

# **Umetnost na delu**

**Na razpotju med utopijo in (ne)odvisnostjo**

# **Art at Work**

**At the Crossroads between Utopianism and (In)Dependence**

Muzej sodobne umetnosti Metelkova / Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova

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Razstava *Umetnost na delu* je nastala v okviru štiriletnega programa konfederacije evropskih muzejev Internacionala in partnerjev *Naše mnoge Evrope* (2018–2022), ki ga sofinancira program Evropske unije Ustvarjalna Evropa. Pobudnik ustanovitve Internacionala je bila leta 2009 prav Moderna galerija v Ljubljani pod vodstvom takratne direktorice Zdenke Badovinac. Delovanje Internacionala temelji na sodelovanju med muzeji in drugimi evropskimi institucijami za moderno in sodobno umetnost, ki delujejo skupaj kot del mreže, eno njenih vodilnih načel pa so povezave med umetnostjo in družbo. Prvi uspešni mednarodni program Internacionala z naslovom *1957–1986. Umetnost od zatona modernizma do vzpona globalizacije* je vodila Moderna galerija (2010–2012). Sledil je program *Rabe umetnosti* (2013–2017), ki je širši publiki predstavil nova branja evropske zgodovine. Refleksija odnosov med umetniškimi, aktivističnimi in institucionalnimi energijami ostaja ena osrednjih programskih usmeritev Moderne galerije. Zahvaljujem se vsem sodelavkam in sodelavcem ter partnerjem, ki so prispevali k realizaciji projekta.

Aleš Vaupotič, direktor Moderne galerije

The *Art at Work* exhibition is part of the four-year program *Our Many Europes* (2018–2022), organized by the European museum confederation L'Internationale and its partners, and co-funded by the Creative Europe program of the European Union. L'Internationale was founded in 2009 on the initiative of Moderna galerija in Ljubljana and its then Director Zdenka Badovinac. It is based on collaboration between the member museums and other European institutions of modern and contemporary art working together as part of a network, with the intertwining between art and society one of its foremost principles. L'Internationale first successfully implemented its program of international cultural projects with *1957–1986. Art from the Decline of Modernism to the Rise of Globalization*, headed by Moderna galerija (2010–2012). Next came *The Uses of Art* project (2013–2017), which brought new readings of European art history to a broader public. Reflection on the relations between artistic, activist, and institutional energies remains a major focus of Moderna galerija's program. I wish to thank my coworkers and all our partners for contributing to the realization of this project.

Aleš Vaupotič, Director, Moderna galerija

Razstava *Umetnost na delu* prinaša vpogled v tri različne segmente genealogije koncepta dela na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije, in sicer pojmovanje koncepta dela avantgardnih umetnikov v šestdesetih, sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, spremembo koncepta dela umetnikov in njihovih prostorov v devetdesetih letih ter politične umetniške prakse od leta 2000 dalje.

V zgodnjih devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, v času tranzicije iz socializma v kapitalizem, se je na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije začel bistveno preobraziti koncept dela umetnikov, preoblikovali pa so se tudi koncepti umetnostnih prostorov. Še več, v posocialističnem svetu se je spremenil tudi produkcijski čas umetnikov. Medtem ko so umetniki v času socializma govorili o lenobi in času »v leri« kot o kreativnem času, ga je zdaj nadomestil produkciji čas rokov, *deadlineov*. Prav tako sta v devetdesetih letih nekdanji utopizem umetniških kolektivov nadomestila pragmatizem in fleksibilnost dela nevladnih organizacij, pretežno odvisnih od javnih sredstev. Umetniki so postali producenti, preživetje umetnikov in kulturnikov pa je postalo odvisno od trajanja posameznih projektov, tako da so se pridružili vse številnejši armadi prekarnih delavcev. Čeprav v socializmu pogoji dela niso bili veliko boljši, so imeli umetniki vsaj ves svoj čas na razpolago. Ker se nestabilnost dela (umetnikov) zaradi čedalje bolj zaostrenih razmer v svetu (pandemija, desne politike, vojne, ekonomska kriza) še stopnjuje, se s tem povečuje tudi potreba po intenzivnejšem horizontalnem povezovanju in po ponovnem premisleku dediščine avantgard. Ob vsem razstava izpostavi tudi dejstvo, da so bili umetniški kolektivi v preteklosti pretežno moški in da so ženske svoje delo organizirale in artikulirale drugače. Razstava predstavi projekte zadnjih dvajsetih let, ki se s konceptom dela ukvarjajo na način političnih platform in tako neposredno vplivajo na kulturne politike v posameznih državah. Ta del razstave se navezuje tudi na lokalne tradicije sodelovanja med institucijami, nevladnimi organizacijami in posameznimi umetniki na polju dela, vse to pa je tematsko razširjeno na boje za delavske pravice (v kulturi), ki sovpadajo z bojem za pravice gospodinjiskih delavk in delavcev, negovalk in negovalcev ter migrantskih delavk in delavcev.

Na razstavi sodeluje več kot petdeset umetnikov in umetnic, umetniških kolektivov in združenj z območja nekdanje Jugoslavije. Veliko del je iz zbirke Moderne galerije, predvsem iz mednarodne zbirke Arteast 2000+.

Kustosa posebnih razstavnih projektov sta Sezgin Boynik in Jelena Vesić, obširno raziskavo in kartiranje neodvisnih prostorov v devetdesetih letih na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije pa je opravila kustosinja Teja Merhar. Pri raziskavah in tudi drugače so nam pomagali Marijan Rupert, Rokopisna zbirka NUK, Cecilia Grönberg, Jonas (J) Magnusson, Tefvik Rada, Jasna Jakšič, arhiv SKC in Ljubinka Gavran, Suzana Milevska, Leila Topić in Branislav Dimitrijević, za kar se vsem najlepše zahvaljujemo, prav tako pa tudi Siniši Iliču za svetovanje pri postavitvi razstave. Besedila v katalogu smo prispevali kustosi razstave Zdenka Badovinac, Bojana Piškur, Igor Španjol in pisci Sezgin Boynik, Vida Knežević, Tjaša Pureber in Jelena Vesić.

Zahvaljujemo se vsem sodelujočim umetnikom, umetnicam in kolektivom, da so nam posodili umetniška dela in tako omogočili realizacijo razstave, ter prav tako umetnikom in umetnicam, ki bodo v času trajanja razstave izvajali performanse. Zahvaljujemo se vsem institucijam in posameznikom, ki so nam na razne načine prijazno pomagali: zbirka Art Collection Telekom, Rokopisna zbirka NUK, Muzej sodobne umetnosti Vojvodine, ChertLüdde Berlin, ETH Zurich/ gta exhibitions, Muzej sodobne umetnosti Skopje, Delta 5 Reka, Muzej moderne in sodobne umetnosti Reka in Društvo likovnih umetnikov Srbije. Zahvala gre programu Evropske unije Naše mnoge Evrope, ki ga sofinancira program Evropske unije Ustvarjalna Evropa, in Ministrstvu za kulturo RS, ki sta projekt finančno podprla.

Posebna zahvala pa gre seveda sodelavkam in sodelavcem v Moderni galeriji, ki so pomagali pri pripravi obsežnega projekta: Sanji Kuveljić Bandić, ki je projekt koordinirala, urednici kataloga Tamar Soban, Adeli Železnik za obrazstavní program, Luciji Cvjetković za pedagoški program, tehnični ekipi Moderne galerije, Tomažu Kučerju, Nadi Madžarac za restavriranje, Dejanu Habichtu za fotografijo, Sabini Povšič za koordinacijo fotografije in zunanji sodelavki Katarini Bogataj za pomoč pri koordinaciji razstave.

Zdenka Badovinac, Ana Mizerit, Bojana Piškur, Igor Španjol  
kustosi razstave

The *Art at Work* exhibition looks at three different segments of the genealogy of the concept of (artistic) work in the region of the former Yugoslavia: first, the way work was conceived by the avant-garde artists of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s; next, the transformations of the concept of artistic work and art spaces in the 1990s; and lastly, the labor-related political art practices since 2000.

The early 1990s – the time of transition from socialism to capitalism in the territory of the former Yugoslavia – saw some fundamental shifts in the way artists’ work was perceived, as well as structural changes to spaces of art. And more than that, in the post-socialist world, artists’ production time changed as well. While under socialism artists had viewed indolence and the time of “running on idle” as creative time, in capitalism this was replaced by a time dictated by deadlines. Furthermore, the former utopianism of art collectives was replaced by the newly founded NGOs’ pragmatism and flexibility of work, due to their predominant dependence on public funds in the 1990s. Artists became producers, and both artists and other cultural workers came to depend on projects for their survival, thus joining the ever-growing ranks of precarious workers. While the working conditions for artists can hardly be said to have been much better under socialism, at least artists were masters of their own time. As the precariousness of (artists’) work is only intensifying with the globally deteriorating conditions (the pandemic, right-wing policies, wars, the economic crisis), the need for building more intense horizontal connections and rethinking the legacy of the avant-gardes is ever more urgent. Another fact underscored by *Art at Work* is that art collectives used to be predominantly male, and women organized and articulated their work in other ways. The projects produced over the past twenty years that are included in the exhibition address the concept of work in the manner of political platforms, thus directly influencing cultural politics in their respective states. This exhibition chapter also relates to the local traditions of collaboration among art institutions, NGOs, and individual artists in terms of labor, thematically extended to encompass the struggle for (cultural) workers’ rights, including the rights of domestic workers, care workers, and migrant workers.

More than 50 artists, art collectives, and associations from the region of the former Yugoslavia are participating in the exhibition. Many of the presented works are from Moderna galerija’s collections, a majority from the international Arteast 2000+ collection.

Two special projects included in the show are curated by Jelena Vesić and Sezgin Boynik respectively, while the curator Teja Merhar has conducted extensive research into and mapping of the independent spaces of the 1990s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We wish to thank Marijan Rupert, Manuscript Collection, National and University Library of Slovenia; Cecilia Grönberg, Jonas (J) Magnusson, Tefvik Rada, Jasna Jakšič; the SKC archive and Ljubinka Gavran; Suzana Milevska, Leila Topić, and Branislav Dimitrijević for their help in research and other forms of assistance, and Siniša Ilič for consulting on exhibition design. The texts in the catalogue were written by exhibition curators Zdenka Badovinac, Bojana Piškur, and Igor Španjol, and writers Sezgin Boynik, Vida Knežević, Tjaša Pureber, and Jelena Vesić.

Our profound thanks go to all the participating artists, collectives, and all others who have kindly loaned us the artworks, thus enabling the realization of this exhibition. A special thanks also goes to the artists who will carry out their performances at the exhibition. We further owe a debt of gratitude to all the people and institutions who have kindly helped us in various ways: the Art Collection Telekom, the Manuscript Collection of the National and University Library of Slovenia, the Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina, ChertLüdde Berlin, ETH Zurich/ gta exhibitions, the Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje, Delta 5 Rijeka, the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Rijeka, and the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia. Thanks also to the European Union program Our Many Europes, co-financed by the Creative Europe program of the European Union, and to the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia for financially supporting the show.

Last but not least, many thanks to our coworkers at Moderna galerija for their help with this extensive project: Sanja Kuveljić Bandić for coordinating the project, Tamara Soban for editing the catalogue, Adela Železnik for the public program, Lucija Cvjetković for the pedagogical program, the technical crew and Tomaž Kučer for coordinating their work, Nada Madžarac for restoration work, Dejan Habicht for photography and Sabina Povšič for coordination of photography, and our external collaborator Katarina Bogataj for assisting with the coordination of the project.

Zdenka Badovinac, Ana Mizerit, Bojana Piškur, Igor Španjol  
Exhibition curators

**Zamenjava vlog:  
umetnost kot delo v jugoslovanskem  
in pojugoslovanskem kontekstu**

**Changing Roles:  
Art as Work in the Yugoslav and  
Post-Yugoslav Contexts**

Umetnost je delo. Že dolgo tega so umetniki prenehali biti zgolj slikarji, kiparji, fotografi ... danes jih najdemo v najrazličnejših vlogah. Po eni strani je to zato, ker so prisiljeni početi različne stvari za preživetje, po drugi zato, ker je umetnost sama postala stvar različnih disciplin in družbenih vlog. In to ima seveda svojo zgodovino. V šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja so se s pojavom institucionalne kritike in drugih novih umetniških praks začeli procesi razgrajevanja obstoječe delitve vlog v umetniških projektih. Konceptualni umetniki so začeli sproti dokumentirati svoje umetniške akcije, njihovi dokumenti pa so se ohranili bodisi kot umetniški artefakti bodisi kot arhivi, ali bolje rečeno, kar je ostalo, je bila dilema o identiteti te dokumentacije – o razmejitvi med umetnostjo in arhivom. S tem se je odprlo tudi vprašanje meja med umetnikom, kustosom in arhivarjem. Vsa nadaljnja dogajanja v družbi in geopolitiki so tem vprašanjem dodala svoj lastni poudarek. Tako smo lahko na primer v socialistični Vzhodni Evropi videli široko razširjeno prakso samozgodovinjstva, ki je pripeljala še zlasti do umetniških arhivov marginaliziranih sodobnih umetniških praks in njihovih tradicij.<sup>2</sup> Umetniki, ki so ustvarili te arhive, so se s tem odzvali na pomanjkanje zgodovinjstva avantgardnih praks s strani umetnostnih institucij ali pa sploh na pomanjkanje kakršnegakoli institucionalnega dela, obenem pa so tudi kontekstualizirali svoje lastno delo. Nihče od njih ni premišljeval o plačilu za tako delo; arhive so ustvarili, ker ni bilo nikogar drugega, ki bi poskrbel za zgodovino.

Tovrstni idealizem in utopičnost sta v devetdesetih letih povsem izginila. Nenadoma je – vsaj v Vzhodni Evropi, kjer se je zdelo, kot da sta umetnost in denar z različnih planetov – postalo jasno, da je umetnost mogoče kapitalizirati. In ne le umetnost, ampak cele zgodovine. Kapitalizacija in odtujitev vzhodnoevropskega prostora in časa se je začela na začetku devetdesetih let.

Na primeru slovenskih nevladnih organizacij bom pojasnila, v kaj so se spremenile avantgardne sodelovalne umetniške prakse v devetdesetih letih. V Sloveniji je vlada v devetdesetih letih podpirala ustanavljanje nevladnih kulturnih organizacij in začela financirati njihove projekte. Tu govorim o manjših produkcijskih hišah, galerijah, sodobnih plesnih gledališčih, manjših založbah ipd., ki so jih večinoma vodili umetniki. Te nevladne organizacije so bile skorajda brez izjeme dedinje lokalnih avantgardnih tradicij in njihovega načina delovanja. Umetniške skupine in kolektivi iz obdobja od petdesetih do devetde-

setih let (na primer EXAT 51, Gorgona, OHO, Grupa šestih umetnikov, Neue Slowenische Kunst) so si v delu prizadevali za enakopravnejšo ekonomijo, enakopravno sodelovanje, kolektivnost in solidarnost. S članstvom, samoorganizacijo in močno mrežo somišljenikov so taki umetniški kolektivi služili kot strateška alternativa uradni (slabo razviti) kulturni infrastrukturi in kot orodje mednarodne komunikacije. S tem so postali neposredni ali posredni kritiki nefunkcionalnosti družbene utopije in v svojih praksah pogosto ponujali nekakšen socialni korektiv. Na primeru svojega lastnega kolektivnega dela in samoorganizacije so skušali prikazati avtentični kolektivizem, neprofitno družbo in družbo solidarnosti. Lahko bi rekli, da so v svojem delu gradili institucije ali, z drugimi besedami, da so vzpostavljali svoj lastni zgodovinsko-interpretativni kontekst v situaciji, kjer institucije, ki bi morale sistematizirati avantgardno umetnost, bodisi niso obstajale bodisi so imele do nje odklonilen odnos. Zaradi tega so bili umetniki marsikje prisiljeni sami arhivirati dokumente, povezane s svojo umetnostjo, umetnostjo drugih umetnikov in širših umetnostnih gibanj in produkcijskih pogojev, prav tako pa so v okviru svojega dela kopirali ali citirali lokalno avantgardno umetnost ali komentirali odsotnost njene zgodovine. Taki umetniki so vodili svoje prostore, gradili mreže in celo ustanovili umetniško državo.

Člani vseh teh skupin so bili pretežno moški, vendar so delovali znotraj alternativnih kulturnih prostorov, ki so jih vodile ali bile v njih in njihovi bližini ključne kuratorke, kot so bile, denimo, v beograjskem ŠKUC-u (Studentski kulturni centar) Dunja Blažević, Bojana Pejić in Biljana Tomić, v ljubljanskem Taja Vidmar Brejc, Marina Gržinić in Barbara Borčić, v Zagrebu pa je za lokalne umetniške skupine pisala in jih promovirala kuratorka Branka Stipančić. Vse te ženske so s člani teh umetniških kolektivov družile tudi prijateljske in ljubezenske vezi, bile so del istega kolektivnega habitusa. Eno ključnih vprašanj jugoslovanskih umetniških skupin je bilo, kako delamo in živimo skupaj, kar ni bilo samo preprosto vprašanje metode dela, ampak vprašanje kompleksnosti življenja in hkrati tudi osrednja vsebina njihove umetnosti. Delo kot vsebina umetniškega dela je nekaj, čemur so se posvečali člani umetniških skupin in kolektivov, in videti je bilo, kot da so zunanji sodelavke in sodelavci pri vsem tem zgolj del širše infrastrukture. Sodelavci in sodelavke, ki niso bili formalni člani, pretežno niso bili razumljeni kot soavtorji. Čeprav je delo skupin temeljilo na

dekonstrukciji koncepta originalnega avtorstva, je to bilo še najbolj radikalno problematizirano v projektih na meji med umetnostjo in življenjem. Verjetno je šel pri tem najdlje OHO, ki se je v eni fazi svojega dela preimenoval v Družino v Šempasu (1971–79), čeprav je vloga Marka Pogačnika v vseh ohojevskih fazah ostajala vodilna. Ne samo galeristke in kustosinje, temveč tudi žene umetnikov, kot je Pogačnikova žena Marika Pogačnik, so prav gotovo imele pomembno vlogo tudi v kreativnih procesih teh skupin. Aktualne feministične kritike teh umetniških kolektivov opozarjajo na podcenjeno vlogo življenjskih sopotnic posamičnih članov in njihovih redkih ženskih sodelavk. A mislim, da bi bilo premalo dati zgolj večjo vidnost tem ženskam; za to, da sploh lahko drugače razumemo tudi njihovo vlogo, je ključna sprememba paradigme dela v umetnosti v teh kolektivih.

Vsi ti umetniški kolektivi so bili sicer utopične narave, a v devetdesetih letih so se umetniki nehali boriti proti mašineriji zgodovine in ideologije ter se podali v bolj pragmatično borbo za preživetje. Umetniki so postali producenti, kustosi, arhivarji in administratorji svojih lastnih majhnih profesionalnih organizacij. Vladna kulturna politika je postavila norme za nevladne organizacije, vključno s številom projektov, ki so jih lahko realizirali na leto, s časovnim razporedom ipd., ter jih tako podredila logiki projektnega dela. Preživetje mnogih na področju kulture je bilo tako odvisno od trajanja posamičnih projektov in pridružili so se vse večji armadi prekarnih delavcev. Čeprav bi težko trdili, da so bili v socializmu pogoji dela veliko boljši, so imeli umetniki vsaj ves svoj čas na razpolago in se jim ni bilo treba podrežati zahtevam financerjev. Ko so se umetniki in drugi kulturniki znašli vključeni v razne projektne skupine, so začeli privzemati vlogo organizatorjev, administratorjev, tehnikov in česarkoli drugega, kar je bilo potrebno v projektu. Vse to se je preneslo tudi v samo umetnost. S tem želim reči, da umetniki niso slepo pristali na dane pogoje, ampak so začeli kritično uprizarjati svoje delo in lastno vlogo v njem. Zato se je začel spreminjati tudi format umetniškega dela, ki je postalo dejanska čitalnica, lokal, videoteka, solarij, športno igrišče itd. To je seveda vplivalo tudi na kuratorsko prakso, zato ni nič čudnega, da sta se začeli vlogi kustosa in umetnika vse bolj prepletati.

To prepletanje različnih vlog v kreativnem procesu je na neki način nadaljevanje avantgardne prakse prepletanja umetnosti in življenja, obenem pa je, kot že omenjeno, tudi izraz prekarnih oblik dela,

ki so zabrisale meje med življenjem in delom. Bojana Kunst v knjigi *Umetnik na delu* zastavi teoretsko razlikovanje med delom in projekti, ki so postali jedro postfordističnega produkcijskega načina.<sup>3</sup> Projekt, ki nas podvrže rokom, prodre v vse pore našega življenja, tako da nam zmanjka časa za poglobljeno družbeno izkušnjo, ki se zgodi, kot pravi Bojana Kunst, le v daljšem stiku s stvarnostjo.

Prekarnost projektnega dela se z vsakim naslednjim projektom le še povečuje, še zlasti v kriznih časih, kakršna je bila pandemija covid-19. Ponovno, kot že tolikokrat prej v zgodovini, je krizni čas odkril nujnost horizontalnega povezovanja različnih akterjev – umetnikov in drugih prekarnih delavcev, institucij in aktivistov – v združenem boju proti odtujitvi dela in kapitalizaciji časa.

1 Z nekaj dodatki je besedilo povzeto iz: Zdenka Badovinac, *Unannounced Voices: Curatorial Practice and Changing Institutions*, poglavje »The Work« (Sternberg Press, 2022), str. 20–22.

2 Za več o samozgodovinjstvu glej: Zdenka Badovinac, »Prekinjene zgodovine«, v *Prekinjene zgodovine: Artest razstava / Interrupted Histories: Artest Exhibition* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2006), s.p.; mapa.

3 Bojana Kunst, *Umetnik na delu: Bližina umetnosti in kapitalizma* (Ljubljana: Maska, 2012).

Art is work. A long time ago artists ceased to be solely painters, sculptors, photographers... today we find them in many different roles. On the one hand this is because they are forced to do different things to make a living, on the other because art itself has become about different disciplines and social roles. This has of course its own history. In the 1960s, with institutional critique and other new artistic practices, processes were initiated that started tearing down the established division of roles in art projects. Conceptual artists began to document their art actions as they did them, and these documents then remained as either artistic artifacts or archives, or rather, what remained was a dilemma about the identity of these records – about the boundary between art and archive. This, in turn, opened the question of the boundaries between artist, curator, and archivist. Every new development in society and geopolitics added its own specific twist to such questions. In socialist Eastern Europe, for example, we find the widespread practice of self-historicization, which resulted in artist-created archives of, especially, marginalized contemporary art practices and their local traditions.<sup>2</sup> The artists who compiled these archives were reacting to the absence of historicization of avant-garde practices in art institutions, or, indeed, to the absence of any institutional work, and at the same time they were contextualizing their own work. None of them thought about payment for such work; they compiled their archives because there was nobody else to take care of history.

This idealism and utopianism completely disappeared in the 1990s. Suddenly – at least in Eastern Europe, where art and money were perceived as coming from completely different universes – it became clear that art could be capitalized on. And not only art, but whole histories. The capitalization and alienation of the Eastern European space and time began in the early 1990s.

I will use the case of Slovenian NGOs to explain what the avant-garde collaborative art practices transformed into in the 1990s. In Slovenia, the government supported the establishment of nongovernmental cultural organizations in the 1990s, and began funding their projects. I am talking here about small production houses, galleries, modern dance theaters, small publishers, etc., mostly run by artists. These NGOs, almost without exception, were in fact the heirs to local avant-garde traditions and their ways of working.

The art groups from the 1950s through the 1980s, such as EXAT 51, Gorgona, OHO, Grupa šestorice (the Group of Six Artists), and Neue Slowenische Kunst, were in their work striving for a more equitable economy, equal participation, collectivity, and solidarity. By virtue of their membership, their self-organization, and a strong network of like-minded people, such art collectives served as a strategic alternative to the official (and poorly developed) cultural infrastructure, and as a tool for international communication. Thus, they were direct or indirect critics of the dysfunctionality of the social utopia, and often offered a kind of social corrective in their own practices. On the example of their own collective work and self-organization, they strove to present authentic notions of collectivism, a non-profit-based society, and a society of solidarity. We could say that they were building institutions through their works, or in other words, that they were building their own historical/interpretive context in a situation where the institutions that should have systematized avant-garde art either did not exist or took a dismissive attitude towards such art. Because of this, artists were in many places compelled to archive documents related to their own art, the art of other artists, and the broader art movements and conditions of production, and also copied, quoted or commented on the absent history of local avant-garde art in the frame of their work. Such artists ran their own spaces, built networks, and even formed an artistic state.

The members of these art groups were predominantly men, but they worked under the auspices of alternative art and culture spaces that were headed by, or in some way crucially associated with, women curators, such as Dunja Blažević, Bojana Pejić, and Biljana Tomić in the Belgrade Student Cultural Center; Taja Vidmar Brejč, Marina Gržinić, and Barbara Borčić in the Ljubljana ŠKUC; while the curator Branka Stipančić wrote about and promoted the local art groups in Zagreb. These women were also connected to the members of these art collectives with bonds of friendship and love; they all shared the same collective habitus. One of the key issues Yugoslav art groups focused on was how to work and live together; more than a simple question of work methods, this concerned the complexity of life, becoming the central subject of their art. Work or labor as the subject of art was what members of art groups and collectives focused on, and their external collaborators, both male and female, seemed to be

merely part of the broader infrastructure in that process. The collaborators who were not formal members of a group/collective were, for the most part, not seen as co-authors. Although the groups' work was based on the deconstruction of the concept of original authorship, the issue was most radically addressed in projects on the borderline between art and life. This was likely taken furthest by OHO, who at a certain stage renamed themselves the Šempas Family (1971–1979), although Marko Pogačnik's role remained that of the leader of OHO in all of their stages. A major role in the creative processes of such groups was undoubtedly also played by the artists' wives, such as Marika Pogačnik, and not just the women gallerists and curators. Current feminist critical writings on such art collectives point out the undervalued role of the individual group members' life partners and the few female collaborators. In my view, however, giving greater visibility to these women is not enough; what is crucial for a different understanding of their role is a change in the paradigm of work in art in these collectives.

While all these art collectives had a utopian character, in the 1990s artists stopped struggling against the machinery of history and ideology and began fighting more pragmatically for their own survival. Artists became producers, curators, archivists, and administrators in their own small professional organizations. The government's cultural policy set the norms for these nongovernmental organizations, including the number of projects they could realize each year, timetables, etc., and so made them subject to the logic of project work. Many people in the cultural field were thus given the chance of making a living only for as long as a project lasted, thus joining the ranks of a growing army of precarious workers. While it would be difficult to say there were better work conditions under socialism, we can say that artists were masters of their own time, which was not subject to the demands of the funding agencies. Finding themselves part of various project groups, artists and other cultural workers began taking on the roles of organizers, administrators, technicians, and anything else the project demanded. All of this migrated into the art itself. What I mean is that artists did not blindly agree to the given conditions, but instead began to critically stage their own work and their roles in this work. Consequently, the format of the artwork also began to change, becoming actual reading rooms, bars, video librar-

ies, solariums, sports fields and so on. Naturally, this also influenced curatorial practices, so it is no wonder that the roles of curator and artist became increasingly intertwined.

Such intertwining of various roles within the creative process is, in its own way, the continuation of the avant-garde practice of intertwining art and life, but, as I have noted, it is also an expression of the precarious forms of work that had erased the boundaries between life and work. In her book *The Artist at Work*, Bojana Kunst posits a theoretical distinction between work and projects, which became the core of the post-Fordist mode of production.<sup>3</sup> The project, which subjects us to deadlines, seeps into all the aspects of our lives so that we lack time for the deeper social experience that, as Kunst says, happens only in extended contact with reality.

The precariousness of project work only intensifies with each new project, especially in times of crisis, such as during the COVID-19 pandemic. Once more, as so often in history, a time of crisis has revealed the necessity of various agents – artists and other precarious workers, institutions and activists – connecting horizontally in a united front against the alienation of work and the capitalization of time.

<sup>1</sup> With minor additions, this text is excerpted from: Zdenka Badovinac, *Unannounced Voices: Curatorial Practice and Changing Institutions*, chapter "The Work" (Sternberg Press, 2022), pp. 20–22.

<sup>2</sup> For more on self-historicization, see Zdenka Badovinac, "Interrupted Histories", in *Prekinjene zgodovine: Artest razstava / Interrupted Histories: Artest Exhibition* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2006), unpaginated; file folder.

<sup>3</sup> Bojana Kunst, *Umetnik na delu: Bližina umetnosti in kapitalizma* (Ljubljana: Maska, 2012).



## Walter De Maria

**Visokoenergijska palica, št. 60, 1966**  
nerjaveče jeklo  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Walter De Maria je bil ameriški konceptualni umetnik in glasbenik. Leta 1957 je diplomiral na Univerzi Berkeley v Kaliforniji, kjer je sodeloval v glasbenih performansih, leta 1960 pa se je preselil v New York. Tam je nadaljeval s happeningi in multimedijскими predstavami ter se je začel ukvarjati tudi s kiparstvom. Njegova zgodnja dela so bila preproste lesene škatle in veliki leseni okviri z nišami. Po konceptu dela je bil blizu »pravemu minimalizmu«; tudi razstavljal je skupaj z umetniki, kot so Dan Flavin, Sol LeWitt, Robert Ryman in Carl Andre, v galeriji Dwan v New Yorku v letih 1968–1971. Leta 1965 je zaradi težnje k še večjemu poenostavljanju oblike zamenjal les s kovino in začel izdelovati serijske predmete iz nerjavečega jekla in aluminija, imenovane visokoenergijske palice, o katerih je v enem od intervjujev rekel: »Gre za to, da vzameš popolno kocko, popoln pravokotnik, in /.../ za misel, da so ideja in linije tako dovršene, da je predmet tako dovršeno sestavljen in samozadosten, da ga je popolno zadovoljstvo gledati kot skulpturo brez dodatnega zapletanja z veliko nepotrebnimi odnosi. Popolnoma

je osredotočen sam nase in implicitno veliko več, kot je.«

Posebnost teh multipliciranih objektov je bila, da jim umetnik nikoli ni določil točnega števila, ampak je načrtno puščal to vprašanje odprto (»multipli bi morali biti povsem neskončni«).

Nato se je v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja posvetil izključno projektom s področja land arta. Avgusta 1970 je obiskal člane skupine OHO in se udeležil tudi nekaterih njihovih projektov »šolanja«. Takrat jim je podaril enega svojih »neskončnih« multiplov, *Visokoenergijsko palico št. 60*.

**High Energy Bar, No. 60, 1966**  
stainless steel  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Walter De Maria was an American artist and composer. In 1957 he graduated from the University of California at Berkeley and participated in happenings and theatrical productions there. In 1960 he moved to New York, where he continued to take part in happenings and multimedia presentations. In 1961 he made his first sculptures – wooden boxes and large frames with a niche. His ideas were close to

“true minimalism”; he also exhibited together with minimalist artists such as Dan Flavin, Sol LeWitt, Robert Ryman, and Carl Andre at the Dwan Gallery in 1968–1971.

In 1965 he changed wood for metal in his frame sculptures and started to produce serial objects made of stainless steel or aluminum, which he called “high energy bars.” He talked about them in an interview: “It was the idea that you could take a perfect cube, a perfect rectangle and /.../ the notion that [the] ideas and lines were so perfect and so perfectly composed and self-contained that it was perfectly satisfying to look at the one object as a sculpture without having it confused with a lot of needless relationships. It was perfectly focused on itself and implied a lot more than it was.”

He was not keen on the idea of calling these works “multiples,” but if they were, he would insist on leaving them without a definite number, to be “open-ended.” He said: “Multiples should be completely continuous.”

De Maria’s later works in the 1970s mostly belong to land art. In August 1970 he visited the OHO group and also took part in some of their “schooling” projects. On that occasion he gave them one of his “open-ended multiples,” the *High Energy Bar, No. 60*.



*Visokoenergijska palica, št. 60, 1966*  
Foto: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*High Energy Bar, No. 60, 1966*  
Photo: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana



OHO in Walter De Maria, avgust 1970

OHO and Walter De Maria, August 1970



Člani skupine OHO (Marko Pogačnik, Milenko Matanović, David Nez in Andraž Šalamun) so se v nekem trenutku odločili, da svojo umetniško prakso v obliki komune razširijo na širše polje bivanja in delovanja. Skupaj s prijateljicami, prijatelji in otroki so ustanovili komuno v Šempasu v Vipavski dolini (1971–1979). Kot umetniška skupina so se odločili za ime Družina v Šempasu, pri čemer se ime družina v korenu navezuje na besedo druženje.

Namen ustanovitve je bil ustvariti model človeške civilizacije, utemeljene na sodelovanju z Zemljo in njenimi duhovnimi razsežnostmi. Komuna je povezovala poljedelstvo, obrti in umetniško delo. Hkrati je na začetku sedemdesetih let delovala kot edina točka v tedanji Jugoslaviji, kjer je bilo mogoče dobiti verodostojne informacije o sodobnih alternativnih in duhovnih gibanjih. S tem se je vzpostavila kot odprt in pretočen prostor.

Pogačnik je v tem času poudarjal umetnost kot skupinsko delo, pri katerem sodelujejo vsi člani in gostje, tudi otroci. Tako se je ob večerih odvijala, na primer, risarska šola, kjer so risali serije elementov, ki so jih obdajali, rastline, žuželke, drobna orodja, drobce komposta. V okviru kolektivnega ročnega dela se je oblikovalo ustvarjanje mobilov, narejenih iz štirih elementov, materiali zanje pa so izvirali iz lastnega gospodarstva: volnene vrvice – element vode, keramika – element zemlje, rezljan les – element zraka, kovani deli – element ognja. Marko Pogačnik je risal tudi konceptualne risbe, ki so prikazovale delovanje Družine kot model alternativne človeške družbe, ki jo je pozneje poimenoval geokultura. Velik poudarek komune je temeljil na svobodni duhovnosti, pri kateri se vzdržuje zavest o obstoju petega sveta narave, ki ga razumska misel ne priznava.

Družina v Šempasu je v času svojega delovanja razvila in praktično preizkusila konceptualne sheme z različnih področij človeške dejavnosti, ki bi lahko služile kot temelj nove civilizacije, osnovane na miru med narodi in sožitju z Zemljo in njenimi bitji.

At a certain point in their artistic practice, the members of the OHO Group (Marko Pogačnik, Milenko Matanović, David Nez, and Andraž Šalamun) decided to leave the world of art and instead inseparably unite art and life. Together with their friends and children, they set up a commune in the village of Šempas in the Vipava Valley (1971–1979). The name they chose as an art group was The Šempas Family.

Their purpose was to create a model of human civilization based on working in harmony with planet Earth and its spiritual dimensions. The commune brought together agriculture, crafts, and creative artwork. Moreover, it was the only place in early 1970s Yugoslavia where reliable and relevant information on alternative and spiritual movements of the time could be found. This, coupled with its welcoming openness, made it popular for like-minded visitors.

Pogačnik's focus at the time was on art as a form of collective work involving all group members and their guests, including children. Thus, for example, in the evenings a drawing school was organized, where they drew series of the elements surrounding them, plants, insects, small tools, bits of compost. Collective craftwork included fashioning mobiles incorporating the four elements out of the materials found at the farm: wool strings for the element of water, ceramics for the element of earth, carved wood for the element of air, and wrought metal for the element of fire. Pogačnik also did conceptual drawings that showed the Family as an operating model of an alternative human society, which he later named Geo-Culture. The commune laid great emphasis on free spirituality, maintaining the awareness of the existence of the fifth world of nature, not recognized by rational thought.

During its time, the Šempas Family devised and tested in practice conceptual schemes from various areas of human activity that could serve as foundations for a new civilization based on peace between nations and a harmonious coexistence with the Earth and its beings.





# Goran Đorđević

**Mednarodna stavka umetnikov, 1979**  
tekstovno gradivo  
Z dovoljenjem umetnika

»Ali bi sodelovali v mednarodni stavki umetnikov? Kot protest proti nezmanjšani represiji umetniškega sistema in odtujitvi umetnikov od rezultatov svojega dela bi bilo zelo pomembno pokazati, da je možno usklajevati dejavnosti neodvisno od umetniških institucij in organizirati mednarodno stavko umetnikov. Ta stavka bi morala predstavljati bojkot

umetniškega sistema v obdobju nekaj mesecev. Dolžina trajanja, natančen datum začetka in oblike bojkota bodo določeni po izpopolnjeni listi prijaviteljev umetnikov in predlogov. Prosim vas, da o tem obvestite umetnike, ki jih poznate. Prijave in predloge poslati najpozneje do 15. maja 1979.«

(Goran Đorđević, Beograd, 25. 2. 1979)

Na to cirkularno pismo sem prejel približno 40 odgovorov. Večina umetnikov je bila do ideje

zadržana ali pa so izrazili dvom o možnostih njene realizacije, nekaj pa je bilo tudi pozitivnih odzivov.

V sedanjih okoliščinah je zamisel o mednarodni stavki umetnikov verjetno utopična. A glede na to, da se postopki institucionalizacije umetniških dejavnosti uspešno aplicirajo tudi na najradikalnejše umetniške projekte, obstaja možnost, da bi ta zamisel nekega dne le lahko postala dejanska alternativa. Zato sem mnenja, da bi lahko bilo zanimivo objaviti odgovore, ki sem jih prejel.

**International Strike of Artists, 1979**  
textual material  
Courtesy of the artist

»Would you take part in an international strike of artists? As a protest against the art system's unbroken repression of the artist and his alienation from the results of his practice, it would be very important to demonstrate the possibility of coordinating an activity independent from art institutions and organize an international strike of artists. This strike should represent a boycott of the

art system over a period of several months. The duration, exact dates, and forms of boycott will be worked out upon the completion of the list of enrolled artists and propositions. Please give notice of this to the artists you know. The deadline for applications/suggestions is 15. 05. 79.»

(Goran Đorđević, Belgrade, 25 February 1979)

I received about 40 replies to this circular letter. The majority of artists expressed their reserve toward the idea or were doubtful of the possi-

bility of its realization, but there were positive answers too.

The idea of the international artists' strike is, under the present circumstances, probably a utopian scheme. However, as the processes of the institutionalization of art activities are being successfully applied even to the most radical art projects, there is a possibility that this idea could one day become an actual alternative. I therefore believe that publishing the replies I received could be of certain interest.





## György Galántai

### *Hommage Veri Muhini*, 1980

performans s sodelovanjem Julie Klaniczay  
in Guglielma Achilleja Cavellinija, Trg herojev,  
Budimpešta, maj 1980  
foto: György Hegedűs  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

György Galántai je priznan madžarski umetnik in član Fluxusa, ki je bil na čelu ustanovitve več umetnostnih institucij. V času stroge socialistične cenzure na Madžarskem je Galántai pripravil slovit niz razstav z naslovom *Razstave v Kapelici*.

V performansu *Hommage Veri Muhini* je z Julio Klaniczay poustvaril kompozicijo kipa Vere Muhine *Delavec in kolhozna* (1937). V oblačilih, na katerih so bila izpisana imena pomembnih osebnosti svetovne umetnosti, sta umetnika tri ure nepremično stala na Trgu herojev v Budimpešti, na katerem je bilo vedno veliko policistov. Dekonstrukcija komunističnih simbolov je skupaj z izzivanjem mestnega represivnega aparata spremenila status teles umetnikov v živi skulpturi.

### *Homage to Vera Mukhina*, 1980

performance with the participation of Julia  
Klaniczay and Guglielmo Achille Cavellini,  
Heroes' Square, Budapest, May 1980  
photo: György Hegedűs  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

György Galántai is a renowned Hungarian artist and member of the Fluxus movement. At the time of the socialist regime in Hungary, when censorship was strong, Galántai organized a famous series of shows, entitled the *Chapel Exhibitions*.

In the performance *Homage to Vera Mukhina*, the composition of Mukhina's sculpture *Worker and Kolkhoz Woman* (1937) was recreated by György Galántai and Julia Klaniczay, who stood, dressed in clothes bearing the names of important figures in world art, motionless for three hours in the police-patrolled Heroes' Square in Budapest. This deconstruction of communist symbols, together with the challenge to the city's repressive machine, transformed the status of the artists' bodies, which became living sculptures.



# Gorgona

Hrvaška skupina Gorgona je delovala med letoma 1959 in 1966 kot skupina petih umetnikov, slikarjev Marijana Jevšovarja, Julija Kniferja, Đura Sederja in Josipa Vaništa ter kiparja Ivana Kožarića, arhitekta Miljenka Horvata in umetnostnih zgodovinarjev Dimitrija Baščevića (Mangelosa), Radoslava Putarja in Matka Meštrovica. Gorgonaši so poleg svojih individualnih del naredili veliko skupnih akcij, ki so danes ostale zabeležene predvsem v njihovih dopisovanjih, anketah in v njihovi skupni »administraciji«. Poleg skupinskih akcij so bili dejavni tudi v ustvarjanju neke vrste paralelne umetnostne

infrastrukture, ki se je odražala predvsem v njihovi mednarodni mreži umetnikov, v delovanju njihove galerije Studio G in v izdajanju »antičasopisa« *Gorgona*, ki šteje za enega njihovih najpomembnejših projektov.

Med letoma 1961 in 1966 je izšlo enajst številki antičasopisa *Gorgona*, ki ni bil časopis kot tak, ampak serija prispevkov posameznih umetnikov. Zelo izrazita je bila težnja k nadomeščanju vizualnih in materialnih umetniških predmetov s predlogi, opisi in koncepti, od katerih se mnogi danes zdijo prav vizionarski. Tako je, na primer, Vaništa leta 1964 ustvaril sliko, ki je

obstajala le kot besedni opis, eden od predlogov Ivana Kožarića pa je bil, da bi naredili mavčne odlitke notranjosti zgradb, avtomobilov, javnih prostorov in celo glav članov skupine.

Gorgonino skupinsko delo je nastajalo na srečanjih in kreativnih sestankih na osnovi intelektualnih interesov brez namena kakšne produkcije, pa tudi v dopisovanju (misli za mesec). Gorgonaši so tudi zastavljali drug drugemu vprašanja: eden je vprašanja ročno zapisoval na list papirja, odgovori pa so vneseni v tabelo na drugem listu.



Člani in prijatelji skupine Gorgona  
foto: Branko Balić

Members and friends of Gorgona  
photo: Branko Balić

The Croatian group Gorgona, which was active between 1959 and 1966, consisted of five artists, the painters Marijan Jevšovar, Julije Knifer, Đuro Seder, and Josip Vaništa, and the sculptor Ivan Kožarić, the architect Miljenko Horvat, and the art historians Dimitrije Baščević (known as Mangelos), Radoslav Putar, and Matko Meštrović. Alongside their individual work as painters, sculptors, and writers, the members of Gorgona carried out many group actions, which are now documented primarily in their correspondence, questionnaires, and group administration records. In addition to their group actions, the Gorgona members were also active in the creation of a kind of parallel mini art sys-

tem, which could be seen above all in the international network of artists they developed, in the work of their gallery Studio G, and in the publication of their "anti-magazine" *Gorgona*, which was undoubtedly one of their most important projects.

Between 1961 and 1966, eleven issues of *Gorgona* were published. It was not a magazine proper, but a series of the artists' contributions. There was a strong tendency to replace visual and material art objects with proposals, descriptions, and concepts, several of which seem quite visionary from today's perspective. Thus in 1964, Josip Vaništa created a painting that consisted only in a verbal description,

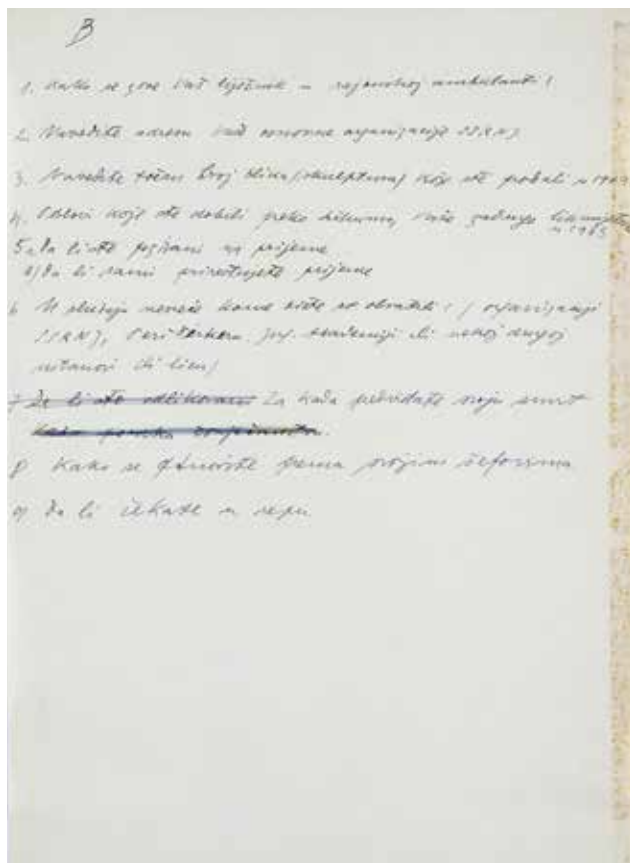
while one of Ivan Kožarić's proposals was to cast in plaster the interior spaces of buildings, cars, public spaces or even the heads of all the group members.

Gorgona's collaborative work was realized through (creative) meetings based on intellectual interest without any intention of production, as well as through correspondence (the so-called Thoughts for the Month). The Gorgona members also asked each other questions; one of them wrote down the questions on a sheet of paper, and the others entered their answers in a table on another sheet.



Gorgona: Ivan Kožarić  
*Gorgona*, antičasopis št. 5, 1961  
foto: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

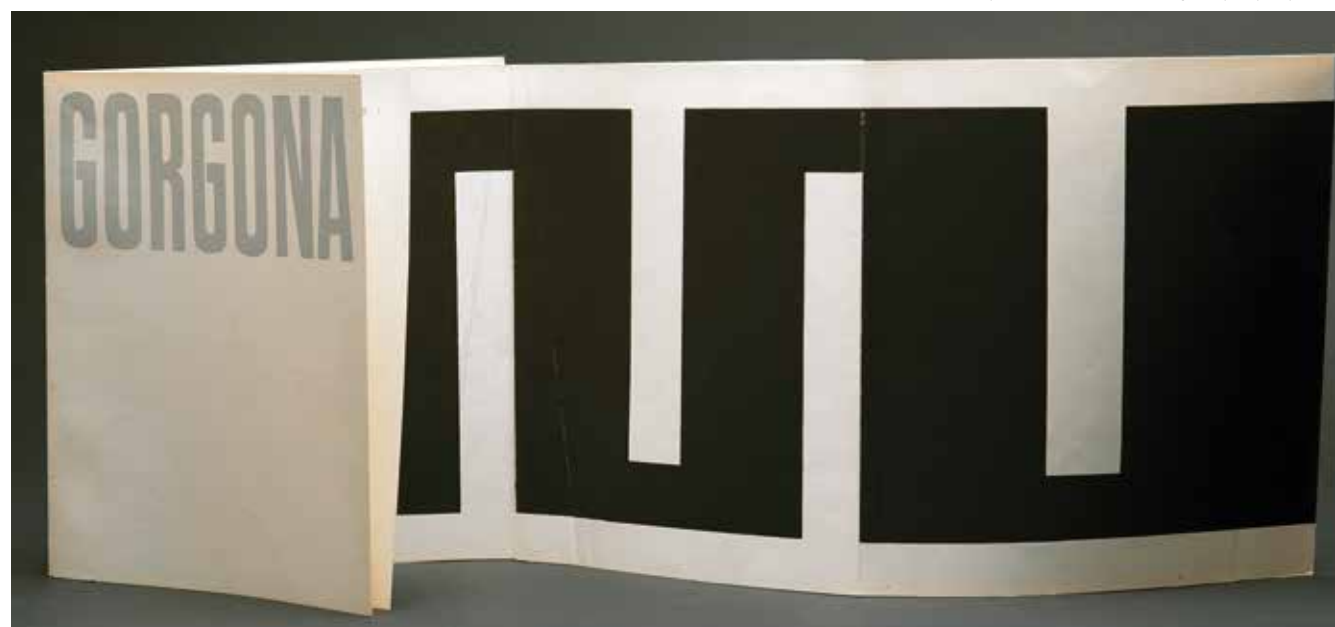
Gorgona: Ivan Kožarić  
*Gorgona*, anti-magazine no. 5, 1961  
photo: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana



Josip Vaništa (Gorgona)  
*Anketa B*, 1963  
črnilo in barvni svinčnik na papirju, 29,8 × 21 cm, 29,8 × 40 cm  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Josip Vaništa (Gorgona)  
*Questionnaire B*, 1963  
ink and colored pencil on paper, 29.8 × 21 cm, 29.8 × 40 cm  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Št.	Ime	Ime	Ime	Ime	Ime
1	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Marijan Jevšovar	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić
2	Miljenko Horvat	Radoslav Putar	Matko Meštrović	Dimitrije Baščević	Marijan Jevšovar
3	Đura Seder	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer
4	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
5	Ivan Kožarić	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Josip Vaništa
6	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
7	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Marijan Jevšovar	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić
8	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
9	Ivan Kožarić	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Josip Vaništa
10	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
11	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Marijan Jevšovar	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić
12	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
13	Ivan Kožarić	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Josip Vaništa
14	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
15	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Marijan Jevšovar	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić
16	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
17	Ivan Kožarić	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Josip Vaništa
18	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat
19	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Marijan Jevšovar	Josip Vaništa	Ivan Kožarić
20	Marijan Jevšovar	Julije Knifer	Đuro Seder	Ivan Kožarić	Miljenko Horvat



Gorgona: Julije Knifer  
*Gorgona*, antičasopis št. 2, 1961  
foto: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Gorgona: Julije Knifer  
*Gorgona*, anti-magazine no. 2, 1961  
photo: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana



## Tomislav Gotovac

### *Čiščenje javnih prostorov* (homage Vjekoslavu Freceju, znanemu kot Boljševik ali Apostol čistoče), 1981

performans, 28. 5. 1981, 16.00–20.00, Zagreb  
kup smeti, ostanek performansa  
foto: Ivan Posavec

### *Hommage Christu*, 1981–89

časopisi iz obdobja 1981–1989, zaviti v  
plastične vrečke

Obe deli: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Umetniška projekti Antonia G. Lauerja a.k.a. Tomislava Gotovca se kažejo kot kompleksne in večplastne avantgardne in eksperimentalne prakse, dokumentarni in igrani filmi, performansi, body art in konceptualna umetnost.

V delu *Čiščenje javnih prostorov* gre za ostanke performansa, ki se je zgodil 28. maja 1981 na Cvjetnem trgu (nekdanj Trg bratstva in enotnosti) v Zagrebu med četrto popoldne in osmo zvečer. Ostanke vsebujejo kup odpadlega listja, praznih cigaretnih škatel, cigaretnih ogorkov, koščkov papirja in nekaj neprepoznanih snovi, ki jih je vedno mogoče najti na vsaki mestni ulici ali javnemu prostoru in jih je umetnik hranil 25 let, preden se je odločil, da jih razstavi kot readymade.

Zbirateljstvo se kaže v številnih Gotovčevih projektih. Poleg kupa smeti postavitev predstavlja tudi delo *Hommage Christu*. Gre za modre plastične vrečke za smeti, ki jih je umetnik napolnil s številkami lokalnih časopisov *Vjesnik*, *Večernji list*, *Polet* in *Studentski list* iz obdobja med letoma 1981 in 1989.

Postavitev se naslanja na razstavo z naslovom *V vrtincu* v Mali galeriji od 24. 9. do 25. 10. 2009.

### *Cleaning Public Spaces (Homage to Vjekoslav Frece, Known as "the Bolshevik" and "the Apostle of Cleanliness")*, 1981

performance, 28 May 1981, 4–8 p.m., Zagreb  
a pile of garbage, remnants of the performance  
photo: Ivan Posavec

### *Hommage to Christo*, 1981–89

newspaper wrapped in plastic bags, editions from 1981 to 1989

Both works: Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Artistic projects of Antonio G. Lauer, a.k.a. Tomislav Gotovac, took the shape of complex and multilayered avant-garde and experimental practices, documentary and feature films, performances, body art, and conceptual art.

The work *Cleaning Public Spaces* consists of the remnants of a performance that Gotovac did on Cvjetni Trg (Flower Square, formerly Brotherhood and Unity Square) in Zagreb between 4 and 8 p.m. on 28 May 1981. The remains include a pile of fallen leaves, empty cigarette boxes, cigarette butts, scraps of paper and a lot of other nondescript matter such as one might find on any street or in any public place. Gotovac had stored all that for 25 years before deciding to exhibit it as a readymade.

Collecting, or rather hoarding, is apparent in other Gotovac's projects as well. Our installation thus includes, in addition to the pile of garbage, the work *Hommage to Christo* – blue plastic garbage bags stuffed with old issues of Zagreb newspapers *Vjesnik*, *Večernji list*, *Polet*, and *Studentski list* from the period 1981–1989.

The installation is a nod to the *Gone with the Wind* exhibition, staged between 24 September and 25 October 2009 at the Moderna galerija's former project space Mala galerija.





**Črni kvadrat na Rdečem trgu**, 1992  
video, osnovan na akciji IRWINA in Michaela  
Bensona *Black Square on Red Square*, Moskva, 6.  
junij 1992; DVD, 3' 15"  
posnetki TV Moskva in Kinetikon Pictures  
montaža Igor Zupe  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

6. junija 1992 med 14. in 15. uro sta skupina IRWIN in Michael Benson izvedla umetniško akcijo *Black Square on Red Square* (Črni kvadrat na Rdečem trgu). S pomočjo približno petnajstih ljudi so na moskovski Rdeči trg prinesli velik kos črnega blaga in ga razgrnili. Kvadrat tkanine (22 x 22 metrov) je prekrival veliko površino simbolnega središča ruske prestolnice, in to le malo vzhodno od Leninovega mavzoleja. Moskovska milica se ni vmešala, prav tako nobeden od številnih agentov Zvezne varnostne službe (FSB, naslednice KGB-ja) v civilu, ki so hodili okoli. Mimoidoči so radovedno in nekoliko zmedeno pogledovali to skrajno nenavadno početje, vendar brez kakšne vidne pretresenosti; verjetno so predpostavljali, da so nekaj tako velikega na Rdečem trgu oblasti gotovo dovolile in da že mora imeti kak namen. Nobenih napovedi ni bilo ali vnaprej pripravljenih izjav; nihče se ni zdel osrednja oseba dogodka. Nekoliko nenavadna družina umetnikov, umetnostnih kritikov, kustosov, miličnikov in agentov FSB-ja, turistov in Moskovčanov se je pomešala med sabo in neprisiljeno kramljala. Pol ure zatem so sodelujoči zložili tkanino, jo odnesli na rob trga, kjer jih je čakal kombi, in se odpeljali. Ljudje, ki so ponovno uprizorili Malevičevo ikonsko sliko *Črni kvadrat* v realnem prostoru in jo poimenovali *Črni kvadrat na Rdečem trgu*, so bili skupina umetnikov iz nekdanje Jugoslavije in ruski umetniki, kritiki in kustosi. Vsi so sodelovali v mesec dni trajajočem nizu predavanj, razprav in razstav, ki je pozneje dobil ime NSK ambasada Moskva. (Gediminas Gasparavičius)

**Black Square on Red Square**, 1992  
video based on the action by IRWIN and  
Michael Benson *Black Square on Red Square*,  
Moscow, 6 June 1992; DVD, 3' 15"  
footage of the Moscow TV and Kinetikon  
Pictures  
edited by Igor Zupe  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

On 6 June 1992 between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m., the group IRWIN and Michael Benson performed an artistic action *Black Square on Red Square*. In collaboration with about fifteen people, they brought a large piece of black canvas onto Moscow's Red Square and unfurled it. The fabric covered a vast 22 x 22-meter square in this symbolic center of the Russian capital, just east of the Lenin Mausoleum. Moscow militia did not interfere, nor did any of the numerous plainclothes Federal Security Service officers (or FSB, a successor of KGB) who were on duty there. Passers-by gazed curiously, with a bit of confusion, at this highly unusual activity, but did not appear shocked, perhaps assuming that anything of that scale on Red Square must have been sanctioned by the authorities and must have had a purpose. There were no announcements or prepared statements; no person appeared to be central to the event. A somewhat unusual mix of artists, art critics, curators, militia, and FSB officers, as well as tourists and native Muscovites mingled together around the square and talked casually. Half an hour later the participants folded the fabric, took it to the edge of the square where a small bus was waiting, and drove away. The people who re-enacted Malevich's iconic painting *Black Square* in a real space and gave it the name *Black Square on Red Square* were a group of ex-Yugoslav and Russian artists, critics, and curators. They were the participants in the month-long series of lectures, discussions, and exhibitions that later came to be known as NSK Embassy Moscow. (Gediminas Gasparavičius)





## Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK)

### *Organigram*, 1986

zasnova: Neue Slowenische Kunst  
oblikovanje: Novi kolektivizem & Laibach  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

Leta 1984 so tri skupine, multimedijška skupina Laibach (1980), skupina vizualnih umetnikov IRWIN (1983) in gledališka skupina Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice (1983–1987), ustanovile umetniški kolektiv Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK). Na dan ustanovitve NSK-ja so vse tri skupine ustanovile še četrto skupino, oddelek za oblikovanje Novi kolektivizem. Pozneje so se v okviru NSK-ja oblikovali še Oddelek za čisto in praktično filozofijo, Retrovizija, Film in Graditelji. NSK je svoj umetniški koncept gradil po retrometodah, za katere so imele tri ustanovne skupine vsaka svoje imenovanje: Laibach retro-avantgardo, GSSN retrogardo in IRWIN retro-princip.

Leta 1986 je koncept Neue Slowenische Kunst svojo posebno obliko dobil v *Organigramu*, shemi principa organizacije in delovanja, ki nazorno prikazuje hierarhični odnos v kolektivu ter zrcali usmerjenost k samoinstitucionalizaciji na ljubljanski alternativni sceni iz tistega obdobja. Z organigramom so skušali preseči institucionalno anarhijo tistega obdobja in hkrati z značilnim pretiravanjem odslkati birokratsko organiziranost državnih struktur nekdanjega jugoslovanskega sistema.

### *NSK ambasada Moskva*, 1992

akcija, organiziral IRWIN  
zasebno stanovanje na Leninskem Prospektu 12, Moskva, 10. 5.–10. 6. 1992  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

Ko je bil IRWIN leta 1991 povabljen k sodelovanju na Apt-Art International, je namesto svoje razstave predlagal, da se v Moskvo za mesec dni preseli celotni NSK. Med 10. majem in 10. junijem 1992 se je v zasebnem stanovanju na Leninskem Prospektu 12 v Moskvi odvila umetniška akcija *NSK ambasada Moskva*. Ambasada je bila zasnovana kot živa instalacija. Poleg dokumentov in artefaktov IRWINA, NSK-ja in njihovih gostov Gorana Đorđevića, Mladena Stilinovića in Milivoja Bijelića, akcije Kozmokinetičnega kabineta Noordung v poklon Hermanu Potočniku Noordungu in vsakdanjega delovanja videoteke, fonoteke in knjižnice je bil osrednji dogodek projekta enotedenski program predavanj in javnih razprav, ki ga je organizirala Eda Čufer v sodelovanju z IRWINOM. Predavatelji so bili Rastko Močnik, Marina Gržinić in Matjaž Berger (iz Slovenije), Vesna Kesic (iz Hrvaške) in znana imena moskovske konceptualne, medijske in filozofske scene: Viktor Misiano, Valerij Podoroga, Aleksandr Jakimovič, Tatjana Didebko in Artjom Troicki. Cilj dogodka je bil soočiti dva podobna družbena konteksta – nekdanje Sovjetske zveze in nekdanje Jugoslavije. Srečanja ljudi s podobnimi estetskimi in etičnimi interesi ter družbeno izkušnjo so pokazala, da najbolj navdušene in zagrete debate zbuja tema

umetnosti in kulture v osemdesetih letih in vloge, ki sta jo odigrali v preobrazbi Vzhodne Evrope. (Eda Čufer)

### *NSK država v času*, od 1992

Jeseni 1992 so skupine IRWIN, Laibach, Kozmokinetični kabinet Noordung, Novi kolektivizem in Oddelek za čisto in praktično filozofijo ustanovile NSK državo v času. Prvi državljani NSK so postali člani skupin NSK-ja, državljanstvo, ki ga izpričuje NSK potni list, je od ustanovitve naprej dostopno vsem, ki zaprosijo zanj. Ta umetniški projekt zdaj traja že trideset let in po številu državljanov že daleč prekaša Vatikan. Država je glavna tema NSK-ja že od njegove ustanovitve naprej, kar izpričuje že sama organizacijska shema hierarhične strukture delovanja posamičnih skupin, na vrhu katere je imanentni, konsistentni duh. Tako ta shema kot tudi »Konstitucija članstva in osnovne dolžnosti članov NSK« z značilnim eneskajevskim pretiravanjem odslkavata birokratsko organiziranost državnih struktur. Umetniška dela, ki vključujejo javne izjave, manifeste, način oblačenja in obnašanja, izpričujejo državo kot eno glavnih tem NSK-ja. Z ustanovitvijo NSK države v času je bil NSK po razpadu Jugoslavije in socializma eden redkih, katerega vizija se je razlikovala od nastopajočih kapitalistične države. Uspelo mu je realizirati umetniško državo, globalno skupnost, temelječo ne na teritorialnih ali ekonomskih principih, ampak na estetiki in idejnih principih.

### *Organigram*, 1986

devised by: Neue Slowenische Kunst  
layout: NEW Collectivism & Laibach  
Courtesy the artists

In 1984, three groups – the multimedia group Laibach (1980), the visual arts group IRWIN (1983), and the theater group The Sisters of Scipio Nasica Theater (1983–1987) – founded the Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK) art collective. That same year, the three groups founded a fourth group, the design department New Collectivism. Later NSK established other subdivisions: the Department of Pure and Applied Philosophy, Retrovision, Film, and Builders. NSK built its artistic concept on the "retro" method, for which each of the three founding groups coined its own name: Laibach called it the "retro-avant-garde," the SSNT the "retrogarde," and IRWIN the "retro principle."

In 1986, the concept of Neue Slowenische Kunst assumed its form in the *Organigram*, an organizational diagram showing the principles of organization and activities, which clearly shows the hierarchical structure of the collective and reflects trends toward self-institutionalization within the Ljubljana alternative scene of the period. The organigram took the process of alternative institutionalization to its (il)logical formal extreme, recapitulating and attempting to transcend the institutional anar-

chy of the period and the fantastically complex, deliberately opaque web of state and parastate organizations within the late Yugoslav system.

### *NSK Embassy Moscow*, 1992

action organized by IRWIN  
private apartment at Leninsky Prospect 12,  
Moscow, 10 May–10 June 1992  
Courtesy of the artists

When invited to participate in Apt-Art International in 1991, IRWIN proposed that, instead of its exhibition, the entire NSK should move to Moscow for a month. The artistic action *NSK Embassy Moscow* took place in a private apartment in Moscow at 12, Leninsky Prospekt, between 10 May and 10 June 1992. The Embassy was conceptualized as a live installation. In addition to the documents and artifacts of IRWIN, NSK, and their guests Goran Đorđević, Mladen Stilinović, and Milivoj Bijelić, an action in homage to H. P. Noordung by the Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung, and the daily operation of a videotheque, phonotheque and library, the central event of the project was a one-week program of lectures and public discussions organized by Eda Čufer in cooperation with IRWIN. The lecturers were Rastko Močnik, Marina Gržinić, and Matjaž Berger from Slovenia, Vesna Kesic from Croatia, and well-known names from the Moscow conceptual, media, and philosophical scene: Viktor Misiano, Valeri Podoroga, Aleksandr Yakimovič, Tatiana Didebko, and Artiom Troitsky. The aim of this event was to confront two similar social contexts, those of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. The meeting of individuals with similar aesthetic and ethical interests as well as social experiences revealed that the topic arousing most enthusiastic and intense debate was the art and culture of the 1980s, and the specific role they played in the transformation of Eastern Europe. (Eda Čufer)

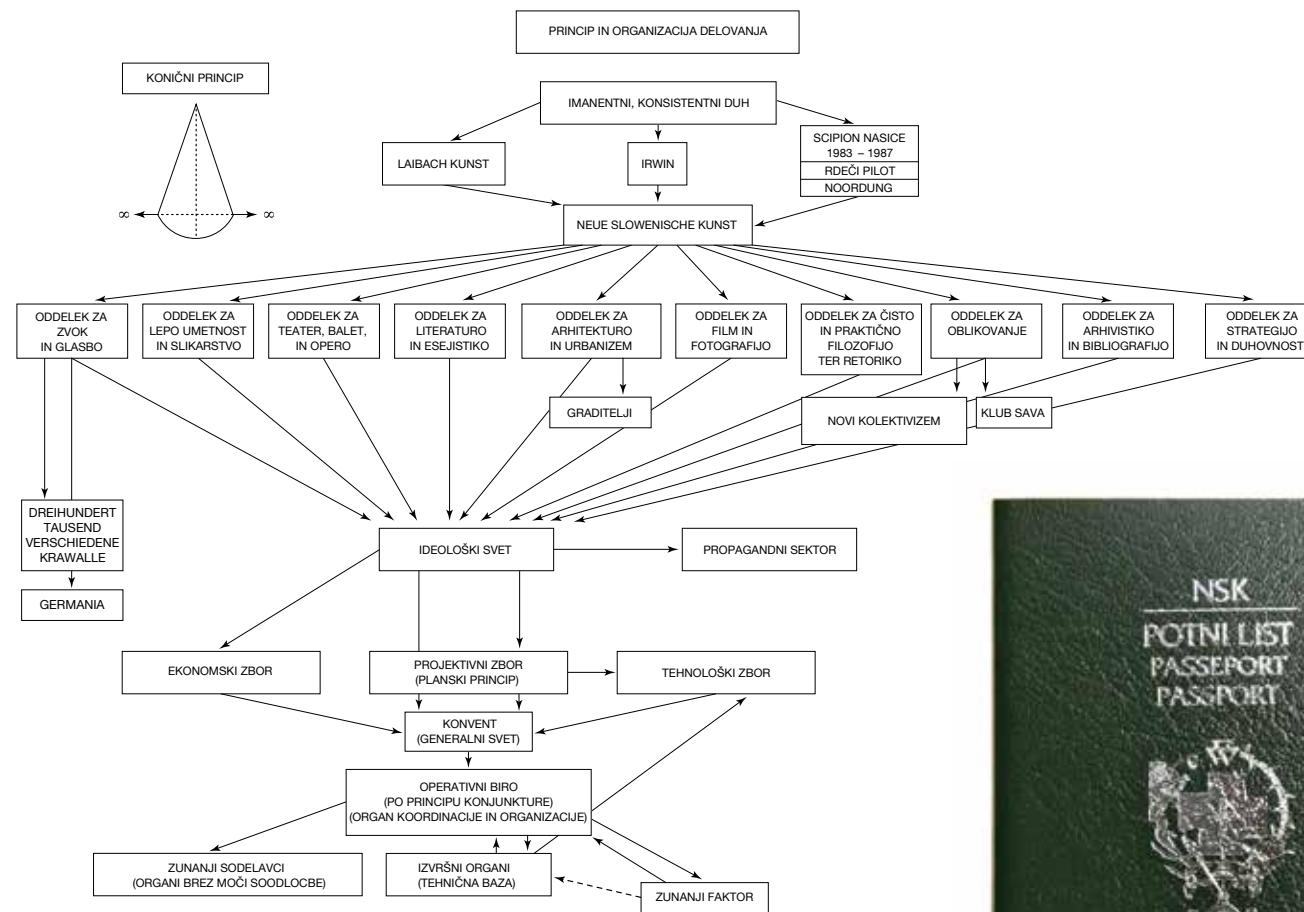
### *NSK State in Time*, since 1992

In the autumn of 1992, the groups IRWIN, Laibach, the Noordung Cosmokinetic Cabinet, New Collectivism, and the Department of Pure and Applied Philosophy created the NSK State in Time. The first citizens of NSK were the groups' members, but ever since its founding, citizenship has been open to all who apply for an NSK passport. This artistic project has been running for three decades, and has far surpassed the Vatican in the number of citizens. The state has been a central preoccupation for NSK ever since its founding, a fact evidenced by the organizational scheme representing the hierarchical structure of the functioning of individual groups, headed by the Immanent Consistent Spirit. Both the organigram and the "Constitution of Membership and Basic Duties of NSK Members" mirror documents describing the organization of state structures in an exaggerated manner that is typical of NSK. NSK artworks, including public statements, manifestos, and

codes of attire and behavior, bear witness to the state as one of the central themes of the collective. After the breakup of Yugoslavia and the end of socialism, NSK was one of the

rare entities to offer a different vision from the emerging capitalist state by founding its State in Time. It brought to existence an artistic state, a global community based not on territorial or

economic principles, but on aesthetics and cognitive principles.



