifernih gradova neka vrsta inicijacije, nagovještaja, a igrom „leptirova efekta” možda čak i uzrokom prvog zauzimanja javnog prostora u vidu kasnijeg mnoštva pobunjenih tijela u studentskoj pobuni u Beogradu u lipnju iste godine? Možda čak i Parizu?)³⁵

Bez obzira na „namjere” ili možda upravo zahvaljujući njegovoj „nemogućoj povijesti”³⁶, Crveni Peristil je manifestacija eksplozije anaroidne incidentnosti bez programa, klimaks nakupljene energije, neartikulirane srdžbe protiv neprijatelja kojeg ne možemo s lakoćom imenovati. A i ponovno – tko smo ti neimenovani „mi”? U kratkotrajnoj gesti karnevaleskog šarma crveni peristil blješti kao znak za taktiku izlaza u prostor onog „javnog”, definiranog strategijama³⁷. Između službenih transparenata za proslavu 1. maja, Praznika rada, 1975. godine Mladen Stilinović umeće transparente koji nose infantilno intonirane slogane „Ađo voli Stipu” i „Stipa voli Ađu”. Mimikrijskom gestom parafraziranja masovno proklamiranih patetičnih slogana socijalističkog folklor autor maskira osobnu, kolokvijalnu poruku koja u postojećoj ideološkoj ikonografiji aludira na apsurdnost proklamiranog kolektivnog programa čija je kolektivnost zasnovana na prividno benignoj fantaziji društvene jedinstvenosti.

ughts and actions without manifestos or programmes? The Red Peristyle action, in which eight young men painted Peristyle, the central square of Split (and a representative monument of ancient Roman culture) in January 1968, has become an urban legend, not only of that city, but of Croatian art history as well. The action has been the focus of many debates, which sought to answer the question about the character of its motivation: did it signify the deconstruction of redness, since red was the colour that symbolized the communist regime, or was it actually referring to historical Russian avant-gardes or the Red Square in Moscow, since it used red colour together with the rectangular form? Some were saying that the group had also considered painting the square in orange, which would have associated the action, equally randomly, with Buddhism, or simply with bringing back some colour to the faded ancient monuments. All those arbitrary debates indicated the uncertainty of the artists' intention as a gesture of protest against the society in which they lived, or rather the uncertainty of red colour as its symbol, thereby relativizing the possible „political” character of the action. However, perhaps this is a good moment to recall the „death of the author” and thereby of his intent, focusing above all on the effect that was achieved, on the consequence of that gesture, which, in the local context, was the first case of such blatant seizure, appropriation, and

estrangement of representative public space. (If we wished to play with chronology as the mother of the cause-consequence dichotomy, we might adopt a ludic presumption that the action Red Peristyle, which took place at the very beginning of 1968 in a peripheral Yugoslav city, was perhaps a sort of initiation, heralding – or by some sort of „butterfly effect” perhaps even causing the later first occupation of public space by a multitude of rebellious bodies – the student protests of Belgrade, in June that very year? Perhaps even those in Paris?)³⁵

Regardless of its „intents”, or perhaps exactly because of its „impossible history”³⁶, Red Peristyle is a manifestation of exploding anarchoid incidentality without a programme, a climax of accumulated energy and inarticulate rage against an enemy that we could hardly name. And then again – who are these unnamed „we”? In the short-lived gesture of carnevalesque charm, Red Peristyle shines as a sign for adopting the tactics of coming out into the „public” space, defined by strategies.³⁷ In 1975, Mladen Stilinović inserted billboards with childishly intoned slogans „Ađo loves Stipa” and „Stipa loves Ađo” among the official billboards made for the celebration of May 1, the Labour Day. By this mimicking gesture of paraphrasing the popular pathetic slogans of socialist folklore, the author expressed his personal colloquial message, which in the prevailing ideological iconography alluded to the absurdity of the

Traganje za taktikama, umjesto programima, ono je što izbacuje iz orbite dijalektike suprotstavljanja: možemo li tvrditi da je transgresivnije u tom smislu, upravo nedjelovanje, odnosno djelovanje po slučaju, u apsurdnu, sa sviješću da cilja nema. Mora se, navodno, upoznati protivnika da bi ga se porazilo. Ako protivnik nema nikakvu strategiju, definiranu ikakvom postojećom ideološkom frazeologijom, koja je onda strategija koja se može upotrijebiti protiv njega?

BILO JE U NAŠOJ GENERACIJI SUBVERZIVNOG DJELOVANJA SVAKAKO. NO POSTOJALA JE I AUTOCENZURA - NIJE IMALO SMISLA RADI JEDNOG RADA ZAVRŠITI NA SUDU. TREBALO JE BITI PAŽLJIV, NO TO NAŠE DJELOVANJE BILO JE SVOJEVRNSNA KRITIKA, IZRAŽAVANJE SLOBODE I POBUNE. RAD 'A DO VOLI STIPU' IZLAGAO SAM BEZ IKAKVE CENZURE, ON ČAK NIKAD KOD UMJETNIČKE KRITIKE NIJE TUMAČEN POLITIČKI. U OKVIRU AKCIJE 1. MAJ '75 TAJ SMO TRANSPARENT POSTAVILI NA ULICU I ON JE TAKO OSTAO STAJAJI DOSTA DUGO. ISTINA JE DA MU JE NJEGOVA INFANTILNA NOTA DAVALA SLOBODU. TO JE NAPROSTO LJUBAVNA PORUKA UMETNUTA U KONTEKST KOLEKTIVNOG RITUALA SLAVLJENJA PRVOG MAJA. U SVEMU TOME JA SE TOGA ODRIČEM I KAŽEM - BAŠ ME BRIGA, JA VOLIM STIPU. (IZ RAZGOVORA MLADENA STILINOVIĆA S ANTONIJOM MAJAČA, "A SUNDAY CONVERSATION WITH MLADEN STILINOVIĆ", OBJAVLJENO U: MÄNNERFANTASIEN, UR. ELLEN BLUMENSTEIN, COMA, BERLIN, 2008)

ENDRE TÓT, DEMONSTRACIJA RADOŠTI, 1979.



ENDRE TÓT, GLADNESS DEMONSTRATION, 1979

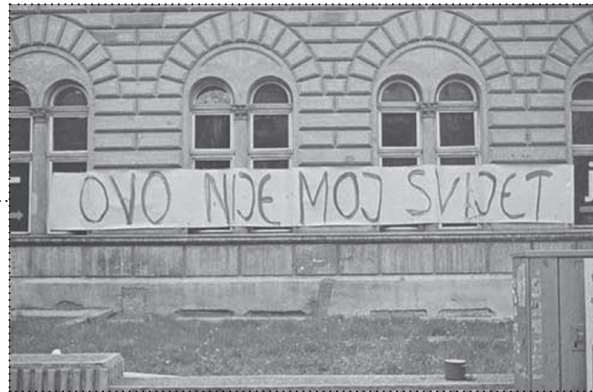
PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
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Kada Željko Jerman na ulice Zagreba postavlja transparent s natpisom „Ovo nije moj svijet“³⁷, to nije nikako moguće čitati tek kao opoziciju postojećem, usustavljenom svijetu koji ga okružuje. Transgresivnost te izjave počiva prije svega u neodređenosti svijeta koji želi suprotstaviti onom koji nije njegov, odnosno u pitanju koji je taj svijet koji je/bi bio/mogao/trebao biti njegov. Transgresija počiva ne u suprotstavljanju nego u odvažnosti samog postavljanja pitanja mogućnosti drugih, neotkrivenih svijetova, možda najviše od svega upravo u mogućnosti da tog svijeta zapravo nema. Kao u *Univerzalnom futurološkom upitniku* Juliusa Hollera, izjava je upućena u prazninu, u nebo, poput Gorgonina: „Mi nismo Gorgona, mi samo tražimo Gorgonu u svijetu.“

U tom odbijanju da se niti bude niti ne bude nešto, nego da se traga, u toj mogućnosti besciljnog lutanja, leži potencijalna opasnost od onog što bi se moglo naći. U tom smislu možemo shvatiti i cenzuru na drugom albumu jugoslavenske grupe Buldožer, kojom je „nirvana“ pretvorena u „kafanu“, jer izgubljenog sina nije teško pronaći u prvoj „kafani“ u selu,

ŽELJKO JERMAN, OVO NIJE MOJ SVIJET, 1979.



ŽELJKO JERMAN, THIS IS NOT MY WORLD, 1979

proclaimed collective programme, the collectivism of which was based on the apparently benign fantasies of social unity. Searching for tactics instead of programmes is what disrupts the dialectics of opposition: perhaps we can claim that the most transgressive tactic here is precisely non-action, or rather acting by incident, in absurdity, with the awareness that there is no goal. Supposedly, one must know the enemy in order to defeat him. If the enemy has no strategy, defined in any existing ideological phraseology, what then is the strategy that can be employed against him?

When Željko Jerman placed the billboard “This is not my world” on the streets of Zagreb,³⁸ it could barely be interpreted as a mere opposition to the existing, systematized world that surrounded him. The transgressiveness of that statement was above all in the vagueness of the world he sought to oppose to the one that was not his, in the question what world it was that was/would/may/should have been his. The transgression did not rest in opposition, but rather in the audacity to raise the very question of the possibility of other, undiscovered worlds, and perhaps most of all in the possibility that this “other” world did not really exist

WE COULD CERTAINLY TALK OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS IN THE WORK OF ARTISTS OF OUR GENERATION. BUT THERE WAS ALSO SELF-CENSORSHIP – IT DIDN'T MAKE SENSE TO END UP IN COURT BECAUSE OF A SINGLE ART PIECE. WE WERE BEING CAREFUL, BUT OUR ACTIONS WERE AT THE SAME TIME A WAY OF EXPRESSING CRITIQUE, FREEDOM AND REVOLT. THE WORK ADO LOVES STIPA DIDN'T GO THROUGH ANY CENSORSHIP, NOT EVEN THE ART CRITICS OF THE TIME RECOGNIZED THE POLITICAL CONNOTATIONS OF THE WORK. IN THE FRAME OF THE ACTION *THE 1ST OF MAY 1975* WE PUT THAT BANNER IN THE STREET WHERE IT REMAINED FOR QUITE SOME TIME. IT IS TRUE, THOUGH, THAT THE INFANTILE NOTE OF THE MESSAGE WAS ENABLING THIS WORK TO REMAIN FREE. IT'S SIMPLY A LOVE MESSAGE INSERTED INTO THE CONTEXT OF A COLLECTIVE RITUAL OF CELEBRATING THE LABOUR DAY. I RENOUNCE THAT WHOLE PARADE AND SAY: I DON'T CARE, I JUST LOVE STIPA, AND THIS PRIVATE STATEMENT BECOMES INSERTED INTO THE OVERSATURATED POLITICIZED ENVIRONMENT. MAKING PRIVACY PUBLIC IS ALSO SUBVERSIVE. (FROM THE INTERVIEW WITH MLADEN STILINOVIĆ BY ANTONIA MAJAČA, "A SUNDAY CONVERSATION WITH MLADEN STILINOVIĆ", PUBLISHED IN: ELLEN BLUMENSTEIN (ED.), *MÄNNERFANTASIEN*, COMA, BERLIN, 2008)

ali pothvat postaje nemoguć ako se izgubi u nečemu tako neuhvatljivoj kao što je nirvana.

