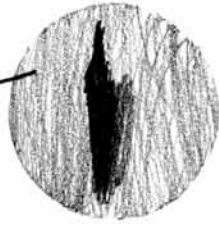


SPOROZGOJE!

**Performans in politika v devetdesetih
letih v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu**



UPRO!

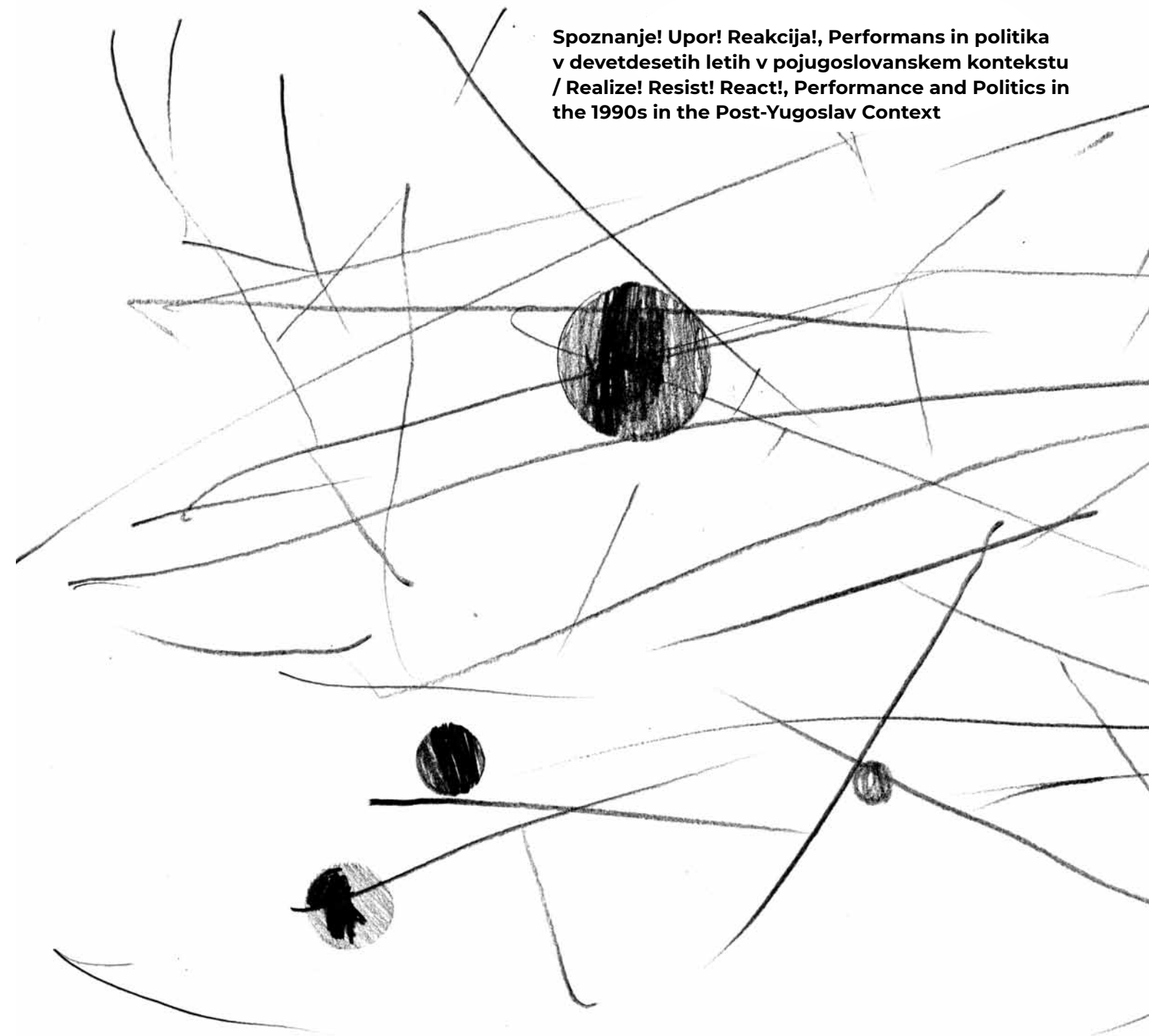
**Performance and Politics in the
1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context**

REKCIJA!

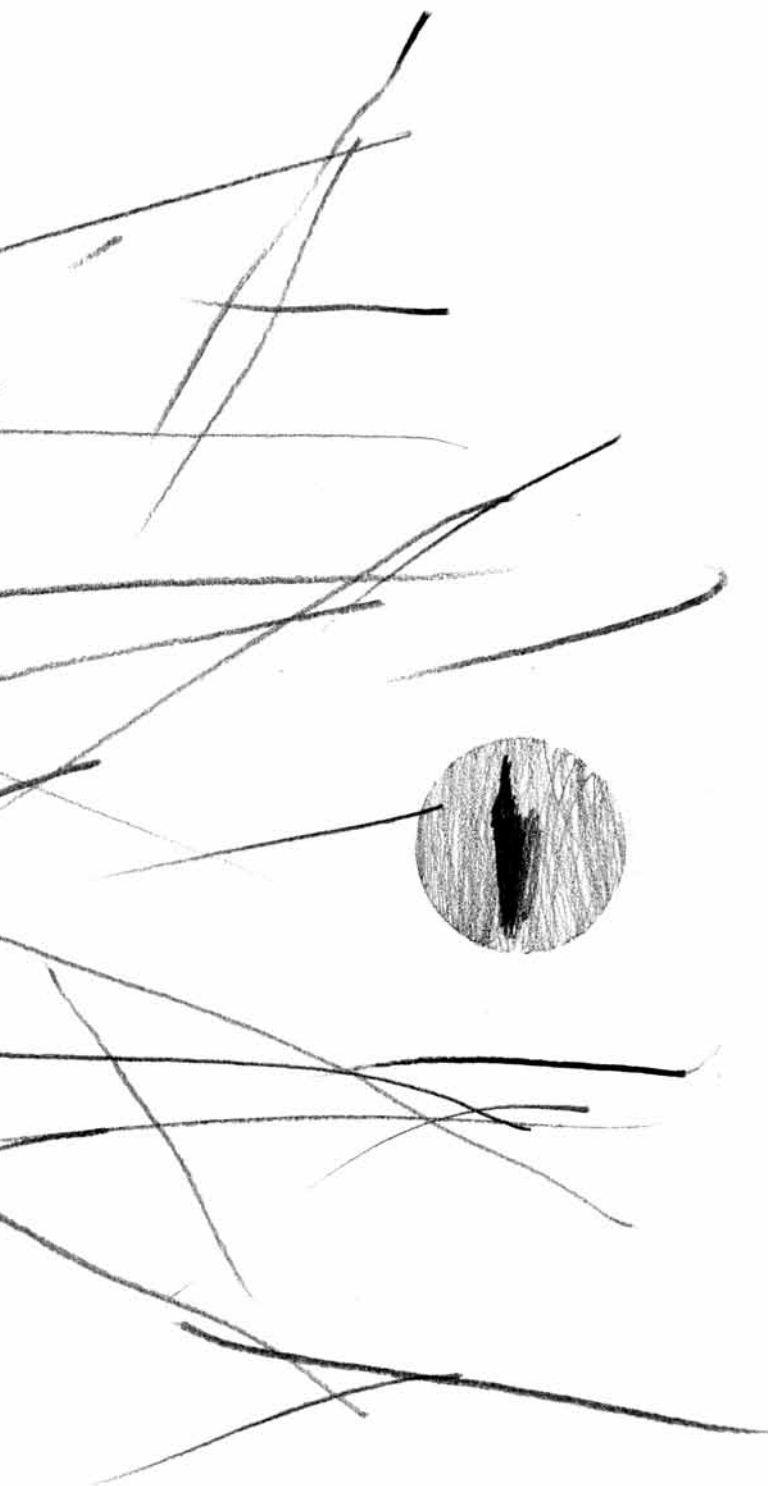
**Re
Re
Re**

**analize
sist!
act!**

**Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!, Performans in politika
v devetdesetih letih v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu
/ Realize! Resist! React!, Performance and Politics in
the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context**



Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, 2021



01 — 5

Bojana Piškur

Bodies Against the Machines

02 — 27

Rok Vevar & Jasmina Založnik

**Performans in politika v vmesnem času
devetdesetih let v Republiki Sloveniji /
Performance and Politics in the Interim Period of
the 1990s in the Republic of Slovenia**

03 — 73

Jasna Jakšič

**Performans kot vaja politične volje /
Performance as an Exercise of Political Will**

04 — 99

Asja Mandić

**Performativno kot upor proti vojnemu nasilju in
tranziciji / The Performative as Resistance to the
Violence of War and Transition**

05 — 125

Vida Knežević

**Performans in odpor v Srbiji devetdesetih let /
Performance and Resistance in 1990s Serbia**

06 — 151

Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski & Ivana Vaseva

**Zakaj smo taki, kot smo? Kritično telo
kot subverzivni performans v Makedoniji
devetdesetih let / Why Are We the Way We
Are? The Critical Body as Subversive Cultural
Performance in 1990s Macedonia**

07 — 191

Linda Gusia & Nita Luci

**Otoček neuradnih resnic: uprizorjanje politike
humorja, protesta in delovanja v Gledališču
Dodona / A Small Island of Unofficial Truths:
Staging the Politics of Humor, Protest and
Agency at Dodona Theater**

08 — 211

Zdenka Badovinac

**Body and the East 23 let pozneje / Body and the
East 23 Years Later**

09 — 225

**Fotografije razstave Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!
Performans in politika v devetdesetih letih v
pojugoslovanskem kontekstu / Photographs
of the exhibition Realize! Resist! React!
Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the
Post-Yugoslav Context**

10 — 251

Biografije / Biographies

01

Bodies Against the Machines¹

We started our project of researching and mapping political performance² of the 1990s in the region by first formulating a series of questions that aimed to elucidate the role of political performance in the post-Yugoslav context. Specifically, what did performance, then an already established art form in the Western world, bring to, mean, or change in the broader field of art of the 1990s? Can one actually talk about “performance beyond the political”? Is *performance* even the right term to encapsulate such a vastly varied production in the then newly founded states from Slovenia to Macedonia? Outside the art institutions (and in a few instances even within them), there was no common or shared understanding of performance in the region, which was primarily the consequence of considerably different socioeconomic and political circumstances. And herein lies the main difficulty of our project. Its unifying thread was not a search for similarities (which would have doomed our project before it had really begun), but a juxtaposing of certain “absences.” Rok Vevar aptly described the time as follows: “In many respects, the 1990s were somehow postponed.”³ Generally, a lack of political engagement and the considerable unresponsiveness to or silence about certain political events, such as the wars and related crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo, or the case of

¹ The title is a paraphrase of Rage Against the Machine, the name of a music group that enjoyed great popularity in the 1990s and also performed in Ljubljana in 2000. It further references Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s concept of “war machines.”

² I use the term performance rather than performance art in the text, as the latter phrase sounds like a closed term. Performance reflects the kind of post-disciplinary, post-medium practices of lots of artists in the 1990s. I am thankful to David Crowley for helping me resolve this dilemma.

³ Rok Vevar in an email of 23 July 2020.

Bodies Against the Machines¹

Projekt raziskave in mapiranja političnega performansa v devetdesetih letih smo začeli² z nizom vprašanj, s katerimi smo skušali razjasniti, kaj pravzaprav je politični performans v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu. Natančneje: kaj je performans, ki je bil kot umetnostna oblika že uveljavljen v zahodnem svetu, prinesel, pomenil ali spremenil v širšem polju umetnosti in ali lahko govorimo o »performansu zunaj političnega«? Je performans sploh pravi izraz za opisovanje tako raznolike produkcije, kot je v tistem času nastajala v novonastalih državah od Slovenije do Makedonije? Težava raziskave je bila namreč v tem, da v regiji že pred tem ni bilo enotnega razumevanja performansa, predvsem zaradi različnih družbenoekonomskih in političnih razmer. Rdeča nit tega projekta tako ni iskanje podobnosti (v tem primeru bi bil projekt obsojen na neuspeh, še preden bi se dobro začel), temveč sopostavljanje nekakšnih odsotnosti. Kot je to obdobje označil Rok Vevar: »Devetdeseta leta so bila v mnogih pogledih preložena na pozneje.«³ V Sloveniji je bilo za umetnost, z nekaj izjemami, nasploh značilno umanjkanje političnega angažmaja in precejšnja neodzivnost oziroma molk ob nekaterih političnih dogodkih, kot na primer v času vojne in ob zločinih v Bosni in na Kosovu, pa tudi neodzivnost glede izbrisanih.⁴ Tako je plesni teoretik in pedagog Michel

¹ V slovenščini bi se naslov glasil Telesa proti strojem. Gre za parafrazo imena skupine Rage Against the Machine, ki je bila popularna v devetdesetih letih in je leta 2000 nastopila tudi v Ljubljani. Prav tako je naslov referenca na Gillesa Deleuzea in Félixu Guattarija oziroma njun koncept »vojnih strojev«.

² V skupini raziskovalcev in kustosov smo bili Bojana Piškur, Linda Gusia, Siniša Ilič, Jasna Jakšič, Vida Knežević, Nita Luci, Asja Mandič, Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, Ivana Vaseva, Rok Vevar in Jasmina Založnik.

³ Rok Vevar, elektronska korespondenca, 23. 7. 2020

⁴ V začetku devetdesetih let so nekateri ključni akterji »slovenske pomladi« izbrisali iz registra državljanov Slovenije

**Bojana
Piškur**



the erased citizens in Slovenia,⁴ was characteristic of art in Slovenia (again, with a few exceptions). This astounded Michel Uytterhoeven, a dance theorist and teacher on a visit to Ljubljana in 1994: “Nowhere else does the war seem as remote as in Ljubljana. Ljubljana seems to act as though there were no war at all.”⁵

What is evident in the Slovenia of the 1990s is the absence of emancipatory left-wing politics, a growing marginalization of the working class, and civil society’s inability to reform as a motor of new politics, to shake off the logic of its 1980s struggle and rise above the horizon of neoliberalism. Slovenian sociologist Tomaž Mastnak’s text “Totalitarizem od spodaj” [Totalitarianism from Below] is crucial for understanding the developments in civil society in Slovenia. He writes: “Civil society discourse began hegemonizing various democratic or democratizing, reformist, emancipatory, autonomist etc. projects.”⁶ In other words, civil society was split apart by conflict and power struggles, political influence, and social power, with the discriminatory logic of exclusion clearly evident. At the same time, there was a distancing from the “idea” of Yugoslavia and the discovery of a new “European” identity, which resonated also in art. That difficult decade – not only for researchers in the field of art, but also or even more so for scholars exploring its history, society, and economy – left a profound mark on the decades that followed, with its nationalisms, transition, revisionisms, corruption, particracy, and market capitalism. Mastnak described it as “the creation of post-socialist klepto-oligarchies.”⁷ Our present time of “state of emergency” (or almost state of war) seems in many respects a direct continuation of the 1990s, particularly in the way in which right-wing politics/parties are managing the current crisis and governing the state.

4 In the early 1990s, some of the key figures of the Slovenian Spring were instrumental in the erasure of more than 25,000 people – most of them from other ex-Yugoslav republics – from the registry of the citizens of Slovenia. The “erased” citizens still bear the consequences of this act.

5 Michel Uytterhoeven, “Nekaj vprašanj slovenskim umetnikom,” *Maska* (Ljubljana) 5, no. 1–3 (1995): 39.

6 Tomaž Mastnak, *Vzhodno od raja: civilna družba pod komunizmom in po njem* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1992), 183.

7 Tomaž Mastnak, column in the daily *Dnevnik* (Ljubljana), 20 January 2021.

What is quite evidently happening in the field of culture in Slovenia (and what happened in some of the other ex-Yugoslav countries much earlier) is an aggressive turn to national (mono) culture,⁸ conservatism, and populism, with a political campaign of removing critical voices from institutions, etc. This is, in short, a time of attempted “silencing,” and those active in the field of art and culture are resisting and fighting against it in ways and with means similar to those employed during the 1990s. Consequently, political performance here will not be understood merely as some kind of “witness” to events, but as a form of resistance against “war machines” (related to power, institutions, state, identities, language), a resistance that has often emerged under extreme political circumstances.⁹ In broader terms, however, political performance also means performing the political, which subsumes specific performative gestures and acts as strategies of resistance or revolt. On the other hand, one of the questions raised by our research was whether a withdrawal into the apolitical (even in art) is ever possible in a complex political environment.

Our research touched upon the relation between aesthetics and political responsibility. During the 1990s in the ex-Yugoslav region the issue was not formulated in such terms, since performance, especially in the realm of the visual arts, was not yet considered the equivalent of other art forms, nor was it, with a few rare exceptions, incorporated in the art institutions. Above all, political performance was concerned, as Rancière would say, with the promise of a better world to come.¹⁰ At the same time, however, a contradiction between

8 Describing the case in 1990s Serbia, Darka Radosavljević writes that everything that was not recognized as a continuation of the national tradition was declared alternative. Thus, established artists from earlier periods suddenly became alternative artists. Darka Radosavljević: “Skice za beogradsku likovnu scenu devedesetih,” 1996, https://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx_vek/darka_radosavljevic.html; accessed: 25 January 2021.

9 In the 1990s, political performance in the literal sense of the term can be found mostly in Serbia and, to a slightly lesser extent, in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. What deserves mention in this context in Slovenia is the international conference “Living with Genocide” organized in 1998 in Moderna galerija, which was one of the few institutions that even drew attention to the war in Bosnia and spoke about what could be done under the circumstances (about the responsibilities of artists and institutions).

10 Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells* (London & New York: Verso, 2012), 29.