*NSK ambasada Moskva*, 1992  
izobešanje zastave in nameščanje plošče ambasade  
foto: Jože Suhadolnik  
*Plošča NSK ambasade Moskva*, 1992  
sitolisk na kovini, 82 × 52 × 3,5 cm  
Obe deli z dovoljenjem IRWIN arhiv

*NSK potni list*, 1992–  
ofsetni tisk  
oblikovanje Novi kolektivizem  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

*NSK Embassy Moscow*, 1992  
setting up the flag and the Embassy plate  
foto: Jože Suhadolnik  
*NSK Embassy Moscow Plate*, 1992  
silkscreen on metal, 82 × 52 × 3.5 cm  
Both works courtesy of IRWIN archive

*NSK passport*, 1992–  
offset  
designed by New Collectivism  
Courtesy of the artists

**Kronologija (Novih) tendenc  
1961–1973, 2007–2018**

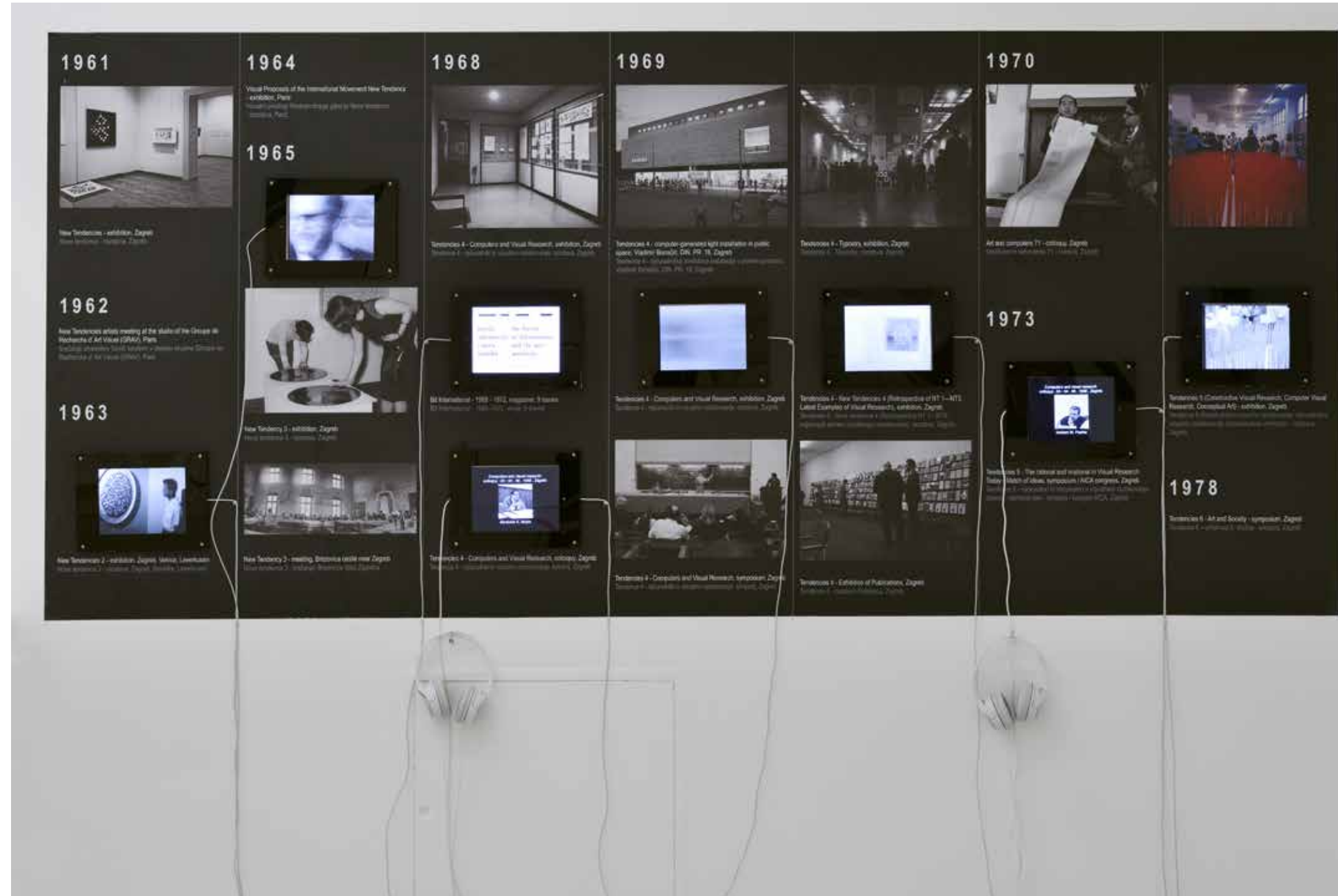
avtor: Darko Fritz  
multimedijaska instalacija; tisk 130 × 294 cm,  
8 multimedijaskih zaslonov  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

**The Chronology of (New)  
Tendencies 1961–1978, 2007–2018**

author: Darko Fritz  
multimedia installation; print 130 × 294 cm,  
8 multimedia screens  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Nove tendence (NT) so se začele kot razstava na navodilih zasnovane, algoritmične, generativne umetnosti v Zagrebu leta 1961, potem pa so se razvile v mednarodno gibanje in mrežo umetnikov, galeristov, umetnostnih kritikov, zgodovinarjev in teoretikov, ki je do leta 1965 vključevala približno 250 posameznikov. Po racionalizaciji umetniške produkcije, ki so jo teoretsko oblikovali Matko Meštrović, Frank Popper in Umberto Eco, so se NT odprle novim spajanjem umetnosti in znanosti. NT so pojem umetnosti nadomestile z vizualnim raziskovanjem. Delovale so kot nehierarhično umetniško gibanje brez uradnega sedeža in eksperimentalne z novimi oblikami organizacije v obliki sistema odločanja, pri katerem je bil kolektiv udeležen v različnih organizacijskih oblikah. Gibanje je bilo resnično mednarodno, saj je presegalo oba bloka v hladni vojni, kar je bilo mogoče zaradi pozicije Zagreba v tedanji socialistični, a nevrščeni Jugoslaviji. Del estetike NT so hitro privzele, poenostavile in komercializirale uveljavljene kulturne industrije in sredi šestdesetih let je postala znana kot op art oziroma optična umetnost; to je bil že čas začetka konca NT kot umetniškega gibanja. NT so bile vse od začetkov pozitivno naravnane do strojev, tako so tudi privzele računalniško tehnologijo preko informacijske estetike Maxa Benseja in Abrahama Molesa. Novi interes za kibernetiko in informacijsko estetiko je v letih 1968–1973 prinesel niz mednarodnih razstav in simpozijev na temo »računalniki in vizualno raziskovanje«, na katerih je sodelovalo preko 100 posameznikov, ki so se ukvarjali z digitalno umetnostjo. Zadnja razstava, *tendence 5*, je bila sestavljena iz treh delov: konstruktivnega vizualnega raziskovanja, računalniškega vizualnega raziskovanja in konceptualne umetnosti; s tem je bila v umetnostni zgodovini edinstven primer, saj je pod eno streho povezovala in predstavljala te tri oblike in zasnove umetnosti – konkretno, računalniško in konceptualno. (Darko Fritz)

New Tendencies (NT) started out as an exhibition presenting instruction-based, algorithmic, and generative art in Zagreb in 1961, and then developed into an international movement and network of artists, gallery owners, art critics, art historians, and theoreticians, involving approximately 250 people up to 1965. Following the rationalization of art production that was theoretically framed by Matko Meštrović, Frank Popper, and Umberto Eco, NT was open to new fusions of art and science. NT replaced the notion of art with visual research. NT acted as a bottom-up art movement without official headquarters, experimenting with new ways of organization in the form of a decision-making system that involved the collective in different organizational forms. The movement was truly international, transcending both Cold War blocs, a scenario possible due to Zagreb's position in the socialist but non-aligned Yugoslavia. A part of the NT aesthetics was quickly adopted, simplified, and commercialized by mainstream cultural industries and became known as op art by the mid-1960s, a point in time that could already be seen as the beginning of the end of NT as an art movement. Having cultivated a positive attitude towards machines from the beginning, NT adopted computer technology via Max Bense's and Abraham Moles' information aesthetic. The new interest in cybernetics and information aesthetics resulted in 1968–1973 in a series of international exhibitions and symposia on the subject of computers and visual research, involving more than 100 digital arts practitioners. The last exhibition, *tendencies 5*, consisted of three parts: constructive visual research, computer visual research, and conceptual art, making a unique example in art history that connected and presented those three forms and frameworks of art – Concrete, Computer, and Conceptual – under the same roof. (Darko Fritz)





OHO je bil najprej široko gibanje (1965–68), nato skupina s štirimi stalnimi člani (in priložnostnim petim, 1969–71) in nazadnje komuna v Šempasu (1971–79). Njihovo delovanje je zaznamovala filozofija reizma, razumevanje sveta, v katerega središču ni več človek, ampak imajo stvari (*res*) lastno življenje, neodvisno od rabe ali pomenov, ki jim jih pripisujemo.

V obdobju gibanja OHO, katerega osrednja člana sta bila Marko Pogačnik in I. G. Plamen, je ime OHO služilo kot neke vrste konceptualna oznaka, ki so jo dobile različne aktivnosti (ne

nujno stalnih) članov. V ta okvir so sodili vizualna in konkretna poezija, OHO edicije, vizualna dela ali artikli, filmi in happeningi. Tomaž Brejc je označil njihovo drugo, konceptualno fazo kot transcendentalni konceptualizem. Ta je v veliki meri vključeval ezoterične in mistične dimenzije kot orodja, s katerimi lažje razumemo povezanosti mikro- in makrokozmosa. V tej fazi so postajali vse pomembnejši odnosi med štirimi člani skupine (Milenko Matanović, David Nez, Marko Pogačnik, Andraž Šalamun) in tudi njihov odnos do narave, družbe in kozmosa. V

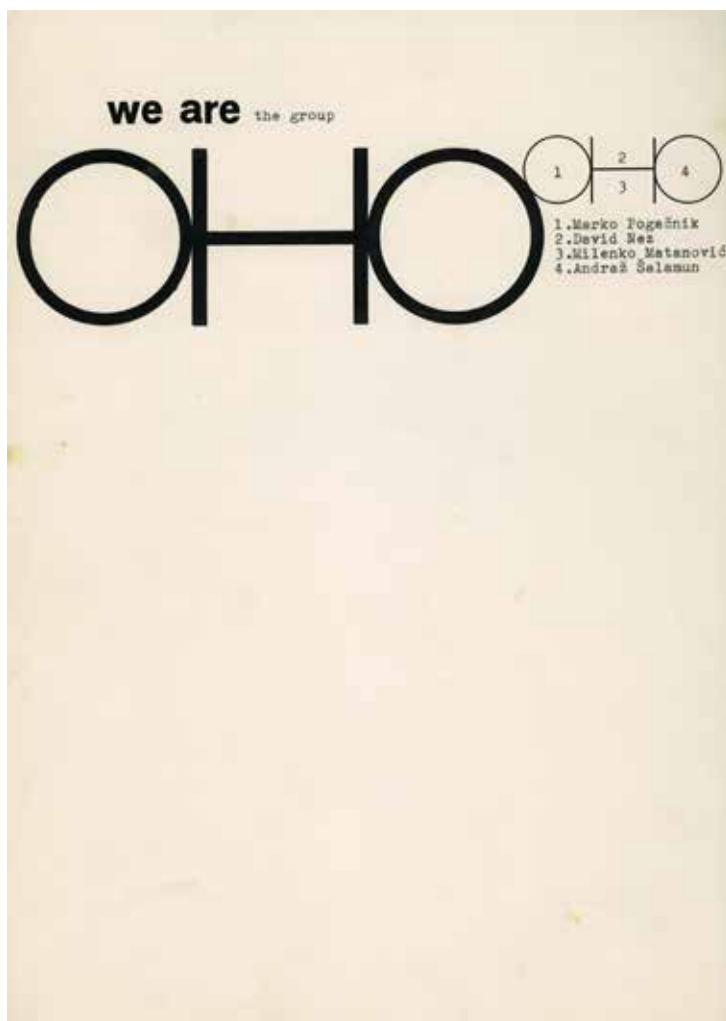
drugi polovici leta 1970 so v Aktionsraumu v Münchnu izvedli projekt, sestojč iz ritmičnega izmenjavanja procesa in analize lastnega dela ter javnega predstavljanja rezultatov dnevnega dela ob večerih. Leta 1971 so se ohojevci odločili, da bodo zapustili tako umetnost kot običajno življenje in se posvetili iskanju novega modela bivanja, zato so se z družinami preselili v vas Šempas in tam osnovali komuno, kjer so reistično filozofijo spojili z načinom življenja.

OHO was initially a widespread movement, (1965–68), then it became a group with four permanent members (and an occasional fifth member, 1969–71), and finally it was the Šempas commune (1971–79). The essential intellectual framework for the group's work was the philosophy of reism (*res*, thing), an understanding of the world in which man is no longer the center, but coexists with things that have their own life independent of the use or meanings we ascribe to them.

In the first period, i.e., the period of the OHO movement, whose central figures were Marko Pogačnik and I. G. Plamen, the name

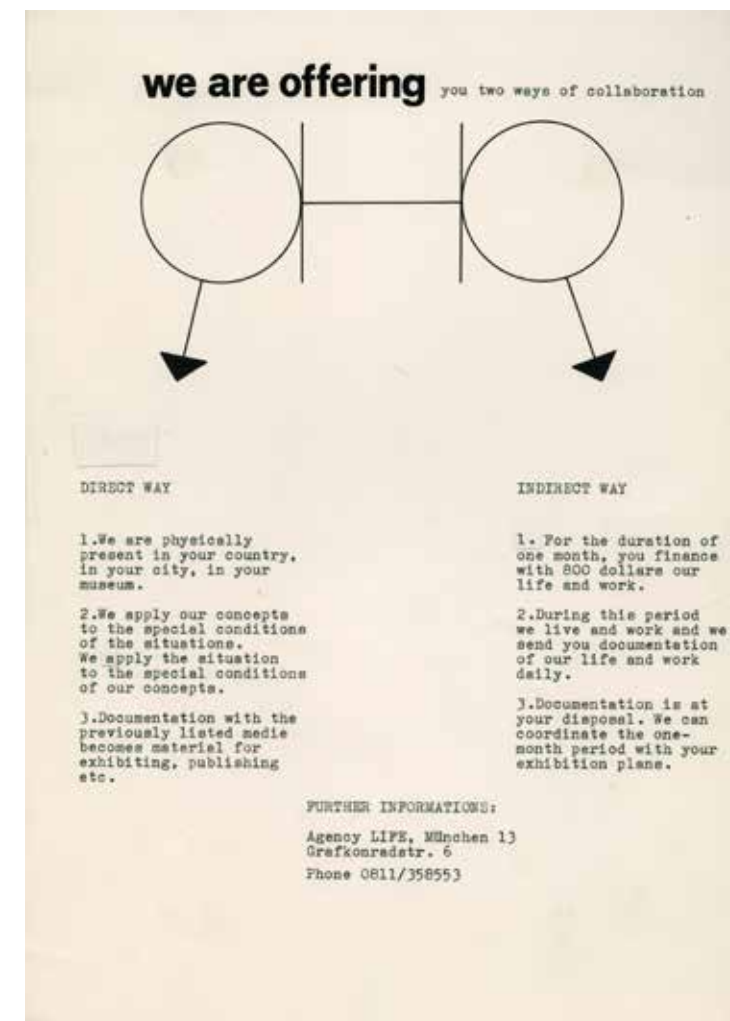
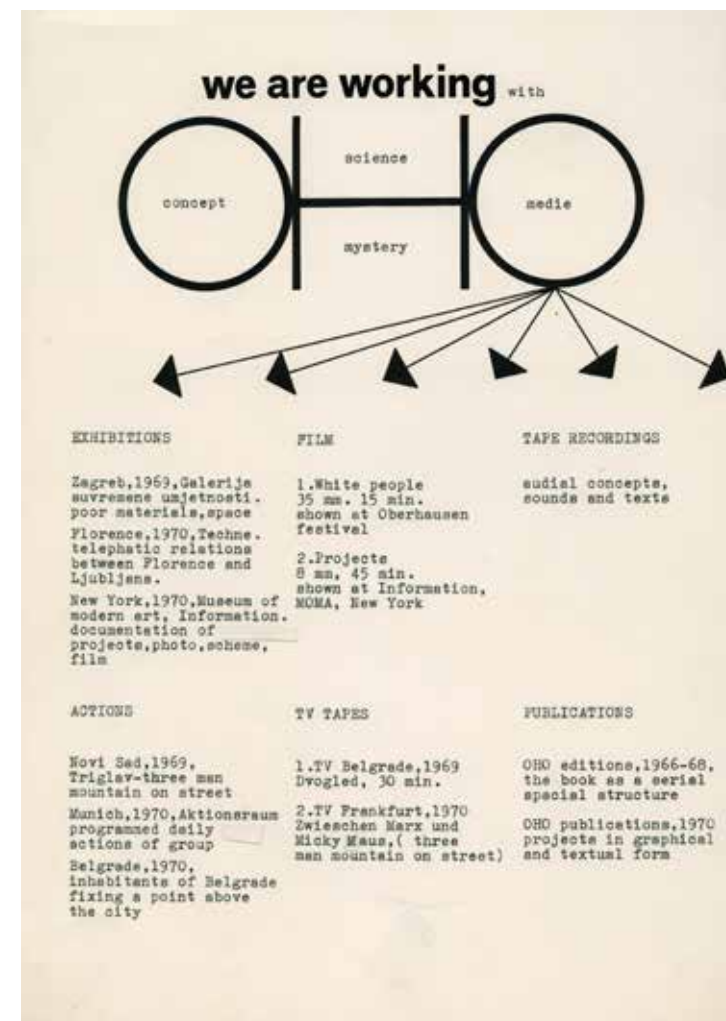
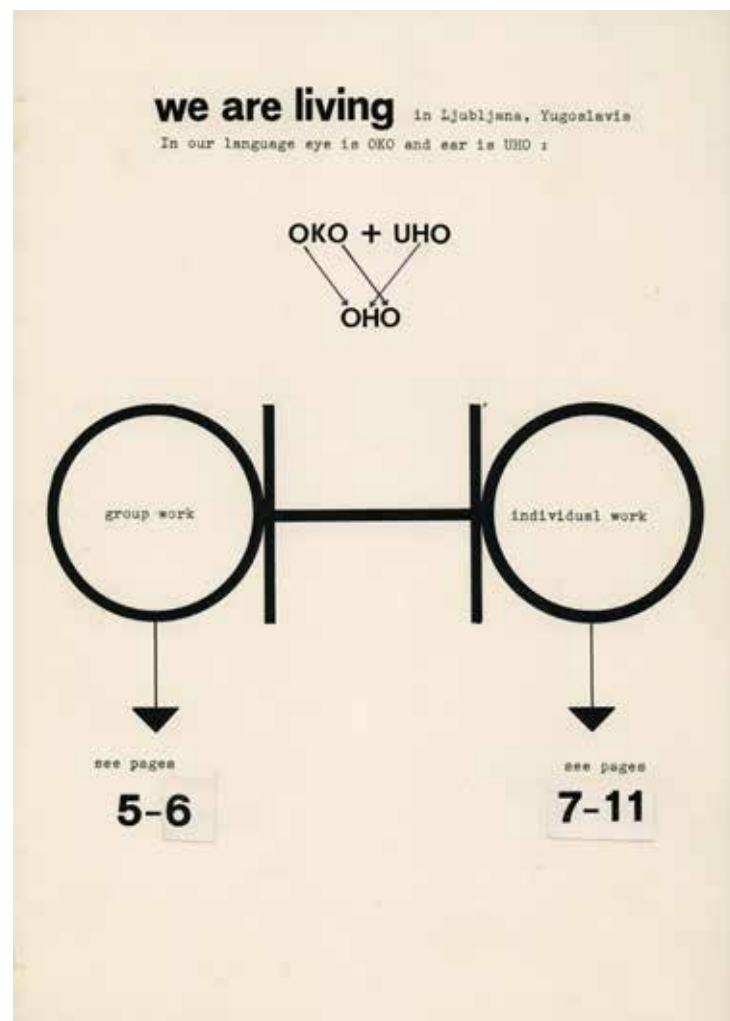
OHO served as a kind of conceptual label that was given to the members' various activities, including poetry (visual and concrete), the OHO Editions, visual works or "items" (small objects), films, and happenings. Tomaž Brejc labelled the second, conceptual phase of the group "transcendental conceptualism." OHO's conceptualism included a large esoteric and mystical dimension as a way to help people understand more easily the connections between the microcosm and the macrocosm. In this phase, the interpersonal relationships between four members of the group – Milenko Matanović, David Nez, Marko Pogačnik, and

Andraž Šalamun – as well as their relationships to nature, society, and the cosmos, were becoming increasingly important. In the second half of 1970, OHO did a project at the Aktionsraum in Munich, which consisted of a rhythmic alternation of working and analyzing the work and, in the evening, of publicly presenting the results of the day's work. In 1971, the members of OHO decided to abandon both art and ordinary life and devote themselves to the search for a new model of living. They moved with their families to the village of Šempas and founded a commune there, thus joining reistic philosophy with a way of life.



*We are the Group OHO*, 1970  
izkaznica skupine, vključena v vodnik po razstavi v Aktionsraumu 1, München, 1970  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*We are the Group OHO*, 1970  
identity card included in the exhibition guide at Aktionsraum 1, Munich, 1970  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana



FURTHER INFORMATIONS:  
Agency LIFE, München 13  
Graßkonradstr. 6  
Phone 0811/358553

## Marika & Marko Pogačnik

### Ljubzenska pisma Marike in Marka Pogačnik, 1967–69

24 pisem s kuvertami, rokopisi s kemičnim svinčnikom na papirju  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

Markov odhod na služenje vojaškega roka v JLA je bil travmatičen. Služenje vojaškega roka je bilo v socialistični Jugoslaviji stoo odstotno ob-

vezno. Marko je moral oditi jeseni 1967, ko je bila ustvarjalnost gibanja OHO na višku. Pripravljali so prehod od gibanja k skupini OHO. Marko ni mogel sodelovati na razstavah in nastopih OHO-ja v Zagrebu in Beogradu.

Še bolj travmatična je bila ločitev mlade družine Marike in Marka s komaj pred letom dni rojeno hčerko Ajro.

Takrat sta se Marika in Marko odločila za tihi odpor. Marika je vsak dan poslala pismo

Marku, Marko je vsak dan poslal pismo Mariki. Nastalo je na stotine pisem z značilno obliko ohojevskih stvaritev. Pisma imajo po eni strani značaj ohojevske igrivosti, po drugi strani pa ohojevskega videnja vsakdanjih pojavov.

Poleg pisma Mariki je Marko vsak dan poslal še poštno razglednico ali dopisnico, opremljeno z risbo, mali Ajri. Razglednice in dopisnice so takšne, kakršne je bilo mogoče kupiti v vojaški kantini.

### Marika and Marko Pogačnik's Love Letters, 1967–69

24 letters with envelopes, handwriting in ballpoint on paper  
Courtesy of the artists

Marko's going away to do military service was traumatic. In socialist Yugoslavia, doing military service in the Yugoslav People's Army was obligatory for all men, without exception. Marko had to leave in the fall of 1967, when the OHO

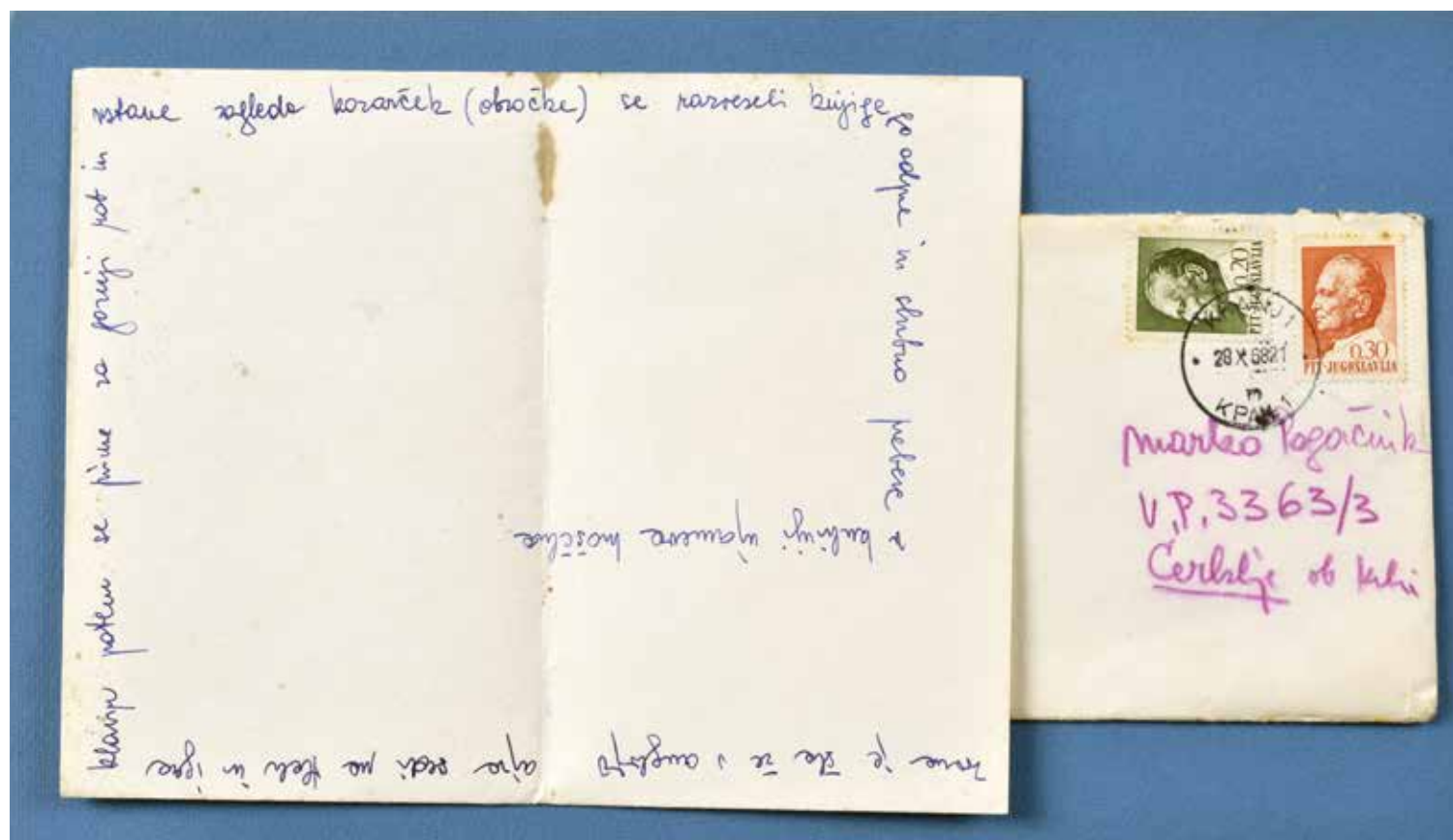
movement's creativity was at its peak and the transition from the OHO movement to the OHO Group was in the offing. Marko could thus not take part in OHO's exhibitions in Zagreb and Belgrade.

What was even more traumatic was the separation of the young family of Marika, Marko, and their one-year-old daughter, Ajra.

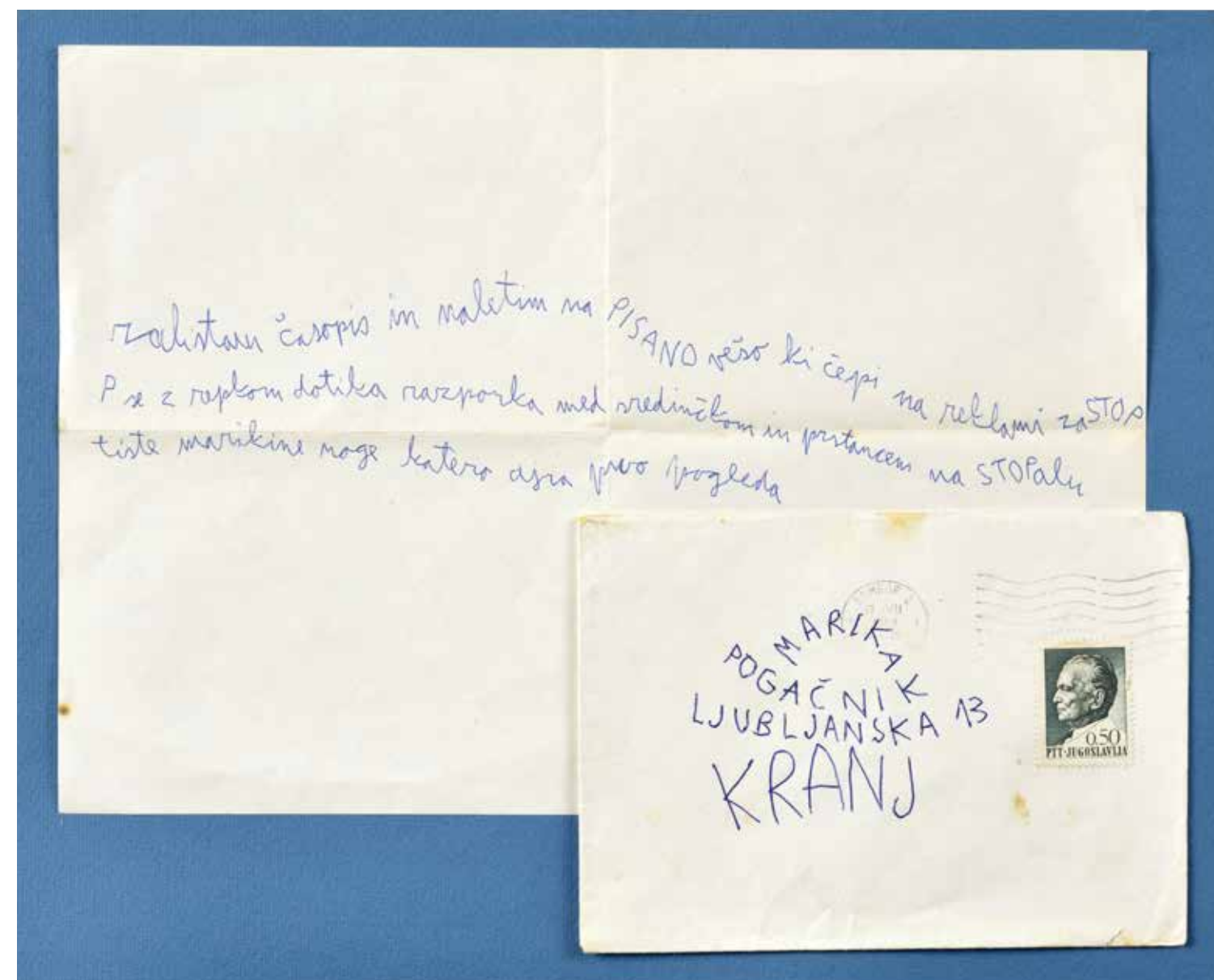
So, Marika and Marko decided to stage a silent protest: Marika sent a letter to Marko every day, and Marko sent a letter to Marika

every day. Hundreds of letters with the typical form of OHO artworks were produced in this way. The letters are, on the one hand, characterized by OHO playfulness, and on the other, by the OHO view of everyday occurrences.

In addition to a daily letter to Marika, Marko sent a (plain or picture) postcard with a drawing to the little Ajra every day. The postcards were such as could be bought in the barracks shop.



Pismo Marike Pogačnik Marku v vojsko dne 28. 10. 1968  
Marika Pogačnik's letter to Marko in the army, dated 28 October 1968



Pismo Marka Pogačnika iz vojske Mariki dne 17. 8. 1968  
Marko Pogačnik's letter to Marika from the army, dated 17 August 1968



## Zoran Popović

### *Pretty Good, Edinburgh and Surrounding Area*, 1973

8-mm film, barvni, nemi, 18 filmskih slik na sekundo, 11' 26"

Avtor: Zoran Popović

Nekaj prizorov v filmu je posnel Neša Paripović

V filmu nastopajo: Jasna Tijardović-Popović, Tina Floyd, Sanja-Svetlana in Žika Gligorijević, Gera Urkom, Marina Abramović, Zoran Popović, Neša Paripović in v enem kadru Richard Demarco

Z dovoljenjem umetnika

Film je nastal kot reakcija na že takrat prenatrpano psevdointektualno umetniško produkcijo, na kvazikonceptualistično umetnost. Film je posnet iz roke.

V filmu *Pretty Good* Marina Abramović, Neša Paripović, Gera Urkom, Jasna Tijardović, Zoran Popović, Sanja in Žika Gligorijević uživajo v čarih prostega časa. V nečem, kar življenju vrača polnost, v nečem, kar sivino stvarnosti napolni z barvami, v prostem času kot nečem, kar nam neizbežno vzbuja zavedanje sebe samih, nas naredi resnične, nam daje igro, iz katere se osvobodimo ustvarjalnost.

### *Struggle in New York*, 1976

16-mm film, črno-beli, zvočni, 56'

Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Skoraj enourni črno-beli film, izvorno posnet na 16-mm film oktobra in novembra 1976, je sodelovalni projekt Zorana Popovića in članov skupine Art and Language, med njimi Mela in Paule Ramsden, Iana Burna, Michaela Corrisa, Andrewja Menarda, Kathryn Bigelow, Christine Kozlov, Maya Thompsona in drugih; sestavlja ga deset delov, ki so jih oblikovali sodelujoči. To prijateljstvo in sodelovanje je pripeljalo do enega redkih primerov vzhodno-zahodne izmenjave v konceptualni umetnosti.

*Struggle in New York* se sprašuje o svoji lastni vlogi filma (in širše o vlogi umetnosti in kulture) v ustvarjanju družbenih odnosov. Film se začne s sekvenco, v kateri besedilo, ki so ga napisali Anthony McCall, Sarah Charlesworth in Joseph Kosuth, pravi: »Predlagana tema tega filma je, Umetnost in družba'. Film je že sam po sebi družbeni produkt. Družbeni odnosi njegove produkcije in družbeni odnosi njegove potrošnje so človeški kontekst, v katerem ta film kot produkt dobi družbeni pomen. Kot sredstvo podajanja vsebine je že sam tema, o kateri govori ...«

### *Pretty Good, Edinburgh and Surrounding Area*, 1973

standard 8 mm film, color, silent, 18 fps, 11' 26"

Author: Zoran Popović

Several scenes were filmed by Neša Paripović

The film features: Jasna Tijardović-Popović, Tina Floyd, Sanja-Svetlana and Žika Gligorijević, Gera Urkom, Marina Abramović, Zoran Popović, Neša Paripović, and in one shot Richard Demarco  
Courtesy of the artist

The film was made as a reaction to the pseudo-intellectual artistic production, to quasi-conceptualist art, which was already overcrowded at that time. The film was shot with a hand-held camera.

In the movie *Pretty Good*, Marina Abramović, Neša Paripović, Gera Urkom, Jasna Tijardović, Zoran Popović, Sanja and Žika Gligorijević enjoy the charms of leisure. Leisure as something that restores all fullness to life, that fills the grayness of reality with colors, that inevitably awakens awareness of ourselves, that makes us real, and that gives us play from which creativity is released.

### *Struggle in New York*, 1976

16 mm, black-and-white, sound, 56'

Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

A one-hour-long, black-and-white film, originally shot on 16 mm in October and November 1976, is a collaborative project between Popović and members of the Art and Language collective, including artists Mel and Paula Ramsden, Ian Burn, Michael Corris, Andrew Menard, Kathryn Bigelow, Christine Kozlov, Mayo Thompson and others; it is composed of ten parts that were designed by participants. This friendship and collaboration resulted in a rare instance of East-West exchange in conceptual art.

The film *Struggle in New York* questions its own role (and more broadly, the role of art and culture) in the production of social relations. In the opening sequence of the film, a text written by Anthony McCall, Sarah Charlesworth, and Joseph Kosuth states: "The proposed topic of this film is 'Art and Society.' The film is itself a social product. The social relations of its production and those of its consumption are the human context in which this film, as a product, assumes social meaning. As a vehicle which carries content, it is itself the subject of which it speaks..."



*Pretty Good, Edinburgh and Surrounding Area*, 1973  
Slike iz filma z dovoljenjem umetnika

*Pretty Good, Edinburgh and Surrounding Area*, 1973  
Film stills courtesy of the artist



*Struggle in New York*, 1976  
Slike iz filma

*Struggle in New York*, 1976  
Film stills



## Mladen Stilinović

**Doba rdeče**, 1973–1990  
risbe, kolaži, fotografije; 56 del  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Doba rdeče* je serija risb, v katerih se jezik prepleta z vizualnimi elementi (tipom pisave, materialom, na katerem je besedilo). Povezovalno vlogo ima rdeča barva, ki deluje včasih samoreferenčno, kot vizualna poezija, s prekinjeno črto pod besedilom vnaša humorni namig na popravke v šolskih zvezkih, predvsem pa je tisti element, ki po besedah umetnika s stopnjevanjem pluralnosti pomena izgublja breme svoje historične simbolne vrednosti. Risbe sodijo v obdobje od sedemdesetih in osemdesetih let, ko je Stilinović tematiko črpal iz klišejev socialistične retorike, do devetdesetih let, ko je opozarjal na nasprotja, ki jih je po razpadu nekdanje skupne države prinesla »normalizacija«.

Stilinović zapiše: »Del mojega dela se nanaša na rabo rdeče barve v različnih vsebinah in tehnikah. Rdeča barva nosi v sebi veliko različnih pomenov. S tem, da barvo popeljem skozi različne vsebine, jo želim desimbolizirati, iz nje narediti le barvo. Tako je napor, če želimo pravilno brati sliko, v tem, da brišemo svoje znanje, ne pa ga potrjujemo. Če želimo delo brati prek svojega vedenja o tej barvi, pride do absurdnega branja. Ker svojega znanja ne moremo utišati, ta dela beremo kot simbole in nesimbole.«

**Razprodaja diktature**, 1987–2000  
fotografije  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

V seriji fotografij je umetnik dokumentiral elemente ideološke propagande v javnem prostoru, ki so bili neizbežni del vsakdanjega življenja v socialistični družbi, predvsem ob praznikih. Stilinović je sistematično dokumentiral zastave in parole, ki so krasile ulice, in še več parol, komunističnih simbolov in Titovih portretov po izložbah in oknih trgovin in uradov. Serija po eni strani kaže, kako je specifična ideologija delovala v družbi, kako je stopala v javni prostor in vsakdanje življenje, obenem pa tudi, kako shematični so bili simboli in parole ter kako učinkoviti kljub tej shematičnosti in čisti formalnosti. S tem nakazuje enega bistvenih paradoksov v delovanju socialističnih družb. Nihče, niti vladajoče elite, ni zares verjel parolam in ritualom, ki so upravljali življenje v teh družbah; bolj ali manj so jih imeli vsi za gole forme brez vsake smiselne vsebine. Pa vendar je bilo to dovolj, da je lahko družbeni red teklen naprej po utečenem redu. Ni bilo nujno, da bi ljudje verjeli ritualom, dovolj je bilo, da so jih formalno sprejemali.

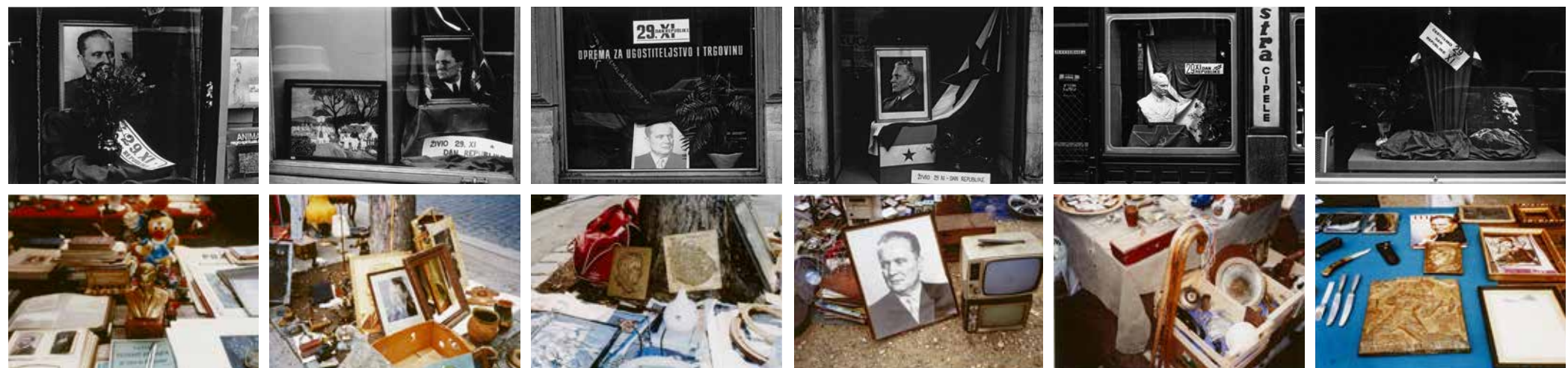
**Red Era**, 1973–1990  
drawings, collages, photographs; 56 items  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Red Era* is a series of drawings entwining language with visual elements (writing, material support). The common element is the color red; sometimes self-referential like visual poetry, at other times humorous, like the red underline reminiscent of a teacher's corrections. By intensifying the plurality of its meanings, the artist wanted to free the color of the burden of its historical symbolic value(s). The drawings were done in the period from the 1970s to 1980s, when Stilinović tapped into the clichés of socialist rhetoric for his subjects, and in the 1990s, when he focused on the contradictions brought about by "normalization" after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

As Stilinović said: "Part of my work refers to the use of the color red in various subjects and techniques. Red is invested with many different symbolic values. By taking it through a variety of contents, I wish to divest it of its symbolism, to make it just a color. The effort in trying to read a painting correctly is in suppressing our knowledge, not in reaffirming it. If we try to read a work using our knowledge of the color red, we get an absurd reading. But unable to suppress our knowledge, we read these works as both symbols and non-symbols."

**Sale of Dictatorship**, 1987–2000  
photographs  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

In a series of photographs, the artist documented elements of ideological propaganda in public space that used to be an inevitable part of everyday life in socialist society, especially at the time of public holidays. Stilinović systematically photographed flags and banners decorating the streets, and slogans, communist symbols, and Tito's portraits in shop windows. The series clearly shows one of the ways in which a particular type of ideology functioned in society, how it entered the public space and everyday life. It also shows how schematic such slogans and symbols actually were, and how they could be effective in spite of their schematic, purely formal nature. This indicates one of the essential paradoxes of the way socialist societies functioned. Nobody, including the ruling elites, seemed to actually believe in the slogans and rituals that governed the life of such societies; they considered them to be pure forms without any actual meaningful content. However, this was enough for the social order to be able to function as usual. It was not necessary for people to believe in rituals, it was enough that they formally complied with them.





**Was ist Kunst, Patricia Hennings?**

1976  
video, 30'  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

**Was ist Kunst, Marinela Koželj?**

1978  
video, 16' 20"  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

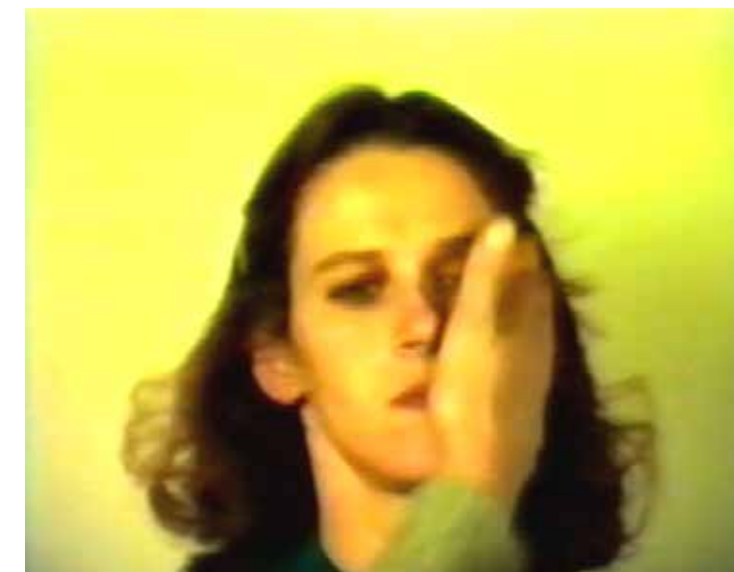
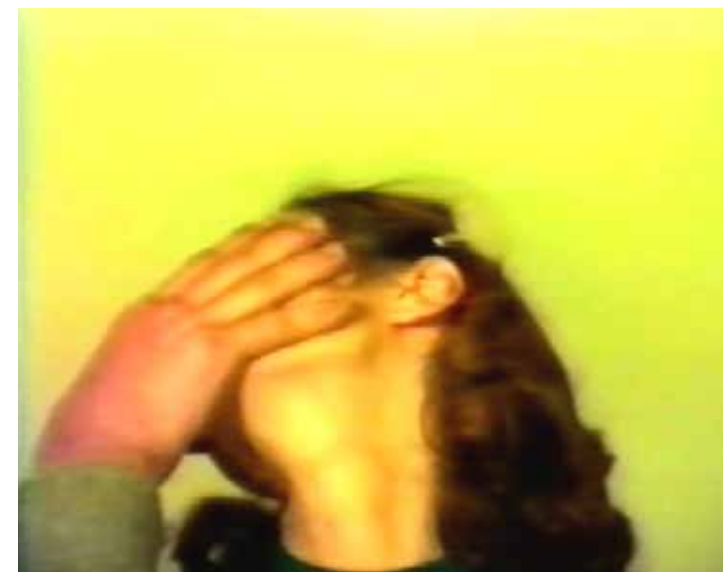
V nizu performansov z naslovom *Was ist Kunst?* (ki so se odvijali v obdobju 1976–1981 v raznih mestih, na raznih prizoriščih in v raznih razmerah) je Raša Todosijević v avtoritarnem tonu znova in znova zastavljal to vprašanje manekenki ter s tem parodiral represivni način policijskega zasliševanja, dokler mu ni zmanjkalo glasu. Dobesedni pomen vprašanja je bil v performansu s ponavljanjem postavljen nasproti odsotnosti učinka (odgovora ni), neskončno ponavljanje istega vprašanja, ki je v Todosijevićem despotskem govoru predstavljalo (elocucijsko) verbalno dejanje, pa se je navezovalo na vprašanje, ki je presegalo svoje meje.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Odlomek iz: Dejan Sretenović, »Time, World and Raša Todosijević«, [www.scribd.com/doc/24547852/Dejan-Sretenovic-on-Rasa-Todosijevic](http://www.scribd.com/doc/24547852/Dejan-Sretenovic-on-Rasa-Todosijevic).



*Was ist Kunst, Patricia Hennings?*, 1976  
slike iz videa

*Was ist Kunst, Patricia Hennings?*, 1976  
video stills



*Was ist Kunst, Marinela Koželj?*, 1978  
slike iz videa

*Was ist Kunst, Marinela Koželj?*, 1978  
video stills



## Goran Trbuljak

*Referendum*, 1972  
volilni listič

Umetnik je vsakdo, ki mu je dana možnost, da to postane.

Je Goran Trbuljak umetnik ali ne?

1. Da
2. Ne

tipkopis na papirju, fotografije  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

»1. februarja 1972 je bil pod sloganom 'Umetnik je človek, ki mu drugi dajo možnost, da to je,' izveden prvi referendum, ki je pozival mimoideče, naj odločijo, ali nekdo je umetnik ali ne.

Mimoidoči so morali oddati svoj glas, da so za umetnika razglasili človeka, ki ga prej niso poznali niti po imenu niti po delu. Poudariti je treba, da je bilo na volilni lističih ime človeka, ki je obiskoval umetnostne šole in tudi delil lističe, in da je bilo za akcijo samo brezpredmetno, ali se človek na lističih ukvarja s kakršnokoli kreativno dejavnostjo in ali sploh obstaja.

Od 500 razdeljenih lističev jih je bilo 259 za, 204 pa proti. Tako je bil človek, katerega ime in delo sta bila pred tem volivcem neznan, opredeljen za umetnika.«

G. Trbuljak 1972

*Referendum*, 1972  
ballot paper

An artist is anyone who is given the opportunity to be one.

Is this Goran Trbuljak an artist or not?

1. Yes
2. No

typescript on paper, photographs  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

“On 1 February 1972, the first referendum that asked passersby to decide whether a person was an artist or not was carried out under the slogan ‘An artist is a person who is given a chance to be that by others.’

Passersby had to cast their vote to proclaim a person with whose name and work they had been previously unfamiliar an artist. It should be emphasized that the name on the ballots was that of a person who had attended art schools and who also passed out the ballots, that it was irrelevant for the action itself whether the person on the ballots was engaged in any sort of creative activity or not, as well as whether that person existed at all.

Of the 500 distributed ballots there were 259 ayes and 204 nays. In this way a person whose name and work the voters had not previously known was designated an artist.”

G. Trbuljak 1972





**TV galerija**, 1984–1991  
televizijska oddaja  
urednica: Dunja Blažević  
produkcija: TV Beograd  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Potem ko je v sedemdesetih letih vodila Galerijo SKC Beograd, je kustosinja in umetnostna zgodovinarica Dunja Blažević leta 1981 začela delati na Televiziji Beograd kot avtorica prispevkov o sodobni umetnosti v oddajah *Petkom u 22* (Ob petkih ob 22. uri) in *Druga umetnost*. Sčasoma so prispevki prerasli v redno mesečno oddajo z naslovom *TV galerija*, ki so jo predvajali v sklopu jugoslovanske televizijske mreže do leta 1991. *TV galerija* je pomemben dokument o interdisciplinarni, družbeno angažirani umetniški in kuratorski praksi ter še danes nepresežen model konceptualne javne televizije in mesta umetnosti v njej.

Pojav *TV galerije* v televizijskem mediju v jugoslovanskem kontekstu je povezan s tem, kar se je dogajalo v sami sodobni umetnosti v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih: umetnost so zaznamovale ideje o demokratizaciji recepcije in produkcije sodobne umetnosti, t. i. »nove umetniške prakse«, opuščanje tradicionalnih umetniških prostorov (galerij in muzejev) in medijev (t. i. novi mediji, razširjeni mediji), taktična uporaba množičnih medijev, participacija, kolektivnost in sprememba statusa avtorja. Televizija je štela za »naravno« medijsko okolje za video umetnost, medtem ko je bilo galerijsko predstavljanje video umetnosti le delna rešitev. Danes so ta zamisel in te sanje skoraj povsem opuščene in pozabljene.

Tematsko so se oddaje Dunje Blažević ukvarjale z zelo široko pojmovano sodobno umetnostjo (od zgodovinske avantgarde do konceptualne umetnosti in »novih umetniških praks«, video umetnosti, oblikovanja, stripov, celo književnosti), niso jih omejevali »žanri«, njihova dolžina ni bila trdno zakoličena, njihova glasbena oprema pa je jasno kazala vpliv tedaj še vedno modernega »novega vala«. Oddaje niso zanimive le kot pokazatelj tedanje jugoslovanske kulturne in umetniške scene, ampak tudi javne televizije, družbe in države, v kateri so bili taki projekti sploh mogoči. Ohranjene posnetke lahko danes gledamo kot materializirane ostanke neke ideologije, ki odkrito kažejo, kako so taki eksperimenti v današnjem medijskem prostoru javne televizije nepredstavljivi, saj bi se zdaj te oddaje zdele elitistične, nekomercialne in za gledalce dolgočasne.

**TV Gallery**, 1984–1991  
television program  
producer and director: Dunja Blažević  
production: TV Belgrade  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

After serving as head of the Gallery of the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade in the 1970s, the curator and art historian Dunja Blažević went to work for Television Belgrade in 1981, producing video reports on contemporary art for programs like *On Fridays at 22* and *The Other Art* (*Petkom u 22* and *Druga umetnost*). Her work soon morphed into a regular monthly program entitled *TV Gallery* and broadcast on the Yugoslav national network until 1991. *TV Gallery* is an important document of interdisciplinary, socially engaged artistic and curatorial practice, remaining to this day an unsurpassed model of conceptual public television and of the place of art within it.

The emergence of a television program such as *TV Gallery* in the Yugoslav context is connected to – and was made possible by – the developments in contemporary art in the 1970s and 1980s: the ideas of the democratization of the reception and production of contemporary art, the so-called New Art Practice, the abandoning of traditional art spaces (galleries and museums) and artistic media (with the emergence of the new media and the expanded media), tactical utilization of mass media, participation, collectivity, change in the status of the author and similar developments). Television was seen as the “natural” media environment of video art, while gallery screenings of video art seemed a partial solution. Today this idea or hope is almost completely abandoned and forgotten.

The topics of Dunja Blažević’s broadcasts dealt with contemporary art in the broadest sense (from the historic avant-garde to conceptual art and the New Art Practice, video art, design, comics, and even literature); they were not limited by “genres,” the length of the program was not firmly determined, and the music reflected the obvious impact of the then still fashionable “new wave.” The programs are interesting not only in their portrayal of the Yugoslav cultural and artistic scene of the time, but also in what they tell us about the public television, society, and state that made such projects possible. Today, the preserved recordings of the broadcasts can be seen as material remnants of an ideology and an explicit reminder that such experiments are unthinkable in the current media space of public television, which would find such programs formally elitist, non-commercial, and boring for its audience.



## Nečist, demokratičen, konkreten: projekt Westeast Sezgin Boynik

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Franci Zagoričnik je bil eden najdejavnejših razširjevalcev eksperimentalnega pisanja v socialistični Jugoslaviji. V Kranju, kjer je bival, je skupaj z družino in tovariši iz drugih petih republik Jugoslavije pisal, urejal, prevajal, razstavljal in teoretično izpopolnjeval konkretno in vizualno poezijo. Zagoričnik si je skupaj z Miroljubom Todorovičem, Vladanom Radovanovičem, Vujico Rešinom Tucičem in Judito Šalgo prizadeval mobilizirati eksperimentalne pesniške oblike za izgradnjo novega jezika v večjezični in neenakomerno razviti socialistični Jugoslaviji. Med letoma 1978 in 1985 je v okviru platforme Westeast objavil enajst zbornikov, ki odražajo samo jedro te eksperimentalne oblike: njene nečiste, konkretne in demokratične razsežnosti.

V nadaljevanju bom te razsežnosti Zagoričnikove prakse začrtal tako, da jih bom primerjal z drugimi praksami in platformami v Jugoslaviji. Kljub temu da je Zagoričnik večinoma pisal v slovenščini in objavljaval v Sloveniji, njegove prakse v vlogi eksperimentalnega pesnika ni mogoče ločiti od jugoslovanskega konteksta. Primeri, ki si jih bomo ogledali, so iz periodike in knjig, ki so izšle v Ljubljani, Beogradu, Zagrebu, na Reki, v Splitu, Zrenjaninu, Mariboru, Sarajevu in Skopju.

*Dalje*, 1987, Sarajevo

Leta 1987 je novosadski pesnik Vojislav Despotov v sarajevski reviji *Dalje* objavil serijo esejev o novih vrstah tehničnega znanja v poeziji v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji. Leta 2005 je te eseje zbral pod naslovom *Čekić tautologije* (Kladivo tautologije). Despotov je konkretno poezijo opredelil kot realistično umetniško obliko, ki »razvija fotonaturalizem na besedni ravni.«<sup>1</sup> Ta konkretni realizem, če ga lahko tako imenujemo, je pomembna lastnost, po kateri se eksperimentalna poezija Jugoslavije – in drugih socialističnih držav – razlikuje od zahodnih, paradigmatsko tehnokratskih in profesionalnih različic konkretne poezije. Rentgenska slika konkretne poezije Despotova predstavlja podobo nesporno raznolike, bogate in hibri-

## Impure, Democratic, Concrete: the Westeast Project Sezgin Boynik

Franci Zagoričnik was one of the most active propagators of experimental writing in socialist Yugoslavia. In his headquarters in Kranj, Slovenia, he wrote, edited, translated, exhibited, and theoretically elaborated concrete and visual poetry together with his family and comrades from the other five republics of Yugoslavia. Together with Miroljub Todorović, Vladan Radovanović, Vujica Rešin Tucić, and Judita Šalgo, Zagoričnik aimed at mobilizing experimental poetic forms for constructing new language in the multilingual and unevenly developed socialist Yugoslavia. Between 1978 and 1985, he published eleven anthologies under the Westeast platform, which reflect the very core of this experimental form: its impure, concrete and democratic dimensions.

In what follows I will delineate these dimensions of Zagoričnik's practice by comparing them with other practices and platforms in Yugoslavia. Despite the fact that Zagoričnik wrote in Slovenian and published in Slovenia most of the time, his practice as an experimental poet cannot be separated from the Yugoslav context. The examples we will look at are drawn from periodicals and books published in Ljubljana, Belgrade, Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, Zrenjanin, Maribor, Sarajevo, and Skopje.

*Dalje*, 1987, Sarajevo

In 1987, Vojislav Despotov, a poet from Novi Sad, published a series of essays on the new forms of technical knowledge in poetry in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in the Sarajevo journal *Dalje* (Further, Beyond). In 2005, these essays were collected together under the title *Čekić tautologije* (Hammer of Tautology). Despotov defined concrete poetry as a realistic art form "developing photo-naturalism on a verbal plane."<sup>1</sup> This concrete realism, if we can call it that, is an important distinction of Yugoslav – and other socialist countries' – experimental poetry from the Western, paradigmatically

Nečist, demokratičen, konkreten: projekt Westeast

dne produkcije; povedano drugače, te produkcije so nečiste. Avtor navede, da se nekatere pesmi, ki so obravnavane v knjigi, »vedejo tako simbolično kot v slogu *zaum*, kot bi bile lekcije govornega pouka na Goethejevem inštitutu« ali »kot bi bile narejene iz ribjih kosti.«<sup>2</sup> V tej raznolikosti je najpomembnejše to, da Despotov priznava humanistični vidik teh eksperimentov tudi v računalniško ustvarjenih pesmih (»računalniki, ki smrdijo po ljudeh«). Despotov je menil, da »jezika ni mogoče razčlovečiti«, dokler je živ, logičen ali paradoksalen. Ta nenehno spreminjajoči se jezik je v Jugoslaviji zahteval »javno demistifikacijo poezije«, ki je bila dosežena s konkretno in vizualno poetiko, ta pa je ustvarila nove bralce z novimi subjektivnostmi »antikaradžičeve ortopedije«, torej bralce po novem, protitradicionalističnem, protinacionalističnem kalupu.<sup>3</sup> Na zadnji strani knjige je reproducirana podoba iz *Struganja mašte* (Strganje domišljije) Rešina Tucića, na kateri je partizan, ki bo vrgel ročno granato na besedo *mit*, kar je Despotov interpretiral kot uničenje mitov o jeziku, zaključil pa je z besedami: »partizan izpolni svojo nalogo na področju raziskovanja/rušenja najbolj konservativne sile tega sveta: jezika.«<sup>4</sup>

*Problemi*, 1972, Ljubljana

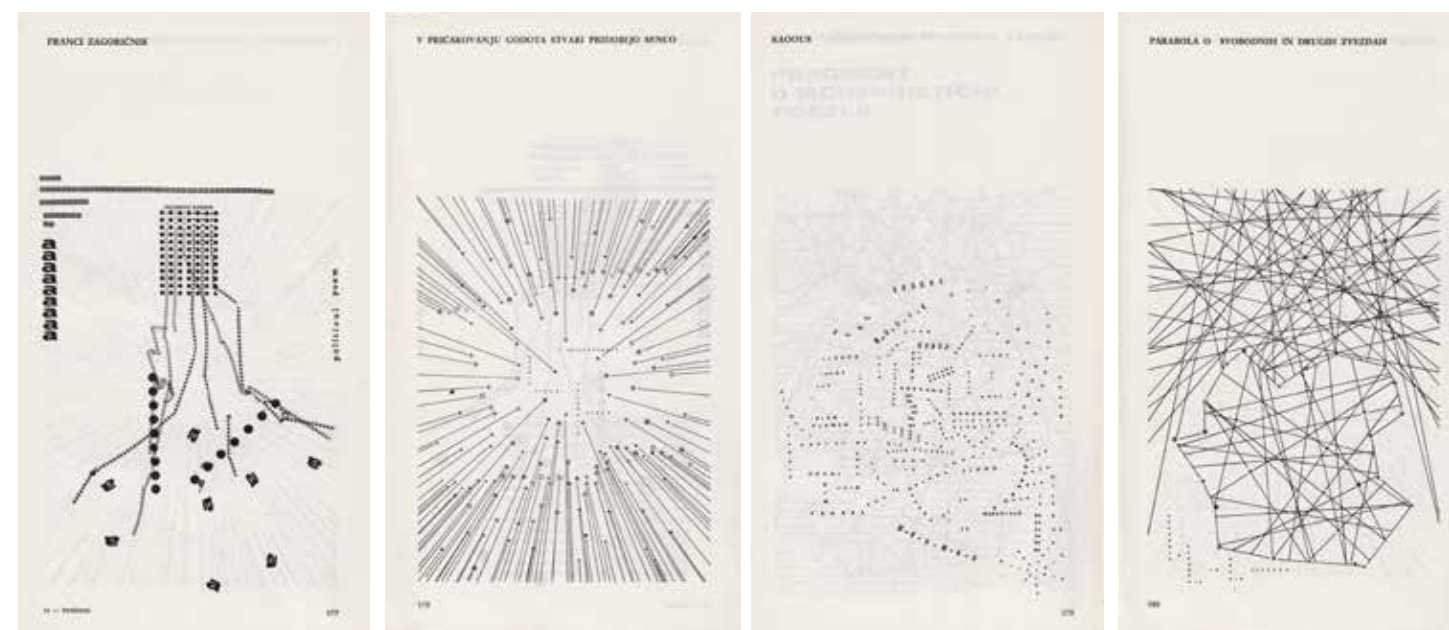
Dela Francija Zagoričnika in Westeasta na straneh *Čekića tautologije* sodijo med najboljše primere politične uporabe tehničnega znanja nove poezije v SFRJ. Zanimivo je, da Despotov razpravlja o eksperimentalni poeziji kot o realističnem načinu reprezentacije (»fotonaturalizem«), ta metoda pa je zastavljena kot nekaj, kar nasprotuje tradicionalnim in nacionalističnim ostankom literarne produkcije. Trdil bom, da je osrednja teoretična premisa eksperimentalne oziroma konkretne in vizualne poezije, ki je nastala v Jugoslaviji, beležiti konkretno družbeno-jezikovno dinamiko in njene kulturne učinke. Ker so se ta dinamika in njeni kulturni učinki v Jugoslaviji neenakomerno razvijali, je tudi konkretna poezija dobila oblike, ki so bile neenakomerne, nečiste, protislovne in čudne. To čudno mešanico v konkretni in vizualni

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technocratic and professional versions of concrete poetry. Despotov's X-ray of concrete poetry presents a picture of indisputably diverse, rich, and hybrid production; in other words, these productions are impure. Some poems discussed in the book are described as "behaving both symbolically and *zaum*-like, as if they were voice-training lessons at the Goethe Institute" or "as if produced from fish-bones."<sup>2</sup> What is most important in this variety is Despotov's acknowledgment of the humanist aspect of these experiments, even within computer-generated poems ("computers stinking of humans"). Despotov believed that as long as it was alive, logical or paradoxical, "language cannot be dehumanized." In Yugoslavia, this constantly changing language demanded a "public demystification of poetry," which was achieved by concrete and visual poetics, producing new readers with new subjectivities of the "anti-Karadžić orthopedic," that is to say, readers from a new, antitraditional, antinationalist mold.<sup>3</sup> The last page of the book reproduces an image from Rešin Tucić's *Struganje mašte* (Scraping Imagination), which shows a partisan guerilla about to throw a hand grenade at the word *mit* (myth), which Despotov interpreted as a destruction of the myths of language, concluding with the words: "a partisan fulfills his task in the field of research/demolition of the most conservative force of this world: language."<sup>4</sup>

*Problemi*, 1972, Ljubljana

The works of Franci Zagoričnik and Westeast included in the pages of *Čekić tautologije* are among the best examples of the political use of the technical knowledge of new poetry in SFRY. It is curious that Despotov discusses experimental poetry as a realistic mode of representation ("photo-naturalism"), and this device is posited as something counter to the traditional and nationalistic remnants of literary productions. I will argue that the core theoretical premise of the experimental or concrete and visual poetry produced in Yugoslavia is to register the concrete social-linguistic dynamics and their cultural





poeziji je mogoče zaznati v vseh njenih variacijah, vključno s klasičnimi strukturalističnimi in programskimi različicami. Zagoričnik je v zgodnjih delih in zapisih konec šestdesetih in v začetku sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja, ki jih je objavljala v *Problemih*, najprestižnejši literarni in teoretični reviji v Sloveniji, združeval iskanje materialnosti in univerzalnosti znaka z njegovimi najbolj neposrednimi in kompleksnimi elementi. Leta 1972 je bilo to opredeljeno kot programski pristop k eni specifični različici eksperimentalne poezije, ki jo je Zagoričnik nato razvil v samostojno šolo. »Velik polet vizualne poezije omogoča predvsem neproblematičnost pri izbiri materialov. Vse njene obveznosti so v območju danega in konkretnega, ter se ne ogiblje temu, kar je v potrošniškem svetu že odpisanega.«<sup>5</sup>

#### *Ulaznica*, 1972, Zrenjanin

Da vizualna poezija ni problematična pri izbiri, je morda najbolj natančna opredelitev dogajanja v Jugoslaviji na tem literarnem področju, kjer je bil Zagoričnik eden najbolj živahnih organizatorjev. V drugem besedilu, napisanem leta 1972 in objavljenem v zrenjaninski reviji *Ulaznica*, je Zagoričnik napovedal, da je »tisto skupno vse, v katerem obstajata tudi čas in prostor tega obstoja, obstoja pojava, za katerega gre, pripravljen obravnavati kot *celoto*, tako da bi svet postal ... svet vsega.«<sup>6</sup> Ta vsevključujoča in demokratična težnja po eksperimentalni poeziji, ki jo pogosto napačno povezujejo z ekskluzivnimi in elitističnimi težnjami, je tisto, zaradi česar so te oblike umetniške produkcije oblikovale splošno kulturo v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Vzporedno s tem so kulturne ustanove, organizirane po samoupravnem načelu, omogočale družbeno in ekonomsko podlago za njeno širjenje.

#### *Vidik*, 1972, Split

V Jugoslaviji je to »vsejevstvo« pomenilo tudi čudno mešanico uradne, disidentske in podtalne kulture. Taras Kermauner, ki je veljal za enega najbolj cenjenih literarnih zgodovinarjev in priljubljenih kritikov uradnih socialističnih kulturnih politik, je uredil posebno številko splitskega časopisa *Vidik* o reistični (reizem izhaja iz *res*, stvar) poeziji, ki je nastajala v Sloveniji. Kermauner je zagovarjal dosežke reističnih konkretnih in topografskih pesmi kot pravo emancipacijo od »buržoazno-idealistično-humanističnega krščanskega sveta«.<sup>7</sup> Ta pristni materializem ali »posthumanizem« konkretne poezije je dosežen s premikom od označevanja k znaku, oziroma z drugimi besedami, z zamenjavo nabitih (moralističnih) pomenov znotraj kulture z elementarnimi materiali, ki obstajajo *sui generis*.

Pesniki, o katerih je pisal Kermauner (Vojin Kovač-Chubby, Nuša in Srečo Dragan, Polona Hanžek, Milenko Matanović, Pavel Lužan, I. G. Plamen, Marko Pogačnik, Ifigenija Zagoričnik in Franci Zagoričnik), so dobri primeri reističnega predstavljanja; uvedli so prostorskost kot pomembno sestavino svoje eksperimentalne poezije. V teh topografskih poskusih, je trdil Kermauner, se je »čas 'sploščil' v prostor, zaradi česar se je nasilno odprl, razvezal in razširil,«<sup>8</sup> s čimer je uvedel popolnoma nov materialistični odnos do besedila. Posledično imamo materializem brez zgodovine, zaskrbljujoč pojem, ki zahteva skrbno ponovni premislek o pogojih eksperimentalne poezije v socialistični družbi.

Prostorskost je v konkretni poeziji zavzemala pomembno vlogo že od njenega nastanka v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, a

effects. As these dynamics and their cultural effects were unevenly developed in Yugoslavia, concrete poetry also took forms that were uneven, impure, contradictory, and strange. This strange mixture in concrete and visual poetry can be detected in all of its variations, including its classical structuralist and programmatic versions. Zagoričnik's early works and writings in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, which he published in *Problemi*, the most prestigious literary and theoretical journal published in Slovenia, combined the quest for the materiality and universality of the sign with its most immediate and complex elements. In 1972, this was defined as a programmatic approach to one specific version of experimental poetry, which Zagoričnik was to develop into an independent school. "Visual poetry is not picky when it comes to choosing its materials; this fact above all is what has allowed it to flourish. It is exclusively committed to the given and the concrete, not despising what has been discarded as useless by the consumerist world."<sup>5</sup>

#### *Ulaznica*, 1972, Zrenjanin

That visual poetry is not picky is perhaps the most precise definition of what was going on in Yugoslavia in this literary field, of which Zagoričnik was one of the most agile organizers. In another text written in 1972, published in the Zrenjanin-based journal *Ulaznica*, Zagoričnik announced that he was "ready to take that total *everything*, within which the time and space of this existence exist, of the existence of the phenomenon that is in question, as a *whole*, and in a manner that would make the world... a *world of everything*."<sup>6</sup> This all-inclusive and democratic aspiration towards experimental poetry, which is often wrongly associated with exclusive and elitist tendencies, is what made these forms of artistic production shape the general culture in socialist Yugoslavia. Parallel to this, the cultural institutions organized according to the principle of self-management gave the social and economic basis for its proliferation.

#### *Vidik*, 1972, Split

In Yugoslavia, this "everythingism" also meant a strange mixture of the official, dissident, and underground cultures. Taras Kermauner, who was considered one of the most respected literary historians and popular critics of the official socialist cultural policies, edited a special issue of Split-based journal *Vidik* on the reistic (referring to reism, thingness) poetry produced in Slovenia. Kermauner defended the achievements of reistic concrete and topographic poems as a true emancipation from the "bourgeois-idealist-humanist Christian world."<sup>7</sup> This genuine materialism or "posthumanism" of concrete poetry is accomplished through a shift from the signification to the sign, or in other words, through the replacement of charged (moralistic) meanings within culture with elementary materials existing *sui generis*.

The poets that Kermauner was writing about (Vojin Kovač-Chubby, Nuša & Srečo Dragan, Polona Hanžek, Milenko Matanović, Pavel Lužan, I. G. Plamen, Marko Pogačnik, Ifigenija Zagoričnik, and Franci Zagoričnik) are good examples of reistic representation; they introduced spatiality as an important component of their experimental poetry. In these topographical experiments, Kermauner argued, "time has 'flattened' into space, causing it to violently open, untie, and ex-



značilnost, ki jugoslovansko topografsko poezijo loči od kanonične konkretne poezije, je *novi družbeni* element, ki je nastal z odpravo konservativnih pesniških oblik. Ta novi element oziroma potencial, ki izhaja iz konkretne in vizualne poezije, je tisto, kar bi rad utemeljil. Pri tem se pojavljajo protislovja. Trdim, da je specifičnost jugoslovanske konkretne in vizualne poezije kot zapoznele formacije v njeni artikulaciji eksperimentalnih načinov govora kot katalizatorja družbene emancipacije. To je bilo tudi stališče nekaterih ortodoksnih konkretnih pesnikov; v zgodnjih šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja je Franz Mon zapisal, da »se prostorsko artikulirani jezik prebije na plan, kadar konvencionalni jezik, ki ga odobrava družba, doseže svoje omejitve«.<sup>9</sup> V primeru Mona in mnogih drugih pesnikov so radikalnost konkretne poezije videli kot oživitvev konvencionalnega jezika, ki cilja prav na oživiljanje disfunkcionalnosti že obstoječih jezikov. Zato je bila naloga konkretne poezije uveljaviti novo – običajno razumljeno v odnosu do novosti, ki so jih prinesli tehnološki in znanstveni izumi.

Posebnost jugoslovanskih različic – predvsem Zagoričnikovih – je v njihovi dejavni uporabi poezije proti konvenciji. Vzrok za silovitost in vztrajnost jugoslovanske eksperimentalne poezije je bil prav ta močni antitradicionalizem.

Kermauner je v boju proti konvencijam skušal začrtati politični program reističnega materializma. OHO in drugi topografski pesniki so po njegovih besedah ciljali v samo srce slovenske tradicionalne kulture, ki je bila po Kermaunerju kultura vere. Ta provokacija je bila namenjena kulturi nacionalnih pesnikov v socialistični Jugoslaviji, ki niso bili povsem ločeni od boga, cerkve in metafizike človeške odrešitve. Reistično navdahnjena konkretna poezija naj bi z odmikom od človeškega k stvarjem uničila še zadnje ostanke »tradicionalne metafizične misli«. Za razliko od drugih zahodnih konkretnih pesnikov, ki

pand,<sup>8</sup> introducing a completely new materialist relationship with the text. As a result, we have materialism without history, a troubling notion requiring careful reconsideration of the conditions of experimental poetry in socialist society.

Spatiality occupied an important role in concrete poetry from its inception in the 1950s, but the feature which separates Yugoslav topographic poetry from canonical concrete poetry is the *new social* element, emerging from the abolishment of conservative poetic forms. This new element, or potential, emerging from concrete and visual poetry is what I am interested in arguing for. This involvement has its own contradictions. I argue that the specificity of Yugoslav concrete and visual poetry, as a belated formation, is comprised in its articulation of experimental modes of speech as the catalyst of social emancipation. This was also the position of some orthodox concrete poets; in the early 1960s, Franz Mon wrote that "spatially articulated language breaks through whenever the conventional language sanctioned by society reaches its limitations."<sup>9</sup> In the case of Mon and many other poets, the radicality of concrete poetry was seen as a reinvigoration of conventional language, precisely aiming at the re-animation of the dysfunctionality of already existing languages. Following this, the task of concrete poetry was to affirm the new – usually understood vis-à-vis the novelties of technological and scientific inventions

The distinctiveness of the Yugoslav iterations – especially Zagoričnik's – is located in their active use of poetry against convention. The reason for the fierceness and urgency of Yugoslav experimental poetry was this strong anti-traditionalism.

In this struggle against convention, Kermauner sought to delineate the political program of reistic materialism. According to him, OHO

so v svojem počtetju izražali podobno osvoboditev od metafizike, je Kermauner v »reistični« angažiranosti zasledil nekaj veliko bolj radikalnega: popoln odmik od »bralnega sistema zahodnoevropske civilizacije«, ki je omogočal sistematičen in radikalen prelom z zahodnimi tradicijami.<sup>10</sup>

Zagoričnikov prispevek v nabor, objavljen v *Vidiku*, je topografska pesem, ki prikazuje nestabilno zgradbo, sestavljeno iz ponovitev besede *order* (red), ki stoji na majavih tleh raztresenih ponovitev besede *system* (sistem), naokrog pa letijo besede *data* (podatki); popolna vizualizacija nestabilnih temeljev. To je podobno drugemu naboru pesmi, ki ga je Zagoričnik objavil v reviji *Problemi* leta 1972 (št. 118–120) in ki prikazuje besede in črke, ki letijo v vse smeri ter gradijo naključne in prehodne pomene. Ta anarhistični vzgib h kaosu (ki ga najbolje ponazarja »Politična pesem« iz istega nabora) je postal očitnejši v kasnejših prispevkih in publikacijah platforme Westeast.