PLJUNI ISTINI U OČI ZNAKOVITI JE NAZIV ALBUMA GRUPE BULDOŽER KOJI JE IZDAN 1975. TE RASPRODAN U ROKU OD MJESEC DANA U 13.000 PRIMJERAKA, DA BI POTOM NJEGOVO REIZDANJE BILO ZABRANJENO JER SU VIŠE INSTANCA OSJEĆALE DA JE KONTROVERZAN. ŠIRIO JE CINIZAM I NIHILIZAM, POSVE NEPRISPODOBIV SOCIJALISTIČKOM DRUŠTVU PROGRESA. NEDUGO NAKON TOGA, KLASIČNOM METODOM AMORTIZACIJE I NEUTRALIZACIJE «NEPODOBNIH», MARKO BRECELJ PRIMA PRESTIŽNU NAGRAĐU «SEDMAM SEKRE-TARA SKOJ-A». NA DRUGOM SU PAK ALBUMU, POD PRITISKOM IZDAVAČA, RIJEČ «NIRVANA» MORALI ZAMIJENITI RIJEČJU «KAFANA». («NAČI ČEŠ ME MAJKO U NIRVANI KAFANI»)

1, 2, 3, 4
IZGUBLJENI!
IMA NAS JOŠ!

GODINAMA PRIČAJU DA NEMA NAS PUNO
A SVE NAS JE VIŠE, SVE NAS JE VIŠE
GODINAMA PRIČAJU IMA NAS MALO
A SVE NAS JE VIŠE

1, 2, 3, 4
IZGUBLJENI!
(...)

(IZGUBLJENI, LET 3, 1989.)



GRUPA BULDOŽER

THE BAND BULDOŽER

IVANA BAGO

ANTONIA MAJACA

Prepušteni, naslov televizijske drame snimljene 1971.³⁹, tada cenzurirane i prvi put prikazane na HRT-u devedesetih godina, može stajati kao paradigma cijele jedne generacije tragača u sitnim koracima, lutalica, „urbanih spavača“⁴⁰ bez programa. Tumarajući zagrebačkim ulicama, skupina mladića nailazi pored ceste na tijelo mrtvacu te se, nakon rasprave o tome što učiniti, odlučuju zaputiti u prvu krčmu, unatoč pokušaju jednog među njima, simboličnog imena Che, da ih uvjeri da ne mogu tek tako ignorirati što su vidjeli. U krčmi nailaze na skupinu „šljakera“ kojima se, kao zakleti neradnici i „zgubidani“, suprotstavljaju, pri čemu Pjesnik iskorištava cijelu situaciju za recitaciju pjesme koja eksplicitno problematizira ekonomsku situaciju i odlazak radničke klase na gastarberski rad u (nekad neprijateljsku) Njemačku za „crni, prljavi, krvavi novac“. Nakon te geste „pljuvanja istini u oči“ i suočavanja s društvenom realnošću, odlaze u Pjesnikov stan, obilježen između ostalog parolom „Volim pticu lutalicu“, gdje do ranog jutra ispijaju alkohol i vođe intelektualne rasprave s prevladavajućim nihilističkim tonom, koji utjelovljuje prijeteeće simptome nove generacije bez budućnosti – tzv. „pesimistične omladine“. Nemoć da se pronade izlaz u akciju – ili razlog za akciju, osnovno je težište narativa: Che je ogorčen ravnodušnošću svojih kolega i njihovom nemogućnošću da proizvedu bilo kakvu promje-

in the first place. As in Julius Holler’s question mark, the statement was addressing the void, the skies, just like Gorgona’s slogan: “We are not Gorgona, we are just looking for Gorgona in the world that surrounds us.”

This refusal both to be and to not be something but to look for something instead, the possibility of aimless wandering, contain a potential threat of what might be found. In that sense we may also understand the censorship on the second album of Buldožer, by which the word “nirvana” was turned into “kafana” (pub), since a lost son can easily be found in the closest pub in the village, but the enterprise becomes impossible if he gets lost in something as elusive as nirvana.

PLJUNI ISTINI U OČI (SPIT IN THE EYE OF TRUTH) IS AN INDICATIVE TITLE OF AN ALBUM BY THE MUSIC BAND BULDOŽER, RELEASED IN 1975 AND SOLD OUT WITHIN A MONTH IN ALL 13000 COPIES. ITS RE-RELEASE WAS BANNED SINCE THE HIGHER INSTANCES FOUND IT CONTROVERSIAL. IT EMANATED CINICISM AND NIHILISM, WHICH WERE AT ODDS WITH THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY OF PROGRESS. SHORTLY AFTERWARDS, BY A CLASSICAL METHOD OF AMORTIZATION AND NEUTRALIZATION OF THE “UNSUITABLE”, BULDOŽER’S SINGER MARKO BRECELJ RECEIVED THE PRESTIGIOUS “SEVEN SECRETARIES OF THE YUGOSLAV YOUNG COMMUNISTS’ ASSOCIATION AWARD”. FOR THE RELEASE OF THEIR SECOND ALBUM, THE PRODUCTION COMPANY MADE THEM CHANGE THE WORD “NIRVANA” WITH THE WORD “KAFANA” (PUB). (“YOU’LL FIND ME, MOTHER, IN NIRVANA KAFANA”)

Left to Themselves, the title of a TV drama produced in 1971,³⁹ but censored and shown for the first time on Croatian TV in the 90s, may be considered the paradigm of an entire generation of small-step seekers, wanderers, and “urban sleepers”⁴⁰ with no programme. While wandering through the streets of Zagreb, a group of young men find a corpse by the road and, after discussing what they should do, head straight to the closest pub, despite an effort of one of them, by the symbolic name of Che, to convince them that they cannot simply ignore what they have seen. In the pub, they encounter a group of “toilers”, whom they (as sworn idlers and “good-for-nothings”), confront, whereby Poet uses the situation to recite a poem that explicitly problematizes the economic situation and the fact that the working class is leaving the country in order to work as Gastarbeiter in Germany (the former enemy) for “black, filthy, bloody money.” After this gesture of “spitting in the eye of truth” and facing the social reality, they move to Poet’s flat, which is, among other things, marked by the slogan “I love the wandering bird”, where they drink until the morning and have intellectual debates dominated by a nihilist tone, which embodies the threatening symptom of a new, futureless generation – the so-called “pessimistic youth.” The impossibility of finding a way out and into action – or even a reason for action – remains in the focus of the plot: Che is embittered because of his colleagues’ indifference and their inability to provoke any sort of change, Alarm Clock dreams about girls and sex (even though

nu, Budilica mašta o djevojkama i seksu (iako i ta „akcija” ostaje tek na razini mašte), a Pjesnik se zanosi filozofijom i poezijom. Ipak, ovakvo izražavanje pesimizma i gubitka vjere u budućnost - što nalazimo i u, primjerice, jugoslavenskim filmovima tzv. „crnog vala” - i to od strane generacije koja je nositelj te budućnosti, kao i gubitak vjere u smislenost bilo kakve akcije, možemo promatrati kao moguću opoziciju sistemu, koja istovremeno ugrožava njegove same temelje, zasnovane na optimističnoj ideji napretka. Nemogućnost neposredne akcije sublimira se kroz čin „prepuštanja” - napuštanja zadatog okvira borbe.

Tri lika vrlo doslovno nazvana Che, Pjesnik i Budilica predstavljaju tri moguće paradigme umjetnosti u odnosu na svijet koji ju okružuje – svijet koji ona, „prepuštena” samoj sebi, promatra iz sigurne distance „Pjesnikova” stana.

Suvremena umjetnost kao (prtvorena) ljubimica države

Mnoge interpretacije koje se bave kritičkim pozicijama suvremene umjetnosti tijekom sedamdesetih godina u bivšoj Jugoslaviji konstatiraju njezin izrazito marginalizirani položaj ne samo u odnosu na društvo u cjelini, nego i u odnosu na druge kulturne prakse, poput filma ili književnosti. Ta pozicija margine rezultira, paradoksalno ili ne, relativnom autonomijom umjetnosti: proširenim poljem mogućnosti djelovanja unutar zgusnu-

tog polja koje podrazumijeva pozicija margine. Riječ je, prije svega, o institucionaliziranoj margini koja je svoje utjelovljenje našla u radu studentskih kulturnih organizacija, zaduženih za „alternativnu” kulturu mladih, koji su bili istodobno i poprište kritičke misli ali i njegova getoizacija. Zanimljivo je opet kako neke od tih institucija također preuzimaju strategije „simulacije” društveno prihvaćenih obrazaca (primjerice beogradski SKC koji uporište za jedno od usmjerenja svoje programske politike pronalazi upravo u mogućnostima interpretacije i primjene samoupravnog modela na područje kulture). Institucije – a ne individualne prakse ili samoorganizirane umjetničke inicijative, zaista su, u ranom razdoblju kraja 60-ih i početka 70-ih, bile pokretači promjena na području kulture i umjetnosti i onoga što će se, na polju suvremene umjetnosti, uvriježiti pod nazivom „nova umjetnička praksa”. Galerija SC u Zagrebu od 1969. godine organizira prve izložbe njezinih kasnijih protagonista, poigrava se novim modelima same izložbene forme; Galerija (danas Muzej) suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu organizira prve izložbe u vidu intervencija u javni prostor, od kojih se, jedna, hipijevskog naziva *Guliver u zemlji čudesa*, odvija u gradskom parku u Karlovcu, izložba *Mogućnosti za '71.* uključuje umjetničke prostorne intervencije u središtu Zagreba, a nešto kasnije beogradska Galerija SKC započinje s progresivnim programom festivala *Aprilski susreti*, itd. Zabavu, kao i uvijek kad je u pita-

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this “action” also remains at the level of imagination), and Poet is intoxicated by philosophy and poetry. Such expression of pessimism and the loss of faith in the future – as can be found, for instance, also in the Yugoslav “Black Wave” films – and coming precisely from the generation that was to be the bearer of that future, as well as the loss of belief in the significance of any kind of action, could be observed as the possible opposition to the system, which simultaneously shakes its very foundations, built on the optimistic idea of progress. The impossibility of direct action is sublimated through the act of “leaving one to oneself” – leaving the defined frame of struggle.

The three characters, very straightforwardly named Che, Poet and

Alarm Clock, represent three possible paradigms of art in relation to the world that surrounds it – the world that it, “left to itself”, nevertheless observes from the safe distance of “Poet’s” flat.

Contemporary art as the (detained) favourite of the state

Many interpretations concerned with the critical positions of contemporary art in Yugoslavia in the 70s have noted its outspokenly marginal position, not only with respect to the society as a whole, but also with respect to other cultural practices, such as film or literature. That marginal position resulted, paradoxically or not, in a relative autonomy of art: an extended field of possibilities for acting within the condensed field of the margins. These were, above all, institutionalized margins, embodied in the activities of student cultural organizations, which were in charge of “alternative” youth culture and which formed the arena of critical thinking, but also its ghetto. It is interesting to observe that some of these institutions also adopted the strategies of “simulating” socially accepted patterns (e.g. the SKC - Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade, which found the basis for one of its programme policies precisely in the possibilities of interpreting and implementing the model of self-management in the field of culture). In that early phase (in the late 60s and 70s), it was the institutions – rather than the individual practices or self-organized artistic initiatives – that were initiating change in the fields of culture and art, initiating that which, in contemporary art, would become known

1, 2, 3, 4
THE LOST ONES!
THERE ARE MORE OF US!