Uytterhoeven v Ljubljani leta 1994 pripomnil: »Nikjer drugje se vojna ne zdi tako daleč kot v Ljubljani. Občutek imam, da se Ljubljana obnaša, kot da vojne sploh ne bi bilo.«⁵

V Sloveniji je v devetdesetih letih opazna odsotnost levih emancipacijskih politik, čedalje večja marginalizacija delavskega razreda in nezmožnost, da bi se civilna družba kot motor neke nove politike reformirala iz logike lastnih bojov v osemdesetih letih in onkraj horizonta neoliberalizma. Tomaž Mastnak je napisal »Totalitarizem od spodaj«, ključno besedilo za razumevanje dogajanja znotraj civilne družbe; v njem pravi, da je »diskurz civilne družbe začel hegemonizirati različne demokratične oziroma demokratizacijske, reformistične, emancipacijske, avtonomistične itd. projekte«.⁶ Kar z drugimi besedami pomeni, da so se znotraj te družbe dogajali konflikti, boj za prevlado, politični vpliv in družbeno moč; v njih se lahko prepozna diskriminacijska logika izključevanja. Hkrati gre za odmik od »ideje« Jugoslavije in za odkrivanje nove »evropske identitete«, kar se je odražalo tudi v umetnosti. To težavno desetletje, ki je tako ne samo za raziskovalce umetnosti, temveč tudi ali celo še bolj za raziskovalce zgodovine, sociologije in ekonomije, je z nacionalizmi, tranzicijo, revizionizmi, korupcijo, partitokracijo in tržnim kapitalizmom dodobra zaznamovalo vsa naslednja desetletja; Mastnak to označi za ustvarjanje postsocialističnih roparskih oligarhij.⁷ Še več, zdi se, da je današnji čas izrednih (skorajda vojnih) razmer v marsičem direktno nadaljevanje devetdesetih let, predvsem kar se tiče načina, kako desne politike oziroma njihove stranke upravljajo s trenutno krizo in državo nasploh.

Na polju kulture se več kot očitno dogaja (v nekaterih državah nekdanje Jugoslavije pa se je to zgodilo že mnogo prej) nasilen obrat k nacionalni (mono)kulturi,⁸ h konservativizmu in populizmu,

več kot 25.000 ljudi, večinoma iz nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik. Ti ljudje še danes živijo s posledicami izbrisa.

5 Michel Uytterhoeven, »Nekaj vprašanj slovenskim umetnikom«, *Maska* V, št. 1–3 (1995), str. 39.

6 Tomaž Mastnak, *Vzhodno od raja: civilna družba pod komunizmom in po njem* (Ljubljana: DZS, 1992), str. 183.

7 Tomaž Mastnak, kolumna v časopisu *Dnevnik*, 20. 1. 2021.

8 Darka Radosavljević na primer piše, da je bilo v Srbiji v devetdesetih letih vse, kar ni bilo prepoznano kot nadaljevanje nacionalne tradicije, razglašeno za alternativo. Tako so uveljavljeni umetniki iz prejšnjih obdobj kar naenkrat postali alternativni umetniki. Darka Radosavljević, »Skice za

hkrati se s političnimi menjavami odstranjujejo kritični glasovi v institucijah in podobno. Skratka, gre za obdobje nekega poskusa »utišanja«, proti kateremu se akterji na polju umetnosti in kulture upirajo in borijo na podobne načine in s podobnimi sredstvi, kot so se v devetdesetih letih. Če zaokrožim: političnega performansa v okviru našega projekta ne razumemo zgolj kot nekakšno »priečevanje« o dogodkih, temveč kot upor proti »vojnim strojem« (kar je povezano z močjo, institucijami, državo, identitetami, jezikom), in ta upor se je pogosto dogajal v skrajnih političnih okoliščinah.⁹ A v širšem razumevanju politični performans pomeni tudi »izvajanje političnega«; pod tem razumemo specifične politično-performativne geste in performativna dejanja kot strategije odpora/upora. Po drugi strani je bil eden od razmislekov naše raziskave, ali je v zapletenem političnem okolju umik v apolitično, tudi v umetnosti, sploh kdaj mogoč.

V raziskavi smo se dotaknili razmerja med estetiko in politično odgovornostjo. To vprašanje v devetdesetih letih seveda ni bilo tako formulirano, saj performans, zlasti v vizualni umetnosti, v regiji še ni bil enakovreden drugim umetniškimi zvrstev, niti, razen redkih izjem, umeščen znotraj umetniških institucij. Politični performans je bil, če se navežem na Rancière, povezan predvsem z obetom boljšega sveta, ki ima še priti.¹⁰ Po drugi strani je bilo vseeno prisotno neko protislovje, in sicer med umetnostjo (in njeno navidezno avtonomijo) in verjetjem v družbene spremembe. Podobno govori Paolo Virno o srečanju »estetike in družbenega odpora«,¹¹ Susan Buck-Morss pa estetiko postavi v razmerje do »somatskega oziroma telesnega znanja«¹² in jo

beogradsku likovnu scenu devedesetih«, 1996, dostop 25. 1. 2021, https://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx_vek/darka_radosavljevic.html.

9 Politični performans v dobesednem razumevanju te sintagme najdemo v devetdesetih letih predvsem v Srbiji, pa tudi na Hrvaškem in v Bosni in Hercegovini. V Sloveniji je v tem kontekstu treba omeniti mednarodno konferenco Živeti z genocidom, ki je potekala leta 1998 v Moderni galeriji; slednja je kot ena redkih institucij sploh opozorila na vojno ter na to, kaj je mogoče storiti (kakšna je odgovornost umetnikov in institucij) v takih okoliščinah.

10 Navajano po: Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells* (London & New York: Verso, 2012), str. 29.

11 Sonja Lavaert in Pascal Gielen, »The Dismasure of Art. An interview with Paolo Virno«, *Open!*, 1. 11. 2009, <https://onlineopen.org/the-dismasure-of-art>.

12 Grant H. Kester, »Aesthetics after the End of Art: An Interview with Susan Buck-Morss«, *Art Journal* 56, št. 1, Aesthetics and the Body Politic (1997), 39.

art (and its apparent autonomy) and the belief in social change was nonetheless distinguishable. Similarly, Paolo Virno speaks about aesthetics and social resistance meeting in a quest for new forms,¹¹ while Susan Buck-Morss rethinks the aesthetic in relation to somatic or bodily knowledge, describing the aesthetic as a fundamentally cognitive experience, which is in itself also political.¹² Questions based on Spinoza's reflections about affect would then ask: What can the body do? What are the limits of the body, namely, the limits of its capacity to act, by which the body's power to act is increased or diminished, aided or restrained?¹³ And what about the affects as the inevitable part of a performance, of these "intensities" in time that can be reactivated in different relations as an affective memory within the bodies or as a recovery of the intensities? This also raises the unavoidable issue of subjectivization, of the emergence of a political subject in or resulting from a certain performance.

According to the art history canon, performance as an art form originated in the Anglo-American context and was seen as a form of resistance to the commercialization and institutionalization of art from the 1950s through the late 1970s. Historical (Western) performance derives from the body as its core, with other subjects gradually taking center stage in the 1980s, such as identity politics, visibility, and suppressed topics (e.g. AIDS and sexuality). The mid-1990s represent a milestone or a turn in performance: performance entered the museums and galleries worldwide, no longer as part of the public program accompanying exhibitions, but as independent events. Catherine Wood describes this shift in the relation between performance and institutions as three stage: the preliminal (performances take place outside institutional spaces); the liminal (performances are staged inside institutions); and the postliminal (performances become mainstream).¹⁴ What

11 See Sonja Lavaert, Pascal Gielen, "The Dismasure of Art. An interview with Paolo Virno," 2009, <https://onlineopen.org/the-dismasure-of-art/>; accessed 25 January 2021.

12 Grant H. Kester, "Aesthetics after the End of Art: An Interview with Susan Buck-Morss," *Art Journal* 56, no. 1, *Aesthetics and the Body Politic* (1997): 39.

13 *A Spinoza Reader: The Ethics and Other Works* (Princeton University Press, 1994), 154.

14 Catherine Wood, "Game Changing: Performance in the Permanent Collection," in *Is the Living Body the Last Thing Left Alive? The New Performance Turn, Its Histories, and Its Institutions, Para Site*, eds. Cosmin Costinas, Ana Janevski (Sternberg Press, 2015), 55.

naturally changes in the process is the relationship between the performing artist and the audience (as participants and ways of participating, but also the way different participants understand the process), and questions of duration, place, but also questions related to historicization, musealization, preservation, and exhibiting (or reenacting). These questions – and the responses to them – are far from self-evident. For instance, Peggy Phelan said that a "[p]erformance's only life is in the present."¹⁵

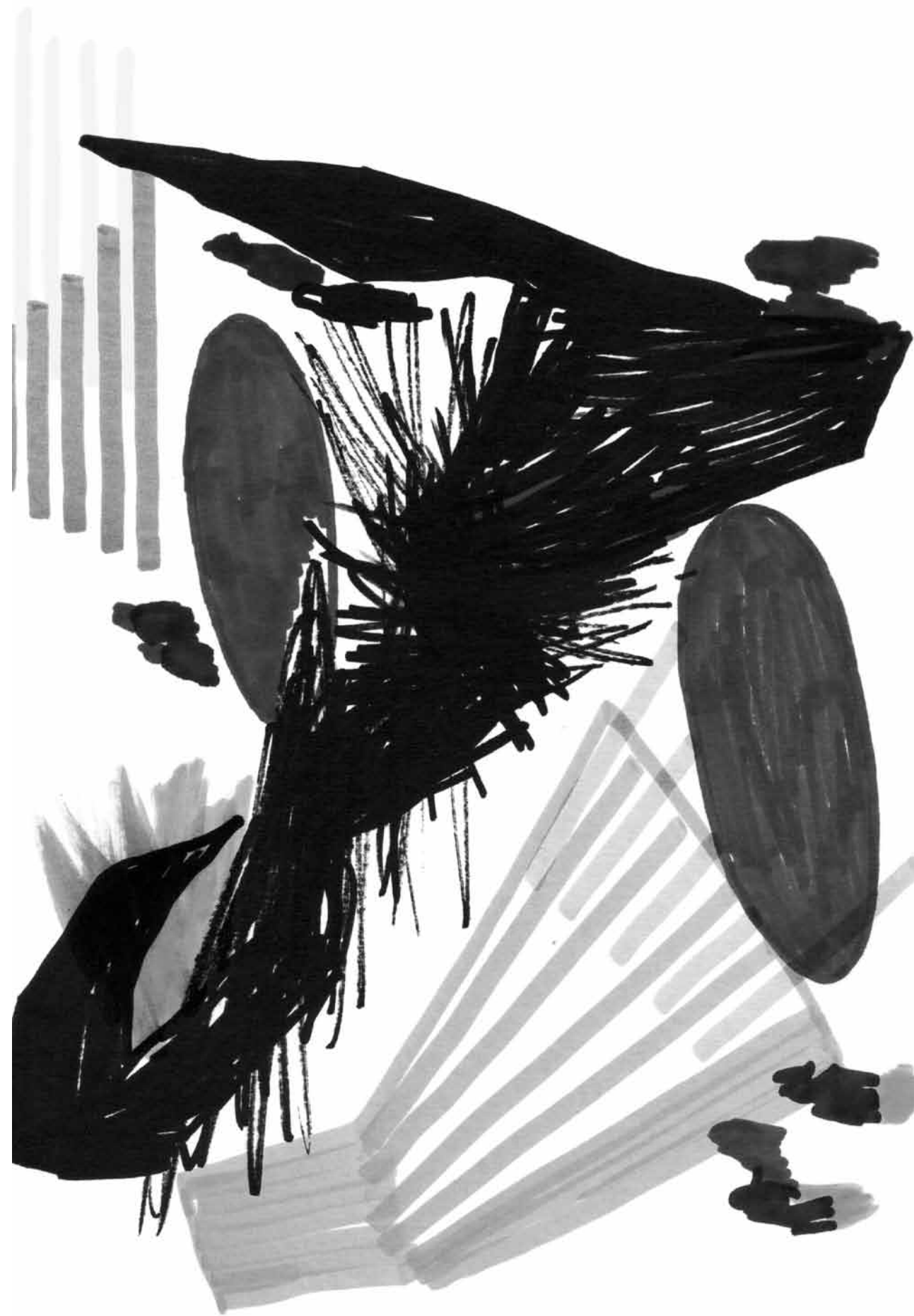
However, we need not limit our search for traditional associations between performance and the political to the West. Such "practices" were also present in other parts of the world, and were often described in other, "non-Western" terms or formed part of local traditions. Such examples are 3Nós3, Artur Barrio, Paulo Bruscky, the CADA collective, Grupo de Arte Vanguardia, Cildo Meireles, and Lotty Rosenfeld in Latin America; Gutai in Japan, and Tang Da Wu, Lee Wen, and 5th Passage in Singapore, among others. In Yugoslavia, performance evolved outside the institutional context in so-called alternative (public) spaces, starting in the 1960s. Although there is no tradition of explicitly *political* performances, a number of actions, happenings, and situations carried out by the OHO group, Tomislav Gotovac, Sanja Iveković, Raša Todosijević, Vlasta Delimar, Marina Abramović, and Katalin Ladik can be described as such, followed in the 1980s by Jusuf Hadžifejzović, Neue Slowenische Kunst, Laibach, and Borghesia among others.

The non-inclusion of these practices in Western anthologies and overviews¹⁶ of performance before 2000 is quite telling. The few artists mentioned are subject to interpretation only insofar as their art relates to Western performance or simply in passing. RoseLee Goldberg, for example, describes performance in Eastern Europe as a form of political protest, a kind of political opposition in the years of repression.¹⁷ This only changed when

15 Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146.

16 Some of the anthologies I have in mind are: RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance Art. From Futurism to the Present*; Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*; and *The Art of Performance: A Critical Anthology*, eds. Gregory Battcock, Robert Nickas.

17 See RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance Art. From Futurism to the Present*, 3rd edition (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2011).





Bodies Against the Machines / Bojana Piškur

označi za prvenstveno kognitivno izkušnjo, ki je tudi politična. Spinozovsko vprašanje, izhajajoče iz razmisleka o afektih, bi se torej glasilo: Kaj lahko naredi telo? In nadalje: Kje so njegove meje (meje zmožnosti telesa za delovanje), pri katerih se telesna moč delovanja poveča ali zmanjša, ki telesu pomagajo ali ga omejujejo?¹³ Afekti kot neizbežen del performansa, intenzitete v času, ki jih lahko ponovno reaktiviramo kot afektivni spomin v telesu ali v drugih srečanjih in dejanjih. Prav tako se je ob tem pojavilo neizogibno vprašanje subjektivizacije oziroma vznika političnega subjekta znotraj performansa ali kot njegova posledica.

V kanonizirani zgodovini umetnosti je performans umetniška zvrst, ki izvira iz angloameriškega konteksta in je od petdesetih pa tja do poznih sedemdesetih let veljal za nekakšen upor proti komercializaciji in institucionalizaciji umetnosti. Historični (zahodni) performans izhaja iz telesa kot centra te umetnosti, kasneje, v osemdesetih letih, pa v ospredje stopijo politike identitet in vidnosti ter potlačene teme, kot sta aids in seksualnost. Za nekakšno prelomno točko performansa oziroma »performativni obrat« velja sredina devetdesetih let: takrat performans preide pod okrilje svetovnih muzejev in galerij, ne več zgolj kot del obrazstavnega programa, temveč kot samostojen dogodek. Catherine Wood¹⁴ ta preskok oziroma odnos performansa do institucij označi s tremi fazami: preliminarne (performans se dogaja zunaj institucionalnih prostorov), liminalna (performansi se začnejo pojavljati znotraj institucij) in postliminalna (performans postane del mainstreama). Seveda gre pri tem tudi za drugačen odnos med performerjem in publiko (kdo sodeluje, na kakšen način, kako nekdo nekaj razume), odpirajo se vprašanja trajanja, prostora, pa tudi zgodovinenja, muzealizacije, hranjenja in razstavljanja (ali ponovne uprizoritve) teh del. Vse to niso samoumevna vprašanja; Peggy Phelan, denimo, je rekla, da je »edino življenje performansa v sedanosti«.¹⁵

13 A Spinoza Reader: The Ethics and Other Works (Princeton University Press, 1994), str. 154.

14 Catherine Wood, »Game Changing: Performance in the Permanent Collection«, v: *Is the Living Body the Last Thing Left Alive? The New Performance Turn, Its Histories and Its Institutions, Para Site* (Sternberg Press, 2015), str. 55.

15 Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), str. 146.

Vendar tradicije performansa v povezavi s političnim ne gre iskati samo na Zahodu, tudi v drugih delih sveta so bile prisotne takšne »prakse«, čeprav so jih tam dostikrat označevali z drugimi, »nezahodnimi« nazivi ali pa so izvirale iz lokalnih tradicij. Taki primeri so 3Nós3, Artur Barrio, Paulo Bruscky, kolektiv CADA, Grupo de Arte Vanguardia, Cildo Meireles in Lotty Rosenfeld v Latinski Ameriki, Gutai na Japonskem, Tang Da Wu, Lee Wen in 5th Passage v Singapuru in mnogi drugi. V Jugoslaviji se je performans vzpostavljaj zunaj institucionalnih okvirjev, v t. i. alternativnih (javnih) prostorih, že od šestdesetih let dalje. Čeprav ni izrazite tradicije političnega performansa, lahko pod ta termin brez zadržkov vključimo nekatere akcije, happeninge in situacije, ki so jih izvajali skupina OHO, Tomislav Gotovac, Sanja Iveković, Raša Todosijević, Vlasta Delimar, Marina Abramović in Katalin Ladik ter potem v osemdesetih letih Jusuf Hadžifejzović, Neue Slowenische Kunst, Laibach, Borghesia in drugi.