### Matična knjiga, 1983, Reka

Goran Babić, pesnik in komunist iz Zagreba, ki je leta 1969 ustanovil revijo *Pitanja*, je leta 1983 izdal skoraj dvesto strani dolgo knjigo umetnika *Matična knjiga* v Izdavačkem centru Rijeka (ICR, Založniško središče Reka, kjer je izhajala tudi revija *Dometi*). Gre za zelo nenavadno knjigo, ki jo je napisal nenavaden avtor in ki vključuje vsakdanje in ideološke ready-made elemente, razne prozne zasnove v obliki vizualne poezije, izrezke Babićevih prejšnjih eksperimentalnih del, kazala uradnih dokumentov itd., s tem pa prinaša rentgensko sliko mnogovrstne neenakomernosti resničnosti jugoslovanskega socialističnega samoupravljanja. Franci Zagoričnik je h knjigi napisal spremno besedo in ob tej priložnosti trdil, da je *Matična knjiga* pesem-objekt in dokaz »zgodovinske konkretne poezije«, ki izkorišča bistvene ideološke

and other topographical poets targeted the very heart of Slovenian traditional culture, which, according to Kermauner, was the culture of religion. This provocation was aimed at the culture of national poets in socialist Yugoslavia, who were not completely detached from God, church, and the metaphysics of human redemption. Reist-inspired concrete poetry was to destroy the last remnants of "traditional metaphysical thought" by moving away from the human towards things. Unlike other Western concrete poets who also registered a similar liberation from metaphysics, Kermauner was tracing something far more radical in "reistic" engagement: a complete detachment from the "reading system of Western European civilization," enabling a systematic and radical break from Western traditions.<sup>10</sup>

Zagoričnik's contribution to the *Vidik* portfolio is a topographic poem depicting an unstable building made of repetitions of the word *order* standing on the shaky ground of swerving repetitions of the word *system*, with *data* flying around; a perfect visualization of unstable foundations. This is similar to another portfolio of poems Zagoričnik published in the journal *Problemi* in 1972 (no. 118–120), depicting words and letters flying in all directions, constructing random and transient meanings. This anarchistic impulse towards chaos (best exemplified in "Political Poem" from the same portfolio) became more evident in the later portfolios and publications of the Westeast platform.

### Matična knjiga, 1983, Rijeka

Goran Babić, a poet and communist from Zagreb who initiated the journal *Pitanja* in 1969, published his almost two-hundred-page artist's book *Matična knjiga* [Register Book] with the Izdavački centar Rijeka (ICR, Publishing Center Rijeka, the publisher of the journal

tokove, navzoče v praksah konkretne poezije.<sup>11</sup> Zagoričnik je zagovarjal *Matično knjigo* kot pričevanje o desetletjih dosežkov konkretne poezije v Jugoslaviji (drugi primeri so *Struganje mašte* Vujice Rešina-Tucića in delo kolektiva Westeast) ter njenih sedanjih in prihodnjih možnosti ter branil dediščino te poezije pred fetišizacijo »formalističnih in tehno-poetičnih rešitev«, prevladujočih v mainstreamovskih eksperimentalnih pesniških praksah, ki so bile takrat pogoste v Jugoslaviji.<sup>12</sup> Vendar pa je ta čudovita publikacija, ki je nastala kot register na pisarniškem papirju, danes skoraj neznana tudi ljubiteljem eksperimentalne poezije in skoraj nikoli omenjena v raziskavah, posvečenih konkretni poeziji.

### Delo, 1982, Beograd

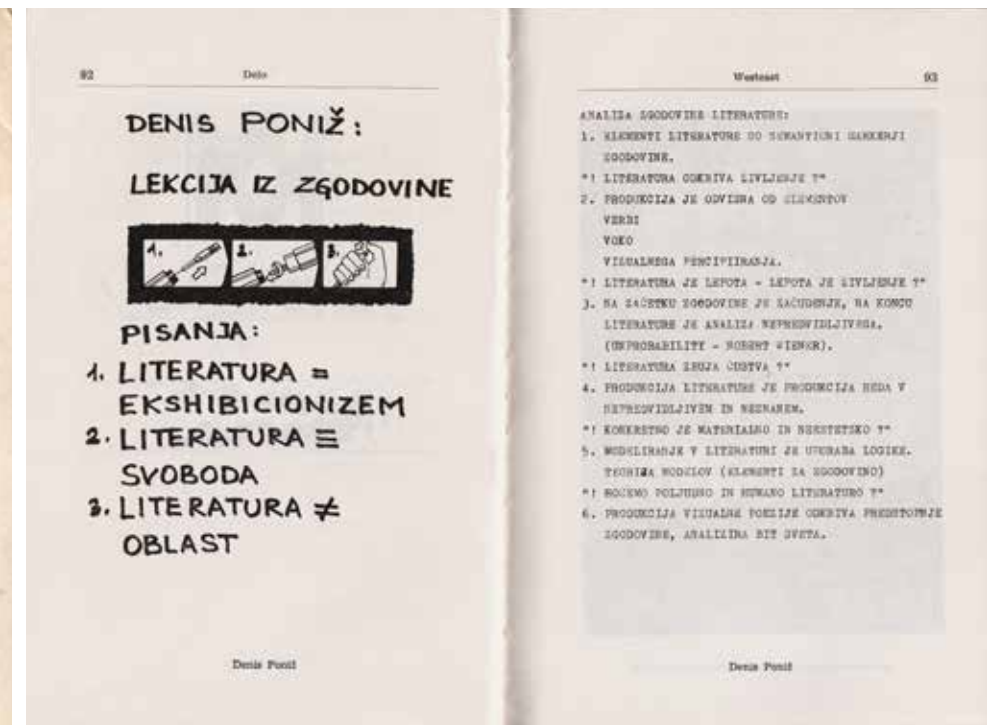
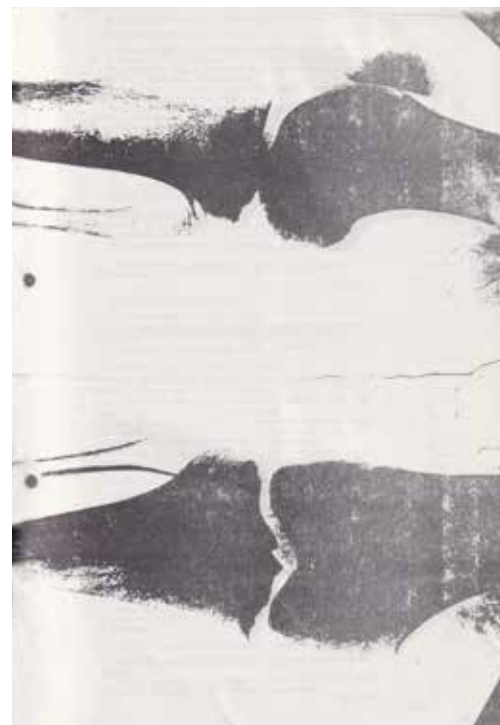
Peti zbornik Westeasta je izšel kot posebna izdaja revije *Delo* iz Beograda (št. 4, 1982). Številko, znano kot *We-De 5*, je v celoti uredil Franci Zagoričnik, poleg jugoslovanskih konkretnih in vizualnih pesnikov pa je vključevala nova dela nekaterih drugih vodilnih pesnikov iz tujine. *Delo* je bilo ena najbolj uveljavljenih mesečnih literarnih revij, ki je izhajala od sredine petdesetih let. Celotna tretja številka iz leta 1975 je izšla pod naslovom *Konkretna, vizualna in signalistična poezija* kot antologija, ki jo je uredil Miroljub Todorović.

Enako težnjo po demokratizaciji eksperimentalne poezije ima tudi *Delova* izdaja Westeast, ki je bila v kratkem uvodu napovedana kot poskus, da se »na neposreden in raznolik način poudari univerzalno umetniško bratstvo sveta, vzdolž njegovih strani in onkraj njih.« Pri številki je sodeloval tudi Denis Poniž, esejist, kritik, urednik in teoretik, ki je na dodeljenih dveh straneh napisal teze o zgodovini književnosti v slogu konkretne poezije. Šesta, končna teza trdi, da »produkcija vizualne poezije odkriva predstopnje zgodovine, analizira bit sveta.«<sup>13</sup>

*Dometi*) in 1983. An unusual book by an unusual writer, it includes ready-made everyday and ideological elements, various prosaic designs patterned as visual poetry, cut-ups of Babić's earlier experimental works, indexes of official documents, etc., providing an X-ray picture of the multifarious unevenness of the reality of Yugoslavia's socialist self-management. Franci Zagoričnik wrote an afterword to the book, using the opportunity to argue that *Matična knjiga* was an object-poem and evidence of the "historicity of concrete poetry," utilizing the substantial ideological currents present in concrete poetry practices.<sup>11</sup> Zagoričnik defended *Matična knjiga* as a testament to decades of achievements in concrete poetry in Yugoslavia (other examples include Vujica Rešin-Tucić's *Struganje mašte* and the work of the Westeast association) and to its present and future possibilities; defending the legacy of this poetry against the fetishization of "formalistic and techno-poetic solutions" prevailing in the mainstream experimental poetry practices then common in Yugoslavia.<sup>12</sup> However, this beautiful publication produced as a register book on office paper is hardly known today, even by aficionados of experimental poetry, and is hardly ever mentioned in earlier studies dedicated to concrete poetry.

### Delo, 1982, Belgrade

The fifth Westeast anthology was published as a special edition of the journal *Delo* from Belgrade (no. 4, 1982). Known as *We-De 5*, the issue is entirely edited by Franci Zagoričnik, and includes, in addition to Yugoslav concrete and visual poets, new works by some other leading poets from outside the country. *Delo* was one of the most established monthly literary journals published from the mid-1950s on. The entire third issue of *Delo* in 1975 (no. 3) was published under the title





Program platforme Westeast je bil dvigniti potencial vizualne poezije na raven konjunkturne analize. Končni rezultati te konjunkturne analize vizualnih pesnikov so bili morda preveč nenavadni za okuse visoko usposobljenih marksističnih teoretikov v Jugoslaviji, a so kljub temu pokazali nekaj razumevanja zgodovinskih, materialističnih in političnih vidikov Jugoslavije in širšega sveta. Večina del, objavljenih v zbornikih Westeasta, je obravnavala takrat pereča vprašanja, razorožitve, hladno vojno, nacionalizem, inflacijo, Mednarodni denarni sklad, vojno v Libanonu, neokonzervativizem in rastoči gibanji Solidarnost (*Solidarność*) na Poljskem in perestrojko v Sovjetski zvezi. Kljub svoji anarhistični naravnosti pa Westeastova in na splošno jugoslovanska različica konkretne in vizualne poezije ni odvrnila pogleda od nečiste dinamike neenakomernega razvoja kapitalizma in socializma. Z drugimi besedami, platforma Westeast ni bila eskapistični pristop, kot je trdil Poniž v drugem eseju, »vsi zborniki Westeasta in s tem tudi *We-De 5* predstavljajo presek določene časovne plasti jugoslovanskega in globalnega konkretističnega ustvarjalnega dela. To nam pripoveduje o dvojem: prvič, o novostih, ki jih uvajajo posamezni avtorji, pa tudi o tistih elementih, ki se ponovno prebijejo v 'konkretno' širjenje sveta, pa tudi o celotni konkretistični produkciji in njenem položaju v estetskih in ideoloških napetostih sodobnega sveta.«<sup>14</sup> S sklicevanjem na Zagoričnika to »antološko širjenje« imenuje za radikalno demokratično značilnost platforme Westeast, ki zanika hierarhije reprezentacij in v produkcijo vključuje vse enako (vsakomur sta odmerjeni dve strani). Ta praksa Westeasta je imela širše posledice in je tako po Poniževem mnenju ustvarila svoj lastni »samozadostno organiziran prostor«, ki noče »dekonkretizirati' svoje prakse in biti potisnjen v kalupe obstoječih institucionalnih modelov,« s čimer ima v mislih obstoječe (konkretne) konservativne institucionalne modele.

**Pitanja**, 1982–83, Zagreb

V začetku osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja je Westeast objavil dva sklopa prispevkov v reviji *Pitanja*, ki je takrat veljala za eno najvplivnejših revij v Jugoslaviji. Na pobudo Gorana Babića je začela izhajati leta 1969, izdajala pa jo je Zveza socialistične mladine Hrvaške; v zgodovino se je zapisala kot prva revija, ki je objavila prevode Derridaja, Lacana in mnogih drugih piscev *Tel Quela* v kakšnem od vzhodnoevropskih jezikov. Vzporedno s temi poststrukturalističnimi hermetičnimi teorijami je objavila tudi zapise Nenada Miščevića, teoretične pesmi Darka Kolibaša, vizualno poezijo Babića, Mladena Machieda in drugih ter politične analize takratne socialistične konjunktore v Jugoslaviji.

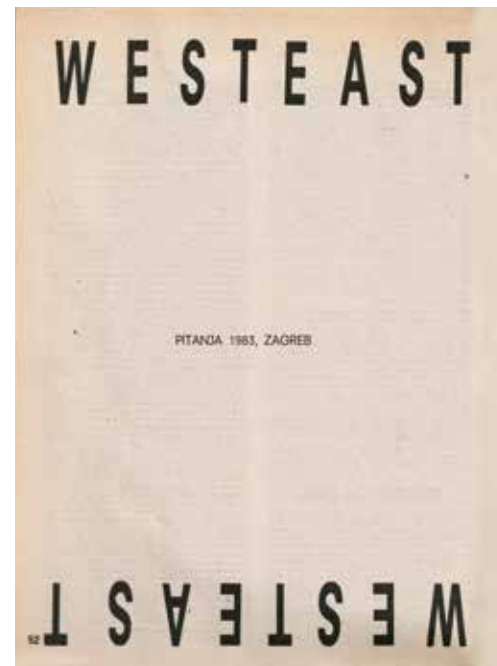
Leta 1982 je Westeast kot prilogo reviji izdal posebno mapo Vujiće Rešina Tucića *Struganje mašte*. Pred tem so bili deli »Struganja« natisnjeni v kulturnih revijah *Ulaznica* (1970), *Student* (1971) in *Književne reči* (1973), načrtovana – a nikoli umejanjena – pa je bila tudi objava v obliki šestmeterskega papirja za umetniški tisk, pakiranega v solnico. Tucić, ki ga Babić opisuje kot anarhista, je bil eden najpomembnejših pesnikov sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ki je ob konkretnih in vizualnih pesmih (kot v »Struganju«) objavil tudi serijo pesmi v slogu *zaum*, ki kritizirajo upravni jezik socializma. V teoretičnih spisih močno zagovarja pesniško subjektivnost, ki nasprotuje birokratizaciji socialističnega samoupravljanja, ki ga je želel soočiti z novim jezikom nove poezije. Tucić je napisal kar nekaj programskih besedil o družbeni vlogi poezije, v katerih predstavlja konkretno in vizualno pesniško

*Concrete, Visual, and Signalist Poetry*, an anthology edited by Mirosljub Todorović.

The Westeast *Delo* issue also has the same aspiration for the democratization of experimental poetry, which was announced in the short introduction as an attempt to “emphasize in immediate and diverse ways the universal artistic brotherhood of the world, along and across its sides.” Among the contributors to the issue was Denis Poniž, essayist, critic, editor, and theoretician, who used his allotted two pages to write theses on the history of literature in the style of concrete poetry. The sixth, final thesis claims that “the production of visual poetry reveals the previous stages of history, analyzes the essence of the world.”<sup>13</sup> The program of the Westeast platform was to elevate the potential of visual poetry to this level of conjunctural analysis. The final results of this conjunctural analysis of visual poets were perhaps rather too unusual for the tastes of highly skilled Marxist scholars in Yugoslavia, but nevertheless they showed some grasp of the historical, materialist, and political aspects of Yugoslavia and the wider world. Most of the works published in the Westeast anthologies commented on topical issues, such as disarmament, the Cold War, nationalism, inflation, the IMF, the war in Lebanon, neo-conservatism, and the rise of Solidarity (*Solidarność*) in Poland and Perestroika in the Soviet Union. Despite its anarchistic attitude, the Westeast, and more generally Yugoslav, version of concrete and visual poetry production did not turn its gaze away from the impure dynamics of the uneven developments in capitalism and socialism. In other words, the Westeast platform was not an escapist approach, as Poniž argued in another essays, “all West-east anthologies, and thus also *We-De 5*, represent a cross-section of a certain temporal layer of Yugoslav and global concretist creative work. This tells us two things: first, about the novelties that particular authors introduce, and also about those elements that again make their way into the ‘concrete’ spread of the world, as well as about the overall concretist production and its position within the aesthetic and ideological tensions of the contemporary world.”<sup>14</sup> Referring to Zagoričnik, he calls this “anthological dissemination” a radical democratic feature of the Westeast platform, negating hierarchies of representations, and including everyone equally (with two pages being allotted) in its production. This practice had wider repercussions, and thus according to Poniž it created its own “self-sufficiently organized space,” one that refused to “de-concretize’ its practice and be pushed into the molds of the existing institutional models,” referring by this to the existing (concrete) conservative institutional models.

**Pitanja**, 1982–83, Zagreb

At the beginning of the 1980s, Westeast published two portfolios in the journal *Pitanja*, which was then considered one of the most influential journals in Yugoslavia. Initiated by Goran Babić in 1969, it was published by the League of the Socialist Youth of Croatia, and it went down in history as the first journal to publish translations of Derrida, Lacan, and many other *Tel Quel* writers in any of the Eastern European languages. Parallel to these post-structuralist hermetic theories, it also published the writings of Nenad Miščević, theoretical poems by Darko Kolibaš, visual poetry portfolios by Babić, Mladen Machiedo, and others, and political analyses of the then socialist conjuncture in Yugoslavia.





produkcijo v Jugoslaviji kot družbeno in s tem kolektivno dejavnost, rezultat združenega ali kolektivnega dela. Kot ugotavlja Tucić, »nove pesniške umetnine terjajo tudi novega bralca,«<sup>15</sup> kar na dolgi rok zahteva transformacijo subjektivnosti v teh procesih politične kolektivizacije. Najzanimivejši vidik te novotvorbe je bila odprava ločnice med pesniškim in praktičnim jezikom, z učinkom, ki ga je bilo čutiti na vseh področjih življenja, saj je nova poetika uvedla »nove možnosti človeškega govora v družbi.«<sup>16</sup>

V drugem Westeastovem sklopu v reviji *Pitanja* je ta ideja v celoti izpostavljena. Prispevki so bolj plakatni, z dominantno eksplicitno politično tematiko, sporočila so nasilna, neposredna in napadalna. Leta 1983 so se v Zahodni Evropi odvijali množični protesti proti nameščanju Natovih jedrskih raket in proti brezposelnosti, platforma Westeast pa se je obrnila proti konjunkturi. Prispevek Francija Zagoričnika z naslovom »Konkretna glasba« zružuje ime Iljič z Vladimirjem Leninom in Petrom Čajkovskim; subverzivna »NLP zabava« Katalin Ladik se konča z vzklikom »Živel prvi maj!« in dolgim tipografskim krikom proti svetovnim vojnām; tu je reprodukcija letaka Tomislava Gotovca, ki protestira proti zapiranju in mučenju latinskoameriških filmskih ustvarjalcev s strani vladnih hunt; besedilna mešanica besed Dobrice Kamperelića Mir/Peace in Zahod/Vzhod s podobo Leninovih figur, obrnjenih druga proti drugi, jasno komentira idejo izomorfizma med Natom in državami Varšavskega pakta, kot je takrat trdilo evropsko gibanje za jedrsko razorožitev; »Konkretizem v letu '45« Nejca Slaparja, ki prikazuje podobo zbiranja partizanov v ozadju mladinskega gibanja osemdesetih let; Iva Antića »Yu as You«, pri čemer se YU nanaša na Jugoslavijo in njeno novejšo zgodovino; pa komentar Zvonimirja Mrkonjića o angažirani umetnosti v kontekstu gibanja Solidarnost na Poljskem itd.

**Dialogi**, 1985, Maribor

Zadnja publikacija Westeasta je bila posebna izdaja mariborske revije *Dialogi* (št. 9, 1985). Ta zbornik je hitro postal znan kot *Westeast Political*, uredil pa ga je Franci Zagoričnik, ki je napisal tudi uvod in trdil, da je bilo konkretistično združenje Westeast že od samega začetka politično, kar dokazujejo naslovi njegovih prejšnjih zbornikov, *Avant-Garden Party* (1978) in *Partisan People* (1979), pa tudi lastna vpetost društva v obstoječe oblike kulturnega posredovanja s sodelovanjem v različnih razstavnih centrih in galerijah ali z vključevanjem v različne kulturne in literarne revije po vsej Jugoslaviji. Zagoričnik v *Westeast Political* nasprotuje redukciji ideje Westeasta na fiktivno združitev in poistovetenje zahoda in vzhoda ter na fiktivno brisanje nasprotij in napetosti med severom in jugom. Ta politika je precej bolj obsežna, bolj ustvarjalna in zahteva nov jezik. Ni pa nekaj, kar bi bilo treba zmanjšati na »varne robove« kulturnega polja, kot piše Zagoričnik; politika Westeastovega eksperimentalizma ima nekaj »ostrih obrisov« in se umešča v naš trenutni svet. Politika, za katero se je zavzemal Zagoričnik, ni bila postrežena na »čistem krožniku«, kot bi rekel Lenin, ampak je bila nečista in protislovna, zato si »svojevrstna samoupravna političnost tega avantgardnega projekta zastavlja taka vprašanja in naloge, ki obenem nujno predstavljajo vrsto ustvarjalnih zagat.«<sup>17</sup>

Celotna številka zajema eseje, članke in intervencije različnih umetnikov, ki razpravljajo o številnih izzivih te politične umetnosti, kjer so za ponazoritev besedila reproducirana dela vizualne in konkretne poezije, ki v tej antologiji obsega več kot sto petdeset tovrstnih del,

In 1982, Westeast published a special portfolio by Vujica Rešin Tucić, *Struganje mašte* [Scraping Imagination], as a supplement to the journal. Before this, portions of "Struganje" were printed in the cultural journals *Ulaznica* (1970), *Student* (1971), and *Književne reči* (1973), and publication of it was also planned – but never realized – in the form of a six-meter long *kunstdruck* paper packed inside a salt box. Tucić, whom Babić describes as an anarchist, was one of the most important poets of the 1970s, who alongside concrete and visual poems (as in "Struganje") also published a series of *zaum*-like poems criticizing the administrative language of socialism. His theoretical writings are a strong defense of poetic subjectivity opposing the bureaucratization of socialist self-management, which he sought to confront with the new language of a new poetry. Tucić wrote quite a few programmatic texts on the social role of poetry, in which he presents the concrete and visual poetry production in Yugoslavia as a social and thus collective activity, the result of associated, or collective, labor. As Tucić observes, "the new poetic artworks also seek a new reader,"<sup>15</sup> which in the long run requires the transformation of subjectivities in these processes of political collectivization. The most interesting aspect of this new formation was the abolishment of the separation between poetic and practical languages, with an effect that was to be felt in every realm of life, as the new poetics introduced "new possibilities of human speech in society."<sup>16</sup>

The second Westeast portfolio in the journal *Pitanja* fully exposes this idea. The contributions are more poster-like, with dominant explicitly political subjects, the messages are violent, direct, and confrontational. In 1983, Western Europe was witnessing mass protests against the siting of NATO nuclear missiles as well as against unemployment, and the Westeast platform turned towards the conjuncture. Franci Zagoričnik's contribution, titled "Concrete Music," fuses the name Ilyich with Vladimir Lenin and Peter Tchaikovsky; Katalin Ladik's subversive "UFO Party," ends with the exclamation "Long Live May Day!" and a long typographic scream against world wars; Tomislav Gotovac's reproduction of a leaflet protesting the jailing and torture of Latin American filmmakers by the junta governments; Dobrica Kamperelić's textual mix of words Mir/Peace and West/East with the image of the figures of Lenin facing each other, clearly a commentary on the idea of isomorphism between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, as then argued by the European Nuclear Disarmament (E.N.D.) movement; Nejc Slapar's "Concretism in the Year of '45" depicting the image of partisans gathering in the background of the 1980s youth movement; Ivo Antić's "Yu as You," with YU referring to Yugoslavia and its recent history; and Zvonimir Mrkonjić's commentary on engaged art in the context of the Solidarity movement in Poland, etc.

**Dialogi**, 1985, Maribor

The final Westeast publication was the special edition of the Maribor-based journal *Dialogi* (no. 9, 1985). This anthology quickly became known as *Westeast Political*, and was edited by Franci Zagoričnik, who also wrote an introduction claiming that the Westeast Concretist Association was political from its outset, evidencing the titles of its previous anthologies, *Avant-Garden Party* (1978) and *Partisan People* (1979), as well as the association's own involvement in existing forms of cultural arbitration through participation in various exhibition



večinoma jugoslovanskih umetnikov. Vendar pa se je ta svetli trenutek kolektivnega in množičnega duha jugoslovanske konkretne poezije izkazal za enega zadnjih.

**Verbo-Voco-Visual**, 1982, Skopje

Leta 1980 je Franci Zagoričnik skupaj z Živkom Kladnikom uredil in ročno izdelal 300 izvodov zbornika *Westeast 4* z naslovom *VVV* ali *Verbo-Voco-Visual*. *VVV* je bil izraz, ki ga je uporabil Vladan Radovanović, avtor uvoda v antologijo. Radovanović se je ukvarjal s svojim konceptom »verbo-voko-vizual«, ki ga je prevzel od skupine Noigandres v Braziliji in trdil, da voko-vizualna dela ne nastajajo z običajnim obdelovanjem tem, temveč z »artikulacijo in strukturiranjem besed skozi specifičnosti njihove uporabnosti,« ter na ta način odločno nasprotoval uporabi tehnik množičnega komuniciranja in oglaševanja, ki so prevladovala med zahodnoevropskimi konkretisti.<sup>18</sup> Radovanović, ki je bil tudi sam pesnik, elektronski glasbenik, profesor in teoretik verbo-voko-vizuala, je bil zelo vpliven pri širjenju svojega dela v Jugoslaviji. Leta 1982 je bil kustos razstave *Verbo-voko-vizuelno u Jugoslaviji, 1950–1980*, ki je bila prvič prikazana v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Beogradu, nato pa je potovala v Sarajevo, Skopje in Maribor, zaradi česar je ena najbolj reprezentativnih razstav tovrstne produkcije v vsej Jugoslaviji.

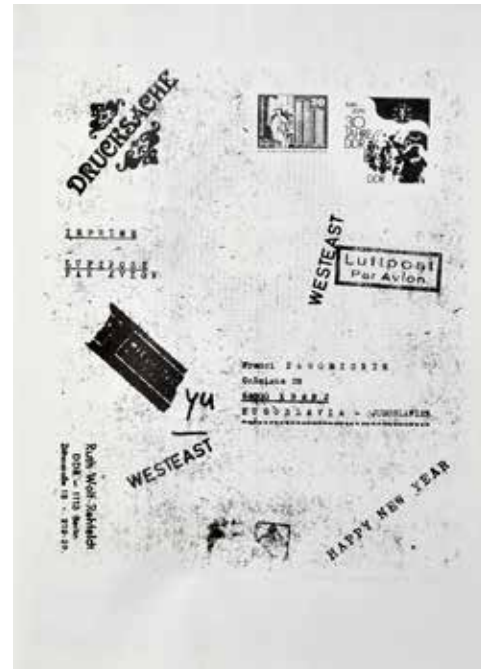
Skopska razstava je bila redka priložnost, ko se je os zahod-vzhod v Jugoslaviji premikala po liniji sever-jug. Makedonija in Kosovo skupaj s Črno goro nista bili na zemljevidu jugoslovanskega omrežja konkretne in vizualne poezije, čeprav obstaja eksperimentalni zemljevid, ki ga je leta 1983 izdelal Orest Zagoričnik, Francijev sin, ki postavlja Prištino in Skopje v Slovenijo – kot primer pobožne želje konkretističnega internacionalizma. Bolj kot odkrivanje pozabljenih biserov konkretne

centers and galleries, or through involvement in various cultural and literary journals throughout Yugoslavia. In *Westeast Political*, Zagoričnik opposes the reduction of the idea of Westeast to the fictitious unification and identification of West and East, and to the fictitious erasing of the contradictions and tensions between North and South. This politics is rather more encompassing, more creative, and calls for a new language. But it is not something to be reduced to the "safe margins" of the cultural field, as Zagoričnik writes; the politics of the Westeast experimentalism has some "sharp contours" and is positioning itself in our current world. The politics Zagoričnik was arguing for was not one served on a "clean plate," as Lenin would say, but an impure and contradictory "self-management politics of the avant-garde project, posing questions and tasks that, at the same time, necessarily present a series of conundrums."<sup>17</sup>

The whole issue includes essays, articles, and interventions by various artists discussing the many challenges of this political art, where works of visual and concrete poetry are reproduced to illustrate the text, which in this anthology includes over one hundred and fifty such works, mostly by Yugoslav artists. However, this bright moment of the collective and mass spirit of Yugoslav concrete poetry turned out to be one of its final days.

**Verbo-Voco-Visual**, 1982, Skopje

In 1980, Franci Zagoričnik, together with Živko Kladnik, edited and manually produced 300 copies of the *Westeast 4* anthology titled *VVV*, or *Verbo-Voco-Visual*. *VVV* was the term used by Vladan Radovanović, who wrote the introduction to the anthology. Radovanović worked on his concept of the "verbo-voco-visual," taken from the Noigandres group in Brazil, claiming that voko-visual works are not



poezije iz manj priljubljenih jugoslovanskih kulturnih prostorov bi bil v tem primeru pomemben poseg uvedbe juga kot ključne neenakomerne tvorbe v razvoju konkretističnega nadnacionalizma. Z drugimi besedami, jug in nečistost njegove neenakomernosti v Jugoslaviji bi uvedla tisto, kar je Trocki opisal kot »neenakomeren in združen razvoj«, ki nima nič skupnega s »pedantnim shematizmom« zgodovinske reprezentacije. Jugoslavija je bila formacija takšnega neenakomernega in združenega razvoja, »kombinacija različnih stopenj, spoj arhaičnega in sodobnejših oblik«, kot se je izrazil Trocki.<sup>19</sup>

Na podlagi tega bi nam soprisotnost časovnosti, ki trkata druga ob drugo, ponudila novo perspektivo za interpretacijo modernizma kot podlage za konfliktno formacije. Prav to je točka, na kateri je mogoče trditi, da so najrazvitejše umetniške oblike v nenehnem dialektičnem boju s preostalimi družbenimi elementi, ki jih je treba zaznati v »podzemnih« tokovih. Ta »podzemni« tok sodobnih oblik in subjektivnosti, ki so vključene v te trajektorije, bo razvoj konkretne poezije v Jugoslaviji pokazal v povsem novi luči. Skozi te hibridne oblike se lahko upremo poenostavljenim naracijam o zgodovinskosti eksperimentalne umetnosti v socialistični Jugoslaviji.

Tako so na primer tik pred tem, ko so februarja 1969 v Zagrebu odprli razstavo *Nove tendencije 4* [Nove tendence 4], v veliki meri posvečeno računalnikom in vizualnim raziskavam, člani skupine OHO v Galeriji sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu razstavljali kozolce, kupe koruznega ličkanja, volno, rastline in peno. Podobno je skupina signalistov spajala planetarno znanstveno fantastiko z močno lokaliziranim proletarskim argojem, Zvonimir Mrkonjić je združil avantgardno uničenje jezika z nacionalno afirmacijo, Vladan Radovanović je združil elektronske zvočne pesmi s taktilno ezoteričnostjo, Darko Kolibaš je pomešal materialistično dekonstrukcijo z budizmom in tako naprej; obstajajo še številni primeri nesinhronosti. Primer metropolita Makedonske pravoslavne cerkve Metodija Zlatana, ki je v osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja

generated through the usual workings of themes, but through the "articulation and structuring of the words through the specificity of their usefulness," in this way categorically opposing the application of the mass communication and advertising techniques that were prevalent among the Western European concretists.<sup>18</sup> Radovanović, who was himself a poet, electronic musician, professor, and theoretician of the verbo-voco-visual, was very influential in disseminating his work in Yugoslavia. In 1982, he curated a huge retrospective of concrete and visual poetry in an exhibition titled *Verbo-voko-vizuelno u Jugoslaviji, 1950–1980*, first shown in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, and which then traveled to Sarajevo, Skopje, and Maribor, making it one of the most representative shows of this kind of production throughout Yugoslavia.

The Skopje exhibition was a rare occasion when the West-East axis in Yugoslavia moved along the lines of North-South. Macedonia and Kosovo, together with Montenegro, were not on the map of the Yugoslav concrete and visual poetry network, even though there is an experimental map that Orest Zagorićnik, Franci's son, made in 1983 that locates Prishtina and Skopje in Slovenia – an example of the wishful thinking of concretist internationalism. More than discovering the forgotten gems of concrete poetry from the less popular Yugoslav cultural spaces, a more important intervention in this case would be to introduce the South as a crucial uneven formation in the development of the concretist supra-nationalism. In other words, the South, and the impurity of its unevenness in Yugoslavia, would introduce what Trotsky described as "uneven and combined development," which has nothing in common with the "pedantic schematism" of historical representation. Yugoslavia was the formation of such uneven and combined development, "a combination of different steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms," as Trotsky put it.<sup>19</sup>

objavljala vizualno poezijo, je najbolj jasen dokaz te radikalne hibridnosti v Jugoslaviji.

V tem kontekstu je platformo Westeast mogoče razumeti kot najbolj velikodušen dom, ki je bil odprt za vse te hibridne in neenakomerne formacije v Jugoslaviji in dajal prostor najrazličnejšim in najbogatejšim primerom konkretne in vizualne poezije, ustvarjene znotraj katerekoli socialistične ali kapitalistične države med hladno vojno.

Prevedla Polona Glavan

- 1 Vojislav Despotov, *Čekić tautologije: Pregled novih vrsta tehničke inteligencije u poeziji SFRJ* (Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka, 2005), str. 23.
- 2 Prav tam, str. 47, 49.
- 3 Prav tam, str. 105.
- 4 Prav tam, str. 200.
- 5 Franci Zagorićnik, »Teksti o literaturi«, *Problemi*, št. 118–120 (1972).
- 6 Franci Zagorićnik, »Vizuelna literatura nije mesto za verbalnu revoluciju«, *Ulaznica*, št. 26 (1972).
- 7 Taras Kermauner, »Fragmentarni prilozi povijesti i analizi konkretne poezije u Sloveniji«, *Vidik* (Split), št. 7–8–9 (1972): str. 7.
- 8 Prav tam, str. 14.
- 9 Navedek iz: Mary Ellen Solt, »A World Look at Concrete Poetry«, *Concrete Poetry: A World View*, ur. Mary Ellen Solt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), str. 21.
- 10 Kermauner, »Fragmentarni prilozi«, str. 9.
- 11 Franci Zagorićnik, Sprema beseda k *Matični knjigi* (Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1983), str. 183.
- 12 Prav tam.
- 13 *Delo – Westeast* (1982), str. 93. Poniž je leta 1978 izdal najbolj uradno različico zgodovine konkretne poezije v Jugoslaviji, *Antologija vizualne in konkretne poezije* (Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana).
- 14 Denis Poniž, »We-De 5«, *Pitanja*, št. 1 (1983), s.p.
- 15 Vujica Rešin Tucić, »Neposredna proizvodnja umetnosti u samoupravnom društvu« [1975], *VRT, Sabrana dela*, 2. knjiga (Novi Sad: Kulturni centar Novog Sada, 2019), str. 798.
- 16 Rešin-Tucić, »Čarobnjak Oz«, *VRT, Sabrana dela*, 2. knjiga, str. 259.
- 17 Franci Zagorićnik, »Dialogi – Westeast Political«, *Dialogi*, št. 9 (1985), str. 2.
- 18 Vladan Radovanović, »Verbo-voko-vizuel u Jugoslaviji, 1950–1980«, *Verbo-voko-vizuel* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1982), str. 1.
- 19 Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Volume 1, prev. Max Eastman (London: Sphere Books, 1967), str. 23.

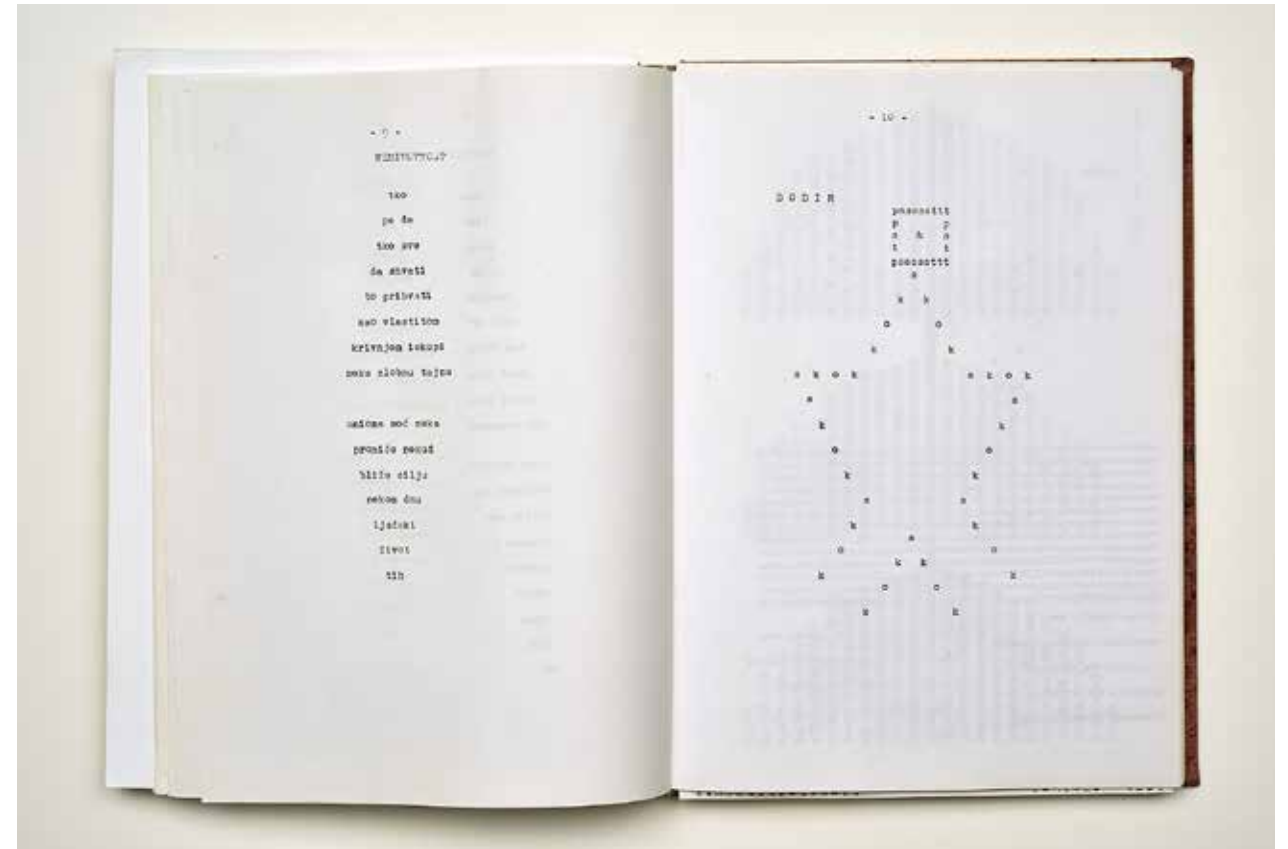
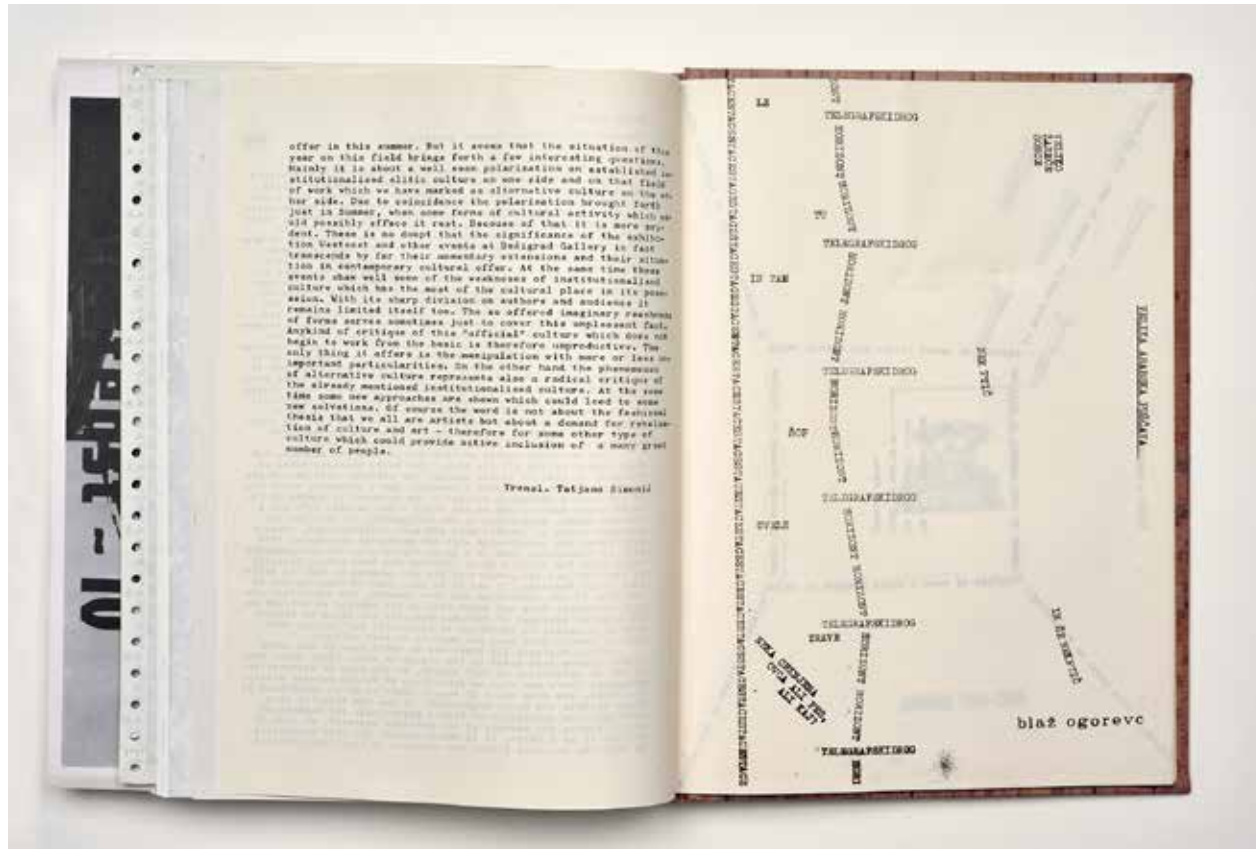
Based on this, the co-presence of colliding temporalities would offer us a new perspective to interpret modernism as the ground for conflicting formations. This is exactly the point from where it is possible to claim that the most developed artistic forms are in constant dialectical struggle with residual social elements, to be detected in the "underground" currents. This "subterranean" course of modern forms, and the subjectivities involved in these trajectories, will present the development of concrete poetry in Yugoslavia in a completely new light. Through these hybrid forms, we are able to resist simplified narratives of the historicity of experimental art in socialist Yugoslavia.

For example, just before *Nove tendencije 4* [New Tendencies 4], largely dedicated to computers and visual research, opened in February 1969 in Zagreb, the OHO group members exhibited at the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, displaying haystacks, piles of corn shucks, wool, plants, and foam. In a similar vein, the Signalist group made amalgamations of planetary science fiction with highly localized proletarian argot, Zvonimir Mrkonjić combined the avant-garde destruction of language with national affirmation, Vladan Radovanović combined electronic sound poems with tactile esoterism, Darko Kolibaš blended materialist deconstruction with Buddhism, and so on, there are numerous other examples of non-synchronicity. The case of the Metropolitan of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, Methodius Zlatan, who published visual poetry in the 1980s, is the clearest evidence of this radical hybridity in Yugoslavia.

In this context, the Westeast platform can be seen as having provided the most generous home, one that was open to all these hybrid and uneven formations in Yugoslavia, giving the space to the most diverse and rich examples of concrete and visual poetry produced inside any socialist or capitalist country during the Cold War.

- 1 Vojislav Despotov, *Čekić tautologije: Pregled novih vrsta tehničke inteligencije u poeziji SFRJ* (Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka, 2005), p. 23.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
- 5 Franci Zagorićnik, "Teksti o literaturi", *Problemi*, no. 118–120 (1972).
- 6 Franci Zagorićnik, "Vizuelna literatura nije mesto za verbalnu revoluciju", *Ulaznica*, no. 26 (1972).
- 7 Taras Kermauner, "Fragmentarni prilozi povijesti i analizi konkretne poezije u Sloveniji" [Fragmentary Contributions to History and Analysis of Concrete Poetry in Slovenia], *Vidik* (Split), no. 7–8–9 (1972): p. 7.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 9 Quoted from: Mary Ellen Solt, "A World Look at Concrete Poetry", *Concrete Poetry: A World View*, ed. Mary Ellen Solt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 21.
- 10 Kermauner, "Fragmentarni prilozi", p. 9.
- 11 Franci Zagorićnik, Afterword to *Matična knjiga* (Izdavački centar Rijeka, 1983), p. 183.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Delo – Westeast* (1982), p. 93. In 1978, Poniž published the most official version of the history of concrete poetry in Yugoslavia, *Antologija vizualne in konkretne poezije* (Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana).
- 14 Denis Poniž, "We-De 5", *Pitanja*, no. 1 (1983), s.p.
- 15 Vujica Rešin Tucić, "Neposredna proizvodnja umetnosti u samoupravnom društvu" [1975], *VRT, Sabrana dela*, Book 2 (Novi Sad: Kulturni centar Novog Sada, 2019), p. 798.
- 16 Rešin-Tucić, "Čarobnjak Oz", *VRT, Sabrana dela*, Book 2, p. 259.
- 17 Franci Zagorićnik, "Dialogi – Westeast Political", *Dialogi*, no. 9 (1985), p. 2.
- 18 Vladan Radovanović, "Verbo-voko-vizuel u Jugoslaviji, 1950–1980", *Verbo-voko-vizuel* (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1982), p. 1.
- 19 Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Volume 1, translated by Max Eastman (London: Sphere Books, 1967), p. 23.





## O kolektiviziranju: narativi o jugoslovanskih avantgardnih umetniških kolektivih in primeri feminističnih intervencij Jelena Vesić

Začetek razprave o umetnostnozgodovinski narativizaciji jugoslovanskih avantgardnih kolektivov bi se navezoval na gibanje, ki ga Ješa Denegri imenuje *druga linija* v jugoslovanski umetnosti<sup>1</sup> – gibanje, ki poziva k premisleku o postulatih umetnosti kot ekspresije velikega avtorja, njenega osrednjega akterja/protagonista. Druga linija zajema pojave, ki so izšli iz kritike in odmika od lika umetnika kot izjemnega posameznika, nosilca velikih zgodovinskih in literarnih narativov. Gre pravzaprav za spremembo paradigme jugoslovanskega junaškega ustvarjalca, velikega mojstra, ki se je oblikovala v obdobju socialistične izgradnje moderne umetnosti in njenih institucij v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja – od Lubarde do Preglja, od Hegedušiča do Stupice.

Denegri vidi drugo linijo kot »umetnost projekta«, kot konstruktiven pristop h kolektivni ideji, ki se zoperstavlja »usodi« osamljenega in dezorientiranega posameznika. Modernistični pojem *projekt* se je izoblikoval v povezavi z besedilom Giulia Carla Argana *Progetto e destino*<sup>2</sup> (Projekt in usoda), ki obravnava prihodnost umetnosti po drugi svetovni vojni in fašizmu. Po Denegrijevem branju gre obenem za besedilo, ki priča o tem, da se prav »konstruktivni pristop« do umetnosti in družbe kot celote upira padcu v »naravno stanje« vojne ali kapitalizma. Konstruktivni pristop je po njegovih besedah tudi temeljna značilnost številnih umetniških kolektivov, ki so delovali v jugoslovanskem umetniškem prostoru v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja: Exat 51, Nove tendence, Gorgona, OHO, Nove umetniške prakse, Grupa šestih v Zagrebu, Šest umetnikov v Beogradu, Upokojenec Tihomir Simčić, Grupa KŌD, Grupa E, Bosh&Bosh itd.

Druga linija je prekinjena, ne obstaja kot linearni in konsekventni razvoj dogodkov, temveč deluje kot abstraktna (idejno-konceptualna) vez, ki povezuje različne točke umetnostne zgodovine druge polovice 20. stoletja. Združuje dogodke, prebliske in skoke – kratkotrajne in zelo intenzivne pojave; riše črto kontinuitete prelomov s katero od vedno dominantnih tradicij, bodisi nacionalno ali jugoslovansko. Poleg tega druga linija povezuje umetnost in življenje v življenje umetnosti ter ponuja alternativne oblike življenja in refleksije odnosa med posamezniki in skupnostjo.

Kolektivno delo je popolno nasprotje vsega truda, ki ga nenehno vlagamo kot posamezniki v afirmacijo osebe. Kdo je potrjen in realiziran v individualnem delu? Posameznik/Posameznica priča le o svoji usodi, saj ne more pričati o usodi drugega, ne da bi bil/a neiskren/a in izumetničen/a.

Ali si še želim kolektivno delo?

Ja.

Je kolektivno delo mogoče?

Predpostavljam, da bi potrebovalo nek skupen cilj in enakopravnost misli in volje. Sorodne občutke. In vsaj nekaj skupnega navdušenja. »Konstruktivno« kolektivno delo gotovo zahteva tudi nek skupen program dela.<sup>3</sup>

Đuro Seder, član zagrebške umetniške skupine Gorgona, je razmišljal o »kritično-racionalnem pristopu« k ideji kolektivnega dela in ga postavil v nasprotje z »gorgonskim pristopom« – gorgonskim vedenjem ali »gorgoniranjem«, kot ga je imenoval Dimitrije Bašičević-Mangelos – kot odmik glede na »zdрави« konstruktivni pristop. Humorni prizvok kritične analize, ki so jo tu izrazili člani skupine Gorgona, se je izkazal za eno od značilnosti jugoslovanskih avantgardnih kolektivov.

Z vidika feminističnega poseganja v to polje umetnostnozgodovinske pripovedi lahko »drugo linijo« razumemo kot »smetano« napredne in eksperimentalne misli modernizma 20. stoletja, obenem pa tudi kot avantgardo njegovega razpada.

Razpravljajoč o zgodovini (neo)avantgardnih umetniških kolektivov v SR Hrvaški in Jugoslaviji, Ivana Bago in Antonia Majača v projektu *Removed from the crowd: Disassociative Association* (Izvlčen iz množice: disociativna asociacija)<sup>4</sup> artikulirata različne pozicioniranosti teh (seveda umetniških in moških) kolektivov v obliki asociativnega diagrama, tj. kognitivnega zemljevida slik in izjav/besedil. Z razstavo in esejistično študijo (ki je pionirska na tem področju) se osredotočata na iskanje drugačnega razumevanja odnosa med posameznikom in kolektivom, drugačne ideje delitve in konstituiranja.

Tega izmuzljivega in nenehno poustvarjenega »javnega prositora« ne želiva razumevati s pojmom enkratnega kolektivizma niti ne s pojmom pluralnosti interesnih skupin z opredeljenimi programi, temveč z načini razumevanja same povezanosti (*togetherness*). Če sledimo Jeanu-Lucu Nancyju in njegovi obravnavi pojma »biti-z«, to povezanost razumemo s konceptom »edninske množice« – nekakšnega bitja, v katerem »jaz« ne pride pred »mi«, pri čemer »mi« ni zajet v »ednini« ali jasno opredeljen od zunaj. »Biti-z« predpostavlja vzajemnost, ki ne ukinja svobode posameznika in ustvarja skupnost brez strogo določenih meja ali determinant.<sup>5</sup>

Avtorici projekta izraz *izvlčen iz množice* povzemata po delu Mladena Stilinovića in ga uporabljata za označevanje razlikovanja »združenih posameznikov« glede na tedanjo ideološko propagirano idejo kolektivnosti, v kateri se »mi« konstituirata kot združen, homogen subjekt. Nekateri jugoslovanski kolektivi so solidarnost iskali v oblikovanju skupnega programa, razvijanju idej in gibanju v smeri zastavljenega cilja. Drugi so se obračali k avtonomnim dejanjem brez programa, češ da »niso ničesar delali«, ampak so »samo živeli«. Gorgonin postulat o »nedelovanju« in »brezrezultatnosti« je že primer, ki ga lahko povežemo s pozneje oblikovanim postulatом »umetniške lenobe« Mladena Stilinovića in podobnih umetnikov, ki so razmišljali o tem, kar danes imenujemo nematerialno delo.

Projekt Ivane Bago in Antonie Majača prikazuje, kako je med člani teh skupin potekal pogosto humoren dialog o njihovem položaju, identiteti avtorja in kolektivnosti kot obliki negacije individualnega obstoja. Pokaže nam tudi, kako se zgodovina jugoslovanskih neoavantgardnih kolektivov že vse od začetka piše s črnolom »melanholije

levice« (Wendy Brown), v sanjarjenju o izgubljeni solidarnosti in vajah v slogu iz skupinskega obnašanja in zavzemanja pozicij.

Čeprav je zgodba o avantgardnih umetniških kolektivih eno najsvetlejših poglavij jugoslovanske umetnostne zgodovine 20. stoletja, pa temno plat te svetlobe – tako kot tudi širše v primeru zgodovine modernizma in modernosti – uteleša odsotnost žensk, ideološka dematerializacija ženskosti znotraj mase, množice ali (zasilne) infrastrukture, ki ni in ne more biti kolektiv. Kot implicirata Ivana Bago in Antonia Majača, lahko kolektiv deluje le skozi performativno dejanje »izvlačenja iz množice«. Množica je slovnično in metaforično ženska – telo brez glave, masa brez razuma; množica ne pozna diferenciacije. Za izločanje (moškega) kolektiva iz te množice je potreben selektiven pristop ter opredelitev in vzpostavljanje nekakšnega okvira.

Ikonične fotografije umetniških kolektivov kot vizualne upodobitve pričajo o tem »uokvirjanju«. Predstavljajo konstitutivni del umetnostnozgodovinskega narativa kot podobe in kazala, kot vedenjsko-programske izkaznice jugoslovanskih umetniških kolektivov. Fotografija skupine umetnikov, kritikov in kustosov, naslonjenih na sprednjo steno galerije Študentskega kulturnega centra (SKC) v Beogradu, pomeni začetek novih institucionalnih in umetniških praks, ki afirmirajo umetniško vedenje in govor v prvi osebi.<sup>6</sup> Poziranje članov skupine Gorgona na samostojni razstavi Julija Kniferja v Galeriji suvremene umetnosti v Zagrebu leta 1966 tako spominja na kot parodira religiozni lik avtorja kot gospodarja in svetnika, pred katerim se pade na kolena, priklanja in se mu poljublja roko.<sup>7</sup>

Po drugi strani lahko iz feminističnega zornega kota gledamo s humorjem in šarmom na zaton zgodbe o velikem avtorju, na razpad patriarhalne figure genija tudi kot na izraz narcizma jugoslovanskih neoavantgardnih kolektivov, njihovo kontemplativno zazrtje v lastno povezanost »kot sliko«.

Moški je povsem zagledan vase, v svojo lastno preteklost, v svoje cilje in kulturo. Stvarnost se mu zdi izčrpana; poleti v veselje to dokazujejo. Ženska, po drugi strani, pa vztraja na tem, da se mora življenje na tem našem planetu zano še začeti. Še vedno zna videti stvari, kjer moški ne vidi več ničesar.<sup>8</sup>

Projekt Line Džuverović *Kolektivne akcije, nenehna izpuščenja*<sup>9</sup> je prvi (feministično) osvetlil spolno usmerjenost kolektivne prakse v Jugoslaviji v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja na študijah primerov skupine OHO (1962–1971) in kmetijsko-umetniške komune Družina v Šempasu. Džuverovićeva pokaže, da čeprav gre za skupnosti, ki sta v širšem kontekstu kritizirali kanonizirane modernistične oblike življenja in dela ter umetnostni sistem in njegove postopke, se vendarle nista znali osvoboditi ponotranjenih patriarhalnih struktur, ki postanejo vidne prav takrat, ko se osredotočimo na mesto odsotnosti umetnic. Džuverovićeva poskuša zajeti zapozneno refleksijo »ženskega vprašanja« v kolektivnih praksah jugoslovanskih avantgard, pri čemer se osredotoča na mapiranje terminologije, s katero se opisuje sodelovanje žensk v kolektivnem delu (in ki se pokaže v seriji razi-

skovalnih intervjujev s protagonistkami in umetnicami). Kot vidimo, je ženska v kolektivu bodisi marginalizirana bodisi alegorizirana – v množini so to »ženske ob strani« ali »spremljevalni vokali«, v ednini pa »duša kolektiva« ali »mama vsem«.<sup>10</sup>

Po eni strani se sodelovanje žensk v moških kolektivih konča kot telesna alegorija ali antropomorfn metafora, ki daje žensko telo na razpolago moškemu avtorju. Eden očitnih (in izrazitih) primerov razvoja te strategije je lahko Jugoslava, junakinja filma *Zgodnja dela* (1969) Želimirja Žilnika. Jugoslava je članica moškega revolucionarnega kolektiva, avantgardistka, ki ji življenje in delo uničujejo tovariši, na koncu filma pa jo še posilijo, ubijejo in zažgejo.<sup>11</sup> Alegorizacija, kot kaže ta primer, je umetniška strategija, s katero se neuspehi in protislovja revolucionarnega (ali kateregakoli) narativa premeščajo in projicirajo na žensko telo.

Po drugi strani pa sodelovanje žensk v moških kolektivih kaže na prevzemanje družinskih struktur, v katerih so ženske skrbnice in opravljajo brezplačno delo, »delo iz ljubezni, ki ga kapital pričakuje brezplačno in z nasmehom« (o čemer je govorila Sylvia Federici najglasneje v svoji kritiki Marxove kritike kapitalizma, ki ni prepoznala prisvajanja vrednosti neplačanega in nepriznanega reproduktivnega dela).<sup>12</sup> Tako kot zgodovina 20. stoletja kaže, da si je patriarhat prisvajal tako kapital kot delo, kaže zgodovina jugoslovanskih avantgardnih kolektivov po drugi svetovni vojni, da si je patriarhat prisvojil oboje – tako avtorstvo kot kritiko avtorstva. V *Social Reproduction Struggles and Art History* Angela Dimitrakaki in Kirsten Lloyd pišeta o zakoreninjeni predpostavki, da »se delo opravlja javno in pripada moškim, medtem ko se *nekaj-drugega-kot-delo* opravlja zasebno in pripada ženskam.«<sup>13</sup>

V istem smislu projekt Line Džuverović nakazuje, da so moški kulturni delavci našli pot do uspešne umetniške kariere v kolektivnih umetniških praksah, medtem ko so njihove kolegice postale kustosinje, organizatorke, administratorke, arhivarke in umetnostne zgodovinarke, in ugotavlja, da je Lucy Lippard že v zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih opazila ta pojav in zapisala, da žensko delo v umetnosti običajno sestoji iz »sekundarnih ali gospodinjiskih dejavnosti, ki veljajo za veliko bolj naravne za ženske kot primarna dejavnost ustvarjanja umetnosti.«<sup>14</sup>

Izhajajoč iz teh predpostavk umetnostne zgodovine jugoslovanskih avantgard in feministične kritike hegemonije moške govorne pozicije se razstavno poglavje *O kolektivizaciji* razvija v dialogu s povabilom Zdenke Badovinac na začetku leta. Zdenka me je povabila, naj oblikujem kuratorsko pripoved, ki bo osvetlila žensko plat sodelovanja v kolektivnosti in avantgardizmu, v širšem tematskem kontekstu razstave *Umetnost na delu* pa bo podala nekakšen feministični pogled na zgodovino jugoslovanskih (neo)avantgardnih kolektivov v drugi polovici 20. stoletja. Pogled, a ne pregled, saj bi celovitejša analiza (če ima celovitost kaj opraviti s feminizmom) zahtevala veliko več prostora in časa. Tudi ta pogled je le osnutek, sprememba smeri branja – intervencija.

Ko je Griselda Pollock govorila o kritiki umetnostnozgodovinskega kanona s feminističnega vidika, jo je formulirala prav s konceptom

intervencije, ki zanjo predstavlja »stranski pristop« k institucionalni reprodukciji avtoritete in resnice o umetnostni zgodovini. Koncept intervencije, v kolikor sledimo Pollockovi, ne onemogoča preprostega vpisa ženskih subjektov v obstoječe okvire interpretacije umetniških kolektivnih praks (moških), temveč zahteva spremembo kota in smeri gledanja, transgresijo obstoječih okvirov. Za Pollockovo za intervencijo ni značilno »polnjenje praznih prostorov« ali »dopolnjevanje zgodovine« z nečim, kar je bilo izpuščeno ali ni tako zelo znano, ampak je značilno prav problematiziranje uveljavljene vloge kulturnih dejavnosti v produkciji pomena in socialnih subjektov.

V dialogu s predstavitvijo jugoslovanskih kolektivov v drugih razstavnih poglavjih izraz *kolektiv* tukaj spreminjam v glagolski samostalnik oziroma glagolnik – kolektiviziranje – in poudarjam žensko delo in subjektiviteto, ki nista vidna v frontalnem načinu reprezentacije avantgardnih umetniških kolektivov.

Kaj lahko naredi glagolnik?

Slovnično gledano je *kolektiviziranje* glagolnik, izpeljan iz glagola kolektivizirati. Ima konkreten, zgodovinsko vgrajeni pomen, ki ga je mogoče prenesti na dejavnosti; v sebi nosi procesni, učinkoviti in akcijski potencial. Medtem ko *kolektiv* pomeni zaprto, zaključeno entiteto, je *kolektiviziranje* odprto, saj glagolniki opisujejo postopke. *Kolektiv* pomeni skupino ljudi, zbranih okrog skupnega projekta, dela, naloge ali promocije neke ideje, izraz *kolektiviziranje*, čeprav na prvi pogled spominja na konkretne politične projekte (npr. na nacionalizacijo kmetijstva v kolhozih ali državnih kmetijah v ZSSR ali SFRJ), pa umešča svoj primarni ekonomski in zgodovinski pomen v gesti *prostovoljnega prenosa zasebne lastnine v skupno*.<sup>15</sup>

Primeri in zgodbe žensk na razstavi *O kolektiviziranju* govorijo o kolektivizaciji kot o »delu iz ljubezni«, kot o procesu prostovoljnega prenosa zasebne v skupno lastnino. Tako se *Portreti žensk* Goranke Matić<sup>16</sup> vpletajo v širšo pripoved konference Tovariš-ca ženska (Drug-ca žena) v SKC v Beogradu leta 1978 in dolgoročnega spomina nanjo v ponovnem snidenju protagonistk v Sarajevu leta 2008 (organizacija Crvena, *Pitchwise*). Goranka Matić, ki je v SKC prišla dobesedno skozi okno,<sup>17</sup> ker je zamujala na srečanje mladih kustosov in umetnostnih zgodovinarjev ob začetku delovanja zavoda, ga je zapustila kot pomembna fotoreporterka in avtorica, ki še vedno vztrajno deluje »v kolektiviziranju«.

Vukica Đilas – hči Mitre Mitrović, ene od vodilnih osebnosti organizacije Protifašistična fronta žensk (PFŽ), in Milovana Đilasa, komunističnega revolucionarja, partizanskega poveljnika in največjega političnega disidenta v socialistični Jugoslaviji – je upodobljena v kolektivizacijah, ki so sledile nastajanju jugoslovanskega »novega filma« in njegovih izjemnih avtorjev. Vukičino filmsko delo, ki ga ni zaključila z montažo, ampak ga je dobesedno uprizorila kot film-življenje ali življenje-film, je na tokratni razstavi prikazano z *Domačimi posnetki*<sup>18</sup> in s knjigo poetičnih dialogov z drugimi umetniki. Razstavljeni deli govorita o preseganju dejanja avtorstva kot nečesa zaprtega in fiksne ter odpirata prostor za razmišljanje o fluidnosti in svobodnem pretoku idej in stvaritev.

*Arhiv feminističnega aktivizma v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja* Sanje Iveković<sup>19</sup> prikazuje umetničino delovanje pri kolektiviziranju porajajočih se protivojnih in ženskih iniciativ. Ivekovićeva je oblikovala publikacije in promocijske plakate, posnela videe, ki so dokumentirali javne akcije, in intervjuvala ključne protagonistke. Soustanovila je Center za ženske študije (1995) in Elektro – ženski umetniški center (1997). Kontinuiteta njenega dela predstavlja angažirano vztrajanje na dejstvu, da so ženske subjekti zgodovine (kar je najbolj neposredno tematizirala v delih *Gen XX*, *Lady Rosa of Luxemburg*, *Neznana junakinja*). Kot pravi Sanja Iveković, podobno kot umetnostna zgodovinarka Bojana Pejić, ženski subjekti zgodovine niso bujna in razgaljena telesa slikarskih ali kiparskih alegorij zmage in svobode niti generične upodobitve neznanih junakinj, podvržene nevtralizirajoči univerzalizaciji monumentalne plastike, ampak resnične osebe z imenom in priimkom, življenjskim kontekstom in delom, politiko in zgodovino.

Tudi Darinka Pop-Mitić<sup>20</sup> nadaljuje dialog z emancipacijskimi zgodovinami v jugoslovanskem prostoru z risbo kot obliko rekonstrukcije, spominjanja, intervencije s fragmenti. Pop-Mitićeva tokrat vstopa v dialog z ustno zgodovino feminizma 20. stoletja skozi »portal« antropološke študije *Didara – spomin na žensko iz Prizrena* Miroslave Malešević. Islam, tradicija in modernizacija, odlaganje tančice in izobrazba, blaginja in revščina, nacionalno vprašanje in jugoslovanski komunizem, delovanje PFŽ-ja in emancipacija Albanc, Albanci in Srbi v večnacionalni državi, družinsko življenje in partijsko delo, etnični konflikti, vojne in propad projekta. Vsa ta zgodovina spravljen v eno življenje – ena ženska, eno stoletje.

In še ena: Olja Džuverović,<sup>21</sup> aktivna in do konca predana članica Jugoslovanske komisije za pomoč osvobodilnim gibanjem v Afriki, ena tistih moških in žensk, ki sicer niso krožili po reprezentativnem prostoru gibanja neuvrščenih, a zaradi katerih dela in udeleževanja je bilo gibanje uspešno. Kolektivnost v podobah gibanja neuvrščenih je institucionalno reproducirana v znameniti fotografiji stoječih politikov vseh barv, noš, kultur in režimov, ki je bila posneta med vrhom gibanja neuvrščenih v Beogradu leta 1961.<sup>22</sup> Predsedniška fotoslužba, v kateri je kot eden najaktivnejših fotografov deloval Mirko Lovrić, je prikazovala slavnostna srečanja in vrhove: Titova potovanja, prijateljska rokovanja pomembnih politikov, otroke z rožami in parolami, vojake osvobodilnih vojsk, ki salutirajo. Ženske na slikah, običajno žene, so prikazane v prijateljskem pogovoru, najpogosteje pri dejavnostih humanitarne ali kulturne izmenjave. Nasmejane so in anonimne, medtem ko so imena rezervirana za napise na govorniških odrih, za katerimi stojijo moški govorniki. Ena od fotografij iz Oljinega zasebnega arhiva, ki jo Lina Džuverović šaljivo imenuje *Olja v morju moških*, prikazuje množično dekolonialno srečanje, na katerem se Olja, edina ženska figura, njena izrazita prisotnost, utopi (ali pa morda izstopa) med moškimi vseh barv.

Delovanje in življenje teh žensk bi lahko opisali z izrazom *kolektiviziranje*. Skupnosti so dale nekaj svojega, ker so to (politično) želele, ker so se tako razumsko odločile. Kolektivizacija naredi posameznike anonimne, obenem pa jih naredi še dodatno pomembne; prav tako

tudi zelo natančno opiše dejavnosti in procese, katerim so bile te ženske – umetnice, aktivistke, akterke zgodovine – predane, ki so jih sprožile in ki so bili sestavni deli njihovih življenj. Osebnostne zgodbe na razstavi *O kolektiviziranju* odpirajo okno v širšo zgodovino ženskega, feminističnega in socialističnega boja – od partizanskega gibanja in PFŽ do socializma in neuvrščenosti, od ponovnega načrtovanja vprašanja osvoboditve žensk s konferenco Drug-ca žena do feminističnega protivojnega in protinacionalističnega delovanja v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja.

In za konec: prakse kolektivizma in ženskih bojev v 20. stoletju, kot navaja Jelena Petrović,<sup>23</sup> so se nenehno brisale in ponovno pisale, prekinjale, gradile na novo in bile podvržene večkratnim revizijam. Zato govorimo o gibanju, ki ga je mogoče misliti le s konceptom intervencij, ki jih tukaj povezujemo s povsem *drugačno drugo linijo*.

- Glej: Ješa Denegri, »Razlog za drugo liniju«, *Jugoslovenska Dokumenta '89* (Sarajevo: Olimpijski centar »Skenderija«, Kulturni centar), str. 13–20. Moje razmišljanje o Denegrijevem konceptu sloni na nizu pogovorov z njim za nastajajočo knjigo *The Yugoslav Art Space: Ješa Denegri in the First Person* (ur. Jelena Vesić, Branislav Dimitrijević, JRP, jesen 2022).
- Denegri je izraz *projekt* povzel po slovitim spisu Giulia Carla Argana »Projekt in usoda«, prevedenem iz italijanščine (»Proggeto e destino«, 1964) v srbohrvaščino za revijo *Život umjetnosti* 9 (1969): str. 85–110.
- Citat je iz besedila: Ivana Bago in Antonia Majača, »Removed from the Crowd: Dissociative Association – Associations outside the programmatic collectivities in the art of the 1960s and 1970s in the Socialist Republic of Croatia«, v *Political Practices of (Post-)Yugoslav Art*, ur. Zorana Dojić in Jelena Vesić (Beograd: Prelom Kolektiv, 2010), str. 104, 105. (Razstavni katalog.)
- Prav tam, str. 100–124.
- Prav tam. Nanaša se tudi na: Jean Luc-Nancy, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford University Press, 2000).
- Fotografija je del raziskav o Študentskem kulturnem centru (SKC) v izvedbi Kolektiva Prelom (Jelena Vesić in Dušan Grlja), glej: »Two Times of One Wall, the Case of SKC in 1970s«, *Political Practices of (Post-)Yugoslav Art*, str. 126–153.
- Fotografija je del poglavja »Removed from the Crowd«, str. 105.
- Glej Carla Lonzi, »Let's Spit on Hegel« [Sputiamo su Hegel], prev. Veronica Newman (New York: Secunda, 2010). <https://my-blackout.com/2020/11/18/carla-lonzi-lets-spit-on-hegel/>
- Lina Džuverović, »Collaborative Actions, Continuous Omissions«, v *Fragments for Studies on Art Organizations* (Novi Sad: Kuda.org, 2020), (v srbščini in angleščini); *What Will Be Already Exists – Temporalities of Cold War Archives in East-Central Europe and Beyond* (transcript Verlag, 2021) (v angleščini); *Enigma Journal* (Budimpešta), 2021 (v madžarščini). Gre za del večjega projekta *And Others: The Gendered Politics and Practices of Art Collectives*, ki obravnava medsektorsko analizo umetniških kolektivov. <https://artcollectives.org/>
- Džuverović, »Kolektivne akcije – kontinuirani propusti: Beleške o feminističnoj reviziji jugoslovenskih kolektiva šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka – slučaj OHO grupe«, v *Fragmenti za studije o umetničkim organizacijama* (Novi Sad: kuda.org, 2020), str. 35–53.
- Usoda Jugoslave je tema projekta *Feminist Takes* Antonie Majača iz leta 2015 in knjige *Feminist Takes: Early Works* by Želimir Žilnik, ur. Antonia Majača z Jeleno Vesić in Rachel O'Reilly (Sternberg Press, 2021). Tema alegorije je najneposredneje obravnavana v spisih Bojane Pejić, Ivane Bago in Jelene Vesić.
- Sylvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (zbrani spisi iz let 1974 do 2016), (PM Press, 2020).
- V širšem družbenem pomenu se ta razprava navezuje na nekaj, o čemer se pogosto razpravlja na levisi: na to, kako »krizo dela, ki spremlja kapitalistično globalizacijo, enačimo s krizo moškosti zaradi ponižanja in odvečnosti t. i. belega moškega industrijskega proletariata.« Angela Dimitrakaki in Kirsten Lloyd, »Social Reproduction Struggles and Art History: An Introduction«, *Third Text*, Vol 31, 2017. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09528822.2017.1358963>
- Lucy Lippard, kot jo citira Nanne Buurman, »Angels in the White Cube? Rhetorics of Curatorial Innocence at dOKUMENTA 13«, *On Curating* 29 (May 2016): str. 157.
- Za to jezikoslovno razpravo se zahvaljujem Dr. Jeleni Calic, predavateljici na UCL v Londonu in moji prijateljici.
- Glej str. 74–75 v tem katalogu.