FOR YEARS THEY'VE BEEN SAYING THERE
ARE NOT MANY OF US
BUT THE NUMBERS KEEP GROWING
NUMBERS KEEP GROWING
FOR YEARS THEY'VE BEEN SAYING
THERE ARE ONLY FEW OF US
BUT THE NUMBERS KEEP GROWING

1, 2, 3, 4
THE LOST ONES!
(...)

(LYRICS FROM "IZGUBLJENI" [THE LOST
ONES], BY LET 3, 1989)

nju suvremena umjetnost, kviri jedino pitanje njezina „stvarnog učinka“ (što god to značilo) i njezinih „stvarnih“ mogućnosti da izide iz svoga usko ograničenog, intelektualnog i elitističkog polja.⁴¹

Pitanje, dakako, pogađa u srž još i danas kada, unatoč volji slobodnog tržišta i kulturne industrije, ipak postoje različiti modeli koji se nastoje uhvatiti u koštac s njime, opet najčešće unutar samih institucija (najnoviji je primjer pojam „relacijske institucije“). Proizvodi li suvremena umjetnost doista strukture bliže „rezervatima otpora“ nego „privremenim autonomnim zonama“? Za razliku od posljednjih, pojam rezervata podrazumijeva sigurno mjesto unutar kojega se kritika odbija o vlastite bijele zidove i vraća natrag, poput otupjelog bumeranga, na svoj početni izvor.

“NOVA UMJETNIČKA PRAKSA, KAKO SU KRITIČARI NAZVALI UMJETNOST KOJA JE NASTAJALA U 70-TIMA U JUGOSLAVIJI DOGAĐALA SE UGLAVNOM U GALERIJAMA KOJE SU DJELOVALE U OKVIRU STUDENTSKIH KULTURNIH CENTARA ALI POVREMENO I U POJEDINIM DRŽAVNIM GALERIJAMA KOJE SU U SVOJIM PROGRAMIMA PREDSTAVLJALE LOKALNU I MEĐUNARODNU AVANGARDNU SCENU I KOJE SU IMALE VELIKI UGLED (SLUČAJ GALERIJE SUVREMENE UMJETNOSTI U ZAGREBU). IAKO JE DAKLE, TA PRAKSA BILA SA JEDNE STRANE MARGINALIZIRANA (STUDENTSKI KULTURNI CENTRI) SU IMALI ULOGU MJESTA U KOJIMA SE PRAKTICIRALA (ALTERNATIVNA DJELATNOST), ONA SE NE MOŽE DEFINIRATI KAO DISIDENTSKA

JER JE BILA PODRŽAVANA (I FINANCIRANA) OD UMJETNIČKIH INSTITUCIJA I IZVJESNOG BROJA “PROGRESIVNIH” KRITIČARA I INTELKTUALACA OD KOJIH SU NEKI JOŠ UVIJEK BILI UTJECAJNI ČLANOVI KOMUNISTIČKE PARTIJE I IMALI JAK POLITIČKI POLOŽAJ U UMJETNIČKIM INSTITUCIJAMA I DRUŠTVENIM TJELEMA. NI SAMI UMJETNICI NISU SEBЕ POZICIONIRALI KAO DISIDENTI, NJIHOVA KRITIKA NIJE BILA “BITKA PROTIV MRAČNOG KOMUNISTIČKOG TOTALITARIZMA”, VEĆ SU BILI SKLONIJU SVOJU PRAKSU DOŽIVLJAVATI KAO KRITIKU BIROKRATIZIRANE VLASTI KOJA JE POD SVAKU CIJENU HTJELA ODRŽATI STATUS QUO. ZATO SE S PRAVOM MOŽE REĆI DA SU

AKTERI NA TADAŠNJOJ KONTRA-KULTURNOJ SCENI SHVAĆALI SOCIJALISTIČKI PROJEKT PUNO OZBILNIJE OD VLADAJUĆE, ČINIČNE POLITIČKE ELITE. MLADI KULTURNI RADNICI KOJI SU TADA PISALI U OMLADINSKOJ ŠTAMPI ZAHTEJEVALI SU “PERMANENTNU REVOLUCIJU”, A KONCEPTUALNI UMJETNICI SU U NEKIM SVOJIM MANIFESTIMA TRAZILI ADEKVATNU “REVOLUCIONARNU UMJETNOST KOJA BI ODGOVARALA REVOLUCIONARNOM DRUŠTVU”. “NOVA UMJETNIČKA PRAKSA” (KOJE SAM I JA BILA SUDIONIJK JE DOISTA BILA “NOVA” PO TOME ŠTO SU PRVI PUTA POSTAVLJANA RADIKALNA PITANJA O PRIRODI I FUNKCIJI SAME UMJETNOSTI, O “AUTONOMIJI” GALERIJSKO-MUZEJSKOG KONTEKSTA, O UTJECAJU TRŽIŠNE LOGIKE NA PROIZVODNJU UMJETNIČKOG DJELA ITD. SVE JE TO, ISTINA, BILO NA “DNEVNOM REDU” UMJETNIKA NA ZZAPADU, NO NAMA SE ČINILO DA JE IDEJA O DEMATERIJALIZACIJI UMJETNIČKOG DJELA I, OPČENITO, O UMJETNOSTI KOJA IZLAZI IZ INSTITUCIJA I KOMUNICIRA SA “NARODOM”, PUNO BLIŽA SOCIJALISTIČKOJ IDEJI DRUŠTVA. PARADOKS JE U TOME ŠTO SMO KAO UMJETNICI IMALI OZBILJNE NAMJERE “DEMOKRATIZIRATI UMJETNOST”, NO UMJETNIČKI JEZIK KOJI SMO UPOTREBLJAVALI JE BIO TOLIKO RADIKALNO NOV DA JE NAŠA PUBLIKA ZAISTA BILA LIMITIRANA. FILM JE DAKAKO, UVIJEK BIO OPASNJI ZA REŽIM JER JE IMAO MASOVNIJU PUBLIKU. ŽESTOKA KRITIKA DRUŠTVA KOJU SU REŽISERI JUGOSLAVENSKOG FILMSKOG “CRNOG VALA” ARTIKULIRALI

VEĆ U ŠEZDESETIMA JE NA NAŠU GENERACIJU SIGURNO OSTAVILA DUBOKOG TRAGA, NO KAD SMO MI POČELI RADITI MNOGI OD NJIH (PAVLOVIĆ, MAKAVEJEV) SU VEĆ BILI “UKLONJENI” SA SCENE. ONO ŠTO JE KARAKTERISTIČNO ZA KONCEPTUALNU UMJETNOST 70-IH U SOCIJALISTIČKOJ JUGOSLAVIJI JE DA SE KRITIČKI DISKURS KOJI JE PROIZVODILA ODNOSIO ISKLJUČIVO NA “SISTEM UMJETNOSTI”. TA “INSTITUCIONALNA KRITIKA” JE IMALA IZUZETNO VAŽNU ULOGU U RASTURANJU MODERNISTIČKE PARADIGME KOJA JE SNAŽNO KARAKTERIZIRALA SLUŽBENU DRŽAVNU UMJETNOST NO PITANJE JE MOŽEMO LI JU IZJEDNAČITI S AKTIVISTIČKOM UMJETNIČKOM PRAKSOM, KOJA SE NA ZAPADU JAVILA U SKLOPU POKRETA ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA ŠEZDESETH. KOD NAS SU KORIJENI POKRETA ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA VIDLJIVI U OSAMDESETIMA, U “DEKADENTNOJ” FAZI SOCIJALIZMA, NO U LIKOVNOJ UMJETNOSTI SE TEME KAO STO SU ŽENSKA PRAVA, SEKSIZAM, HOMOFOBIA, SIROMAŠTVO, ŠOVINIZAM, NACIONALIZAM, PRIVATIZACIJA, ITD. POJAVLJUJU TEK KASNIJE, U DEVEDESETIMA, U DEMOKRACIJI, KADA SU SE OTVORILI NOVI KANALI PRODUKCIJE I DISTRIBUCIJE KRITIČKE PRAKSE I KADA JE POST-MODERNISTIČKA PARADIGMA POSTALA PRIHVATLJIVA I KULTURNOJ ELITI.” (SANJA IVEKOVIĆ U RAZGOVORU S ANTONIJOM MAJAČA, OBJAVLJENO U: *THE COLLECTION BOOK*, THYSSSEN-BORNEMISZA ART CONTEMPORARY, VIENNA, 2008.)

IVANA BAGO

ANTONIA MAJAČA

as the “new artistic practice.” From 1969 onwards, the Student Centre Gallery in Zagreb was organizing exhibitions of artists who would soon become protagonists of this new movement; it was also playing with the new models and exhibition formats; Zagreb’s Gallery (today’s Museum) of Contemporary Art organized first exhibitions/interventions in public space, one of which, with a hippie-like title *Gulliver in Wonderland*, took place in the city park of Karlovac. The exhibition *Possibilities for '71* included spatial artistic interventions in the heart of Zagreb, and somewhat later, Belgrade’s SKC Gallery launched its progressive programme of the yearly festival *April Encounters*. The only thing that spoiled the fun, as it is often the case with contemporary art, was the question of its “real impact” (whatever that meant) and its “real” possibilities of leaving its narrowly limited, intellectualist and elitist field.⁴¹ This question is still hitting the core of the matter today when, against the will of the free market and cultural industry, there nonetheless exist various models that seek to address it, and that again mostly take place within the institutions themselves (the latest example being the idea of a “relational institution”). Does contemporary art really produce structures that are closer to “reservations of resistance”, than to “temporary autonomous zones”? Unlike the latter, the notion of the “reservation” entails a safe place within which criticism clashes against its own white walls and comes back, like an old blunt boomerang, to its starting point.