Več kot pomenljiva je odsotnost teh praks v zahodnih antologijah in pregledih¹⁶ performativne umetnosti pred letom 2000. Še tisti redki omenjeni umetniki so večinoma interpretirani zgolj v odnosu do zahodnega performansa ali površno; tako na primer RoseLee Goldberg performans v Vzhodni Evropi označi kot obliko političnega protesta, kot politično opozicijo v letih represije.¹⁷ To stanje se spremeni šele takrat, ko se začnejo teoretiki in umetniki obračati nazaj k lokalnim zgodovinom in prostorom, ko se zgodi nekakšna epistemska dekolonizacija ter hkrati nova produkcija lokalnega znanja oziroma enakovrednih paralelnih narativov, skratka, ko pride do zahteve po enakopravni obravnavi znotraj globalnega sveta umetnosti. Seveda je bil to dvorezen meč, saj je dominantni umetnostni sistem začel ta prostor kmalu tudi kapitalizirati. Zdenka Badovinac je na prelomni razstavi *Body and the East*¹⁸ v Moderni galeriji leta 1998 pokazala, da so tako na Vzhodu kot na Zahodu soobstajale performativne prakse, ki se – vsaj po

16 Nekatere antologije so: RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance Art. From Futurism to the Present*, 1988; Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, 1996; *The Art of Performance: A Critical Anthology*, ur. Gregory Battcock in Robert Nickas, 1984.

17 RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance Art. From Futurism to the Present*, 3rd edition (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2011).

18 *Body and the East, od šestdesetih let do danes* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 1998). Katalog razstave.

artists and theorists started turning back to their local histories and spaces, in parallel with some kind of epistemic decolonization and accompanied by a new production of local knowledge or equivalent parallel narratives, i.e., with the emergence of the demand for equal treatment in art worldwide. Of course, this could also be quickly turned around: the dominant art system lost no time in capitalizing on this “new” space. In the landmark exhibition *Body and the East*,¹⁸ staged at the Moderna galerija in 1998, Zdenka Badovinac showed the simultaneous existence of performance practices that – at least formally – did not differ substantially in the East and the West. The difference lay elsewhere, namely in the varying readings of gestures in different spaces, where gestures acquired other meanings, and also in the fact that they were considered a kind of “alterity” in the West. In the performance of the 1990s, this “Eastern identity” started to become less visible. Consequently, one of the arguments of our project is exactly the following: with the dissolution of the two-block system and Yugoslavia in the early 1990s a significant change took place. In search of new identities, the newly founded states turned either toward Western models or relied more on their local traditions, emphasizing ethnic elements, or opted for a combination of internationalization and national symbols with a political embrace of multiculturalism, as attested by the texts in this book. After the breakup of the Yugoslav federation in 1991, the “illusion” of a shared Yugoslav cultural space was over, and the connecting role in art was assumed by the Soros centers that were being established in the region. (This, however, is already a different story).

In Slovenia, culture played an especially important role in the formation of an independent state, so much so that it has been considered a constitutive element of the new state since the late 1980s. A good example of that, as well as a political performance par excellence, is the *Kons 5* performance directed by the avant-garde theater director Matjaž Berger for the celebration of the anniversary of Slovenia’s independence in 1996.¹⁹ The production was a spectacular ritual

18 *Body and the East, from the 1960s to the Present* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 1998). Exhibition catalogue.

19 The event caused an uproar in political circles primarily due to the verses from Kosovel’s poem “Kons 5”: “Dung is gold/ and gold is dung/ both = 0”.

of statehood – an “aesthetic gesture within the political” as Berger described this almost epic ceremony in the tradition of the Russian avant-garde and of the mass events staged to celebrate Tito’s birthday in the time of Yugoslavia. Another such example is the Laibach concert featuring the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra at the opening of the European Month of Culture in Ljubljana in 1997. The gala event was staged in the Cankarjev dom cultural center and attended by numerous diplomats, heads of state, church dignitaries, and other luminaries. Quite political in and of itself, the performance was further politicized by the sermon²⁰ delivered by Peter Mlakar, who said: “Politics is a lame harlot, no longer able to give anyone a hard-on, the nation is dead, money is impotent.” Among the many controversial reactions produced was the Archbishop of Ljubljana leaving the celebration in protest.

The main motor for understanding performance in Slovenia in the 1990s was the journal and platform *Maska* with its themed issues, key texts by performance theorists, translations, interviews, and all manner of events it organized. As an example, in 1997 it published a translation of Peggy Phelan’s seminal “The Ontology of Performance.” One can conclude that in Slovenia performance emerged sooner in the context of theater and dance than in the field of the visual arts, where such events were sporadic. The field of the visual arts saw a tectonic shift in the early 1990s, a shift that is considered the beginning of contemporary art in Slovenia. It consisted of a continuation of the retro-avant-garde art of the 1980s on the one hand, and on the other, of the expansion of the individual fields of art, a crossing of the boundaries of traditional media, and of a considerable openness on the part of the artists toward all manner of experimentation, including performance practices. However, rather than of performance, we can speak here of situations, tactics, social sculpture, transitions into social space, and “strategies of minimal resistance.” Such practices were (symbolic) political gestures of a kind, primarily aimed at exposing (without, however, directly confronting) the mechanisms at work in institutions (e.g. their control, power), gender, social, and class identities, issues of public space, etc. In this way, contemporary art stood opposed to the demands

20 See: <http://baza.mg-lj.si/artwork/?id=2514>

formalni plati – niso bistveno razlikovale. Razlika je bila drugje, in sicer v različnem branju gest v različnih prostorih, kjer so te geste dobile drugačne pomene, pa tudi v tem, da so jih na Zahodu imeli za nekakšno »drugost«. Ta »vzhodna identiteta« je v performativni umetnosti devetdesetih let postajala vse manj vidna. To je tudi eden od argumentov našega projekta: v devetdesetih letih se je z razpadom blokavske delitve in koncem Jugoslavije zgodil obrat; v iskanju novih identitet so se nekatere novonastale države obrnile k zahodnim modelom, druge pa so se bolj naslonile na lokalne tradicije in etnične elemente ali pa je šlo za nekakšno mešanje internacionalizacije in nacionalnih simbolov s politično poudarjeno večkulturnostjo, kar nakažejo tudi besedila v tem zborniku. Ko je skupna država leta 1991 dokončno razpadla, se je končala »iluzija« jugoslovanskega kulturnega prostora. V umetnosti so povezovalno vlogo v regiji nato prevzeli in v veliki meri odigrali na novo ustanovljeni Sorosovi centri; ti pa so že zgodba zase.

V Sloveniji je bila vloga kulture pri nastajanju samostojne države še posebej pomembna; tako velja, da je kultura od konca osemdesetih let štela za konstitutivni element nove države. Kot primer tega in hkrati politični performans *par excellence* omenimo proslavo *Kons 5*¹⁹ ob samostojnosti države Slovenije leta 1996 v režiji avantgardista Matjaža Bergerja. Šlo je za spektakelski ritual državnosti – »estetski gestus znotraj političnega«, kot je to označil sam Berger, skorajda epsko proslavo v tradiciji ruske avantgarde in množičnih manifestacij ob praznovanju Titovega rojstnega dneva. Drug tak primer je bil koncert skupine Laibach s Slovensko filharmonijo na otvoritvi Evropskega meseca kulture v Ljubljani leta 1997: tam so bili na slavnostnem dogodku v Cankarjevem domu prisotni številni diplomati, predsedniki držav, cerkveni dostojanstveniki in drugi visoki gostje. Performans je še dodatno politizirala pridiga Petra Mlakarja,²⁰ v kateri je izjavil: »Politika je hroma vlačuga, ki ga ne dvigne nobenemu več, nacija je mrtva, denar je impotenten.« Vse to je proizvedlo kontroverzne reakcije, med drugim je proslavo protestno zapustil ljubljanski nadškof.

19 Proslava je razburkala takratni politični vrh predvsem zaradi verzov iz Kosovelove pesmi »Kons 5«: »Gnoj je zlato/ in zlato je gnoj/ oboje = 0«.

20 Glej: <http://baza.mg-lj.si/artwork/?id=2514>.

V devetdesetih letih je bila osrednji motor za razumevanje performansa revija oziroma platforma *Maska* s tematskimi številkami, ključnimi teksti teoretikov performansa, prevodi, intervjuji in različnimi dogodki. Tako je bil leta 1997 objavljen ključni tekst Peggy Phelan z naslovom »Ontologija performansa« (The Ontology of Performance). Z gotovostjo bi lahko trdili, da se je pri nas performans prej pojavil v kontekstu gledališča in plesa kot vizualnih umetnosti, pri katerih je šlo za precej nepovezane dogodke. Na polju vizualnih umetnosti je do nekakšnega tektonskega premika prišlo v začetku devetdesetih let; to hkrati šteje za začetek sodobne umetnosti v Sloveniji. Po eni strani gre za nadaljevanje retroavantgarde iz osemdesetih let, po drugi pa za razširjeno polje delovanja, prehajanje meja tradicionalnih medijev in za precejšnjo odprtost umetnikov do raznolikih eksperimentov, tudi vključevanja performativnih praks. Tako tu bolj kot o performansu govorimo o situacijah, taktikah, socialni skulpturi, prehodu v socialni prostor, o »strategijah minimalnega odpora«. Tovrstne prakse so nekakšne (simbolne) politične geste; predvsem gre za razkrivanje (ne pa za direktno soočanje) mehanizmov znotraj institucij (na primer njihovega nadzora, moči), spolnih, družbenih, razrednih identitet, vprašanj glede javnega prostora. Sodobna umetnost se je s tem postavila po robu zahtevam t. i. nacionalne umetnosti in zelo hitro prišla v konflikt z obstoječim simbolnim redom. Eda Čufer je v članku »Nova umetniška svoboda devetdesetih«²¹ povzela, da se umetniki sicer zavedajo pomena družbene umestitve, a ne razmišljajo toliko o sami družbeni in politični identiteti institucij, ki jih reprezentirajo, temveč bolj o možnostih, pravilih in strategijah svojega individualnega pozicioniranja. Rok Vevar²² pa pravi, da je bil razlog umanjkanja neposrednega soočenja s sistemom v tem, da novega sistema (še) ni bilo in umetniki pravzaprav niso vedeli, kaj in kakšen naj bi ta sistem sploh bil. Odločilen za razumevanje politično performativnih gest in dejanj je bil prav razvoj tega »sistema« v devetdesetih letih; zaobjemal je tako umetnostne institucije kot novonastale nevladne organizacije. Sočasno je nastajala »neodvisna scena«²³ in vzpostavitev vsake od teh iniciativ je bila že skoraj

21 Eda Čufer, »Nova umetniška svoboda devetdesetih«, *Maska* VII, št. 3–4 (poletje–jesen 1998), str. 5.

22 Rok Vevar, elektronska korespondenca, 6. 2. 2020.

23 Mreža za Metelkovo, Galerija Kapelica, Kibla, Galerija P74, Galerija Alkatraz, Ljudmila, Mirovni inštitut in druge organizacije.

of the so-called national art and quickly found itself in conflict with the existent symbolic order. In her article "Nova umetniška svoboda devetdesetih" [New Artistic Freedom of the 1990s], Eda Čufer explains that artists were aware of the importance of social status, but were less concerned with the social and political identities of the institutions representing them, focusing instead on the ways, rules and strategies related to their own individual positioning.²¹ Rok Vevar sees the reason for the absence of a direct confrontation with the system in the fact that there was no new system in place (yet), which left the artists at a loss as to what this new system should ultimately be.²² In the 1990s, the development of this "system" was in fact crucial for understanding political performance gestures and acts; it encompassed both art institutions and the newly established NGOs. At the same time, the "independent" scene evolved in parallel,²³ with every initiative connected or related, as a rule, to the realm of the political. Here we can look to the occupation of Metelkova in the fall of 1993. In addition, various types of hybrid spaces emerged, parallel and para-institutions, collectives, online communities, and last but not least, an explosion of festivals.²⁴ The system had first to take shape before artists could disrupt its political and cultural rituals from within through institutional critique or construct systems completely anew. At the time, "the system" was understood in very broad terms: as a state, as a territory, and in the final instance even as the outer space. Sooner or later all of these practices were also historicized through numerous artistic reactions and critical interpretations.

Taking such an understanding of the political in the field of performance art or performances in the field of the political as a departure point, we can discuss performance in Slovenia under several headings.

The first one covers subjects such as the state, territories, and political rituals related either to political manipulation, the systems of power and control, or re-territorialization. An example of such

21 Eda Čufer, "Nova umetniška svoboda devetdesetih," *Maska* (Ljubljana) 7, no. 3-4 (Summer-Fall 1998): 5.

22 Rok Vevar in an email of 6 February 2020.

23 Metelkova Network, Kapelica Gallery, Kibla, P74 Gallery, Alkatraz, Ljudmila, Mirovni inštitut (Peace Institute), and others.

24 These included The Beauty of Extreme, Break21, Mesto žensk (City of Women), festivals at the Kapelica Gallery, Exodos, Mladi levi (Young Lions), Beauty and the East, Ex Ponto.

a work is the *NSK State in Time*, established in 1992 as a utopian, transnational formation in which art is a constitutive element of politics ("Art in the image of the State"²⁵) and in which politics becomes a performance. Although NSK's "state" is without a physical territory, the *NSK State in Time* employs state mechanisms, issuing passports, flying a flag, organizing temporary embassies (e.g. *Embassy Moscow*, 1992), states (*NSK State Sarajevo*, 1995), and congresses. In addition, the Irwin group collaborated with the armies of several countries in its *NSK Guard* project starting in 1998. At a certain point in time, the NSK passport was more than just an (artistic) political gesture – it was reality itself. During the war in Bosnia, refugees used the NSK passport to cross checkpoints. Dragan Živadinov formed the Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung in 1990 based on the avant-garde tenets of Russian Constructivism and Suprematism, setting as its goal what he calls the culturalization of space (Biomechanics Noordung, the 50-year theater performance *Noordung::1995–2045*). As he says in his manifesto "50 Coordinates of Postgravity Art," postgravity art will shape new, unknown systems under new conditions.²⁶ Postgravity art is thus a "progressive substitution" or a deliberate replacement of everything. Marko Peljhan thinks along similar lines, developing complex performances starting in 1992, projects at the junction of science and art, and also engaging with the Russian avant-garde (*Ladimir-Faktura*). Together with his collaborators, Peljhan produces "machines" (*Projekt Ato*²⁷ and, within it, *Pact Systems*²⁸) that materialize or translate the abstract (radio waves, data signals, electromagnetic frequencies) into matter, compositions, structures, objects, and documents. One such machine is *Makrolab*, a laboratory and mobile research artistic structure, always determined by its siting,

25 Irwin and Eda Čufer, "NSK State in Time," in *NSK Embassy Moscow: How the East Sees the East* (Koper: Galerija Loža [1993?]), 15.

26 "50 koordinat postgravitacijske umetnosti" <https://www.scribd.com/document/31097592/50-kordinat>, accessed 25 January 2020.

27 A part of that is also the project *Territory 1995* (2010–11), dealing with the Srebrenica genocide; the installation was based on long-term research into the communicational, technological, and legal aspects of the Srebrenica massacre. <http://www.projekt-atol.si/work/teritorij-1995/> accessed 25 January 2021.

28 The first *Pact Systems* project was an Internet interface for the satellite navigation of an urban communication tool – UCOG-144s.

po pravilu v režimu političnega: tu lahko pomislimo na zavzetje Metelkove jeseni 1993. Poleg vsega tega so se pojavljali še različni tipi hibridnih prostorov; paralelne in parainstitucije, kolektivi, skupnosti na internetu ter navsezadnje eksplozija festivalov.²⁴ Sistem se je moral torej najprej izoblikovati, da bi lahko umetniki skozi institucionalno kritiko od znotraj prekinjali njegove politične in kulturne rituale ali pa konstruirali sisteme popolnoma na novo. Sistem je bil takrat razumljen še veliko širše: kot država, kot teritorij, v skrajni obliki tudi kot vesolje. Seveda so se posledično vse te prakse preko številnih umetniških odzivov in kritičnih interpretacij skozi čas tudi zgodovinile.

Na podlagi takega razumevanja političnega v polju performansa oziroma performansa v polju političnega bi potemtakem lahko oblikovali več sklopov.

Prvi sklop sestavljajo država, teritoriji in politični rituali, najsi bo to povezano s politično manipulacijo, sistemi moči in nadzora ali z reteritorializacijo. Primer tega sklopa je *NSK država v času*, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1992 kot utopična, transnacionalna tvorba, v kateri umetnost predstavlja konstitutiven element politike (umetnost v podobi Države²⁵) in v kateri politika postane performans. Čeprav je brez fizičnega ozemlja, se poslužuje mehanizmov delovanja države: izdaja potne liste, ima svojo zastavo, v začasnih akcijah vzpostavlja ambasade (npr. *Ambasada Moskva*, 1992), države (na primer *NSK država Sarajevo*, 1995) in organizira kongrese; Irwin je poleg tega v projektu *NSK garde* od leta 1998 sodeloval z vojskami nekaterih držav. Potni list države NSK je bil v nekih obdobjih celo več kot zgolj (umetniško-) politična gesta, bil je realnost sama; v času vojne so namreč begunci iz Bosne, imetniki tega dokumenta, z njim prestopali meje. Dragan Živadinov je leta 1990 ustanovil Kozmokinetični kabinet Noordung, ki v svojem bistvu izhaja iz avantgard konstruktivizma in suprematizma in si za cilj zastavlja kulturizacijo vesolja (*Biomehanika Noordung*, petdesetletna predstava *Noordung::1995–2045*). Postgravitacijska

24 Med njimi so Lepota ekstrema, Break21, Mesto žensk, festivali v Kapelici, Exodos, Mladi levi, Beauty and the East, Ex Ponto.