- Anekdoto o svojih začetkih v SKC v Beogradu Goranka Matić z veseljem pove v intervjujih.
- Glej str. 72–73 v tem katalogu.
- Glej str. 68–69 v tem katalogu.
- Glej str. 76–77 v tem katalogu.
- Glej str. 70–71 v tem katalogu.
- Predsedniška fotoslužba, predsednik Tito z voditelji gibanja neuvrščenih, SIV – Palača federacije, 1961, zbirka Muzeja Jugoslavije, Beograd.
- Petrović, »Social Engagement Between individual work and collective practices: Feminist Principles«, v *Život Umjetnosti (Art and social movements – where are we at with that)*, ur. Ana Kutleša, Ivana Hanaček in Vesna Vuković (Zagreb, 2015), str. 48–68.



# On Collectivizing: Narratives about Yugoslav Avant-Garde Art Collectives and Examples of Feminist Interventions Jelena Vesić

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The beginning of a discussion about the art-historical narrativization of Yugoslav avant-garde collectives would be related to the movement that Ješa Denegri calls the Other Line in Yugoslav art<sup>1</sup> – a movement that calls for a reconsideration of the postulate that positions art as an expression of the great author, as the central protagonist of the story of art. The Other Line includes phenomena that grow from criticism and is a departure from the figure of the artist as an exceptional individual, a bearer of great historical and literary narratives. It is actually a paradigm shift from the heroic Yugoslav creator, the great master, that was shaped during the period of the socialist construction of modern art and its institutions in the 1950s, from Lubarda to Pregelj, from Hegedušić to Stupica.

Denegri sees the Other Line as the “art of the project,” as a constructive approach to the collective idea that opposes the “destiny” of the lonely and disoriented individual. He builds the modernist term “project” in relation to Giulio Carlo Argan’s text *Project and Destiny*,<sup>2</sup> which considers the future of art after World War II and fascism. According to Denegri’s reading, this text also serves to testify to the fact that it is precisely the “constructive approach” to art and society as a whole that stands opposed to falling into the “natural state” of war or capitalism. Denegri claims that the constructive approach is a fundamental characteristic of the numerous avant-garde collectives active in the Yugoslav artistic space during the 1960s and 1970s: Exat 51, New Tendencies, Gorgona, OHO, New Art Practice, Group of Six Artists in Zagreb, Six Artists in Belgrade, the Pensioner Tihomir Simčić, Group KÖD, Group E, Bosh&Bosh, etc.

The Other Line is broken, it does not exist as a linear and consequent development of events; rather, it operates as an abstract-conceptual link that connects divergent points in the history of 20th century art. It connects events, flashes, and leaps – phenomena of short duration and high intensity – drawing a line of continuity of ruptures with one of the always-dominant traditions, either national or Yugoslav. The Other Line also connects art and life into the life of art, offering ideas on alternative forms of living and reflecting on the relationship between individuals and society.

The Collective Work is the complete opposite of the efforts we are constantly making as individuals: to affirm the person that is confirmed and realized in the individual work. The individual only testifies to his/her own destiny, because he/she cannot testify to someone else’s without being untruthful and artificial.

Do I still desire a Collective Work?

I do.

Is a Collective Work possible?

I suppose that it would need a common goal and equality of thought and will. Kindred feelings. And some, at least minimal, common enthusiasm. A “constructive” Collective Work certainly also demands a certain common program for the work.<sup>3</sup>

Đuro Seder, a member of the Zagreb art group Gorgona, discussed the “critical-rational approach” to the idea of collective work, contrasting it with the “gorgon approach” – gorgon behavior or “gorgoning,” as Dimitrije Bašičević-Mangelos called it – as a departure from a “healthy” constructive approach. The humorous undertone to the critical analysis manifested here by members of the Gorgona group would turn out to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Yugoslav avant-garde collectives.

From the perspective of feminist intervention in this field of art-historical narration, the Other Line can be seen as the “cream of the crop” of progressive and experimental thought of 20th century modernism, but also as the vanguard of its dissolution.

In discussing the history of (neo) avant-garde art collectives of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia, Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača in their project *Removed from the Crowd: Dissociative Association*<sup>4</sup> articulate the different positionings of these collectives (artistic and male, of course) in the form of an associative diagram, a cognitive map of images, statements, and reflections. Their exhibition and essayistic study – pioneering in this field – focuses on the search for a different understanding of the relationship between the individual and the collective in order to generate different ideas of sharing and constituting.

We wish to understand this elusive and constantly recreated “public space” not through the notion of unique collectivism, or the notion of the plurality of interested groups with defined programs, 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 the freedom of the individual, creating a community with no strictly defined borders or determinants.<sup>5</sup>

The authors of this project take the title *Removed from the Crowd (Izvađeni iz gomile)* from the work of Mladen Stilinović and position it as a signifier of the differentiation of “united individuals” in relation to the ideologically propagated idea of collectivity at the time – the idea in which *we* is constituted as a unified, homogeneous subject. Some of the Yugoslav collectives were looking for solidarity through the building of a common program, developing common ideas, and moving in the direction of a common goal. Others turned to autonomous actions without a program, claiming that they “didn’t do anything” but “just lived.” Gorgona’s postulate of “non-action” and “resultlessness” was one of the examples that can be linked to the postulate of “artistic laziness” later conceptualized by Mladen Stilinović and other artists that reflected on what we now call immaterial labor.

Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača’s project illustrates how such, often humorous dialogues took place between the members of these groups, questioning their own status, the identity of the author, and collectivity as a form of negation of individual existence. It also shows how the history of Yugoslav neo-avant-garde collectives is written in the ink of the “left melancholia” (Wendy Brown), dreaming of lost solidarity and performing “stylistic exercises” in group behavior and taking positions.

Even though the story of avant-garde art collectives is one of the brightest chapters of Yugoslav art history of the 20th century, the dark side of that brightness would be, as is the case in the broader history of modernism and modernity, embodied in the absence of women, in the ideational dematerialization of femininity within the mass, crowd, or (provisional) infrastructure that is not and cannot be a collective. As Bago and Majača imply, the collective can only operate through the performative act “removed from the crowd.” The crowd (*gomila*) is both grammatically and metaphorically feminine in Serbian-Croatian – a body without a head, a mass without common sense; a crowd knows no differentiation. In order for a (male) collective to single itself out from the crowd, a selective approach is needed, as well as the establishment and the setting of some kind of frame.

Iconic photographs of the art collectives as visual representations bear witness to this “framing.” They are a constitutive part of the art-historical narrative, as images and indexes, as the behavioral-programmatic IDs of Yugoslav artistic collectives. The photograph of a group of artists, critics, and curators leaning against the front wall of the gallery of the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade marks the beginning of new institutional and artistic practices, affirming artistic behavior and speech in the first person.<sup>6</sup> The posing of members of the Gorgona group at Julije Knifer’s solo exhibition at the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb in 1966 both evokes and parodies the religious figure of the author as master and saint before whom one prostrates oneself on one’s knees, bowing and kissing his hands.<sup>7</sup>

Going back to the other side of the story of the great author, through humor and charm, the dissolution of the patriarchal figure of the genius, viewed from a feminist angle, can be seen as an expression of the narcissism of the Yugoslav neo-avant-garde collectives, their contemplative gazing at their own togetherness “as a picture.”

Man is totally preoccupied with himself, with his own past, his own aims and his own culture. Reality strikes him as exhausted; his space flights prove it. Woman, on the other hand, insists that life must yet begin for her on our own planet. She can still see things where man no longer sees anything.<sup>8</sup>

Lina Džuverović’s project *Collective Actions, Continuous Omissions*<sup>9</sup> was the first to shed (feminist) light on the gendered nature of collective practice in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s, using case studies of the OHO group (1962–1971) and the agricultural-artistic commune The Šempas Family. Džuverović shows that, although in the broader

context these communities criticized the canonical-modernist forms of life and work as well as the art institutions and their procedures, they did not succeed in freeing themselves from internalized patriarchal structures, which become visible precisely if we focus on the place of the absence of women artists. Džuverović tries to capture the belated reflection on the “women’s question” in the collective practices of the Yugoslav avant-gardes, focusing on mapping the terminology used to describe women’s participation in collective work (revealed in a series of research-based interviews with protagonists and artists). As we can see, the woman in the collective is either marginalized or allegorized – in the plural, they are “women on the side” or “backing vocals”; in the singular, she is the “soul of the collective” or “everyone’s mother.”<sup>10</sup>

On the one hand, women’s participation in male collectives ends up being a corporeal allegory or an anthropomorphic metaphor that puts the female body at the disposal of the male author. One of the conspicuous (and distinct) examples of the development of this strategy would be Jugoslava, the heroine of the film *Early Works (Rani Radovi)* by Želimir Žilnik (1969). She is a member of a male revolutionary collective, an avant-garde woman whose life and work are being destroyed by her comrades who will rape, kill, and burn her at the end of the film.<sup>11</sup> Allegorization, as this example clearly demonstrates, is an artistic strategy through which failures and contradictions of the revolutionary narrative (or whichever other narrative) are displaced and projected onto a woman’s body.

On the other hand, the participation of women in male collectives demonstrates the adoption of family structures in which women are caretakers and providers of free labor, “the labor of love that capital expects for free and with a smile” (which Sylvia Federici spoke most loudly about in her critique of Marx’s critique of capitalism, which remained blind to the appropriation of the value of unpaid and unrecognized reproductive labor).<sup>12</sup> Just as the history of the 20th century shows that patriarchy has appropriated both capital and labor, so the history of Yugoslav avant-garde collectives after World War II shows that patriarchy had appropriated both authorship and the critique of authorship. In *Social Reproduction Struggles and Art History*, Angela Dimitrakaki and Kirsten Lloyd problematize the entrenched assumption that “... labor is publicly performed and belongs to men while *something-other-than-labor* is privately performed and belongs to women.”<sup>13</sup>

Along the same lines, Lina Džuverović’s project suggests how male cultural workers found a way to achieve success in their artistic careers in collective artistic practices, while their female colleagues became curators, organizers, administrators, archivists, art historians. Lucy Lippard noticed the same development in the early 1970s, claiming that female labor in art usually consists of “... secondary or house-keeping activities, considered far more natural for women than the primary activity of making art.”<sup>14</sup>

Starting from the assumptions of the art-historical narrativization of the Yugoslav avant-garde collectives and the feminist critique of

the hegemony of the male speaking position, the exhibition chapter *On Collectivizing* is developed in dialogue with the invitation that I received from Zdenka Badovinac at the beginning of the year. Zdenka invited me to design a curatorial narrative that would illuminate the female side of participation in collectivism and avant-gardism, and, in the broader thematic context of the *Art at Work* exhibition, would provide a feminist view of the history of Yugoslav (neo)avant-garde collectives of the second half of the 20th century. A view, but not an overview, because a more comprehensive analysis (if comprehensiveness has anything to do with feminism) would require much more space and time. The view here is also a draft, a change in the direction of reading – an intervention.

When Griselda Pollock spoke of a critique of the art-historical canon from the feminist perspective, she formulated it precisely through the concept of intervention, which is for her a “lateral approach” to the institutional reproduction of the authority and the truth of art history. The concept of intervention, if we follow Pollock, does not allow for the simple inscription of female subjects into the existing frameworks of interpretation of artistic collective practices (male ones), but requires a change of angle and direction of looking, a transgressing of existing frameworks. An intervention for Pollock is not characterized by “filling in empty spaces” or “supplementing history” with something that was left out or is less well known; it is characterized precisely by questioning the existing role of cultural activities in the production of meaning, as well as in the production of social subjects.

In dialogue with the displays of Yugoslav collectives in other parts of the exhibition, I translate the term *collective* here into a gerund – *collectivizing* – and emphasize women’s work and subjectivity, which are not visible in the frontal mode of representation of avant-garde art collectives.

What can a gerund do?

Grammatically speaking, *collectivizing* is a gerund, a verbal noun derived from the verb collectivize. It has a concrete, historically embedded meaning that can be transferred to activities, it carries a processual, effective, and action-related potential. While *the collective* signifies a closed entity, *collectivizing* is open, because gerunds describe processes. A *collective* signifies a group of people gathered around a common project, work, task or the promotion of an idea, while the term *collectivizing*, although at first glance evoking specific political projects (e.g. the nationalization of agriculture through a collective-owned or state-owned farm in the USSR or the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), locates its primary economic and historical meaning in a gesture of *voluntary transfer of private ownership to the collective*.<sup>15</sup>

The examples and stories of women that appear in the exhibition *On Collectivizing* speak of collectivizing as a “labor of love,” as a process of voluntary transfer of the private to collective property. Thus, the *Portraits of Women* by Goranka Matic<sup>16</sup> are woven into the wider narrative of the Comrade Woman (Drug-ca žena) conference held in

the Student Cultural Center (SKC) in Belgrade in 1978, and its long-term memory through the reuniting of the conference’s protagonists in Sarajevo in 2008 (the organization Crvena, *Pitchwise*). Goranka Matic, who literally entered the SKC through a window<sup>17</sup> because she was late for a meeting of young curators and art historians when the institution’s work was just beginning and all the doors were locked, left the SKC many years later as an accomplished and important photo-journalist and artist who continues, persistently, to work “in collectivization.”

Vukica Đilas – the daughter of Mitra Mitrović, one of the leading figures of the Anti-Fascist Front of Women (AFŽ), and Milovan Đilas, the communist revolutionary, commander of partisan resistance, and the greatest political dissident in Socialist Yugoslavia – is depicted in collectivizing efforts that follow the formation of the Yugoslav New Film movement and its exceptional authors. Đilas’ film work, which she did not close with editing, but literally performed it as a film-life or life-film, is shown at this exhibition through *Home Movies*<sup>18</sup> and a book of poetic dialogues that she conducted with other artists. These exhibits talk to us about overcoming the act of authorship as something closed and fixed, opening a space for reflecting on the fluidity and free flow of ideas and creations.

*An Archive of Feminist Activism in the 1990s*<sup>19</sup> by Sanja Iveković shows the artist’s actions in the collectivization of emerging antiwar and women’s initiatives. Iveković designed publications and promotional posters, made videos that documented public actions, and interviewed key protagonists. She co-founded the Center for Women’s Studies (1995) and the Women’s Art Center Elektra (1997). The continuity in and of her work is characterized by engaged insistence on the fact that women are the subjects of history (most directly thematized in *Gen XX, Lady Rosa of Luxemburg, Unknown Heroine*, etc.). As Iveković claims, much like her counterpart, the art historian Bojana Pejić, the female subjects of history are not the lush and denuded bodies of painterly or sculptural allegories of victory and freedom, nor generic representations of unknown heroines subjected to the neutralizing universalization of monumental sculpture, but real persons, with a name and surname, life context and work, politics, and history.

Darinka Pop-Mitić<sup>20</sup> also continues her dialogue with emancipatory histories in the Yugoslav context using drawing as a tool of reconstruction, memory, and intervention. This time, Pop-Mitić enters into dialogue with the oral history of feminism of the 20th century through the “portal” of the anthropological study of *Didara – The Memory of One Woman from Prizren*, written by Miroslava Malešević. Islam, tradition, and modernization, removing the veil and education, welfare and poverty, the question of nationality and Yugoslav communism, the activities of AFŽ and the emancipation of Albanian women, Albanians and Serbs in a multinational state, family life and (political) party work, ethnic conflicts, wars, and the collapse of the project. All this history fits into one life – one woman, one century.

And one more: Olja Džuverović,<sup>21</sup> an active and dedicated member of the Yugoslav Commission for Assistance to the Liberation Move-

ments in Africa – one of those women and men who did not orbit the space of representation of the Non-Aligned Movement, but precisely due to whose work and actions that movement proved successful. The collectivity in the images of the Non-Aligned Movement is institutionally reproduced through the famous photograph of standing politicians of all colors, costumes, cultures, and regimes, taken during the Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade in 1961.<sup>22</sup> The Presidential photo service, in which Mirko Lovrić worked as one of the most active photographers, shows ceremonial meetings and summits: Tito’s travels, the friendly handshakes of important politicians, children with flowers and slogans, saluting ranks of liberation armies. The women in the pictures, usually the wives, are depicted in friendly conversation, most often in humanitarian or cultural exchange activities. They are smiling and anonymous, while the names are reserved for the inscriptions on the lecterns from which the male representatives give their addresses. One of the photos from Olja’s private archive, which Lina Džuverović humorously calls *Olja in the Sea of Men*, shows a mass decolonial gathering in which Olja’s singular female figure, her distinct presence, is drowned out (or perhaps singled out) among men of all colors.

The effect and life of these women could be described with the term *collectivizing*. They gave something of their own to the community because they (politically) wanted to, because they were so rationally determined. Collectivization anonymizes individuals, but it likewise makes them additionally important; it also very precisely describes the activities and processes in which these women – artists, activists, agents of history – were invested, which they initiated, and which were constitutive parts of their lives. The personal stories in *On Collectivizing* open a window into the wider history of women’s, feminist, and socialist struggles – from the partisan movement and AFŽ, to socialism and non-alignment; from the re-opening of the issue of women’s liberation with the Comrade Woman conference to the feminist antiwar and antinationalist activities during the last decade of the 20th century.

Finally, practices of collectivism and women’s struggles in the 20th century, as stated by Jelena Petrović,<sup>23</sup> have been constantly erased and re-written, interrupted, built anew, and submitted to multiple revisions. Which is why we are talking about a movement that can only be thought of through the concept of interventions, and which we connect here with a completely *different other line*.

Translated by Jana Jevtović

- 2 Denevri adopted the term *project* from Giulio Carlo Argan’s famous essay “Project and Destiny”, translated from the Italian (“Progetto e destino”, 1964) into Croatian-Serbian for the journal *Život umjetnosti* 9 (1969): pp. 85–110.
- 3 Đuro Seder’s quote is taken from: Ivana Bago, Antonia Majača, “Removed from the Crowd: Dissociative Association – Associations outside the Programmatic Collectivities in the Art of the 1960s and 1970s in the Socialist Republic of Croatia”, in *Political Practices of (Post-)Yugoslav Art*, eds. Zorana Dojić, Jelena Vesić (Belgrade: Prelom Kolektiv, 2010), p. 104. Exhibition catalogue.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–124.
- 5 *Ibid.* Also, reference to Jean Luc-Nancy, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford University Press, 2000).
- 6 The analysis of the significance of this particular photograph is part of the research of the Student Cultural Center by Prelom kolektiv (Jelena Vesić and Dušan Grlja), see: “Two Times of One Wall, the Case of SKC in 1970s”, in *Political Practices of (Post-)Yugoslav Art*, pp. 126–153.
- 7 The photograph is included in the chapter “Removed from the Crowd”, p. 105.
- 8 See Carla Lonzi, *Let’s Spit on Hegel* [Sputiamo su Hegel], trans. Veronica Newman (New York: Secunda, 2010). <https://my-blackout.com/2020/11/18/carla-lonzi-spit-on-hegel/>
- 9 Lina Džuverović, “Collaborative Actions, Continuous Omissions”, in *Fragments for Studies on Art Organizations* (Novi Sad: Kuda.org, 2020); *What Will Be Already Exists – Temporalities of Cold War Archives in East-Central Europe and Beyond* (transcript Verlag, 2021), (English); and *Enigma Journal* (Budapest), 2021 (Hungarian). It is part of the larger project *And Others: The Gendered Politics and Practices of Art Collectives*, which deals with the intersectional analysis of art collectives. <https://artcollectives.org/>
- 10 Džuverović, “Kolektivne akcije – kontinuirani propusti: Beleške o feminističkoj reviziji jugoslovenskih kolektiva šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka – slučaj OHO grupe”, *Fragmenti za studije o umetničkim organizacijama* (Novi Sad: kuda.org, 2020), pp 35–53.
- 11 The destiny of Jugoslava is the subject of the project *Feminist Takes* initiated by Antonia Majača in 2015 and the book *Feminist Takes: Early Works by Zelimir Žilnik*, eds. Antonia Majača with Jelena Vesić and Rachel O’Reilly (Sternberg Press, 2021). The theme of allegory is most directly thematized in the essays by Bojana Pejić, Ivana Bago, and Jelena Vesić.
- 12 Sylvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (PM Press, 2020), (a collection of essays written between 1974 and 2016).
- 13 In a wider social sense this discussion relates to – and this is often discussed on the Left – how “the *crisis of labor* accompanying capitalist globalization has been identified with a crisis of masculinity, thanks to the humiliation and redundancy of the so-called white male industrial proletariat.” Angela Dimitrakaki and Kirsten Lloyd, “Social Reproduction Struggles and Art History: An Introduction”, *Third Text*, Vol 31 (2017).
- 14 Lucy Lippard, quoted in Nanette Buurman, “Angels in the White Cube? Rhetorics of Curatorial Innocence at dOKUMENTA 13”, *On Curating* 29 (May 2016): p. 157.
- 15 For this linguistic discussion I’m grateful to Dr Jelena Calic, lecturer at University College London and my friend.
- 16 See pp. 74–75 in this catalogue.
- 17 An anecdote connected with her beginnings at the SKC Belgrade that Goranka Matic gladly retells in interviews.
- 18 See pp. 72–73 in this catalogue.
- 19 See pp. 68–69 in this catalogue.
- 20 See pp. 76–77 in this catalogue.
- 21 See pp. 70–71 in this catalogue.
- 22 Presidential photo service, President Tito with the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, SIV – The Palace of Federation, 1961, collection of the Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
- 23 Petrović, “Social Engagement between Individual Work and Collective Practices: Feminist Principles”, in *Život Umjetnosti (Art and social movements – where are we at with that)*, eds. Ana Kutleša, Ivana Hanaček, Vesna Vuković (Zagreb, 2015), pp. 48–68.

<sup>1</sup> See: Ješa Denevri, “The Reason for the Other Line”, *Jugoslovenska Dokumenta '89* (Sarajevo: Olympic center “Skenderija,” Cultural Center), pp. 13–20. My reflections on Denevri’s concept stem from a series of conversations with Denevri for the upcoming book *The Yugoslav Art Space: Ješa Denevri in the First Person*, eds. Jelena Vesić, Branislav Dimitrijević (JRP, tbp. Autumn 2022).



**Arhiv feminističnega aktivizma v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja**

1991–2000

fotografije, plakati, videi  
Z dovoljenjem Sanje Iveković

Nasilni razpad Jugoslavije v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja je deloval kot katalizator za porajanje aktivističnih in protivojnih pobud vseh povsod po državi. V tem obdobju so se v Zagrebu oblikovale številne feministične organizacije. Center za ženske žrtve vojne, ustanovljen leta 1992, se je ukvarjal z ženskami, ki jih je vojna neposredno prizadela. Organizacija B.a.B.e. (Be active. Be emancipated) je bila ustanovljena leta 1994 in je bila v širšem smislu posvečena zagovorništvu pravic žensk. Organizacije, kot sta bili Ženski informacijski in dokumentacijski center, ustanovljen leta 1992, in Center za ženske študije, ustanovljen leta 1995, so se osredotočale na izobraževanje žensk in raziskovanje ter ohranjanje zgodovine žensk.

Sanja Iveković je prispevala k večini naštetih in k številnim drugim pobudam. Leta 1995 je soustanovila Center za ženske študije, leta 1997 pa je ustanovila Ženski umetniški center – Elektra. Oblikovala je glasila, knjige in plakate za izobraževalne programe in javne kampanje, snemala videe, ki so dokumentirali javne akcije, intervjuvala ključne protagonistke in producirala dela, ki so vključevala vojne begunke in ženske žrtve družinskega nasilja. Leta 2000 je organizirala mednarodno feministično konferenco Kooperacija, ki se je odvijala v Dubrovniku in je vključevala tudi video instalacije, predvajanja filmov in predavanja štiridesetih umetnic, kuratoric in teoretičark tako iz Vzhodne kot Zahodne Evrope in ZDA.

Razstava ponuja izbor tiskanega in video gradiva, ki dokumentira aktivistično delo Sanje Iveković, obenem pa le stežka zariše mejo med umetnostjo in aktivizmom. (Ivana Bago)

*Izbor gradiva iz Arhiva feminističnega aktivizma je nastal v sodelovanju z Ivano Bago.*

**An Archive of Feminist Activism in the 1990s, 1991–2000**

photographs, posters, videos

Courtesy of Sanja Iveković

The violent dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s functioned as a catalyst for a surge of activist and antiwar initiatives across the country. Numerous feminist organizations were formed during this period in Zagreb. The Center for Women War Victims, founded in 1992, worked with women directly affected by the war. B.a.B.e. (Be active. Be emancipated) was founded in 1994, and dedicated more broadly to the advocacy of women's rights. Organizations such as the Women's Information and Documentation Center, founded in 1992, and the Center for Women's Studies, founded in 1995, focused on women's education and research and the preservation of women's history.

Sanja Iveković contributed to most of these and many other initiatives. In 1995, she co-founded the Center for Women's Studies, and in 1997 she founded Elektra – Women's Art Center. She designed journals, books and posters for educational programs and public campaigns, made videos that documented public actions, interviewed key protagonists, and produced works that involved participation by women war refugees and victims of domestic violence. In 2000, she organized Cooperation, an international feminist conference which took place in Dubrovnik, and included video installations, screenings, and lectures by forty women artists, curators, and theorists from both Eastern and Western Europe and the US.

The exhibition presents a selection of printed and video material that documents Iveković's activist work, while acknowledging the difficulty of drawing a line between art and activism. (Ivana Bago)

*The selection of materials from An Archive of Feminist Activism was made in collaboration with Ivana Bago.*



3



1



2

1 Petición protiv prepovedi splava, video dokumentacija kampanje v organizaciji Ženske mreže Hrvatske, 1995

2 *Obličje jezika*, video, 1998

3 Konferenca Kooperacija, 16.–24. 9. 2000, Dubrovnik; kuratorica Sanja Iveković, organizacija Ženski umetniški center – Elektra  
Vse z dovoljenjem umetnice

1 Petition against the ban on abortion, video documentation of a campaign organized by the Women's Network Croatia (Ženska mreža Hrvatske), 1995

2 *The Face of Language*, video, 1998

3 Cooperation conference, 16–24 September 2000, Dubrovnik; curated by Sanja Iveković and organized by Elektra – Women's Art Center  
All courtesy of the artist



**Solidarnostni arhiv  
jugoslovanskega gibanja  
neuvrščenih, dokumentacija o  
Olji Džuverović**, 60-ta do danes

arhivsko gradivo, fotografije, delovna skupina  
Z dovoljenjem Line in Vesne Džuverović

Osebni arhiv jugoslovanske politične delavke Olje Džuverović, ki je bila v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja zaposlena pri Komisiji za pomoč osvobodilnim gibanjem v okviru Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva Jugoslavije (SZDLJ), pozneje pa kot diplomatka v številnih afriških državah, dokumentira politične odnose Jugoslavije z državami podsaharske Afrike v obdobju dekolonizacije, zlasti z Zimbabvejem, Namibijo, Južnoafriško republiko, Tanzanijo in Angolo.

Kombinacija gradiva je subjektivna in naključna, a obenem pričča o Oljinem metodičnem delu, globoki angažiranosti in širnih potovanjih po regiji, tako v vlogi diplomatke kot strastne terenske aktivistke, ki je podpirala posameznike, vpletene v osvobodilne boje. Odločilni pomen tega gradiva je v načinu, kako prikazuje delovne procese vladnega telesa, katerega poslanstvo je bilo solidarnost in podpora, ter vlogo posameznice v tem delu. Nanj lahko gledamo kot na študijo primera v diplomatskih odnosih, proizvodnji znanja in procesih ter komunikaciji, na katerih temelji tvorstvo delo.

Številnim glasovom – politikov, strokovnjakov, revolucionarjev in diplomatov, ki se podpisujejo pod gradivo v tem arhivu – se pridružuje tudi Olja sama, s svojimi branji besedil in odločitvijo, da jih bo nedvomno ohranila, saj se zaveda njihovega pomena (dele arhiva je sama organizirala in označila, medtem ko je bilo ostalo gradivo razprostrto po njeni pisarni v Beogradu). Kakopak je navzoč tudi »podton«  
jugoslovanske neuvrščenosti, dejstva, da je Komisija za pomoč osvobodilnim gibanjem obstajala in bila v znatni meri od vlade podprti akter v pomoči tem bojem na konkretne in praktične načine.

Približno štirideset let pozneje sta Oljina sestra Vesna in nečakinja Lina intervenirali, da se to gradivo ohrani, zapakira, prenese in katalogizira v njenem lastnem pojugoslovanskem kontekstu, z njunih pozicij v Veliki Britaniji in Srbiji in ob njuni lastni agendi zagotovitve, da bo Oljino delo ostalo dostopno in na voljo.

Četudi utegne gradivo v tem arhivu zmotiti imperialistične narative, se moramo zazreti tudi globlje v prevladujoče narative o jugoslovanskem socializmu. Celo progresivni in emancipacijski politični projekti, kakršno je bilo gibanje neuvrščenih, so bili kljub vsemu zaznamovani z akterji patriarhata. Obstoj tega arhiva poudarja osrednjo, pa vendar nevidno vlogo ženske protagonistke v tej zgodovini. (Lina Džuverović)

**Yugoslav Non-Aligned Movement  
Solidarity Archive, the documents  
of Olja Džuverović**, 1960s–present  
archive materials, photographs, working group  
Courtesy of Lina and Vesna Džuverović

The personal archive of the Yugoslav political worker Olja Džuverović, who worked for the Commission for Assistance to the Liberation Movements at the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SSRNJ) in the 1970s and 1980s, and later as a diplomat in a number of African nations, documents Yugoslavia's political relations with Sub-Saharan African countries during the period of decolonization, in particular Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, and Angola.

The combination of materials is subjective and incongruous, but equally a testament to Olja's methodical work, profound engagement, and extensive travels in the region, both as a diplomat and passionate grassroots activist, supporting individuals engaged in liberation struggles. A crucial significance of the material lies in the way it shows the working processes of a government department whose mission was one of solidarity and support, and the role of an individual in this work. It can be seen as a case study in diplomatic relations, knowledge-production, and the processes and communication that underpin such work.

A multitude of voices – the politicians, scholars, activists, revolutionaries, and diplomats who authored the material in this archive – are joined by Olja herself, her readings of the texts and her decision to preserve them, no doubt driven by an understanding of their importance (parts of the archive were organized and labelled by her, while other material was spread across her room in Belgrade). There is, of course, the "background voice" of Yugoslavia's non-alignment, the fact that a Commission for Assistance to the Liberation Movements existed, and had substantial agency and government backing to aid these struggles in concrete and practical ways.

Some forty years later came the intervention of Olja's sister Vesna and niece Lina to preserve, pack, transport, and catalogue this material, in their own post-Yugoslav context, their positionality in the UK and Serbia, and their own agenda of ensuring that Olja's work remains available and accessible.

Whilst the material in this archive may rupture imperialist narratives, we must also look deeper into the prevailing narratives of Yugoslav socialism. Even progressive and emancipatory political projects like the Non-Aligned Movement were still inscribed by agents of patriarchy. This archive's existence highlights the central, yet invisible role of a female protagonist in this history. (Lina Džuverović)



Olja Džuverović (edina ženska na sliki) na vrhovnem sestanku, najverjetneje v Libiji, ok. 1969  
Avtor fotografije neznan

Olja Džuverović (the only woman in the picture) at a summit, most likely in Libya, c. 1969  
Photographer unknown



## Vukica Đilas

***Domaći posnetki***, (1970–199?)  
filmska/video dokumentacija  
Z dovoljenjem Alekse Đilasa in  
Slobodana Šijana

*Domaći posnetki* Vukice Đilas so zbirka filmov, ki združuje več kot dvajset let zagnanega snemanja »vsakdanjih utrinkov«, posnetih z avtoričino kamero super 8. Po vzdušju do neke mere spominjajo na filme Jonasa Mekasa, ki jih je Paul Adams Sitney opisal kot »posnetke vsakdanje poezije«.

»Dom« v *Domaćih posnetkih* bi lahko pomenil skupnost filmarjev, protagonistov novega jugoslovanskega filma, s katerimi je Vukica Đilas preživljala čas in življenje: to so bili Branko Vučićević, Dušan Makavejev, Želimir Žilnik, Bata Čengić, Karpo Godina, Slobodan Šijan, Lazar Stojanović in Tom Gotovac. Vukica Đilas je ta film snemala skoraj nevidno in anonimno, saj nihče ni vedel zanj, preden je bil predvajan deset let po njeni prezgodnji smrti leta 2001. Za tedanjo javno predstavitev filma so zaslužna naprežanja bivšega moža Vukice Đilas, Branka Vučićevića, in njenega prijatelja, priznanega režiserja Slobodana Šijana, ki sta organizirala digitalno premiero filma ob glasbeni spremljavi dua LP. *Domaći posnetki* je edini film, ki ga je kdaj posnela Vukica Đilas: vseživljenjski film, ali bolje, film, ki zajema vse življenje, je zmontiran v kameri, po posameznih sličicah.

Avtoportret Vukice Đilas – ženski akt, obdan z dekorjem Warholove slike *Cvetje*. Na neki drugi sličici sedi na mestu anonimnega modela in igra šah s Duchampom (*Duchamp igra šah z golim modelom*). Njena knjižnica. Veliko branja. Pisanja. Veliko aktov in napol golih modelov. Ponavljajoči se prizori z Brankom Vučićevićem, ki bere ali piše. Prijatelj iz njune družbe filmarjev. Pogovori, popivanje, kajenje, še več filmov. Televizijski programi – *Tarzan*, *Tom in Jerry*, *Sneguljčica*, *Racman Jaka*, prizori iz živalskega vrta. Knjige, police, mize, filmi, stene. Veliko belih sten. Več razstav. Slike z otvoritev eksperimentalnih umetniških instalacij, performansov in novih medijev. Vukica Đilas napihuje rdeč balon. Drobcji telesa – koža, bradavička, znamenja in obline prsi. Testna poteza št. 6. Njena mama, ki pleše. DADA. Konec. Junakinja poznega nočnega televizijskega muzikala, ki neumorno pleše.

Jaz – konec.

Podoba *Grdega račka*, ki joče.

Melodramatični filmski prizori, v katerih se ljubimca razhajata. Belski heteroseksualni par.

*That's All Folks!*

(Jelena Vesić)

***Home Movies***, (1970–199?)  
film/video documentation

Courtesy of Aleksa Đilas and Slobodan Šijan

*Home Movies* by Vukica Đilas compiles more than twenty years of passionately recorded "pictures from life" captured on her super 8 camera. It shares some atmosphere with the films of Jonas Mekas, which Paul Adams Sitney described as "films of quotidian poetry."

The "home" in *Home Movies* may stand for the community of filmmakers, the protagonists of New Yugoslav Film with whom Vukica Đilas spent her time and life: Branko Vučićević, Dušan Makavejev, Želimir Žilnik, Bata Čengić, Karpo Godina, Slobodan Šijan, Lazar Stojanović, and Tom Gotovac. Vukica Đilas worked on this film almost invisibly and anonymously, since nobody knew about it before it came out a decade after her premature death in 2001. The film was made public thanks to the efforts of Đilas' former husband, Branko Vučićević, and her friend the renowned director Slobodan Šijan, who organized the digital release of the film accompanied by a musical score by the duo LP. *Home Movies* is the only film Vukica Đilas ever made: a life-long film, or rather, a film as long as life, edited in camera and frame by frame.

A self-portrait of Vukica Đilas – a female nude surrounded by the décor of Warhol's painting *Flowers*. In another frame she sits in place of the anonymous model playing chess with Duchamp (*Duchamp Playing Chess with a Nude*). Her Library. A lot of reading. Writing. A lot of nudes and semi-nudes. Recurring scenes with Branko Vučićević reading or writing. Friends from their community of filmmakers. Conversations, drinks, cigarettes, more films. TV programs – *Tarzan*, *Tom and Jerry*, *Snow White*, *Donald Duck*. Scenes at the zoo. Books, shelves, tables, films, walls. A lot of white walls. Several exhibitions. Pictures from openings for experimental art shows, performances, and new media. Vukica Đilas inflates a red balloon. Fragments of the body – the skin, a nipple, moles, and the curve of a breast. Test Gambit No 6. Her mother knitting. DADA. The end. The heroine of a late-night TV musical restlessly dancing.

Me – the end.

The image of the *Ugly Duckling* crying.

Melodramatic film scenes of lovers separating. A white, heterosexual couple.

That's All Folks!

(Jelena Vesić)





*Portreti žensk*, 1978  
fotografije

Z dovoljenjem umetnice in arhiva SKC  
(Ljubinka Gavran)

Mednarodna konferenca Tovariš-ica ženska: Žensko vprašanje – nov pristop? (Drug-ca žena: žensko pitanje – novi pristup?) se je odvila v študentskem kulturnem centru (SKC) Beograd leta 1978. To je bilo prvo avtonomno srečanje drugega vala feminizma, organizirano v nezahodnoevropskem kontekstu, v socialistični državi, in združilo je številne pomembne feministične teoretičarke in umetnice z obeh strani železne zavese. Serija *Portreti žensk* Goranke Matić je bila del umetniškega programa konference, ki jo je spremljalo več razstav in projekcij.

Proces fotografiranja je bil zasnovan kot preigravanje med dokumentiranjem in uprizorjanjem – ženske so se med fotografiranjem lahko odločile, kako bodo upodobljene, z odgovori na štiri vprašanja: Koliko si stara? Kakšno ime bi si želela zase? Kje bi rada živela? Kakšen poklic si želiš?

Fotografirane ženske so bile v različnih starostnih obdobjih, z različnimi izkušnjami in kulturnimi ozadji. Najmlajše sodelujoče so pravkar dobile menstruacijo, medtem ko so bile nekatere najstarejše že polnoletne. Najstarejša »tovarišica«, fotografirana med prodajanjem sadja, je zanimivo odgovorila na vprašanje o poklicu. Izjavila je, da najraje ne bi delala ničesar – njena sanjska »služba« bi bila sedeti in počivati. Prav ta »podatek« razodeva specifični značaj vprašalnika Goranke Matić – ukvarjal se je z željami, domišljijo in fikcijo, ne pa z »znanstveno objektivnostjo« ali realistično upodobitvijo situacije.

Goranka Matić, danes priznana fotografinja, ki dela v Beogradu in razstavlja v mednarodnem prostoru, je bila tedaj mlada umetnostna zgodovinarica, ki je svoj koncept udeležila v sodelovanju z Nebojšo Čankarovićem, enim od fotografov, zaposlenih pri študentskem kulturnem centru. Očitno je bila ta fotografska pustolovščina odskočna deska za njeno poznejšo kariero fotoreporterke.

Goranka Matić se tudi sama pojavi med podobami *Portretov žensk*. Njeno izmišljeno ime je Ira Fassbinder, kar je kombinacija imena njene matere in primka njenega najljubšega režiserja, in predstavila se je kot tridesetletna vodja bordela v Budimpešti. Na fotografiji vidimo Iro, kratkolaso mlado žensko, oblečeno v zlikano srajco, kravato, površnik in suknjič, iz kotička ust pa ji visi cigareta.

Serija *Portreti žensk* vključuje tudi fotografije nekaterih pobudnic in udeleženk konference Tovariš-ica ženska, denimo Dunje Blažević, Ljubice Stanivuk in Žarane Papić. (Jelena Vesić)

*Portraits of Women*, 1978  
photographs

Courtesy of the artist and SKC archive  
(Ljubinka Gavran)

The international conference Comrade Woman: Women's Question – A New Approach? (Drug-ca žena: žensko pitanje – novi pristup?) took place at the Student Cultural Center Belgrade in 1978. It was the first autonomous second-wave feminist meeting organized in a non-Western-European context, in a socialist country, bringing together a number of important feminist theorists and artists from both sides of the Iron Curtain. The *Portraits of Women* by Matić was part of the art program of the conference, which was complemented by several exhibitions and screening programs.

The process of taking the photographs was conceived as a play between documenting and staging – as they were photographed, the women could decide how they wanted to be presented by answering four questions: How old are you? What name would you like to have? Where would you like to live? What occupation do you want?

The photographed women were at various stages of life, of different experiences, professions, and cultural backgrounds. The youngest participants had just had their first period, while some of the oldest participants were over eighty years old. The oldest "comrade woman," photographed selling fruit, offered a curious answer to the question of employment, stating she preferred to be occupied by nothing – that her dream "job" would be to sit and rest. This particular "piece of data" reveals the specific character of Matić's questionnaire – it was about desires, imagination, and fiction, rather than "scientific objectivity" or a realistic presentation of the situation.

Matić, today a renowned photographer working in Belgrade and exhibiting internationally, was at the time a young art historian who realized her concept in collaboration with Nebojša Čankarović, one of the photographers employed by the SKC. This photographic adventure is obviously linked to her later career as a photojournalist.

Matić appears in the *Portraits of Women* frieze herself. Her fictional name is Ira Fassbinder, a combination of her mother's given name and her favorite film director's surname, and she presented herself as a thirty-year-old madam of a brothel in Budapest. In the photo we see Ira, a young woman with short hair, dressed in a neat shirt, tie, waistcoat, and jacket, with a cigarette hanging from the corner of her mouth.

*Portraits of Women* also includes photographs of some of the initiators and participants of the Comrade Woman conference, such as Dunja Blažević, Ljubica Stanivuk, and Žarana Papić. (Jelena Vesić)



**Didara: spomin na žensko iz Prizrena, 2022**

stenska poslikava, besedilo  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice

Didara Dukađini Đorđević (1930–2006) je bila v Prizrenu rojena albanska učiteljica, ki je postala poklicna političarka v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Leta 1998 se je preselila s Kosova v Beograd. Miroslava Malešević, antropologinja z Inštituta za etnografijo srbske Akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Beogradu, je imela leta 2003 z njo serijo pogovorov. Tri mesece sta se sestajali enkrat na teden. Rezultat njunih intervjujev je knjiga *Didara: Životna priča jedne Prizrenke* (Didara: Življenjska zgodba neke Prizrenčanke). Didara je obenem tudi tema mojega dela.

O tem se pogovarjam z Jeleno na njenem balkonu, ker je prijeten večer, ko vse mesto žari pred in pod nama. Stolpnica, neonsko ozadje, na obzorju ves imperij velikega mesta, tako da je videti, kot da ne bi delali.

V Beogradu višja nadstropja niso priljubljena. Dvigala so zastarela, večini ljudi se zdi, kot da se jim tla spodmikajo spod nog, ko se vzpenjajo v višje nadstropje. Razgled, ki se širi v daljavo, v Beogradu ni prav običajen prizor.

Didara je proti koncu svojega življenja vsak dan prečkala cesto od stanovanjskih blokov Novega Beograda, kjer je živel z možem, do Bežanijske Kose, kjer še danes prebiva njen sin z družino. Tam je svojo življenjsko zgodbo pripovedovala Miroslavi Malešević. Pogovori so se zvrstili v prijetni, trdno grajeni hiši v naselju Bežanija, kjer se zdi, kot da Jugoslavija živi ameriški sen.

Okoli petnajst let po Didarinih pogovorih z Miroslavo Malešević se je ta krajina drastično spremenila. Pot, ki sta jo takrat ubirala Didara in njen mož, prekinjajo urbanistične ambicije velikih, nenasitnih poslovnih prostorov.

Sosesk identičnih (in idiličnih) bungalovov v Bežanijski Kosi, med ljudmi znanih kot carringtonke po likih iz ameriške telenovele iz

osemdesetih let 20. stoletja, se zdaj z najinega balkona ne vidi več. Razgled nanje zastirajo nove poslovne stavbe in nadrazkošna stanovanja na rečnem bregu.

Didarin rodni Prizren je bil podvržen podobni usodi in je bil še huje poškodovan v vojni leta 1999. Jelena pravi, da je bila za Didaro politika zgodba o gradnji ljubezni, komunizem pa doživetje ljubezni, od lokalnega do oddaljenega, od osebnega, zasebnega do splošnega.

Meni se zdi to zgodba o hišah: družinska, občinska hiša v Prizrenu, ki ji sledi samska sobica, v kateri je zaživela zakonsko življenje, funkcionalna nova stavba v Prištini, kjer je vzgajala otroke in razvila svojo kariero. In naposled še cesta med dvema beograjskima stanovanjema – prvo, ki je bilo v osnovi begunsko, in drugo, v katerem se je začela druga, pojugoslovanska prihodnost. Med temi prostori vznika politika emancipacije – spolna, razredna in etnična, nedokončana in prekinjena. (Darinka Pop-Mitić)

**Didara: The Memory of One Woman from Prizren, 2022**

wall painting, text  
Courtesy of the artist

Didara Dukađini Đorđević (1930–2006) was an Albanian teacher born in Prizren, who became a politician by profession in the 1950s. She moved from Kosovo to Belgrade in 1998. Miroslava Malešević, an anthropologist from the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, had a series of conversations with her in 2003. They met once a week for three months. The result of their conversations is the book *Didara: The Life Story of a Prizren Woman*. Didara is also the topic of my work.

This is what I am talking about with Jelena on the terrace of her apartment, because the evening is a pleasant one, while the whole city shines in front of and below us. A skyscraper, a neon landscape, the empire above the line of the horizon of a big city, so it looks like we're not working.

The higher floors in Belgrade are not popular. The elevators are worn out, most people think they lose the ground under their feet when they climb to a higher floor. A view that shoots into the distance is not so common in Belgrade.

Towards the end of her life, Didara crossed the road every day from the blocks of New Belgrade flats, where she lived with her husband, to Bežanijska Kosa, where her son still lives with his family today. There, she told the story of her life to Miroslava Malešević. The talks took place in a pleasant, well-built house in the Bežanija complex, which looks as if Yugoslavia is dreaming the American dream.

About fifteen years after Didara's conversations with Miroslava Malešević, that landscape has changed drastically. The path she and her husband then traversed is now interrupted by the urbanistic ambitions of large, insatiable business spaces.

The Bežanijska Kosa neighborhoods of identical (and idyllic) bungalows, popularly named Karingtonke (Carringtons) after the

characters in a 1980s American soap opera, are now out of sight from our terrace. Blocking the view of them are new business buildings and hyper-luxury apartments on the riverbank.

Didara's native Prizren suffered a similar fate, and was further damaged by the war of 1999. Jelena says that for Didara politics was a story about building love, and communism an experience of love, from the local to the distant, from the personal, the private, to the general.

It seems to me that this is a story about houses: a family, municipal house in Prizren, followed by a bachelor's room in which she began her married life, a functional new building in Priština where she raised her children and developed her career. And finally, a road between two apartments in Belgrade – the first, essentially a refugee one, and the second in which another, post-Yugoslav future began. It is between these spaces that the politics of emancipation emerge – gender, class and ethnic, unfinished, and interrupted. (Darinka Pop-Mitić)



**Neodvisna scena  
1990–1999**

**The Independent Scene  
1990–1999**

Civilna družba je po definiciji sfera javnega interesa, ki se kot tretji steber umešča med državo (s pripadajočimi institucijami) in gospodarsko-tržni sektor. Njeno razvitost in zmogljivost običajno štejemo za pomembno merilo pri ugotavljanju stopnje razvoja demokracije v neki državi. Glavni protagonisti in akterji civilne družbe so nevladne organizacije, pogosto pa vključuje tudi druge pobude širšega družbenega dosega.

Civilna družba je tradicionalno prepojena z vrednotami, kot so svoboda govora in pravica do družbenega delovanja ali angažiranosti. V Republiki Jugoslaviji se je civilna družba artikularila v različnih oblikah – za naše področje interesa sta najpomembnejša angažirana umetnost in kritično intelektualno delo –, njeno organizirano delovanje pa se je stopnjevalo od druge polovice šestdesetih let 20. stoletja dalje, seveda ne brez občasnih soočenj z državnimi organi. Liberalno-državlanske in družbeno-aktivistične iniciative civilne družbe lahko interpretiramo kot nekakšne notranje sile, ki niso le spodbujale demokratične vrednote, ampak so tudi pripravljale teren za prihajajočo hegemonijo kapitalizma, pa čeprav so bili elementi tržnega gospodarstva v Jugoslaviji prisotni že vsaj od sredine šestdesetih let.

Obdobje jugoslovanske samoupravne preteklosti, ki je sledilo sprejemanju nove ustave leta 1974 in Zakona o združenem delu leta 1976, je na eni strani prineslo poslabšanje gospodarskih razmer in s tem tudi poslabšanje materialnega položaja delavcev v družbi, hkrati pa je kulturna produkcija doživela živost, odpiranje in nekakšno novo zlato dobo. To protislovje delno pojasnjuje proces naraščajoče avtonomije kulture, povezan z avtonomijo drugih družbenih sfer in družbenih institucij tistega časa. Toda po drugi strani pojav angažirane umetnosti temelji na nasprotovanju ideologiji avtonomije izjemnih posameznikov in približuje razumevanje umetniškega dogajanja izvirnemu pojmu dela. To je dalo priložnost vsej kulturni sferi, da se znebi tradicionalističnih in omejevalnih konceptov nacionalne kulture, vendar na način, ki obenem vključuje kritiko nacionalnega kanona.

Čeprav se izraz *civilna družba* v socializmu ni uporabljal, je marsikatera dejavnost sodila v idejo civilne družbe v širšem smislu, seveda na drugačen način od tistega, kar smo videli in definirali v devetdesetih letih. Večina organizacij je obstajala pod okriljem in bila financirana s strani republiških Zvez socialistične mladine in kasneje še študentskih organizacij nekaterih univerz.

V vojnah v devetdesetih letih so civilnodružbene iniciative pomembno prispevale proti vojni in proti nacionalizmu. Bolj ko je bila institucionalna kulturna politika v devetdesetih letih zatiralska, konservativna, desničarska in nacionalistična, bolj pomembna je bila alternativna kulturna produkcija. Art radionica Lazareti (Umetniška delavnica Lazareti) v Dubrovniku je kot samostojna umetniška pobuda začela delovati leta 1989 z organizacijo razstav, performansov, pred-

vanj in drugih umetniških dogodkov v Lazaretih in v javnih prostorih Dubrovnika. V več kot 30 letih aktivnega delovanja se je njen položaj spremenil iz neformalne umetniške iniciative v organizacijo s celoletnim programom in dnevnimi aktivnostmi.

Delo Slavena Tolja, enega od ustanoviteljev Art radionice Lazareti, je tesno povezano z njegovim rojstnim mestom Dubrovnikom, ki je bilo med vojno tarča napadov. S premeščanjem včasih dokaj postranskih in banalnih predmetov v nov kontekst ali z zrcaljenjem kakšnega položaja postaja to razmerje z mestom še kompleksnejše in intenzivnejše. V Toljevi *Prekinjeni igri* (1993) je težko opredeliti, kaj natančno je umetniško delo. Delo ni ne fotografska dokumentacija in ne položaj, ki ga slike prikazujejo, temveč umetnikovo posebno doživljanje tega. Otroci radi igrajo tenis na trgu Bunićeva poljana poleg dubrovniške katedrale; njihova igra se prekine, ko se žoga zagodzi med ornamente na kapitelih. Toda v času obleganja Dubrovnika je bila ta igra prekinjena veliko bolj grobo in nevarno: igranje na trgu bi bilo lahko za otroke usodno. Umetnika so opozorili na napis na kamniti plošči iz 16. stoletja; napisal ga je duhovnik, ki ga je motilo, da se otroci igrajo tam: »Mir z žogo.« Teniške žogice, ujete med baročno okrasje katedrale, so postale – prav kakor ta stari napis – *memento mori*, pomnik naše smrti. Gre za prispodobo uničenja prelepega in živahnega mesta ter krhkosti lepote in življenja.

Konec odprtih vojnih spopadov je zahteval, da protagonisti mirovniških pobud preidejo tudi na druge teme. Številni med njimi se strinjajo, da je za civilno sceno značilna razvojna pot partenogeneza, kjer iz enega telesa nastaneta spontano dve, potem iz dveh štiri, osem itd. Dodatno so se širili s povečano prisotnostjo t. i. mednarodne skupnosti v obliki nevladnih organizacij, ki so se nominalno ukvarjale z ustanavljanjem in širjenjem zahodne različice demokracije na ozemlja nekdanjih socialističnih držav. V tem kontekstu je nemara najbolj značilna lastnost obdobja tranzicije pavperizacija jugoslovanskih družb s strani zahodnih misijonarjev demokracije in domačih akterjev v tem procesu. Po drugi strani se je proti koncu devetdesetih let civilna scena marsikje začela rušiti, ko je zaradi konca vojne in tranzicije začel presihati priliv denarja iz tujih fundacij, kulturni delavci pa so po desetletju bojev poiskali stabilnejše delovne razmere.

Za emblematski projekt prefinjeno humornega, dobesedno mehkega uporništva oziroma že kar spopada med različnimi segmenti civilne družbe je poskrbel Marko Breclj, predsednik Društva prijateljev zmernega napredka, ustanovljenega leta 1990 v Kopru. Skupaj s somišljeniki iz kulturnega društva ROV iz Železnikov je ob prazniku Marijinega vnebovzetja s tapisonom oblepil zvonove koprsk stolnice Marijinega vnebovzetja in tako preprečil bitje. Zvonovi so spet zadoneli šele naslednji dan, ko je župnik odstranil tapison. Po Brecljevih besedah so z akcijo *Tapisonirano vnebovzetje* (2003) hoteli povedati,

da je klerikalizem temeljni slovenski ekološki problem, pokazali pa so tudi, da je utišanje preglasnih koprskih zvonov rešljivo tehnično vprašanje. Dogodek je precej razburil koprski škofijski urad, razburjeni so bili tudi nekateri prebivalci, naletel pa je na simpatije širše javnosti. Stroka je dogodek postavila v kontekst dveh sorodnih projektov, akcije *Sveti Križ* (2002) Deana Verzela, ki je skupaj z Goranom Bertokom zažgal kamniti križ v Strunjanu na slovenski obali, pred tem ovit in zaščiten, in upodobitve na naslovnici albuma *Bitchcraft* (1998) celjske skupine Strelnikoff, ki prikazuje Marijo Pomagaj iz istoimenskega slovenskega nacionalnega romarskega središča na Brezjah, kako v naročju drži podgano. Obe akciji sta doživeli precej velik odmev v javnosti in več let kasneje oprostilni epilog na sodišču. Medtem ko je bil ves glasbeni album narejen in komuniciran kot protest proti uradnim stališčem cerkve in spornim izjavam njenih predstavnikov glede splava, je Verzel zažig križa pojasnjeval kot sublimno dejanje, ki ni bilo nikakor usmerjeno proti krščanskim čustvom in institucijam Katoliške cerkve.

Vzporedno z ideološkim prehodom v nove nacionalne države z gospodarskimi temelji na prostem trgu so se uveljavljale tudi spremembe na področju kulturne politike. Medtem ko je socialistična Jugoslavija podpirala svojo kulturno sceno oziroma scene in njihove institucije po socialdemokratskem modelu državne ureditve, je v devetdesetih letih sledila vrsta poskusov liberalizacije kulturne politike. Ne glede na to se zdi, da je kulturna politika devetdesetih let nenehno nihala med željo, da se preseže raba kulture kot ideološkega bojišča, in potrebo nedavno ustanovljenih nacionalnih držav, da se legitimirajo z gradnjo lastne naracije nacionalne kulture.

Po koncu Jugoslavije so njene nekdanje republike na različne načine improvizirale gradnje svojih novih državnih struktur in institucij, temu dogajanju pa so do določene mere sledile tudi raznolike organizacije civilne družbe. Obstoječa kulturna društva in družbena gibanja, ki so imela nekakšen kulturni kapital, ime, tradicijo in znanje, so se bolj ali manj uspešno prilagodila novonastalim okoliščinam, pojavile so se nekatere nove civilne pobude, zagovarjanje interesov umetnikov in sorodnih kulturnih delavcev pa je bilo prisiljeno v iskanje najustreznejših načinov med tem, kako sami vidijo svoj obstoj, in vsiljenim institucionalnim okvirjem birokratiziranih novih državnih organov, ministrstev, direktoriatov, sekretarjev, komisij, služb in agencij. V Sloveniji smo bili priča temeljiti »NGO-izaciji« kulturne scene, ko so bili posamični umetniki prisiljeni ustanavljati društva ali zavode in si med seboj konkurirati kot kaki formalni predstavniki svojih neprofitnih podjetij, kompatibilni z zapletenim sistemom javnih razpisov za sofinanciranje. Na Hrvaškem, denimo, se je to v večji meri zgodilo šele ob koncu desetletja.

Nevladni segmenti kulturne scene, združenja in zasebne institucije, so v devetdesetih letih igrali vlogo civilne družbe, kateri so dr-

žavni birokrati samovoljno prepustili, da prevzame določeno vlogo v procesih odločanja in sodeluje v demokratičnem ritualu, ki ga je s tem legitimirala. Za nekatere je to pomenilo možnost kandidiranja na razpisih za zagotavljanje nekoliko trajnejših sredstev, za druge poleg tega še preboj v privilegirano skupino bolj ali manj formalnih svetovalcev oziroma lobistov uslužbencev ministrstva za kulturo.

Obdobje preoblikovanja kulturnih centrov v devetdesetih letih je treba obravnavati v kontekstu sprememb družbeno-ekonomskega sistema, ki jih je prinesla na novo pridobljena osamosvojitve Slovenije ter razvoj njenih institucij in kulturnih politik, ne brez upoštevanja širšega regionalnega in mednarodnega okolja. Tozadevno je simptomatična postopna transformacija Galerije Škuc iz nekakšnega tako rekoč samooskrbnega kulturnega centra z ohlapnimi organizacijskimi načeli v profesionalno voden prostor sodobne umetnosti z jasno opredeljenimi vlogami in kuratorskimi programskimi smernicami, torej iz kulturnega centra v galerijski prostor. Že v naslednjem koraku pa je Galerija Škuc s pomočjo državnih podpornih sredstev, skupaj z nekaterimi drugimi »nevladnimi« galerijami, začela nastopati na umetnostnih sejmih in razvijati tržni segment svoje produkcije. Čeprav ne gre izgubljeni besedi o absurdnosti ideje, da bo takšna javnofinančna podpora komercializacije sodobne umetnostne produkcije prispevala k razvoju trga kot čudežnega rešitelja vseh tranzicijskih težav, pa se je omenjena praksa dolgo obdržala in je na razne načine prisotna še danes, bodisi v praksi ali zavesti.

Posledica tovrstne tržno naravnane produkcije je *Tragedija* (1999), ki jo je Nebojša Šerić Šoba naredil za svojo razstavo v Galeriji Škuc in je končala v takrat novoustanovljeni mednarodni zbirki Moderne galerije Artest 2000+. Fotografija združuje podobo sodobne množične kulture z visoko tradicijo antičnega kiparstva. Na sliki je nogometaš iz majhnega podeželskega kluba, popolnoma obupan, ker je njegovo moštvo izgubilo tekmo. V njegovi drži takoj prepoznamo držo *Umirajočega Galca*. Kip ni le upodobitev umirajočega vojaka, temveč predvsem poosebitev grenkobe in brezupa poraza. V prevladujočem kontekstu proslavljanja rimskih zmag je avtor *Umirajočega Galca* uspel dati tej podobi brezupa in poraza neko posebno moralno dostojanstvo. Pri paralelizmu med kipom in nogometašem gre za več kot le duhovito domislico. Športni novinarji pogosto uporabijo besedo *tragedija* pri opisovanju močno premaganih moštev. Šoba v svojem delu kaže na to, da bi bilo treba take opise jemati dobesedno. Ker je v sodobnem športu čustveni in simbolični vložek v spopad tako visok, je poraz lahko resnična tragedija za igralce in navijače.

Obstaja razlika med uradnimi kulturnimi politikami posamičnih držav, njihovimi institucijami in tem, kar je povsod na robu, pa tudi ti robovi se razlikujejo od mesta do mesta in med državami. To je povezano z vprašanjem, ali in kako je mogoče to neodvisno sceno institu-



cionalizirati in urediti njen negotovi položaj, torej problem odvisnosti od kratkoročnega financiranja. Tudi specifičnost strukture Inštituta za odprto družbo (Open Society Institute) ustanovitelja Georgea Sorosa je bila taka, da so bile regionalne politike izjemno različne. V Ljubljani in Beogradu so bile njihove usmeritve delovanja in tisto, kar so podpirali, na neki način veliko naprednejše, bolj odprte za novo in drugačno kot, denimo, v Zagrebu, kjer so z nekakšnimi vzporednimi klasičnimi institucijami vztrajno poskušali nadomestiti izgubo, ki jo je povzročila dominantna nacionalistična kultura.

Delo Ane Stojkovic *paranoja@soros.com.mk* (1999) je bilo za tisti čas precej drzno, izvirno in eksperimentalno na več ravneh. Zasnova no je bilo kot kritika novih medijev v okviru razstave, ki jo je omogočila Sorosova donacija v Makedoniji, kar je bila duhovita in hkrati pogumna odločitev. Naslov dela temelji na protislovjih, ki so bila značilna za t. i. neodvisno sceno. Po eni strani gre za kritičen koncept – umetnica je odprla nov e-poštni naslov in pošiljala sporočila neznancem ter razstavila njihove odgovore, polne strahu in nezaupanja, da bi pokazala na težave z nadzorom –, po drugi strani pa je bilo delo naročeno in vključeno v razstavo *The First Peep Show in the City* kustosinje Suzane Milevske v Galeriji CIX, osrednjem prizorišču Sorosovega centra za sodobno umetnost, ki je podpiral razstave sodobnih umetnikov in dela t. i. novih medijev. Celotna eksperimentalna razstava je »navdušila« takratno institucionalizirano sceno – tako je bilo med občinstvom na otvoritvi veliko ljudi, ki so prvič prišli na otvoritev neke razstave, saj so mislili, da gre za pravi peep-show, predvsem zaradi ambivalentnega oglasa v časopisih.

Mogoče je najboljši povzetek devetdesetih let pripravila skupina Škart v delu *Deset s čebulo, deset z muko* (2000), s podnaslovom *Dekada nadloge*. V obliki posterja je bilo to delo distribuirano med demonstracijami 5. oktobra 2000 v Srbiji, ki so pripeljale do zloma režima Slobodana Miloševića. Gre za umetnika, ki sta oblikovala večino materiala, ki je zaznamoval beograjsko alternativno skupnost devetdesetih let, in sodelovala z vsemi njenimi pomembnejšimi protagonisti, od Cinema Rexa do B92, ter z novimi institucijami, ki so se organizirale okoli neodvisnih medijev in kulturnih in humanitarnih organizacij ter se precej dobro znašle v tistem času. Delovala sta v razmeroma varnem prostoru in se preizkusila v raznih medijih, izhajajoč iz grafičnega oblikovanja in eksperimentalne poezije, se bojevala za enakopravnost, pozabljenost in poteptane vrednote ter proti pozabi in restrikcijam. Namesto dominantnega mitologiziranja ali eskapizma sta se odločila za komuniciranje in izdelovanje orodij za pošteno, preprosto in banalno življenje.



**Slaven Tolj**  
*Prekinjena igra ali Pax. Vobis. Memento mori qui. Ludetis pilla*, 1993  
fotografiji: Boris Cvjetanović  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Interrupted Game or Pax. Vobis. Memento mori qui. Ludetis pilla*, 1993  
photographs: Boris Cvjetanović  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

By definition, civil society belongs to the domain of the public interest, positioned as the third pillar between the state (and its institutions) and the business-market sector. Its development and potency are generally taken as important yardsticks in determining a state's level of democracy. Civil society's main protagonists and agents are non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but it often also includes other initiatives with a wide social reach.

Traditionally, civil society is imbued with values like freedom of speech and the right to social activism or social engagement. In the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, civil society was articulated in various forms (with socially engaged art and critical intellectual work being the most relevant here), starting to organize in the second half of the 1960s and then growing incrementally stronger – not, of course, without the occasional run-ins with the authorities. Civil society's liberal-civic and socially activist initiatives can be seen as some kind of internal forces that not only fostered democratic values but also laid the groundwork for the future hegemony of capitalism, although elements of the market economy were part of Yugoslavia's economy at least since the mid-1960s.

Following the adoption of a new constitution in 1974 and the Law on Associated Labor in 1976, the period of Yugoslavia's socialist self-management brought, on the one hand, a deterioration of the economic conditions and thus of the workers' material circumstances and status in society, and on the other, an unprecedentedly lively and open cultural production, some kind of new golden epoch. In part, this contradiction can explain the process of culture's growing autonomy, related to the increasing autonomy of other social spheres and institutions at the time. On the other hand, the emergence of socially engaged art is underpinned by the ideology of the autonomy of exceptional individuals, bringing the understanding of artistic activities closer to the original notion of labor. This gave the entire sphere of culture an opportunity to discard the traditionalistic and restrictive concepts of national culture, but in a way that still included a critique of the national canon.

While the term *civil society* itself was not used in the socialist period, many activities belonged or were related to the domain of civil society in the broad sense, of course, differently from what we saw and defined in the 1990s. Most of the organizations existed under the auspices of, and were financed by, republican Leagues of Socialist Youth, and later, student organizations of certain universities.

During the wars in the 1990s, civil-society initiatives made major antiwar and antinationalist contributions in the region. The more oppressive, conservative, right-wing, and nationalistic institutional cultural policies were, the more significant the alternative cultural production became. Art radionica Lazareti (The Lazareti Art Workshop)

in Dubrovnik started operating as an independent artistic initiative in 1989, organizing exhibitions, performances, talks and lectures, and other artistic events in Lazareti and other public spaces in Dubrovnik. Over its more than 30 years of operation, its status transformed from an informal artistic initiative to an organization with annual programs and daily activities.

The work of Slaven Tolj, one of the founders of Art radionica Lazareti, is closely connected to Dubrovnik, his city of birth and a target of shelling during the war. His *Interrupted Game* (1993) is hard to define: neither a photographic document nor the subject of the pictures, the work itself is actually the artist's experience of what is depicted in the photographs. Children like to play tennis in the Buničeva poljana square near the Dubrovnik Cathedral; their game is interrupted when the ball gets stuck in the ornaments on the pilasters' capitals. But while Dubrovnik was under siege, these games were interrupted in a far more brutal and dangerous fashion: playing in the square could potentially turn fatal for the children. The artist's attention was drawn to the inscription on a 16th century stone plaque, written by a priest obviously bothered by children playing there: "Peace with the ball." The tennis balls stuck in the baroque ornaments of the cathedral have become, just like the old inscription, a *memento mori*, a reminder of our mortality. The displacement of what are often marginal, banal objects into a new context, or the mirroring of a situation, makes the relationship more complex and intense. The work is a metaphor for the destruction of the exquisitely beautiful and lively city and for the fragility of beauty and life.

The end of open conflict meant that the protagonists of peace initiatives had to find new topics. Many among them agree that the civil-society scene typically developed through parthenogenesis: one body became two, two became four, then eight, etc. They expanded further as the presence of the so-called international community increased in the form of NGOs, nominally involved in establishing and promulgating the Western variant of democracy in the territories of the formerly socialist countries. In this context, perhaps the most typical feature of the period of transition might be the pauperization of the Yugoslav societies by the Western missionaries of democracy and the domestic agents involved in the process. On the other hand, the late 1990s saw the crumbling of the civil-society scene in many places as the end of the war also meant the end of funding by foreign foundations, and the people formerly employed by the NGOs went in search of more stable working conditions.

Marko Breclj, the President of Društvo prijateljev zmernega napredka (the Association of Friends of Moderate Progress) founded in 1990 in Koper, authored the now emblematic project of subtly humorous and literally soft rebellion, or even a confrontation between

the various segments of civil society. On Assumption Day, with the aid of like-minded members of the ROV Cultural Society from Železniki, Breclj wrapped the bell clappers of the Koper Cathedral (dedicated to the Assumption) with carpeting, thus effectively silencing the bells. The bells could only ring the following day, when the priest had the carpet removed. According to Breclj, the purpose of the *Carpeted Assumption* (2003) action was to point out that clericalism was Slovenia's main ecological problem, as well as to show a possible technical solution to the problem of muting the excessively loud church bells in Koper. The action considerably upset the Koper Diocese as well as some of the inhabitants of the town, but it also garnered a lot of sympathies and approval from the public at large. Art critics interpreted the event in the context of two similar projects, Dean Verzel's *Sveti Križ* (2002), an action in which he and Goran Bertok set alight a stone cross (wrapping it first in a protective sheet) in Strunjan on the Slovenian coast, and the cover art of the album *Bitchcraft* (1998) by the Celje-based musical group Strenikoff, depicting the image of Mary Help of Christians from the eponymous pilgrimage shrine in Brezje, holding in her arms a rat instead of the baby Jesus. Both latter actions generated a great deal of public response, and years later, saw court epilogues of acquittal. While Strelnikoff's entire album was made and communicated as a protest against the official position of the Roman Catholic Church and the controversial statements regarding abortion made by Church representatives, Verzel explained his burning of the cross as a sublime act, not directed against Christian feelings and the institutions of the Catholic Church.

The field of cultural politics also saw changes in parallel with the ideological transition to new nation states economically based on the free market. While socialist Yugoslavia supported its cultural scene(s) and their institutions according to the social democratic model of state order, the 1990s saw a series of attempts to liberalize cultural politics. Regardless, the cultural politics of the 1990s seem to have constantly oscillated between the desire to transcend the use of culture as an ideological battleground and the need for newly established nation-states to legitimize themselves by constructing their own narratives of national culture.

After the end of Yugoslavia, its former republics variously improvised the construction of their new state structures and institutions, and were, to a certain extent, followed in this by the different civil society organizations. Existing cultural associations and social movements with some cultural capital, name, tradition, and knowledge adapted to the new circumstances with varying degrees of success; new civil initiatives emerged, and championing the interests of artists and other cultural workers was forcibly turned into a search for the best middle way between how they saw their existence them-

selves and the imposed institutional framework of bureaucratized new state bodies, ministries, directorates, secretaries, commissions, services, and agencies. Slovenia saw NGOs mushroom on the culture scene as individual artists were forced to establish associations or institutes and compete with one another as formal representatives of their non-profit companies compatible with the complex system of public tenders for (co-)financing. Croatia, on the other hand, saw this happening on a larger scale only at the end of the decade.

In the 1990s, the non-governmental segments of the cultural scene – associations and private institutions – played the role of civil society, which state bureaucrats arbitrarily allowed to assume a certain role in the decision-making processes and to participate in the ritual of democracy, thereby legitimizing it. For some, this meant the possibility of participating in tenders for slightly more constant funds, for others, making it into the privileged group of the more or less formal advisers to or lobbyists of the civil servants employed at the Ministry of Culture.