“NEW ART PRACTICE, AS CRITICS CALLED THE ART THAT WAS MADE IN THE 70’S IN YUGOSLAVIA, WAS MOSTLY GOING ON IN GALLERIES THAT WERE PART OF STUDENT CULTURAL CENTRES, BUT OCCASIONALLY ALSO IN CERTAIN STATE GALLERIES WHICH PRESENTED IN THEIR PROGRAMMES THE LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL AVANT-GARDE SCENE AND WHICH HAD GREAT PRESTIGE (THE GALLERY OF CONTEMPORARY ART IN ZAGREB). SO ALTHOUGH THIS PRACTICE WAS MARGINALISED ON ONE HAND (“STUDENT CULTURAL CENTRES” HAD THE ROLE OF PLACES WHERE “ALTERNATIVE ACTIVITY” WAS PRACTICED), IT CANNOT BE DEFINED AS DISSIDENT, BECAUSE IT WAS SUPPORTED (AND FINANCED) BY ART INSTITUTIONS AND A CERTAIN NUMBER OF “PROGRESSIVE” CRITICS AND INTELLECTUALS, SOME OF WHOM WERE STILL INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND HAD STRONG POLITICAL POSITIONS IN ART INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNMENT BODIES. NOR DID THE ARTISTS POSITION THEMSELVES AS DISSIDENTS. THEIR CRITIQUE WASN’T A “STRUGGLE AGAINST DARK COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM”, THEY WERE MORE INCLINED TO SEE THEIR PRACTICE AS THE CRITIQUE OF A BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT WHICH WANTED TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO AT ALL COSTS. SO ONE CAN RIGHTFULLY SAY THAT THOSE WHO WERE ACTIVE ON THE COUNTER-CULTURAL SCENE AT THE TIME TOOK THE SOCIALIST PROJECT FAR MORE SERIOUSLY THAN THE CYNICAL GOVERNING POLITICAL ELITE. YOUNG CULTURAL WORKERS

WHO WROTE FOR THE SOCIALIST YOUTH PRESS DEMANDED “PERMANENT REVOLUTION” AND CONCEPTUAL ARTISTS ASKED, IN SOME OF THEIR MANIFESTOS, FOR AN ADEQUATE “REVOLUTIONARY ART FOR A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY”. “NEW ART PRACTICE” (WHICH I ALSO PARTICIPATED IN) WAS REALLY “NEW”, IN THAT IT POSED FOR THE FIRST TIME RADICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF ART ITSELF, ABOUT THE “AUTONOMY” OF THE GALLERY-MUSEUM CONTEXT, ABOUT THE INFLUENCE OF MARKET LOGIC ON THE PRODUCTION OF THE ART WORK, ETC. IT’S TRUE THAT ALL OF THIS WAS ON WESTERN ARTISTS’ AGENDAS, BUT IT SEEMED TO US THAT THE IDEA OF THE DEMATERIALIZATION OF THE ART WORK AND GENERALLY OF AN ART WHICH LEAVES THE INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNICATES WITH “THE PEOPLE” WAS MUCH CLOSER TO A SOCIALIST IDEA OF SOCIETY. THE PARADOX IS THAT WE AS ARTISTS HAD SERIOUS INTENTIONS OF “DEMOCRATISING ART”, BUT THE ARTISTIC LANGUAGE THAT WE WERE USING WAS SO RADICALLY NEW, THAT OUR AUDIENCE WAS REALLY LIMITED. FILM WAS, OF COURSE, ALWAYS MORE DANGEROUS FOR THE REGIME, BECAUSE IT HAD A MASS AUDIENCE. THE FIERCE CRITIQUE OF SOCIETY THAT THE YUGOSLAVIAN “BLACK WAVE” DIRECTORS ARTICULATED AS EARLY AS THE 60’S, CERTAINLY LEFT A DEEP TRACE ON OUR GENERATION, BUT AT THE TIME WHEN WE STARTED WORKING, MANY OF THEM (PAVLOVIĆ, MAKAVEJEV) HAD ALREADY BEEN “REMOVED” FROM THE SCENE.

Smrt umjetnosti, živjela umjetnost!

Ranih 70-ih, naročito u Jugoslaviji, gdje ne postoje umjetničke prakse koje bi bile političke u onom strogom smislu zagovaranja specifičnih ciljeva društvenog aktivizma, to pitanje ima možda još i veću težinu. Unatoč vrlo jasnom i kritičkom propitivanju konkretnih društveno-političkih fenomena i „atmosfera” društva u radovima rijetkih umjetnika/ca, poput Sanje Iveković (u lokalnom kontekstu jedinstvenoj, feministički artikularnoj problematizaciji ženskog subjekta socijalizma); zatim povremeno u zaigrano-poetično-anaroidnim radovima pripadnika Grupe šestorice autora⁴²; u radu Tomislava Gotovca, Marine Abramović, itd. – velik dio „nove umjetničke prakse” u Jugoslaviji se, kao i na Zapadu, bavi, prvenstveno samom sobom i potragom za samom sobom kao i potragom za nekim „autonomim” nekontaminiranim prostorom (u kojem, međutim, govor i poruke odjekuju u praznini). Njezin najveći neprijatelj nisu ni država, ni nepravda, ni kapitalizam, ni komunizam, nego – neka Druga umjetnost (primjerice okoštale modernističke forme i modeli stvaranja umjetnosti) ili, u radikaliziranoj varijanti – umjetnost sama (pri čemu se umjetnost bori da napusti i razbije okvire umjetnosti i „postane” nešto drugo. Simptomatičan je primjer novosadske grupe KÔD, jedne od rijetkih umjetničkih inicijativa koja je zbog djelovanja bila privedena policiji – a događaj privođenja organima reda često se interpretira kao dokaz provokativnosti za režim. Međutim, prema svjedočenju

jednog od njenih članova, grupa KÔD na policiji ne završava izravnom intervencijom vlasti (dakle, prepoznavanjem njihova djelovanja od vlasti kao subverzivnog), nego upravo intervencijom njihovih starijih kolega umjetnika, koji su osjećali da nove generacije ugrožavaju njihov prostor djelovanja: „U stvari, nas nije interesovala politika, nismo imali iluzija da delujemo u tom smislu, mi smo samo hteli da živimo umetnost. Političarima to nije toliko smetalo, imali su važnija posla, međutim, reakcionarni umetnički sloj nas je mrzeo. Ti umetnici su nas opanjkavali kod političara i policije, a ovi su posle obavili posao, pošto jako vole da pokažu moć, u fazonu samo kaži koga. I tako su ovi tradicionalisti uspeali da nas kao opasne konkurente eliminišu iz igre, ili bar prividno i samo privremeno da nas eliminišu.”⁴⁴

Uvijek izmiče, to je konstanta⁴⁵

Što umjetnost zna i može i kojim jezikom govori? Danas ili prije 40 godina? Možemo li u našem današnjem „stanju spama” na tren zašutjeti, biti tihi i reflektirati o sadašnjosti bez cinizma ili kontemplirati o prošlosti bez nostalgije ili mistifikacije? Kako svi mi, umjetnici/e i kulturni radnici/e, u nepreglednoj šumi informacija i nezaustavljivoj šumi uopće, možemo zaustaviti hiperprodukciju slika, projekata, reprezentacije, brošura i kataloga, rekreativne teorije, kustoske retorike, ne donijeti ni jednu novu sliku i jedan novi predmet u svijet a ipak govoriti? U vremenu marketinških slogana kamo uteći? Sempliranje

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPLIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

WHAT WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF CONCEPTUAL ART IN THE 70'S IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA WAS THAT ITS CRITIQUE REFERRED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE "ART SYSTEM". THIS "INSTITUTIONAL CRITIQUE" PLAYED AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ROLE IN DESTROYING THE MODERNIST PARADIGM WHICH WAS STRONGLY CHARACTERISTIC OF OFFICIAL STATE ART, BUT THE QUESTION IS WHETHER WE CAN EQUATE IT WITH THE ACTIVIST ART PRACTICE WHICH APPEARED IN THE WEST AS PART OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 60'S. HERE, THE ROOTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT ARE VISIBLE IN THE 80'S, IN THE "DECADENT" PHASE OF SOCIALISM, BUT IN VISUAL ART, ISSUES SUCH AS WOMEN'S RIGHTS, SEXISM, HOMOPHOBIA, POVERTY, CHAUVINISM, NATIONALISM, PRIVATISATION, ETC. APPEARED ONLY LATER, IN THE 90'S, IN DEMOCRACY, WHEN NEW CHANNELS FOR THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CRITICAL PRACTICE OPENED UP AND WHEN THE POST-MODERNIST PARADIGM BECAME ACCEPTABLE TO THE CULTURAL ELITE AS WELL.

WHAT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE HERE IS THAT WE HAVE TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN ACTIVIST AND POLITICAL ART. THE DIFFERENCE ISN'T IN THE CONTENT, IN THE SUBJECT THAT THE WORK DEALS WITH, BUT IN THE METHODOLOGY, THE FORMAL STRATEGY, AND THE ACTIVIST GOAL.”

(SANJA IVEKOVIĆ IN CONVERSATION WITH ANTONIA MAJAČA, PUBLISHED IN: *THE COLLECTION BOOK*, THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA ART CONTEMPORARY, VIENNA, 2008.)

Art is dead, long live art!

In the early 70s, especially in Yugoslavia, which lacked artistic practices that were political in that strict sense of endorsing some specific goal of social activism, the question had even more relevance. Despite the perfectly clear and critical investigation of actual socio-political phenomena and the social “atmosphere”, present in the work of some rare artists such as Sanja Iveković (whose feminist articulation of the female subject in socialism was unique in the local context), occasionally in the playfully/poetically anarchoid work of the Group of Six Artists,⁴² as well as in the work of Tomislav Gotovac, Marina Abramović, etc. – most of the “new artistic practice” in Yugoslavia, same as in the West, was engaged primarily with itself, with the quest for its own identity and for some “autonomous”, uncontaminated space (in which, however, speech and messages were resounding in the void). Its greatest enemy was neither the state nor injustice, neither capitalism nor communism, but – another type of art (for example, the petrified modernist forms and models of creating art) or, in its more radical version, Art itself (whereby art sought to abandon and break the framework of art and “become” something else)⁴³. A symptomatic example is the KÔD group from Novi Sad, one of the few artistic initiatives that were arrested because of their activity – and the event

informacija, razasutih sjećanja, u prolazu istrgnutih rečenica, koje je izgovorio netko tko ih se više ne sjeća... Da li je u trenutku kada svi govore moguće šutjeti i reflektirati prošlost i sadašnjost, a bez potrebe da zaplaćemo? Mogu li odustajanje, izmještanje i nevidljivost biti subverzivni u vremenu hiperprodukcije? Kako biti prisutan u odsudnosti i govoriti bez glasa, u pasivnosti bez resignacije?

Možda je, međutim, izlaz iz pitanja koja se uvijek iznova vraćaju na početak u napuštanju samih pitanja, odnosno postavljanju drugih. Ili barem, ponovno, u napuštanju dihotomija pitanja i odgovora, misli i djelovanja, uzroka i posljedica, otpora i njegove amortizacije, institucije i umjetnosti, aktivizma i umjetnosti, elitizma i populizma itd. U pritisku razuma koji nas stalno iznova ipak vraća dihotomijama, možda je zaista oslobađajuće obratiti se „istini“, tom zastarjelom pojmu kojega se postmoderna misao, navikla na cinizam, grozi. U svom predavanju „Petnaest postulata o suvremenoj umjetnosti“⁴⁶ (zanimljivo je ovdje i odvažavanje da se napiše svojevrсни manifest suvremene umjetnosti) Alain Badiou umjetnost definira kao „proizvodnju“ i „proces“ istine: *Umjetnost ne može biti samo iskaz partikularnosti (etničke ili osobne). Umjetnost je ne-osobna proizvodnja istine koja je upućena svima (...) Umjetnost je proces istine, a ta je istina uvijek istina senzibilnog ili senzualnog. To znači: transfor-*

MOGUĆE VARIJABLE ODSTUPANJA

TADA SE POVLAČITE SA SCENE, NE OBJAVLJUJETE NIŠTA. PRVU KNJIGU OBJAVILI STE TEK 1995. KOJI JE BIO RAZLOG TOG BUEGA OD JAVNOSTI?