25 Irwin in Eda Čufer, »NSK Država v času«, v: *Razširjeni prostori umetnosti, slovenska umetnost 1985–1995* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2004), str. 368.

umetnost, pravi v manifestu »50 Koordinat«, bo v novih pogojih oblikovala nove sisteme, ki jih še ne poznamo.²⁶ Postgravitacijska umetnost je zato »progresivna substitucija« oziroma načrtna zamenjava vsega. S tem načinom razmišljanja je povezan tudi Marko Peljhan, ki od leta 1992 razvija kompleksne performanse, projekte na presečišču znanosti in umetnosti, povezane z rusko avantgardo (*Ladimir-Faktura*). Nadalje s sodelavci ustvarja »stroje« (*Projekt Ato*²⁷ in znotraj tega *Pact System*²⁸), v katerih abstraktno (radijske valove, podatkovne signale, elektromagnetne frekvence) prevaja/materializira v snov, kompozicije, strukture, predmete in dokumente. Tak stroj je tudi *Makrolab*, laboratorij in mobilna raziskovalna umetniška struktura, vedno določena s prostorom, v katerega je umeščena, pri čemer so izhodišča raziskovanja sistemi vremena, telekomunikacij in pojav migracij. *Makrolab* je torej materialno ozemlje, ki se »vmeša v konkretno resničnost, kar je po definiciji politično dejanje.«²⁹ Inke Arns to produkcijo označi kot »retroutopizem devetdesetih let«,³⁰ sem pa lahko prištejemo tudi Vadima Fiškina.

Drugi sklop predstavljajo prakse, ki so vezane na telo (body art). Poleg že omenjene razstave *Body and the East* je vsekakor treba omeniti Galerijo Kapelica kot prostor, kjer so se od sredine devetdesetih let pionirsko ukvarjali z radikalno telesnostjo, preizkušanjem meja telesa in z idejo, da telo ni več »samo« prisotnost. Poseganje v arhetipe, politike identitet, spolnost, posthumanizem, do meja, kjer je telo pripeljana do ekstrema, do ekscesa; bolečina, užitek, telo, ki se spremeni v kiborga, v človeški stroj. Nekateri radikalne telesne geste v prostorih umetnosti, ki so neposredno posegle v politično, so bile na primer gladovna stavka Dragana Živadinova, »medicinski performansi« Iveta Tabarja, zakol teleta

26 »50 Koordinat postgravitacijske umetnosti«, SCRIBD, dostop 25. 1. 2020, <https://www.scribd.com/document/31097592/50-kordinat>.

27 V okviru tega je nastal projekt *Teritorij 1995* (2010–11), ki se nanaša na genocid v Srebrenici in katerega postavitev je zasnovana na dolgoročnem raziskovanju komunikacijskih, tehnoloških in pravnih vidikov srebreniškega pokola. Dostop 25. 1. 2021, <http://www.projekt-atol.si/work/teritorij-1995/>.

28 Prvi projekt je bil spletni vmesnik za satelitsko navigacijo urbanega komunikacijskega orodja UCOG-144s.

29 »<http://makrolab.ljudmila.org>, predavanje Marka Peljhana«, *Maska* VII, št. 1–2 (zima 1997/98), str. 34.

30 Inke Arns, *Avantgarda v vzvratnem ogledalu* (Ljubljana: Maska, 2006).

with the research focusing on weather systems, telecommunications, and migrations *Makrolab* is a material territory that “interferes in concrete reality, which is by definition a political act.”²⁹ Inke Arns has described this production as the “retro-utopianism of the 1990s,”³⁰ a category that can also include Vadim Fiškin.

The second group comprises practices that involve the body (body art). In addition to the already mentioned *Body and the East* exhibition, the Kapelica Gallery needs to be mentioned here as an art space that has played a pioneering role in radical physicality since the mid-1990s, testing the limits of the body as well as the idea that the body is no longer a “mere” presence. Challenging archetypes, identity politics, sexuality, posthumanism, bringing the body to extreme limits, to excess pain, pleasure, a body transforming into a cyborg, a human machine... Some of the radical physical gestures in art spaces that have directly engaged the political include Dragan Živadinov’s hunger strike, Ive Tabar’s “medical performances,” slaughtering a calf in the Škuc Gallery, a project by Franc Purg, the sexuality of the Eclipse tandem of artists, Peter Mlakar, and Goran Bertok, as well as Vlado G. Repnik’s unrealized *Brigades of Beauty*, the idea that a human cadaver can take part in a theater performance.³¹

The third large cluster of artists became active in the mid-1990s. Strictly speaking, we cannot really talk about performance or the explicitly political here, but rather about creating micro-situations or institutional critique in the form of fictional or parasitic systems, about relations involving the “other” in which the personal becomes political. For a more general interpretation of such practices, the concept of relational aesthetics can be used. In an exhibition (or some other public) space, a situation or a social relation evolves (with the public becoming a constituent part of the project), and

29 “<http://makrolab.ljudmila.org>,” Marko Peljhan’s lecture, *Maska* (Ljubljana) 7, no. 1–2 (Winter 1997/98): 34.

30 Inke Arns, *Avantgarda v vzratnem ogledalu* (Ljubljana: Maska, 2006).

31 Cankarjev dom, *Brigades of Beauty*, 1990. Also painter Jože Tisnikar (a hospital morgue attendant by profession) took part, performing an autopsy on stage. The original idea was that he should use a real corpse, for which an ad was placed in the daily *Delo*, but as the authorities did not issue the necessary permit and the ad sparked outrage, a dummy was used instead.

this is what is actually described as “performance-based” or “performative”. The P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Museum of Contemporary Art, established in 1993 by Tadej Pogačar to politicize the workings of various institutions, can be mentioned as an example of institutional critique. To which we could also add Alenka Pirman’s Domestic Research Institute, the Provokart group, and certain projects by Nika Špan and Janja Žvegelj, as well as Maja Licul and Anja Šmajdek. Apolonija Šušteršič created new spaces within institutions, and Rene Rusjan reading rooms, while Marjetica Potrč explored city planning and parallel urban economies. In his *Kings of the Street* project, Tadej Pogačar worked with the homeless. With his *Public Toilet* project, Jože Barši explored the issue of the function or the utilitarian value of art, while Marija Mojca Pungerčar’s *Models* examined public space and public sculpture in recent history.

The fourth group comprises practices that Jon McKenzie describes as “machinic performance” and that can also be understood as resistance within electronic networks. The Critical Art Ensemble, which had a number of presentations in Ljubljana in the 1990s, writes: “The rules of cultural and political resistance have dramatically changed. The revolution in technology brought about by the rapid development of the computer and video has created a new geography of power relations (...). (...) The new geography is a virtual geography, and the core of political and cultural resistance must assert itself in this electronic space.”³² In Slovenia, this includes virtual reality, net.art, cybernetics, and within this, geopolitics, surveillance, communications, cartography, networks. As new technologies developed, so did digital technology centers, communities, and projects: Ljudmila, Kibla, Projekt Atol, the Ministry of Experiment, the Egon March Institute (already in the 1980s), and Intima. Their most prominent representatives are Vuk Ćosić, Marko Peljhan, Igor Štromajer, Marko Košnik, Darij Kreuh, Davide Grassi, Jaka Železnikar, Brane Zorman, Borut Savski, and Luka Frelih.

The fifth grouping comprises an extensive video production that is, for the most part, a continuation of the 1980s production and engages a subculture

32 Critical Art Ensemble, *The Electronic Disturbance* (Autonomedia, 1994), 3. – CAE were presented at the Kapelica Gallery and collaborated with Ljudmila.





v galerijskem prostoru Škuca umetnika Franca Purga, seksualnost dua Eclipse, Petra Mlakarja in Gorana Bertoka ali nerealizirana ideja Vlada G. Repnika, da bi v predstavi *Brigade lepote* sodeloval kadaver.³¹

Tretja obsežnejša skupina je bila aktivna zlasti od sredine devetdesetih let. Tu v resnici ne moremo govoriti o performansu, niti o eksplicitno političnem, gre bolj za nekakšno ustvarjanje mikrosituacij, institucionalne kritike v obliki fiktivnih ali parazitskih sistemov, relacij, ki obsegajo »drugega« in v katerih osebno postane politično. V najširšem razumevanju teh praks se lahko naslonimo na koncept relacijske estetike; v razstavnih (ali drugih javnih) prostorih se razvija situacija, družbeni odnos (pri tem publika postane sestavni del projekta), in to je tisto, kar pravzaprav nosi predznak performativno. Kot primer institucionalne kritike omenimo P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. muzej sodobne umetnosti, ki ga je leta 1993 ustanovil Tadej Pogačar in preko katerega je politiziral delovanje različnih institucij. Sem bi lahko uvrstili še Inštitut za domače raziskave Alenke Pirman, skupino Provokart, nekatere projekte Nike Špan in Janje Žvegelj pa tudi Maje Licul in Anje Šmajdek. Nove prostore znotraj institucij je razvijala Apolonija Šušteršič, Rene Rusjan čitalnice, Marjetica Potrč je raziskovala urbanizem, predvsem njegove vzporedne ekonomije, Tadej Pogačar je v projektu *Kralji ulice* sodeloval z brezdomci. Jože Barši je z *Javnim straniščem* na Metelkovi odprl vprašanja o sami funkciji oziroma uporabni vrednosti umetnosti, Marija Mojca Pungerčar pa je v projektu *Manekeni* poudarila javni prostor in javno plastiko iz polpretekle zgodovine.

Četrty sklop so prakse, ki jih Jon McKenzie označi kot »tehnološko delovanje« (*technological performance*) in ki jih lahko razumemo tudi v smislu upora znotraj elektronskih omrežij. Critical Art Ensemble, ki je bil v devetdesetih letih precej prisoten tudi v Ljubljani, tako piše: »Pravila kulturnega in političnega odpora so se dramatično spremenila. Tehnološka revolucija, do katere je prišlo zaradi hitrega razvoja računalnikov

31 Cankarjev dom, *Brigade lepote*, 1990. V predstavi je nastopal tudi slikar Jože Tisnikar (po poklicu razteleshvalec trupel) in na odru uprizoril obdukcijo. Prvotno naj bi to storil s pravim truplom, ki so ga iskali tudi z oglasom v *Delu*, ker pa za to niso dobili dovoljenja in je oglas vzbudil precej ogorčenja, so uporabili lutko.

in videa, je ustvarila novo geografijo odnosov moči. (...) Nova geografija je virtualna, in jedro političnega in kulturnega odpora se mora uveljaviti v tem elektronskem prostoru.«³² Pri nas to obsega navidezno resničnost, net.art, kibernetiko in znotraj tega geopolitiko, nadzor, komunikacije, kartografijo, mreže. Hkrati z razvojem novih tehnologij so se vzpostavili centri, skupnosti in projekti digitalne tehnologije Ljudmila, Kibla, Projekt Atol, Ministrstvo za eksperiment, (že v osemdesetih letih) Inštitut Egon March, Intima, njihovi najvidnejši predstavniki pa so Vuk Čosić, Marko Peljhan, Igor Štromajer, Marko Košnik, Darij Kreuh, Davide Grassi, Jaka Železnikar, Brane Zorman, Borut Savski in Luka Frelih.

Peta skupina zajema obsežno video produkcijo. Večinoma gre za nadaljevanje produkcije osemdesetih let in je povezano s takratno teoretsko podkovo subkulturo, zbrano predvsem okrog ŠKUC-Forum produkcije. Politične reference iz osemdesetih let se umaknejo drugim temam, v središču so vprašanja videa kot medija, postprodukcije tehnologije, prepletanje dokumentarnosti, fikcije in politične realnosti, prevladuje avtorski video. Tu omenimo Borghesio, Zemiro Alajbegović & Nevena Kordo – ZANK, Marka Kovačiča (in njegovo »videogrotesko« *No More Heroes Anymore*) ter serijo video performansov avtoric Marine Gržinić in Aine Šmid, katerih tema je vojna v Jugoslaviji, na primer *Bilokacija*, *Sejalec*, *Tri sestre*. Na predvečer razglasitve slovenske neodvisnosti je Inštitut Egon March skupaj z dvajsetimi neodvisnimi ustvarjalci izvedel urbani performans *Bellum contra solem*. Skupina Laibach je izdala albuma *Kapital in Nato* (turneja Okupirana Evropa NATO Tour se je zaključila s koncertom v uničenem Sarajevu); album *Nato* vsebuje priredbe z vojno tematiko, skladba »War« pa nosi sledeče sporočilo: »War! What is it good for? Mobilization Science Religion Domination Communication Teleportation GM IBM Newsweek CNN Universal European ITV VCR Industry ...« Omeniti velja tudi medije in politične akcije, ki so s svojimi intervencijami dosegli mnogo širšo publiko kot posamični umetniški dogodki. To so bili na primer naslovnice revije *Mladina*, časopis *Tribuna*, Radio Študent ter ne nazadnje začetne akcije mehkega

32 Critical Art Ensemble, *The Electronic Disturbance* (Autonomedia, 1994), str. 3. – CAE so nastopili tudi v Kapelici in sodelovali z Ljudmilo.

well versed in theoretical writings and gathered around the ŠKUC-Forum Production. The political references of the 1980s made way for other subjects: the focus of attention consisted in issues of video as a medium, post-production technology, the intersections of the documentary, fiction, and political realities, artistic video and similar. The most eminent artists in the field include Borghesia, Zemira Alajbegović & Neven Korda – ZANK, Marko Kovačič (and his “video grotesque” *No More Heroes Any More*), and a series of video performances by Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid on the subject of the wars in Yugoslavia (*Bilocation, The Sower, and Three Sisters*). On the eve of the declaration of independence of Slovenia, the Egon March Institute carried out, in collaboration with twenty independent performers, the urban performance *Bellum contra solem*. The Laibach group released the albums *Kapital* and *NATO* (with the Occupied Europe NATO Tour wrapping up with a concert in the demolished Sarajevo). The latter of the two albums includes covers of songs about war-related topics. The track “War” features the following lyrics: “War! What is it good for? Mobilization Science Religion Domination Communication Teleportation GM IBM Newsweek CNN Universal European ITV VCR Industry...” Certain mass media and political actions that reached a far wider audience with their interventions than individual art events deserve mention here as well: the cover art of many issues of the political weekly *Mladina*, the student newspaper *Tribuna*, Radio Študent, and the early soft terrorism actions of Marko Breclj. And finally, there was also *Burial* – an action carried out by three art students at the World War I cemetery for German soldiers in Tolmin, which caused some controversy among the locals. The artists dug out two graves, then two of them lay down in the graves while the third one buried them; after a while, once they began to suffocate, the third unearthed them again.³³ The performance was intended as homage to history and the fallen soldiers, as a symbol of death and resurrection.

So, what did all these performances, political performance-based gestures, actions, and situations or – if we understand them in the sense of Rancière’s aesthetic regime of art – ruptures

33 The author of the performance was Arjan Pregl in collaboration with Miha Štrukelj and Marko Zatler, 1999. Arjan Pregl in an email of 27 January 2021.

produce? What is even expected of a “political performance” once it has been recognized as such? Does it lose its critical power or position? A repeated performance is never the same, nor can mediation (photography, video recording, description, object) become a substitute for the event itself. In other words, what *is* a performance if almost anything can be seen as performance? Furthermore, *which* performance? An important aspect of the word “performance” points to a sense of economic efficiency which, as Jon McKenzie writes, has replaced discipline as the formative paradigm of power and knowledge.³⁴ In addition, Virno’s concept of *virtuosity* can also be used in this regard, to describe some model of post-Fordist work in general.

In the context of the 1990s Slovenia, we cannot really speak of political performance as such (with a few exceptions). For this reason we have adopted the concept of the so-called “cultural performance”³⁵ in order to understand performance in a broader sense. A decade of explorations, experimentation, and the formation of new spaces in art came to a conclusion of sorts with Manifesta 3, organized in Ljubljana in 2000. The event was not only artistic but also political in nature: a positioning of the “periphery” in the global art system and the recognition of Slovenia as one of the first “transition” states to join the EU just a few years later. Artist Šejla Kamberič presented her project *EU / OTHERS* at Manifesta 3, an installation in the form of a border crossing on the Tromostovje bridge in Ljubljana, which symbolically underscored Slovenia’s separation from the states of former Yugoslavia.

But what happened to the belief in some better world? How do war machines operate today? Are their mechanisms any different than they were back in the 1990s? Over the past decades, political activism has grown stronger and become both more present and more visible in public space, no longer the domain of various activist collectives³⁶ but engaging vastly larger numbers of people,

34 Jon McKenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2001). A good example of that is Marko Peljhan’s *terminal 2000 – system 27*.

35 *Ibid.*

36 Such as the Dost je! [Enough!] collective, who spelled out IZBRIS [ERASURE] with their bodies in front of the Parliament in 2003.

terorizma Marka Breclja. Naj za konec opozorim še na akcijo *Pokop*,³³ ki jo je izvedla skupina študentov umetnosti na nemškem pokopališču iz prve svetovne vojne ob Soči in ki je takrat povzročila precejšnje negotovanje prebivalcev Tolmina. Trije umetniki so namreč izkopali podolgovata grobova, v katera sta legla dva od njih, tretji pa ju je zakopal in ju čez čas, ko sta se začela dušiti, spet odkopal. Performans je bil mišljen kot poklon zgodovini in padlim vojakom, kot simbolna smrt in ponovno vstajenje.