The period of the transformation of cultural centers in the 1990s must be considered in the context of changes in the socio-economic system brought about by the new independence of Slovenia and the development of its institutions and cultural policies, also taking the broader regional and international environment into account. Symptomatic in this regard is the gradual transformation of the Škuc Gallery from an almost self-supporting cultural center with loose organizational principles into a professionally managed contemporary art space with clearly defined roles and curatorial program guidelines, i.e. from a cultural center to a gallery. As the next step, the Škuc Gallery – with the aid of partial state funding and together with certain other “non-governmental” galleries – made its debut at art fairs, which marked the development of the commercial dimension of its production. Despite the blatant absurdity of the idea that such state financial support of the commercialization of contemporary art production would contribute to the development of the art market, which would miraculously solve all transitional problems, this practice persisted for a long time and is still present in various ways today, either in practice or in consciousness.

One result of such market-oriented art production was *Tragedy* (1999), made by Nebojša Šerić Šoba for his exhibition in the Škuc Gallery, and subsequently acquired for the Artest 2000+, a new international collection established by Moderna galerija at the time. The photograph combines a modern mass-culture image with the high tradition of ancient Roman sculpture. The picture shows a small country club football player devastated at his team having lost the match. His posture is immediately recognizable as the posture of *The Dying Gaul*. More than merely a representation of a dying soldier, the



**Nebojša Šerić Šoba**  
*Tragedija*, 1999  
fotografija  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Tragedy*, 1999  
photograph  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

on the contradictions that characterized the so-called independent scene. On the one hand, it is a critical concept: the artist opened a new e-mail address and sent messages to strangers, exhibiting their responses full of fear and distrust to show the problems of surveillance; on the other hand, the work was commissioned and included in the exhibition *The First Peep Show in the City*, curated by Suzana Milevska at Galeria CIX, the central venue of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art, which supported exhibitions of contemporary artists and new

media works. The institutionalized scene of the time was “impressed” by the entire experimental exhibition – the audience at the opening included large numbers of people who came there in the belief they were attending the opening of an actual peep-show, mainly due to the ambivalent advertisement in the papers.

statue is above all a personification of the bitterness and hopelessness of defeat. In the predominant context of celebrating Roman victories, the author of *The Dying Gaul* managed to give this image of hopelessness and defeat a certain moral dignity. The parallelism between the statue and the football player is more than just a witty idea. Sports journalists often use words like *tragedy* to describe teams taking heavy beatings. What Šoba points to with this work is that such descriptions should be taken literally. Since people get so emotionally and symbolically invested in modern sports, defeat can be a real tragedy for players and fans alike.

The Škart group may well have summarized the 1990s best of all in their work *10 with Onions*, *10 with Sickness* (2000), subtitled *A Decade of Annoyance* and distributed as posters during the demonstrations in Serbia on 5 October 2000, which led to the downfall of the Slobodan Milošević regime. Škart is a tandem of artists who designed most of the material that marked the Belgrade alternative community of the 1990s, collaborating with all its major protagonists from Cinema Rex to B92, as well as with the new institutions that organized around the independent media and the cultural and humanitarian organizations and who were doing quite well at the time. The two artists worked in a relatively safe space and in diverse media, taking graphic design and experimental poetry as their points of departure, and fighting for equality and forgotten and trampled values, and against oblivion and restrictions. Rejecting the dominant mythologizing and escapism, they chose to communicate and create tools for an honest, simple, and banal life.

There is a difference between the official cultural politics of individual countries, their institutions, and what is on the margins everywhere – and even these margins vary from city to city and country to country. This is closely related to the question of whether and how the independent scene can be institutionalized and its precarious situation regulated, i.e. the problem of dependence on short-term financing. The specificity of the structure of the Open Society Institute, founded by George Soros, was also such that the regional policies varied greatly. In Ljubljana and Belgrade, their directions of work and what they supported were in a way much more progressive, more open to the new and the different than, say, in Zagreb, where some kind of parallel traditional institutions persistently tried to replace the losses brought about by the dominant nationalist culture.

Ana Stojkovic's work *paranoja@soros.com.mk* (1999) was quite bold, original, and experimental for its time, on several levels. It was conceived as a critique of new media within the framework of an exhibition made possible by a Soros donation in Macedonia – a witty and at the same time brave decision. The title of the work is based



**Politike (umetniškega) dela**

**Politics of (Artistic) Work**

Naslov je parafraza naslova vplivnega besedila Gayatri Spivak, vendar ni uporabljen z namenom, da bi prišli do odgovora na zastavljeno vprašanje, temveč da bi ga proučili. Za izhodišče za svoj prispevek za *Carto*<sup>2</sup> smo ga izbrali ne le zaradi novih modulacij in ureditev dela na področju kulture, tj. neenakomernega razmerja med plačanim in neplačanim delom, med delom in prostim časom ter vse večje razdrobljenosti dela, ampak tudi zaradi samoprekarizacije,<sup>3</sup> ki se dogaja na vseh ravneh življenja, ter pomanjkanja razredne zavesti in solidarnosti med delavci in delavkami v kulturi<sup>4</sup> oziroma novim proletariatom. To pomanjkanje solidarnosti postane še toliko očitnejše, ko pogledamo izven meja polja kulture.<sup>5</sup>

Zastavlja se nam vprašanje: Zakaj razredna zavest? V iluziji, da se kapitalizem čedalje bolj razvija k višjim oblikam dela in proizvodnje, novi proletariati ni dosegel nobenega opaznejšega izboljšanja delovnih pogojev že vse od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja, in to kljub dejstvu, da je ponekod po svetu nematerialno delo že nadomestilo industrijsko delo. V nasprotju z nekaterimi domnevmami pa delavski razred ni izgubil, temveč se je še dodatno razširil na novi razred »preveč izobraženih in podzaposlenih«, kar je pozneje pripeljalo do novih oblik izkoriščanja v družbenem tkivu. Razcepljenost znotraj delavskega razreda se je poglobila in t. i. kognitariat je postal njegov najbolj privilegirani del. Poleg tega je iz nove hierarhije boja izšel še dodaten konflikt, ki »ne uspe predvideti strateških potez, s katerimi lahko kapitalizem prestrukturira proces akumulacije z izkoriščanjem neenakosti znotraj delovne sile po svetu,«<sup>6</sup> kar vodi do trenj znotraj delavskega razreda, partikularnosti bojev in nezmožnosti za medsebojno povezovanje.

Delavci in delavke v kulturi lahko govorimo; vprašanje pa je, ali se naše govorjenje sploh sliši? Komu govorimo? In o čem govorimo? Je institucionalna kritika res najradikalnejše stališče, ki ga lahko zavzamemo?

A vendar pri tem dejanju ne bi smeli zgolj nadomestiti z govorom; kot nas opominja Althusser, bi se morali prepričati o učinkih, ki jih tak govor dosega, se pravi o vseh učinkih, tako notranjih kot zunanjih. In nadalje: Kakšne odgovornosti imamo mi, delujoči v kulturi, še zlasti tisti med nami, ki smo poklicno vezani na institucije? Kako lahko v resnici preidemo od tega, da nekaj zgolj izgovorimo, do tega, da imajo naše besede dejanski politični učinek?

Institucij ne sestavljajo le umetniške zbirke, arhivi, raznovrstni predmeti in drugi materialni ter nematerialni viri, ki jih določajo strukturne norme, predpisane za raziskave, postopke vrednotenja, izobraževalne politike (ter posledično njihove politične in ideološke razsežnosti) in razstavljanje predmetov in dokumentov (ki s tem konstruirajo določene zgodovine in vrednote). Institucije so hkrati tudi

subjekti, delovna sila, človeški stroji z resničnimi telesi in čustvi, ki stojijo za temi procesi. Ti subjekti so delavci in delavke, ki delujejo v polju t. i. kognitivnega (nematerialnega) dela ter na ta način prispevajo tako k razvoju nematerialnih dobrin kot materialnih predmetov. Če se izrazimo v tradicionalnem žargonu: medtem ko nekateri uživajo proizvode svojega dela, se drugi v istem delovnem procesu počutijo odtujene od proizvodov svojega dela.

V večini sedanjih diskurzov na to temo pogrešamo konkretne in bolj radikalne predloge, kako doseči spremembe v kulturnih politikah, ter razumevanje, kako se v kulturi manifestirajo različne ravni hegemonije, izkoriščanja in razmerij moči. Glavna težava je v tem, kako pravzaprav identificirati omenjene probleme, in to na način, ki bi omogočal povezavo bojev enega področja (tj. v kulturi) z boji v drugih delih »družbe, ki postaja tovarna«, kot je že davno nazaj rekel italijanski filozof in aktivist Mario Tronti. Ali kot so zapisali študenti UC Santa Cruz v svojem manifestu: svobodna univerza v nesvobodnem svetu je brez vrednosti; komajda lahko obstaja. Zato se morajo poleg partikularnih vprašanj, ki zadevajo njihov položaj, delujoči v kulturi *nujno* ukvarjati tudi s širšimi družbenimi vprašanji, ki zadevajo revolucijo vsakdana.

Druga tema, o kateri se zadnje čase veliko razpravlja, so nove institucije:<sup>7</sup> Kaj bi morale biti, kaj bi lahko bile in kdo so njihovi zavezniki. Umetnostne institucije, na primer, pretehtavajo svoje konstitutivne prakse in možne povezave med gibanji in institucijami, proučujejo svojo vlogo v družbi in spodbujajo odprtost, transverzalnost, kritičnost, fluidnost itd. Pri tem nekaj dvomov vzbuja dejstvo, da so na ta način ne le z lahkoto prevzele določeno deleuzovsko terminologijo, ampak tudi – zlasti v obliki institucionalne kritike – zbrisale potencial za politično preobrazbo v polju kulture. V sferi umetnosti je sicer prišlo do poskusov, da bi ustvarili neko obliko družbene konfiguracije, ki bi presegala obstoječe družbene oblike; taki so bili, na primer, številni participativno-multikulturni projekti, ki so predlagali drugačne družbene odnose in nove skupnosti, vendar se obenem niso zmoogli razširiti na »resnično« delo in delovne odnose v prostoru, kjer je projekt potekal. Vendar pa takšnečasne solidarnosti, identifikacije med manjšinami, marginaliziranimi in drugimi skupinami, »projekcije politike kot drugega in zunanjega [le] jemljejo vrednost politiki tukaj in zdaj.«<sup>8</sup> Ali torej resnično verjamemo, da bi lahko nove institucije predstavljale alternativo »molarnim strojem« kapitalizma in da bi lahko sčasoma postale polje »politike eksperimentiranja«?

Taka zamegljevanja in zavajanja, kot so opisana zgoraj, omogočajo kapitalu, da mobilizira naše nezavedne potencialne (ideje, kreativnost, afekte itd.) in nevtralizira »politiko potenciala« v polju kultu-

re. Kar potrebujemo tukaj in zdaj, je nov besednjak za konstituiranje političnih subjektov s tako družbeno kot politično odgovornostjo: subjektov, ki ne bi zgolj sestavljali apolitične, narcistične elite, ki proizvaja kritično teorijo le zato, da upraviči svoje zavračanje potrebe po radikalni spremembi družbenega tkiva, in ki vedno čaka na neko avtoriteto, ki ji bo zagotovila »moč in resnico izkušnje«, ampak subjektov, ki bi znali prepoznati hegemonijo in moč ter dvomiti o političnem statusu quo v institucijah in pri tem tudi uporabiti nekakšen »strateški esencializem«<sup>9</sup> za skupno družbeno delovanje. Pogosto slišimo za disidentske in uporne subjektivnosti in podobno, toda ali res znamo postati takšni disidenti? Politične subjektivnosti, ki so nastale v zadnjih letih (na primer, v okviru alterglobalističnega gibanja), so v krizi. Ta kriza izhaja iz drastičnih preobrazb proizvodnega procesa in (drugačne) sestave delovne sile, novih modulacij dela, vse večje kriminalizacije političnih subjektov in, konec koncev, hitrosti, s katero kapitalizem predvodi in preprečuje kakršnakoli odstopanja v »molar-nem stroju«.

Vprašanje torej ostaja: Kako izumiti novo politično prakso in kako jo misliti v institucijah?

Izhajajoč iz teh paradigem, je Radical Education Collective<sup>10</sup> zasnoval raziskavo manjšega obsega, ki presega delitev na subjekt-raziskovalca in objekt-raziskovanca in na podlagi soraziskovanja (pri katerem so raziskovalci povezani z različnimi akademskimi in/ali umetnostnimi institucijami) razkriva načine in različne ravni izkoriščanja raziskovalcev ter tudi načine, kako uporabiti to novoustvarjeno znanje pri delu za družbeno transformacijo. Z drugimi besedami, raziskava je zasnovana tako, da se soraziskovalci naučijo družbene in politične odgovornosti s tem, da jo izkusijo v procesu politične samoemancipacije, ali kot bi rekel Marx, delavska emancipacija mora priti od delavcev samih. Raziskava temelji na Marxovem »Vprašalniku za delavce« iz leta 1881, ko ga je *Revue Socialiste* pozvala, naj izvede raziskavo o razmerah in pogojih francoskega proletariata. Zavedamo se, da bi bilo preveč dobresedno zanašanje na Marxa problematično, saj so vprašanja, ki jih je zastavljal, večinoma zastarela, njegova »ontologija [pa] izključuje vsako možnost inovacij.«<sup>11</sup> Potencial je v ponovnem branju Marxa, v tem, da ga ne beremo toliko kot misleca, ampak bolj kot nekoga, ki zahteva, da postane njegova teorija družbeno učinkovita. To je bila tudi misel, na kateri je temeljil raziskovalni proces: ne preprosto uporabiti Marxovih vprašanj, ampak sestaviti nova, relevantna vprašanja, ki bi ustrezala trenutnim delovnim pogojem in življenjskim situacijam. Odgovori so razkrili – podobno, kot so leta 1938 zapisali uredniki *New International* –, da »nihče ne bo dvomil, kar bo iskren odgovor razkril danes še bolj šokantno in brutalno kot pred

petdesetimi leti: neizmerljivo, grozljivo ceno, ki jo množice človeštva plačujejo za nadaljevanje vladavine kapitalizma.«<sup>12</sup>

Delavci in delavke v kulturi lahko govorimo. A da bi nas slišali govoriti, bi se morali poskušati ločiti od udobnih položajev, ki jih ohranjamo, od varnih mest za institucionalnimi zidovi, kjer se skrivamo, od preračunljivega racionalizma, ki si ga nadenemo vsakič, ko gremo na delo za določen ali nedoločen čas, in ki ga cenita vsaka institucija in vsak sistem na svetu. Morda potrebujemo več čustev, več užitka, kar lahko dosežemo le, ko preusmerimo svojo ustvarjalnost, um in telo – vse svoje potencialne – od dela nazaj v vsakdanje življenje. In morda je telesa, ki se upirajo, disidentske subjektivnosti in protestirajoče nezavedno najti v tistih ne tako oddaljenih krajinah, kjer sta družbena od-tujenost in izguba solidarnosti odpravljeni, da se lahko naredi prostor za drugačno resnico o našem času v zgodovini, *ki je še ni*.

## Postskriptum, 2022

Besedilo je bilo napisano pred več kot desetimi leti. Z današnjega vidika se zdi kot odmev iz nekih davnih časov. Od takrat se je na področju boja za pravice delavcev in delavk v kulturi marsikaj spremenilo. Obstaja veliko več organizacij, združenj in pobud, kot jih je bilo leta 2010, koncept »dela« pa je že široko teoretsko razdelan. Tudi kulturni delavci in delavke sami so zdaj bolj politično ozaveščeni in bolje organizirani ter do neke mere že uspešni v prizadevanjih za oblikovanje pravičnejše kulturne politike, na primer, pri razvoju strategij za organizacijo dela v kulturi in umetnosti ter izboljšanju pravic delavcev v kulturi.

Poleg tega so se razprave in boji za (kulturne) delavske pravice razširili in zaobsegli tudi pravice gospodinjstkih delavk in delavcev, negovalk in negovalcev ter migrantskih delavk in delavcev.

Seveda ne moremo trditi, da je situacija enaka za kulturne delavce in delavke na različnih koncih sveta. V osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja je bil v zahodnem svetu vpeljan razmeroma nov kulturno-ekonomski model, ki je uvedel drugačno, bolj zapleteno razmerje med umetnostjo in avtonomijo na eni strani ter delom in kapitalom na drugi. Medtem ko je bila umetniška produkcija še vedno deležna relativne ustvarjalne avtonomije in zdaj ustvarja presežno vrednost, pa so umetnike njihovi vse slabši materialni delovni pogoji in vse manjši nadzor nad reprodukcijo in distribucijo njihovih idej, znanja in blaga vse bolj potiskali v pogodbeno razmerje s kapitalom – v mezno delo. Poleg tega so tako umetniki, umetnice kot kustosi, kustosinje in drugi kulturni delavci in delavke postali del novega razširjenega delavskega razreda. A to ne pomeni, da so se poistovetili z mezdnimi delavci. Prav



nasprotno, ostali so v protislovnem položaju med mezdnim delom in iluzornimi privilegiji nekega določenega razreda. Ko je po letu 1989 kapitalizem postal prevladujoča ideologija v Vzhodni Evropi, so se zgoraj omenjene značilnosti prenesle – sicer ne neposredno – tudi na tako rekoč vse posocialistične države nekdanje Jugoslavije. Vprašanje, kako preseči delitev med umetniško produkcijo in mezdnim delom, ni postalo le strategija preživetja, temveč politični problem, ki je bil še posebej izpostavljen v času desno-konservativnih vlad v naši regiji, ko je bila postavljena pod vprašaj tudi sama umetniška avtonomija. *Umetnost na delu* je poskus ne le prikazati nekatere od teh teženj in dogajanj v zadnjih dvajsetih letih, ampak tudi ustvariti v okviru razstave izhodišče za izmenjavo in deljenje znanj, strategij, modelov in orodij za opolnomočenje (kulturnih) delavskih bojev v regiji Pojugo-slavije.

- 1 Besedilo je nastalo leta 2011 v Madridu v sklopu Marxove Delavske ankete v muzeju Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. Sestavljala sta ga dva dela: prvega je napisala Bojana Piškur (kot članica Radical Education Collective), drugega pa Alfredo Aracil, Carolina Bustamante, Inés Moreno in Yunuén Sariego (Workers' Inquiry Group), v tistem času doktorandi študijskega programa muzeja MNCARS. Predhodne raziskave za Marxovo Delavsko anketo je izvedla skupina Workers' Inquiry Group. Besedilo je bilo skrajšano in prirejeno za objavo v tem katalogu leta 2022.
- 2 Opomba: besedila za objavo v *Cartini* publikaciji niso sprejeli.
- 3 Glej: Isabell Lorey, 2006, »Governmentality and Self-Precarization: On the normalization of cultural producers«, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en#redir> (dostop 1. 11. 2010).
- 4 Za kulturne delavce običajno štejejo tisti, ki so vpeti v »kulturno produkcijo«. Pojem bi želeli razširiti na celotno polje kulture in torej vključiti vse delavce in delavke v kulturnih institucijah, kot so delavci v servisnih dejavnostih, zaposleni, tehniki, varnostna služba itd.
- 5 Tu imamo v mislih nesolidarnost med delavci in delavkami v kulturi in drugimi »delavci/delavkami, ki se bojujejo«.
- 6 George Caffentzis & Silvia Federici, 2007, »Notes on Edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism«, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/caffentzsfederici/en>
- 7 Besedilo je bilo napisano leta 2010, ko se je veliko razpravljalo o pojmu novih institucij, kot npr. »monster institutions«.
- 8 Hal Foster, »The Artist as Ethnographer«, *The Traffic in Culture, Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, ur. George E. Marcus in Fred R. Myers (University of California Press, 1995), str. 304.
- 9 Glej Gayatri Spivak. Koncept se nanaša na rabo skupinske identitete kot osnove v boju za doseganje določenih ciljev.
- 10 Anketa je bila izvedena tudi v Beogradu med letoma 2012 in 2013 in v Skopju leta 2019.
- 11 Maurizio Lazzarato, »Multiplicity, Totality and Politics«, *Parrhesia* 9 (2010): str. 26. Dostopno na: [https://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia09/parrhesia09\\_lazzarato.pdf](https://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia09/parrhesia09_lazzarato.pdf)
- 12 Karl Marx, »A Workers' Inquiry«, *New International*, vol. 4., št. 12., str. 379–381, 1938, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol04/no12/marx.htm>

The title here is a paraphrase of the title of Gayatri Spivak's influential text, which is used here not to answer this specific question per se but to examine it instead. The reason we decided to use it as our starting point for the *Carta*<sup>2</sup> contribution lies not only in the new shifts and regulations related to work in the field of culture, i.e. the unequal relations between paid and unpaid work, work and free time, and the increasing fragmentation of the work experience, but also the self-precarization<sup>3</sup> that is happening in all aspects of life, and the lack of a sense of class consciousness and solidarity among those working in the field of culture<sup>4</sup> – the new proletariat. This lack of solidarity is even more apparent when we look beyond the confines of the sphere of culture.<sup>5</sup>

One question in particular comes to mind: Why class-consciousness? The new proletariat has not achieved any improvement in working conditions since the 1980s, all the while under the illusion that capitalism was developing towards a higher form of labor and production, despite the fact that in some parts of the world immaterial labor has replaced industrial work. Contrary to expectations, the working class has not disappeared; instead it has only expanded to include this new class of "overeducated and underemployed," which subsequently led to new forms of exploitation in the social fabric. Divisions within the working class have deepened, and the so-called cognitariat has become its most privileged section. What is more, the new hierarchy of struggle has given rise to another conflict which "fail[s] to anticipate the strategic moves by which capitalism can restructure the accumulation process by taking advantage of the inequalities within the global workforce,"<sup>6</sup> leading to friction within the working class, expressed as various struggles and the inability to interconnect.

Cultural workers can speak; the question is, however, can our speaking be heard? To whom are we speaking? And what are we speaking about? Is institutional critique the most radical position cultural workers can adopt?

At the same time, however, we should not replace action with speech; as Althusser reminds us, we should ascertain the effects that our speech produces – which means all the effects, both internal and external. Another question to ask ourselves is: What are the responsibilities of cultural workers – especially those of us who are professionally linked to institutions. How can we actually make the transition from merely saying something to having one's words effecting any real political impact?

Institutions consist not only of collections, archives, all manner of objects and other materials, as well as immaterial sources governed

by the structural norms that define and prescribe research, evaluation procedures, educational policies (and consequently their political and ideological dimensions), and the display of objects and documents (in this way constructing certain histories and values). They also consist of and constitute subjects, a workforce, human machines with real bodies and emotions, all of which are behind these processes. These subjects consist not only of the immaterial workers, but also of the very people who contribute to the development of both "weightless commodities" and material objects. To formulate this in traditional jargon: while some are enjoying the products of their work, others, within the same work process, feel alienated from the products of their labor.

What is missing in most discourse on this subject today is radical and concrete proposals on how to achieve changes in the cultural politics, as well as an understanding of how the different levels of hegemony, exploitation, and power relations manifest themselves in culture. The problem is primarily how to identify these issues in a way that would allow the many and multifaceted struggles in one field (i.e. culture) to connect with the struggles in other parts of the social landscape. Or, as the students of UC Santa Cruz put it in their manifesto: A free university in an unfree world is worthless; it can hardly exist. That is why cultural workers *must* address, in addition to the particular issues concerning their status, also the broader social issues surrounding the revolution of the everyday.

Another topic about which a great deal has been written lately is the new institutions<sup>7</sup> – what they should and could be and where their alliances lie. Art institutions, for example, have been reconsidering their constituent practices and possible associations between movements and institutions, reexamining their role in society, and promoting openness, transversality, critique, fluidity etc. What raises some doubt, however, is the fact that in so doing they have not only effortlessly adopted certain Deleuzian terminology but also obfuscated, particularly in the form of institutional critique, the potential for political transformation in the field of culture. There have been attempts in the sphere of the arts to create a form of social configuration that extends beyond existing social forms, such as the many participatory-multicultural projects proposing different social relations and new communities; but at the same time, they have been unable to extend such to the "real" work environment of the place where the projects actually take place. However, such temporary solidarities, identifications between minorities, marginalized and other groups – "[the] projections of politics as other and outside [only] detract from the politics of the here and now."<sup>8</sup> Do we then seriously believe that

the new institutions could represent an alternative to the “molar machines” of capitalism and that they could eventually become a field of “politics of experimentation”?

Such obfuscations as those described above enable capital to mobilize our unconscious potentials (ideas, creativity, affects etc.) and neutralize the “politics of potential” within the field of culture. What we need, here and now, is a new vocabulary for the constitution of political subjects with both social and political responsibilities: subjects that would not simply constitute an apolitical, narcissistic elite producing critical theory only to justify their disregard of the need for radical change in the social fabric, always waiting for some kind of authority to grant them “the power and truth of experience”; but subjects that would be able to recognize the hegemony and the power and to question the political status quo in the institutions, as well as to employ a kind of “strategic essentialism”<sup>9</sup> for common social action. We often hear about dissident subjectivities, about counter behaviors and the like, but do we really know how to become such dissidents? Political subjectivities that have arisen in recent years (within the alter-globalist movement, for example) are in crisis. This crisis results from drastic transformations in the production process and the (re)composition of the labor force, in the new modulations of work, the increasing criminalization of political subjects and, last but not least, in the speed with which capitalism foresees and forestalls any deviations in the “molar machine.”

The question thus remains: how to invent new political praxis and how to think it within the institutions?

Starting from these paradigms the Radical Education Collective<sup>10</sup> has initiated a small-scale research process that goes beyond the subject-researcher and object-researched division and, based on co-research (with the researchers being connected with various academic and/or art institutions), reveals the modes and different levels of researcher exploitation as well as the ways in which to employ this newly produced knowledge to work toward social transformation. In other words, research is designed such that co-researchers learn social and political responsibility by experiencing it through the process of political self-emancipation; that is, in the words of Marx, the emancipation of the workers must come from the workers themselves. The research is based on Marx’s “Workers’ Inquiry” of 1881, when the *Revue Socialiste* asked him to carry out a study into the conditions of the French proletariat. Yet we realize that relying on Marx too literally is problematic, as the questions he posed are largely obsolete and his “ontology closes off any possibility of innovation.”<sup>11</sup> The potential lies in rereading him, in reading Marx not so much as a thinker, but rather

as someone who demands that his theory become socially effective. Which was also the idea underpinning the research process outlined herein: not to simply use his specific questions but to formulate new, relevant questions that would respond to current working conditions and life situations. The answers revealed, much like the editors of the *New Internationalist* wrote in 1938, that “no one will doubt [...], more shockingly and brutally today than fifty years ago the incalculable, hideous cost that the masses of humanity pay for the continuance of the rule of capitalism.”<sup>12</sup>

Cultural workers can speak. But in order for our speaking to be heard we must try and disentangle ourselves from the comfortable positions we maintain, from the safe places of the institutional walls behind which we hide, from the calculable rationalism that we adopt and display every time we go to our temporary or permanent job, and which is favored by every institution and every system in the world. Perhaps it is more emotion that we require, more enjoyment, which can be achieved only when we direct our creativity, our minds, and our bodies – all of our potentials – from our work back into our everyday lives. And perhaps the bodies that resist, the dissident subjectivities and the protesting unconsciousness, are to be found in those not-so-distant landscapes, where social alienation and the loss of solidarity is cleared away to make way for a different truth about our time in history *that is not yet*.

### Postscript, 2022

This text was written more than ten years ago. Looking at it from today’s perspective makes it sound like an echo from some distant time. A lot has changed in the struggle for cultural workers’ rights. Today we see more organizations, associations, and initiatives than there were back in 2010, and the concept of “work” is approached more widely and theoretically. Cultural workers themselves have become more politically conscious and better organized, and have achieved some success in creating a fairer cultural politics, as seen in the development of strategies designed to organize labor in art and culture and working to ensure better labor rights for those working in culture. In addition, the rights of domestic workers, care workers, and migrant workers have entered the various discussions and struggles for (cultural) workers’ rights.

Of course, it would be wrong to say that the situation is the same for cultural workers in different parts of the world. In the West in the 1980s, a relatively new cultural-economic model became instituted which introduced a different and more complicated relationship be-

tween art and autonomy on the one hand, and labor and capital on the other. While art production was still granted relative creative autonomy, and was now creating surplus value, the declining material working conditions for artists and their declining control over the reproduction and distribution of their ideas, knowledge, and commodities was pushing them further into a contractual relationship with capital – into wage labor. In addition to that, artists as well as curators and other cultural workers became part of the new expanded working class. Which does not, however, mean that they identified with wage workers. On the contrary, they have remained in a contradictory position between wage labor and the illusory privileges of a certain class. When after 1989 capitalism became the prevailing ideology in Eastern Europe, the above-mentioned characteristics were translated and transposed – though not directly – to basically all post-socialist countries of the former Yugoslavia as well. The issue of how to overcome the division between art production and wage labor became not only a survival strategy but a political problem, which has been particularly accentuated during the rule of right-wing conservative governments in our region, when artistic autonomy itself has also come under question. *Art at Work* is an attempt to show not only some of these tendencies and developments, but also to create within the exhibition a starting point for the exchange of knowledge, strategies, models, and tools for empowering (cultural) workers and their struggles in the post-Yugoslavia region.

- 8 Hal Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer”, *The Traffic in Culture, Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, eds. George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers (University of California Press, 1995), p. 304.
- 9 See Gayatri Spivak. The concept refers to using group identity as a basis of struggle to achieve certain goals.
- 10 The inquiries were also conducted in Belgrade in 2012–2013 and in Skopje in 2019.
- 11 Maurizio Lazzarato, “Multiplicity, totality and politics”, *Parrhesia* 9 (2010): p. 26. Available at: [https://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia09/parrhesia09\\_lazzarato.pdf](https://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia09/parrhesia09_lazzarato.pdf)
- 12 Karl Marx, “A Workers’ Inquiry”, *New Internationalist*, vol. 4., no. 12., pp. 379–381, 1938, <http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/ni/vol04/no12/marx.htm>

1 This text was written in Madrid in 2011 as part of the Marx’s Workers’ Inquiry investigation in the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. It consisted of two parts: the first part was written by Bojana Piškur (as a member of the Radical Education Collective) and the second by Alfredo Aracil, Carolina Bustamante, Inés Moreno and Yunuén Sariego (Workers’ Inquiry Group), who were at the time PhD students in the Study Program within the MNCARS. Preparatory research for the Marx’s Workers’ Inquiry was done by the Workers’ Inquiry Group. The text was abridged and revised for this catalogue in 2022.

2 This text was not accepted for the *Carta* publication.

3 See: Isabell Lorey, “2006, Governmentality and Self-Precarization: On the normalization of cultural producers”, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en#redir> (accessed 1 November 2010).

4 Cultural workers are usually considered those involved in “cultural production.” We would like to expand this notion to the whole field of culture, thereby including *all* of the workers in cultural institutions, such as service workers, staff workers, technicians, security etc.

5 What we mean here is the lack of solidarity between cultural workers and other “workers in struggle.”

6 George Caffentzis & Silvia Federici, 2007, “Notes on Edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism”, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/caffentziszfederici/en>

7 Note that this text was written in 2010, when the notion of new/monster institutions was being widely discussed.



*Skrajni rok (\*Deadline) – Zgodovinsko gledano je bila to črta okoli zavora, onkraj katere so pazniki lahko streljali na zapornike. Z razvojem sprememb v izvajanju nadzora je to, kar je nekoč zarisavalo prostor življenja in smrti, zdaj časovno vsiljeno delu.<sup>1</sup>*

Uvajanje zahodnih modelov financiranja in upravljanja v kulturo je v periferne države kapitalistične akumulacije, tudi v Slovenijo, v zadnjih desetletjih prineslo prekarost, revščino in fleksibilizacijo delovne sile. Neodvisna scena, pogosto imenovana tudi nevladni sektor ali neodvisna kultura, ki praviloma zajema nevladne organizacije, samozaposlene v kulturi ter ostale prekarne oblike ustvarjalk in ustvarjalcev, je postala teritorij odpornosti.

Ta termin se je s strani deležnikov uveljavil kot afirmativna oblika upora proti socialni devastaciji, čeravno darvinistični izraz v sebi skriva isto osredotočenost na individualno, nesistemske rešitev, prilagodljivost, večnočasnost in iskanje strategij preživetja znotraj obstoječega, kot jo narekuje neoliberalni model družbenega upravljanja.

Prekarost je kulturna politika ignorirala ali se je lotevala z ukrepi, zaradi katerih so nedostojanstveni pogoji dela, podobno kot v drugih oblikah postfordistične produkcije, postali ekonomsko namesto politično vprašanje. V neodvisni kulturi tako pravica do dela, zmožnosti ustvarjanja in – v nekaterih obdobjih skrajno desnih vlad – tudi obstoja kot umetniški in/ali kulturni subjekt postane osnovna organizacijska linija zagovorniških aktivnosti. Te so prinesle številne izboljšave, od večjih možnosti zaposlovanja, izboljšanja infrastrukturnih pogojev dela do ustrežnejših zakonskih ureditev. Zaradi svoje strukturne umeščenosti v legalno prepoznanje s strani države pa so kulturniki z zagovorništvom zmogli svoje pogoje dela izboljšati zgolj do določene točke, ki ne omogoča temeljnih družbenih sprememb.

Tudi zato so zanimive politične situacije, ko se deležniki v kulturi aktivirajo onkraj reprezentativnega delovanja, se samoorganizirajo in začnejo ustvarjati konvergence z družbenimi gibanji. Zаметke tovrstnih primerov smo videli večkrat, denimo med vstajami 2012–2013, v zadnjem času pa v protestniških akcijah Aktiva delavk in delavcev v kulturi (ADDK) v letih 2020–2021. ADDK je predstavljal novo obliko kolektivnosti znotraj umetniškega sektorja, ki je na meji artvizma, performansa in protesta osnovala novo metodologijo upora – skupnost v nenehnem nastajanju. Gre za koncept, ki je poznan znotraj antiavtoritarnih družbenih gibanj, na polju kulture pa predstavlja zanimiv premik v metodah in ciljih organiziranja. Uhaja namreč formalizaciji in normativnemu obravnavanju skupnostnega delovanja, ki je v Sloveniji tako zelo značilno za razvoj civilne družbe.

## Uvajanje zahodnega modela civilne družbe v kulturni sektor

Slovenijo so v osemdesetih letih močno zaznamovala družbena gibanja, od feminističnega, antimilitarističnega, LGBT do okoljskega. Alternativna umetniška produkcija je bila v tistem obdobju njihov sopotnik, pogosto tudi temeljni gradnik. Že bistveno pred nasilnim

razpadom Jugoslavije, predvsem pa po njem se na to polje vpiše nacionalni/nacionalistični projekt gradnje nove države. Ta je v Sloveniji utemeljen tudi na izbrisu dela neželene populacije. Manjši del gibanj je svojo avtonomnost ohranil in energijo kanaliziral v vzpostavljane infrastrukture. V zgodnjih devetdesetih letih so tako po vsej Sloveniji nastale številne zasedbe, od Kulturnega centra Pekarna do Avtonomnega kulturnega centra Metelkova mesto. Znotraj njih še danes delujejo številne umetnice in umetniki, ki sobivajo s predstavniki samoorganiziranih družbenih gibanj.

A večina tega vrenja se je že v osemdesetih letih vpisala v polje civilne družbe, ki je neposredno povezana z državo ter njenim pozicioniranjem v zahodni neoliberalni upravljavski model na vseh področjih družbenega, vključno s kulturo. Kot opozarja Tomaž Mastnak, je civilna družba že dolgo poznan koncept v zahodni politični misli, na Vzhodu pa se je pojavil v neposredni navezavi na propad socializma in v času tranzicije.<sup>2</sup> Civilna družba je bila s strani svojih akterjev definirana kot prostor, ki je različen, neodvisen od države in v opoziciji do nje. Čeravno je začel nastajati znotraj socializma, je to polje deklarativno zapustil in se oprijel diskurza liberalne demokracije, človekovih pravic ter svobode izražanja in ustvarjalnosti ter poskušal ustvariti paralelni sistem družbene akcije, institucij in struktur.

Zaradi specifičnega zgodovinskega konteksta teh procesov ne smemo zamenjevati z anarhističnim poskusom gradnje alternativnih struktur proti državi in mimo nje. Čeprav tudi civilna družba zmogla generirati družbene mobilizacije, predvsem v kontekstu opozarjanja na ogroženost prej omenjenih liberalnih vrednot in svoboščin, je ena ključnih razlik ravno odsotnost razrednega vprašanja in politizacije dela.

Polje neodvisne kulture je v Sloveniji podobno kot v ostalih državah nekdanje Jugoslavije neločljivo povezano z zgoraj opisanim pojavom civilne družbe. Na eni strani imamo močne javne institucije, ustanovljene s strani države ali mest, ki jih tudi financirajo. Njihov organizacijski in produkcijski način se je ohranil iz socializma, zato ga makro spremembe liberalnega načina produkcije prizadenejo manj očitno (čeravno tudi tja vse bolj pronicajo prekarni delovni odnosi). Te institucije namreč ohranjajo veliko število zaposlenih, jasno delitev dela po panogah, nefleksibilnost, močno birokratizacijo in bolj ali manj ekskluzivno orientacijo k osnovni dejavnosti (produkciji in/ali prezentaciji). Raziskave, izobraževanja, mreženja in celo komunikacijski elementi ter gradnja občinstva, ki so osnovna os postfordistične produkcije v kulturi, so manjšinske dejavnosti, saj obstoj teh institucij od njih za razliko od neodvisnega sektorja ni odvisen. Njihovo upravljanje na najvišjem nivoju (torej na ravni direktorjev) je pogosto neposredno odvisno od političnih imenovanj, njihovo poslanstvo pa temelj nacionalnih kulturnih politik, ki jim praviloma umanjka mednarodna orientacija.<sup>3</sup>

Na drugi strani so še ena podedovana kategorija iz socialističnega obdobja samozaposleni v kulturi. Leta 1982 je bil sprejet Zakon o samostojnih kulturnih delavcih, znotraj katerega je bil ustvarjalec

zakonsko zaščiten kategorija, ki je kulturnike na podlagi dela v družbenoekonomskem položaju enačila z delavci v organizacijah združenega dela. S sprejetjem temeljnega Zakona o uresničevanju javnega interesa na področju kulture (ZUJIK) je leta 1994 nastopilo obdobje samozaposlenih v kulturi, torej pravna izenačitev s statusom samostojnega podjetnika, prisilna s.p.-izacija, zaradi ostrenja kriterijev za doseganje statusa pa tudi vse večje potiskanje ustvarjalcev v polje dela na črno ter negotovih kratkotrajnih pogodb.

## Organizacija produkcijskega procesa kot temeljni teren boja

Zaradi konfliktnega razpada Jugoslavije je bila Slovenija označena kot območje, potrebno demokratizacije prek integracije v evropske povezave in njihov kapitalistični ekonomski model. Posledično je bila tudi na polju kulture deležna močnih finančnih injekcij s strani zahodnih financerjev. Ta sredstva niso bila brezpogojna, saj so v sektor vnašala specifične razpisne upravljavske modele, prijaviteljski diskurz, sisteme poročanja in dokazovanja aktivnosti ter vodenja financ, promocije in produkcije. Okoli teh aktivnosti so se začele vzpostavljati in organizirati prve nevladne organizacije, prvenstveno kot model za uspešno pridobivanje sredstev za ustvarjanje. Po vzoru razpisnih mehanizmov iz tujine so kot rezultat zagovorniških procesov neodvisnega sektorja začeli nastajati tudi mehanizmi podpore s strani domačih financerjev na državnih in lokalnih ravneh, v katere so bili vključeni tudi samozaposleni v kulturi.

Nastajati so začeli tudi novi poklici, predvsem na polju produkcije, tehnike, organizacije in promocije, ki so bili v nevladnem sektorju potrebni za njegovo reprodukcijo, niso pa imeli (in še vedno nimajo) izobraževalno-institucionalne podpore ali ustreznega sistema financiranja. Zaradi pomanjkanja sredstev je večina teh poklicev pahnjena na polje prisilne s.p.-izacije, kar pomeni, da se podobno kot njihovi umetniški kolegi in kolegice pravno ne morejo sindikalizirati. Tudi zato je sektor večino svojih aktivnosti usmeril v zagovorništvu, ki si je prizadevalo stanje analizirati ter pripraviti zakonske predloge sprememb za ureditev statusov in izboljšanje pogojev dela.

Profesionalizacija sektorja je s sabo prinašala tudi vse večje razlike. Tisti, ki so se usmerili v mednarodno povezovanje ter svoj produkcijski proces prek uvajanja podpornih poklicev prilagodili novim režimom financiranja, so bili pri pridobivanju sredstev in dolgoročnem preživetju ter razvoju enostavno uspešnejši. To, kar je bilo sprva videno kot osvoboditev izpod togih mehanizmov državnih institucij, je kmalu postalo sinonim za prekarost in revščino. Negotovi pogoji so vse bolj vplivali tudi na umetniško produkcijo, saj je postal boj za pogoje dela predpogoj za delo samo.

V takšnih pogojih nematerialne produkcije v kulturi, in seveda tudi širše, stare oblike sindikatov, ki izvirajo iz 19. stoletja, niso več najučinkovitejša metoda boja. Njihova prva težava je, da pravno in politično ne zastopajo nezaposlenih, revežev, prekarcev in ostalih postfordističnih kategorij delavstva na časasnih pogodbah, ki so v

kulturi postali prevladujoči – in to ne glede na njihovo sodelovanje v proizvodnji družbenega bogastva. Kot opozarjata Hardt in Negri, so bile sindikalne panoge zasnovane glede na industrijske panoge, zato tudi ob morebitnih redefinicijah ne ustrezajo več potrebam skupnega boja.<sup>4</sup> Dodajata, da so sindikati v zahodnih kapitalističnih državah dobili legalen status in v zameno pristali na pogajanje o mezdah ter vprašanju delovnega mesta, odpovedali pa so se socialnim in političnim zahtevam. V paradigmi nematerialnega dela in s tem, ko postaja proizvodnja vse bolj politična, pa je takšna izolacija ekonomskih vprašanj čedalje bolj nesmiselna. Hardt in Negri prihodnost delavskega organiziranja zato vidita v neposredni navezavi z družbenimi gibanji, kot organiziran izraz multitudine, ki obravnava celostno področje družbenega dela.<sup>5</sup> Tu se odpre zanimivo polje preučevanja možnosti konvergenca umetnosti, kulture in družbenih bojev.

## Ministrstvo za kulturo kot simbolna točka novega teritorija upora

Tretji mandat Janeza Janše je zaznamovala epidemija covid-19 in z njenim preprečevanjem povezane politike represije, omejevanje svobode gibanja, protesta in združevanja. Značilno je bilo tudi razraščanje skrajno desnih stališč, sovraštva, korupcije in razbijanje skupnega. Na polju kulture so se te politike prevajale v politični pritisk na financiranje in delovanje nevladnega sektorja, procesualno oteževanje upravljanja statusa samozaposlenih v kulturi, strokovno vprašljive kadrovske menjave v javnih institucijah, razkroj avtonomije medijskega poročanja itn.

Po drugi strani je bilo to obdobje intenzivnega upora dela družbe. Vse od marca 2020 so se s strani različnih akterjev vrstile kreativne protestne akcije: od grafitov do uporniških videov, protestov na balkonih in podobno. Antiavtoritarno in anarhistično gibanje je konec aprila 2020 v Ljubljani iz tega vrenja vzpostavilo prostor skupnega in začelo kolesarske proteste. Ti so že ob svoji drugi izvedbi ob 1. maju prerasli v množično protestno gibanje. Po umiku večine pobudnikov protestov, katerih primarni namen je bil razbitje začetne klavstrofobične družbene klime ter ponovna vzpostavitev možnosti kolektivnosti, je gibanje dobilo bolj reformističen in civilnodružbeni značaj. Z vsakotedenskimi protesti so naslavljali problematične odločitve vlade, v svojem zadnjem ciklu pa je gibanje začetno političnost od spodaj reduciralo na pozivanje k udeležbi na volitvah. Vmes so se dogajali tudi sporadični izbruhi besa drugih delov družbe, ki so izzvali brutalni odziv policije.<sup>6</sup>

Podobno kot med vstajami 2012–2013 so imele kulturnice in kulturniki v uporniških procesih vidno vlogo. Večkrat so na petkovih protestih oblikovali tudi svoj blok, nekajkrat so se manjše skupine (ki pa so še vedno šteje več sto ljudi) odcepile in pred ministrstvom izobešale transparente. Polje kulture so eksplicitno pozicionirali kot teritorij boja. Stavba Ministrstva za kulturo je postala simbolna točka tega upornega teritorija in bila deležna več kreativnih intervencij. Večina jih je ostala anonimna, za mnoge je policija (tudi na predlog

ministrstva) sprožila postopke kazenskih pregonov in prekrškovnih postopkov.

### Vprašanje dela kot (neizrečeno) gonilo Akcij za kulturo

Ločeno so potekale dejavnosti ADDK, ki se je v javnosti prvič pojavil z (za nazaj oštevilčeno) prvo Akcijo za kulturo 26. maja 2020, torej dober mesec po prvem kolesarskem protestu. Poimenovanje aktiva sicer izvira iz slabega tedna prej samoorganizirane kolesarske skupščine. Ta je potekala na območju Metelkove, na njej pa so se z namenom refleksije dotedanjih protestniških aktivnosti zbrale pobude in posamezniki iz antiavtoritarnega gibanja. Po splošnem delu skupščine so se udeleženske in udeleženci razdelili na več interesnih skupin, med njimi tudi kulturniško. V tisti trenutek lahko trasiramo prve zametke ADDK, čeprav to ne pomeni, da akcije, pobude in intervencije kulturnic in kulturnikov niso potekale pred njim, po njem in mimo njega.

Aktiv kljub nekaterim posameznikom, ki so se javno izpostavili v njegovem imenu, nikoli ni obstajal kot fiksna formacija, ampak ga je vsakič znova kot kolektivno telo vzpostavila skupnost v danem trenutku sodelujočih posameznikov. Ljudje so se načrtovanja in izvajanja akcij udeleževali sporadično in v raznolikih zasedbah, aktiv pa je bil zgolj komunikacijska platforma, preko katere so se akcije pred ministrstvom komunicirale. Nobena ni zahtevala konsenza širše skupnosti, spontano pa je iskala možnost širše udeležbe. Vse intervencije so potekale v javnem prostoru in ga vzpostavljale kot prostor skupnega. Potekale so čez dan in vsakič vsebovale elemente vizualne in performativne umetnosti. Aktivističnim formam so se približale s svojim mehkim pristopom širjenja pravnih interpretacij dovoljenega: zaprle so, denimo, cesto za potrebe izražanja mnenja ali pa so se po prepovedi zbiranja zaradi preprečevanja epidemije spraševale o načinih vzpostavljanja kolektivnega ob upoštevanju varnostne razdalje med udeleženci akcije.

ADDK je bil tako vedno bolj metoda kot kolektiv, v čemer je bila tudi njegova moč. Po eni strani je ta fluidnost omogočala določeno mero neulovljivosti in odpornost proti represivnemu aparatu države, ki je močno pritiskal na kulturniško skupnost. Po drugi strani je s tem postal odporen tudi na procese lastne rekuperacije in notranje koncentracije moči ter vzpostavljanja hierarhičnih vzorcev delovanja – nihče od sodelujočih si ga namreč ni mogel lastiti, prevzemati zaslug zanj, se vzpostaviti kot vodja. Tako kot ADDK ni nikoli zares formalno nastal tudi nikoli ni ugasnil. Kot skupnost v nenehnem nastajanju ga lahko za svojo metodologijo boja znova uporabi kdorkoli in kadarkoli. Ker ga posledično nihče ni mogel (ali želel) formalizirati kot nevladno organizacijo, se je ADDK izognil tudi formalizaciji v prostoru civilne družbe.

ADDK je ena redkih kolektivnih intervencij, ki se je že v svojem poimenovanju opredelila v koordinatah dela. Aktiv delavk in delavcev v kulturi po eni strani pojmovno zajema realnost, ki je bližje kulturniškem teritoriju 21. stoletja. Danes polja kulture namreč ne sestavljajo

zgolj umetnice in umetniki, temveč tudi številni t. i. podporni poklici v kulturi. Hkrati jim je takšno poimenovanje omogočilo prečenje različnih oblik dela, od tistih, ki delujejo v javnem sektorju, do samozaposlenih in vseh kulturniških prekarcev v še bolj negotovih (ne)pogodbenih razmerjih.

Čeprav se je delovanje ADDK jasno vpisalo v protestniški val proti vladi Janeza Janše, je aktiv polje kulture obravnaval širše. Večina akcij je tako vsebovala elemente tem, s katerimi se kulturnice in kulturniki ukvarjajo že desetletja. Eden pomembnih motorjev aktivnosti kulturnikov je bil občutek eksistencialne ogroženosti. Ta se je vzpostavljala z intervencijami ministrstva: od odvzema statusa samozaposlenega v kulturi do neodobritve plačevanja prispevkov za socialno varnost samozaposlenim ter odvzeta sredstev in prostora dela nevladnikom. ADDK je te poteze interpretiral kot disciplinsko svarilo drugim in vzpostavljala skupnostni odgovor nanje. S fokusom na ministrstvo je ADDK pokazal tudi, da državo kot ključni vir financiranja in upravljanja v kulturi razume v funkciji delodajalca.

Prva akcija je odprla vprašanje dosedanjega zagovornišva, saj je več sto kulturnic in kulturnikov na steno ministrstva nalepilo pozive, analize in predloge za izboljšanja delovnih pogojev, na katere ministrstvo ni nikoli odgovorilo. V drugi Akciji za kulturo so odlagali svoja delovna sredstva (glasbila, obleke, pisala itn.) in se tako poigravali s simbolno vzpostavitvijo skupnega javnega prostora za odtegnitev sicer individualiziranega dela – stavko. Sledila je tematsko podobna akcija, v kateri se je več sto ljudi simultano uleglo na tla. Na očitke o lenobi in nedelu umetnikov so odgovorili z akcijo, na kateri so se usedli na cesto pred ministrstvo, s tem efektivno blokirali promet in sebe vzpostavili kot občinstvo. Branje knjig med hojo v krogu, s čimer so udeleženci performativno ponovno blokirali dostop do ministrstva, je simbolno nakazovalo brezizhodni položaj kulturnih politik.

Akcije ADDK so predstavljale politični preskok v pozicioniranju kulturnih delavk in delavcev in jih do zdaj najbolj neposredno umestile v polje družbenih gibanj. Kot aktiv so večkrat izkazali solidarnost do drugih skupnosti v upor; v sklopu protestov so se, denimo, postavili ob bok okoljskemu in antikapitalističnemu bloku. In prav v takšnih potezah se odpirajo novi horizonti iskanja konvergenz z ostalimi skupnostmi v upor.

- 1 CrimethInc. Writers' Bloc, *Contradictionary. A Bestiary of Words in Revolt* (Salem: CrimethInc, 2013), str. 63.
- 2 Tomaž Mastnak, »Civil Society and Fascism«, v *NSK from Kapital to Capital*, ur. Zdenka Badovinac, Eda Čufer in Anthony Gardner (Cambridge, Mass., London in Ljubljana: MIT Press in Moderna galerija, 2015), str. 283–284.
- 3 Ana Vujanović, »State Against Public Good«, *Artistic Labor in the Age of Austerity, Economic Policy of Cuts and Political Economy of Contemporary Art. Frakcija Performing Arts Journal* (Zagreb) št. 60/61 (2011): str. 130. Dostopno na: [https://archive.org/details/Frakcija\\_60\\_61](https://archive.org/details/Frakcija_60_61)
- 4 Michael Hardt in Antonio Negri, *Multituda* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2005), str. 138–139.
- 5 Prav tam, str. 139.
- 6 Več o dinamiki prvega leta upora pišem v: Tjaša Pureber, »Kolesarski protesti 2020: razpoke svobode«, v *Hvalnica kolesu*, ur. Marc Augé (Ljubljana: Maska, 2021), str. 56–67.

## Converging Struggles: Labor, Art, and Social Movements Tjaša Pureber

*Deadline – Historically, the deadline was the line around a prison beyond which the prisoners were eligible for shooting. In keeping with the shifts in the exercise of control, what once was delineated spatially over life is now enforced temporally over labor.*<sup>1</sup>

In peripheral countries of capitalist accumulation, Slovenia included, introducing Western models of finance and management in culture has brought, over the past decades, precarity, poverty, and the flexibilization of the labor force. The independent scene (or the non-governmental sector, or independent culture as it is often called), comprising NGOs, the self-employed in culture, and other precarious forms of creative work, has become the territory of resilience.

The notion of resilience was introduced by stakeholders as an affirmative form of resistance to social devastation, although this Darwinian term implies a focus on individual, unsystematic approaches to tackling issues, on adaptability, perpetually makeshift, temporary solutions, and on a search for survival strategies within the *status quo*, a focus dictated by the neoliberal model of social management.

Cultural policies have ignored precarity or else addressed it through measures that have made undignified working conditions an economic rather than a political issue, like in other forms of post-Fordist production. In independent culture, the right to work, the right to the possibility to do creative work, and, under certain far-right governments, even the right to exist as an artistic and/or cultural entity thus became the basic lines along which advocacy activities were organized. These have brought numerous improvements, from greater employment possibilities and improved infrastructural working conditions to better legislation. But due to their structural position as legally recognized by the state, cultural workers have managed to improve their working conditions through advocacy only up to a certain point, and not enough for fundamental social change.

This gives weight to those political situations in which stakeholders in culture become active beyond representative action, when they self-organize and begin converging with social movements. We have seen several such beginnings, e.g. during the popular uprisings of 2012–2013, and more recently in the protest actions of the Cultural Workers' Work Group (Aktiv delavk in delavcev v kulturi or ADDK) in 2020–2021. The ADDK represents a new form of collectivity within the art sector, introducing a new methodology of resistance bordering on activism, performance, and protest – a community constantly in-becoming. A familiar concept within anti-authoritarian social movements, it here represents an interesting shift in the methods and goals of organizing in the sphere of culture, because it evades the formalization and normative treatment of community action otherwise so characteristic of the development of civil society in Slovenia.

### Introducing the Western Model of Civil Society in the Cultural Sector

In the 1980s, Slovenia was strongly marked by social movements, from the feminist, anti-militaristic, and LGBT, to the environmental. Alternative art production was a constant companion of these and other movements during that period – often also one of their fundamental parts. The national/nationalist project of building a new state entered this field already before and then markedly after the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia. In Slovenia, this project was also based on the erasure of a part of the unwanted population.<sup>2</sup> A small part of the movements maintained their autonomy and channeled their energy into building infrastructure: the early 1990s thus saw numerous autonomous spaces forming in Slovenia, from the Pekarna Cultural Center in Maribor to the Metelkova mesto Autonomous Cultural Center in Ljubljana; and they remain places where many artists work in coexistence with members of self-organized social movements to this day.

Most of this ferment, however, formed part of civil society already in the 1980s, and civil society was directly related to the state and its adoption of the Western neoliberal model of management in all areas of society, including culture. As Tomaž Mastnak points out, civil society had long been a well-known concept in Western political thought, while in the East it emerged in direct connection with the collapse of socialism and the time of transition.<sup>3</sup> Civil society was defined by its members as a space of diversity, independence from, and opposition to the state. Although it began to emerge in socialism, it declaratively left this field and adopted the discourse of liberal democracy, human rights, and freedom of expression and creativity, seeking to create a parallel system of social action, institutions, and structures.

Due to the specificity of the historical context, these processes should not be confused with the anarchistic attempts to build alternative structures against and bypassing the state. Although civil society is also capable of generating social mobilization, especially in the context of drawing attention to any threats to liberal values and freedoms, one of the key differences is the absence of the class issue and the politicization of labor.

In Slovenia, like in other countries of the former Yugoslavia, the field of independent culture is inextricably entwined with the emergence of civil society. On the one hand, there are strong public institutions set up – and funded – by the state or cities. Their organizational and production models are the same as they were in socialism, which means they have been less obviously affected by the macro changes resulting from the liberal mode of production (although precarious labor relations are becoming more and more pervasive there as well). Such cultural institutions continue to have a large staff, a clear division



of labor according to expertise, and strong bureaucracy, are inflexible, and are more or less exclusively oriented around their core activity (production and/or presentation). Research, education, networking, and even certain aspects of public relations and audience-building, which constitute the basic axes of post-Fordist production in culture, are minor activities for them, as they, unlike the independent sector, do not existentially depend on them. Their top-level management (i.e. their directors) is often directly politically appointed, while their missions, which form the foundation of national cultural policies, for the most part lack international orientation.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, there is another category inherited from the socialist past – the self-employed in culture. In 1982, the Independent Cultural Workers Act was passed, which included the legally protected category of a creative worker, socio-economically equating, in terms of labor, cultural workers with workers in the organizations of associated labor, as socially-owned companies co-managed by the workers were called. With the adoption of the fundamental Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act (Zakon o uresničevanju javnega interesa v kulturi or ZUJIK) in 1994, the period of self-employment in culture began: cultural workers now had the same legal status as private entrepreneurs or sole traders, which forced many to register as sole traders/proprietors, and as the eligibility criteria for the status of cultural worker became increasingly stringent, others were pushed into undeclared work or precarious work on short-term contracts.

### ***The Organization of the Production Process as the Basic Terrain of Struggle***

Subsequent to the conflictual disintegration of Yugoslavia, Slovenia was seen as an area in need of democratization through integration into European alliances and their capitalist economic model. Consequently, it received substantial financial injections from Western funding bodies in the field of culture as well. These funds, however, came with strings attached: they introduced specific models of tender management into the sector, the discourse of applications, systems of reporting and providing proof of activity, and financial management, promotion, and production. The first non-governmental organizations (NGOs) began to organize around these activities, primarily as models for successfully obtaining funding for creative work. As a result of the advocacy processes of the independent sector, domestic financial support mechanisms began to take shape on state and local levels, modeled on foreign tender mechanisms, and they also included the self-employed in culture.

New professions began to emerge, in particular in the fields of production, technical support, organization, and promotion, which the nongovernmental sector needed to reproduce, without having

(then as now) any educational or institutional support or an adequate system of funding. Due to the lack of funds, most such professionals have been forced to register as sole traders/proprietors, which means that, like their artist colleagues, they cannot legally unionize. This is another reason the sector has put most of its efforts into advocacy, seeking to analyze the situation and prepare legislative amendments to regulate the various cultural workers' statuses and improve their working conditions.

The professionalization of the sector entailed ever growing differences. Those who focused on international connections and adapted their production process to new financing regimes through the introduction of support professions were simply more successful in obtaining funds, thus ensuring their long-term survival and development. What was initially seen as liberation from the rigid mechanisms of state institutions soon became synonymous with precarity and poverty. The precarious conditions increasingly affected artistic production, as the struggle for working conditions became a precondition for work itself.

Under such conditions of immaterial production in culture and also more broadly, the old forms of trade unions dating back to the 19th century are no longer the most effective method of struggle. Their problem is, firstly, that they do not legally and politically represent the unemployed, the poor, the precarious workers, and the other post-Fordist categories of workers with short-term contracts that have become predominant in culture – regardless of their involvement in producing social wealth. As Hardt and Negri point out, trade unions were designed for specific trades, so even with possible redefinitions they no longer meet the needs of a common struggle.<sup>5</sup> The authors go on to say that unions in Western capitalist countries have been given legal status, agreeing in return to negotiate wages and the job issue while renouncing social and political demands. In the paradigm of intangible labor, and as production becomes increasingly political, such isolation of economic issues is becoming increasingly unproductive and inadequate. Hardt and Negri therefore see the future of workers' organization in direct connection with social movements, as an organized expression of multitude, which addresses the integrated field of social work.<sup>6</sup> This opens up an interesting field of study on the possibilities of the convergence of art, culture, and social struggles.

### ***The Ministry of Culture as a Symbolic Point of the New Territory of Resistance***

Janez Janša's third term in office as the Prime Minister of Slovenia was marked by the COVID-19 epidemic and a repressive policy aimed at its prevention, entailing restrictions on the freedom of movement, protesting, and association. It was also characterized by the prolif-

eration of far-right views, hatred, corruption, and a devastation of the commons. In the field of culture, these policies translated into political pressure on the financing and operation of the non-governmental sector, procedural obstructions in managing the status of the self-employed in culture, professionally questionable staff changes in public institutions, the disintegration of the media reporting autonomy, etc.

On the other hand, this was a period of intense rebellion of parts of society. From March 2020 onward, there were creative protest actions instigated and carried out by various agents: from graffiti to rebel videos, protests on balconies, and similar. By the end of April 2020, the anti-authoritarian and anarchist movement had funneled this ferment in Ljubljana into a space of the commons, starting the "cycling protests."<sup>7</sup> Already on its second occasion, on 1 May, the cycling protest grew into a mass protest movement that continued in different forms for more than two years. Initially, the primary purpose of the protests was to break the claustrophobic social atmosphere and restore the possibility of collectivity. After most of the first initiators of protests withdrew, the movement became more reformist in character and civil-society oriented. The weekly protests addressed the government's problematic decisions, and in their final phase, the initial grassroots politicality was reduced to campaigning for greater voter participation in elections. In-between, there were also sporadic outbursts of anger from other segments of society, which provoked brutal response from the police.<sup>8</sup>

Much like the 2012–2013 uprisings, cultural workers played a prominent role in the processes of rebellion. They often formed their own bloc at Friday protests, and on several occasions smaller groups (still comprising hundreds of people) broke away to hang banners in front of the Ministry. They explicitly positioned the field of culture as a territory of struggle. The building of the Ministry of Culture became a symbolic point on this territory of rebellion, and the recipient of several creative interventions. Most of them remained anonymous, but for quite a number of them the police (also at the suggestion of the Ministry) initiated criminal and misdemeanor proceedings.

### ***The Issue of Work as the (Unspoken) Driving Force of the Actions for Culture***

The Cultural Workers' Work Group or ADDK's activities took place separately, with the group making its public debut with the (retrospectively numbered) 1st Action for Culture on 26 May 2020, a good month after the first cycling protest. The name of the group comes from the self-organized cycling assembly that happened less than a week earlier. The assembly convened in the area of Metelkova, bringing together the initiatives and individuals from the anti-authoritarian

movement to reflect on the protest activities. Following the general part of the assembly, the participants divided up into several interest groups, including a cultural one. The latter can be seen as the first beginnings of the ADDK, although this does not mean that there hadn't been actions, initiatives, and interventions by cultural workers before that, or afterwards, or those that were simply unrelated to the ADDK.

Despite certain individuals publicly speaking on its behalf, the ADDK never existed as a fixed formation, but was re-established each time as a collective body by the community of individuals involved in it at the moment. Participation in the planning and execution of actions was sporadic and varied, with the ADDK serving only as a platform for communicating the actions in front of the Ministry. None of the actions demanded consensus from the wider community, but spontaneously sought the possibility of broader participation. All interventions took place in public space, establishing it as a space of the commons. Organized during the day, they always contained elements of visual and performative art. They came close to activist forms with their soft approach to expanding the legal interpretations of what was allowed: for example, they closed the road to express opinions or, after the ban on assembly to prevent the spread of the epidemic, questioned ways of establishing a collective while still taking into account social distancing.

The ADDK was thus always a method rather a collective, which was also its strength. On the one hand, its fluidity allowed for a certain degree of elusiveness and resilience to the repressive apparatus of the state, which was putting great pressure on the cultural community. On the other hand, it made ADDK resistant to the processes of its own recuperation and internal concentration of power and the establishment of hierarchical patterns of operation – none of the participants could own it, take credit for its work, establish themselves as a leader. Just as the ADDK never really formally came into being, it never dissolved. As an ever-evolving community it can be re-used by anyone anytime as a methodology of struggle. Since no one was ever able to (or wanted to) formalize it as a non-governmental organization, ADDK also avoided formalization in the civil society sphere.

The ADDK is one of the few collective interventions that defined itself by work coordinates already embedded in its name. The Cultural Workers' Work Group conceptually captures a reality that is closer to the cultural territory of the 21st century; today, the field of culture consists not only of artists, but also of many so-called support professions in culture. At the same time, this name allowed the collective to traverse various forms of work, from those employed in the public sector to the self-employed and to all precarious cultural workers in even more uncertain (un)contractual relationships.

Although the activities of the ADDK were clearly part of the wave of protests against the government of Janez Janša, the work group addressed the field of culture more broadly. Most of the actions contained elements of the topics cultural workers have been dealing with for decades. One of the important motors of cultural workers' activities was their feeling of being existentially threatened. This feeling was produced by the Ministry's various interventions: from the cancelation of the status of a person self-employed in culture, to the non-approval of the payment of social security contributions to the self-employed, to the withdrawal of funds and deprivation of work space to non-governmental organizations. Interpreting such gestures as disciplinary warnings to others, the ADDK constituted a collective response to them. By focusing on the Ministry, the ADDK also showed that it saw the state – as a key source of finance and management in culture – in the role of employer.

The 1st Action broached the issue of advocacy, as hundreds of cultural workers pasted appeals, analyses, and proposals for improving working conditions on the outer walls of the Ministry of Culture, which never responded to any of them. The 2nd Action for Culture entailed putting down their work implements (musical instruments, clothes, pens, etc.), thus playing with the symbolic constitution of a common public space for the withdrawal of (highly individual) work – a strike. Next followed a similarly themed action, in which hundreds of people simultaneously lay down on the ground. They responded to the accusations of artists being lazy and not doing real work with the action of sitting down in the street in front of the Ministry, effectively blocking the traffic and constituting themselves as an audience. Reading while walking in a circle, whereby the participants performatively again blocked access to the Ministry, symbolically showed the hopelessness of the situation in cultural politics.

The ADDK's actions represented a political shift in the positioning of cultural workers, placing them most squarely in the field of social movements so far. As a work group, the ADDK has repeatedly shown solidarity with other communities in resistance, siding, for example, with the environmental and anti-capitalist bloc during the protests. And it is such gestures that open new horizons of convergences with other communities in rebellion.

by the Constitutional Court after decades of struggle by the "erased" and their supporters. More at: <https://www.mirovni-institut.si/izbrisani/en/about-erasure/index.html>

- 3 Tomaž Mastnak, "Civil Society and Fascism", in *NSK from Kapital to Capital*, eds. Zdenka Badovinac, Eda Čufer, and Anthony Gardner (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, and Ljubljana: MIT Press and Moderna galerija, 2015), pp. 283–284.
- 4 Ana Vujanović, "State Against Public Good", *Artistic Labor in the Age of Austerity, Economic Policy of Cuts and Political Economy of Contemporary Art. Frakcija Performing Arts Journal* (Zagreb) no. 60/61 (2011): p. 130. Available at: [https://archive.org/details/Frakcija\\_60\\_61](https://archive.org/details/Frakcija_60_61)
- 5 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004), p. 136.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 7 Rallies of any kind were banned on the grounds of epidemic control measures, and specifically the need for social distancing. Social movements and activists thus turned to cycling as a form of struggle that allowed people to create a new form of togetherness while still remaining distant.
- 8 More on the dynamic of the first year of rebellion in: Tjaša Pureber, "Kolesarski protesti 2020: Razpoke svobode", in *Hvalnica kolesu*, ed. Marc Augé (Ljubljana: Maska, 2021), pp. 56–67.

## Umetniško delo kot performativna kategorija in kot politična gesta Vida Knežević

*Njegova naloga ni, da poroča, temveč da se bori; ne da igra vlogo opazovalca, temveč da se aktivno vplete v dogajanje.*<sup>1</sup>

*Kljub temu umetnik ostaja povezan z usodo človeštva, saj osnovno vprašanje ni, k čemu stremi umetnost, temveč v katero smer je namenjeno človeštvo. Prihodnja civilizacija bo socialistična ali pa je sploh ne bo.*<sup>2</sup>

»Umetniško delo je družbeno delo«, »Umetnik je družbeni delavec«, »Umetnost = boj« in številni drugi podobni napisi, kot je »Umetnik ≠ podjetnik«, so se pojavili 1. maja 2020 na oknih Galerije ULUS v centru Beograda. Tako so pešci in mimoidoči na Knez Mihailovi ulici v centru Beograda, kjer se nahaja galerija Društva likovnih umetnikov Srbije (ULUS), lahko prebrali (umetniške) izjave o resnicah, ki pestijo umetnike v Srbiji.

Te umetniške izjave so se pojavile sredi pandemije koronavirusa in še dodatno odkrile in poudarile težke delovne pogoje v kulturi in umetnosti. Ko je leta 2020 v nekaterih medijih odjeknila zgodba o umetnici Aniti Bunčić, ki se je morala odpovedati statusu samostojne umetnice, da je šla delat kot receptorka in čistilka, pozneje pa kot fizična delavka, je bila to le potrditev slabega položaja umetnikov v Srbiji, ki so se ga vsi zavedali.

A že skoraj desetletje prej je o tem pretresljivo govoril primer umetnice Gordane Goce Belič. Pri njej se je na primeru ene razstave pokazal paradoks odnosa med umetnostjo in delom. Njena brutalna iskrenost o stvareh, o katerih se redko govori, je že takrat šokirala umetniško sceno in razkrila resnično bedo umetniškega sistema. Namesto da bi razstavljala svoja dela na eni največjih manifestacij vizualne umetnosti v Srbiji, ki je imela tisto leto tendenciozno feministično agendo,<sup>3</sup> se je Gordana Belič znašla v vlogi čistilke prostorov Oktobrskega salona. Umetnica, ki se je predvsem v svoji performativni umetniški praksi leta dolgo ukvarjala z vprašanji neplačanega gospodinjanskega dela, dvojne obremenitve žensk, izkoriščanja dela in spolnosti ter številnimi podobnimi temami, se je čez noč znašla v brezupnem položaju. Kot je pojasnila: »Do dneva, ko sem začela delati, nisem vedela, da bom čistila Oktobrski salon. Dogovor je bil, da se zjutraj dobimo pred poslopjem Beogradjanke, in ko mi je rekel, da bom čistila veleblagovnico Kluz, se mi je posvetilo.«<sup>4</sup> Obe umetnici sta zdaj članici ULUS-a, reprezentativnega umetniškega društva, ki je pred kratkim<sup>5</sup> doživelo več strukturnih preobrazb; te so pomembno umetniško institucijo, ki bo kmalu dopolnila stoletje obstoja, spremenile iz omrtvičene, konservativno-retrogradne, zabubljene in nefunkcionalne institucije v trenutno eno najnaprednejših umetniških

institucij v Srbiji. Tako so po dolgih desetletjih številni umetniki, ki so bili nevidni, zapuščeni in pozabljeni od sistema, ponovno dobili institucijo, ki aktivno zastopa njihove (razredne) interese.<sup>6</sup>

### Tragični (razredni) položaj umetnikov v družbenem procesu

»Razred je bistveni problem za umetnost,« pravi Ben Davis v manifestu o umetnosti in razredu.<sup>7</sup> V poskusu osvetlitve ekonomskih vidikov sodobne umetnosti Davis poudarja, da umetnost ne more imeti jasne predstave o svoji lastni naravi, če nima jasne predstave o interesih različnih razredov. Če želimo razumeti institucijo umetnosti, nadaljuje, moramo obenem razumeti razredne odnose zunaj sfere vizualne umetnosti. Poleg tega moramo razumeti, kako ti odnosi recipročno vplivajo na sfero umetnosti, in kar ni nič manj pomembno, prodreti moramo v samo dinamiko razrednih odnosov v sferi vizualne umetnosti. Če hoče biti likovna kritika sploh relevantna, sklene, mora temeljiti na analizi specifične situacije v umetnosti in različnih veljavnih vrednot, te pa so povezane z različnimi razredi, zato da bi polje umetnosti – kot pomembno mesto simbolnega boja – lahko postalo tudi mesto relevantne družbene moči.