– RAZLOG JE BIO VELIKO RAZOČARENJE ZBOG ONOGA ŠTO SE DOGODILO POČETKOM SEDAMDESETIH. VELIKE ILUZIJE SU SE SKRŠILE. TA IDEJA DA JE ŽIVOT JEDNAKO UMJETNOST JE DEFINITIVNO PROPALA. NISAM ŽELEO DA SE BAVIM STRATEGIJAMA U BILU KOM SMISLU, T.J. POLITIKOM. POČEO SAM DA SUMNJAM U TO ŠTO SMO RADILI I ONDA SAM, JEDNOSTAVNO, PRESTAO. JADRAN BOBAN, KRALJ ŠUME U TRANSU ROCK'N'ROLLA - RAZGOVOR SA SLOBODANOM TIŠMOM, ZAREZ, BROJ 146, 2005.)

1969. AMERIČKI UMJETNIK DOUGLAS HUEBLER ZABILJEŽIO JE REČENICU KOJA JE NAKNADNO NEBROJENO PUTA CITIRANA: „SVIJET JE PUN PREDMETA, MANJE ILI VIŠE ZANIMLJIVIH. JA NE ŽELIM DODAVATI NOVE.“ TAJ JE UMJETNIK, KOJI JE GODINU DANA RANIJE U POTPUNOSTI ODBACIO SLIKANJE I SKULPTURU, ODLUČIO ORGANIZIRATI SVOJ RAD OKO TRI OSI: VRIJEME (RADOVI TRAJANJA), MJESTO (RADOVI LOKACIJE), I PRESJEK TIH DVAJU PARAMETARA (RADOVI VARIJABLE). U SPOMENUTOJ ANTOLOGIJSKOJ IZJAVI HUEBLER JE SAŽEO TRENUTAK VRHUNACA KRIZE AUTORITETA I KRIZE INSTITUCIJA. NA ZAPADU SVIJET UMJETNOSTI U TO VRIJEME PREDSTAVLJA ODRAZ KAPITALISTIČKE KOMODIFIKACIJE, EKSPLOZIJE MASOVNIH MEDIJA, IDEOLOŠKOG DRŽAVNOG APARATA I ZASIČENOSTI SLIKAMA - DRUŠTVA U KOJEM JE, KAO ŠTO JE TIH GODINA ZAKLJUČIO GUY DEBORD, SVE ŠTO JE NEKAD BILO ŽIVLJENO SADA POSTALO TEK REPREZENTACIJOM. UMJETNOST JE TREBALA USTUPITI MJESTO ŽIVOTU, POSTATI ŽIVOT SAM. ŽIVOT UMJETNOSTI. UMJETNOST ŽIVOTA. „UMJETNOST NE POSTOJI, UMJETNOST SI TI“, KAŽE SITUACIONISTIČKI SLOGAN.

„ŽELIM ODMORITI SEBE OD RADA, SEBE OD SEBE, DRUŠTVO OD SEBE, DRUŠTVO OD UMJETNOSTI, ŽELIM DA SE UMJETNOST ODMORI OD UMJETNOSTI.“ (IGOR GRUBIĆ)

IVANA
BAGO

ANTONIA
MAJACA

of police intervention is often interpreted as an evidence of the provocativeness to the regime. However, according to one of its members, KÔD did not end up in court by a direct intervention of the authorities (which would imply that their activity was recognized as subversive by the regime), but by the intervention of their senior colleagues, artists who felt that the new generations were threatening to take over their territory: “In fact, we were not interested in politics, we had no illusions of doing something in that direction; we only wanted to live our art. The politicians didn’t care that much about it, they had better things to do, but the class of reactionary artists hated us. They were slandering us with the politicians and the police, which eventually did the job, since they loved demonstrating their power, in terms of “just point your finger and we’ll take care of it”. And so those traditionalists managed to eliminate us as dangerous competition, or they eliminated us at least apparently and only temporarily.”⁴⁴

It always slips away, that is a constant⁴⁵

What does art know and what can it do, what language does it speak? Today and forty years ago? Can we, in our present “spam condition” shut up for a moment, remain silent and reflect upon the present without cynicism or concern, or contemplate the past without nostalgia or mystification? How can we, artists and cultural workers, ever halt the hyperproduction of images, projects, repre-

sentations, brochures and catalogues, recreational theory, and curatorial rhetoric in this vast forest of information and incessant noise, how can we not be bringing any new image or object into the world and still dare speak? Where to take refuge in the era of marketing slogans? Sampling of information, of scattered memories, sentences torn out in passing, uttered by someone who no longer remembers them... Can we remain silent and reflect upon the past and present at the time when everyone is talking, and resist the urge to cry? Can withdrawal, dislocation, and invisibility be subversive in the times of hyperproduction? How can we be present in absence and speak without voice, remain in passivity without resignation?

Perhaps, however, the way out of these questions that keep returning to the starting point might be in abandoning the questions as such, or rather in raising other questions. Or at least in abandoning, again, the dichotomies of questions and answers, thought and action, causes and consequences, resistance and its amortization, institution and art, activism and art, elitism and populism, etc. Under the pressure of reason, which always forces us back to these dichotomies, it may be liberating to turn to the “truth”, that outdated notion abhorred by postmodern thinking, used to cynicism. In his “Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art”⁴⁶ (what is interesting here is also the audacity to offer a sort of manifesto of contemporary art), Badiou defined art as the

macija senzibilnog u događaj Ideje. Jedino pravilo kojim određuje taj „proces istine” jest postavka o ne-imperijalnoj umjetnosti; forme u kojima se ona može ostvariti neograničene su; međutim: Ne-imperijalna umjetnost mora biti rigorozna poput matematičkog dokazivanja, iznenađujuća poput zasjede u mraku, te uzdignuta poput zvijezde. Također, ona ima smisla jedino ako čini vidljivim ono što Imperij ne vidi ili ne želi vidjeti: bolje je ne činiti ništa nego doprinijeti stvaranju formalnih načina vizualizacije onoga što Imperij već prepoznaje kao postojeće. Ovaj postulat, tako suprotan prevladavajućoj pragmatičarskoj maksimi „bolje išta, nego ništa”, možda je i najteže prihvatiti. Međutim, budući da je svjestan svoje moći da kontrolira čitavu domenu vidljivog i slušljivog putem zakona koji reguliraju komercijalnu cirkulaciju i demokratsku komunikaciju, Imperij više ništa ne cenzurira. Sva umjetnost, sva misao, uništena je onog trenutka kad prihvatimo ovu dozvolu da konzumiramo, komuniciramo i uživamo. Moramo postati beščutni cenzori samih sebe.

Marginalizirana u suvremenom teorijskom diskursu, istina je istovremeno jedan od najčešće upotrebljivanih i zloupotrebljivanih pojmova u javnom prostoru bivših jugoslovenskih zemalja. Različite političke struje i različiti akteri javnog života svakodnevno zazivaju istinu ili prijete trenutkom kada će istina konačno izići na vidjelo: istina o Drugom svjetskom

ratu, istina o Domovinskom ratu, istina o ratnim zločinima, istina o žrtvama kojima dugujemo istinu. Sve te istine sukobljavaju se u prostoru koji im omogućava potencijalno stupanje u povijesne narative, u školske historijske udžbenike

VARIJABLE O ISTINI

“S OBZIROM NA RETROSPEKTIVNE REKONSTRUKCIJE [1968-E] KOJE, ČINI SE, PROIZLAZE IZ NEREALNOG PROMIŠLJANJA (PROMIŠLJANJA NE NA TEMELJU ONOGA ŠTO SE ZAISTA DOGODILO, NEGO ONOGA KAKO BI BILU POŽELJNO DA SE DOGODILO) - POPUT PRIMJERICE, RAZMIŠLJANJA CARLOSA FUENTESA - I KOJE POVEZUUJU FRANCUSKI SVIBANJ S PRAŠKIM PROLJEĆEM I JUŽNOAMERIČKIM POBUNAMA, ZAKLJUČIO BIH KONSTATACIJOM DA JE NUŽNO VRATITI SE IZNOVA NA NEUGODNE I KONTRADIKTORNE TEMELJNE ČNJENICE TE HISTORIJSKE ERE, KOJA JE ISTOVREMENO TOLIKO BLIZU I TOLIKO DALEKO OD SADAŠNOSTI, DA JU NIJE MOGUĆE SHVATITI JEDNOSTAVNIM SHEMAMA ILI ULJEPŠANIM LEGENDAMA POPUT BANALNIH PRIČA O EPOPEJI, ČEŽNJI I IMAGINACIJI.

JUŽNOAMERIČKA STRANA TE PUVIJEŠTI UKLJUČUJE VELIKU KOLIČINU PROLIVENE KRVI I VELIK BROJ POGINULIH. IZ POŠTOVANJA PREMA NJIMA I ISTINI, MI IMAMO ODGOVORNOST BITI SVJEDOCIMA I TUMAČIMA DOBA KOJE TEK TREBA BITI ISTRAŽENO, PROMIŠLJENO, TE KOJE NIJE NIPOŠTO DO KRAJA RAZOTKRILO SVE SVOJE ENIGME.”

(HUGO VEZZETTI, THE SIGNS OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR, [HTTP://WWW.GOETHE.DE/GES/ZTG/PRJ/AKT/WLT/AME/ARG/EN2996953.HTM](http://www.goethe.de/ges/ztg/prj/akt/wlt/ame/arg/en2996953.htm))

“JER SVAKI NARAŠTAJ, AKO JE ISTINSKI REVOLUCIONARAN, NOSI SA SOBOM ISTINU O POVJESNOM TREUTKU U KOJEM SE NALAZI, KAO I MOGUĆNOST OSTVARIVANJA NOVOG DRUŠTVENOG ODNOSA, ALI SVAKI TAKAV NARAŠTAJ, PO NEKAKVOM USUDU POVJESNOM, PRATI OPLJENOST VLASTITOM ISTINOM I POTPUNO NEDUJALEKTIČKA SVJEST KOJA JE NESPOSOBNA NOVOOSTVARENIM DRUŠTVENIM ODNOS PROBLEMATIZIRATI ODREĐUJUĆI MU SMISAO I DOMET NJEGOVA HUMANITETA.” (DRAŽEN BUDIŠA, STUDENTSKI LIST, 28. RUJNA, 1971, CITIRANO U: TIHOMIR PONOŠ, NA RUBU REVOLUCIJE. STUDENTI '71., PROFIL, 2007.

“PUTAR JE ZNAO OPISATI OSJEĆAJ ODSUTNOG ŽIVOTA, OSJEĆAJ KOJI NIJE LAKO DEFINIRATI. SLUŠAJUĆI GA ČINILO MI SE DA UPOZNAJEM ISTINU. BILA JE RAZLIČITA OD ISTINA DO KOJIH DOLAZIMO PROMATRANJEM PRIRODE I PREDMETA KOJI NAS OKRUŽUJU. PUTAR SE NIJE RAZMETAO, GOVORIO JE KRAJNJE SUSPREGNUTO.” (JOSIP VANIŠTA O RADOŠLAVU PUTARU, CITIRANO U: MARIJA GATTIN (JR.), GORGONA, MSU, 2002.