Kaj so torej proizvedli vsi ti performansi, politično performativne geste, dejanja in situacije oziroma prekinitve, če jih seveda kot take razumemo v smislu Rancièreovega estetskega režima umetnosti? Kaj sploh pričakujemo od »političnega performansa«, potem ko je že prepoznan kot tak? Mar izgubi svojo kritično moč ali pozicijo? Ponovitev performansa ni nikoli ista situacija, tudi mediacija (fotografija, posnetek, zapis, objekt) ni enaka kot dogodek sam. Oziroma drugače, kaj sploh je performans, če je danes lahko že vse performans? In nadalje: kateri performans? Pomemben vidik performansa v smislu izvedbe, izvajanja, delovanja predstavlja tudi njegova učinkovitost, ki je nadomestila disciplino kot paradigmatsko sestavo moči in znanja, kot to označi Jon McKenzie.³⁴ Za razumevanje je uporaben tudi Virnov koncept *virtuoznosti*, ki predstavlja nekakšen model za postfordistično delo nasploh.

Političnega performansa kot takega v Sloveniji v devetdesetih letih (razen redkih izjem) ne zasledimo. Prav zato smo za razumevanje performansa v razširjenem polju uporabili koncept t. i. »kulturnega delovanja«,³⁵ s katerim smo si pomagali pri tem izzivu. Desetletje iskanj, eksperimentov, ustvarjanja novih prostorov se je v umetnosti na nek način zaključilo z Manifesto 3 leta 2000. To je bil ne samo umetniški, ampak tudi politični dogodek, šlo je namreč za umestitev »periferije« v globalni sistem umetnosti in hkrati prepoznavo Slovenije kot ene prvih tranzicijskih držav, ki bo nekaj let zatem sprejeta v Evropsko unijo. Zelo dobro je na ločitev

33 Avtor performansa je Arjan Pregl v soavtorstvu z Mihom Štrukljem in Markom Zatlerjem, 1999. Elektronska korespondenca z A. Preglom, 27. 1. 2021.

34 Jon McKenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2001). – To dobro ponazori tudi projekt Marka Peljhana *terminal 2000 – system 27*.

35 McKenzie, *Perform or Else*.

od držav nekdanje skupne države, pa čeprav na simbolni ravni, v času Manifeste pokazal projekt *EU / OTHERS* umetnice Šejle Kamberič, postavljen v obliki instalacije – mejnega prehoda na Tromostovju v centru Ljubljane.

Pa vendar, kaj se je zgodilo z vero v neki boljši svet? Kako danes delujejo vojni stroji, ali so morebiti njihovi mehanizmi kaj drugačni, kot so bili v devetdesetih letih? V zadnjih desetletjih se je sicer okrepil politični aktivizem, postal je vidnejši in bolj prisoten v javnem prostoru, ne več le v domeni posameznih aktivističnih kolektivov,³⁶ ampak širše, zaobjel je mnogo večje število ljudi, kar je postalo očitno ob vseslovenskih vstajah med letoma 2012 in 2014 in na kolesarskih protivladnih protestih leta 2020.

Če so torej devetdeseta leta predstavljala neko pospešeno odpiranje svetu in izgradnjo novih sistemov, gre zdaj predvsem za spopad s konservativizmom, etnonacionalizmom, fašizmom, kjer se zgolj vzdržuje in poskuša ohranjati tisto, kar je še ne tako dolgo nazaj veljalo za samoumevno. Zdelo se je, da živimo v času in prostoru, kjer se pravzaprav ne dogaja nič prelomnega, a danes je očitno, da se lahko v nekaj tednih zgostijo cela desetletja. V zadnjem letu so v naših življenjih prevladale »žalostne strasti«; razvnanje žalostnih strasti pa je, kot je opozoril že Spinoza, pogoj za izvajanje oblasti Države ali Institucije. Zato ljudje, ki imajo moč (*potestas*), na nas vedno vplivajo na žalosten način. V samem bistvu tega, kar smo poimenovali »politični performans« v devetdesetih letih, je bil torej spopad z žalostjo – kot jo razumemo v strogo političnem smislu, pri čemer so afekti žalosti premagani, da v življenju ne prevladajo ali ga povsem ne prevzamejo nezadovoljstvo, tesnoba in strah. Umetnost, o kateri govorimo, je imela dostikrat moč (*potentia*), da je spodbudila »osvoboditev, ki raztrešči vse, najprej in predvsem tisto tragično«. ³⁷ In to »ustvarjanje možne sreče« naj bo tudi sporočilo in projekt za današnji čas.

Sreča je upor, ki osvobaja!

36 Na primer akcija kolektiva Dost je! iz leta 2003; v belo oblečeni aktivisti in aktivistke so z lastnimi telesi pred parlamentom izpisali IZBRIS.

37 Gilles Deleuze, »Mysticism and Masochism«, *Desert Islands and Other Texts 1953–1974* (Semiotext(e), 2004), str. 134.

as became obvious during the general uprisings between 2012 and 2014 and during the anti-government bicycle demonstrations in 2020 in Slovenia.

So, if the 1990s were a time of an accelerated opening toward the world and building new systems, the present time is above all about combating conservatism, ethno-nationalism, and fascism, merely trying to maintain or preserve what was taken for granted not so long ago. Back then, we seemed to be living in a time and space where nothing acutely crucial was at stake. However, it is evident today that entire decades can play out in a few weeks. This past year, “sad passions” have come to dominate our lives. The stoking of these sad passions, as Spinoza reminds us, is always necessary to maintain the power of the Institution and of the State. That is why people who have power (*potestas*) always affect us in a sad way. At the very core of what we have called “political performance” of the 1990s lies a combat with sadness – yet sadness understood in the strictly political sense, when the affects of sadness can be defeated, so (our) life will no longer be dominated or overwhelmed by discontent, anguish, and fear. The art that we speak of often had the power (*potentia*) to trigger “a liberation that explodes everything, first and foremost the tragic.”³⁷ This “creation of potential joy” should then be the message and project for our time.

Joy is resistance that liberates!

Translated by Tamara Soban

37 Gilles Deleuze, “Mysticism and Masochism,” in *Desert Islands and Other Texts 1953–1974* (Semiotext(e), 2004), 134.

02

Performance and Politics in the Interim Period of the 1990s in the Republic of Slovenia

The 1990s and the Period of Transition

When one tries to think about the artistic practices, especially performance, of the 1990s in the Republic of Slovenia in terms of history, the first realization is that the first decade of the new state formed an integral part of a longer process marked by a string of ongoing or imminent transiencies, temporarynesses and in-betweennesses, interruptions and postponements in which social and above all state institutions were being reconfigured as part of the transition of the state subsystems and their alternatives from the dysfunctional Yugoslav socialist system to a new, pluralist system of parliamentary democracy, a rapid privatization of social property, and the introduction of intense market-oriented capitalist production.

This period of transition was marked by "the euphoria of independence, total chaos, nationalistic diarrhea released all over the place," as Nikolai Jeffs lucidly described the prevalent atmosphere of the time in an interview with Andrej Pavlišič.¹ Under those circumstances, creative effervescence mixed with darker forces once the realization set in that "in the time after the declaration of independence, some of the achievements of the peace movement and the demilitarization of society, of the gay movement, the feminist movement, and the management of autonomous spaces of culture

¹ Andrej Pavlišič, "Metelkova – Plašč brez telesa ali telo brez plašča? Intervju: Nikolai Jeffs in Miha Zadnikar," *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 40, no. 253 (2013): 213.



**Rok
Vevar**

**Jasmina
Založnik**

Performans in politike v vmesnem času devetdesetih let v republiki Sloveniji

Devetdeseta leta v času tranzicije

Če koledarsko obdobje devetdesetih let na polju umetniških praks in posebej performans v Republiki Sloveniji skušamo premisliti v zgodovinskem smislu, moramo najprej ugotoviti, da gre v prvem desetletju nove države za del daljšega procesa, zaznamovanega z vrsto tekočih in prihajajočih prehodnosti, začasnosti in vmesnosti, prekinitev in odlogov, v katerih so se odvijali postopki rekonfiguracij družbenih institucij, predvsem države, prehod njenih podsistemov in alternativ iz nefunkcionalnega sistema jugoslovanskega socializma v novi pluralistični sistem parlamentarne demokracije, pospešena privatizacija družbene lastnine in uvedba tržno intenzivnejše kapitalistične proizvodnje.

To prehodno obdobje je zaznamovala »evforija samostojnosti, totalni kaos, nacionalistične diareje, ki so se spuščale po prostoru«, kot je splošno vzdušje časa lucidno označil Nikolai Jeffs v intervjuju z Andrejem Pavlišičem.¹ V takšnem vzdušju se je ustvarjalno brbotanje prepletalo z mračnejšimi silami, saj je obstajalo »spoznanje, da so nekatere pridobitve okoli mirovništva in demilitarizacije družbe, gejevskega gibanja, ženskega gibanja, upravljanja avtonomnih kulturnih prostorov v Ljubljani v času po razglasitvi neodvisne države nazadovale. Potem sta tu še rekonstitucija stare in konstitucija nove

¹ Andrej Pavlišič, »Metelkova – Plašč brez telesa ali telo brez plašča? Intervju: Nikolai Jeffs in Miha Zadnikar«, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 40, št. 253 (2013), str. 213.

in Ljubljana regressed. And then there were the reconstitution of the old and the constitution of the new political elites and the introduction of not-yet-quite-completely neoliberal capitalism.”²

In this spirit, the 1990s can be seen as part of a longer interim period, when highly heterogeneous processes of political projections took place in Slovenia, processes in which various social presences (social, cultural, and art movements, groups, and voices) counted on being included in the new social system, and on finding systemic solutions to a number of dilemmas and contradictions, and on being adequately represented in the political system of the new civic treasure called the Republic of Slovenia. The generic term used to describe that time in the social and political sense was *transition*. This empty signifier remains to this day a metastatic depository where phantasmatic projections have been dumped over these three decades; for this reason, it functions like a vortex of an incredible collection of contradictions generating the cultural struggles of our time.

For a proper understanding of the political processes and the changes in the field of art, however, a more detailed detection and analysis of the past are essential. It is therefore productive to slightly expand this period, as we shall demonstrate in this article. Thus we suggest thinking about the notions of performance and politics as a stage in a longer artistic and cultural period and process, possibly bracketed by, on the one hand, the early performances of the band Buldožer and their performative front man Marko Breclj at the time of the release of their album *Pljuni istini u oči* [Spit in the Eyes of the Truth] (1975), and on the other, Dragan Živadinov's *Ritual of Leave-Taking – Gravitation Zero / Biomechanics Noordung* at the Yuri Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center in Russia in August 1999. With this approach we aim to unveil the crucial connections between the two systemic orders, the protagonists' political engagement, and the forces in the struggle and their transformations.

Due to the heterogeneity of art and politics, culture and society, we have shaped our article in the form of a number of key glossary entries with cross-

2 *Ibid.*, 213.

references to one another, forming, in our view, a rhizome or network that productively spreads out before us the period under scrutiny. We believe this approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of the politicality of performance in both the narrow and broader senses of the word. (The word *politicality* is here used in Rancière's sense.)

Opposition

Between 1977 and 1991, increasingly less inhibited and more or less coded forms of social critique of varied political provenance formed in the intellectual, cultural, and artistic circles in Slovenia, gradually changing the public sphere. This period saw the emergence of punk, venues of alternative and club culture, new social movements, critical media (with their chorus of writers increasingly contributing to the most influential mass media), and a number of art and cultural events and venues. By the second half of the 1980s, the public had come to perceive all this as a form of political opposition, and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia as well as the state security services were well aware that this public parallelism could no longer be either successfully discredited or channeled into the organizational network of socialist institutions, where it might be controlled. In the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, intellect, art, and culture had transformed the social and political temperature, enabling the emergence of something that was recognized as a form of political opposition at an opportune moment.

The phenomenologist (and one of the writers for *Nova revija*) Tine Hribar freely acknowledged the decisive role punk had played in changing the public sphere in his article for the publication *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci* [Punk Had Been First: 25 Years of Punk in Slovenia],³ writing that the emergence of punk gave the critical public sphere in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia license to a voice it had previously not allowed itself. According to Hribar, punk was instrumental for a number of movements and initiatives in the domain of intellectual, cultural, and artistic life, including *Nova revija*.

3 Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar, and Igor Vidmar (eds.), *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba & ROPOT, 2002).

politične elite ter uvedba tedaj-še-ne-povsem neoliberalnega kapitalizma.«²

Devetdeseta leta je v tem duhu mogoče gledati kot del daljšega vmesnega časa, v katerem so se v Sloveniji odvijali zelo heterogeni procesi političnih projekcij, procesi, v katerih so različne družbene navzočnosti, prisotnosti (družbena, kulturna in umetniška gibanja, skupine in glasovi) računale na proces vključevanja v novi družbeni sistem, vrsta dilem in kontradikcij na sistemske razrešitve, vsi skupaj pa na zastopanost v političnem sistemu nove državne svetinje z imenom Republika Slovenija. Generični pojem, ki je označeval to obdobje v družbenem in političnem smislu, je bil *tranzicija*. Prazni označevalec je še danes metastatično skladišče, v katerega se že tri desetletja odlagajo fantazmatske projekcije, zato deluje kot centrifuga neverjetnega zbira različnih kontradikcij, ki so generatorji sodobnega kulturnega boja.

A za razumevanje političnih procesov in tudi sprememb v polju umetnosti sta nujni natančnejša detekcija in analiza preteklosti. Kot bova pokazala v prispevku, je plodno obravnavano obdobje nekoliko razširiti. Zato predlagava, da pojma performansa in politike mislimo kot eno od faz daljšega umetniškega in kulturnega obdobja in procesa, ki bi ga bilo mogoče zamejiti s prvimi nastopi Buldožerjev in njihovega performativnega frontmana Marka Breclja v času izida albuma *Pljuni istini u oči* (1975) in na drugi strani z *Obredom poslavljanja – Gravitacija nič/ Biomehanika Noordung* Dragana Živadinova v Kozmonavtskem centru Jurija Gagarina v Rusiji avgusta 1999. Tak pristop bo odstrl ključne povezave med obema sistemskima ureditvama, političnim angažmajem protagonistov in borbenimi silami ter njihovimi transformacijami.

Zaradi heterogenosti umetnosti in politike, kulture in družbe sva članek zastavila kot skupek ključnih pojmovnih gesel, ki se medsebojno oplajajo ter po najinem mnenju oblikujejo rizom ali mrežo, ki tvorno razpre analizirano obdobje. Meniva namreč, da tovrsten pristop omogoči celovitejše razumevanje političnosti performansa v ožjem in širšem pomenu besede, pri čemer pojem političnega razumeva v Rancièreovem pomenu.

2 Prav tam, str. 213.

Opozicija

Med letoma 1977 in 1991 so se v intelektualni, kulturni in umetniški sferi v Sloveniji oblikovale vse manj inhibirane in bolj ali manj kodirane oblike družbene kritike različnih političnih provenienc in začele postopoma spreminjati javno sfero. S pojavom punka, prizorišč alternativne in klubske kulture, novih družbenih gibanj, kritičnih medijev, ki so s svojim zborom piscev vse bolj gotovo zalagali najodmevnejše javne medije, in vrste umetniških in kulturnih manifestacij ali prizorišč jih je javnost v drugi polovici osemdesetih let vse jasneje dojemala in doživljala kot obliko politične opozicije. V drugi polovici osemdesetih let je postajalo Centralnemu komiteju Zveze komunistov Slovenije in predstavnikom služb državne varnosti jasno, da tega javnega paralelizma ni več mogoče niti uspešno diskreditirati z različnimi oblikami prirejanja obveščanja niti napeljati v organizacijsko mrežo socialističnih institucij, kjer bi jih bilo mogoče nadzorovati. Intelekt, umetnost in kultura so v SR Sloveniji dodobra spremenili družbene in politične temperature, ki so omogočile nekaj, kar se je v določenem trenutku razpoznalo kot oblika politične opozicije.

Odločilno vlogo punka pri spreminjanju javnega prostora brez zadržkov priznava tudi fenomenolog in novorevijaš Tine Hribar v prispevku v publikaciji *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*,³ v katerem zapiše, da je prav z vznikom punka v Socialistični republiki Sloveniji kritična javna sfera dobila dovoljenje za glas, kakršnega si pred tem ni dovolila. Po Hribarjevih besedah je bil prav punk odločilen za vrsto gibanj in pobud v intelektualnem, kulturnem in umetniškem življenju, vključno z *Novo revijo*.

Vendar pa se je proces političnega temeljno razlikoval med kulturno-umetniško in politično opozicijo, ki je po letu 1991 zavlada najprej v obliki Demosa, potem pa še Liberalne demokracije Slovenije. Funkcija spremenjene javne sfere, ki je leta 1991 pripeljala do političnih sprememb, je bila za takratne politične elite z ustanovitvijo države Republike Slovenije zaključena, saj je politični projekt osemdesetih let pripeljala do konca, za umetnost in kulturo pa je bilo leto 1991 šele začetek projekta,

3 Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar in Igor Vidmar (ur.), *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba in ROPOT, 2002).

However, there are fundamental differences between the process of politicality in the cultural-artistic opposition and the political opposition that went on to assume power after 1991, first as Demos and then as the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia. The function of the changed public sphere, which had led to the political changes in 1991, concluded, for the political elites of the time, with the founding of the state of the Republic of Slovenia – it had brought the political project of the 1980s to its conclusion. For art and culture, however, 1991 was only the beginning of a project intended to democratize the public cultural sphere in the new state, integrating art and culture in the idea of producing difference(s), not identities, changing the modes of the perception and reception of art and its role and function in the pluralist new republic, establishing new art institutions and transforming the old ones. All these were part of the plans of the Cultural Forum, which had its founding congress in Cankarjev Dom Center in Ljubljana in 1991,⁴ and which aimed to translate the democratic changes in politics into changes of the cultural system.