V kontekstu svojega časa o tem govori tudi Walter Benjamin v nagovoru za naslovom »Avtor kot proizvajalec«, ki ga je imel leta 1934 na Inštitutu za preučevanje fašizma v Parizu. Za našo zgodbo ni nepomembno, da je bil eden ključnih ljudi, ki so vodili inštitut, Oto Bihalji Merin,<sup>8</sup> uveljavljeni jugoslovanski pisec, umetnostni zgodovinar, politični delavec, v tistem času član Komunistične partije Nemčije in v nenehnem stiku z naprednimi jugoslovanskimi umetniki, ki so tik pred drugo svetovno vojno prevzeli na začetku besedila omenjeno umetniško društvo ULU(S)<sup>9</sup> in se lotili problematike dela v umetnosti. V tem besedilu Benjamin govori o pomenu pozicioniranja umetnika v razrednem boju, in ne le njegovega dela.<sup>10</sup> Tako ne gre le za to, ali je delo umetniško ali družbeno angažirano, politično po obliki in/ali vsebini, ampak za to, kakšno pozicijo v tem boju zavzema umetnik sam in vsa njegova umetniška praksa. Benjaminovo besedilo nas tako napoti tudi na razmišljanje o aktualnih vprašanih odnosa med umetnostjo in politiko, umetnostjo in družbo, odnosih umetnikov do produkcije in številnih drugih, kot so: Ali je angažiran vsak umetnik ali umetniški kolektiv, ki ustvarja družbeno angažirano delo? In če je, ali to pomeni, da se zaveda svojega razrednega položaja v strukturnem smislu? In ali s tem (zavestno) zastopa interese zatiranih v določenem razrednem boju?

O tem so izčrpno polemizirali tudi jugoslovanski nadrealisti, še zlasti »mlajša« struja, ki je bila vpletena v predrevolucionarne dogodke tako z legalnim umetniškim delovanjem kot z ilegalnim, s pristo-

<sup>1</sup> CrimethInc. *Writers' Bloc, Contradictionary. A Bestiary of Words in Revolt* (Salem: CrimethInc, 2013), p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> In February 1992, the Republic of Slovenia erased 25,671 people from the register of permanent residents, mostly affecting people born in other parts of Yugoslavia. This meant that they lost all economic and social rights and became officially undocumented. However, this erasure was unlawful, as established



pom h Komunistični partiji Jugoslavije. Skupina, zbrana okoli Oskarja Daviča, ki se je v okviru nadrealističnega gibanja odkrito zavzemal za družbeni angažma gibanja in katerega stališča so bila izražena v skupni knjigi, izdani leta 1932 z naslovom *Položaj nadrealizma v družbenem procesu*,<sup>11</sup> je nedvomno močno vplivala na (politično) organiziranje umetnikov okrog takratnega Društva likovnih umetnikov (ULU). Pisali so o tem, da se morajo intelektualci (in umetniki) pridružiti kolektivu, ki je edina gonilna družbena sila, ki lahko pripelje do sprememb v takrat prevladujočih kapitalističnih družbenih odnosih: »Tu se dotikamo strašne težave intelektualcev in njihovega tragičnega položaja v družbenem procesu. Ti posamični ali kolektivni primeri med intelektualci so le simptomi, so le vidni primeri brezmadežnega nestrinjanja samih intelektualnih produktivnih sil z obstoječimi družbenimi življenjskimi razmerami in nujnosti njihovega spreminjanja, da bi se same intelektualne produktivne sile razvijale in izvajale.«<sup>12</sup> Zavedajoč se dvoumnega položaja intelektualcev, ki v nekaterih primerih pomagajo ohranjati in krepiti »višji«<sup>13</sup> razred, v drugih pa prispevajo k njegovemu zanikanju, so sklenili: »Lahko so zavora ali pobudniki, odvisno od stopnje njihove zavesti.«<sup>13</sup>

Kot vidimo, se številne kritične umetniške prakse,<sup>14</sup> ki tako z zgodovinskega kot s sodobnega vidika izhajajo iz samorefleksije in samokritičnosti umetniškega sistema in katerih cilj je povrniti umetnost v družbeno prakso, nujno vračajo k vprašanjem načinov produkcije in distribucije ter vprašanjem reprezentacije samega umetniškega dela. Ukvarjajo se tudi s produktivskimi odnosi v okviru lastne prakse, preučujejo obliko in kontekst pojavnosti, povezujejo odnos med vsebino, obliko in organizacijo, se ukvarjajo z vprašanjem umetniškega dela in na koncu zastavljajo vprašanje lastnega razrednega odpora ne le v okviru kulturne in umetniške produkcije, ampak v širšem kontekstu družbenih in političnih bojev. Takemu, kot bi rekel Benjamin, nelinearnemu gibanju zgodovine, se pravi, cikličnim gibanjem avantgardnih in kritičnih praks skozi zgodovino, smo priča tudi v primeru sedanjega ULUS-a, katerega medvojna zgodovina nas uči o pomenu obstoja kolektivne »zavesti«<sup>15</sup> in potrebe po spremembi proizvodnih pogojev in načinov.<sup>15</sup>

### Od paradoksa neplačanega umetniškega dela do kolektivnega organiziranja

Prej omenjeni primer umetnice Gordane Belić se je vseeno odrazil v okviru omenjenega Oktobrskega salona, in sicer v razstavljenem delu umetnice Milijane Babić *Iščem delo*. Šlo je za performativno delo, ki je trajalo več kot leto dni in v katerem je umetnica z oglaševalske in opravljala »kaktšnokoli delo«, saj od svojega negotovega in pogosto neplačanega dela v umetnosti ni mogla živeti. Če upoštevamo širšo

sliko (glede razstave), ki se je do objave intervjuja z Gordano Belić na lokalnem portalu, posvečenem sodobni umetnosti,<sup>16</sup> mnogi niso niti zavedali, postane paradoks umetniškega dela še toliko očitnejši. Začuti se tudi pritisk mehanizmov socialne vključenosti in izključenosti, ki so pogosto spregledani ali prezrti v svetu umetnosti, saj ta daje prednost identiteti svojih akterjev pred njihovo razredno opredeljenostjo.

Ko dodatno povežemo neplačano umetniško delo in neplačano gospodinjstvo delo, o čemer govori in piše Katja Praznik, se zdijo stvari še bolj zapletene. Ali bolj jasne?! To je očitno odvisno od tega, za koga. Namreč, da bi prikazala globoko izkoriščevalsko naravo neplačanega umetniškega dela v sistemu sodobne umetnosti, ga je Katja Praznik primerjala z neplačanim gospodinjstvom delom, ki se dojema kot »inherentna težnja ženskega subjekta, ki omogoča, da to delo ni plačano«<sup>17</sup> Sledeč pomembni raziskavi feministične teoretičarke in aktivistke Silvie Federici o neplačanem domačem in reproduktivnem delu kot najmočnejšem orožju proti opolnomočenju žensk in pripisovanju takšnega dela izključno ženski naravi kot nečesa »storjenega iz ljubezni, za kar plačilo ni potrebno«, je Katja Praznik dekonstruirala meščansko predstavo o umetniškem delu kot rezultatu »umetniškega talenta in umetnikove prirojene potrebe po izražanju«: »Medtem ko bi izplačilo zaslužka umetnika upoštevalo kot delavca, pa je prav zaradi odsotnosti denarnega nadomestila umetniško delo v tem pogledu v kapitalizmu nevidno.«<sup>18</sup> Ta teoretična sopostavitev razkriva, na kakšne načine ta »posebnost«<sup>19</sup> umetniškega dela (v smislu njegovega prikrievanja) pripelje do podobnih rezultatov kot »posebnost«<sup>20</sup> gospodinjstvenega dela. Umetnica Milijana Babić je z avdio, foto in video posnetki skrbno dokumentirala vsa slabo plačana dela na trgu dela, ki še posebej prizadenejo žensko delovno silo – od čiščenja, gospodinjstvenih del, strežbe v lokalih, razdeljevanja letakov in reklam, čuvanja razstav in mnogih drugih –, in s tem ustvarila prečni prerez stanja na trgu dela, še zlasti fenomen »feminizacije trga dela«<sup>19</sup>

Približno v istem času, tj. tik pred omenjenim Oktobrskim salonom, je po umetniški sceni predvsem v Beogradu in Novem Sadu krožil metodološko sistematičen in teoretično dosleden projekt z naslovom *Delavska anketa* v obliki Marxovega vprašalnika.<sup>20</sup> Kot kaže, je moralo miniti skoraj desetletje, preden so ključni sklepi te raziskave lahko pripeljali – od teoretične artikulacije do politične prakse – do spoznanja, da identiteta ne obstaja, temveč zgolj skupna izkušnja izkoriščanja, in da je moč v (samo)organiziranju, in ne v zagovorništvu.

To je postalo očitno, ko so se številni umetniki – predvsem tisti, ki so bili zbrani okoli preoblikovanega ULUS-a – hitro pripravljeno, kolektivno in solidarno organizirali na začetku pandemije, ko je večina umetnikov ostala brez socialnega in zdravstvenega varstva, brez

pravice do bolniškega dopusta in nadomestila, brez kakršnegakoli delovnega dogovora, na katerega bi se lahko sklicevali ob iskanju nujne pomoči. Skupaj z drugimi sorodnimi organizacijami in društvi iz lokalnega kulturnega sektorja so ustanovili Solidarnostni sklad.<sup>21</sup> O tem, kako pomembno je ozaveščanje o problematiki dela in politično organiziranje umetnikov, govori tudi zagrebški primer Platforme za delovne razmere v kulturi Za K.R.U.H., ustanovljene na pobudo petih zagrebških organizacij iz različnih strok.<sup>22</sup> Tako kot pri ULUS-u in mnogih drugih podobnih predstavniških umetniških društvih in kulturnih organizacijah, ki razmišljajo o produktivskih odnosih in načinih dela ter delajo na njihovem preoblikovanju, je glavni cilj platforme Za K.R.U.H. skupni boj za javno financirano kulturo in boljše delovne pogoje na tem področju ter okrepitev širokega nabora umetnikov in kulturnih delavcev, da se (samo)organizirajo.

### Okvir za odpor in politiko dela

Lise Soskolne iz W.A.G.E. je na vprašanje o tem, zakaj se po njenem mnenju umetniki v njeni državi ne prepoznavajo kot delavci, poudarila prav problem, o katerem govori Katja Praznik – umetniki tega, kar počnejo, pogosto ne dojemajo kot delo, niti ne dojemajo sebe kot delavcev: »Seveda je to neločljiva dvojica problemov, povezanih s stariimi trdovratnimi miti o umetnosti kot produktu ljubezni ali o tem, kako trg umaže umetniško produkcijo in recepcijo itd.«<sup>23</sup>

W.A.G.E. se z različnimi dejavnostmi (npr. Wagency) zavzema za uvedbo načela »solidarnega sindikalizma«, torej za to, da morajo umetniki neposredno sodelovati pri spreminjanju svojih delovnih pogojev, zagovarja rešitve, ki zahtevajo kolektivno podporo, in vztraja na tem, da se zahteva po plačilu za (umetniško) delo oblikuje kot odkrito politična – kot okvir za odpor in politiko dela (v umetnosti).

Na lokalni sceni kljub pandemski krizi ali pa morda prav zaradi nje napredne organizacije in institucije kažejo podobno zavedanje pomena lastnih preoblikovanj v »parasindikalne«<sup>24</sup> organizacije, potrebe po njihovem prestrukturiranju, spreminjanju od znotraj in zastavljanju bistvenih vprašanj, s katerimi se sooča področje – na primer, vprašanj o materialnem položaju umetnikov in tudi o statusu sodobne umetnosti same do vprašanja reprezentacije in politike razstavljanja ter povezovanja z drugimi naprednimi tokovi na umetniški in politični sceni.

- Gre za 54. oktobrski salon leta 2013, ki je bil tisto leto ocenjen kot prvi (in edini) odkrito feministični Salon s simptomatičnim naslovom »Nihče ne spada sem bolj kot ti«.
- Glej: <http://www.supervizuelna.com/razgovori-goca-belic/>, dostop 2. 4. 2022.
- Na volilni skupščini ULUS-a, ki je bila organizirana decembra 2019, je bilo izvoljeno novo vodstvo za vse organe in delovna telesa društva, s čimer so bili vzpostavljeni pogoji za sistematično borbo umetnikov in umetnic znotraj krovne delovne organizacije za izboljšanje njihovih pravic in delovnih pogojev. Več o tem: <https://www.masina.rs/umetnice-i-umetnici-izborili-se-za-novu-upravo-ulus-a-ujedinjeno-i-solidarno-za-bolja-radna-prava/>, dostop 3. 4. 2022.
- Za pomembne napredne učinke društva glej njihov zbornik, objavljen leta 2021, ki povzema raziskave, teoretske artikulacije in politične in umetniške akcije na temo dela v umetnosti v transformativnem obdobju institucije od konca leta 2019: *Rad u umetnosti – zbornik udruženja likovnih umetnika Srbije*, ur. Vahida Ramujić in Milan Đorđević, (Beograd: Udruženje likovnih umetnika Srbije, 2021).
- Ben Davis, *9,5 Theses on Art and Class*, [http://art.yale.edu/file\\_columns/0000/8594/9.5-theses-on-art-and-class-2011-10-25.pdf](http://art.yale.edu/file_columns/0000/8594/9.5-theses-on-art-and-class-2011-10-25.pdf).
- Za več o pariških stikih Benjamina in Bihaljija Merina glej: Maria Gough, »Paris, Capital of the Soviet Avant-Garde«, *October*, Vol. 101 (2002): str. 53–83.
- Več o zgodovini društva: <https://ulus.rs/o-udruzenju/>, dostop 4. 4. 2022.
- Glej: Benjamin, »Avtor kot proizvajalec«.
- Davičo, Kostić, Matić, *Položaj nadrealizma u društvenom procesu* (Beograd: Nadrealistička izdanja, 1932).
- Prav tam, str. 152–153.
- Prav tam, str. 169.
- Glej tekst Jelene Vesić, v katerem se podrobno ukvarja s pojmom kritičnih umetniških praks: Jelena Vesić, »Administracija estetike ili podzemni tokovi ugovaranja umetničkog posla između ljubavi i novca, novca i ljubavi«, *Fracija, časopis za izvedbene umjetnosti* 68/69 (zima 2013).
- Bolj podrobno o organiziranju umetnikov govori besedilo: Vida Knežević, »legalna grupa Život i levi umetnički front. Pitanje umetničkog organizovanja«, v: *Lekcije o odbrani: da li je moguće stvarati umetnost revolucionarno?*, ur. Miloš Miletić in Mirjana Radovanović (Beograd: Kurs, 2017); in besedilo: Vida Knežević, »Istorijska i savremena promišljanja o ulozi ULU(S)-a u organizovanju umetnika – jedna hipoteza«, v: *Rad u umetnosti - zbornik udruženja likovnih umetnika Srbije*, ur. Vahida Ramujić in Milan Đorđević (Beograd: Udruženje likovnih umetnika Srbije, 2021), str. 107–117.
- Intervju z Gordano Goco Belić je imela umetnica Aleksandrija Ajduković. Glej: <http://www.supervizuelna.com/razgovori-goca-belic/>, dostop 2. 4. 2022.
- Glej intervju s Katjo Praznik: Jasna Žmak, *Katja Praznik: Umjetnički rad je stvaran rad, a ne božanska intervencija*, <https://voxfeminae.net/pravednost/katja-praznik-umjetnicki-rad-je-stvaran-rad-a-ne-bozanska-intervencija/>, dostop 5. 4. 2022.
- Glej: Katja Praznik, *Paradoks neplaćenog umjetničkog rada: ljubav u ritmu eksploatacije*, 2019. <http://slobodnifilozofski.com/2019/09/paradoks-neplacenog-umjetnickog-rada-ljubav-u-ritmu-eksploatacije.html>, dostop 7. 4. 2022.
- Glej: Ivana Hanaček in Ana Kutleša, »Nitko ne pripada tu više nego Zepeter«, <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/nitko-ne-pripada-tu-vise-nego-zepeter>, dostop 7. 4. 2022.
- Delavska anketa* sta skupaj izvedla Bojana Piškur (kot Radical Education Collective) in Đorđe Balmazović (Škart) ob podpori Kulturnega centra Rex, obsegala pa je 85 vprašanj o delovnih in življenjskih pogojih kulturnih delavcev v Srbiji. Cilj je bil odkriti načine in različne nivoje izkoriščanja kulturnih delavcev, pa tudi ugotoviti, kako bi se pridobljeno vedenje lahko izkoristilo za delo za spremembe družbe. Že takrat se je izkazal kot pomemben globok razmislek o pojmihi, kot so prekarno delo, delavec/delavka, razredni boj, država, odtujitev od dela, izkoriščanje, najemno delo itd. Anketo lahko najdete tu: <https://dokumen.tips/documents/radnicka-anketa.html>, dostop 9. 4. 2022.
- Za več o organiziranju umetnikov in kulturnih delavcev v Srbiji med pandemijo glej: Vida Knežević, »Povratak solidarnosti«, *Manek* 9 (NKSS), (2020): str. 34–41.
- Za več o tej iniciativi glej: Karla Crnčević, Dunja Kučinac, Domagoj Kučinčić, Vesna Vuković, »Naša borba Za K.R.U.H.«, *Manek* 10 (NKSS), (2021): pp. 36–46.
- Za več o njihovem delu glej: Vida Knežević, »Intervju sa Liz Soskolni: W.A.G.E. – o (samo)regulaciji institucija i (samo)organizovanju umetnica i umetnika«, *Manek* 10 (NKSS), (2021): str. 20–26.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Benjamin, »Avtor kot proizvajalec«, prev. Peter Gorenšek, *Usoda in značaj* (Ljubljana: Beletrina, zbirka Koda, 2016), str. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Oto Bihalji Merin, *Graditelji moderne misli u literaturi i umetnosti* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1965), str. 19.

*His mission is not to report but to struggle; not to play the spectator but to intervene actively.*<sup>1</sup>

*Nevertheless, the artist remains connected with the destiny of humanity because the basic question is not: what does art strive for, but, in what direction is humanity heading. The civilization of the future will be socialist, or it will not be at all.*<sup>2</sup>

"Artistic work is social work," "The artist is a social worker," "Art = Struggle," as well as many other similar inscriptions, such as "Artist ≠ Entrepreneur," appeared on 1 May 2020 on the windows of the ULUS Gallery in downtown Belgrade. Thus, pedestrians and passers-by on Knez Mihailova Street in the heart of Belgrade, where the abovementioned gallery of the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (ULUS) is located, could read these (artistic) statements about the truths which oppress local artists in Serbia.

These artistic statements appeared in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic, making further exposed and visible the difficult working conditions in culture and art. When, in 2020, the story about the artist Anita Bunčić, who had to give up her status as an independent artist in order to begin working as a receptionist and cleaner, and later as a manual laborer, resounded across certain media, it only served as confirmation of the artists' feeble position in Serbia, of which everyone has become aware.

Almost a decade earlier, however, the case of the artist Gordana Goca Belić also spoke about these things in a devastating way. A case which, through the example of one exhibition, demonstrated the paradoxes in the relation between art and work. Her brutal honesty about the things that are rarely talked about shocked the art scene even then and revealed the true misery of the art system. Instead of exhibiting her work at one of the largest events of visual art in Serbia, which had a tendentious feminist agenda<sup>3</sup> that year, Gordana Belić found herself cleaning the venue of the October Salon. The artist, who for years, especially in her performative artistic practices, had dealt with issues of unpaid housework, the double workload of women, the exploitation of work and sexuality, and several similar topics, overnight found herself in a hopeless situation. As she explained: "I didn't know until the day I started working that I would be cleaning the October Salon. The agreement was that we would meet in front of the Beogradjanka building that morning, and when he told me that I would be cleaning the Kluz department store, I understood."<sup>4</sup> Both these artists are now members of ULUS, a representative art association that has recently<sup>5</sup> undergone a string of structural transforma-

tions, changing this important artistic institution from a deadened, conservative-retrograde, cocooned, and dysfunctional one, to what is one of the most progressive art institutions in Serbia today. Thus, many artists – invisible, abandoned, and forgotten by the system after a series of long decades – regained an institution that actively represents their (class) interests.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Tragic (Class) Position of the Artist in the Social Process**

"Class is a problem of fundamental importance for art," says Ben Davis in his manifesto on art and class.<sup>7</sup> In an attempt to shed light on the economic aspects of contemporary art, Davis underlines that art cannot have a clear idea of its own nature if it does not have a clear idea of the interests of different classes. If we want to understand the institution of art, he continues, we must at the same time understand class relations outside the sphere of visual arts. In addition, we must understand how these relations have a reciprocal effect on the sphere of art; but no less importantly, we must penetrate the very dynamics of class relations within the sphere of visual arts. For art criticism to be relevant at all, he concludes, it should be based on an analysis of the specific situation in art and the different values in power, but which are related to different classes, so that the field of art, as an important place of symbolic struggle, can become a place of relevant social power.

In the context of his time, Walter Benjamin also speaks about this in a lecture entitled "The Author as Producer," held in 1934 at the Institute for the Study of Fascism in Paris. It is not unimportant for our story that one of the key people who ran the Institute was Oto Bihalji Merin,<sup>8</sup> a prominent Yugoslav writer, art historian, political worker, then a member of the Communist Party of Germany, and in continuous contact with progressive Yugoslav artists who, just before World War II, took over the artistic association mentioned at the beginning of this text – ULU(S),<sup>9</sup> addressing the problem of work in art. In his text, Benjamin speaks about the importance of positioning the artist himself,<sup>10</sup> and not only his work, within the class struggle. So, it is not just about whether a work is artistically or socially engaged, political in its form and/or content, but about what position in that struggle the artist himself and his entire artistic practice represent. Benjamin's text thus leads to thinking also about current questions in the relationship between art and politics, art and society, artists to production relations, and many others, such as: Is every artist or artistic collective that produces socially engaged work engaged themselves? And if so, does that mean they are aware of their class position in a structural sense? And do they

(consciously) thereby represent the interests of the oppressed in a particular class struggle?

The Yugoslav Surrealists polemicized exhaustively about this, especially the "younger" current who were involved in prerevolutionary events through their legal artistic activities, as well as the illegal ones, related to the party, in their joining the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. A group gathered around Oskar Davičo, which, from within the Surrealist movement, openly advocated for the social engagement of the Surrealist movement, and whose views were articulated in a joint book published in 1932, entitled *The Position of Surrealism in the Social Process*,<sup>11</sup> certainly had a strong influence on the (political) organization of artists around the then Association of Fine Artists (ULU). They wrote about the need for intellectuals (and artists) to join the collective, which was the only driving social force that could lead to change in the then dominant capitalist social relations: "We touch here on the terrible problem of intellectuals and their tragic position in the social process. These individual or collective cases among intellectuals are only symptoms, they are only visible examples of the immaculate disagreement of the intellectual productive powers themselves with the existing social living conditions, and the necessity of changing them for the sake of the development and pursuance of the intellectual productive powers themselves."<sup>12</sup> Aware of the ambivalent position of the intellectual, which in certain cases helps maintain and strengthen the "upper" classes, while in others it contributes to their denial, they conclude: "They can be a brake or an initiator, according to the degree of their consciousness."<sup>13</sup>

As we can see, many practices of critical art<sup>14</sup> that develop from both historical and contemporary perspectives out of self-reflection and self-criticism of the art system, and which aim to return art to a social practice, necessarily come back to questions regarding the modes of production, distribution, as well as questions around the representation of artistic work itself. They also deal with the production relations within their own practice, reexamine the form and context of appearances, bring into connection the relation between content, form, and organization, are concerned with the issue of artistic work, and finally raise the question of their own class resistance, not only within cultural and artistic production, but the broader context of social and political struggles. What Benjamin would call the non-linear continuum of history, that is, the cyclical movements of the avant-garde and critical practices throughout history, can also be observed on the example of the current ULUS, whose interwar history teaches us the importance of the existence of a collective "consciousness" and the need to change the conditions and modes of production.<sup>15</sup>

### **From the Paradox of Unpaid Artistic Work to Collective Organization**

The previously mentioned case of the artist Gordana Belić nonetheless had its reflection at the abovementioned October Salon, in the exhibited work *Looking for Work* by the artist Milijana Babić. It was a performative work that lasted more than a year, during which time the artist sought and undertook "any kind of work" by taking out ads, since she could not survive from her precarious and often unpaid work in the field of art. Taking into account the wider picture (regarding the exhibition) that many were not aware of until the interview with Gordana Belić was published on a local portal dedicated to contemporary art,<sup>16</sup> the paradox of the art work becomes even more apparent. The pressure of social inclusion and exclusion mechanisms, which are often overlooked and neglected in the art world, giving precedence to identity rather than the class determination of its agents, is felt.

When we further connect unpaid artistic work and the unpaid housework that Katja Praznik speaks and writes about, things seem even more complicated. Or clearer?! It obviously depends on *for whom*. Namely, in order to demonstrate the deeply exploitative nature of unpaid artistic work within the contemporary art system, Katja Praznik compared it to unpaid housework, which is perceived as "an inherent aspiration of a female subject that allows for that work to not be paid."<sup>17</sup> Guided by the significant research of feminist theorist and activist Silvia Federici on the subject of unpaid domestic and reproductive work as the most powerful weapon against women's empowerment, and attributing such work exclusively to the female nature and "an act of love for which wages are not needed," Katja Praznik deconstructed the bourgeois notion of art work as the result of "artistic talent and the innate need of the artist for self-expression": "While the payment of wages is that which would respect an artist as a worker, the absence of compensation in this regard makes the work of art invisible under capitalism."<sup>18</sup> This theoretical juxtaposition reveals the ways in which this "singularity" of artistic work, in terms of its concealment, produces similar effects as the "singularity" of housework. The artist Milijana Babić carefully documented with audio, photo, and video recordings all the low-paid jobs on the labor market that especially affect the female workforce – from cleaning jobs, housework, waitressing, distributing leaflets and advertisements, work as museum attendants, and many others – thus making a cross-section of the situation on the labor market, especially the phenomenon of the "feminization of the labor market."<sup>19</sup>

Around the same time, just before the aforementioned October Salon, a methodologically systematic and theoretically consistent



project called the *Workers' Inquiry* circulated on the art scene, especially in Belgrade and Novi Sad, in the form of Marx's questionnaire.<sup>20</sup> It seems that almost a decade had to pass before the key conclusions of this research could lead – from theoretical articulation to political practice – to the realization that identity does not exist, but only shared experiences of exploitation, and that power lies in (self)organizing, and not in advocacy.

This became evident when many artists – especially those organized around the transformed ULUS – organized themselves quickly, readily, collectively, and in solidarity at the beginning of the pandemic, when most artists were left without social benefits and healthcare, without the right to sick leave, without any work engagement they could call on to seek emergency help, initiating the Solidarity Fund with other related organizations and associations from the local cultural sector.<sup>21</sup> The Zagreb case of the Platform for Working Conditions in Culture, "ZA K.R.U.H." (FOR B.R.E.A.D.), initiated by several Zagreb organizations from different disciplines,<sup>22</sup> also speaks about the importance of raising awareness regarding the issue of work and the political organizing of artists. Their main goal, just like ULUS's and that of many other similar representative artistic associations and cultural organizations that think about production relations and ways of working, and work on their transformation, is a common struggle for publicly funded culture and better working conditions in the field, as well as empowering a wide range of artists and cultural workers to (self)organize.

### A Framework for Resistance and Labor Policy

When asked to explain her opinion on why artists in her country do not recognize themselves as workers, Lise Soskolne from W.A.G.E. pointed out the very problem that Katja Praznik speaks about – artists often do not perceive what they do as work itself, nor do they recognize themselves as workers: "Of course, this is an indistinguishable pair of problems related to persistent myths about art as a product of love, or about how the market pollutes art production and reception, etc."<sup>23</sup>

Advocating for the introduction of the principle of "solidarity unionism" through its various activities (*Wagency*, for example), that is, the need for artists to directly participate in changing their own working conditions, W.A.G.E. advocates for solutions that require collective support and insists that the demand to be paid for one's (artistic) work is formulated as an openly political one – as a framework for resistance and labor policy (in art).

On the local scene, despite or perhaps because of the pandemic crisis, progressive organizations and institutions are demonstrating

a similar awareness of the importance of their own transformations towards "para-union" organizations, of the need to restructure them, change them from the inside, and of asking the key questions which the field is facing – such as those about the material position of artists, but also about the status of contemporary art itself, through the issue of representation and the politics of exhibition and connection with other progressive currents on the art and political scene.

*Translated from the Serbian by Jana Jevtović*

- 1 Walter Benjamin, "Author as Producer", *Selected Writings: Volume 2, Part 2, 1931–1934*, trans. R. Livingstone, eds. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 770.
- 2 Oto Bihalji Merin, *Graditelj moderne misli u literaturi i umetnosti* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1965), p. 19.
- 3 This was the 54th October Salon organized in 2013, which that year was recognized as the first (and only) openly feminist Salon, with the symptomatic title "No One Belongs Here More Than You."
- 4 See: <http://www.supervizuelna.com/razgovori-goca-belic/>, accessed 2 April 2022.
- 5 At the ULUS Electoral Assembly, organized in December 2019, a new leadership of the Association was elected for all the organs and working bodies of the association, which created the conditions for a systematic struggle of artists working under their umbrella for improved labor rights and better working conditions. For more on this, see: <https://www.masina.rs/umetnice-i-umetnici-izborili-se-za-novu-upravu-ulus-a-ujedinjeno-i-solidarno-za-bolja-radna-prava/>, accessed 3 April 2022.
- 6 For important progressive effects of this association, see their reader published in 2021, which summarizes research, theoretical articulations, political and artistic actions on and around the topic of work in art during the transformative period of this institution which began at the end of 2019: *Rad u umetnosti – zbornik udruženja likovnih umetnika Srbije*, eds. Vahida Ramujkić and Milan Đorđević (Belgrade: Udruženje likovnih umetnika Srbije, 2021).
- 7 Ben Davis, *9.5 Theses on Art and Class*, [http://art.yale.edu/file\\_columns/0000/8594/9.5-theses-on-art-and-class-2011-10-25.pdf](http://art.yale.edu/file_columns/0000/8594/9.5-theses-on-art-and-class-2011-10-25.pdf).
- 8 For more on the Parisian relations between Benjamin and Bihalji Merin see: Maria Gough, "Paris, Capital of the Soviet Avant-Garde", *October*, Vol. 101 (2002): pp. 53–83.
- 9 For more on its history, see: <https://ulus.rs/o-udruzenju/>, accessed 4 April 2022.
- 10 See: Benjamin, "Author as Producer".
- 11 Davičo, Kostić, Matić, *Položaj nadrealizma u društvenom procesu* (Belgrade: Nadrealistička izdanja, 1932).
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 152–153.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 14 See the text of Jelena Vesić in which she deals in more detail with the (contemporary) notion of critical artistic practices: Jelena Vesić, "Administracija estetike ili podzemni tokovi ugovaranja umetničkog posla između ljubavi i novca, novca i ljubavi", *Frakcija, časopis za izvedbene umjetnosti*, 68/69 (Winter 2013).
- 15 For a more detailed perspective on artistic organizing see: Vida Knežević, "Ilegalna grupa Život i levi umetnički front. Pitanje umetničkog organizovanja", in: *Lekcije o odbrani: da li je moguće stvarati umetnost revolucionarno?*, eds. Miloš Miletić and Mirjana Radovanović (Belgrade: Kurs, 2017): as well as the text: Vida Knežević, "Istorijska i savremena promišljanja o ulozi ULU(S)-a u organizovanju umetnika – jedna hipoteza", in: *Rad u umetnosti – zbornik udruženja likovnih umetnika Srbije*, eds. Vahida Ramujkić and Milan Đorđević (Belgrade: Udruženje likovnih umetnika Srbije, 2021), pp. 107–117.

- 16 Gordana Goca Belić was interviewed by the artist Aleksandrija Ajduković. See: <http://www.supervizuelna.com/razgovori-goca-belic/>, accessed 2 April 2022.
- 17 See interview with Katja Praznik: Jasna Žmak, "Katja Praznik: Umjetnički rad je stvaran rad, a ne božanska intervencija", <https://voxfeminae.net/pravednost/katja-praznik-umjetnicki-rad-je-stvaran-rad-a-ne-bozanska-intervencija/>, accessed 5 April 2022.
- 18 See: Katja Praznik, *Paradoks neplaćenog umjetničkog rada: ljubav u ritmu eksploatacije*, 2019. <http://slobodnifilozofski.com/2019/09/paradoks-neplacenog-umjetnickog-rada-ljubav-u-ritmu-eksploatacije.html>, accessed 7 April 2022.
- 19 See: Ivana Hanaček and Ana Kutleša, "Nitko ne pripada tu više nego Zepter", <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/nitko-ne-pripada-tu-vise-nego-zepter>, accessed 7 April 2022.
- 20 The *Workers' Inquiry* was conducted jointly by Bojana Piškur (then, Radical Education Collective) and Đorđe Balmazović (Škart), with the support of the Rex Cultural Centre, and consisted of 85 questions on the topic of the working and living conditions of cultural workers in Serbia. The survey can be viewed here: <https://dokumen.tips/documents/radnicka-anketa.html>, accessed 9 April 2022.
- 21 For more on the organizing of artists and cultural workers in Serbia during the pandemic, see: Vida Knežević, "Povratak solidarnosti", *Manek 9* (NKSS), (2020): pp. 34–41.
- 22 For more about this initiative, see: Karla Crnčević, Dunja Kučinac, Domagoj Kučinić, Vesna Vuković, "Naša borba Za K.R.U.H.", *Manek 10* (NKSS), (2021): pp. 36–46.
- 23 For more on their work see: Vida Knežević, "Intervju sa Liz Soskolni: W.A.G.E. – o (samo)regulaciji institucija i (samo)organizovanju umetnica i umetnika", *Manek 10* (NKSS), (2021): pp. 20–26.

*Filmski obzornik 80 – Metka, Meki*, 2021  
dokumentarni film, 4K, 72'  
Z dovoljenjem Obzorniške fronte

Leto 1968 je za vedno zaznamovalo več kot pol milijona Jugoslovanov, med njimi Metko Autor, ki je pri osemindvajsetih letih odšla v Nemčijo na začasno delo in nato tam ostala. Film beleži vsakdanje življenje 80-letne gospe in nas skozi različna kuharska poglavja v spominu vrača k izkušnji »gastarbajterjev«.

»Obzornik 80 nikakor ne gre obravnavati kot izolirano, individualno delo, prav tako ne kot na videz preprost stanovanjski portret. (...) *Metka, Meki* uteleša solidarnost v najmočnejšem smislu, onkraj zahtev trga, nacionalnosti ter prostora, odločno pa tudi zunaj konvencij filmske zgodovine. V nasprotju z glavnino kino ustvarjalcev Nika Autor hrano razume v tistem žlahtnem, bourdainovskem smislu: 'Hrana je vse, kar smo. Je podaljšek nacionalističnih teženj, etnične pripadnosti, osebne zgodovine, človekove regije, njegovega plemena, babice. Že od začetka je od vsega tega nerazdružljiva.' Drži, a v *Obzorniku 80* je hrana še nekaj več; je snov, ki preči meje; je gorivo, ki poganja ljubezen.«<sup>1</sup> (Nace Zavrl)

<sup>1</sup> Prvič objavljeno v *Ekranu* let. LVIII, julij/avgust 2021.

*Newsreel 80 – Metka, Meki*, 2021  
documentary film, 4K, 72'  
Courtesy of Newsreel Front

1968 was a pivotal year for more than half a million Yugoslav men and women, among them also Metka Autor, who left Yugoslavia for Germany at the age of 28 to find work, and ended up staying there. The film documents the everyday life of 80-year-old Metka, who reminisces about the experience of being a *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) through different culinary chapters.

"*Newsreel 80* is anything but an isolated individual work, nor is it a straightforward home portrait. (...) *Metka, Meki* embodies solidarity in the strongest sense, beyond market, national, or spatial constraints, and free of the conventions of film history. Unlike the majority of filmmakers Nika Autor understands food in its finest, Bourdainian sense: 'Food is everything we are. It's an extension of nationalistic feeling, ethnic feeling, personal history, your province, your region, your tribe, your grandma. It's inseparable from those from the get-go.' True, but in *Newsreel 80* food is even more – it's the substance that crosses borders, the fuel that drives love."<sup>1</sup> (Nace Zavrl)

<sup>1</sup> First published in *Ekran* Vol. LVIII, July/August 2021





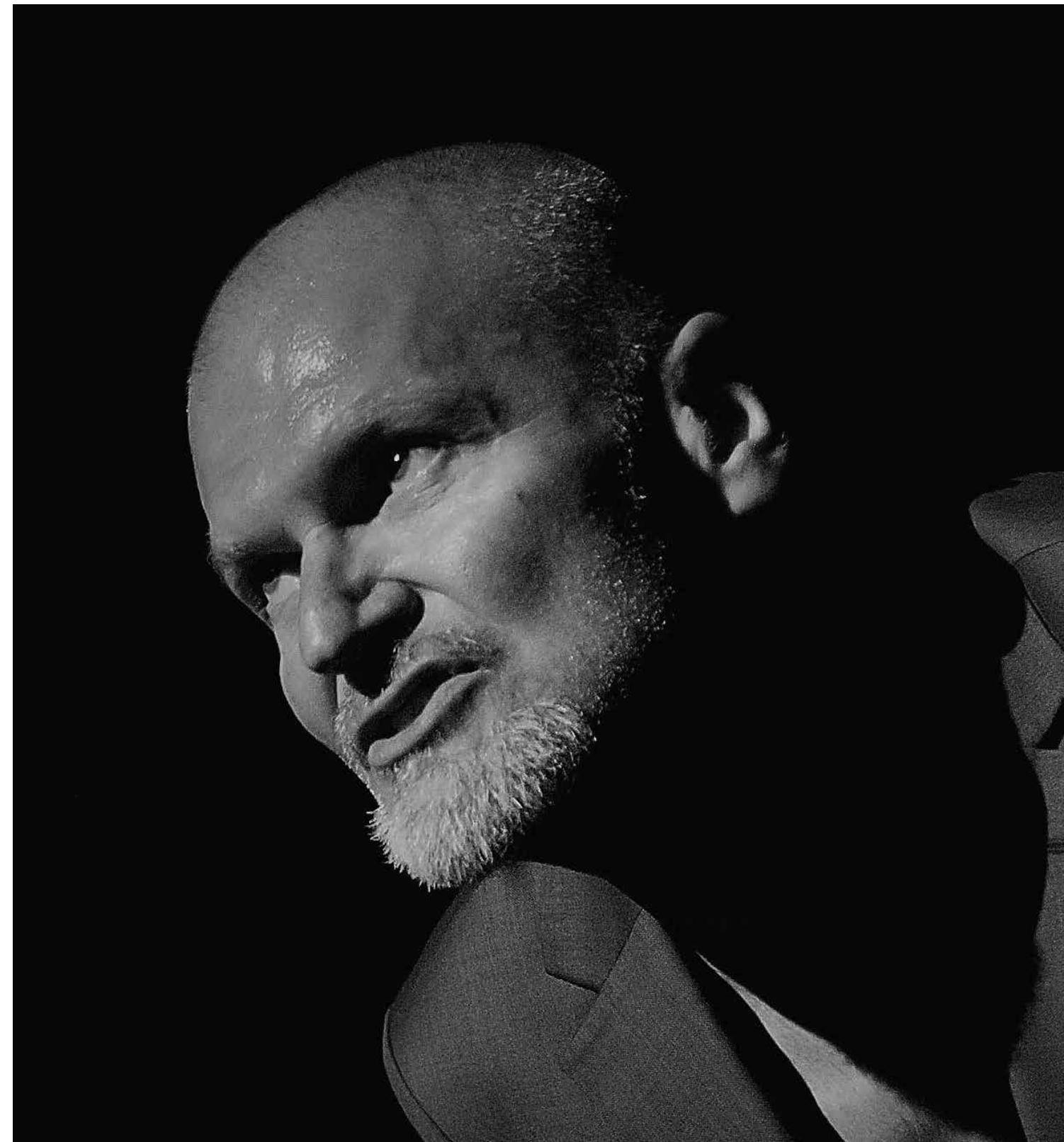
## Damir Avdić

*Jaz anarhist*, 2022  
koncertni performans

Koncertni performans *Jaz anarhist*, ki ga je Avdić pripravil za izvedbo v okviru *Umetnosti na delu*, temelji na resnični zgodbi človeka, ki se po vojni preseli v ZDA (v San Francisco), kjer se srečuje z banalnostjo svojih prepričanj.

*Me, the Anarchist*, 2022  
a concert performance

The concert performance *Me, the Anarchist*, given by Damir Avdić at *Art at Work*, is based on a true story of a man who moved to the United States (San Francisco) after the war, to come face to face with the banality of his convictions there.



## Miljana Babić

### *Iščem delo*, 2011–2012

multimedijско delo na temelju dokumentacije akcije

Koprodukcija Muzej moderne in sodobne umetnosti na Reki  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice

Leto in pol trajajoča umetniška akcija *Iščem delo* se je odvijala na meji med življenjem in umetnostjo. Njeno realizacijo so simbolično podpirali natečaji za kulturi namenjena javna sredstva Republike Hrvatske, za katere v tistem času ni bila predvidena možnost oblikovanja honorarjev po postavkah. Mesečne življenjske stroške je umetnica krila s slabo plačanimi službami.

Iskanje dela preko malega oglasa, ki se je glasil »Vizualna umetnica nujno potrebuje kakršnokoli službo« in ki ga je ves čas objavljala, se je izkazalo za neuspešno, saj so nanj večinoma odgovarjali moški, ki so ji ponujali »delo« maserke, spremljevalke ob koncertih, nastopanje v nočnih klubih, na vročih linijah in podobno. Ko je iskala po različnih kategorijah dela, je našla začasno delo kot natakarica, čistilka, hostesa v nakupovalnih središčih, delila je oglasno gradivo in še kaj, kar je vse prekinila takoj po prvi plači zaradi izčrpanosti in grdega ravnanja, ki ga je bila deležna kot delavka.

Med drugim je za najnižjo, »študentsko« urno postavko opravljala delo čuvajke razstave. V tistem času je sicer delala kot asistentka na reški Akademiji uporabnih umetnosti in je že več kot leto dni čakala na plačo. Čuvala je samostojno razstavo kolega z Akademije, ki je bil redno zaposlen kot izredni profesor.

### *Looking for Work*, 2011–2012

multimedia work based on documentation of the action

Coproduced by the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Rijeka  
Courtesy of the artist

The year-and-a-half-long artistic action *Looking for Work* took place at the border between life and art. Its realization was symbolically supported through competitions for public funds for culture in the Republic of Croatia, which at the time did not include the possibility of itemizing artists' fees. The money the artist earned doing low-paid jobs helped to cover the monthly overheads.

Babić's search for work through an ad that read "Visual artist urgently looking for any job" – and that was repeatedly published in the classified ads section – proved unsuccessful, because it was mostly answered by men offering "jobs" such as massage work, weekend escorting, nightclub performances, sex hotlines, and similar. In searching the jobs sections, the artist found temporary employment such as waitressing, cleaning buildings, promoting products at the mall, and distributing advertising materials, all of which she left after the first paycheck due to exhaustion and the poor treatment she received as a female worker.

One of the jobs she did was working as a museum attendant for the lowest "student" hourly rate. At the time, she actually held the position of adjunct assistant at the Academy of Applied Arts, and had been waiting for over a year to receive her salary. She guarded the solo exhibition of her colleague from the Academy, who himself held a tenured position as an associate professor.

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**POSAO**



**Branje Kapitala. Proletarci vseh dežel združite se!**, 2007–2008

objekt na podstavku in besedilo na steni Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Jeseni 2007 sem se v okviru Delavsko-punkerske univerze, ki deluje v Ljubljani, priključil skupini študentov politologije, ki se je dobivala enkrat tedensko in študijsko brala Marxov *Kapital*. Po političnih spremembah v Sloveniji in nekdanji Jugoslaviji na začetku devetdesetih let je branje Marxa tako rekoč izginilo iz univerzitetnega okolja, obenem pa je slovenski prevod knjige danes nedosegljiv tudi v antikvariatih. Čeprav je branje *Kapitala* trenutno bolj popularno zaradi svetovne krize, ne zagovarjam neke romantične ideje o razrešitvi svetovne krize sveta z delom, napisanim v 19. stoletju. Kljub temu pa se mi zdi ponovno branje nadvse priporočljivo, ali drugače, s ponovnim branjem je treba *Kapital* redefinirati, ga nekako na novo izumiti. Brati Marxa ne toliko kot misleca, temveč kot nekoga, ki zahteva, da njegova misel postane družbeno učinkovita.

**Reading Capital. Proletarians of the World, Unite!**, 2007–2008

object on a stand and wall text Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

In the fall of 2007, I joined a group of political science students who got together once a week to read Marx's *Capital* (Vol. 1) at the Workers-Punks University in Ljubljana. After the political changes in Slovenia and across ex-Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Marxist theory all but vanished from the universities; similarly, the Slovene translation of his *Capital* is almost impossible to find anywhere, including second-hand bookstores. Although reading *Capital* is becoming more popular as a result of the global financial crisis, I do not romantically believe in trying to solve this crisis through a work written in the 19th century. But its rereading, I think, is to be recommended; with it we must redefine or reinvent *Capital*. To read Marx not so much as a thinker, but rather as one who demands that his theory becomes socially effective.

Foto: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Photo: Dejan Habicht, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana



**PROLETARCI VSEH DEŽEL, ZDRUŽITE SE!**

Jeseni 2007 sem se v okviru Delavsko-punkerske Univerze, ki deluje v Ljubljani, priključil skupini študentov politologije, ki se je dobivala enkrat tedensko in študijsko brala Marxov *Kapital*. Po političnih spremembah v Sloveniji in nekdanji Jugoslaviji na začetku devetdesetih let je branje Marxa tako rekoč izginilo iz univerzitetnega okolja, obenem pa je slovenski prevod knjige danes nedosegljiv tudi v antikvariatih. Čeprav je branje *Kapitala* trenutno bolj popularno zaradi svetovne krize, ne zagovarjam neke romantične ideje o razrešitvi svetovne krize sveta z delom, napisanim v 19. stoletju. Kljub temu pa se mi zdi ponovno branje nadvse priporočljivo, ali drugače, s ponovnim branjem je treba *Kapital* redefinirati, ga nekako na novo izumiti. Brati Marxa ne toliko kot misleca, temveč kot nekoga, ki zahteva, da njegova misel postane družbeno učinkovita.

Ipustavit bom samo dvečki teksta, ki sem ga bral in obdeloval od leta 2007 do popravljene skenirane verzije celotnega besedila prve knjige *Kapitala*, ki sem jo zaključil v Belfastu poleti 2008. Knjiga je bila brezplačno ponujena v obliki paketa ljudem s celotno vsebino prve knjige *Kapitala* v nekaterih ljubljanskih knjigarnah v okviru razstavnega projekta *Mlademu galeriji v Ljubljani z naslovom Muji* na cesti.

Relevantnost teksta se kaže že kar v predgovoru k prvi od dveh *Kapitalov*, v katerem Engels napiše tole: «V pričujoči tretji točki ni temeljito spremljena nobena beseda, ki zanje ne bi zagotovo vedel, da so jo bi gl-ec sam tudi spremenil. Ni mi oziroma prišlo na misel, da bi uvedel v »Kapital« običajni žargoni, v katerem so se navajeni izražati nemški ekonomisti, to labovščino, v kateri se, na primer, imenuje delodajalec tisti, ki mu za plačilo v denarju delo dajejo, delojemalec pa oni, ki mu da mezdilo delo odzema. Tudi v francoski- ni se v največini življenji uporablja beseda »travail« v pomenu »zaposlitev«. Po pravici pa bi hotel francoski za priloženega vsakega ekonomista, ki bi kapitalizma imenoval »domneur de travail«, delavca pa »receveur de travail«»

Po zagovornem pobodu Taylorima pride do izgube posesti dela. Delavec si več posesti svojega dela, temveč le privrsek stroja za točen trak. Križec tega je tudi Lenin, ki se je naučeval nad takimi trakovi. Vendar pa bi sam ponovno prebrali, gornjo Engels-

vo formulacijo. Konceptualno je delo pri tistih, ki ga latika operati. Ti pri delavci kapitalist pa je delojemalac, kar kar delavčino zmožnost za delo. Se kar je pri kapitalisti delojemalec, so prostori za delo, sredstva, posesti itd. Čeprav se vedno uporabljamo obratnost od na prvi pogled neprimerna, je s stalno dialoga oziroma podoben med sledilari in kapitalisti klijent.

Spominim se, da je v času življenja Jugoslavije na naslovnici dnevnika *Delo* pisal: **»PROLETARCI VSEH DEŽEL, ZDRUŽITE SE!«** Napis je po političnih spremembah v začetku devetdesetih letov izgubil... Nekdaj je deloval kot fluskula, v kateri ni nič več, ko pa se da spremeniti danes, se mi zdi ta laginil napis v kontekstu razpisne in spora med migrantnimi delavci in lokalno delovno silo sila pomembni.

Migrant, ki v želji po boljšem življenju prihaja v Evropo, je postavljen v položajo spora z lokalnim delavcem, saj je cenejši in uporabnejši. Je brez državljanstva, socialnih pravic, neorganiziran in kot tak manjšeje za laboratorije. In tu se spomnim, da sem imenoval laginil napis na naslovnici *Delo*. Migrant se neč proletarijat, ki se ga uporabljajo staremu, lokalnemu proletariatu.

Seveda je ideja **»PROLETARCI VSEH DEŽEL, ZDRUŽITE SE!«** vedno fluskula, vendar jo je treba jemati. Ali drugače: imamo sem lahko celovito, da imamo v splošno dobro, ki s tem vedno korist imamo samega, pristati most ideje o solidarnosti. Ali drugače: to je omenjeni napis fluskula, ga upoštevati in v zvezi z vsem dožnim splošnozanjem. So ne bi bila samo ideja; ona za to, da se vse državljanji in prebivalci. Ali še drugače: ekonomske proces naj zagotavlja tudi po izvesti, imajoče iz državljanstva, ne gl-čimek je ali ni državljan države, v kateri *Jože Barši, Ljubljana*

**PROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!**

In the fall of 2007 I joined a group of political science students who got together once a week to read Marx's *Capital* (Vol. 1) at the Workers-Punks University in Ljubljana. After the political changes in Slovenia and across ex-Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Marxist theory all but vanished from the universities; similarly, the Slovene translation of his *Capital* is almost impossible to find anywhere. Although reading *Capital* is becoming more popular as a result of the global financial crisis, I do not believe in trying to solve this crisis through a work written in the 19th century. But its rereading, I think, is to be recommended; with it we must redefine or reinvent *Capital*. To read Marx not so much as a thinker, but rather as one who demands that his theory become socially effective.

I would like to present just a small part of the text I worked on from 2007 through the revised and scanned version of the entire first book of *Capital*, which I finished in Belfast this summer.

The importance of the work is apparent in one of the prefaces where Engels wrote the following: "That not a single word was changed in this third edition without my firm conviction that the author would have altered it himself. It would never occur to me to introduce into "Das Kapital" the current jargon in which German economists are wont to express themselves - that jargon in which, for instance, one who for cash has others give him their labour is called a labour-giver (Arbeitsgeber) and one whose labour is taken away from him for wages is called a labour-taker (Arbeitsnehmer). In French, too, the word "travail" is used in everyday life in the sense of "occupation." But the French would rightly consider any economist crazy should he call the capitalist a domneur de travail (a labour-giver) or the worker a receveur de travail (a labour-taker)."

What happens after the victory of Taylorism is the loss of the ownership of labour. The worker is not the owner

of labour, but is just part of the machine. Of course part of the blame must also be laid at Lenin's door in view of his enthusiasm over the conveyor belt. But I would like to rethink Engels's formulation from the preface. Conceptually the owner of the labour is the one who is paid to perform it, which is the worker. The capitalist is the labour-taker, because he buys the worker's ability to work. What the capitalist has is work places, raw material, business etc. Although this common mistake seems irrelevant upon first sight, it is actually crucial when it comes to negotiations between the trade union and the capitalists.

If we return to the line of ex-Yugoslavia we recall the front page of the Ljubljana newspaper *Delo* (Work) where it was written: **»PROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!«** After the political changes of the early 1990s the message vanished. At the time the statement was considered a catchphrase in which nobody really believed.

The migrant who comes to the EU seeking a better life is pushed into conflict with the local worker, because he is cheaper and more useful. He has no citizenship for social rights, as a group they are unorganized and, as such, more suitable for exploitation. And so the migrants are the new proletarians being used in the struggle against the old local proletariat.

Of course the idea **»Proletarians of the World, Unite!«** is still a catchphrase, but it should be taken and understood very seriously. Privately I might even be a racist, but I know that for the common good, and with that my own benefit, I must accept the universality of the idea of solidarity. Solidarity should not simply exist as an idea, the concept of the citizen and the concept of the inhabitant should be equal. Furthermore, being a part of the economic machinery should also ensure the rights and duties that derive from citizenship, regardless of whether one is a citizen of the state, whether one works or not.

*Jože Barši, Ljubljana, February 2009*

**Čistilec**, 2019

enokanalna video projekcija (HD), barvna,  
zvočna, 17' 33"

Z dovoljenjem umetnice

*Čistilec* je del zeniške trilogije, v kateri Danica Dakić raziskuje utopije bosanskega mesta Zenica (katerega ime ima tudi dobesedni pomen očesne zenice). V socialistični Jugoslaviji je bila Zenica hitro rastoče industrijsko središče, obenem pa tudi arhitekturni model moderne metropole. Po vojni v Bosni je mesto doživelo negativne posledice moderne dobe v obliki skrajne onesnaženosti okolja in kolektivnega malodušja. V *Čistilcu* umetnica sledi Ismetu Safiću, ki že več kot dvajset let samoiniciativno vsak dan čisti zeniške ulice. Kot drugi protagonist in pripovedovalec nastopa Ismetov brat Adil. Ob zvokih dializnega aparata Adil v lokalni bolnišnici opisuje delo svojega brata, svojo politično angažiranost in to, kako naprava čisti njegovo telo. Brata, ki sta prišla v Zenico kot vojna begunca, vsak na svoj način prevzemata odgovornost za oblikovanje svojega okolja navkljub razočaranju, izgubi imetja in brezposelnosti. Velika maketa nikoli realiziranega »Totalnega gledališča« Walterja Gropiusa, ki je na ogled v mestnem prostoru, odpira drugo pot za razmišljanje o posamezniku in mestu, napredku in stroju. Danica Dakić uporabi umetniška sredstva dokumentarnega filma in uprizorjanja, raziskovanja in očaranosti, da skupaj s svojima neopevanima junakoma uzre neko utopično Zenico – poetična in politična gesta družbene aktivacije.

**The Cleaner**, 2019

single-channel video projection (HD), color,  
sound, 17' 33"

Courtesy of the artist

*The Cleaner* is part of the Zenica Trilogy, a series of works in which Danica Dakić investigates the utopias of the Bosnian city of Zenica (meaning the pupil of the eye). Not only was Zenica a burgeoning center of industrialization in socialist Yugoslavia, it was also an architectural model of a modern city. Since the Bosnian War, it has experienced the downsides of modernity in the form of extreme environmental pollution and collective resignation. In *The Cleaner*, the artist follows Ismet Safić, who has been cleaning the streets of Zenica voluntarily every day for more than twenty years. Ismet's brother Adil appears as a second protagonist and narrator. To the sounds of a dialysis machine at the local hospital, Adil describes his brother's work, his own political commitment, and how his body is cleansed by the machine. In their own way the two brothers, who came to Zenica as war refugees, assume responsibility for shaping their environment in the face of disillusionment, loss of property and unemployment. An oversized model of Walter Gropius's unrealized "Total Theater" on display in the urban space opens another venue for reflecting on the individual and the city, progress and machine. Dakić uses the artistic means of documentary film and staging, of exploration and enchantment to view a utopian Zenica together with her unsung heroes – a poetic and political act of social activation.





**Monomat**, 2015

instalacija  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Elektronika in programiranje: Brane Ždralo  
Tehnična izvedba: Martin Lovšin Schintr  
Multiplikacija & modelacija: Neža Jurman,  
Boris Košak, Rok Mohar  
Produkcija: Zavod Projekt Atol in Društvo  
Ljudmila  
Koprodukcija: Strip Core

*Monomat* je model proizvodnega obrata brez nadzornega centra. Gre za prototip, ki predstavlja družbene načine produkcije. *Monomat* temelji na »raziskavi« delovnih praks kognitivnega prekariata, ki temeljijo na ponavljanju avtomatiziranih gibov v okviru razmerja človek-stroj.

Model temelji na »neskončnem« pomnoževanju proizvodnega obrata z vso pisarniško opremo vred (računalniško miško, tipkovnico itd.) V natančno usklajenem delovanju vseh podrejenih ravni se zrcalijo načela delovanja v sodobnih družbah ter absurdnost okolja, v katerem se reproducira komunikacijski kapitalizem. Obenem postopno samouničenje posameznih delovnih enot ponazarja stanje nenehnega tehnološkega razvoja v fordizmu in postfordizmu, ki zahteva radikalno porabo energije. Zvok mašinerije, ena od temeljnih prvin *Monomata*, je rezultat programiranega gibanja tehničnih protez in kovinskih struktur, v katere je vpet kognitivni prekariat. *Monomat* je torej model, ki razkriva družbeno-tehnološki sistem množične potrošnje kot glavni dejavnik družbene konstrukcije realnosti.

**Mon-O-Matic**, 2015

installation  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Electronics & programming: Brane Ždralo  
Technical implementation: Martin Lovšin Schintr  
Multiplication & modelling: Neža Jurman,  
Boris Košak, Rok Mohar  
Production: Projekt Atol Institute, Ljudmila Art  
and Science Laboratory  
Co-production: Strip Core

*Mon-O-Matic* is a model of a manufacturing plant without a control center. It is a prototype that represents the social modes of production. *Mon-O-Matic* is based on research into the cognitive precariat's labor practices, which are characterized by the repetition of automatized motion as part of the human-machine relationship. The model is based on "infinite" multiplication of the manufacturing plant, including all of the necessary office equipment (a computer screen, table, chair, writing implements, computer mouse & keyboard, and so on). The precisely coordinated operation of all of the auxiliary levels mimics the principles of action within contemporary societies and the absurdity of the environment within which "communication capitalism" is reproduced. The gradual self-destruction of individual workstations also represents the condition of permanent technical innovation within Fordism and post-Fordism, which demands a radical consumption of energy. The machinery's sound, which is one of *Mon-O-Matic's* fundamental elements, is the result of the programmed motion of technical prosthesis and metallic constructs, within which the cognitive precariat is enmeshed. *Mon-O-Matic* is thus a model that exposes the socio-technical system of mass consumerism as the principal factor of the social construction of reality.



**UHU**, 2017

instalacija (kolaž, knjigi umetnika, najdeni predmeti, lesene police), različne dimenzije (lesene police z manjšimi predmeti 90 × 48 × 8 cm, kolaža 30 × 20 cm, knjigi umetnika 20 × 15 cm, 17 × 11 cm)  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice

Instalacijo *UHU* sestavljajo lesene police z majhnimi predmeti (škatlice vžigalic, filmski negativ, lepilo in sponke, kopije škatel, cigaretni papir ...), knjigi umetnika *Bibliothèque de recherche* in *Blue Feelings* ter deli iz serije *Minute kolaži*. Umetnica se pri obdelavi tiskovin poigrava z njihovimi spremenljivimi pomeni. Razmišlja o družbenem in gospodarskem položaju naše kulture odpadkov ter o potrebi iskanja pomenov v sledeh in v novi rabi predmetov. S kolažem in instalacijo raziskuje odnos med resničnim in navideznim, povezavo med vizualno izkušnjo in jezikom ter potencial alternativne zgodbe. S svojim pristopom k mešanici in zmešnjavi razpok, fragmentov in plasti želi ustvariti nelinearno pripoved na ravni osebne in kolektivne zavesti. Namen njenega dela je ustvariti nove podobe in zamisli ter odkriti nevidne procese, ki se odvijajo v današnji družbi.

**UHU**, 2017

installation (collage, artist's books, found objects, wooden shelves), dimensions variable (wooden shelves with small objects 90 × 48 × 8 cm, collages 30 × 20 cm, artist's books 20 × 15 cm, 17 × 11 cm)  
Courtesy of the artist

The installation *UHU* consists of wooden shelves with small objects (matchboxes, film negatives, glue and clips, photocopies of boxes, cigarette papers...), two artist's books titled *Bibliothèque de recherche* and *Blue Feelings* and works from the series *Minute Collages*. Processing the printed materials, Fere plays with their shifting meanings. She reflects on the social and economic situation of our culture of waste, but also on the need to find meaning in traces and the new use of objects. Through collage and installation, she explores the relationship between the real and the imaginary, the connection of visual experience with language, and the potential of an alternative story. With her own approach to the mishmash of cracks, fragments, and layers she wants to create a non-linear narrative on the level of personal and collective consciousness. The goal of her work is to generate new images and ideas, and discover invisible processes in today's society.





*Angeli umazanih obrazov*, 2004–2006  
fotografije  
Z dovoljenjem umetnika in Art Collection  
Telekom

Na predvečer 5. oktobra 2000 sem se znašel v Beogradu. Preko razglasa na ulici sem izvedel, da so rudarji iz Kolubare protestno stavkali. Več tisoč ljudi jih je prišlo podpret. Ta dogodek je pomenil začetek konca Miloševićevega režima in je simbolično zaznamoval konec stoletja ter konec socializma v nekdanji SFRJ.

Stavka je bila izrednega pomena, saj je Srbija iz tega rudnika dobivala 50 odstotkov električne energije. Zato so imeli rudarji takrat moč vplivati na politične spremembe v državi, njihovo dejanje pa je znova potrdilo dejstvo, da imajo delavci moč spreminjati družbene tokove, če se te moči zavedajo in so enotni v svojem namenu.

Naslov dela se nanaša na paradoksalno situacijo, v kateri smo živeli v teh krajih v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja: kljub trdemu in poštenemu delu ter življenju na robu revščine so ostali rudarji in delavci čistih rok in čiste vesti, medtem ko so si politiki in ves vladajoči razred, ki bi morali biti po svobodni izbiri državljanov vzor vsem, umazali roke in obraz s pohlepom, umazanimi goljufijami in manipulacijami z ljudmi. (Igor Grubić, 2006)

*Angels with Dirty Faces*, 2004–2006  
photographs  
Courtesy of the artist and Art Collection  
Telekom

On 5 October 2000, I found myself in Belgrade. Through the loudspeakers on the street, I heard about the miners from Kolubara going on strike in protest. Several thousand people went out to support the miners. This event marked the beginning of the end of the Milošević regime. In a symbolic way, it also marked the end of the century and the end of socialism in the region of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The strike was very important, given that 50 percent of Serbia's supply of electricity comes from that mine. As such, at that moment the miners had the power to influence political change in the country. This act of the miners reaffirmed the fact that workers have the power to effect change in society if they become aware of that power and are united in their intention.

The title of the work points to the paradoxical situation we lived in in this region in the 1990s: despite their hard and honest work, and existence on the brink of poverty, the miners and workers remained with their hands and consciences clean. On the other hand, it is the politicians and the entire ruling class, who, by virtue of the free choice of citizens should be an example to everyone else, but are in fact the ones with dirty hands and faces due to their greed, filthy corruption, and manipulation of the people. (Igor Grubić, 2006)





## Hristina Ivanoska

### *Lahka akumulacija kapitala*

2019/2022

stenska slika (barva za steno in grafit), tekstilno delo (sukanec in grafit na volneno/bombažno tkanino, kartonasti tulec in les), papir (tuš in les)

Z dovoljenjem umetnice

*Lahka akumulacija kapitala* je na raziskavi utemeljen osemurni performans, ki se posveča vprašanju diskriminacije žensk v makedonski tekstilni industriji. Naslov projekta se navezuje na knjigo *Akumulacija kapitala* Rose Luxemburg, ki je bila rezultat poglobljene analize Marxovega *Kapitala*.

Danes [Republika Severna] Makedonija ni izključena iz neusmiljene tekme za akumulacijo kapitala, ki temelji na kompleksnih hierarhičnih razmerjih moči in izkoriščanja. Nasprotno, kot »država v tranziciji« Makedonija doživlja vse slabosti in brutalnosti neoliberalnega kapitalizma, s tem da ima tekstilna industrija (s kar 90 odstotki!) največji delež zaposlenih žensk, ki so podvržene nenehni in sistematični manipulaciji in izkoriščanju s strani delodajalcev, državne institucije pa to ignorirajo in dopuščajo brez sankcij.

V svojem delu je Ivanoska poudarila nekatere od teh ponižujočih in izkoriščevalskih pogojev s tem, da je delo izvedla pod enakimi pogoji v prostorih Muzeja sodobne umetnosti v Skopju v sklopu razstave *Vse, kar imamo skupnega* kustosinji Mire Gakina in Jovanke Popove leta 2019. Pogodba o izvajanju storitev, ki jo je Ivanoska podpisala z muzejem, opredeljuje te pogoje in je razstavljena kot del instalacije.

### *Easy Accumulation of Capital*

2019/2022

mural (wall paint and graphite), textile work (thread and graphite on woolen/cotton fabric, cardboard cylinder, and wood), paper (ink and wood)

Courtesy of the artist

*Easy Accumulation of Capital* is a research-based performance that focuses on the issues of discrimination against women in the Macedonian textile industry. The title of the project is partly taken from the book *Accumulation of Capital* by Rosa Luxemburg, which was the result of a thorough review of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*.

Nowadays, [North] Macedonia is not excluded from the ruthless race for capital accumulation, which includes complex relations based on a hierarchy of power and exploitation. On the contrary, being a "country in transition," Macedonia is experiencing all the disadvantages and cruelties of neoliberal capitalism, including those in the textile industry, where a very high percentage (up to 90%!) of the women employed in the sector are subjected to continuous and systematic manipulation and exploitation by their employers, a fact that remains ignored, tolerated, and unsanctioned by the state institutions.

Ivanoska highlighted some of these humiliating and exploitative conditions by executing her artwork under such conditions on the premises of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje at the group exhibition *All That We Have in Common*, curated by Mira Gakina and Jovanka Popova in 2019. The services contract signed between the museum and Ivanoska, which explains the conditions, is exhibited as part of the installation.



Foto: Zoran Shekerov  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice in Muzeja sodobne umetnosti, Skopje

Photo: Zoran Shekerov  
Courtesy of the artist and Museum of Contemporary Art, Skopje





## Sanela Jahić

### *Mehanizem za ustvarjanje napetosti*, 2013

mehanizem: knjigi, miza, pletenica, jeklena konstrukcija, silomer, motor, zategovalni sistem  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice

### *Tovarna*, 2013

video, 10' 31"

Z dovoljenjem umetnice

Sanela Jahić se ukvarja z razmerji med strojem, človekom in njegovo identiteto, ki so ena od stalnic v njenem ustvarjanju, preko obravnave dela in narave proizvodnega procesa v kontekstu poznega kapitalizma. V *Mehanizmu za ustvarjanje napetosti* moč stroja ustvarja in popušča napetost med listi knjig Marxovega *Kapitala* in *Smrti liberalnega razreda* Chrisa Hedgesa, ki sta zaradi fizikalnega pojava sile trenja med seboj povezani tako močno, da jih štirje Delavci ne morejo razkleniti. Besede dveh kljubujejo stroju, ki nadomesti moč štirih. Video *Tovarna* je nastal v specifičnem okolju lokalnih proizvodnih obratov in razpira dialoško mrežo med torišči: stroj, delo, delavec, lastnik in c/Kapital. Odnos človeka do stroja in njegova naddolocenost z vprašanjem moči je predstavljena z zgodbo Lastnika (*1. del: Ljubezen*) in Delavke (*2. del: Rojstvo*). Nekateri ljudje s stroji služijo, drugi služijo strojem. V videu so prikazani občutki pod- ali nadrejenosti, oblasti ali nemoči, pa tudi subtilnejši občutki navezanosti, prepleta, ljubezni, sanj ali vdanosti v usodo, pasivnosti in žrtvovanja.

### *Friction Machine*, 2013

mechanism: 2 books, table, wire, steel construction, dynamometer, electromotor, tension system  
Courtesy of the artist

### *The Factory*, 2013

video, 10' 31"

Courtesy of the artist

Sanela Jahić tackles the relations between machines, humans, and their identities by examining labor and the nature of the production process in the context of late capitalism. In *Friction Machine*, the mechanical power tightens and eases the tension between interleaved pages of Marx's *Capital* and Chris Hedges' *The Death of the Liberal Class*, which are so strongly woven together by the physical factor of friction that four Workers are unable to unbind the two theories. The words of two are standing up to the machine that has replaced the power of four. The video *The Factory* shows a network of dialogues stretched between the following poles: machine, work, worker, owner and c/ Capital. It was filmed in the environment of local manufacturing plants. An individual's relation to technology and the way that the latter influences the nature of labor is illustrated with the story of the factory Owner (*Act I: Love*) and the story of a female Worker (*Act II: Birth*). While some people make money with machines, others serve them. *The Factory* shows feelings of inferiority or superiority, power or subordination, as well as more subtle emotions, such as affection, dependency, love, dreaming or resignation, passivation and sacrifice.





*Udarnik*, 2011–2022  
video portret  
Z dovoljenjem umetnika

Deindustrializacija postsocialističnih družb oziroma tako rekoč totalna privatizacija javnih prostorov, namenjenih delu in prostemu času v kapitalističnih razmerah, sta izničili vezi med delavci in jih pustili brez vere v družbeno dobro, prepuščene normam izčrpavajočega dela, brez pravic in dostojnih delovnih pogojev. Ti procesi so zaznamovali tudi umetnike, ki v dobi kognitivnega kapitalizma živijo precej podobno, zlasti tisti, ki prihajajo iz neinstitucionalnega konteksta in živijo v prekarnih in zelo negotovih pogojih.

Video portret je poklon današnjim delavcem v tekstilni, čevljarški, usnjarski, gradbeni in železniški industriji ter neinstitucionalnim kulturnim delavcem za njihovo izjemno delo ter poziv k enakopravnosti in solidarnosti. V središču je položaj delavcev – nepriviligiranih, zatiranih in marginaliziranih, ter potreba po skupnosti in medsebojni podpori na ravni izmenjave znanja in ozaveščanja o njihovem položaju v okvirih delitve oziroma distribucije dela. Gre za nekakšen poziv delavcev/delavcem k boju za pravice, ki ponuja simbolični »prostor«, kjer so slišani vsi tisti, ki so jim bile odvzete delavske pravice v obstoječem političnem, družbenem in ekonomskem kontekstu. Film daje besedo Stevki in Ademu iz filma *Podoba iz življenja udarnikov* iz leta 1972 ter vsem delavcem v tovarnah, kot je Astibo, ki so jih zaradi izjemnih delovnih rezultatov razglasili za udarnike in so kot taki poosebljali socialističnega delavca in samoupravljavca, oziroma kulturnim delavcem, ki jih predstavlja ta projekt v poskusu, da bi izrazil težave, s katerimi se soočajo. Statičen diha kot spomenik delavcem, a je poln življenja in energije, ki je ne gre trošiti kot nekaj nepomembnega. (Ivana Vaseva)

*Shock Worker*, 2011–2022  
video portrait  
Courtesy of the artist

The deindustrialization in the post-socialist societies, or the almost complete privatization of the public spaces for work and leisure in a capitalist context, have led to disunited workers with no faith in the social good, functioning under the norm of exhaustive labor, with no rights or decent working conditions. These processes have also influenced the artistic context, which in the age of cognitive capitalism shares a similar way of life, especially for those who operate in a non-institutional context and live under precarious and deeply uncertain conditions.