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

POSSIBLE VARIABLES OF WITHDRAWAL

YOU THEN WITHDREW FROM THE SCENE, YOU DIDN'T PUBLISH ANYTHING UNTIL 1995. WHAT WAS THE REASON FOR SUCH ESCAPE FROM PUBLIC LIFE?

- THE REASON CONSISTED IN A GREAT DISENCHANTMENT WITH REGARDS TO WHAT HAPPENED IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES. THE GREAT ILLUSIONS WERE CRUSHED. THE IDEA THAT LIFE EQUALS ART WAS DEFINITELY DEAD. I DIDN' WANT TO DEAL IN ANY WAY WITH STRATEGIES, IE. POLITICS. I STARTED TO DOUBT EVERYTHING WE DID AND THEN I SIMPLY QUIT.

JADRAN BOBAN, “KRALJ ŠUME U TRANSU ROCK'N'ROLLA - RAZGOVOR SA SLOBODANOM TIŠMOM” (KING OF THE FOREST IN A ROCK'N'ROLL TRANCE – INTERVIEW WITH SLOBODAN TIŠMA), ZAREZ, BROJ 146, 2005.)

IN 1969 THE US ARTIST DOUGLAS HUEBLER WROTE A STATEMENT THAT HAS SINCE BEEN QUOTED MANY TIMES: “THE WORLD IS FULL OF OBJECTS, MORE OR LESS INTERESTING; I DO NOT WISH TO ADD ANY MORE.”

THIS ARTIST, WHO A YEAR BEFORE FULLY REJECTED PAINTING AND SCULPTURE, DECIDED TO ORGANIZE HIS WORK AROUND THREE AXES: TIME (DURATION PIECES), PLACE (LOCATION PIECES) AND THE OVERLAPPING OF THOSE TWO ELEMENTS (VARIABLE PIECES). IN THE AFOREMENTIONED REKNOWNED STATEMENT HUEBLER CONDENSED THE PEAK MOMENT OF CRISIS OF AUTHORITY AND CRISIS OF INSTITUTIONS. IN THE WEST, THE WORLD OF ART AT THE TIME IS A REFLECTION OF CAPITALIST COMMODIFICATION, EXPLOSION OF MASS MEDIA, IDEOLOGY OF STATE BUREAUCRACY AND THE SATURATION WITH IMAGES – A SOCIETY IN WHICH, AS GUY DEBORD CONCLUDED, ALL THAT ONCE HAD BEEN LIVED WAS NOW MERE REPRESENTATION. ART SHOULD HAVE RECEDED IN FRON OF LIFE, IT SHOULD HAVE BECOME LIFE ITSELF. LIFE OF ART. ART OF LIFE. “ART DOES NOT EXIST, YOU ARE ART”, SAYS A SITUATIONIST SLOGAN.

“I WANT TO REST MYSELF FROM WORK, MYSELF FROM MYSELF, SOCIETY FROM MYSELF, SOCIETY FROM ART, I WANT ART TO TAKE A REST FROM ART” (IGOR GRUBIĆ)

“production” and “process” of truth: Art cannot merely be the expression of a particularity (be it ethnic or personal). *Art is the impersonal production of a truth that is addressed to everyone (...)* Art is the process of a truth, and this truth is always the truth of the sensible or sensual, the sensible as sensible. This means: the transformation of the sensible into a happening of the Idea. The only rule that governs that “process of a truth” is the premise of non-imperial art; the forms though which it can be realized are limitless, yet: *Non-imperial art must be as rigorous as a mathematical demonstration, as surprising as an ambush in the night, and as elevated as a star.* Besides, it makes sense only if it makes visible what the Empire does not see or refuses to see: *It is better to do nothing than to contribute to the invention of formal ways of rendering visible that which Empire already recognizes as existent.* This postulate, so radically in opposition to the prevailing pragmatics’ maxim “better anything than nothing,” may be the hardest one to accept. However, *Since it is sure of its ability to control the entire domain of the visible and the audible via the laws governing commercial circulation and democratic communication, Empire no longer censures anything. All art, and all thought, is ruined when we accept this permission to consume, to communicate and to enjoy. We should become the pitiless censors of ourselves.*



PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

JOSIP VANIŠTA, ŠETNJA, 1989.

JOSIP VANIŠTA, A WALK, 1989

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

pair. Just like Gorgona's Collective Work, which tries, but never really succeeds, to flash in its full glory in small Šira's frame shop, like Sisyphus rolling his stone, perhaps we also have to imagine Art happy.

TRANSLATED FROM CROATIAN AND EDITED BY: MARINA MILADINOV, IVANA BAGO

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS
DEAR ENEMIES AND FRIENDS

WHY ARE WE ALL SO ALONE HERE
ALL WE NEED IS A LITTLE MORE HOPE, A LITTLE
MORE JOY ALL WE NEED IS A LITTLE MORE LIGHT,
A LITTLE LESS WEIGHT, A LITTLE MORE FREEDOM,
IF WE WERE AN ARMY, AND IF WE BELIEVED THAT
WE WERE AN ARMY AND WE BELIEVED THAT EV-
ERYONE WAS SCARED LIKE LITTLE LOST CHILDREN
IN THEIR GROWN UP CLOTHES AND POSES SO
WE ENDED UP ALONE HERE FLOATING THROUGH
LONG WASTED DAYS, OR GREAT TRIBULATIONS.
WHILE EVERYTHING FELT WRONG GOOD WORDS,
STRONG WORDS, WORDS THAT COULD'VE MOVED
MOUNTAINS WORDS THAT NO ONE EVER SAID WE
WERE ALL WAITING TO HEAR THOSE WORDS AND
NO ONE EVER SAID THEM AND THE TACTICS NEVER
HATCHED
AND THE PLANS WERE NEVER MAPPED
AND WE ALL LEARNED NOT TO BELIEVE
AND STRANGE LONESOME MONSTERS LOAFED
THROUGH THE HILLS WONDERING WHY
AND IT IS BEST TO NEVER EVER EVER EVER

EVER EVER EVER EVER EVER WONDER WHY
SO TANGLE - OH TANGLE US UP IN BRIGHT RED
RIBBONS!
LET'S HAVE A PARADE
IT'S BEEN SO LONG SINCE WE HAD A PARADE, SO
LET'S HAVE A PARADE!
LET'S INVITE ALL OUR FRIENDS AND ALL OUR
FRIENDS' FRIENDS! LET'S PROMENADE DOWN THE
BOULEVARDS WITH TERRIFIC PRIDE AND LIGHT IN
OUR EYES TWELVE FEET TALL AND STAGGERING
SICK WITH JOY WITH THE ANGELS THERE AND LIGHT
IN OUR EYES BROTHERS AND SISTERS, HOPE STILL
WAITS IN THE WINGS LIKE A BITTER SPINSTER IMPA-
TIENT, LONELY AND SHIVERING, WAITING TO BUILD
HER GLORIOUS FIRES IT'S BECAUSE OF OUR PLANS
MAN: OUR BEAUTIFUL RIDICULOUS PLANS
LET'S LAUNCH THEM LIKE CAREENING JETPLANES
LET'S CRASH ALL OUR PLANES IN THE RIVER LET'S
BUILD STRANGE AND RADIANT MACHINES AT THIS
JERICHO WAITING TO FALL.

"BUILT THEN BURNT (HURRAH! HURRAH!)", THE
SILVER MT. ZION MEMORIAL ORCHESTRA & TRA-LA-
LA BAND, 2003

¹ Wendy Brown, „Resisting Left Melancholy”, *Boundary 2*, vol. 26, #3, 1999.

² Za referencu o jugoslavenskom pokretu novog vala vidi http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yugoslav_New_Wave. „Novo vrijeme” obilježava i 1980. godina, kada umire Josip Broz Tito, nakon čega slijedi razdoblje tzv. „dekadentnog socijalizma”.

³ Bilješka Josipa Vaništa o Post Scriptumu, seriji od 6 publikacija započetoj 1989. godine, čiji dio Vaništa posvećuje članovima grupe Gorgona. Navedeno u: Branka Stipančić, „Josip Vaništa – Vrijeme Gorgone i postgorgone“. *Novine Galerije Nova*, 2007.

⁴ „Povijest revolucija – od ljeta 1776. u Philadelphiji te ljeta 1789. u Parizu pa sve do jeseni 1956. u Budimpešti – kao politički najeksplicitniju priču o modernom vremenu, moguće je ispričati u obliku prisposode o drevnom blagu koje se, uslijed najrazličitijih okolnosti, pojavljuje naglo, neočekivano, kako bi zatim iznova nestalo, uslijed drugih tajnovitih okolnosti, kao da je riječ o fatamorgani.” Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future*, Penguin Books, London, 2006.

⁵ Vidi sl.1. Ilustracija predstavlja zidnu naljepnicu pronađenu među programskim letcima Galerije Nova, nakon zatvaranja izložbe *...ono što je prethodilo Crvenom Peristilu* (kustosi: Boris Cvjetanović i Petar Grimani). Tekstovi na naljepnicama predstavljali su komentare članova nekadašnje skupine Crveni Peristil na fotografije iz vremena djelovanja grupe. Komentar Slavena Šumića u kojem se ne može prisjetiti što je prikazano na jednoj od fotografija, pronađen je nakon izložbe na naljepnici koja je očito bila dvostruko otisnuta pa nije iskorištena za izložbu. Tako je ostala među programskim letcima kao „fantom” izložbe, koja je nastojala trasirati zajedničku povijest članova grupe prije slavne akcije Crveni Peristil, u Splitu 1968.

⁶ René Char, navedeno u: Hannah Arendt, *ibid*.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Grupa umjetnika (čine ju umjetnici, kritičari i arhitekti Josip Vaništa, Julije Knifer, Radoslav Putar, Miljenko Horvat, Ivan Kožarić, Marijan Jevšovar, Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos i Đuro Seder) koja djeluje u Zagrebu od 1959. do 1966. i čije se djelovanje danas može iščitati kao „protokonceptualno”.

¹⁰ „More Action! Less tears!”, naslov pjesme na albumu *The Pretty Little Lightning Paw* (2004.) grupe Thee Silver Mountain Reveries.

¹¹ Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos, “Moskovski manifest”, reproducirano u: Tihomir Milovac (ur.), *Neprilagođeni : konceptualističke strategije u hrvatskoj suvremenoj umjetnosti*, Muzeje suvremene umjetnosti, Zagreb, 2002.

¹² Josip Vaništa, navedeno u: Marija Gattin (ur.), *Gorgona, Muzeje suvremene umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2002.

¹ Wendy Brown, „Resisting Left Melancholy”, *Boundary 2*, vol. 26, #3, 1999.

² For a reference on Yugoslav New Wave, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yugoslav_New_Wave. The “new era” was also marked by Tito's death in 1980, followed by the period of the so-called “decadent socialism.”