The 1990s = the 1980s That Had Had the Ground Cut from Under Their Feet

The 1990s were marked by the remnants of the skepticism and mistrust vis-à-vis state or national institutions clearly expressed by the protagonists of the alternative culture of the 1980s in their direct, positive, and urgent advocacy of ideas and their actionist involvement in the restructuring of institutions. "The body of cultural and artistic practices that expected to see, with the onset of the 1990s, a recognition and reform of their status and thus an improvement of their working conditions includes all those cultural and artistic phenomena that had had no place in the socialist notional and financial registers."⁵ Although the practices and their subjects were highly varied, they also included many protagonists of the alternative scene of the 1980s and their successors who tried to carve out for themselves adequate working conditions in the new system

4 Documentation of the Kulturni forum / Cultural Forum founding event at Cankarjev Dom in 1991, Folder Ksenija Hribar, Temporary Slovenian Dance Archive, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana.

5 Eda Čufar, "Dosje O ...", *Maska* IV, no. 3-5 (1994): 67.

and possibilities for public agency (i.e. financial, infrastructural, aesthetic, and ideological independence). The extensive documentation on the events and public debates organized by the protagonists of contemporary scenic arts (Eda Čufer dubs them the Third Generation Directors) at Radio Študent, subsequently edited and published in *Maska* journal under the title "Dosje o ..." [Dossier on...],⁶ testifies to the struggle to change the cultural system and the efforts invested in this. It is evident from numerous reports, interviews, and discussions organized by Radio Študent that a whole generation of artists saw their funding cut off and had to fight for the basic financing of their work, that the public administration of the Ministry of Culture understood and even upheld their demands, but was unwilling to financially support them, since that would have entailed a reconfiguration of the institutional system of the time.⁷

It needs to be stressed that what is most characteristic of the artistic practices of the 1990s is their interdisciplinarity – this is the central notion of "contemporary art and culture as a specific aesthetic and sociological structure based on the processes of decentralization, dehierarchization, and non-representationality, as the opposite of the centralist, hierarchical and representational structure of traditional art and culture."⁸

The alternative scene of the 1980s tapped into the referential body of historical avant-gardes for their ways of performing, strategies of visibility, and politics of the public,⁹ by reconsidering the intoxicating relationship between

(...) politics and art, and reestablishing it in another context. This passion is no longer materialized as an axiomatic minimal difference, but as an establishing of sensory equality between artistic procedures encompassing both formal protocols of art and the material practice of art (mode of work) as performing its own history. In the process, the (apparent) difference is exposed as a formal configuration

6 *Ibid.*, 5-84.

7 This hesitation to implement change in the 1990s led to missing out on a historic opportunity.

8 Eda Čufar, "Dosje o ...", *Maska* IV., no. 3-5 (1994): 67.

9 See articles in *Maska* journal in that period.

ki bi javno kulturno sfero v okviru nove države demokratiziral, vpisal umetnost in kulturo v pojem proizvodnje razlik(e), in ne identitet(e), spremenil režime gledanja ali recepcije umetnosti in njene vloge in funkcije v pluralizmu nove republike, ustanovil nove umetniške institucije in spremenil stare. To so bili nenazadnje tudi načrti Kulturnega foruma, ki je imel leta 1991 v Cankarjevem domu ustanovni kongres⁴ in ki je skušal demokratične spremembe v politiki pretvoriti tudi v spremembe kulturnega sistema.

Devetdeseta leta = osemdeseta leta, ki so jim spodmaknili tla po nogami

Devetdeseta leta so bila zaznamovana z ostanki skepse in nezaupanja do uradnih državnih ustanov, ki so jih jasno izražali protagonisti alternativne kulture osemdesetih let z neposrednostjo, pozitivnostjo in urgenco po zastopanju idej ter z njihovim akcijskim uresničevanjem v prestrukturiranju institucij. »V sklop kulturnih in umetniških praks, ki so z nastopom 90. let pričakovale priznanje in reformo svojega statusa ter iz tega izhajajoče izboljšanje pogojev dela, sodijo vsi tisti kulturni in umetniški pojavi, ki niso imeli svojega mesta v socialističnem pojmovnem in finančnem registru.«⁵ Kljub temu da je pri tem šlo za zelo raznolike prakse in njihove subjekte, so bili med njimi v veliki meri tako protagonisti alternative osemdesetih let kot tudi njihovi nasledniki, ki so si v novem sistemu poskušali zagotoviti ustrezne delovne pogoje in možnosti javnega delovanja (finančno, infrastrukturno, estetsko in ideološko neodvisnost). O boju za spremembe kulturnega sistema priča obsežna dokumentacija dogodkov in javnih pogovorov, ki so jih protagonisti sodobnih scenskih umetnosti – Eda Čufer jih poimenuje »tretja generacija režiserjev« – organizirali na Radiu Študent, revija *Maska* pa jih je objavila v urejeni obliki pod naslovom »Dosje o ...«.⁶ Iz vrste referatov, intervjujev in pogovorov, ki so jih organizirali na Radiu Študent, je razvidno, da se je cela generacija umetnikov ob prekinitvi financiranja borila za osnovna delovna sredstva, da je javna administracija Ministrstva za kulturo njihove

4 Dokumentacija ustanovnega dogodka Kulturnega foruma, Cankarjev dom, 1991, mapa Ksenija Hribar, Začasni slovenski plesni arhiv, Muzej sodobne umetnosti Metelkova, Ljubljana.

5 Eda Čufer, »Dosje o ...«, *Maska* 4, št. 3-5 (1994), str. 67.

6 Prav tam, str. 50-84.

zahteve razumela, celo podpirala, a jih finančno ni bila pripravljena podpreti, saj bi to pomenilo rekonfiguracijo obstoječega institucionaliziranega sistema.⁷

Poudariti velja, da je bila za umetniške prakse devetdesetih let značilna interdisciplinarnost; osrednji pojem »sodobne umetnosti in kulture kot specifične estetske in sociološke strukture, ki temelji na postopkih decentralizacije, dehierarhizacije in neprezentiranosti, kot nasprotje centralistični, hierarhični ter reprezentančni strukturi tradicionalne umetnosti in kulture.«⁸

Predstavniki alternative osemdesetih let so svoje načine uprizarjanja, strategije vidnosti in politike javnosti črpali iz referencialnega korpusa historičnih avantgard.⁹ Pri tem so vnovič pretresli opojno razmerje

(...) med politiko in umetnostjo ter ga [vzpostavili] v drugačnem kontekstu. Ta strast ni več udejanjena kot aksiomatična minimalna razlika, marveč kot vzpostavitev senzorne enakosti umetnostnih postopkov, ki obsegajo tako formalne postopke umetnosti in materialno prakso umetnosti (način dela) kot uprizarjanje lastne zgodovine. Skozi te postopke je razlika (dozdevok) razgrnjena kot formalna razporeditev dogodkovne negotovosti (političnih, zgodovinskih in estetskih). Poseže v hierarhično pojmovanje političnega prehoda (iz propadajočega socializma v nekaj, kar prihaja kot novo politično obdobje nove drame), a tudi v hierarhično pojmovanje razvoja slovenske kulture in nacionalne identitete.¹⁰

Deloma so umetniki tudi v devetdesetih let nadaljevali s tovrstnimi prijemi (izrazit primer tega so ustvarjalci zbrani okoli NSK, Matjaž Berger, Vlado Repnik idr.). V veliki meri so se jim priključili ustvarjalci različnih disciplin z izumljanjem novih spojev in stapljanj umetniških disciplin in žanrov, s katerimi so ohranjali političnost umetniškega delovanja (Matjaž Berger: *Kons* 5.

7 Omahovanje s spremembami v devetdesetih letih pomeni zamujeno zgodovinsko priložnost.

8 Čufer, »Dosje O ...«, str. 67.

9 Glej objave v reviji *Maska* v omenjenem obdobju.

10 Bojana Kunst, »Težave s sodobnostjo«, v: *Sodobne scenske umetnosti*, ur. Bojana Kunst in Petra Pogorevc (Ljubljana: Maska, 2006), str. 42-43.

of event uncertainty (political, historical, and aesthetic). It interferes in the hierarchical understanding of the political transition (from failing socialism to something that is coming as a new political era of new drama), but also in the hierarchical understanding of the development of Slovenian culture and national identity.¹⁰

Artists partly continued in this vein in the 1990s (among them various artists associated with NSK, Matjaž Berger, Vlado Repnik, etc.), and were joined by others who invented new ways to blend and fuse various artistic disciplines and genres to preserve the politicality of their artistic work (Matjaž Berger, *Kons 5, 5 Years of Independence of Slovenia*, 1996). Their artistic gestures and performative events aimed to break with the dominant discursive order(s). We read the politicality of performance art in the 1990s through the diagnostics of shock in the perceptual, which, while veiling the clarity of its message, also opens it outward, into possible, still vacant and potent futures.

If the 1980s can be read as a period in which artists used artistic strategies to put together, expand on, and blend various reference materials, thereby re-performing the history of art (e.g. the series of Irwin's exhibitions and events entitled *Was ist Kunst?*, or the Sisters of Scipio Nasica Theater's production *Baptism under Triglav* directed by Dragan Živadinov), the 1990s can be understood, as Bojana Kunst suggests, as "an open field of articulation of various artistic practices, activities, and productions."¹¹ While in the 1980s artistic practices and tendencies evolved on complementary program and aesthetic bases addressing the changes of the conditions of art production, reception, and the public sphere and its spaces, i.e., the changes of what Jacques Rancière calls the "distribution of the sensible," they began losing their agonistic character and their subversiveness after 1991, becoming actualized in the spaces of transition and "self-isolation" (Eda Čufer), where artists projected their utopian transformations of institutions. At the same time, new forms of cultural hegemonies gradually began to take shape.

¹⁰ Bojana Kunst, "Težave s sodobnostjo," in: Bojana Kunst, Petra Pogorevc (eds.) *Sodobne scenske umetnosti*. (Ljubljana: Maska, 2006), 42–43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

From the perspective of the history of culture, the 1990s thus seem like a rerun of the 1980s that had had the ground cut from under their feet and their emancipatory politicality neutralized by the change of the system. The very concrete question from 1983, "What is the alternative?," that also became the title of a now famous symposium organized in Ljubljana in November that year, gradually transformed into the impossible global questions related to neoliberalism and its diabolical application in the capitalist economic and political system.

Postperformance

A text by the artist Marko A. Kovačič entitled "Postperformance" and published in the *Ekran* journal in 1985,¹² speaks about the broad artistic and cultural awareness, concepts, and considerations of various histories of artistic practices. There is no earlier or more crucial text for thinking about performance and contemporary scenic arts in Slovenia, nor one that would foretell more accurately the logic of the practices that followed in the 1990s.

Kovačič reflects on the system of the (performative) arts with a relatively precise contextual insight, from a historical distance, and by taking into consideration the cultural reality of the time; at the same time, his writing can be understood conceptually and programmatically. Above all – as he recalls today – artists followed the specific "spirit of the time," which allowed them to ponder and combine the information they gathered on visits to foreign cities or select events or from magazines and journals, exhibition catalogues, or the few books available without any undue information inflation, in a relatively clear and manageable way. The information was scarce or else in just the right amount, so that they could fill in the gaps with their own imagination. With some minor practical modulations, Kovačič's text can elucidate the processes occurring in the field of performance and scenic arts in Slovenia in the fifteen years that followed its writing.

In the first part of his text, "Perfect Image," Kovačič talks about conceptualism¹³ as a failed "revolt

¹² Marko A. Kovačič, "Postperformance," *Ekran* XXII, no. 1-2 (1985): 32-35. Unless stated otherwise, the quotes are from this text.

¹³ Kovačič's frame of reference for conceptualism is the highly discursive art practice of the New York downtown with John

5 let osamosvojitve Republike Slovenije, 1996). Z umetniškimi gestami in performativnimi dogodki so skušali predvsem prelamljati prevladujoče diskurzivne rede. Političnost umetnosti performansa devetdesetih let prebirava z diagnostiko šoka v zaznavnem, kar sicer odmika jasnost njenega sporočila, a jo prav zato odpira navzven v možne, še nezasedene in potentne prihodnosti.

Če je možno osemdeseta leta brati kot obdobje, v katerem so ustvarjalci z umetniškimi strategijami nizali, množili in spajali različna referenčna gradiva ter s tem tudi že na novo uprizarjali zgodovino umetnosti (kot na primer serija razstavnih in drugih dogodkov skupine Irwin: *Was is Kunst?* ali predstava Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice v režiji Dragana Živadinova *Krst pod Triglavom*), je devetdeseta leta, kot predlaga Bojana Kunst, mogoče razumeti kot »odprto polje artikulacije različnih umetniških praks, delovanj in produkcij.«¹¹ Medtem ko so se umetniški procesi in težnje v osemdesetih letih razvijali na osnovi komplementarnih programskih in estetskih temeljev, ki so obravnavali spremembe pogojev umetniške proizvodnje in recepcije ter javne sfere in njenih prostorov, spremembo tega, kar Jacques Rancière poimenuje distribucija čutnega, so po letu 1991 začeli izgubljati svoj agonistični značaj in subverzivnost ter so se udejanjali v prostoru tranzicije, »samoizolacije« (Eda Čufer), v katerega so umetniki projicirali utopistične preнове institucije umetnosti, hkrati pa so se začele postopno snovati nove oblike kulturnih hegemonij.

V kulturnozgodovinskem smislu se tako zdi, da devetdeseta leta niso nič drugega kot osemdeseta leta, ki jim je menjava sistema spodmaknila tla pod nogami in nevtralizirala njihovo emancipacijsko političnost. Konkretno vprašanje iz leta 1983, »Kaj je alternativa?«, s katerim je bil novembra 1983 naslovljen simpozij v Mladinskem centru Zgornja Šiška, se je začelo zlagoma spreminjati v nemogoče globalno vprašanje, povezano z neoliberalizmom in njegovo diabolično aplikacijo na kapitalistični gospodarskopolitični sistem.

Postperformans

O zelo prostrani umetniški in kulturni zavesti, konceptih in premišljevanjih o različnih zgodovinah

¹¹ Prav tam, str. 47.

umetnostnih praks priča besedilo umetnika Marka A. Kovačiča z naslovom »Postperformance«, ki je leta 1985 izšlo v reviji *Ekran*.¹² Za razmišljanje o performansu in sodobnih (scenskih) umetnostih v Sloveniji ni mogoče najti zgodnejšega in bolj ključnega besedila, hkrati pa tudi ne besedila, ki bi natančneje napovedalo logiko praks, ki so sledile v devetdesetih letih.¹³

Kovačič o sistemu (performativnih) umetnosti premišljuje z razmeroma natančnim kontekstualnim vpogledom, zgodovinsko distanco in upoštevanjem takratne kulturne stvarnosti, hkrati pa je njegovo pisanje mogoče razumeti tudi konceptualno in programsko. Predvsem pa, kot se tega danes sam spominja, so se ustvarjalci v tistem času ravnali po specifičnem »duhu časa«, v katerem so lahko informacije, ki so jih pridobivali ob obiskih tujih mest, na izbranih dogodkih, iz revij, razstavnih katalogov in redkih knjig, kombinirali in premlevali brez večje informacijske inflacije, na razmeroma razviden in obvladljiv način. Bilo jih je malo ali ravno prav, da so prazne prostore med njimi dopisovali z lastno domišljijo. Z manjšimi praktičnimi modulacijami je s Kovačičevim besedilom mogoče razumeti procese, ki so se v poldrugem desetletju po njegovem nastanku odvijali na področju performansa in scenskih umetnosti v Sloveniji.

Kovačič v prvem delu besedila s podnaslovom »Popolna podoba« obravnava konceptualizem¹⁴ kot spodleteli »upor proti industrijski družbi, (...) produkciji in potrošništvu«, saj je navkljub svojemu pomembnemu zgodovinskemu odmiku od komodificiranega umetniškega predmeta z nagovarjanjem ozkega spektra ekskluzivne muzejske in galerijske javnosti zašel v hermetizem, zato ga avtor razume kot svojevrsten »beg od realnosti«. Četudi »ne smemo spregledati njegovega prispevka« k spremembi, po kateri

¹² Marko A. Kovačič, »Postperformance«, *Ekran* XXII, št. 1-2 (1985), str. 32-35. – Kadar ni navedeno drugače, so citati vzeti iz tega besedila.

¹³ V prispevku bova namesto angleške oblike termina uporabljala slovensko obliko postperformans, ki se je v jeziku ustalila mnogo pozneje, kot je nastalo Kovačičevo besedilo.

¹⁴ Njegov referenčni okvir za konceptualizem je z diskurzom prežeta umetniška produkcija newyorškega *downtowna* z Johnom Cageom, Frankom Stello in esejistko Susan Sontag; produkcija, ki je analitično, provokativno in navsezadnje tudi zabavno konceptualno umetnost sedemdesetih let v resnici ustvarila.

against industrial society, (...), production, and consumerism” despite its historically important departure from the commodified artistic object, since it ended up in hermeticism by addressing a narrow segment of the exclusive museum and gallery public; for this reason, Kovačič sees it as an “escape from reality.” While “we should not overlook its contribution” to the changes leading to “art no longer being a production of objects, but rather thinking, remembering,” it had lost its original function through the actions and performances carried out in front of small, elitist audiences.