This video portrait pays homage to the textile, shoe, leather, construction, railway workers and non-institutional cultural workers of today for their outstanding work, and calls for equality and solidarity. Its focus is the situation in which workers now find themselves – underprivileged, oppressed, and marginalized – as well as the need for community and mutual support, at the level of knowledge exchange and raising the awareness of their position within the frames of the division or distribution of labor. This work is in a way a cry out of/to the workers to fight for their rights, and offers a symbolical "space" for giving a voice to all those who are dispossessed of their own working rights in the existing political, social, and economic framework. It uses the voices of Stevka or Adem from the 1972 film *Life of a Shock Force Worker*, or of all those in factories like the Astibo factory, who were called shock workers for their exceptional productivity that affirmed the persona of a socialist worker and self-manager, or of the cultural workers represented by this project trying to voice the difficulties they are facing. It breathes as a monument to workers with a static posture, but full of life and energy that shouldn't be wasted as if it's of no great importance. (Ivana Vaseva)





## Doruntina Kastrati

***Tukaj (po zraku se širi strup, pa vendar dihamo)***, 2021  
smola, filamentni material, osnovna barva 4K, silikonska barva, volna, lepilo  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice in Bungalow/ChertLüdde, Berlin

Delo Doruntine Kastrati obsega (pogosto medsebojno povezane) instalacije, skulpture in videe, ki so nastali na podlagi obsežnih raziskav, osredotočajo pa se na telo v razmerju do biopolitične moči. Pozornost gledalca usmerja na družbena in politična vprašanja, povezana s problematiko dela in balkansko regijo. V filmu *Tukaj* so v ospredju pričevanja delavcev v gradbeni industriji, ki nazorno prikažejo, kako

velik človeški davek zahteva nereguliran trg prekarnega dela od tistih, ki tam iščejo zaposlitev. Ena od bistvenih posledic je visoka stopnja poškodb, ki jim onemogoča nadaljnje delo v tej panogi – nekateri delavci celo priznajo, da bi raje tvegali smrt kot izgubili možnost preživljanja. Z dokumentarnim pristopom umetnica predstavi pričevanja, na katerih temelji njena kiparska instalacija.

***Here (Air Carries Poison but Yet We Breathe)***, 2021

resin, filament material, 4K primer, silicone-based paint, wool, adhesive  
Courtesy of the Artist and Bungalow/ChertLüdde, Berlin

Doruntina Kastrati's work comprises (often interconnected) installations, sculptures, and videos that are based on extensive research and focus on the body and its relationship to biopolitical power. Specifically, Kastrati directs one's attention to social and political issues of labor in the Balkan region. Kastrati's film *Here* centers on the testimonies of laborers working in the construction industry. These workers attest to how this precarious

and unregulated labor market has serious human costs to those that have to seek employment there. One of the primary consequences is a high rate of injury, which then precludes further work in the industry – some workers even admit that they would rather face death than lose the ability to earn a living. With this documentarian approach, Kastrati provides the human testimonies that underpin her sculptural installation.

*Jonuz bela*, 2021  
18 × 114,5 × 46 cm  
smola, filamentni material, osnovna barva 4K, silikonska barva, kozja dlaka  
Foto: Trevor Lloyd  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice in Bungalow/ChertLüdde, Berlin

*Jonuz White*, 2021  
18 × 114,5 × 46 cm  
resin, filament material, 4K primer, silicone-based paint, goat hair  
Photo: Trevor Lloyd  
Courtesy of the artist and Bungalow/ChertLüdde, Berlin



**Bomo, saj bomo ... ampak kako?!**

2017

multimedijjska instalacija  
različne dimenzije  
Z dovoljenjem avtoric

Skupno delo *Bomo, saj bomo ... ampak kako?!* antropologinje Duge Mavrinac in umetnice Božene Končić Badurina iz leta 2017 je rezultat njihovih skupnih terenskih raziskav in predhodnih raziskav antropologinje. Ambientalna instalacija prepleta antropološke raziskave o delavcih migrantih, ki delajo v gospodinjstvu in negi, z umetniškim delom in galerijskim prostorom, ob tem pa ustvarja simbole in fiktivne dnevnik dnevnih opravil ter materialnih praks dela in migracij, ki jih vzporeja s pravnimi in političnimi akti, kot je Konvencija o delavcih v gospodinjstvu C189, ter tako nevidno in negotovo življenje delavcev umešča v javno domeno. Potem ko prepotuje razstavni prostor, se del instalacije – zvezek kot polfiktiven skupni dnevnik pripovedovalk, opremljen z risbami vsakdanjih opravil, bivalnih in delovnih prostorov – vrne v prostor neumetniškega vsakdanjika. Instalacija in njena lokacija tako delujeta kot tranzitno območje in prostor legitimacije hkrati. Ti ganljivi in duhoviti zapisi kipijo od skrbi, pozornosti, varčnosti, poslušnosti in dnevnih invencij kot območij upora. Natisnjeni so v velikem številu, saj sta jih avtorici namenili obiskovalcem, ki naj bi jih delili naprej brez njenega vmešavanja. Z obravnavanjem problematike komodifikacije nege, socialnega varstva in čustvenega dela instalacija kontekstualizira sodobni fenomen neformalnega plačanega gospodinjkega dela in problematizira pravne predpise, ki urejajo to obliko dela, in odsotnost pravne zaščite tovrstnih delavk, obenem pa poudarja, da Hrvaška še vedno ni ratificirala konvencije C189. Še več, neformalno plačano gospodinjstvo tako uteleša preobrazbo trga dela v smislu brisanja meja med delovnim časom in počitkom ter prepletanja poklicnega in zasebnega življenja, kar brez izjeme vodi v vmešavanje in dominacijo prvega nad drugim.

**Will Do, Will Do... But, How?!**, 2017multimedia installation  
dimensions variable  
Courtesy of the artists

The collaborative work of the anthropologist Duga Mavrinac and artist Božena Končić Badurina *Will Do, Will Do... But, How?!* was done in 2017 on the basis of the authors' joint field research and that previously conducted by Mavrinac. This ambient installation entwines anthropological research on migrant domestic and care workers with artistic work and the gallery space, thus creating a symbolic home and fictive dairies of the daily activities and material practices of work and migration, which are juxtaposed against legal and political acts, such as the Convention C189 – Domestic Workers Convention. In this way, the authors place the invisible and uncertain life of such workers in the public domain. One segment of the installation – a notebook, as a semi-fictitious collective diary of female narrators with sketches of everyday activities, living and working spaces – is returned to the space of non-artistic daily life after it passes through the exhibition space. The installation itself and the location where it is situated thus work as a transit zone and place of legitimization. These moving and witty notes are bursting with care, concern, thrift, obedience, and daily inventions as zones of resistance. Printed in large quantities, they were intended to be distributed among visitors and then circulated further, beyond the control of the authors. By discussing the issue of the commodification of care, welfare and emotional work, this installation contextualizes the contemporary phenomenon of informal paid domestic work and questions the legal regulations governing this form of work and the related absence of legal protection for female workers, pointing out that Croatia has still not ratified Convention C189. Even more, informal paid domestic work can be seen as the embodiment of the transformation of the labor market in terms of dissolving boundaries between work-time and rest-time, and the intertwining of professional and private lives, which inevitably leads to interference and control of the former over the latter.

Postavitev v muzeju MAXXI v Rimu  
Foto: Roberto Luigi Apa  
Fotografija z dovoljenjem Fondazione MAXXI

Installation view at MAXXI, Rome  
Photo: Roberto Luigi Apa  
Photo courtesy of Fondazione MAXXI





## Andreja Kulunčić

### *Bosanci ven!*

*(Delavci brez meja)*, 23.–30. 9. 2008  
in situ projekt za razstavo Muzej na cesti,  
Ljubljana

V sodelovanju z Ibrahimom Čurićem, Saidom  
Mujićem in Osmanom Pezićem  
Plakati, 200 × 100 cm

Oblikovanje plakatov: Dejan Dragosavac-Ruta  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

Leta 2008 se je med obnovo stavbe Moderne galerije v Ljubljani odvil razstavni projekt *Muzej na cesti*. Sodelujoči umetniki, teoretiki in aktivisti so raziskovali in intervenirali v aspekte mesta, ki so hkrati prisotni in nevidni, marginalizirani in potlačeni. Z novo umetniško vsebino so ti vidiki postali vidni.

Projekt *Bosanci ven!* se je nanašal na eno od treh osrednjih tem razstave, na »urbane margine: paralelne strategije preživetja, prakse samoorganiziranja, migrante, delavske domove, zapore«. Obravnaval je življenjske in delovne pogoje migrantskih delavcev v Sloveniji. Andreja Kulunčić je projekt razvila v sodelovanju s tremi delavci iz Bosne, ki so delali na gradbišču stavbe Moderne galerije. Kot je pojasnila, je bil njen cilj, »da bi bili delavci, ki že več mesecev delajo na muzejski stavbi, avtorsko vključeni tudi v oblikovanje vsebine muzeja in da bi se jim odprla drugačna pot za aktiven dialog z javnostjo o njihovem položaju v Ljubljani.« Končni produkt sodelovanja je bila intervencija na svetlobnih panojih v mestnem središču. Delavci so izbrali štiri glavne teme kampanje (pogoje dela, življenje v samskem domu, neakovostno prehrano in ločenost od družin), svoje fotografije ter tudi neposredni in ironični ton kampanje. V maniri reklamnih kampanj je intervencija (v sliki in besedi) predstavila njihove zgodbe in substandardne življenjske pogoje v kontrastu s stereotipnimi prikazi idealnih interierjev domov, kakršne so sicer gradili.

### *Bosnians Out!*

*(Workers without Frontiers)*, 23–30  
September 2008

site-specific project for the exhibition *Museum in the Streets*, Ljubljana  
In collaboration with Ibrahim Čurić, Said Mujić,  
and Osman Pezić

Posters, 200 × 100 cm  
Poster design: Dejan Dragosavac-Ruta  
Courtesy of the artists

In 2008, while the building of Moderna galerija was undergoing renovation, the exhibition project *Museum in the Street* was organized in Ljubljana. The invited artists, theoreticians, and activists explored and intervened in those aspects of the city that are both present and simultaneously invisible, marginalized, and repressed. These aspects were made visible in a new, artistic context.

The project *Bosnians Out!* referred to one of the three main topics of the exhibition, "Urban margins: parallel strategies of survival, self-organizing practices, migrants, workers' hostels, prisons..." It focused on the living and working conditions of migrant workers in Slovenia. Andreja Kulunčić developed the project in collaboration with three migrant workers from Bosnia who were employed at the Moderna galerija construction site. Kulunčić explained that her goal was "to include the workers, who have been working on the museum building for months, in co-creating the content of the museum, and to open a new channel of communication for them, creating an active dialogue with the public regarding their situation in Ljubljana." The collaboration resulted in an intervention using advertising light boxes in the city center. The workers chose four main topics for the campaign: working conditions, life in workers' hostels, poor nutrition, and separation from their families. They decided to use their own photographs and set the campaign's direct and ironical tone. In a manner reminiscent of advertising, the campaign juxtaposed their stories and their substandard living conditions (in image and text) with stereotypical representations of ideal home interiors (as found in interior design magazines) that they were building.





**Zastave za prihodnost, 2022**

akril na platnu  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

*Kaj je cilj Revolucije? Zagotovo to, da osreči ljudi.<sup>1</sup>*

V *News from Nowhere* (Novicah od nikoder) William Morris opisuje družbo, ki je doživela popolno preobrazbo. Ne poznajo denarja in trgovanja v današnjem pomenu besede, vsak lahko vzame in porabi, kar potrebuje, zato ni razrednih razlik. Proizvajajo samo, kar potrebujejo, zato je delo postalo »prijetna vaja za duha in telo«, vsak človek pa je umetnik, kolikor si to želi.

Svoje zastave ustvarjajo z mislijo na družbo, ki je doživela preobrazbo, zato so mišljene za neko drugo prihodnost. Ne strinjajo se s Fisherjevo tezo, da si je danes težko – če ne sploh nemogoče – predstavljati radikalno drugačno ali boljšo prihodnost, kot je brutalni kapitalizem, v katerem živimo. Da bi zarezala v polje kapitalistične sedanjosti, se vračava v preteklost in razmišlja o obzorju prihodnosti s stališča utopičnih idej 19. stoletja. Utopije se ne oklepava zato, ker bi bila naivna idealista, ampak zato, ker razmišlja o prihodnosti kot o nečem, kar še ni določeno, in tako ustvarjajo prostor upanja, dejanj in političnega potenciala. Brez tega ostajamo ujetniki levičarske melanholije, ki nas žene v nenehno kritiziranje sedanjosti.

<sup>1</sup> William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (Global Grey, 2018), str. 93.

**Flags for the Future, 2022**

acrylic on canvas  
Courtesy of the artists

*What is the object of Revolution? Surely to make people happy.<sup>1</sup>*

In *News from Nowhere*, William Morris describes a society that has been completely transformed. Money has been abolished, there is no trade as we know it, everyone can take and consume what they need, so consequently there are no class differences. Only that which is necessary is produced, thus work has become a "pleasant exercise of mind and body," and every man is an artist to the extent that he wishes to be.

We create our flags by thinking about a society that has gone through a transformation, and they are meant for some other future. We depart from Fisher's thesis that today it is difficult, almost impossible, to imagine a radically different or better future than the cruel capitalism under which we live. In order to create a break in the capitalist present, we go back to the past and reflect on the horizon of the future from the perspective of the utopian ideas of the 19th century. Holding on to the idea of utopia is important not because we want to be naive idealists, but rather because by thinking about the future as something that has yet to be decided we create space for hope, action, and political potential. Without that, we remain trapped in leftist melancholy with the impulse to constantly criticize the present.

<sup>1</sup> William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (Global Grey, 2018), p. 93.



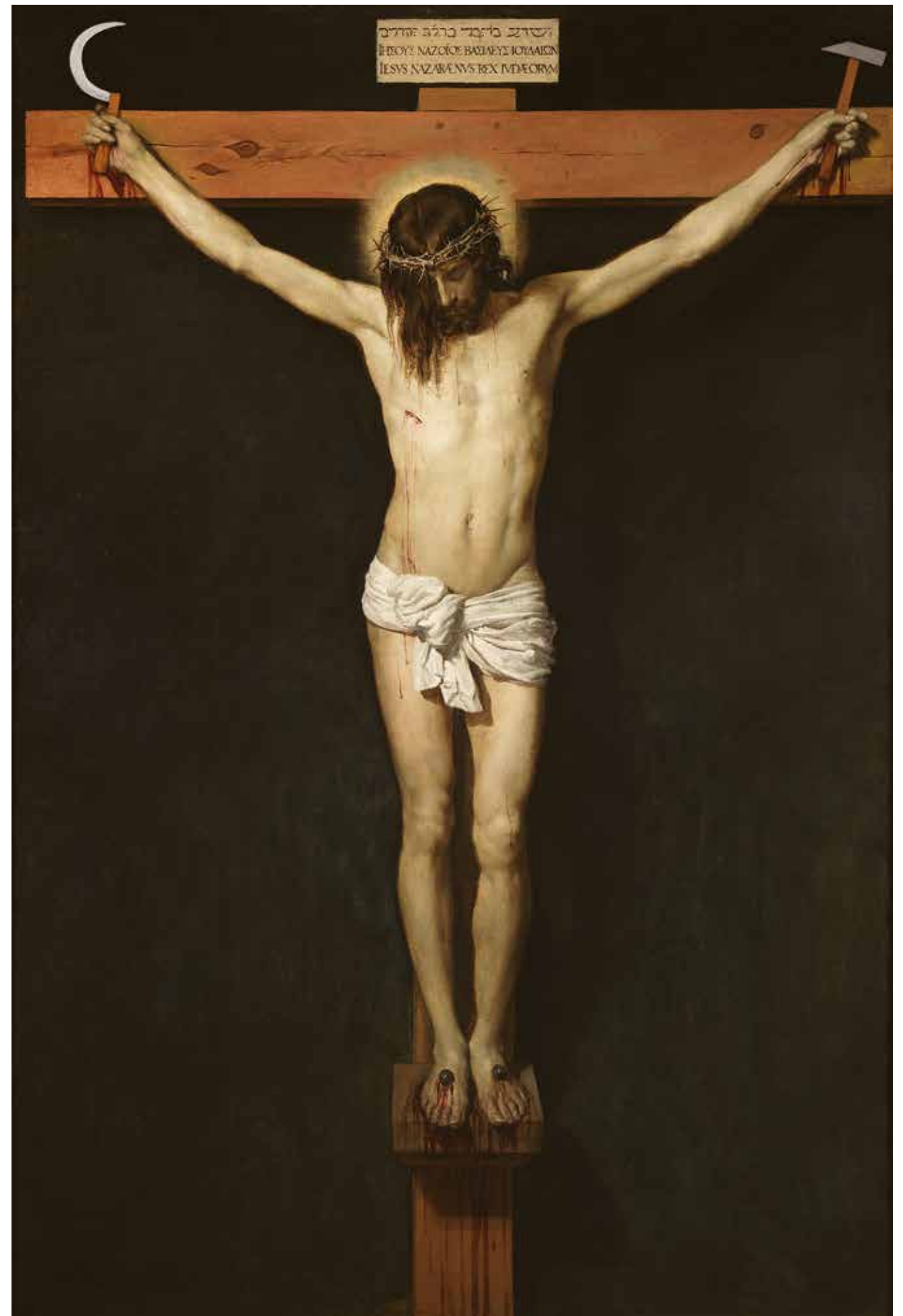


*Delaj na sebi*, 2022  
performans  
Z dovoljenjem umetnika

»Delaj na sebi« je ena od manter našega časa. Biti konkurenčen v sodobni družbi pomeni nenehno delati na svoji poklicni izobrazbi in biti obnem v formi. Od tod tudi vse večja priljubljenost različnih oblik vadbe za telo in duha, kot so meditacija, afirmacije, pilates, telovadba, tek ... V performansu *Delaj na sebi* izvajam pilates, in sicer vaje, ob katerih starejši morda pomislijo na koreografije ob zletih ob štafeti mladosti, ki je vsako leto 25. maja obeleževala rojstni dan Josipa Broza Tita oziroma dan mladosti. Vsaka vaja predstavlja znan lik iz svetovne zgodovine umetnosti: *Križanega*, Mironovega *Metalca diska*, Rodinovega *Misleca* in druge. Ker brezdolno in nesmiselno zapravljanje prostega časa ni več zaželeno, svoje umetniško izobraževanje izkoristim kot priložnost za krepitev svoje telesne pripravljenosti. S spom in kladivom v roki, seveda. Konec koncev delam.

*Work on Yourself*, 2022  
performance  
Courtesy of the artist

“Work on yourself” is one of the phrases that characterizes our time. To be competitive in today’s society we must constantly work on our professional education, and at the same time must always be in shape. That is why various forms of exercise, physical and mental, are exceedingly popular – meditation, affirmation exercises, Pilates, working out at the gym, running... In the performance *Work on Yourself*, I perform Pilates exercises that might remind older people of the choreographies performed at the *slet* mass athletic events that used to mark Josip Broz Tito’s birthday, also called Youth Day, and which took place on 25 May each year. The goal of each exercise is to stage a famous figure from art history: *The Crucified Christ*, *The Discobolus* of Myron, Rodin’s *Thinker*, and many others. Given that leisure – a supposedly pointless and empty waste of time – is no longer desirable, I am simultaneously educating myself as an artist and working on my physical fitness. Of course, with a hammer and sickle still in my hands. Because I am working.





## Irena Lagator Pejović

### *Mreže, vozli, obzorja*, 2020

instalacija (interaktivna stenska instalacija, ručno izdelani klobčiči, mreže, vozli iz barvne preje), 105 × 620 cm  
Z dovoljenjem umetnice

En konec niti v množici ročno izdelanih klobčičev barvne preje je pripet na mrežo, ki visi na steni, drugi je prost in namenjen interakciji z obiskovalci.

Z vlečenjem barvnih niti v prostor obiskovalci sodelujejo pri odvijanju klobčičev ter tako vzpostavljajo fizično vez z delom, ga spreminjajo in pri tem razkrivajo njegovo ozadje – mrežo. Sodelovanje občinstva pri ustvarjanju prepoznavnosti ideje vključujočega obzorja spodbudi razmislek o širšem in ožjem kontekstu: današnje globalno okolje, družbene in politične nemire, pa tudi družbeni in kulturni kontekst vsakdanjega življenja. Na razstavi je naše skupno delo. To postane doživeta izkušnja in pričevanje, da sta naš razvoj in delovanje na tem planetu stvar naše skupne odgovornosti.

Instalacija sproži razmislek o sodelovalnih oblikah ustvarjanja ter nas usmerja k potencialu prepoznavanja zapletenih tem sedanosti, v upanju, da lahko to dejanje razkrivanja, kako stvari delujejo, sproži strategije skupnosti in solidarnosti v trenutni zdravstveni, gospodarski, ekološki in politični krizi.

### *Nets, Nodes, Horizons*, 2020

installation (interactive wall installation, hand-made colored yarn balls, nets, nodes), 105 × 620 cm  
Courtesy of the artist

At one end, the threads of this multitude of hand-made colored yarn balls are attached to the nets hanging on the wall, while at the other end, the threads are hanging loose, inviting the visitors' interaction.

By pulling the colored threads away from the wall, the visitors participate in unwinding the balls, establishing a physical connection with the work, modifying it, and making visible its background – the net. The participation of the audience in creating the visibility of the idea of an inclusive horizon activates ideas about the broader and narrower context: today's global environmental, social, and political unrest, but also the social and cultural context of everyday life. What is exhibited here is our common labor. It becomes a lived experience and a testimony that our development and action on the planet depend on our shared responsibility.

The work initiates thinking about collaborative forms of creation, pointing out the potential of recognizing the complexities of the present moment, in the hope that this act of making visible how things are can trigger the strategies of togetherness and solidarity during the current health, economic, natural, and political crises.





*Pojmovanje razrednega boja v kulturi tranzicije*, 2022  
besedilo v obliki knjižice  
Z dovoljenjem umetnikov

*Notions of Class Struggle in the Culture of Transition*, 2022  
text in the form of a booklet  
Courtesy of the artists

Naloga je bila narediti strip ali vsaj scenarij, ki bi prikazal/pojasnil tematiko razrednega boja v kulturi (v »tranziciji«), kot ga vidi(ta) in razume(ta) avtor(ja) po letih dela na »neodvisni« vzhodnoevropski kulturni in umetniški sceni. Delo ponuja tudi razmislek (v obliki amandmajev) o Zakonu o kulturi v perifernih kapitalističnih državah (ki je bil objavljen v Milikićevem blogu na portalu B92 v obliki »nemogočega« predloga – nemogočega vsaj za tranzicijske politike in oblikovalce politik v tistem času). Rezultat temelji na empiričnem in teoretičnem videnju, različnih delovnih izkušnjah, dosedanjih uvidih in dilemah, s katerimi se je pri samostojnem delu ali na kolektivni ravni soočil avtor, jih preizpraševal ali testiral, zlasti v povezavi s praksami, kot so prezentacija sodobne umetnosti v javni sferi beograjskih predmestij, produkcija umetniških del v podeželskih naseljih z laiki in »neumetniki«, umetniški natečajji, na katerih lahko sodelujejo vsi, ki obravnavajo dano temo, projekti/programi za demokratizacijo in decentralizacijo kulture in podobno. Izbrani informativni priročniki oziroma »slikanice za odrasle«, ki so na voljo ob razstavi, so nastali v desetletjih kulturne tranzicije in dokumentirajo potek izvedenih projektov.

The task was to produce a comic book, or at least the scenario, that was both instructive and illustrative for the topic of the class struggle in culture (in "transition") as the author(s) saw and understood it after years of work in the East European "independent" cultural and artistic sector and scene. The work also reflects (in the form of proposed amendments) on "The Law on Culture in Capitalist Periphery" (published on b92 as Milikić's blog post in the form of an "impossible" proposal, at least impossible for the transitional politicians and policy makers of the time). The result is based on both empirical and theoretical knowledge, a variety of work experiences, insights, and dilemmas that have been encountered, challenged or tested so far, especially related to practices such as the presentation of contemporary art in the public sphere of the Belgrade suburbs; the production of artworks in provincial towns with non-professionals and "non-artists"; art contests open to anybody who responds to a given topic; projects and programs for the democratization and decentralization of culture. A selection of instructive manuals or "picture books for grown-ups" produced in the decades of cultural transition are available as a form of documentation.





*Uporabni idiot*, 2016  
stenska poslikava  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Delo *Uporabni idiot*, ki ga je Darinka Pop-Mitić zasnovala posebej za razstavo v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti Metelkova, sestoji iz stenske poslikave in več manjših fotografij. Fotografije dokumentirajo akcije, ki jih je umetnica izvedla v Beogradu nekaj mesecev pred tem. Šlo je za *in situ* intervencije, v katerih je naslikala majhne freske ikoničnih upodobitev dela in jih je potem nalepila na fasade stavb v Beogradu, v katerih so se naslikane dejavnosti nekdanje odvijale, preden so bile zgradbe privatizirane in dobile drugo namembnost. Tako je nalepila fresko šivanja na steno nekdanje tekstilne tovarne, ki je postala luksuzen poslovni objekt. Slikovni elementi fresk tvorijo osnovne elemente stenske slike v galerijskem prostoru.

V projektu se Pop-Mitićeva ukvarja z izginjanjem tradicionalnih poklicev v tranziciji iz industrijske družbe v neoliberalno, poleg tega pa tudi razmišlja o poziciji umetnikov, ki jih ima za »uporabne idiole«. Izraz uporabni idiot pozna veliko jezikov, označuje pa človeka, ki pospešuje kak razvoj dogodkov, ne da bi se zavedal njihovih posledic. Umetnica temu ciničnemu poimenovanju doda optimističen zaspek: čeprav ustvarja predmete in pomene, katerih posledice (še) niso povsem znane, upa, da se bo njeno umetniško delo izkazalo uporabno ali pomembno za prihodnost družbe.

*Useful Idiot*, 2016  
wall painting  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Useful Idiot*, conceived by Darinka Pop-Mitić especially for the exhibition in the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, consists of a wall painting and a number of small photographs. The photographs document several actions the artist performed in Belgrade a few months earlier. Her site-specific interventions consisted of painting small frescoes of iconic representations of work and then gluing them on the façades of those Belgrade buildings where the painted activities took place before the sites were privatized and began to serve a different purpose. For example, a fresco depicting sewing was glued on the wall of a former textile factory that later became a luxury office space. Pictorial elements from the fresco paintings form the basic elements of the mural painted in the gallery space.

Besides dealing with the displacement of traditional occupations in the context of transition from industrial to neoliberal societies, with this project Pop-Mitić also reflects on the position of artists, considering them to be "useful idiots." A useful idiot is a term used in many languages to describe a person who furthers an agenda without fully realizing its consequences. Pop-Mitić adopts this cynical remark but gives it an optimistic twist: even though she is producing objects and meanings, the consequences of which are not (yet) fully known, she hopes her artistic work will somehow prove useful or meaningful to the future of society.





**Delavca**, 2014

akril na platnu  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Delavca* Uroša Potočnika sta neposreden komentar *Lomilcev kamenja* (*Les Casseurs de pierres*) francoskega slikarja Gustava Courbeta (1819–1877), s katero je Courbet, prepričan socialist, na razstavi opozoril na težak položaj delavstva v tedanji Evropi. Na sliki, ki je bila med drugo svetovno vojno uničena in jo poznamo samo po fotografiji, vidimo dva delavca, enega starega in zgaranega, drugega pa še skoraj otroka, ki na cesti razbijata kamenje. S sopostavitvijo mladega in starega delavca je Courbet odkrito opozoril na socialno in razredno ujetost delavstva v zaprti krog nenehnega ponavljanja skozi generacije, obenem pa tudi na to, da protagonista glede na svojo starost sploh nista primerna za tako težko delo – Courbet je sliko opisal kot popoln izraz človeškega trpljenja.

Potočnik je v svoji sliki Courbetov originalni motiv nekoliko spremenil, povzel pa je držo klečečega delavca in obraz, skrit pod senco pokrivala. Ko ga je tako »prestavil« v današnji čas, mu nadel uniformo, čelado in rokavice, nam je ponudil nespektakularno naslikano podobo težaškega dela in najbolj izkoriščanega razreda delavcev. Obenem pa nas opozarja tudi na problematiko prikazovanja resničnosti, ki je v današnjem času mnogokrat zmanipulirana in medijsko skonstruirana.

**Workers**, 2014

acrylic on canvas  
Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

*Workers* by Uroš Potočnik is a direct comment on the well-known painting *The Stone Breakers* (*Les Casseurs de pierres*) by the French painter Gustave Courbet (1819–1877). A staunch socialist, Courbet displayed this work to draw attention to the difficult conditions faced by the European working class in his day. His painting, destroyed during World War II and only known through photographs, depicted two workers, one old and worn out, the other still almost a child, breaking stones on the road. By juxtaposing the youth and the old man, Courbet openly pointed to the vicious circle of repetition through generations in which workers were trapped in his time, as well as to the fact that both workers were, by reason of their respective ages, unsuited to their grueling labor. According to the painter, *The Stone Breakers* were a perfect expression of human suffering.

Potočnik adapted the original motif by Courbet, while retaining the posture of the kneeling worker and his face hidden in the shadow cast by his hat. Transposed into the present day, wearing a uniform, hard hat and gloves, Potočnik's workers offer a non-spectacular depiction of back-breaking labor and of the most exploited class of laborers. At the same time, the painting also draws attention to the issue of representation of reality, so often manipulated and artificially constructed through mass media.



*Delavska anketa*, 2010–2013 in 2019  
raziskovalni projekt

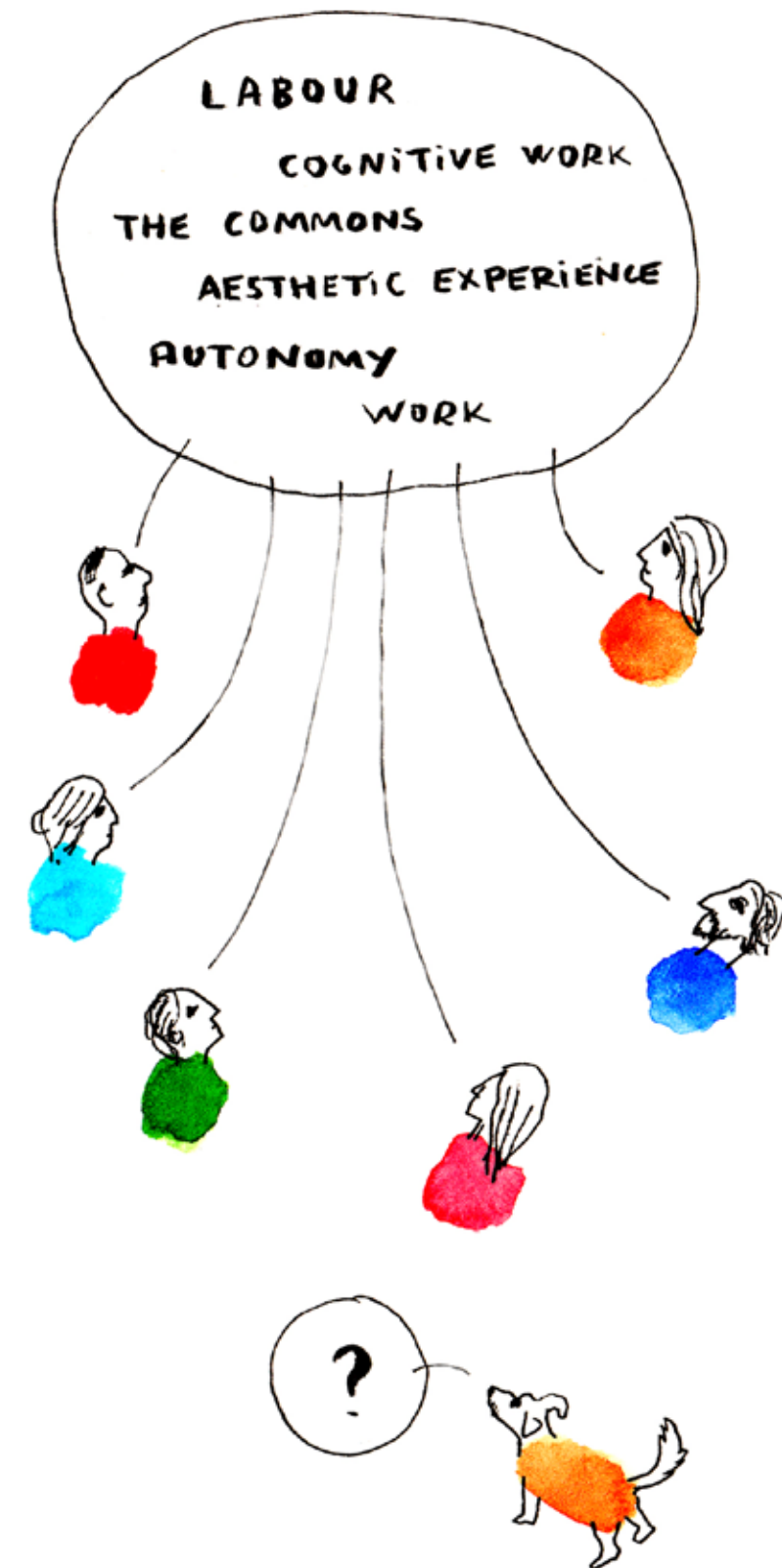
Leta 1880 je Karl Marx izdelal »Vprašalnik za delavce«, katerega namen je bil ponovno določiti položaj francoskega proletariata. Ankete, ki jih je 130 let kasneje izvedel Radical Education Collective, so temeljile na Marxovi, a so bile prilagojene lokalnim razmeram. Prvo so kot skupno raziskavo dveh kolektivov, Workers' Inquiry Goup in Radical Education Collective, izvedli leta 2010 v Muzeju Reina Sofía v Madridu. Leta 2012 so anketo prilagodili posebnim razmeram na področju umetnosti in kulture v Srbiji. K sodelovanju jih je povabil Nebojša Milikić iz Kulturnega centra Rex, anketo pa sta izvedla Radical Education Collective in skupina Škart. Skopska anketa je bila izvedena v obliki seminarja novembra 2019 v sodelovanju z Oliverjem Musovikom v okviru dogodka, ki je razmišljal o prihodnosti z delavske perspektive, Precarious in Capitalist Culture (Prekarnost v kulturi kapitalizma).

*Delavska anketa* je raziskovalna metoda stotih vprašanj, ki se lahko izvede v različnih formatih, v ustni ali pisni obliki. Obenem služi tudi kot nekakšno orodje samoemancipacije v duhu Marxove misli, da mora biti emancipacija delavcev delo samega delavskega razreda. Vprašanja zajemajo izobraževanje, poreklo, delovne izkušnje, socialne in zdravstvene ugodnosti, članstvo v sindikatih ali političnih strankah ter delovne in življenjske pogoje. Da bi resnično razumeli izkoriščanje, moramo najprej prepoznati, kakšen vpliv ima to na delo in življenje delavcev, od gibljivega delovnega časa do izostanka socialne in zdravstvene varnosti ter prekarnih pogojev dela, vključno z rezidencami, projektnim delom in podobnim. Eno od vprašanj, ki so jih zastavili v anketi in z njimi odprli novo polje razprav, je bilo: Kaj se zgodi, če se uprete temu, da bi bili odtujeni od rezultatov svojega dela? To vprašanje je bilo še zlasti pomembno v Srbiji, kjer so anketirali delavce v kulturi, ki so izgubili službo ali so bili v svojem delovnem okolju deležni nadlegovanja ali celo fizičnih napadov zaradi političnega ali družbenega aktivizma, spolne usmerjenosti, kritike neoliberalnih tendenc v kulturi in drugih razlogov. Za REC je bilo pomembno določiti takšne načine organiziranja »neorganiziranih«, ki le-teh ne bi delili na redno zaposlene v kulturnih institucijah in prekarne delavce. Politizacija delavcev v kulturi zaradi delavskega gibanja je bilo eno od vprašanj na srečanjih v Madridu, Ljubljani, Beogradu in Skopju, kjer smo poskušali določiti, kako pomembni so bili v političnem smislu novi, mrežno organizirani javni prostori oziroma kako bi lahko ustvarili skupne »možnosti za politiko«. Če se ozremo nazaj, lahko le potrdimo, da se za delavce v kulturi, razen besedišča teoretičnega diskurza o delu in pogojih dela, v zadnjem desetletju ni kaj dosti spremenilo.

*Workers' Inquiry*, 2010–2013 and 2019  
research project

Karl Marx developed his "Workers' Inquiry" in 1880 with the purpose of redefining the position of the French proletariat. The inquiries that the Radical Education Collective conducted 130 years later were adapted to the local situations but were based on Marx's original Inquiry. The first inquiry took place in the Museo Reina Sofía in Madrid in 2010 as collaborative research conducted by two collectives, the Workers' Inquiry Group and the Radical Education Collective (REC). In 2012 the inquiry was revised according to the particular situation in the field of arts and culture in Serbia. The invitation came from the Cultural Center Rex and Nebojša Milikić and it was done collaboratively by the Radical Education Collective and the Škart group. The Skopje inquiry took the format of a seminar in November 2019 in collaboration with Oliver Musovik as part of an event thinking about the future from a labor perspective, Precarity in Capitalist Culture.

The *Workers' Inquiry* is a 100-question research methodology that can be conducted in various formats, either as oral interviews or written narratives. It also serves as a kind of self-emancipation tool in the spirit of Marx's words that the emancipation of workers must come from workers themselves. The questions range from education, background, work experience, social and health benefits, participation in trade unions or political parties, to individual working and living conditions. The basis to understanding exploitation lies in discerning how it shapes work and the workers' lives, from flexible working hours to the absence of social and health benefits, as well as precarious working conditions, such as living on residencies or from one project to the next. One of the questions that was addressed through the inquiry and which opened a new territory of discussion was: What happens if you refuse to be alienated from the results of your labor? This was a particularly important issue to discuss in Serbia, where the survey was conducted among cultural workers who had lost their jobs or been harassed or even psychically assaulted in their work environments for such reasons as political and social activism, sexual orientation, criticism of neoliberal tendencies in culture, etc. What was important for the REC were the ways in which to organize the "unorganized" beyond the division of those permanently employed in cultural institutions and precarious workers. Politicizing those working in culture in connection with the labor movement was one of the issues raised in the encounters in Madrid, Ljubljana, Belgrade, and Skopje, where we tried to determine how important the new network-organized public spaces were in a political sense – in other words, how joint "possibilities for politics" could be created. Retrospectively, we can only ascertain that not much has changed for cultural workers beyond the vocabulary of a theoretical discourse on labor and labor conditions in the past decade.









*Polet mladosti*, 2005  
video

*Naše čudo (Pesma izgradnje)*, 2005  
video

*Jedem ti malter*, 2006  
video

Vse z dovoljenjem skupine Škart in Horkeškarta

Popevki »Polet mladosti« in »Naše čudo« sta pesmi iz obdobja petdesetih let 20. stoletja v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji. Nastali sta v obdobju intenzivne povojne obnove razrušene države. Slavita delo in pozivata mlade, naj stopijo skupaj in združijo moči pri obnovi. Besedilo je polno upanja in optimizma, ljubezni do domovine in ponosa na delo. Najbolj izstopajoči refren povzema neverjetno vero v prihodnost, ki bo čudežna, še boljša kot v sanjah.

Naš čudež  
je že tu,  
spreminja noč v dan,  
sanje bodo kot resničnost  
in resničnost vsa kot sen.

Avtor pesmi »Jedem ti malter« (Jem ti malto) je Jovan Ružić s svojo skupino Achtung Dichtung, aranžirala pa jo je skladateljica in glasbenica Jovana Backović. Besedilo je duhovita besedna igra na kletvico »jebem ti mater«. V videu, ki spremlja pesem, Horkeškart med prepevanjem psokv metaforično ruši hišo.

*Polet mladosti*, 2005  
video

*Naše čudo (Pesma izgradnje)*, 2005  
video

*Jedem ti malter*, 2006  
video

All courtesy of Škart the Škart collective and Horkeškart

“Polet mladosti” (The Enthusiasm of Youth) and “Naše čudo” (Our Miracle) are songs from the 1950s in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The songs were written in the decade after World War II, in the years of extensive rebuilding in a country that had been destroyed in the conflict. They celebrate work, inviting youth to stand together and rebuild the country. The lyrics are full of hope and optimism, calling young people to enjoy their homeland and be proud of work. The most notable refrain presents an amazing belief in the future, which will be like a miracle, better than a dream...

Our miracle is  
already happening,  
transforming night into day,  
a dream becomes reality,  
and all reality – a dream.

“Jedem ti malter” (I eat your plaster) is a song by Jovan Ružić and his band Achtung Dichtung, arranged by the composer and musician Jovana Backović.

The lyrics are a play on words: in Serbo-Croatian *jedem ti malter* sounds almost the same as one of the worst curses *jebem ti mater* (which means “I fuck you mother”). Horkeškart thus made a video where the performers metaphorically destroy the house by singing swear words.





»Kako je moje življenje postalo kulturni delavec – kulturniki stopijo na oder«, 2016

Predstavitve predavanja  
Z dovoljenjem avtoric

Zaradi odsotnosti osnovnih delovnih pogojev in delavskih pravic samozaposleni v umetnosti in kulturi svoje delo opravljajo v nestabilnem, negotovem in nezanesljivem okolju. Zabrisana meja med zasebnim in delovnim časom, preobremenjenost z delovnimi obveznostmi ali opravljanje različnih del hkrati ob stalnem pomanjkanju časa ustvarjajo profil delavca v umetnosti, ki nenehno in veliko dela brez ustreznega finančnega nadomestila, zdravstvenega zavarovanja ali delovnih pogojev, ki bi ustrezali njegovemu poklicu. Zelo nizko na družbeno-ekonomski lestvici prekarizacije so tudi producenti, kustosi, menedžerji, raziskovalci, pisci, kulturni teoretiki in drugi profili umetnikov in kulturnih delavcev v Severni Makedoniji, ki so del neinstitucionalne scene. Delajo brez podpore v obliki socialne varnosti ali pokojninskih prispevkov in drugih osnovnih pogojev za izvajanje svojega strokovnega dela.

»Kako je moje življenje postalo kulturni delavec – kulturniki stopijo na oder« je analiza življenj dveh severnomakedonskih kulturnih delavk različnih generacij, ki delujeta na neinstitucionalni sceni v Severni Makedoniji, zgoščena v obliki predavanja-performansa dveh avtoric, ki sta ga dramaturško razvili v sodelovanju z dramaturgom Rokom Vevarjem iz Slovenije.

Prezentacija je zadnja stopnja raziskave, ki sta jo avtorici opravili v okviru pobude »Delavske pravice delavcev v kulturi – položaj kulturnikov na neodvisni kulturni sceni v Makedoniji«, ki je leta 2016 želela spodbuditi razmislek o tem, kaj pomeni biti »delavec v kulturi« – svobodni umetnik in kulturni delavec s stališča udeležencev na neodvisni kulturni sceni. V okviru pobude sta poskušali (na novo) opredeliti okvir meril v »Pravilniku za določanje meril, načinov in postopkov zagotavljanja primernih pogojev in nadomestil iz sredstev državnega proračuna za svobodne umetnike« ter Zakona o kulturi, ki je opredelil delavske pravice svobodnih kulturnih delavcev. Iz te pobude je leta 2019 nastala pobuda »Kultura je naslovna stran vsake družbe«, ki je želela sistematično razviti in izboljšati splošne pogoje za umetnost in kulturo v državi.

Ivana Vaseva in Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski sta pred tem sodelovali v več projektih, med drugim v performativni igri »Kako ustvariti festival s 100 evri in milijon evri?«, ki sta jo doslej uprizorili v Skopju, Bitoli, Ljubljani, Bukarešti, na Dunaju in v Sofiji. S pričujočim projektom utrjujeta svoje sodelovanje pri raziskavah, ustvarjanju in uprizarjanju novih formatov prezentacij in predavanj o specifičnih temah na področju umetnosti in kulture.

»How My Life Turned into a Cultural Worker – Cultural Workers Take the Stage«, 2016

Lecture presentation  
Courtesy of the authors

The lack of basic working conditions and labor rights of freelance workers in the arts and culture produces a fragile, volatile, uncertain, or insecure working environment in the field. Moreover, the lack of a border between private and professional life, the constant preoccupation with professional engagements, and multitasking freelance work for which there is never enough time create an art professional who works constantly and in volumes, but also without proper economic or health security, financial compensation or professional working conditions. Being very low on the socio-economic scale of precarization, producers, curators, managers, researchers, writers, theoreticians in culture and other profiles of artists and cultural workers in North Macedonia that are part of the non-institutional scene, do not have support for social security or any retirement bonuses, and lack other basic conditions for performing their professional tasks.

»How my life turned into a cultural worker – cultural workers take the stage,« is a dissection of the lives of two cultural workers from different generations working on the non-institutional scene in North Macedonia, condensed in the form of a lecture performance done by the two authors and dramaturgically developed together with the dramaturg Rok Vevar from Slovenia.

This presentation is the final stage of the research that the two authors undertook and was part of the »Labor rights of the cultural workers – position of cultural workers in the independent cultural scene in Macedonia« initiative, active in 2016 and aimed at rethinking the term »cultural worker« – freelance artist and culture professional from the position of the participants in the independent cultural scene. In the initiative they worked on (re)defining the frame of the criteria in the »Rules for determining the criteria, ways, and procedures of providing favorable conditions and compensations from the state budget funds to the freelance artists,« as well as of the Law on Culture through which the labor rights of freelance cultural workers were determined. In 2019 it developed into the initiative »Culture is a front-page of every society,« which aimed to systematically develop and improve the general conditions of arts and culture in the country.

Vaseva and Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski have previously collaborated on several projects, among them the performative game »How to make a festival with 100 euros and with 1 million euros?«, so far performed in Skopje, Bitola, Ljubljana, Bucharest, Vienna, and Sofia. With this project, they deepen their collaboration in the research, creation and performing of new formats of presentations and lectures on specific topics in the field of art and culture.



Foto: Vančo Džambaski

Photo: Vančo Džambaski



# ULUS – Društvo likovnih umetnika Srbije / The Association of Fine Artists of Serbia

## Debatni program

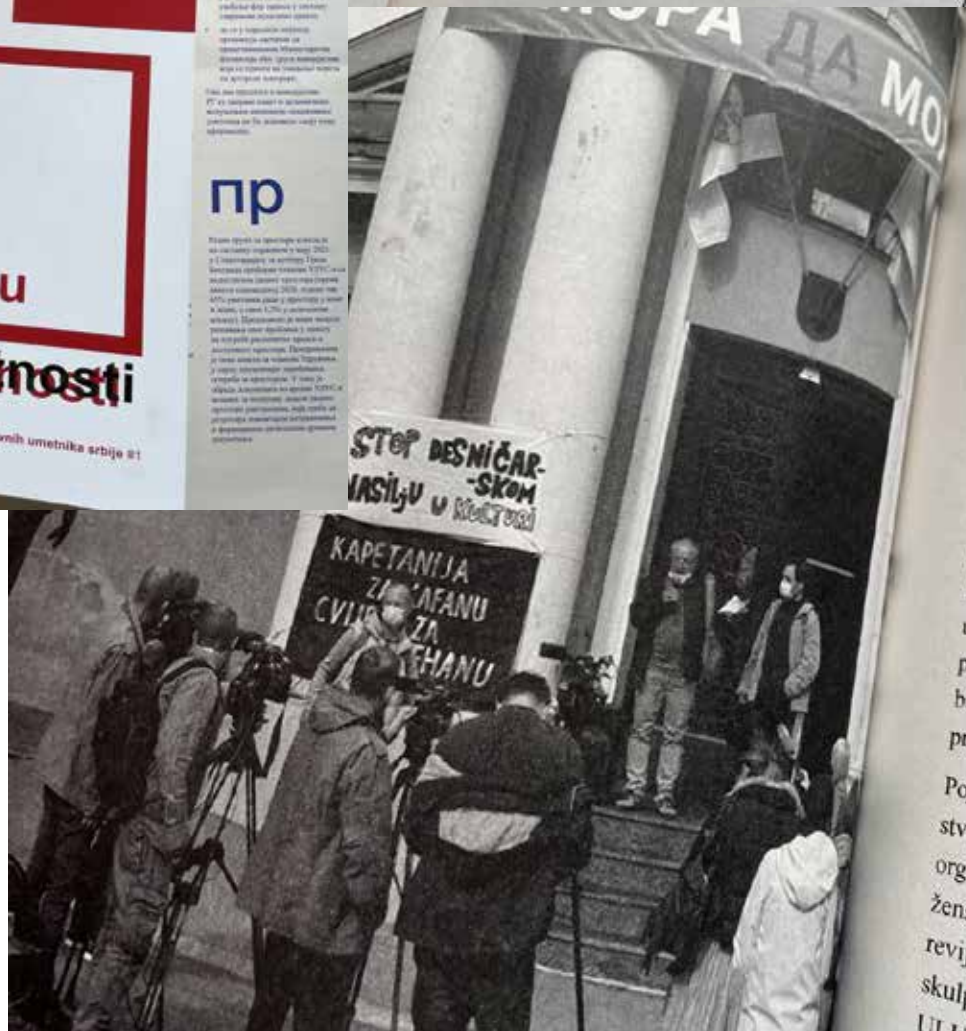
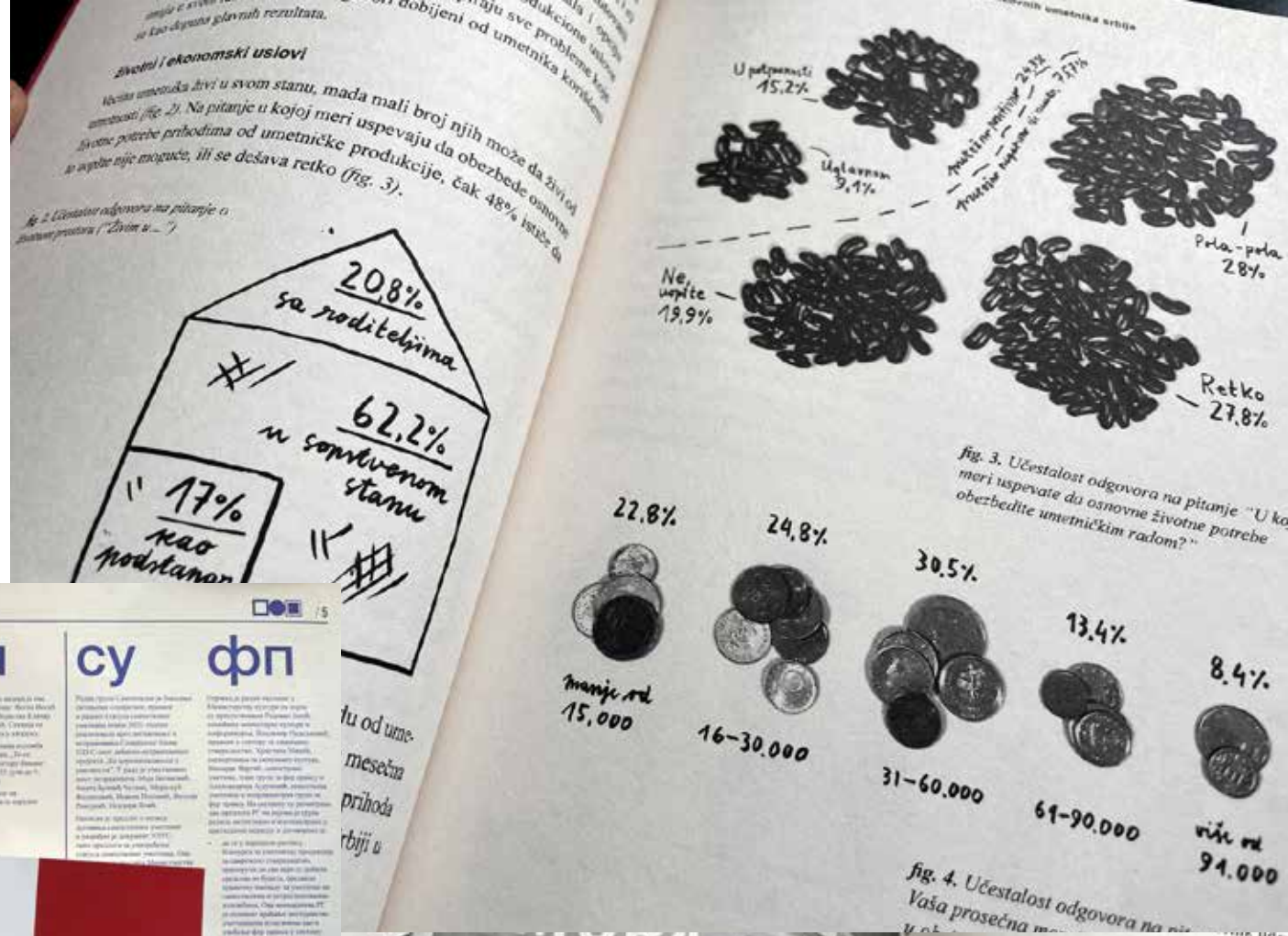
## Debate Program

Debatni program Društva likovnih umetnika Srbije (ULUS) je bil zasnovan kot osnovni format za temeljito razpravo o delovnem, socialnem in ekonomskem položaju likovnih umetnikov. Kot stanovska organizacija likovnih umetnikov je ULUS eno najstarejših društev v državi, ustanovljeno leta 1919, danes pa je z več kot 2500 člani najštevilnejše v regiji. Poleg organiziranja razstavnega programa v svojih dveh prostorih v središču mesta (v Umetniškem paviljonu Cvijeta Zuzorić na Malem Kalemegdanu in Galeriji ULUS na Knez Mihajlovi) društvo s pooblastilom vlade in ministrstva za kulturo vodi evidenco o podeljevanju in podaljševanju statusa samostojnih umetnikov in opravlja različne druge storitve za člane.

Od začetka leta 2020, ko je delo prevzelo novo vodstvo, se vrstijo organizacijske in strukturne reforme, da bi društvo zbudili iz večdesetletne letargije, ki so jo povzročile tranzicijske spremembe in zamiranje družbene skrbi za področje kulture in umetnosti. Te spremembe se odražajo v nastanku delovnih skupin, ki se ukvarjajo z delovnim in socialno-ekonomskim statusom umetnikov, delovnimi prostori, urejanjem arhivov itd. Ker je pogajalsko mesto za boljše delovne pogoje vizualnih umetnikov prazno, saj umetniki kot samostojni ustvarjalci brez delodajalca nimajo možnosti sindikalnega organiziranja, so aktivnosti debatno-raziskovalnega programa usmerjene v dosledno delo – raziskovanje, diskusije, zagovorništvo ter druge projekte in programe, s katerimi bi ULUS postopoma izoblikoval funkcijo parasindikalne organizacije.

The Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (ULUS) Debate Program was designed as the basic format for thorough and relevant discussions of the working, social, and economic conditions of visual artists. As a professional organization of visual artists, ULUS is one of the oldest associations in the country, formed in 1919, and today also the largest in the region with over 2.500 members. In addition to organizing the exhibitions program in its two venues located in the center of the city (the Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavilion on Mali Kalemegdan and the ULUS Gallery in Knez Mihajlova Street), the Association, as authorized to do so by the government and the Ministry of Culture, keeps records of the granting and maintenance of the status of independent artists, as well as provides various other services to its members.

Since early 2020, when a new administration took over, a series of organizational and structural reforms have been aimed at dragging the association out of the decades-long lethargy caused by the changes brought about by the transition from socialism to capitalism and the poor social support for the culture and arts sector. These changes are reflected in the formation of work groups dealing with the labor and socio-economic status of artists, their work spaces, compilation of archives, and similar. Since visual artists have no negotiating position for better working conditions because they, as independent or freelance (cultural) workers without employers, cannot form a union, the activities of the debate-research program are focused on consistent work – research, debates, advocacy, and other projects and programs – with which ULUS plans to gradually build up the function of a para-union organization.



revolucionarnom borbom protiv kolon... institut „Svetozar Marković“, kao i... su otvorili pitanja o napuštenim ob... vlasništvu, problemu privatizacije... javnih usluga, ali i o borbi protiv d... te druge teme od javnog značaja.

Međutim, postavlja se pitanje da li... potpunosti ugasiti, i dati prostor po... Neki zagovaraju opciju ili-ili, no... potencijal koji i dalje stoji iza ins... neophodne infrastrukture kojom i... društvenih inicijativa i pokreta stoji... angažovanost i akciju, ali izostaje b... gotovo ista dilema koja muči i progr... radničkog organizovanja, kada se su... organizacijama? I da li zaista treba izg... institucije – poput ULUS-a i pomen... u prošlost nego što nam se iz savr... pomenutog nasleđa radničkih i revo... biti od pomoći u aktualnim borbama... proizvodnje (istine).

Pojava novih inicijativa na lokalnoj... stvari zaista mogu menjati u tom sm... organizacionog odbora Vajarske sekcij... ženskog članstva (19) (što nije nebitn... revijalnu godišnju izložbu vajara/ki s... skulpture”. Ova in...



## Via Negativa

### *Rodovitna prst*, 2022 performans

Avtorica in izvajalka: Olja Grubić  
Soavtorice in izvajalke: Lana Zdravković,  
Kristina Aleksova Zavašnik, Barbara Kukovec,  
Nohemi Barriuso  
Avtor glasbe: Andrej Fon  
Z dovoljenjem Via Negativa

Performans *Rodovitna prst* temelji na raziskavi tesne povezave med logiko civilizacije in okoljem ter proučuje nesorazmerni vpliv ekološke degradacije na ženske, s posebnim poudarkom na okoljski in spolni nepravilnosti.

Timothy Morton pravi, da sta podoba in koncept narave same ena glavnih ovir pri razmišljanju o okolju, ki je skozi stoletja v človeški miselni sferi razvilo iluzijo nasprotovanja in ločenosti med biosfero in človeško civilizacijo. Občudovanje narave na daljavo povzroča podobno paradoksalno duševno zmedo, kot jo patriarhat izvaja pri ženski: povzdigne jo na pedestal sadističnega občudovanja, hkrati pa si jo podredi in jo uniči.

Feministično gibanje si že več desetletij prizadeva osvoboditi ženske te povezave z naravo, ki jo izkorišča patriarhalna misel, da bi ženske umestila v domačo sfero in jih izključila iz politike. Osrednja teza projekta je, da obstaja analogija med izkoriščanjem ženske in narave: pomanjkanje spoštovanja do njih, mesto, ki jim je dodeljeno, zaradi česar sta njihovo delo, njihova proizvodnja nevidna.

### *Fertile Soil*, 2022 performance

Author and performer: Olja Grubić  
Coauthors and performers: Lana Zdravković,  
Kristina Aleksova Zavašnik, Barbara Kukovec,  
Nohemi Barriuso  
Music: Andrej Fon  
Courtesy of Via Negativa

Based on research into the close relationship between the logic of civilization and the environment, the performance *Fertile Soil* looks into the disproportionate impact of ecological degradation on women, with a special focus on environmental and gender injustice.

According to Timothy Morton, one of the main stumbling blocks in environmental thinking is the image and concept of nature itself, which over the centuries has helped the human mental sphere to develop an illusion of opposition and detachment between the biosphere and civilization. Admiring nature from a distance causes a similar paradoxical mental confusion as the one that patriarchy perpetuates concerning women, raising them on the pedestal of sadistic admiration, while simultaneously subjecting and destroying them.

For decades, the feminist movement has been trying to liberate women from this connection with nature, which has been exploited by the patriarchal idea of women confined to the domestic sphere and excluded from political participation. The central premise of the project is that there is an analogy between the exploitation of women and that of nature: the lack of respect for them and the place they are assigned, rendering their work, their production, and so on, invisible.



## Za K.R.U.H.

### *Kulturne delavke zahtevajo plačilo,* 2020–2021

mešana tehnika (oblikovanje, fotografije,  
transparenti)

Z dovoljenjem iniciative Za K.R.U.H.

Naš boj za kruh se je začel naključno, v pandemičnem letu, ki je brutalno razgalilo bedo kulturne produkcije, ujete v okove projektnega financiranja, in nam vzelo vsako možnost ekonomske in socialne varnosti ali zdravstvenega varstva. Zato smo leta 2020 od Ministrstva za kulturo Republike Hrvaške zahtevali temeljni dohodek za vse delavce v kulturi za ves čas trajanja pandemije, pa tudi kot ukrep stalnega varstva kulturne produkcije.

Boj za kruh se je nadaljeval v letu 2021 z vzpostavitvijo Protokola za pravično nadomestilo za umetniško in kulturno delo ter uvedbo samoregulativnih mehanizmov za ustvarjanje enakopravnejših ekonomskih odnosov med nami in našimi naročniki ter za odpiranje prostora za pravičnejšo kulturno produkcijo in distribucijo.

Sledite nam in nas podprite v boju! Kulturni delavci zahtevamo plačilo!

Razstavljeni predmeti so nastali v različnih trenutkih boja, pri njihovem nastanku pa so sodelovali številni kulturni delavci in umetniki. Delo Platforme za delovne pogoje v kulturi Za K.R.U.H. omogoča premalo plačano, neplačano in aktivistično delo vseh njenih udeležencev.

### *Cultural Workers Stand up for Wages,* 2020–2021

mixed media (design, collages, photos,  
banners)

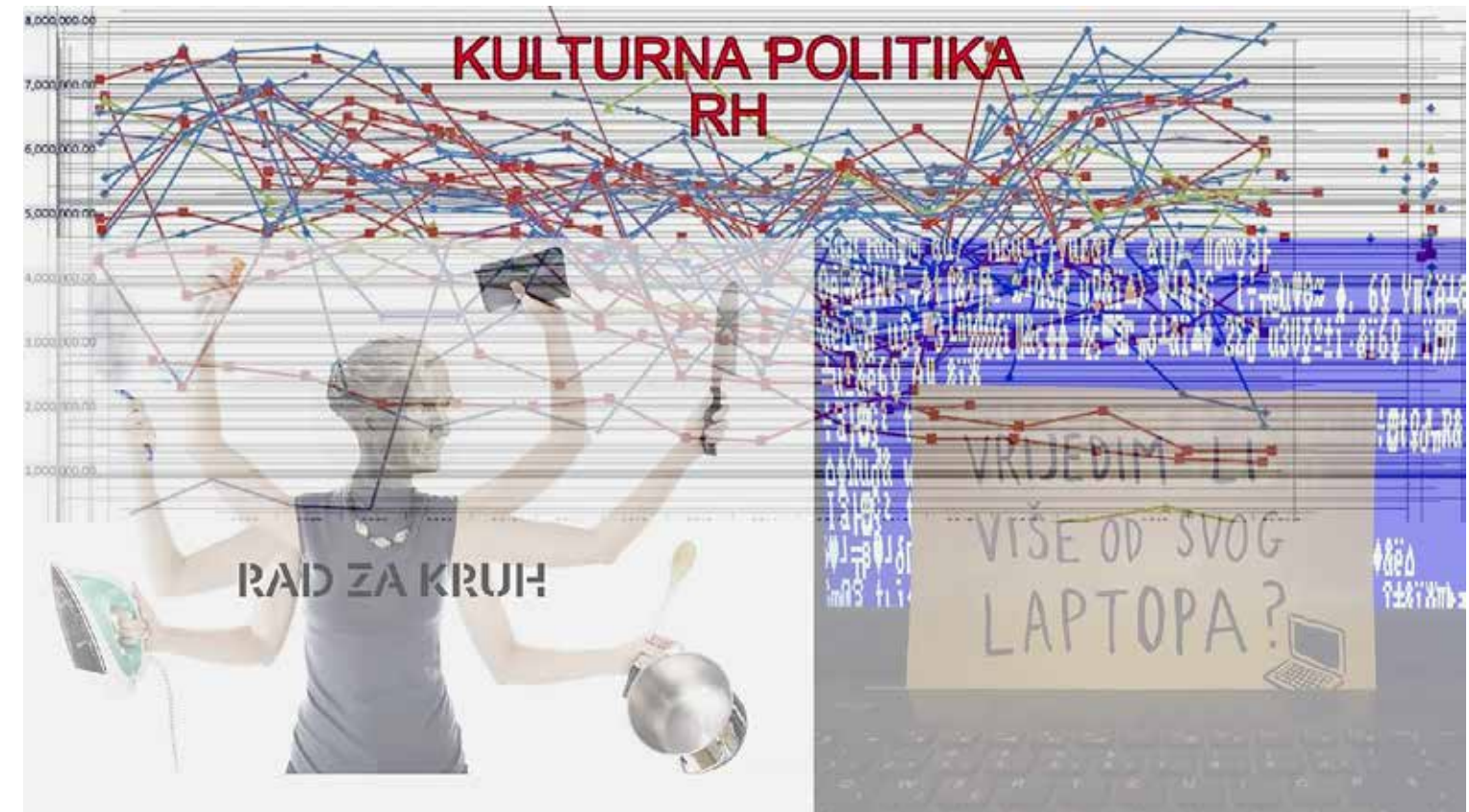
Courtesy of the initiative Za K.R.U.H.

Our struggle *for bread* began quite by accident, in the pandemic year that thoroughly exposed all the misery of cultural production shackled to project funding, leaving us without any real economic, social, or health security. Consequently, in 2020 we asked the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia to urgently introduce a basic income for all cultural workers not only during the pandemic, but also as a measure for the permanent protection of cultural production.

We continued the struggle *for bread* in 2021 by establishing a Protocol for Fair Compensation for Artistic and Cultural Work and introducing self-regulatory mechanisms to create more equal economic relations between us and those who contract our work, as well as opening space for fairer cultural production and distribution.

Follow and support us in the struggle! Cultural workers stand up for wages!

The exhibited artifacts were created at different moments in the struggle, and a number of cultural workers and artists have taken part in their making. The work of the Platform for Working Conditions in Culture Za K.R.U.H. is supported by the underpaid, unpaid, and activist work of all its participants.





### Delavski video klub, 2011–2022 video produkcija

Ko gre za pričevanja o preteklosti, nekateri zgodovinski dogodki pogosto ostanejo spregledani, je bila ugotovitev skupine delavcev, ki so na pobudo dolgoletnega aktivista na področju izobraževanja delavcev dr. Nebojše Popova sodelovali v aktivističnem delu in protestih v Zrenjaninu. Aktualni dogodki tistega časa so bili povezani z dogajanjem v tovarni Jugoremedija in (samo)upravljanjem njenih delavcev, ki so se borili za obstanek tovarne. Takrat se je izoblikovala skupina delavcev in delničarjev Jugoremedije, ki so se odločili, da bodo solidarno združili svoje moči, dejanja, sredstva in delo, da bi zgradili svojo tovarno za proizvodnjo antibiotikov. V času plenjenja javne lastnine je bila to nevarna tema in osrednji mediji samoorganizaciji te vrste niso namenjali pozornosti, zato se je ta skupina aktivistov lotila projekta zbiranja arhivskega gradiva za svoj prvi dokumentarni film.

1. maja 2011 so v zrenjaninski mestni čitalnici, ki hrani zapuščino dr. Nebojše Popova, organizirali prvi festival angažiranih delavskih filmov, ki je potekal pod naslovom Naj živi delo!. Na festivalu se je predstavilo pet filmov in prvi dokumentarni film aktivistov iz Zrenjanina, ki je obravnaval delavsko samoorganiziranje. Film je podprla tudi pisarna Fundacije Rosa Luxemburg za JV Evropo. Festival je kmalu postal mednarodni, saj je predstavljal filme iz regije, pa tudi filme uveljavljenih režiserjev, kot sta Dimitar Anakiev in Želimir Žilnik. Festival je bil tudi prvi impulz za Delavski video klub, ki je nastal istega leta in do danes ustvaril 16 dokumentarnih filmov, prikazanih na različnih festivalih od Beograda do Ljubljane in celo Berlina. Danes Delavski video klub deluje po principu samoizobraževanja. Poleg snemanja dokumentarnih filmov člani ustvarjajo video gradivo, ki ohranja spomin na socialistično dediščino mesta in njegovo lokalno zgodovino ter beleži aktualne boje proti izkoriščanju in neenakosti.

#### Filmi v produkciji Delavskega video kluba:

*Mi biramo svoj put*, 2010 (Izbrali smo svojo pot)  
*Pruga od Srbije do Švajcarske*, 2011 (Pruga od Srbije do Švice)  
*Radničko samoupravljanje: jedno iskustvo*, 2011 (Delavsko samoupravljanje: izkušnja)  
*Od radnika do čobana*, 2012 (Od delavca do pastirja)  
*Kriza i alternativa*, 2013 (Krizna in alternativa)  
*Rekorderi*, 2013 (Rekorderji)  
*Obrani berači*, 2014 (Oropani obiralci)  
*Danas bi imala 70 godina*, 2015 (Danes bi bila stara 70 let)  
*Svet rada u borbi protiv krupnog kapitala*, 2015 (Svet dela v boju proti velikemu kapitalu)  
*Napuštena gnezda*, 2016 (Zapuščena gnezda)  
*Raonik*, 2017 (Lemež)

*Zrenjaninski Rašomon*, 2017 (Zrenjaninski Rašomon)  
*Crvene Brazde*, 2018 (Rdeče brazde)  
*Daj nam sunca*, 2019 (Daj nam sonca)  
*Ko je pojeo Bek?*, 2020 (Kdo je pojedel Bek?)  
*Koje su boje tvoje pertlice?*, 2021 (Kakšne barve so tvoje vezalke?)

### Film partnerske organizacije STRIKE, ki ga je tehnično podprl Delavski video klub: *Žena majka policajka*, 2015 (Ženska, mati, policistka)

### Workers' Video Club, 2011–2022 video production

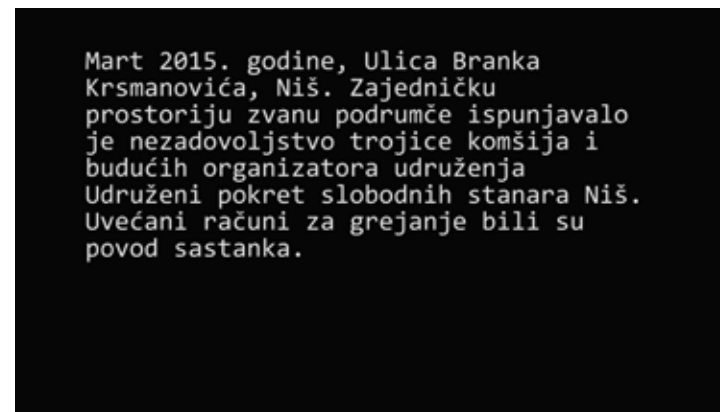
A group of workers that had been engaged in activist work and protests in Zrenjanin at the initiative of Dr. Nebojša Popov, a longtime activist in the field of workers' education, came to the conclusion that historical events often go unnoticed in records and accounts of bygone eras.

At the time, the current events in Zrenjanin revolved around the company Jugoremedija and its workers' (self-)management and their struggle to preserve the factory. A group of workers and shareholders of Jugoremedija formed, to unite their actions, money, efforts, and work in solidarity in order to build their own factory for the production of antibiotics. As this was a dangerous topic at a time when public property was being plundered, the mainstream media did not show any interest in this type of self-organization, and so this group of activists embarked on a project to collect archival material for their first documentary film.

On 1 May 2011, the first in a series of festivals of engaged workers' films entitled Long Live Work! was organized and held in Zrenjanin's Civic Reading Room, where the archive of Dr. Nebojša Popov is kept. At this festival, in addition to five other films, the first documentary by the group of Zrenjanin activists on the abovementioned topic of the workers' self-organization was shown. The film was supported by the office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation for Southeast Europe. The festival soon became an international one, as films from the region were screened, as well as films by eminent directors such as Dimitar Anakiev, Želimir Žilnik, and others. The festival was also the initial trigger for the formation of the Workers' Video Club in the same year, which has made 16 documentaries to date, shown at various festivals from Belgrade to Ljubljana and all the way to Berlin. Today, the Workers' Video Club operates through the self-education of its members. In addition to producing documentary films, it preserves the memory of the socialist heritage of the city and its local history with video footage and records the current struggles against exploitation and inequality.