³ Note of Josip Vaništa on Post Scriptum, a series of six publications launched in 1989, partly dedicated to the members of Gorgona. Cited in: Branka Stipančić, “Josip Vaništa - Vrijeme Gorgone i Postgorgone” [J. V. – The times of Gorgona and Postgorgona], *Novine Galerije Nova* 2007.

⁴ “The history of revolutions – from the summer of 1776 in Philadelphia and the summer of 1789 in Paris to the autumn of 1956 in Budapest – which politically spells out the innermost story of the modern age, could be told in parable form as the tale of an age-old treasure which, under the most varied circumstances, appears abruptly, unexpectedly, and disappears again, under different mysterious conditions, as though it were a fata morgana.” Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 4.

⁵ See Ill. 1. It shows a wall sticker found among the programme leaflets of Nova Gallery, after the closing of the exhibition *...What Preceded Red Peristil* (curators: Boris Cvjetanović and Petar Grimani). The stickers contained comments that members of ex-Red Peristyle made while looking at the photographs from the time of the group's activity. The comment by Slaven Šumić, in which he could not recall what one of the photographs was showing, was found on a sticker that was apparently been doubly printed and was not used for the exhibition. Thus it remained among the programme leaflets as the “phantom” of the exhibition that sought to track the common history of the members of Red Peristyle before their famous action in Split in 1968.

⁶ René Char, cited in: Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹ A group of artists (its members were visual artists, art critics, and architects Josip Vaništa, Julije Knifer, Radoslav Putar, Miljenko Horvat, Ivan Kožarić, Marijan Jevšovar, Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos, and Đuro Seder), active in Zagreb from 1959-1966. Their activity may be interpreted today as “proto-conceptual”.

¹⁰ Title of a song on the album *The Pretty Little Lightning Paw* (2004) by Thee Silver Mountain Reveries.

¹¹ Dimitrije Bašičević Mangelos, “Moscow manifesto”, reproduced in: Tihomir Milovac (ur.), *The Misfits : conceptualist strategies in Croatian contemporary art*, (Zagreb Museum of Contemporary Art, 2002).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Radoslav Putar, navedeno u: Ibid.

¹⁵ *Ništa još nije ovdje ali neki oblik već može da mu odgovara* je rad Vladimira Kopicla iz 1973. u kojem, pored naslovne, nailazimo i na sljedeću rečenicu: "that is why i am not going to record / to exhibit/ the work of my art so that it would be able to become (it). I am going to recode THIS out of art, yet I did not realise what it is". Vidi npr. u Dubravka Đurić i Miško Šuvaković (ur.), *Impossible Histories. Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, str. 232., The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.

¹⁶ Vidi npr. Nena Dimitrijević, "Umjetnost kao oblik postojanja", u Marija Gattin (ur.), nav.dj.

¹⁷ Hannah Arendt, nav.dj.

¹⁸ Jean Luc-Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, Stanford University Press, 2000.

¹⁹ Strawberry Fields Forever, The Beatles.

²⁰ Korčulanska ljetna škola (1964.-1974.) serija je filozofsko-socioloških ljetnih seminara na otoku Korčuli, koju su osnovali Rudi Supek i Milan Kangrga. Tijekom 10 godina postojanja Korčulanska je škola postala mjesto okupljanja najprominentnijih europskih i svjetskih filozofa, sociologa, teoretičara, umjetnika.

²¹ Vidi: Milan Kangrga, „Korčulanska ljetna škola“, u: *Izvan povijesnog događanja. Dokumenti jednog vremena*, Split: Feral Tribune biblioteka, 1997., str. 278-294

²² Grupa šestorice autora (Mladen Stilinović, Boris Demur, Vlado Martek, Željko Jerman, Sven Stilinović, Fedor Vučemilović) u razdoblju od 1975. do 1979. realizirala je 21 izložbu-akciju, a sam odabir ovog naziva upućuje na svjestan odmak od konvencionalnog načina izlaganja. Grupa umjetnika nije se formalno deklarirala kao grupa. Zanimljivo je da joj sam naziv, koji se sačuvao do danas, daje povjesničar umjetnosti i kustos Marijan Susovski, za potrebe kataloga izložbe *Nova umjetnička praksa*, a koja se održala 1978. godine kao prva relevantna historizacija fenomena „nove umjetničke prakse“ u Jugoslaviji. Slično Gorgoni, označitelj grupa upućuje prije svega na intenzivno druženje i suradnju između njezinih članova, pri čemu ne postoji zajednički program djelovanja i pri čemu svaki od članova realizira i potpisuje individualne radove.

²³ Grupu Penzioner Tihomir Simčić osnovali su Braco Dimitrijević i Goran Trbuljak 1969. Tandem se u svom kratkom djelovanju bavio razmatranjem odnosa umjetnik-institucija i koncepta „anonimnog umjetnika“, „slučajnog sudionika“ te „slučajno stvorenog umjetničkog djela“. Nakon razlaza 1971. obojica se nastavljaju baviti odnosom umjetnika i institucije i umjetničkog sistema te mehanizmima pisanja povijesti umjetnosti.

²⁴ "...Pitanje je kako manipulirati onim što te manipulira, tako očigledno, tako drsko, ali ja nisam neđužan – ne postoji umjetnost bez posljedica." Mladen Stilinović, *Tekst nogom*, 1984.

²⁵ Hakim Bey, T.A.Z. *The Temporary Autonomous Zones, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*. Autonomedia Anti-copyright, New York, 1985, 1991.

²⁶ Puni naziv performansa je *Ležanje gol na asfaltu, ljubljenje asfalta (Zagreb, volim te!). Homage to Howard Hawks' Hatari!*

²⁷ Rečenica se pojavljuje na jednoj od internetskih enciklopedija, pod kronologijom događaja u lipnju 1968. u Zagrebu (http://bos.anarchopedia.org/1968._u_Jugoslaviji). Iako tekst neposredno prije navodi postojanje suprotstavljenih frakcija među zagrebačkim studentima, koje se sukobe oko toga treba li podršku beogradskim studentima izraziti i izlaskom na ulice, navedena rečenica kao da je zalutala u procesu selektiranja hladnih povijesnih činjenica. Podatak da je padala kiša (dok se istodobno npr. ignorira činjenica da je Studentski centar bio već unaprijed opkoljen policijom) relativizira polariziranost suprotstavljenih uvjerenja i dramatičnost situacije, pretvarajući njezine protagoniste u indiferentnu i melankoličnu skupinu koja je bila spremna na djelovanje, ali samo na suhom.

²⁸ Izvršnu analizu povijesti konstrukcije ženskosti i „ženskog pitanja“ u Jugoslaviji vidi u: Bojana Pejić, „The Morning After: Plavi Radion, Abstract Art and Bananas“, n.paradoxa, Vol. 10, 2002

²⁹ Tihomir Ponoš, *Na rubu revolucije – studenti '71*. Profil, Zagreb, 2007.

³⁰ Katarina Spehnjak i Tihomir Cipek, "Disidenti, opozicija i otpor – Hrvatska i Jugoslavija 1945-1990". Hrvatski institut za povijest, br. 2, 2007.

³¹ Tihomir Ponoš, nav.dj.

³² "Marx je sam za sebe izjavio kako on nije nikakav marksist, imajući pritom u vidu svoga zeta Paula Lafarguea i mnoge druge koji su vulgarizirali i iskrivljavali njegovu filozofiju i nauku. U tom smislu ni ja nisam marksist, jer marksistima

¹² Josip Vaništa, cited in: Marija Gattin (ed.), *Gorgona (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2002)*.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Radoslav Putar, quoted ibidem.

¹⁵ *Nothing Is Here Yet But Some Form May Already Fit It* is the title of a work by Vladimir Kopicl from 1973, in which the sentence in the title is followed by another one: "that is why i am not going to record / to exhibit / the work of my art so that it would be able to become (it) I am going to recode THIS out of art, yet I did not realise what it is". See, for example, Dubravka Đurić and Miško Šuvaković (ed.), *Impossible Histories. Historical Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2003), p. 232.

¹⁶ See, for example, Nena Dimitrijević, "Art as a form of existence", in: Marija Gattin (ed.), op. cit.

¹⁷ Hannah Arendt, op.cit.

¹⁸ Jean Luc-Nancy, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford University Press, 2000).

¹⁹ Korčula Summer School (1964-1974) was a series of seminars in the fields of philosophy and sociology, which were launched by Rudi Supek and Milan Kangrga on the island of Korčula. During the ten years of its existence, Korčula Summer School became a meeting point for the most prominent European and world philosophers, sociologists, theoreticians, and artists.

²⁰ The Group of Six Artists (Mladen Stilinović, Boris Demur, Vlado Martek, Željko Jerman, Sven Stilinović, and Fedor Vučemilović) realized 21 "exhibitions-actions" in the period from 1975-1979 - the very choice for naming their activities "exhibition-actions" indicates a certain detachment from conventional exhibition forms. This art group did not formally declare themselves as such. It's interesting that the group's name itself was assigned to it by art historian and curator Marijan Susovski for the catalogue of the exhibition *New Artistic Practice*, which took place in 1978 and was the first relevant historization of the "new artistic practice" phenomenon in Yugoslavia. Similarly to Gorgona, the term "group" indicated above all the friendship and intense collaboration between its members, although they had no common programme of activity and each member signed his own, individual works.

²¹ Senior Citizen Tihomir Simičić was an art group founded by Braco Dimitrijević and Goran Trbuljak in 1969. During their brief activity, the duo considered the artist-institution relationship and the concepts of "anonymous artist," "incidental participant," and "incidentally created work of art." After their

separation in 1971, both Dimitrijević and Trbuljak continued investigating the relationship between the artist and the institution, the art system, and the mechanisms of writing art history.

²² "...The question is how to manipulate what manipulates you, so blatantly, so shamelessly, but I am not innocent – there is no such thing as art without consequences." Mladen Stilinović, *Tekst nogom* [A text by foot] (1984).

²³ Hakim Bey, T.A.Z. *The Temporary Autonomous Zones, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (New York: Autonomedia Anti-copyright, 1985, 1991).

²⁴ The complete title of the performance was: *Ležanje gol na asfaltu, ljubljenje asfalta (Zagreb, volim te!). Homage to Howard Hawks' Hatari!* [Lying naked on the pavement, kissing the pavement (Zagreb, I love you!) Homage to Howard Hawk's Hatari!]

²⁵ This sentence appeared in an Internet encyclopaedia, which offered the chronology of the events that took place in Zagreb in June 1968 (http://bos.anarchopedia.org/1968._u_Jugoslaviji). Even though the text that immediately preceded it mentioned the existence of opposed fractions among Zagreb students, who disagreed about whether they should express their support to Belgrade students by taking to the streets, the quoted sentence seems to have arbitrarily entered the narrative in the process of selecting cold historical facts. Mentioning the fact that it was raining (while at the same time ignoring, for example, that the Student Centre was already then surrounded by police) relativizes the opposition of beliefs and the dramatic character of the situation, turning its protagonists into an indifferent and melancholic crew which was ready for action, but only if it meant preserving dry feet.