When performances moved from hermetic gallery spaces to clubs and alternative culture venues in the 1970s, they brought fresh ideas to various (artistic) communities and their publics with their hybrid forms, giving “the audience choice, more information, and developing a certain critical awareness,” which did not exclude fun in the reception of art. Postperformance artists strive to win the public over, “considering their space of action as a [inclusive, non-hermetic] social space – a meeting point.” This avoids the selectiveness of art institutions that, through their very existence, give the presented works a declaratory value of art, and places artists in a situation where they have to negotiate for the attention of the public in alternative spaces. Postperformance does this as an “open medium,” since “it can assume any form and react to changes of position keeping its experimental nature in a way untouched.” Unlike the institutional entropy of performance art in the decades before 1985, the new performance is “a show, above all else, a show.” It includes “all the glamor that can possibly increase its attractiveness,” since a show “is intended, by its very nature, to be watched and listened to.” A club or an alternative culture space as a meeting point “ideologically constitutes” an audience “or at least affirms it as a specific social group,” which makes it a space that works as a site of “political [and] ideological struggle” with its own “social function,” and not a market-oriented activity, and postperformance, a generator of the public in the manner of cultural subversion. Thus it avoids “the ideology [of bourgeois idealism] that transforms

Cage and Frank Stella, along with Susan Sontag's essays, a production that generated the analytical, provocative, and also amusing conceptual art of the 1970s.

artistic production into a production of real objects,” which enables a regeneration of social cultural institutions in the forms of the market, education, and institutional, social, or private ownership, and which “does not understand art as the production of realizations, that is, as a material use of thought through a specific practice,” but as a fetishized form of barter.

Postperformance is a performance “with a spectacular function,[¹⁴] not limited in terms of the material, process or medium used precisely to achieve this idea/*Gesamtkunstwerk* – a visual, audio, and physical effect without a message or meaning or sense in the traditional sense,” since the place of the signified is taken by the signifier. According to this logic, we can say that the semiotic morphology of scenic and performative languages is not the only one to have changed in Slovenia at the turn of the 1980s – the so-called Third Generation of theater and performance artists subjected virtually the entire range of metatheatrical or cultural paradigms that generally determine spectator participation to the uncertain and unclear logic of open signifiers.

“Nothing is natural or immediate,” which can be read using the interpretive apparatus of modern theater studies or the physical directness of the 1960s performance, “everything is constructed and artificial/fake. Postperformance engages imagination by re-establishing the STAGE – SPACE relationship.” Postperformance does not subject the world and life to traditional hermeneutic-interpretive protocols of modern theater or to the singular physical acts of the 1960s performance, creating instead sticky spectacular signifying connections that public reception must adhere to and then work through these processes with its imagination. The sensory-cognitive apparatus of the medium itself is being rebuilt, which Kovačič describes as “spectacle as reality.”

The author recognizes the ubiquitousness of the new technologies in the mass media, in mass and popular culture, seeing their usefulness in the system of commodities, in science, and

14 The use of this term is undoubtedly related to Zoja Skušek Močnik's *Gledališče kot oblika spektakelske funkcije*, which was published in 1980 by Založba Univerzum as the first volume in the *Analecta* series.





Ema Kugler: *Replikanti / The Replicants*, junij / June 1990, Nebotičnik Ljubljana, Kamnolom / Quarry Grosuplje I Foto / Photo: Jane Štravs

Performans in politike v vmesnem času devetdesetih let v republiki Sloveniji / Rok Vevar in Jasmina Založnik

»umetnost ni produkcija objektov, pač pa mišljenja, pomnjenja«, je s svojim izvajanjem akcij in performansov pred ozkim krogom elitističnega občinstva izgubil svojo izvorno funkcijo.

Ko se je performans v sedemdesetih letih preselil iz hermetičnih galerij v klube in alternativne prostore, je prevetрил različne (umetniške) skupnosti in njihove javnosti s svojimi hibridnimi oblikami ter omogočil »publiki izbiro, večjo informiranost in razvijanje določene kritične zavesti«, kar pri recepciji umetnosti ne izključuje zabave. Umetnik postperformansa si prizadeva javnost pridobiti in hkrati »upoštevati prostor delovanja kot [vključujoči, nehermetičen] družbeni prostor – shajališče«. Na ta način obide selektivnost umetniških institucij, ki predstavljenim delom s svojim obstojem zagotavljajo deklarativno umetniškost, in umetnika postavlja v situacijo, da si mora v alternativnih prostorih pozornost javnosti šele izpogajati. To postperformans počne kot »odprt medij«, saj »lahko prevzame kakršnokoli obliko in lahko reagira na premestitve stališča, njegova eksperimentalna narava pa ostaja po svoje nedotaknjena«. Drugače od institucionalne entropije performansa iz desetletij pred letom 1985 je novi performans »predstava in predvsem predstava«. Vključuje »ves blišč, s katerim je mogoče povečati njegovo privlačnost«, saj je predstava »po svoji naravi namenjena gledanju, poslušanju«. Klubski ali alternativni prostor kot družabno shajališče pa občinstvo »ideološko konstituira ali vsaj potrdi kot specifično družbeno skupino«, zato je to prostor, ki deluje kot mesto »političnega [in] ideološkega boja« s svojo »družbeno funkcijo« in ne tržna dejavnost, postperformans pa generator javnosti na način kulturne subverzije. Tako se lahko izogne »ideologiji [meščanskega idealizma], ki umetniško produkcijo pretvarja v produkcijo realnih predmetov«, omogoča regeneracijo družbenih kulturnih institucij v oblikah trga, izobraževanja, institucionalnega, družbenega ali privatnega lastništva in umetnosti »ne razume kot produkcije spoznanj, se pravi kot materialne porabe misli prek specifične prakse«, ampak kot fetišizirano obliko blagovne menjave.

Postperformans je predstava »s spektakelsko funkcijo,^[15] brez omejitev glede na material,

postopke in medije, uporabljene ravno za doseg te predstave/Gesamtkunstwerka – vizualnega, zvočnega in telesnega efekta brez sporočila, pomena, smisla v tradicionalnem pomenu«, saj v njem mesto označenca zasede označevalec. Sledeč tej logiki, je mogoče reči, da se na prehodu iz osemdesetih v devetdeseta leta ne spremeni zgolj semiotična morfologija scenskih in performativnih govoric, ampak t. i. tretja generacija gledaliških ustvarjalcev in umetnikov performansa pri nas podvrže negotovim in nejasnim logikam odprtih označevalcev tako rekoč celoten spekter metagledaliških ali kulturnih vzorcev, kakršni po navadi določajo gledalsko udeležbo.

»Ni več naravnosti in neposrednosti«, kar je mogoče brati z interpretacijskim aparatom moderne teatrologije ali s telesno neposrednostjo performansa šestdesetih let, »vse je skonstruirano in izumetničeno/lažno. Postperforman[s] zaposli imaginacijo s tem, ko ponovno vzpostavi odnos ODER – PROSTOR«. Postperformans sveta in življenja ne podvrže tradicionalnim hermenevitično-interpretacijskim postopkom modernega gledališča ali singularnim telesnim dejanjem performansa šestdesetih let, ampak ustvarja lepljive spektakelske označevalske vezi, na katere se mora prilepiti recepcija javnosti in te procese s svojo imaginacijo predelati. Prenavlja se čutno-kognitivni aparat samega medija, kar Kovačič opredeli za »[s]pektakel kot realnost«.

Vsenavzočnost novih tehnologij avtor članka prepoznava v medijih ter množični in popularni kulturi, njihovo uporabnost pa v blagovnem sistemu, znanosti in reklamnemu biznisu, ter predlaga njihovo obsežnejšo apropiacijo na področju umetnosti. Tehnologijo postperformans »obvlada in nadvlada ter z njeno pomočjo dejansko manipulira s publiko« ali z javnostjo. Umetnik upošteva tehnologijo in je ne mistificira, kot je to počel v sedemdesetih letih. Umetnik je tisti, ki obvladuje *sceno*. Postperformans je liminalna, transžanrska in transdisciplinarna umetnost, zanj pa je značilna »premestitev delovanja«, saj je zanj »najpomembnejša sama prisotnost performerja – performer je tisti, ki vzdržuje pozornost«, ne pa tisto, kar performer upodablja. Avtor s tem jasno artikulira premik od reprezentacije k prezenci.

15 Termin je nedvomno povezan z delom Zoje Skušek Močnik *Gledališče kot oblika spektakelske funkcije*, ki je leta

1980 izšlo pri Založbi Univerzum kot prva številka knjižne zbirke Analecta.

in advertising, and he suggests they should be appropriated more extensively in art. Postperformance “controls and dominates [technology], employing it, in fact, to manipulate the audience,” the public. Artists consider technology useful without mystifying it, as they did in the 1970s. Artists are those who control the *scene*. Postperformance is liminal, trans-genre, and transdisciplinary art, characterized by the “transfer of action,” since “the presence of the performer is the most important thing – the performer is the one who maintains attention,” and not whatever the performer is representing. Here the author clearly articulates the shift from representation to presence.

In the segment “Reality as a Media Image” Kovačič addresses “the institutional weakness and the arbitrariness of the division into activities that belong in galleries and museums and those that belong in the streets or the clubs” and speaks about the tendency of art and the media to converge: about the aestheticization of consumerism in the media and the mediatization of art, which favors placement in the mass media over the spaces of dead art history, using the former as their distribution platform (Laibach). He perceives the transitory character of the social reality of the time, although he is not yet able to conclude whether “this is a death toll for the dying consumerist culture or an annunciation of the dawn of the *era of art*.” Beyond the hermetic, elitist, and exhausted art-history sphere he sees “a generation of artists that refuse to function as fodder for the primitivism of the art machinery and are beginning to work with found images,” which makes their work “a process of rotation (recycling)” or, as another article in the same issue of the journal calls it, “Xerox art.”

Kovačič concludes that the “apparently neutral realms of free time (...) must be occupied as much as possible,” since the ample cultural choice “deriving from heterogeneous interests” is specifically produced by the authorities. Kovačič recognizes postperformance as a possible way of occupying the public sphere and its spaces with images, which are otherwise, in the field of mass media, subjected to the commodification of an individual’s leisure time. “This is an attempt to bring the alternative and subculture activities within the frame of institutionalized culture, even if only as its

repudiation, since this appears to be the only way to control marginal activities and their orientations, and thus render them harmless.”¹⁵

“Third Generation”

In 1992, Eda Čufer, a theater theorist and dramaturge, now a well-known writer and historian of contemporary scenic arts, described a generation of theater directors (Matjaž Berger, Emil Hrvatin (now Janez Janša), Marko Košnik, Ema Kugler, Barbara Novaković Kolenc, Marko Peljhan, Vlado Repnik, Igor Štromajer) that came out of the changed artistic and cultural climate of the 1980s and was influenced by the permutations of the theatrical formation within the Neue Slowenische Kunst retro-garde movement (the Sisters of Scipio Nasica Theater, 1983–1987, the Cosmokinetic Theater Rdeči pilot, 1987–1990, and the Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung, 1990–1995–2045) with the collective name the Third Generation.¹⁶ Aiming to apprise the Slovenian public of a certain qualitative aesthetic difference in the history and development of the scenic arts, this journalistic term, surprisingly, stuck, without any subsequent clarifications in terms of cultural history, theater studies, or genealogy.

It can be speculatively understood as a differential descriptor used by Čufer to separate the then younger group of theater artists from those representatives of modernism (the second generation of directors) who had entered the Slovenian and Yugoslav theater arena with the aim to achieve artistic theatrical autonomy, especially vis-à-vis dramatic texts (plays) focused on Aristotelian *mythos* (plot) and *ethos* (character), and who had created a complex theatrical machine for confronting the literary public, instructed in the canonical examples of classical and modern dramatic chrono-topoi, with comprehensive theatrical interpretations of the world in their unpredictable, fresh, and bold *repetitions* (*performances*) by adding the otherwise lacking topical “nowness.” While certain among the directors of that theatrical paradigm had distanced themselves from the bourgeois theater, where the public goes to see themselves reflected in the

15 Marko A. Kovačič, “Postperformance,” *Ekran* XXII, no. 1–2 (1985): 32–35.

16 Eda Čufar, “Tretja generacija,” *Maska* 2, no. 3 (1992): 45.

Kovačič nato v segmentu »Realnost kot medijska podoba« obravnava »institucionalno slabost in arbitrarnost razmejitve na aktivnosti, ki sodijo v galerije in muzeje, in tiste, ki sodijo na cesto ali klube,« ter govori o konvergentni tendenci med umetnostjo in mediji: o estetizaciji potrošništva v medijih in mediatizaciji umetnosti, ki se raje kot v prostore mrtve umetnostne zgodovine umešča v množične medije in jih uporablja kot svojo distribucijsko platformo (Laibach). Pri tem zazna prehodnost tedanje družbene stvarnosti, vendar še ne zna zaključiti, ali »gre za odzvanjanje umirajoči potrošniški kulturi ali pa za naznanjanje začetka *dobe umetnosti*«. Onstran hermetične, elitistične in izčrpane umetnostno-zgodovinske sfere vidi »generacijo umetnikov, ki nočejo funkcionirati kot hrana primitivizmu umetniške mašinerije in začnejo delati z najdenimi podobami«, njihovo delo pa postane »proces kolobarjenja (recikliranja)« ali, kot to označi neki drugi članek v isti številki revije, »xerox art«.

Kovačič zaključí, da je v sodobnih oblikah življenja »navidezno nevtralna področja prostega časa (...) potrebno v čim večji meri zaseči«, saj je velika kulturna izbira, ki »izhaja iz heterogenih interesov«, specifična proizvodnja oblasti. Kovačič prav v postperformansu prepoznava možnost okupacije javne sfere in njenih prostorov s podobo, ki je v polju množičnih medijev sicer podvržena komodifikaciji posameznikovega prostega časa. »Tako se skuša tudi alternativno delovanje in subkulturo zajeti v okvir institucionalizirane kulture, pa četudi kot njeno zanikanje, saj se to kaže kot edini način kontroliranja obrobni/marginalnih dejavnosti in njihovega usmerjenja, s čimer se jih naredi za nenevarne.«¹⁶

»Tretja generacija«

Leta 1992 je Eda Čufer, teatrologinja in dramaturginja, danes znana kot publicistka in umetnostna zgodovinarica na področju sodobnih (scenskih) umetnosti, poimenovala generacijo režiserjev in režiserk (Matjaž Berger, Emil Hrvatin (danes Janez Janša), Marko Košnik, Ema Kugler, Barbara Novaković Kolenc, Marko Peljhan, Vlado Repnik, Igor Štromajer), ki so jih ustvarile predvsem spremenjene umetniške in kulturne temperature osemdesetih let in odmevnost

16 Kovačič, »Postperformance«, str. 32–35.

različnih gledaliških formacij retrogardnega gibanja Neue Slowenische Kunst (Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice, 1983–1987, Kozmokinetično gledališče Rdeči pilot, 1987–1990 in Kozmokinetični kabinet Noordung, 1990–1995–2045) s skupno oznako *tretja generacija*.¹⁷ Publicistični termin je skušal v slovensko javnost naseliti neko kvalitativno estetsko razliko v zgodovini in razvoju scenskih umetnosti in se je presenetljivo močno zasidral, ne da bi bil kasneje kulturno-zgodovinsko, teatrološko in genealoško razdelan.

Spekulativno ga je mogoče razumeti kot diferencialno oznako, s katero je Eda Čufer takrat mlajšo skupino gledaliških ustvarjalcev ločila od tistih predstavnikov modernizma (druge generacije režiserjev), ki so v slovenski in jugoslovanski gledališki prostor vstopili s težnjo po umetniški gledališki avtonomiji predvsem v odnosu do besedilnih predlog (dram), osredotočenih na aristoteliska *mythos* (zgodbo) in *ethos* (karakter), in ki so ustvarili razmeroma kompleksen gledališki stroj, s katerim so literarno javnost, poučeno o kanoniziranih primerkih klasičnih in modernih dramskih kronotopov, soočali s preglednimi gledališkimi tolmačenji sveta v njihovih nepredvidljivih, svežih in drznih *ponovitvah* (*uprizoritvah*), s tem ko so jih dopolnjevali z deležem manjkajočih aktualnih »trenutnosti«. Četudi so se posamezni režiserji te gledališke paradigme distancirali od meščanskega gledališča, v katerega se hodi javnost ogledovat v odrsko ogledalo, in si v svojih eksperimentalnih fazah privoščili radikalne posege v besedila s promocijo gledaliških substitutov, je bilo gledališče druge generacije utemeljeno predvsem v pravici do zagotavljanja lucidne zrcalne interpretativne trenutnosti, ki so ji bili podrejeni vsi elementi teatrološkega sistema.

Tretja generacija je skladno z *retrotopističnimi* ali *sodobnimi* umetniškimi referencami in tendencami javnost podvrгла drugačnemu gledališkemu stroju, dramsko besedilo nadomestila z *režijskim besedilom*, sestavljenim iz sosledja vizualnih in koreo-kinetičnih dejanj, prostor predstave naselila z zgodovinskimi referencami (predvsem s polja zgodovinskih umetniških, pa tudi političnih avantgard), morfološkimi razlikami, drugimi oblikami telesnosti in javnosti osredotočala

17 Eda Čufer, »Tretja generacija«, *Maska* 2, št. 3 (1992), str. 45.

mirror of the stage, and had, in their experimental stages, radically interfered in the dramatic texts by promoting theatrical substitutes, the second generation's theater was nonetheless founded above all on the right to provide a lucid mirror interpretive moment to which all the elements of the dramatic system are subordinated.

In accordance with *retro-utopian* or *contemporary* artistic references and tendencies, the Third Generation subjected the public to a different theatrical machine, replacing the dramatic text with the *directing text* composed of a sequence of visual and choreo-kinetic actions, inhabiting the space of the performance with historical references (predominantly to historical artistic – but also political – avant-gardes), morphological differences, and other forms of physicality, and directing the attention of the public to processes that, unlike the interpretation of art, did not aspire to bring the public together in “finding common meanings,”¹⁷ but aimed to confront it with a plurality of (relational) views in an agonistic dispute.