**Films produced by the Workers' Video Club:**  
*Mi biramo svoj put*, 2010 (We Choose Our Own Path)  
*Pruga od Srbije do Švajcarske*, 2011 (Railroad from Serbia to Switzerland)  
*Radničko samoupravljanje: jedno iskustvo*, 2011 (Workers' Self-Management: An Experience)  
*Od radnika do čobana*, 2012 (From Worker to Shepherd)  
*Kriza i alternativa*, 2013 (The Crisis and the Alternative)  
*Rekorderi*, 2013 (Record Holders)  
*Obrani berači*, 2014 (Robbed Pickers)  
*Danas bi imala 70 godina*, 2015 (She Would Have Turned 70 Today)  
*Svet rada u borbi protiv krupnog kapitala*, 2015 (The World of Work in the Fight Against Big Capital)  
*Napuštena gnezda*, 2016 (Abandoned Nests)  
*Raonik*, 2017 (Plowshare)  
*Zrenjaninski Rašomon*, 2017 (Rashomon of Zrenjanin)  
*Crvene Brazde*, 2018 (Red Furrows)  
*Daj nam sunca*, 2019 (Give Us Sun)  
*Ko je pojeo Bek?*, 2020 (Who Ate Bek?)  
*Koje su boje tvoje pertlice?*, 2021 (What Color Are Your Shoelaces?)

### Film of the partner organization STRIKE, technically supported by the Workers' Video Club: *Žena majka policajka*, 2015 (Woman, Mother, Policewoman)



Slike iz filma *Kakšne barve so tvoje vezalke?*, 2021, z dovoljenjem avtorjev

Film stills from *What Color Are Your Shoelaces?*, 2021, courtesy of the authors



**Nika Autor** je diplomirala in magistrirala na Akademiji za likovno umetnost in oblikovanje v Ljubljani, doktorski študij na področju umetniških praks pa je zaključila na dunajski Akademiji za likovno umetnost. Deluje predvsem na področju eksperimentalnega videa in dokumentarnega filma, filmskega eseja, fotografije, kolaža, risbe in prostorskih video instalacij. Zanimajo jo nevidnosti/neslišnosti, povezane s prikritimi temami pozabljene preteklosti in utišane sedanjosti. V svojih delih raziskuje migracijske politike, delavske pravice in politiko spomina. Je članica kolektiva Obzorniška fronta.

**Damir Avdić**, glasbenik in performer, rojen v Tuzli (1964), Bosna in Hercegovina. S skupino Rupa u zidu (1989–2000) je posnel pet albumov. Od leta 2004 do danes je samostojno objavil devet albumov, pet romanov in zbirko poezije. Dela glasbo za gledališče in film. Leta 2017 je prejel Borštnikovo nagrado za izvirno glasbo v predstavi *Antigona* (SNG Drama Ljubljana, v režiji Eduarda Milerja). Istega leta je prejel tudi nagrado Vesna za najboljšo izvirno glasbo v filmih *Ivan* Janeza Burgerja in *Družinica* Jana Cvitkoviča.

Svobodna umetnica **Milijana Babić** živi na Reki na Hrvaškem. Formalno umetnostno izobrazbo je pridobila na Inštitutu za tehnologijo v Durbanu v Republiki Južni Afriki in na ljubljanski Akademiji za likovno umetnost in oblikovanje. Razstavlja od leta 2000. Njeno delo temelji na performativnih praksah, ki jih pogosto razvija v smeri kontekstualno specifičnih, dolgotrajnih akcij v javnem prostoru. Za izhodišče jemlje svoj lastni položaj ženske in umetnice, ki ga preizprašuje v kontekstu svoje neposredne okolice.

**Jože Barši** je diplomiral na FAGG (arhitektura) in na ALU (kiparstvo), kjer je opravil tudi specialko. Njegovo delo obsega raznolika interesna območja, od *site-specific* del do radijskega oddajanja kot prostora razstavljanja, javnih predavanj, zvočnih in konceptualnih del. Kot gostujoči profesor je predaval na Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Pennsylvania, ZDA (2001). Zastopal je Slovenijo na Beneškem bienalu (1997) in razstavljal na 4. mednarodnem istanbulskem bienalu (1995). Je prejemnik nagrade zlata ptica za področje vizualnih umetnosti (2010) in Jakopičeve nagrade (2014).

Kustosinja in umetnostna zgodovinarka **Dunja Blažević**, ki je v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja kot vodja Galerije Študentskega kulturnega centra v Beogradu ta pros-

tor namenila umetniškim eksperimentom in novim medijem ter omogočila mednarodne povezave in številna umetniška sodelovanja, je leta 1981 začela delati na Televiziji Beograd kot avtorica video prispevkov o sodobni umetnosti, od leta 1984 do 1991 pa je vodila redno mesečno oddajo z naslovom *TV galerija*, ki še danes zavzema mesto pomembnega, javno dostopnega dokumenta o interdisciplinarni, družbeno angažirani umetniški in kuratorski praksi.

**Danica Dakić** ustvarja na področju videa in filma, fotografije in instalacij. V številnih delih, ki so pogosto plod intenzivnega sodelovanja z nastopajočimi, obravnava teme (umetnostne) zgodovine, da bi z njimi opozorila na kulturni spomin in identiteto, jezik in družbene vloge v njihovi nenehni preobrazbi ter spremenjajoče se utopične potenciale. S samostojno razstavo se je predstavila med drugim v bosansko-hercegovskem paviljonu 58. beneškega bienala (2019) in v Kunsthalle Düsseldorf (2009). Sodelovala je na skupinskih razstavah, kot sta documenta 12 (2007) in Bienale São Paulo (2014).

**Walter De Maria** (1935–2013) je znan po svojih interaktivnih in monumentalnih kiparskih instalacijah, ki se ukvarjajo z vprašanji časa in prostora. Je eden od ustanoviteljev gibanja land art v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja; vizualne elemente je vgrajeval v naravo ali pa je v galerijske prostore vnašal elemente narave. Njegova najbolj ambiciozna dela niso bila le fizično obsežna, ampak tudi ekstremna v smislu trajanja razstave – nekatera so trajala desetletja, bodisi v zaprtih prostorih ali na prostem; nekatera druga so bila nasprotno izjemno minljiva, ker so bila izpostavljena vremenskim vplivom. Sodeloval je na zdaj že legendarni konceptualni razstavi *When Attitudes Become Form*, ki jo je leta 1969 kuriral Harald Szeemann.

Leta 1971 so se člani Skupine OHO in njihovi prijatelji naselili na opuščeni kmetiji v Šempasu in ustanovili umetniško in poljedelsko skupnost, imenovano **Družina v Šempasu**, ki je hkrati delovala kot duhovni center za tedanje Jugoslavijo. Oblikoval se je koncept »umetnost življenja – življenje umetnosti«, ki umetnosti še naprej zagotavlja avtonomnost, a od nje pričakuje, da ustvarjalno sodeluje pri transformacijah življenjskih tokov in stanj. Družina v Šempasu je delovala do leta 1979, nato se je samoukinila. Svoje delo je Družina v Šempasu predstavila med drugim na Trienalu jugoslovanske umetnosti v Beogradu (1977), v Forte Belvedere v Firencah (Svetovni kongres Nove dobe 1978) in na Beneškem bienalu leta 1978.

**Olja Džuverović** (1947, Beograd – 2006, Windhoek) je diplomirala iz arheologije na Univerzi v Beogradu, kjer je kmalu po začetku študija postala politično aktivna v študentskem gibanju. Preko aktivizma in solidarnosti z Afričani, ki so prihajali študirat v Jugoslavijo, se je začela intenzivno ukvarjati z dekolonialnim bojem, kar jo je pozneje pripeljalo do mesta v Komisiji za pomoč osvobodilnim gibanjem pri Socialistični zvezi delovnega ljudstva Jugoslavije. Pozneje je bila napotena na diplomatske misije v Zimbabve in Južno Afriko. Proti koncu kariere se je preselila v Namibijo, dobila namibijsko državljanstvo in bila posebna svetovalka ministra za enakost spolov in otroško varstvo do svoje prezgodnje smrti leta 2006. Arhiv Olje Džuverović zastopata in predstavljata Lina Džuverović, kustosinja in kulturna delavka, ki živi v Londonu, in Vesna Džuverović, ekonomistka in jezikoslovka iz Beograda.

**Vukica Đilas** je bila hči Mitre Mitrović, ene vodilnih osebnosti Ženske protifašistične fronte Jugoslavije, in Milovana Đilasa, enega največjih političnih disidentov socialistične Jugoslavije in pisca politične uspešnice *Novi razred*. Bila je novinarka, prevajalka, intelektualka in ljubiteljica eksperimentalne kinematografije. Bila je tudi eden glavnih likov v filmu Lazarja Stojanovića *Plastični Jezus* (1971), partnerica Branka Vučićevića, prominentne osebnosti novega jugoslovanskega filma, in prijateljica režiserjev »črne-ga vala« Dušana Makavejeva, Želimirja Žilnika, Bate Čengića, Karpa Godine, Slobodana Šijana, Lazarja Stojanovića in Toma Gotovca. Ni štela za avtorico in režiserko, čeprav je posnela prizore iz življenja filmskih ustvarjalcev, njihova obseidenost s televizijskimi podobami, skupna predvajanja filmskih projekcij v beograjski kinoteki in obiske filmskega festivala FEST.

**Goran Đorđević** se je rodil leta 1950 v Jugoslaviji; živi in dela v Beogradu. Diplomiral je na Fakulteti za elektrotehniko v Beogradu in nato še iz vizualnih študijev na MIT v Cambridgeu, ZDA. Razstavlja od leta 1971. Med letoma 1972 in 1976 je bil aktiven v redakciji galerije SKC. Sodeloval je na številnih razstavah doma in v tujini, vključno z 9. bienalom mladih v Parizu leta 1975, 5. trienalom jugoslovanske umetnosti v Beogradu leta 1977, *Trigonom* v Gradcu leta 1977 in *Works and Words* v Amsterdamu leta 1979.

Po pozivu na *Mednarodno stavko umetnikov* leta 1979 in samostojni razstavi *Proti umetnosti* v galeriji SKC leta 1980, na kateri svojih del ni razstavil kot umetniška dela, ampak kot »stališča o umetnosti«, je svoje delo začel javno predstavljati predvsem kot teoretsko-filozofsko delo, ki se izraža vizualno.



**Lenka Đorojević** in **Matej Stupica** ustvarjata kot tandem od leta 2012. V skupni praksi razvijata dela na preseku interaktivnih instalacij, scenografij in prostorskih postavitev. Raziskujeta in kritično interpretirata ambivalentnost položaja (umetniškega) subjekta v kontekstu množičnih medijev, digitalno konstruirane realnosti in poznokapitalistične produkcije reprezentacijskih, ideoloških in simbolnih narativov in strategij. Za svoje delo sta prejela nagrado skupine OHO (2015) in nagrado 41. črnogorskega likovnega salona »13. november« (2019).

**Šejma Fere** (1981, Zemun) je študij slikarstva in grafike zaključila na Fakulteti za likovno umetnost v Beogradu. Nedavne razstave: 9. pekinški bienale umetnosti, Kitajski narodni muzej umetnosti, Peking; *Among Women: Serbian Contemporary Art*, River Art Center, Bronx; *Živi smo*, s Sašo Stojanovićem, Art Zadruga, Novi Sad. Je avtorica plakata za 10. filmski festival Norient, prejemnica priznanja za slikarstvo fundacije Alexandra S. Onassisa leta 2006, nagrade za najboljšo razstavo Fundacije Kolarac leta 2019 in finalistka za likovno nagrado Guasch Coranty leta 2015. Živi v Zemunu in dela kot svobodna umetnica.

**György Galántai** je priznan madžarski umetnik in član Fluxusa, ki je sodeloval pri ustanovitvi več umetnostnih institucij. V času socializma na Madžarskem, ko je vladala stroga cenzura, je Galántai organiziral slovito serijo *Razstave v Kapelici* (1970–1973). V Ateljeju Kapelica se je poleg 35 razstav zvrstilo še veliko koncertov, branj poezije, gledaliških predstav, filmskih projekcij in drugih dogodkov. Živahno dogajanje je pritegnilo pozornost tajne policije, zato se je Atelje Kapelica zaprl, Galántai pa se je v poznih sedemdesetih letih začel ukvarjati z mail artom, kar mu je omogočilo tudi vpetost v mednarodni kontekst. Arhiv povezanih dopisovanj je bil osnova za nastanek arhiva Artpool Archive, ki hrani podatke o takratnem umetniškem življenju na Madžarskem v obliki načrtov, zapiskov, knjig, fotografij, katalogov, vabil, filmov in drugega.

Hrvaška skupina **Gorgona** je delovala med letoma 1959 in 1966 kot skupina petih umetnikov, slikarjev Marijana Jevšovarja, Julija Kniferja, Đura Sederja in Josipa Vanište ter kiparja Ivana Kožarića, arhitekta Miljenka Horvata in umetnostnih zgodovinarjev Dimitrija Baščevića (Mangelosa), Radoslava Putarja in Matka Meštrovića. Skupina ni bila zelo tesno povezana, ampak bolj združba zelo izvirnih in nekonvencionalnih ustvarjalnih posameznikov.

Praksa **Tomislava Gotovca**, ki velja za pionirja performansa v nekdanji Jugoslaviji in eno od ključnih osebnosti svojega časa, je segala od zgodnjih fotografskih del, kolažev in avantgardnih strukturalističnih filmov do radikalnih performansov. V prvih akcijah, kot sta

*Dihanje zraka in Kazanje revije Elle*, in poznejših *Striženje in britje*, *Gledanje televizije*, *Poslušanje radia* je raziskoval politike vsakdana. V delu je vsakdanje dejavnosti prestavljal v javni prostor in s tem zabrisoval mejo med navidezno ločenima kategorijama zasebnega in javnega.

Družbenopolitično delovanje **Igorja Grubića** se udejanja v njegovih *site-specific* intervencijah v javnem prostoru, v fotografiji in filmu. Njegovo delo zaznamuje dolgoročna angažiranost, osredotoča pa se na pretekle in sedanje politične razmere, v okviru katerih obravnava različne teme, od poglobljenega raziskovanja usode zgodovinskih spomenikov in zatona industrije do težkega položaja manjšinskih skupnosti. Čeprav izhaja iz dokumentarne tradicije, Grubićevo delo na področju filma in fotografije zaznamuje čustven in empatičen, pristno human in pogosto poetičen pristop. Leta 2019 je predstavljal Hrvaško na 58. beneškem bienalu.

**Olja Grubić** je vizualna umetnica in performerka, ki se v praksi osredotoča predvsem na osnovne pogoje bivanja. Z uprizarjanjem lastnega telesa raziskuje možnosti svobode v patriarhalni in kapitalistično usmerjeni družbi. Sama se postavlja v angažirano pozicijo in pogosto uporablja elemente humorja in satire za poseganje v strukturo vsakdanjega življenja.

**IRWIN** je kolektiv petih slikarjev: Dušan Mandič (1954), Miran Mohar (1958), Andrej Savski (1961), Roman Uranjek (1961–2022) in Borut Vogelnik (1958). Skupina je bila ustanovljena leta 1983 v Ljubljani. V začetku naslednjega leta so se poimenovali Rose IRWIN Sélavy, potem so imel skrajšali na R Irwin S, na koncu pa na IRWIN. Do leta 1985 sta bila člana tudi Marko Kovačič in Bojan Štokelj. Njihova metoda dela je utemeljena na potenciranem eklekticizmu, svoj umetniški nazor pa imenujejo retroprincip. Leta 1984 je IRWIN s skupino Laibach in Gledališčem sester Scipion Nasice soustanovil Neue Slowenische Kunst.

**Hristina Ivanoska** se v delu posveča vprašanjem zatiranja, nadzora in gradnje kolektivnega spomina o ženskih strategijah in politiki odpora. Dela interdisciplinarno in poudarja pomen ročnih del, kot so vezenje, tkanje, lončarstvo in šivanje, kot politično in družbeno relevantnih medijev. Ivanoska se je z delom predstavila v okviru mnogih manifestacij in razstavišč, med njimi so: Manifesta 14, Priština; Künstlerhaus, Dunaj; 2. Autostrada bienale, Prizren; Muzej suvremene umjetnosti Zagreb; raziskovalni paviljon, 57. beneški bienale; MUMOK, Dunaj; Künstlerhaus, Gradec; nGbK, Berlin; Magazin4, Bregenz. Njena sodelovalna instalacija *V tem smo vsi sami* (z Yanetom Calovskim) je bila razstavljena v paviljonu Republike Makedonije na 56. beneškem bienalu. Je doktorandka Akademije za likovne umetnosti na Dunaju.

**Sanja Iveković** se je rodila v Zagrebu, kjer je diplomirala na Akademiji za likovno umetnost. Razstavljala je na številnih skupinskih razstavah na Hrvaškem in v tujini (Pariški bienale, Manifesta, documenta, Liverpoolski bienale, Praški bienale, Istanbulski bienale) ter imela retrospektivne razstave v Innsbrucku, Berlinu, Kölnu, Göteborgu, Barceloni, New Yorku, Luksemburgu in Londonu. Njena video dela in video instalacije so bili prikazani na številnih mednarodnih festivalih v Evropi, ZDA, Kanadi, na Japonskem in Tajskem. Simpoziji o njenem delu so bili v Hofburgu (Innsbruck, 2001), Kölner Kunstverein (Köln 2006), Fundaciji Antoni Tapies (Barcelona 2007), Van Abbemuseum (Eindhoven, 2009), MoMA (New York, 2011) in Royal College of Art (London, 2013). V svoji umetniški praksi raziskuje družbeno-politične teme s poudarkom na strategijah in metodah upora proti prevladujočim razmerjem moči, na kar gleda s pozicije ženskega subjekta. Poleg umetnosti se ukvarja s feminističnim aktivizmom ter je ustanoviteljica in članica več hrvaških ženskih nevladnih organizacij.

**Sanela Jahić** (1980, Kranj) je leta 2008 končala študij slikarstva na ALUO v Ljubljani. V letu 2010 je kot štipendistka Ministrstva za kulturo RS končala diplomski študij mednarodne smeri »Umetnost v javnem prostoru in nove umetniške strategije« na Univerzi Bauhaus v Weimarju. Kot intermedijska umetnica gradi tehnološko podprte kinetične objekte in naprave. Njena umetniška praksa pogosto vključuje sodelovanje s strokovnjaki za strojništvo, avtomatizacijo, programsko opremo in elektroniko. Živi in dela v Škofji Loki. Svoja dela je predstavila na več razstavah v Sloveniji in tujini.

**Filip Jovanovski** (1979) je vizualni umetnik, ki deluje interdisciplinarno. Svoja dolgoletna družbeno angažirana dela pogosto ustvarja v sodelovanju z različnimi skupnostmi. Je dobitnik nagrade Golden Triga Praškega kvadriena za scensko oblikovanje in prostor 2019, nagrade DENES za mlade vizualne umetnike, nagrade Ladislav Barišič združenja AICA – Makedonija (kot soavtor) in drugih. Jovanovski se je predstavil na več kot 15 samostojnih in 40 skupinskih razstavah, ustvaril je več kot 30 scenografij za različne gledališke projekte in sodeloval pri oblikovanju makedonskega paviljona na beneškem arhitekturnem bienalu 2018.

**Doruntina Kastrati** se je rodila leta 1991 na Kosovu. Svoje delo je predstavila na samostojni razstavi *Tukaj* (ChertLüdde, Berlin) in na skupinskih razstavah *Life, Without Buildings* (gta Hönggerberg, Zürich), *Not Fully Human, Not Human at All* (Kunstverein, Hamburg), *Red Landscape* (Manifesta14, Priština), *Temel* (Hessel Museum of Art, New York), *Večje od mene – junaški glasovi iz nekdanje Jugoslavije* (Nacionalni muzej sodobne umetnosti MAXXI, Rim).

**Božena Končić Badurina** je vizualna umetnica, ki živi in dela v Zagrebu. V delu uporablja in spaja različne medije, poudarek daje risbi, grafiki, besedilu in performansu. Svoje delo je predstavila na številnih samostojnih in skupinskih razstavah, med drugim v rimskem muzeju MAXXI, Art in General v New Yorku, MSU v Zagrebu, na Kvadrienu scenskega oblikovanja in prostora v Pragi, v Carré d’Art – Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Nimesu, MMSU na Reki, Muzeju moderne umetnosti Dubrovnik, pariški La Galerie de Locataires/Fresnoy in na 29. grafičnem bienalu v Ljubljani.

**Andreja Kulunčić** v delih kritično obravnava različne vidike družbenih odnosov in praks z nenehnim fokusom na družbeno angažirane teme, srečevanja z različnimi publikami in sodelovanje v kolektivnih projektih. Oblikuje svoje lastne interdisciplinarne mreže, saj na umetniško delo gleda kot na raziskovanje, proces sodelovanja, soustvarjanja in samoorganizacije. Pogosto od publike pričakuje, da bo aktivno sodelovala in »dokončala« delo. Razstavljala je na mnogih pomembnih mednarodnih manifestacijah in se predstavila na samostojnih in skupinskih razstavah v številnih uglednih muzejih in galerijah doma in po svetu. Živi v Zagrebu, kjer uči na oddelku za nove medije Akademije za likovno umetnost. http://www.andreja.info/

**KURS** glej **Miletić & Radovanović**

**Siniša Labrović** se je rodil leta 1965 v Sinju na Hrvaškem. Razstavljal je po vsej Hrvaški in v tujini. Njegova dela so vključena v muzejske zbirke v Zagrebu, Splitu, na Reki in v Dubrovniku, nekaj jih je tudi v zasebnih zbirkah. Zastopa ga dunajska galerija Galerie Michaela Stock. Leta 2009 je razstavljal na 11. istanbulskega bienalu, leta 2012 pa je bil eden od predstavnikov Hrvaške na 13. beneškem arhitekturnem bienalu. Živi v Berlinu, kjer dela kot svobodni umetnik.

**Irena Lagator Pejović** (1976, Jugoslavija) je likovna umetnica. Na 55. beneškem bienalu je predstavljala Črno goro s samostojno razstavo *Misliti s sliko*. Že od leta 2000 predstavlja svoje delo tudi v tujini, njena dela pa so med drugim vključena v zbirke FRAC Marseille, Ville Pacchiani in Italiji, Muzeja sodobne umetnosti v Beogradu in Narodnega muzeja Črne gore. Je prejemnica več nagrad, med najpomembnejše sodijo nagradi, ki ju je prejela na razstavah *Transformacija spomina*. *Politika podob*, 24. memorial Nadežde Petrović, Čačak, Srbija (2007) in *Rekonstrukcija*, 4. mednarodni bienale Cetinje, Črna gora, in Unescova nagrada za likovno umetnost (2002).

**Goranka Matić** je diplomirala iz umetnostne zgodovine na Filozofski fakulteti v Beogradu. Odraščala je v družini, ki se je zanimala za fotografijo, naravo in potovanja, kar je zarna

movalo njeno življenje in delo. Matičeva je bila del umetniške in kuratorske skupnosti Galerije SKC od začetkov Študentskega kulturnega centra v Beogradu (1971); delala je kot kustosinja asistentka likovnega programa in pozneje kot kustosinja Galerije Srečna nova umetnost. Po letu 1980 se je začela posvečati bolj fotografski karieri in fotografirala za številne pomembne jugoslovanske revije in časopise, kot so *Džuboks*, *Start*, *Svijet*, *Omladinske novine*, *Duga*, *Delo Polet*, *Moment*, *Beorama*, *Ritam* in *New Moment*. Med letoma 1990 in 2006 je bila urednica fotografije pri tedniku *Vreme*, med letoma 2006 in 2010 pa pri dnevniku *Politika*. Matičeva je bila profesorica fotoreporterstva na Fakulteti za politične vede v Beogradu, zdaj pa poučuje na Fakulteti za medije in komunikacije v Beogradu.

**Duga Mavrinc** je kulturna antropologinja, ki raziskuje plačano gospodinjsko delo, prakse in ideje nege, etnografije dela in uporabno antropologijo. Za doktorsko disertacijo je terensko raziskovala delo negovalk starejših v Italiji in na Hrvaškem. Uporabnost metodoloških in teoretskih konceptov kulturne antropologije je proučevala tudi v več umetniških in kuratorskih projektih.

**Jelena Mijić** je umetnica, kulturna delavka in točajka, ki živi v Beogradu. Odrasla je v vasi blizu Novega Sada. Kmalu po začetku študija slikarstva na Fakulteti za likovno umetnost v Beogradu je začela sodelovati z drugimi umetniki in organizacijami zunaj fakultete. Leta 2013 je postala članica beograjskega kolektiva Raw in se pridružila ekipi, ki je ustanovila nefinanciran umetniški rezidenčni program MultiMadeira na portugalskem otoku Madeira. Vse od takrat se ukvarja s kolektivnostjo, ustvarjanjem skupnosti in oblikovanjem novih organizacijskih modelov na področju umetnosti in kulture.

**Miloš Miletić** in **Mirjana Radovanović** sta vizualna umetnika in raziskovalca, ki delujeta pod imenom **KURS**. Pri svojem delu se pogosto naslanjata na arhivsko gradivo ter ga združujeta z revolucionarno poezijo in prozo, pa tudi vizualno govorico progresivnih gibanj iz preteklosti, ki jih prestavljata v sodobne umetniške in politične kontekste. Najpogosteje ustvarjata freske, zastave, ilustracije in različne tiskovine. Njuno vodilo je ustvarjati vsebine, ki so didaktične in dostopne širši javnost. www.udruzenjekurs.org

**Nebojša Milikić** je kulturni delavec in producent, ki živi in dela v Beogradu. Od leta 1990 je dejaven na področju kulturnega in političnega aktivizma, sodobne umetnosti, neodvisnih raziskav in javnih razprav. Od leta 2000 dela v Kulturnem centru Rex v Beogradu kot pobudnik in koordinator projektov in programov. Piše o kulturnih in političnih problemih tranzicijskih družb, svoje prispevke pa objavlja na aktivističnih in kulturnih portalih ter v podobnih publikacijah. Vključen je v različne so-

delovalne kulturne, aktivistične in umetniške projekte v regiji in v tujini.

Leta 1984 so tri skupine, multimedijska skupina Laibach (1980), skupina vizualnih umetnikov IRWIN (1983) in gledališka skupina Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice (1983–1987) ustanovile umetniški kolektiv **Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK)**. Na dan ustanovitve NSK-ja so vse tri skupine ustanovile še četrto skupino, oddelek za oblikovanje Novi kolektivizem. Pozneje so se v okviru NSK-ja oblikovali še Oddelek za čisto in praktično filozofijo, Retrovizija, Film in Graditelji. NSK je svoj umetniški koncept gradil po retrometodah, za katere imajo tri ustanovne skupine vsaka svoje posebno poimenovanje: Laibach retroavangarda, GSSN retrogarda in IRWIN retroprincip. Skupine NSK-ja svoje skupne ideje po propadu Jugoslavije in nastanku samostojne države Slovenije nadaljujejo v NSK državi v času, ustanovljeni leta 1992. NSK država v času še danes izdaja potne liste, ima svojo celostno podobo in simbole ter odpira ambasade in konzulate v različnih državah sveta.

**Nove tendence** (1961–1973) so ena od vplivnejših umetnostnih manifestacij, preraslih v gibanje, ki so Zagreb postavile na umetnostni zemljevid in tedanji jugoslovanski prostor odprle mednarodnim tokovom. Prizadevale so si za izenačitev umetnosti in znanosti ter splošno demokratizacijo umetnosti. V obdobju od leta 1961 do leta 1973 je bilo v sklopu Novih tendenc v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu organiziranih pet mednarodnih razstav, na katerih so se predstavili najuglednejši umetniki in teoretiki neokonstruktivistične, kinetične in optične umetnosti. Razstave: 1961, 1963, 1965, 1968–69 in 1973. Predstavniki: Julije Knifer, Almir Mavignier, Aleksandar Srnec, Miroslav Šutej in Ivan Picelj.

**OHO** je bil najprej široko gibanje (1965–68), nato skupina s štirimi stalnimi člani (in priložnostnim petim, 1969–71) in nazadnje komuna v Šempasu (1971–79). Njihovo delovanje je zaznamoval reizem, razumevanje sveta, kjer v središču ni več človek, ampak imajo stvari lastno življenje, neodvisno od rabe ali pomenov, ki jim jih pripisujemo. V obdobju gibanja OHO sta bila osrednja člana Marko Pogačnik in I. G. Plamen, ime OHO pa je služilo kot konceptualna oznaka za različne aktivnosti (ne nujno stalnih) članov: vizualno in konkretno poezijo, OHO edicije, vizualna dela in artikle, filme in happeninge. Druga faza, t. i. transcendentalni konceptualizem, je vključevala ezoterične in mistične dimenzije kot orodja, s katerimi lažje razumemo povezanosti mikro- in makrokozmosa. V tej fazi so postajali odnosi med štirimi člani skupine (Milenko Matanovič, David Nez, Marko Pogačnik, Andraž Šalamun) in njihov odnos do narave, družbe in kozmosa vse pomembnejši. Leta 1971 so se ohjevci odločili, da bodo zapustili tako umetnost kot običajno življenje in se posvetili iskanju novega mode-

la bivanja, zato so se z družinami preselili v vas Šempas in tam osnovali komuno, kjer so reistično filozofijo spojili z načinom življenja.

**Marika Pogačnik (1947)** živi z Markom v Šempasu na Vipavskem in sodeluje z njim. Ustvarja tako, da preobraža naravne snovi, najsi bo les, kamen ali volna, v umetniške predmete. Z notranjo zbranostjo zna preobraziti material v živ organizem. Zanima jo, kako se da ustvarjalnost utelesiti v vsakdanjem življenju in v domačem okolju družine.

**Marko Pogačnik (1944)** živi z Mariko v Šempasu na Vipavskem. V letih 1965–71 je deloval v okviru gibanja in skupine OHO, v letih 1971–79 v poljedelsko-umetniški komuni v Šempasu. Razvil je litopunkturo – umetnost akupunkturo pokrajin in mest, projekt geopunkturnih krogov in telesne vaje Dotika Gaje. Knjige v slovenščini so med drugim: *Ljubljanski trikotnik*, *Ko se Boginja vrne*, *Draga Zemlja, kako ti gre*, *Skrivno življenje Zemlje*, *Maribor v svoji lepoti in moči*, *Vesolje človeškega telesa*, *Slovenija čudežna*, *Ples Zemljine preobrazbe*. Je avtor državnega grba Slovenije. Od leta 2016 dalje deluje v svetu kot Unescov umetnik za mir.

**Darinka Pop-Mitić** (rojena v Jugoslaviji) živi in dela v Beogradu. V svoji praksi raziskuje odnos med zgodovino in prostorom spomina. Njeni objekti in slike sprožajo *souvenir involontaire*, ki gledalca ponovno udejnjanj preteklost. Je dobitnica dveh zaporednih nagrad mednarodne žirije na Oktobrskem salonu v letih 2008 in 2009, nagrade AICA na 49. oktobrskem salonu leta 2008 in ULUS-ove zlate nagrade leta 2021.

**Zoran Popović** se je rodil leta 1944 v Beogradu. Leta 1969 je diplomiral na Akademiji za likovno umetnost v Beogradu in leta 1973 tam tudi opravil magisterij. Primarna umetniška dejavnost: antiobjektna umetnost. Discipline, mediji: risba, grafika, slikarstvo, objekti, film, fotografija, performans, instalacija, tekst, dizajn, notranja arhitektura.

**Uroš Potočnik** (Slovenj Gradec, 1974) je leta 1994 končal srednjo šolo za steklopihalca /steklarskega tehnika v Rogaški Slatini. Med letoma 1998 in 2004 je bil aktiven član astronomskega društva Gostosevci iz Velenja. Od leta 1999 je študiral likovno pedagogiko na Pedagoški fakulteti v Mariboru, leta 2001 pa je vpisal študij slikarstva na Akademiji za likovno umetnost v Ljubljani. Med letoma 2001 in 2007 je deloval kot kustos in programski vodja Galerije Mladinskega centra v Velenju. Leta 2006 je diplomiral pri prof. Hermanu Gvardjančiču in prof. Zmagu Lenárdiču in leta 2012 opravil magistrski študij pri prof. Zmagu Lenárdiču. V sodelovanju z Galerijo P74 se s svojimi deli predstavlja tako doma kot v tujini. Deluje kot likovni pedagog na Osnovni šoli Nazarje in kot docent na Akademiji za likovno umetnost in

oblikovanje v Ljubljani. Živi in dela v Belih Vodah nad Šoštanjem.

**Radical Education Collective** (2006–2014) je bil projekt, proces in raziskovalna metodologija. Nastal je sicer v okviru Moderne galerije, vendar je deloval kot neodvisna entiteta. Njegov namen je bil ustvariti kontaktno površino med družbenimi gibanji in umetniško institucijo ter zasnovati nove institucionalne oblike odpora. Cilj kolektiva ni bil zgolj artikulirati sklop pomembnih in relevantnih vprašanj, temveč se z njimi spoprijeti v kolektivnih situacijah, demokratizirati strokovno znanje in namesto tega ustvarjati skupno znanje.

Umetnika **Rena Rädle** in **Vladan Jeremić** delujeta v Beogradu in Berlinu, njuno raziskovalno delo pa zajema instalacije in umetniške intervencije v javnem prostoru. V svoji sodelovalni praksi raziskujeta odnos med umetnostjo in politiko ter razkrivata protislovja današnje družbe. Uporabljata tehnike, ki jih je preprosto reproducirati in distribuirati, npr. risbe in grafike, ter nezahtevne materiale, kot so tekstil, karton in les, pri tem pa si dosledno prizadevata za uporabno vrednost svoje umetniške produkcije in družbeno ozaveščenost. Transformativne potencialne umetnosti razvijata v kontekstu družbenih bojev in v sodelovanju z družbenimi gibanji. http://raedle-jeremic.net/

**Mladen Stilinović** (1947–2016) je bil eden od ustanoviteljev neformalne Skupine šestih avtorjev, ki je bila dejavna v Zagrebu med letoma 1975 in 1979. Skupina je vzpostavila alternativno prakso nenapovedanih in pogosto humornih akcij, ki so jih izvajali v javnih prostorih in neformalnih situacijah. Dela, ki so jih prikazovali zunaj umetnostnih institucij, so spodbijala tradicionalne estetske norme, se upirala pravilom tedanjega umetnostnega sistema in kritizirala vse oblike ideologije. Vse od prvih del se je Stilinović humorno in ironično, a vendarle kritično ukvarjal z vprašanji družbene moči in ideološkega izkoriščanja. Prilščal si je parole in slogane, metafore in simbole, ki so bili v rabi v političnem in vsakdanjem govoru, in jih v delih »izkoriščal« za dekonstrukcijo njihovega pomena in možno neideološko rabo.

Skupina **Škart** je bila ustanovljena v Beogradu v Jugoslaviji leta 1990. Do leta 2000 je izdelovala edicije in jih delila ljudem v uličnih akcijah, s katerimi je komentirala aktualno družbeno-politično dogajanje. Od leta 2000 je skupina v želji po trajnejši izmenjavi izkušenj s širšim krogom ljudi ustanovila nekaj večjih kolektivov, med njimi zbor **Horkeškart** (današnji Horkestar), skupino vezilj Nepraktične ženske in festival poezije Pesničenje (2008–2013).

**Biljana Tanurovska Kjulavkovski** je kulturna producentka, raziskovalka in kustosinja, soustanoviteljica platforme Nomad Dance Academy (NDA) in projektnega prostora Kino

Kultura (KK) ter programska direktorica skopske nevladne organizacije Lokomotiva. Trenutno dela v Arhivu uprizoritvenih umetnosti v Severni Makedoniji v okviru projekta (Non)Aligned Movements platforme NDA; je nosilka predmeta »Kuratorske prakse in kontekst« na stokholmski Univerzi za umetnost in somentorica programa Kritična praksa (Made in YU). Je predavateljica ter avtorica in urednica prispevkov, revij in knjige *Modeling Art and Cultural Institutions*. Doktorirala je na beograjski Fakulteti za dramske umetnosti. Leta 2021 je za raziskavo »Political performance as extended field in Macedonia in the 1990s« prejela nagrado Ladislav Barišić združenja AICA Makedonija.

**Raša Todosijević** je bil član neformalne skupine mladih konceptualnih umetnikov, ki so se na začetku sedemdesetih let zbrali okrog SKC Beograd. Zasnovali so novo obliko prakse, pozneje vključene v t. i. »nove umetniške prakse«, ki je zavračala tradicionalne (modernistične) umetniške koncepte, dvomila o prevladujočih strukturah v tedanji umetnosti in družbi ter preizkušala meje tradicionalnih medijev z uporabo novih oblik umetniškega izraza (video, performans, akcije in novi mediji).

**Goran Trbuljak** (1948) je leta 1972 diplomiral na oddelku za grafiko Akademije za likovno umetnost v Zagrebu, nato pa je leta 1980 diplomiral še iz kinematografije na Akademiji za gledališče, film in televizijo. V poznih šestdesetih letih je začel delovati v okviru konceptualne umetnosti in t. i. »novih umetniških praks«. V delu se ukvarja s položajem umetnosti v sodobnem svetu; po eni strani so tradicionalni umetniški mediji, kot je slikarstvo, postali zastareli – nemogoče je slikati tradicionalne podobe, ne da bi bili smešni –, po drugi strani pa lahko vsaka praksa postane umetnost, če jo kot tako sprejmejo občinstvo in umetnostne institucije. V igrivih in ironičnih delih Trbuljak raziskuje možnosti ustvarjanja slike v času, ko se tako dejanje zdi »nemogoče«, in mehanizme, kako je nekaj sprejeto kot umetnost.

**ULUS – Društvo likovnih umetnikov Srbije** je ena vodilnih stanovskih umetniških organizacij in obenem tudi ena najstarejših (leta 2019 je praznovala sto let obstoja). Danes zastopa več kot 2,500 umetnikov in umetnic širom Srbije. Poslanstvo društva je promocija in varovanje delovnih in poklicnih pravic in interesov vizualnih umetnikov in umetnic ter zagotavljanje njihovega boljšega družbenega položaja za uveljavljanje prepoznavnosti umetnosti v družbi. Poleg zastopanja pravic umetnikov in umetnic ULUS oblikuje tudi razstavni program za svoji – na srbski umetnostni sceni zelo relevantni – razstavišči, Galerijo ULUS in Umetnostni paviljon Cvijeta Zuzorić. V skladu s svojim poslanstvom ULUS tudi organizira debatne in izobraževalne programe ter druge javne dogodke, namenjene promociji vizualne umetnosti in umetnikov/umetnic.

**Ivana Vaseva** je kustosinja in programska direktorica organizacije FRU – Faculty of things that can't be learned in sokustosinja Festivala sodobne umetnosti AKTO. Kot kustosinja sodeluje tudi s skupnostmi, ki niso del umetniške sfere, s katerimi razvija razstave in tudi prostore soustvarjanja, pogovorov, kritičnega premisleka in politične artikulacije problemov. Je prejemnica nagrade Golden Triga za najboljšo razstavo na praškem kvadrienu PQ19 (kot kustosinja projekta), dveh nagrad mednarodnega združenja umetnostnih kritikov AICA – Makedonija »Ladislav Barišić« (kot soavtorica) in posebne nagrade za arhitekturo (kot soudeleženka). Specializacijo za kuratorstvo je opravila v Centru de Appel v Amsterdamu.

**Via Negativa (VN)** je platforma za raziskavo, razvoj in produkcijo sodobne scenske umetnosti. Osredotoča se na raziskave in snovanje različnih strategij scenskega uprizarjanja, s poudarkom na etiki in živosti uprizoritvenih praks, postopkov in žanrov. Osnovna dejavnost Vie Negative je produkcija sodobne scenske umetnosti, organizacija delavnic in izobraževanje v obliki laboratorijskega dela v programu VN Lab.

Platforma **Za K.R.U.H.** združuje kulturne delavke in delavce ter umetnice in umetnike v skupnem boju za dostojne delovne pogoje in vzdržna javna sredstva za kulturo kot edini mehanizem, ki lahko zagotovi njihovo najširšo dostopnost in omogoči dostojne delovne pogoje za vse na področju kulture.

**Zrenjaninski socialni forum** (ZSF) je nastal 30. oktobra 2014 kot združenje nekdanjih delavcev v danes propadli zrenjaninski industriji, levičarskih intelektualcev in prekarnih delavcev iz Zrenjanina. ZSF je levo usmerjena organizacija, ki zagovarja enopartijskega demokratičnega socializma, družbene enakosti, enakopravnosti narodov, solidarnosti, človekovih pravic in pravic manjšin. ZSF zagovarja uveljavitev leve politične agende na okroglih mizah in forumih, s produciranjem in predvajanjem dokumentarnih filmov, objavo izjav za javnost, v katerih z levičarskega političnega stališča komentira aktualne gospodarske in politične razmere. Posnetke z okroglih miz in kratke video zapise, v katerih delavski in sindikalni aktivisti predstavljajo svoje aktivnosti in vizije, objavlja predvsem na kanalu YouTube.

**Željko Bebek** je hrvatski glasbenik, skladatelj, avtor besedil in producent. Njegov glasbeni slog je mešanica rocka, popa in folklorne glasbe. Bebek je eden izmed najbolj priljubljenih glasbenikov v Hrvatski. Njegova glasbena kariera se je začela leta 1968, ko je sodeloval v skupini *Grupa 1968*. Leta 1970 je sodeloval v skupini *Grupa 1970*, ki je postala ena izmed najbolj priljubljenih skupin v Hrvatski. Bebek je avtor številnih hitov, med drugim *Moja ljubav*, *Moja žena*, *Moja devojka* in *Moja majka*. Leta 1975 je sodeloval v skupini *Grupa 1975*, ki je postala ena izmed najbolj priljubljenih skupin v Hrvatski. Bebek je avtor številnih hitov, med drugim *Moja ljubav*, *Moja žena*, *Moja devojka* in *Moja majka*. Leta 1980 je sodeloval v skupini *Grupa 1980*, ki je postala ena izmed najbolj priljubljenih skupin v Hrvatski. Bebek je avtor številnih hitov, med drugim *Moja ljubav*, *Moja žena*, *Moja devojka* in *Moja majka*.

**Nika Autor** obtained her BA and MA from the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Ljubljana, and her PhD in Practice at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Her practice is primarily based on experimental videos and documentary films, film essays, photography, collages, drawings, and spatial video installations. The focus of her work is research into invisibilities/inaudibilities in relation to concealed topics of the forgotten past and silenced present. Her works examine migration policies, workers’ rights, and the politics of memory. She is part of the Newsreel Front collective.

**Damir Avdić**, musician and performer, was born in Tuzla (1964), Bosnia and Herzegovina. He released five albums with the band Rupa u zidu (1989–2000). Since 2004 he has released nine solo albums, and published five novels and a book of verse. He composes music for theater and film. In 2017 he received the Borštnik Award for the original score for the production *Antigona* (SNG Drama Ljubljana, directed by Eduard Miler). The same year he also received the Vesna Award for the best original score for the films *Ivan* (co-written and directed by Janez Burger) and *The Basics of Killing* (written and directed by Jan Cvitkovič).

**Milijana Babić** is a self-employed artist based in Rijeka, Croatia. She gained formal art education from the Durban Institute of Technology, Durban, South Africa, and the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, Ljubljana, Slovenia. She has been exhibiting since 2000.

Her work is rooted in performative art practice, often developing in the direction of contextually specific, long-term actions in public space. The starting point of her work is her position as a woman and an artist, which she questions in her immediate surroundings.

**Jože Barši** took a degree in architecture from the University of Ljubljana, and a degree is sculpture from the Academy of Fine Arts in Ljubljana, where he also obtained his MFA. His work covers a wide range of fields of interest, from site-specific works to radio broadcasts as exhibition venues, from public lectures to sound and conceptual works. He served as visiting professor at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Pennsylvania (2001). He represented Slovenia at the Venice Biennale (1997) and participated in the 4th Istanbul Biennial (1995). He has received the Golden Bird Award for the visual arts (2010) and the Rihard Jakopič Award (2014) for special achievements in visual art.

Working as head of the Student Cultural Center Gallery in Belgrade in the 1970s, curator and art historian **Dunja Blažević** transformed it into a space of artistic experiments and new media, instigating also collaborations between artists from different Yugoslav republics and developing international connections. In 1981, Blažević went to work for Television Belgrade, first producing reports on contemporary art and then her own monthly program *TV Gallery*, which ran between 1984 and 1991 and represents to this day an important publicly accessible document about interdisciplinary, socially engaged artistic and curatorial practices.

**Danica Dakić**’s scope of work extends from video and film to photography and installation. Many of her artworks, often developed in an intensive collaboration with participants, address topics of (art) history to highlight cultural memory and identity, language, and social roles in their constant transformation and changing utopian potentials. Her solo exhibitions have debuted at venues such as the Bosnia-Herzegovina Pavilion at the 58th Venice Biennale (2019) and at Kunsthalle Düsseldorf (2009). She has participated in group exhibitions such as documenta 12 (2007) and the São Paulo Biennial (2014).

**Walter De Maria** (1935–2013) is famous for his interactive and monumental sculpture installations broaching the issues of time and space. He is one of the pioneers of land art in the 1960s: he incorporated visual elements into natural environments, or else brought elements of nature into gallery settings. His most ambitious works were not only physically large, but of also extremely long duration – some were exhibited for decades, either indoors or outdoors. Others were, conversely, extremely short-lived due to exposure to the elements. De Maria participated in the legendary exhibition of conceptual art *When Attitudes Become Form*, curated by Harald Szeemann in 1969.

**Olja Džuverović** (1947, Belgrade – 2006, Windhoek) obtained a degree in archeology from the University of Belgrade and was politically active in the student movement from an early age. Through her activism and solidarity with African comrades coming to Yugoslavia, she developed a personal interest in the decolonial struggle, later taking a position at the Commission for Assistance to the Liberation Movements at the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. She was later posted



on diplomatic missions to Zimbabwe and South Africa. Towards the end of her career she moved to Namibia, was granted Namibian nationality, and was Special Advisor to the Minister of Gender Equality and Child Welfare until her untimely death in 2006. The archive of Olja Džuverović is presented by Lina Džuverović, a curator and cultural worker based in London, and Vesna Džuverović, an economist and linguist based in Belgrade.

**Vukica Đilas** was the daughter of Miira Mitrović, one of the leading figures of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front of Yugoslavia, and Milovan Đilas, one of the greatest political dissidents of socialist Yugoslavia and writer of the political bestseller *The New Class*. She was a journalist, translator, intellectual, and fan of experimental cinema. She was also one of the main characters in Lazar Stojanović's film *Plastic Jesus* (1971), the partner of Branko Vučićević, one of the central figures of New Yugoslav Film and the friend of the "Black Wave" directors Dušan Makavejev, Želimir Žilnik, Bata Ćengić, Karpo Godina, Slobodan Šijan, Lazar Stojanović, and Tom Gotovac. She was not seen as an author and director, although she recorded scenes from the lives of filmmakers, their obsession with TV images, their joint screenings of film projections at Belgrade Cinématèque, and their visits to the [Belgrade] film festival FEST.

Born in 1950 in Yugoslavia, **Goran Đorđević** lives and works in Belgrade. He took a degree in electrical engineering from the University of Belgrade, and then another in visual studies from the MIT in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He has been exhibiting his work since 1971. Between 1972 and 1976 he was actively involved in the working of the Student Cultural Center Gallery in Belgrade. He has taken part in numerous exhibitions at home and abroad, including the 9th Biennial of the Young in Paris in 1975, the 5th Triennial of Yugoslav Art in Belgrade in 1977, *Trigon* in Graz in 1977, and *Works and Words* in Amsterdam in 1979.

After his *International Strike of Artists* appeal and his solo exhibition *Against Art* in the Student Cultural Center Gallery in 1980, where he showed his work not as artworks but as "views on art," he began presenting his work as theoretical-philosophical work that is expressed visually.

**Lenka Đorojević** and **Matej Stupica** are an artist duo based in Ljubljana, working together since 2012. With their collaborations they are developing a body of work that oscillates between interactive audio-visual installations, set designs, and experiential environments. They explore and critically interpret the ambivalence of the position of the (art) subject in the context of mass media, digitally constructed realities and late capitalist productional, representational, ideological and

symbolic narratives and strategies. For their work they received the OHO Award in 2015 and the 41st Montenegrin Art Salon "13 November" Award in 2019.

**Šejma Fere** (1981, Zemun) graduated in painting and printmaking at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade. Her recent exhibitions include: the 9th Beijing Biennale, NAMOC, Beijing; *Among Women: Serbian Contemporary Art*, River Art Center, Bronx; and *We Are Alive*, with Saša Stojanović, Art Zadruga, Novi Sad. Fere is the author of the poster for the 10th Norient Film Festival, was awarded a Distinction Prize for Painting by the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation in 2006, received the Best Exhibition Award from the Kolarac Foundation in 2019, and was a finalist of the Painting Prize Guasch Coranty in 2015. She lives in Zemun and works as a self-employed artist.

**György Galántai** is a renowned Hungarian artist and member of the Fluxus movement, who spearheaded the launch of several art institutions. At the time of the socialist regime in Hungary, when censorship was strong, Galántai organized a famous series of shows entitled the *Chapel Exhibitions* (1970–1973). In addition to 35 exhibitions, the events at the Chapel Studio included concerts, poetry readings, theater performances, movie showings, and other. When the activities drew the attention of the secret police, the Chapel Studio was closed, and Galántai turned to mail art in the late 1970s, which also allowed him to be part of the international context. An archive of this correspondence formed the basis of the Artpool Archive, which preserves information about Hungarian artistic life of the time in the form of plans, notes, books, photographs, catalogues, invitations, films, and other media.

The Croatian group **Gorgona**, which was active between 1959 and 1966, consisted of five artists, the painters Marijan Jevšovar, Julije Knifer, Đuro Seder, and Josip Vaništa, and the sculptor Ivan Kožarić, the architect Miljenko Horvat, and the art historians Dimitrije Baščević (known as Mangelos), Radoslav Putar, and Matko Meštrović. It was not a tightly bound group, but rather an association of highly original and unconventional creative individuals.

The practice of **Tomislav Gotovac**, considered a pioneer of performance art in the former Yugoslavia and a key figure of his time, ranged from early photographic works, collages, and avant-garde structuralist films to radical performances. His early actions, such as *Breathing the Air* or *Showing the Elle Magazine*, and later *Haircut and Shaves*, *Watching TV*, and *Listening to the Radio*, explored the politics of the everyday. His work transposed everyday activities into public space, blurring the line between seemingly separate categories of the private and the public.

**Igor Grubić's** work includes site-specific interventions in public spaces, photography, and film. His critical, socio-politically committed practice is characterized by long-term engagement, and his work is focused on past and present political situations, from in-depth explorations of the fate of historical monuments and the demise of industry, to examinations of the issues faced by minority communities. Though grounded in the documentary tradition, Grubić's work in photography and film is characterized by an affective and empathic approach, which is deeply humane and often poetic. He represented Croatia at the 58th Venice Biennale.

**Olja Grubić** is a visual artist and performer whose practice is focused predominantly on the basic conditions of existence. Staging her own body, she explores the possibilities of freedom within a patriarchal and capitalist society. She works from an engaged position, frequently using elements of humor and satire to cut into the structure of everyday life.

**IRWIN** is a collective of five painters: Dušan Mandić (1954), Miran Mohar (1958), Andrej Savski (1961), Roman Uranjek (1961–2022), and Borut Vogeljik (1958). The group was founded in 1983 in Ljubljana. Early in 1984 they assumed the name Rose IRWIN Selavy. Over time, the name of the group cut back first to R Irwin S and then to IRWIN. Up until 1985, the collective also included Marko Kovačić and Bojan Štokelj. The group's principal approach is described as emphasized eclecticism, based on the method of retro principle. In 1984, IRWIN co-founded Neue Slowenische Kunst with the group Ljubljana and the Sisters of Scipio Nasica Theater.

**Hristina Ivanoska's** practice is focused on the issues of suppression, control, and construction of collective memory regarding women's resistance strategies and politics. She is an interdisciplinary artist and validates handcrafts such as embroidery, weaving, pottery, and quilting as media of political and social value. Ivanoska has exhibited at Manifesta 14, Priština; Künstlerhaus, Vienna; 2. Autostrada Biennial, Prizren; Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb; Research Pavilion, 57th Venice Biennale; MUMOK, Vienna; Künstlerhaus, Graz; nGbK, Berlin; Magazin4, Bregenz. Her collaborative installation *We Are All in This Alone* (with Yane Calovski) was exhibited at the 56th Venice Biennale, the Pavilion of the Republic of Macedonia. She is a Ph.D. candidate at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.

**Sanja Iveković** was born in Zagreb, where she graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts. She has exhibited in numerous group exhibitions in Croatia and abroad (Paris Biennale, Manifesta, documenta, Liverpool Biennial, Prague Biennale, Istanbul Biennale) and has had retrospective exhibitions in Innsbruck,

Berlin, Cologne, Gothenburg, Barcelona, New York, Luxembourg, and London. Her video works and video installations have been screened at numerous international festivals and events in Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, and Thailand. Symposiums on her work have been held in Hofburg (Innsbruck, 2001), Kölnischer Kunstverein (Cologne 2006), the Antoni Tapies Foundation (Barcelona 2007), Van Abbemuseum (Eindhoven, 2009), MoMA (New York, 2011), and Royal College of Art (London, 2013). In her artistic practice she explores socio-political themes, focusing on strategies and methods of resistance to the ruling relations of power, characteristically speaking from the position of the female subject. In addition to her artistic activity, she is engaged in women's activism and is the founder and member of several Croatian women's NGOs.

**Sanela Jahić** (1980, Kranj) graduated in painting from the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana, in 2008, and received her master's degree in 2010 in Public Art and New Artistic Strategies from the Bauhaus University in Weimar. Jahić is an intermedia artist who constructs visual and technologically supported kinetic objects and installations. Her artistic practice often involves collaboration with specialists in mechanical engineering, automation, software, and electronics. She lives and works in Škofja Loka. Jahić has exhibited her work in numerous shows in Slovenia and abroad.

**Filip Jovanovski** (1979) is a visual artist who uses an interdisciplinary approach in his works. He often makes durational, socially engaged works in collaboration with different communities. He won a Golden Triga at the 2019 Prague Quadrennial for performance design and space, the DENES Award for Young Visual Artists, the Ladislav Barišić Award of AICA – Macedonia (as co-author), and other awards. Jovanovski has had over 15 solo presentations and exhibitions, taken part in 40 group exhibitions, and made over 30 stage designs for theater projects. He was one of the authors of the Macedonian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale of Architecture in 2018.

**Doruntina Kastrati** was born in 1991 in Kosovo. Her work has been shown in the solo exhibition *Here* (ChertLüdde Berlin), as well as in the group exhibitions *Life, without Buildings* (gta Hönggerberg, Zurich), *Not Fully Human, Not Human at All* (Kunstverein, Hamburg), *Red Landscape* (Manifesta 14, Prishtina), *Temel* (Hessel Museum of Art, New York), and *Bigger than Myself. Heroic Voices from Ex-Yugoslavia* (MAXXI, Rome).

**Božena Končić Badurina** is a visual artist based in Zagreb. In her artistic work she uses and combines various media, with an emphasis on drawing, prints, text, and performance.

Her work has been presented in numerous solo and group exhibitions in venues such as MAXXI, Rome; Art in General, New York; MSU Zagreb; Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space, Prague; Carré d'Art – Museum of Contemporary Art, Nîmes; MMSU Rijeka; Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik; La Galerie de Locataires/Fresnoy, Paris; and the 29th Biennial of Graphic Arts, Ljubljana.

In her works, **Andreja Kulunčić** questions various aspects of social relations and practices, maintaining an interest in socially engaged topics, encounters with different audiences, and collaboration on collective projects. She establishes her own interdisciplinary networks, perceiving artistic work as research, a process of collaboration, co-creation, and self-organization. She often requires the audience to actively participate and "complete" the work. Her work has been presented at major international exhibitions and venues, in solo and group shows. She lives in Zagreb, where she teaches at the Academy of Fine Arts at the department of New Media. <http://www.andreja.info/>

**KURS** see **Miletić & Radovanović**

**Siniša Labrović** was born in Sinj, Croatia, in 1965. He has exhibited all over Croatia and abroad. His works are in the collections of museums in Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik, as well as in some private collections. He is represented by the Galerie Michaela Stock from Vienna. In 2009 he exhibited at the 11<sup>th</sup> Istanbul Biennial, and in 2012 he was part of the Croatian representation at the 13<sup>th</sup> Venice Architecture Biennale. A freelance artist, Siniša Labrović currently lives in Berlin.

**Irena Lagator Pejović** (1976, Yugoslavia) is a visual artist. She represented Montenegro with a solo show *Image Think* at the 55th Venice Biennale. She has exhibited internationally since 2000. Her works are included in collections such as: FRAC Marseille, Villa Pacchiani, Italy, MoCA Belgrade, and the National Museum of Montenegro. Among her most important awards are those she won at *Transforming Memory. The Politics of Images*, 24th Nadežda Petrović Memorial, Čačak, Serbia (2007), and *Reconstruction*, 4th Cetinje International Biennial, Montenegro, and the UNESCO Prize for Visual Arts (2002).

**Goranka Matić** graduated in art history from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She grew up in a family that enjoyed photography, nature, and traveling, which determined her later life and work. From the beginnings of the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade (1971) Matić was part of the artistic and curatorial community of the Gallery of SKC, where she worked as a curatorial assistant of art program and later as a curator of the Happy New Art Gallery. From 1980 she turned to her photographic

career, taking photographs for many important Yugoslav magazines and periodicals, such as *Džuboks*, *Start*, *Svijet*, *Omladinske novine*, *Duga*, *Delo Polet*, *Moment*, *Beorama*, *Ritam*, and *New Moment*. Between 1990 and 2006 she was the photography editor of the weekly *Vreme*, and between 2006 and 2010 of the daily *Politika*. Matić was professor of photojournalism at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade, and currently teaches at the Faculty of Media and Communication in Belgrade.

**Duga Mavrinac** is a cultural anthropologist interested in researching paid domestic work, practices and ideas of care, ethnographies of work and applied anthropology. Her PhD work is based on long-term fieldwork with elder care workers in Italy and Croatia. She has investigated the applicability of the methodological and theoretical concepts of cultural anthropology in several artistic and curatorial projects.

**Jelena Mijić** is a Belgrade-based artist, cultural worker, and bartender. She grew up in a village near Novi Sad. Very early in her studies of painting at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade she started collaborating with other artists and organizations outside the faculty. In 2013 she became a member of the Belgrade Raw collective and part of the team that established MultiMadeira, an unfunded international artist-in-residency program on the island of Madeira, Portugal. Ever since she has been interested in collectiveness, community building, and the creation of new models of organizing in the fields of art and culture.

**Miloš Miletić** and **Mirjana Radovanović** work together as visual artists and researchers under the name **KURS**. They often use archival material as a starting point for their work in combination with revolutionary poetry and prose, as well as the visual language of progressive movements from the past, translated into contemporary artistic and political contexts. Most often they produce murals, flags, illustrations, and various printed materials. They are guided by the idea that the content they produce should be didactic and accessible to the wider public. [www.udruzenjekurs.org](http://www.udruzenjekurs.org)

**Nebojša Milikić** is a cultural worker and producer who lives and works in Belgrade. Since 1990 he has engaged in political and cultural activism, contemporary art, independent research, and public debate. Since 2000 he has worked in the Cultural Center Rex in Belgrade as an initiator and coordinator of projects and programs. He writes about the cultural and political problems of transitional societies, and publishes in activist and cultural portals and publications. Milikić also participates in various collaborative cultural, activist and artistic projects, both in the region and abroad.

In 1984, three groups – the multimedia group Laibach (established 1980), the visual arts group IRWIN (1983), and the theater group The Sisters of Scipio Nasica Theater (1983–1987) – founded the **Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK)** art collective. That same year, the three groups founded a fourth group, the design department New Collectivism. Later NSK established other subdivisions: the Department of Pure and Applied Philosophy, Retrovision, Film, and Builders. NSK built its artistic concept on the “retro” method, for which each of the three founding groups coined its own name: Laibach the retro-avant-garde, SSNT the retro-garde, and IRWIN the retro principle. After the break-up of Yugoslavia and the establishment of an independent Slovenia, the NSK groups invested their common ideas in founding the NSK State in Time in 1992. Since then, the NSK State in Time has issued passports, had its own visual identity and symbols, and opened embassies and consulates in countries all over the world.

**New Tendencias** (1961–1973) were one of the important art events that grew into an art movement, putting Zagreb on the (art) map and introducing international art trends in Yugoslavia. At the exhibitions, special focus was given to bringing together art and science, and to a general democratization of art. Between 1961 and 1973, five international New Tendencias exhibitions were organized in Zagreb, presenting the preeminent artists and theorists on neo-constructivist, kinetic, and op art. Exhibitions: 1961, 1963, 1965, 1968–69 and 1973. Representatives: Julije Knifer, Almir Mavignier, Aleksandar Srnec, Miroslav Šutej, and Ivan Picelj.

**OHO** was initially a movement (1965–68), then it became a group with four permanent (and an occasional fifth) members (1969–71), and finally the Šempas commune (1971–79). The essential intellectual framework for the group's work was *reism*, an understanding of the world in which man is no longer the center, but coexists with things that have their own life independent of the use or meanings we ascribe to them. In the period of the OHO movement, whose central figures were Marko Pogačnik and I. G. Plamen, the name OHO served as a kind of conceptual label given to the members' various activities: visual and concrete poetry, the OHO Editions, visual works or “items,” films, and happenings. The second phase of the group, labelled “transcendental conceptualism,” included an esoteric and mystical dimension to help people understand the connections between the microcosm and the macrocosm; the interpersonal relationships between four members of the group – Milenko Matanovič, David Nez, Marko Pogačnik, and Andraž Šalamun – as well as their relationships to nature, society, and the cosmos, were becoming increasingly important. In 1971, the members of OHO decided to abandon both art and ordinary life and devote themselves to the

search for a new model of living. They moved with their families to the village of Šempas and founded a commune there, thus joining reistic philosophy with a way of life.

**Marika Pogačnik (1947)** lives with Marko in Šempas in the Vipava Valley. She transforms natural materials, such as wood, stone, and wool, into art objects. Her inner focus allows her to transform material into a living organism. She is interested in the way creativity can take physical shape in everyday life and in the home environment of a family.

**Marko Pogačnik (1944)** lives with Marika in Šempas in the Vipava Valley. He was a co-founder of the OHO movement and member of the OHO Group (1965–71), and a member of the Šempas Family agricultural and art commune (1971–1979). He has developed lithopuncture – the art of landscape and urban acupuncture, the Gaia Touch body exercises, and the *Geopuncture Circles* project. His books in English include: *Touching the Breath of Gaia, Turned Upside Down, Nature Spirits & Elemental Beings, Gaia's Quantum Leap, Sacred Geography, Universe of the Human Body*. Since 2016 he has worked as a UNESCO Artist for Peace.

**Darinka Pop-Mitić** (born in Yugoslavia) lives and works in Belgrade. In her art, she explores the relationship between history and the space of memory. Her objects and paintings thus constitute a trigger for *souvenir involontaire*, which re-actualizes the past for the viewer. She won consecutive October Salon international jury awards in 2008 and 2009, the AICA Award at the 49th October Salon in 2008, and the Golden Award of ULUS in 2021.

**Zoran Popović** was born in 1944 in Belgrade. In 1969, he graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade, completing his master's degree there in 1973. Primary artistic activity: anti-object art. Disciplines, media: drawing, printmaking, painting, objects, film, photography, performance art, installation, text, design, interior design.

**Uroš Potočnik** (Slovenj Gradec, 1974) completed his studies at the high school in Rogaška Slatina in 1994, qualifying as a glassblower / glass technician. Between 1998 and 2004, he was an active member of the Velenje Gostosevci Astronomy Society. He started studying Art Pedagogy at the Faculty of Education in Maribor in 1999, and in 2001 went on to study printmaking at the Academy of Fine Arts in Ljubljana. Between 2001 and 2007, he was curator and program director of the Youth Center Gallery in Velenje. In 2006, he graduated under Prof. Herman Gvardjančič and Prof. Zmago Lenárdič, completing his master's degree under Prof. Zmago Lenárdič in 2012. He is represented by the P74 Gallery, which showcases his work at home and abroad. He works as an

art teacher at the Nazarje Primary School and as an Assistant Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Ljubljana. He lives and works in Bele Vode, above Šoštanj.

The **Radical Education Collective** (2006–2014) was a project, process, and research methodology. It was developed in Moderna galerija, but at the same time was also quite independent from it. The idea behind REC was to create a contact surface between social movements and art institutions, and to invent new institutional forms of resistance. REC's position was not only to formulate a meaningful and relevant set of questions but, above all, to confront these questions in collective situations, to democratize expert knowledge and produce common knowledge instead.

**Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić** are Belgrade- and Berlin-based artists whose research-oriented work comprises installations and artistic interventions in public space. In their collaborative practice, Rena & Vladan explore the relation between art and politics, unveiling the contradictions of today's societies. They use techniques that are easy to reproduce and distribute, such as drawing and prints, and simple materials, such as textiles, cardboard and wood, and they insist on their artistic production's use value and social awareness. They develop the transformative potentials of art in the context of social struggles and in collaboration with social movements. <http://raedle-jeremic.net/>

**Mladen Stilinović** (1947–2016) was one of the founding members of the informal Group of Six Artists, active in Zagreb between 1975 and 1979. The artists developed an alternative practice of unannounced and often humorous actions executed in public spaces in informal settings. Shown outside art institutions, their works challenged traditional aesthetic norms, resisted the rules of the art system of the time, and criticized all forms of ideology. From his early works onward, Stilinović dealt with issues of social power and ideological exploitation in a humorous and ironical, yet critical, way. He appropriated slogans, metaphors, and symbols used in political and everyday speech and “exploited” them in his works in order to deconstruct their meanings and enable them to be used non-ideologically.

In 1971, the OHO Group members and friends went to live on an abandoned farm in the village of Šempas, founding an art-and-agriculture commune called **The Šempas Family**, which functioned also as one of the few spiritual centers in Yugoslavia at the time. There they formulated the concept of “the art of life – the life of art,” which sees art as autonomous while expecting it at the same time to participate creatively in transforming the flows and states of life. The Šempas Family was active

until 1979, when it self-abolished. The Šempas Family presented their work at the Triennial of Yugoslav Art in Belgrade (1977), the New Age World Congress in Forte Belvedere in Florence (1978), and the Venice Biennale (1978), among other venues and events.

**Škart** was founded in 1990 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. From 1990 until 2000 the group produced samizdat publications and gave them out to people in street actions. Starting in 2000, Škart founded some larger collectives, trying to share experiences with more people and over a longer timeframe, like the choir **Horkeškart** (today Horkestar), the female embroidery group Non-Practical Women, and the poetry festival Poetrying (2008–2013).

**Biljana Tanurovska Kjulavkovski** is a cultural producer, researcher, and curator, a co-founder of the Nomad Dance Academy (NDA) platform and the Kino Kultura (KK) project space, and the program director of the NGO Lokomotiva, Skopje. She currently works at the Archive of Performing Arts in North Macedonia as part of the NDA project (Non)Aligned Movements. She is the course leader of “Curatorial Practices and Context” at Stockholm University of Arts, and co-mentor of the Critical Practice (Made in Yu) program. She teaches and is an author and editor of texts, journals and the book *Modeling Art and Cultural Institutions*. She holds a PhD from the Faculty of Drama Arts in Belgrade. In 2021 she won the AICA Macedonia Ladislav Barišič Award for her research “Political Performance as an Extended Field in Macedonia in the 1990s.”

**Raša Todosijević** was a member of an informal group of young conceptual artists who in the early 1970s gathered around the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade. They conceived a new form of practice, later recognized as part of the so-called New Art Practice that rejected traditional (modernist) artistic concepts, questioned the dominant structures of art and society of the time, and tested the boundaries of traditional media by using new forms of artistic expression (video, performance, actions, and new media).

**Goran Trbuljak** (1948) graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb with a degree in printmaking in 1972, and in 1980, from the Zagreb Academy of Drama Arts with a degree in cinematography. He became active in the context of conceptual art and the so-called New Art Practice in the late 1960s. His focus is on the position of art in the contemporary world: on the one hand, the traditional art media, such as painting, have become obsolete – it is impossible to paint a traditional image without being laughable –, and on the other, any kind of practice can become art if it is accepted as such by the audience and art institutions. In his playful and ironic works, Trbuljak

researches the possibilities of making a painting at a time when such an act seems “impossible,” as well as considering the mechanisms by which something is accepted as art.

**ULUS – the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia** is one of the leading professional art associations in Serbia, but also among the ones with the longest history (it celebrated its centennial in 2019). Today it represents over 2,500 fine artists from all parts of Serbia. Its mission consists in promoting and protecting the working and professional rights and interests of visual artists, securing their better social position in order to ensure better recognition of art in local society. In addition to representing the rights of artists, ULUS creates programs for two exhibiting venues in Belgrade – The ULUS Gallery and The Art Pavilion Cvijeta Zuzorić, which are of great relevance to the Serbian art scene. As a part of its mission, ULUS also organizes debate and educational programs, as well as other public events that promote visual arts and artists.

**Ivana Vaseva** is a curator and program director of the organization FRU – Faculty of things that can't be learned, and co-curator of the AKTO Festival for Contemporary Arts. As a curator, she also collaborates with other communities outside the arts, developing exhibitions as well as spaces of co-creation, conversation, critical rethinking, and political articulation of problems. She won the Golden Triga for best exposition at PQ19 (as curator of the project), twice the award Ladislav Barišič of AICA – Macedonia (co-author), and the Special Architecture Award (co-participant). Vaseva specialized in curating at de Appel Arts Center in Amsterdam.

**Via Negativa (VN)** is a platform for the research, development, and production of contemporary performance arts. We focus on exploring and devising different performance formats with an emphasis on the ethics and vibrancy of performance practices, procedures, and genres. Our primary activities are the production of contemporary performance art and the organization of laboratory workshops and training programs within the frame of our own VN Lab program.

The platform **Za K.R.U.H.** (For Bread) brings together cultural workers and artists in their common struggle for better working conditions and sustainable public funding of culture as the only mechanism that can ensure its widest accessibility and make possible dignified conditions for all those who work in the field of culture.

The **Zrenjanin Social Forum** (ZSF) was founded on 30th October 2014. The ZSF members include former workers from the now devastated industries of Zrenjanin, left-leaning

intellectuals, as well as precarious workers from the city. ZSF aims to promote the concepts of democratic socialism, social and national equality, solidarity, human and minority rights. It strives to further a left-wing political agenda on panel discussions and forums, producing and screening documentaries, issuing press releases in which it takes a leftist political stance to comment on current economic and political events. In particular, it uses a YouTube channel to post recordings of panel discussions, as well as short video clips in which labor and trade union activists talk about their activities and goals.



Umetnost na delu. Na razpotju med utopizmom in (ne)odvisnostjo / Art at Work. At the Crossroads between Utopianism and (In)Dependence  
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Zanjo / Represented by  
Aleš Vaupotič

Urednica / Editor  
Tamara Soban

Daljša besedila / Introductory texts  
Zdenka Badovinac, Sezgin Boynik, Vida Knežević,  
Bojana Piškur, Tjaša Pureber, Igor Španjol, Jelena  
Vesić

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Kustosi / Curators  
Zdenka Badovinac, Ana Mizerit, Bojana Piškur, Igor Španjol

Kustosa posebnih razstavnih projektov / Curators of special exhibition projects  
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Raziskava »Neodvisna scena 1990–1999«/ Research "Independent Scene 1990–1999"  
Teja Merhar

Koordinacija projekta / Project Coordinator  
Sanja Kuveljić Bandić

Obrazstavni program / Public program  
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Pedagoški program / Educational program  
Lucija Cvjetković

Pomoč pri koordinaciji razstave / Assistant Exhibition Coordinator  
Katarina Bogataj

Restavriranje / Restoration  
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Sabina Povšič

Svetovanje pri postavitvi razstave / Consulting on exhibition design  
Siniša Ilić

Tehnična koordinacija / Technical Coordinator  
Tomaž Kučer

Tehnična ekipa / Technical crew  
Boris Fister, Vojko Kmetič, Janez Kramžar, Goran Petrov, Armin Salihović

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