²⁶ For an excellent analysis of the history of femininity and the "women's issue" in Yugoslavia, see: Bojana Pejić, "The Morning After: Plavi Radion, Abstract Art and Bananas", n.paradoxa, Vol. 10, 2002

²⁷ The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia

²⁸ Tihomir Ponoš, *Na rubu revolucije – studenti '71* [On the verge of revolution – the students of '71] (Zagreb: Profil, 2007).²⁷

²⁹ Katarina Spehnjak and Tihomir Cipek, "Disidenti, opozicija i otpor - Hrvatska i Jugoslavija 1945-1990" [Dissidents, opposition, and resistance – Croatia and Yugoslavia, 1945-1990], Institute for Croatian History, nr. 2, 2007.

³⁰ Tihomir Ponoš, op. cit.

³¹ "Marx once said about himself that he was no Marxist, having in mind his son-in-law Paul Lafargue and many others who vulgarized and twisted his philosophy and his doctrine. In that sense, I am no Marxist either, since even Stalin and Stalinists of all shapes and colours have been declaring themselves as Marxist to the present

su se smatrali i deklarirali i Staljin i staljinisti svih boja i vrsta do današnjeg dana". Milan Kangrga, *Izvan povijesnog događanja: dokumenti jednog vremena*, Split: Feral Tribune Biblioteka, 1997.

³³ Studentski pokreti 1971. u Zagrebu ostali su zapamćeni pod nazivom „Hrvatsko proljeće”.

³⁴ Hrvoje Jurić, „Protesti i protestiranje”, transkript s diskusije O protestima i protestiranju u okviru projekta Bilježenje grada – bilježenje vremena, 2. otvoreni ured, klub za net.kulturu mama, Zagreb, 24. svibnja 2006., Zarez, br.184–185, 2006.

³⁵ Nažalost, odnos centra i periferije bi se ovdje teško dao izokrenuti, jer članovi grupe navode upravo svoja putovanja po Europi a naročito Parizu, te upoznavanje tamošnje alternativne kulture mladih kao osnovnu inspiraciju za akciju. Zlatko Gall, „Peristil – Mladalački bunt ili umjetnost”, Jutarnji list, 20. 1.1998.

³⁶ Termin koji je Miško Šuvaković postavio kao zajednički okvir čina historizacije avangardnih, neovangardnih i postavangardnih umjetničkih praksi bivše Jugoslavije. Vidi: Dubravka Đurić i Miško Šuvaković (ur.), *Impossible Histories. Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, str. 232., The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.

³⁷ Michel de Certeau povezuje strategije s institucijama i strukturama moći, dok taktike koriste pojedinci kako bi stvorili prostor za sebe u okolišu definiranom strategijama. Prema toj premisi grad je koncept generiran iz pravila i strateškog manevriranja vlasti i institucija. S druge strane, svakodnevni prolaznik (čiju su ulogu umjetnici kasnih 60-tih i 70-tih često preuzimali) djeluje načinima i metodama koje su taktičke i nikad posve determinirane strategijama tijela vlasti. Prema: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, London, 1988.

³⁸ Intervencija Željka Jermana u javnom prostoru u formi transparenta ispred Studenskog centra u Zagrebu, 1978.

³⁹ Realizira ju mlada ekipa od kojih su neki još uvijek studenti ADU (režija: Želimir Mesarić, glumačka ekipa: Zdenko Jelčić, Darko Čurdo, Branko Supek, Mladen Budiščak, Angel Palačev, Zvonko Lepetić, Đuro Utješanović).

⁴⁰ Prema podnaslovu mostarskog literarnog časopisa „Kolaps - vodič za urbane spavače”.

⁴¹ Tu zabavu je, u domaćem kontekstu, pokvario već 1924. godine August Cesarec, kada je, za vrijeme svog boravka u SSSR-u, za Književnu republiku napisao tekst:

PLJUNI ISTINI
U OČI (A ZATIM
BRZO ZATVORI
OČI PRED
ISTINOM)

SPIT IN THE
EYE OF TRUTH
(THEN QUICKLY
CLOSE YOUR
EYES BEFORE IT)

day.” Milan Kangrga, *Izvan povijesnog događanja: dokumenti jednog vremena*, [Beyond historical events: documents of a time] (Split: Feral Tribune Biblioteka, 1997).

³² The Zagreb student movements of 1971 are known as the “Croatian Spring.”

³³ Maspok (mass movement) is another name for Croatian spring.

³⁴ Hrvoje Jurić in: “Protesti i protestiranje” [Protests and protesting], transcript from a debate part of the project Bilježenje grada – bilježenje vremena [Documenting the city – documenting the time], 2nd Open Office, klub za net.kulturu mama, Zagreb, 24 May 2006, Zarez, nr.184-185, 2006.

³⁵ Unfortunately, the relationship between centre and periphery could hardly be inverted here, since the members of the group stated that it was precisely their journeys to Europe, especially to Paris, and getting acquainted with its alternative youth culture, that served as the basic inspiration for their action. Zlatko Gall, “Peristil – Mladalački bunt ili umjetnost” [Peristyle – Youth rebellion or art], Jutarnji list, 20 January 1998.

³⁶ The term Miško Šuvaković set as the common frame of any act of historization of avant-garde, neo-avant-garde and postavant-garde artistic practices in ex-Yugoslavia. See: Dubravka Đurić i Miško Šuvaković (ur.), *Impossible Histories. Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*, str. 232., The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.

³⁷ Michel de Certeau has linked strategies to institutions and power structures, while tactics are used by individuals in order to create a place for themselves in an environment defined by strategies. According to this premise, city is a concept generated from rules and the strategic manoeuvring of the authorities and the institutions. On the other hand, an average passer-by (whose role was then frequently adopted by artists in the late 60s and 70s) could act upon it in ways and methods that were tactical and never entirely determined by strategies of the bodies of power. Paraphrased from: Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (London: University of California Press, 1988).

³⁸ *Ovo nije moj svijet* [This Is Not My World], an intervention in public space by Željko Jerman, in the form of a billboard placed in front of the Student Centre, Zagreb (1978).

³⁹ It was realized by a team of young people, some of which were still students at the Academy of Drama Arts (directed by Želimir Mesarić, actors: Zdenko Jelčić, Darko Čurdo, Branko Supek, Mladen Budiščak, Angel Palačev, Zvonko Lepetić, Đuro Utješanović)

⁴⁰ Referring the title of a literary journal from Mostar called “Kolaps - vodič za

“Savremeni ruski slikari. Umetnost u revoluciji i apstrakcija u umetnosti. Kandinski, Maljevič, Tatlin”, u kojem je, prema riječima Miška Šuvakovića, “iznio radikalnu levu kritiku moderne i avangardne umetnosti ukazujući na probleme recepcije avangardnih dela u masovnoj socijalističkoj kulturi, tj. u radničkoj klasi.” M.Šuvaković, „Zašto nemoguće istorije”, Novine Galerije Nova, br.13/14, 2007. Mnogo kasnije, na jednom od Aprilskih susreta zabavu je pokvario, kako opet, ali drugom prilikom, izvještava Šuvaković, gost Achile Bonito Oliva koji je SKC i njegovo djelovanje nazvao “rezervatom” izoliranim od kulture u kojoj djeluje, koji vlasti služi kako bi pred Zapadom imala dokaz o razmjerima svoje liberalnosti. Vidi katalog izložbe: SKC in ŠKUC. The Case of Students’ Cultural Centre in the 1970’s, uredili: Prelom kolektiv; Prelom kolektiv i Galerija Škuc, 2008.

⁴² Primjerice, u radu Mladena Stilinovića koji pogađa u temelje društvenog i ideološkog poretka – jezik kojim govori i ikonografiju kojom ga ilustrira; u radovima Vlade Marteka koji su verbalna agitacija anarhoidnog ponašanja prema “državi”: “Laži državu”, “Zaljubljen sam u državu, živio preljub”, Svena Stilinovića koji se bavi dekonstrukcijom simbola poput jugoslavenske zastave itd.

⁴³ Možda je opet izvjesna, i dovoljna, sama želja za “postajanjem”, a ne i određeni cilj.

⁴⁴ Jadran Boban, „Kralj šume u transu rock’n’rolla – razgovor sa Slobodanom Tišmom”, Zarez, broj 146, 2005.

⁴⁵ *Umjetnost uvijek izmiče, to je konstanta* naziv je jednog od „tekstova-crteža” Ivana Kožarića (1988).

⁴⁶ Alain Badiou, *Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art*, predavanje održano 4. prosinca 2003, u the Drawing Center u New Yorku. Ovdje citirani dijelovi teksta preuzeti sa: <http://www.lacan.com/frameXXIII7.htm>

⁴⁷ Vidi bilješku br. 36

IVANA BAGO JE POVJESNIČARKA UMJETNOSTI I KUSTOSICA U GALERIJI MIROSLAV KRALJEVIĆ U ZAGREBU, GDJE ŽIVI I RADI.

ANTONIA MAJAČA JE POVJESNIČARKA UMJETNOSTI, KUSTOSICA I DIREKTORICA GALERIJE MIROSLAV KRALJEVIĆ U ZAGREBU, GDJE ŽIVI I RADI.

urbane spavače” [Collapse: Guide for urban sleepers].

⁴¹ In the local context, the fun was spoilt as early as 1924 by August Cesarec, who wrote an essay for Književna republika during his stay in the USSR, entitled: “Contemporary Russian Painters: Art in Revolution and Abstraction in Art. Kandinsky, Malevich, Tatlin”, in which he, according to Miško Šuvaković, “offered a radical leftist criticism of modern and avant-garde art, pointing to the problems of reception of avant-garde artworks in popular socialist culture, i.e. among the working classes.” M. Šuvaković, “Zašto nemoguće istorije” [Why impossible histories], Novine Galerije Nova, nr.13/14, 2007. Many years later, at one of the April Encounters, the fun was spoilt, as Šuvaković reports, by a guest, Achile Bonito Oliva, who called SKC and its activity a “reservation”, isolated from the culture in which it was active and used by the authorities in order to have a proof of its great liberality before the West. See the exhibition catalogue: *SKC in ŠKUC. The Case of Students’ Cultural Centre in the 1970’s*, ed. by Prelom Kolektiv; Prelom Kolektiv and Škuc Gallery, 2008.

⁴² For example, in the work of Mladen Stilinović, striking at the very foundations of social and ideological order – the language it used and the iconography which served to illustrate it; in those of Vlado Martek, which were a case of verbal agitation and anarchoid behaviour towards the “state”: Lie to the State, I Am in Love with the State, Long Live Adultery, etc.; or in those of Sven Stilinović, who was deconstructing symbols such as the Yugoslav flag.

⁴³ Perhaps, we could again speak with certainty – and perhaps this is sufficient – only with regards to the mere wish to “become” something, rather than a definite goal.

⁴⁴ Jadran Boban, “Kralj šume u transu rock’n’rolla – razgovor sa Slobodanom Tišmom” [King of the forest in a rock’n’roll trance – An interview with S.T.], Zarez, nr. 146, 2005.

⁴⁵ *Art Always Slips Away, That Is a Constant* is the title of a “text/drawing” by Ivan Kožarić (1988).

⁴⁶ <http://www.lacan.com/frameXXIII7.htm>

⁴⁷ See Footnote 36

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