The time in these works went from the current present moment of interpretive theater machines to analytical relations of physical and event presences and to referential networks of theater and other arts, expanding directing processes with curatorial principles of unpredictable time relations and parallels. In this theater, spectators were no longer competent interpreters, “experts on metaphors”¹⁸ that could act as critics in lieu of the general public, but curators of the view, narrators and editors of their own viewing process, readers of the medium and the act, expected to use their analytical competence to extend the performance beyond its ephemeral reception and establish that the theater is a liminal field between a performance and the process of reception, one that is prolonged into everyday reality. Which makes the view fundamentally uncertain and procedural.

This is the aspect of artistic *event-ness* that Michael Fried criticized in relation to minimalism in his famous 1967 essay “Art and Objecthood,”

17 Kunst, “Težave s sodobnostjo,” 50–51.

18 This is what two characters, representatives of the authorities in Drago Jančar's drama *The Great Brilliant Waltz*, who are capable of expertly deciphering the hidden codes of subversive political activities, are called.

and which gives rise to something Marko Jenko described as *interobjectivity*¹⁹ in a lecture at CoFestival in 2018. Because the process of objectification of the spectator's physicality, including their receptive apparatus (their sensory-cognitive capacities), expands beyond the boundaries of the event, such viewing of a performance is in reality similar to what the history of art has dubbed *situation* and which presupposes various aspects of expanding the reception processes and their real effects beyond the boundaries of the event. According to our understanding of interobjectivity, a performance is not a complete whole nor just a process of reception, but that which emerges in between.

When it came to reflection on this production, the modern tools of theater studies soon proved insufficient. The *Maska* journal with its new and young editorial board that assembled in 1991 soon shifted the theoretical field toward the so-called *performance studies*, introduced in 1968 by the American theater director and theorist Richard Schechner in the US, and evolving and expanding in the 1970s and 1980s beyond anything Schechner could have anticipated. In her 2005 article “Težave s sodobnostjo” (Problems with Contemporaneity), Bojana Kunst, referring to Jacques Rancière, describes the theater of the 1980s and 1990s as a “rupture with situations that have meaning” and the politicality of this theater as “shock that resists signifying.” This brings about a “transfer of sensible forms, a transfiguration of our perception, the visibility of the act itself, an exposition of materiality, translocated ways of speaking, seeing, hearing, and perceiving.” She adds that this leads to “breaking up the audience, which at the same time actualizes other ways of participating and perceiving,” since it does not “arrange power” (by forming a *coalition* or *opposition* public), but is democratized by the equality of the representations that constitute the public. Referring to Hans Thies Lehmann, the author of the term *postdramatic theater*, in saying that theater can only be political when it does not “fear the exposure of the signifying function, its interruption and suspension,” Kunst concludes the issue of the politics of scenic arts with Lehmann's

19 A work of art that brings the viewer, through a process and due to its structure, to the analytical capacity to objectivize their own reception process. The work of art thus objectifies the viewer.

na postopke, ki jih za razliko od interpretacije umetniška dela ne želijo več »poenotiti na skupnih pomenih«,¹⁸ ampak soočiti z množstvom (relacijskih) pogledov v agonističnem disputu.

Časovnost teh del se je iz sedanjih aktualnih trenutnosti interpretativnih gledaliških strojev podvrgla analitičnim razmerjem med telesnimi in dogodkovnimi prezencami in referenčnim mrežam gledaliških in drugih umetnosti ter režiserske postopke razširila s kuratorskimi principi nepredvidljivih časovnih zvez in vzporednosti. Gledalec tega gledališča ni bil več kompetentni tolmač, »izvedenec za metafore«,¹⁹ ki lahko kritiško delo opravi namesto splošne javnosti, ampak kurator pogleda, narator in montažer svojega gledalskega procesa, bralec medija in dejanja, ki naj predstavo s svojimi analitičnimi kompetencami razširi preko njene recepcijske efemernosti in ugotovi, da je gledališče liminalno polje med predstavo in njegovim recepcijskim procesom, podaljšanim v vsakdanjo stvarnost. S tem pa je tudi pogled temeljno negotov in proceduralen.

To je tisti vidik umetniške *dogodkovnosti*, ki ga leta 1967 v svojem znamenitem besedilu »Umetnost in predmetnost« v zvezi z minimalizmom kritizira Michael Fried in v katerem vznikne nekaj, kar je Marko Jenko na enem od predavanj na CoFestivalu leta 2018 poimenoval *interobjektivnost*.²⁰ Ker se proces popredmetenja gledalčeve telesnosti skupaj z njegovim recepcijskim aparatom (senzorno-kognitivnimi zmožnostmi) razširi preko meja dogodka samega, je tovrstno motrenje predstave v resnici podobno nečemu, čemur je zgodovina umetnosti nadelala ime *situacija* in kar predpostavlja različne vidike širjenja recepcijskih procesov in njihovih realnih učinkov tudi onstran dogodkovnih meja. Kakor tu razumeva interobjektivacijo, performans ni dovršena celostnost niti izključno recepcijski proces, ampak tisto, kar nastaja vmes.

Zelo zgodaj se je izkazalo, da moderna teatrološka orodja za refleksijo tega fenomena niso bila zadostna. Revija *Maska*, h kateri je leta 1991 prišlo

18 Kunst, »Težave s sodobnostjo«, str. 50–51.

19 Tako se imenujeta lika, predstavnik oblasti v Jančarjevi drami *Veliki briljantni valček*, ki sta sposobna strokovno dešifrirati prikrite kode subverzivne politične dejavnosti.

20 Umetnina, ki gledalca skozi proces in zaradi svojega ustroja pripelje do analitične zmožnosti, da objektivira svoj lastni recepcijski proces. Umetnina gledalca popredmeti.

novo mlado uredništvo, je teoretsko polje kmalu premaknila na področje, ki ga je v Združenih državah Amerike leta 1968 vzpostavil ameriški režiser in teatrolog Richard Schechner in ki se je imenovalo *performance studies* (uprizoritvene študije, študije scenskih umetnosti) ter se v dveh desetletjih razvilo, razmahnilo in razmnožilo preko Schechnerjevih lastnih predpostavk. Ko je leta 2005 Bojana Kunst napisala članek »Težave s sodobnostjo«, je, nanašajoč se na Jacquesa Rancière, gledališče osemdesetih in devetdesetih let označila za »prelom s situacijami, ki pomenijo,« ter hkrati političnost tega gledališča označila kot »šok, ki se upira označevanju«. Pri tem se odvija »premestitev senzibilnih form, transfiguracija našega zaznavanja, vidnost samega dejanja, razstava materialnosti, premeščeni načini, kako govorimo, vidimo, slišimo in zaznavamo,« ter doda, da pri tem pride do »razbitja občinstva, ki pa hkrati udejanja drugačne načine participacije in zaznavanja,« saj ne »ureja moči« (z vzpostavljanjem *koalicijskega* ali *opozicijskega* občestva), ampak se demokratizira v enakosti reprezentacij, ki sestavljajo javnost. Sklicujoč se na Hansa Thiesa Lehmana, avtorja termina *postdramsko gledališče*, ko trdi, da je gledališče lahko politično zgolj v primeru, ko se ne »boji izpostavitve označevalne funkcije, njene prekinitve in suspendiranja«, Bojana Kunst sklone vprašanje politike scenskih umetnosti z Lehmannovo definicijo: »Politika gledališča je *politika zaznavanja*.«²¹ O težnjah te gledališke paradigme v devetdesetih letih in prvem desetletju novega tisočletja ni bilo več mogoče premišljevat na področju teatrologije, premestiti jih je bilo treba na polje obravnave problemov, s kakršnimi so se ukvarjale študije performansa.

Z novimi politikami zaznavanja se je tretja generacija spopadala tako rekoč na vseh ravneh, ki določajo gledališki dogodek, na ravneh metagledališkosti, socialnih vidikov gledališkega dogodka in novih struktur dogodka ter njegovih možnih zaznav, ki so začele generirati svojo specifično javnost. Ta je morala na novo razviti svoje estetske, senzorne ter s tem socialne in politične kompetence in se transformirati v skupnost, s katero naj bi se spremenil sistem scenskih umetnosti v Sloveniji. Z umetniškimi dogodki tretje generacije, ki so se v devetdesetih letih vrstili kot serija prelomov, dogodkov v

21 Kunst, »Težave s sodobnostjo«, str. 50–51.

definition: "The politics of theater is *a politics of perception*."²⁰ In the 1990s and 2000s, the tendencies of this theatrical paradigm could no longer be thought of in the context of theater studies, but had to be shifted into the sphere addressed by performance studies.

The Third Generation tackled the new politics of perception at virtually all levels determining a theatrical event, at the levels of meta-theatricality, the social aspects of a theatrical event, the new structures of the event itself, and its possible perceptions that had started generating their own specific public. This public had to develop new aesthetic, sensorial, as well as social and political competences, and thus transform into a community that would allow the system of scenic arts in Slovenia to change. The Third Generation's artistic events that occurred in the 1990s as a series of ruptures, events in Badiou's sense, confronted the community of spectators with completely new spectatorial tasks that had to be undertaken in the transformed mode of viewing.

The deficit of theoretical and conceptual tools led, in the 1990s, to a critical eclecticism without comparison in the history of (theater) critique in Slovenia. In our view, there is no other time in the 20th century that such a numerous and wide community of spectators wrote reviews, most of which were published in *Maska*. These reviewers were far from just experts, professionals making a living writing reviews and articles – no, they were an involved audience articulating their processes and experiences as spectators through writing and their highly diversified referential networks.

Performance and the Everyday

Through performances as acts of institutional critique²¹ artists addressed specific elements of the institutionalized system of art and their pertinent referential networks in the hope of opening and challenging them, which is a precondition for their potential renewal. This is a continuation of the initiatives and tendencies of

20 Kunst, "Težave s sodobnostjo," 50–51.

21 We understand the notion of art institutions in the broadest sense as the system of the distribution of the sensible under certain historical circumstances with all the pertinent social power.

the conceptualism of the 1960s and 1970s, which saw art first and foremost as a productive force of thought, addressing socially relevant issues and engaging the gray areas of the system. In the 1990s, performance art followed these principles in the belief that it needed to become profane, concrete, and match reality in order to be public. To achieve this, it (also) had to employ unartistic means and think about its space of activity as a social space, i.e. a meeting point, taking into consideration its mutable laws and consistently fighting for (or to keep) the attention of its surroundings.

The artists using performance as a means of expression in the 1990s foregrounded the pressing issues and disturbing elements of the social system and its problematic functions: they temporarily transformed gallery spaces into other public spaces (a slaughterhouse, a squash court), they inhabited functional premises (a bank, city hall) and public open spaces. They exposed problematic hierarchical social relations (superiors/subordinates, power/capital) and advocated marginal existential situations (the homeless, prostitutes, refugees). In this regard also the quite specific performances addressing the structure of the art system need to be understood and read more broadly. The issues were never system-specific, but could be considered also in relation to other systems, social situations, and circumstances.

By appropriating the norms or subverting the standardized relations, functions, significations, and discourses, these artists brought about a critical and entropic situation, which enabled them to point out with their interventions the modes of the production of social functionality, i.e. the utilitarian established normalcy, and thus make their works political. According to Miško Šuvaković, such performances and performative gestures were about "a subtle deconstruction of the horizon of the everyday and a severe provocation of the social systems, established centers of dominance and power in everyday life, art, and society."²² Such performances can be understood above all as a struggle for difference.

22 Miško Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika: savremena estetika, filozofija, teorija umetnosti u vreme globalne tranzicije*, (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 512.

Badioujevem smislu, je bila skupnost gledalcev interpelirana s povsem novimi gledalskimi nalogami, ki jih je morala reševati v spremenjenem režimu gledanja.

Deficit teoretskih in konceptualnih orodij je v devetdesetih letih pripeljal do kritiškega eklektizma brez primere v zgodovini (gledališke) kritike v Sloveniji; prispevke je povečini objavljala revija *Maska*. Menim, da v nobenem drugem obdobju v dvajsetem stoletju kritike ni pisala tako številna in široka skupnost gledalcev. To še zdaleč niso bili samo strokovnjaki, profesionalci, ki so živeli od kritike in publicistike, ampak motivirano občinstvo, ki je s pisanjem in s svojimi zelo raznolikimi mrežami referenc artikuliralo svoje gledalske procese in izkušnje.

Performans in vsakdanjost

S performansi kot dejanji institucionalne kritike²² so umetnice in umetniki obravnavali konkretne elemente institucionaliziranega sistema umetnosti in njihove pripadajoče referenčne mreže v želji, da bi jih razprli in problematizirali, kar je tudi predpogoj njihove potencialne prenove. Gre za nadaljevanje vzgibov in tendenc konceptualizma iz šestdesetih in sedemdesetih let, znotraj katerega se je umetnost dojemala predvsem kot produkcijska sila mišljenja, ki načenja družbeno relevantna vprašanja in uprizarja sive pege sistema. Tudi umetnost performansa je v devetdesetih letih sledila tovrstnim načelom v prepričanju, da se mora profanizirati, konkretizirati in uskladiti s stvarnostjo, če želi biti javna. Da bi se to zgodilo, se je morala posluževati (tudi) neumetniških sredstev in svoj prostor delovanja preiščevati kot družbeni prostor, tj. shajališče; upoštevati je morala njegove spremenljive zakonitosti in biti dosledna v borbi za (ohranitev) pozornost(i) okolice.

Umetniki in umetnice, ki so se v devetdesetih letih posvečali performansu s svojimi gestami, so na vidno mesto postavljali pereče in moteče družbeno-sistemske elemente in tudi njihove problematične funkcije: galerijske prostore so začasno preobražali v drugačne javne prostore (klavnica, igrišče za squash), naseljevali so

22 Pojem institucije umetnosti razumeva v najširšem smislu kot sistem distribucije čutnega v določenih zgodovinskih okoliščinah z vso družbeno močjo, ki ji po navadi pritiče.

funkcijske lokacije (banka, mestne palače) in javne površine. Izpostavljali so problematične hierarhične družbene odnose (nadrejeni/podrejeni, moč/kapital) in zastopali marginalne bivanjske situacije (brezdomci, prostitutke, begunci). V tem pogledu je treba širše razumeti in brati tudi performanse, ki so se s svojimi dejanji lotevali strukture umetniškega sistema. Izpostavljene problematike namreč niso bile nikoli sistemsko specifične, temveč jih je mogoče premisliti tudi v povezavah z drugimi sistemi, družbenimi situacijami in okoliščinami.

S prisvajanjem normiranosti ali subvertiranjem normiranih odnosov, funkcij, označevanj in diskurzov so ti umetniki in umetnice ustvarili kritičen in entropijski položaj, kar jim je omogočilo, da so s svojimi intervencijami opozorili na načine proizvodnje družbene funkcionalnosti, tj. utilitarne in ustaljene normalnosti, in s tem naredili svoja dela politična. Po besedah Miška Šuvakovića je šlo pri tovrstnih performansih in performativnih gestah za »subtilno dekonstrukcijo horizonta vsakdanjosti in grobo provokacijo družbenih sistemov, vzpostavljenih centrov dominacije in moči v vsakdanjosti, umetnosti in družbi.«²³ Tovrstne performanse lahko razumemo prvenstveno kot borbo za razliko.

Razvrstiti jih je mogoče v naslednje kategorije:

(a) Performans kot oblika institucionalne kritike (pri čemer pojem institucionalne kritike bereva kot »križanje institucij umetnosti in politične ekonomije, reprezentacij spolne identitete in družbenega življenja«²⁴). V taki definiciji je mogoče pojem institucionalne kritike gledati v širokem diapazonu elementov in pozicij, ki jih v svojih performansih in performativnih gestah pod drobnogled jemljejo umetnice in umetniki, mogoče pa jih je še podrobneje specificirati.

(1) *Feministični performans* s svojo neposrednostjo in angažiranostjo predstavlja razširjeno obliko kritike patriarhalnega sistema s ciljem razkritja vzvodov, po katerih deluje ustaljena delitev spolnih vlog v družbi. Tako kot je bila marginalizirana

23 Miško Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika: savremena estetika, filozofija, teorija umetnosti u vreme globalne tranzicije* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), str. 512.

24 Hal Foster, »Subverzivni znaki«, v: *Art in Theory (1900–1990): An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), str. 1065.

They can be classified as follows:

(a) Performance as a form of institutional critique (which we read as the “crossing of institutions of art and political economy, of representations of sexual identity and social life”²³). Here, institutional critique can be seen in the wide range of elements and positions scrutinized by artists in their performances and performative gestures, and can also be specified in more detail.

(1) With its directness and engagement, *feminist performance* represents a widespread critique of the patriarchal system, aiming to expose the mechanisms of the established division of gender roles in society. Feminist art in general was still marginalized, and so feminist performances were few and far between in the 1990s.²⁴ The Mesto žensk / City of Women Festival, established in 1995 on the initiative of the Slovenian Office for Women’s Politics and obtaining the official status of an association a year later, popularized feminism, gradually contributing to the more widespread use of feminist statements in art, but before it could do that it first had to give visibility, encouragement, and general support to women in the arts. While interpretations tend to focus more on the institutional critique of the art system than on the feminist perspective, individual projects by women artists need to be considered through the lens of feminism. Two such artists are Maja Licul and Janja Žvegelj.

In her performances dealing with painting, Maja Licul also addressed illusions of patriarchy. In her project *Fathers and Sons, Mothers and Daughters* (1994, NLB Galerija Avla), she used painting canvases to mop floors, dust surfaces, and clean her own body; in a later project, she laundered them (*Painting Laundry*, 1995, Škuc Gallery), graphically exposing the stereotypical division of labor and subverting it with artistic means.

In her performances *Studio* (1996) and *Squash* (1998), Janja Žvegelj directly addressed the asymmetry of power between a female artist

23 Hal Foster, “Subversive Signs,” in *Art in Theory (1900–1990): An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 1065.

24 Liljana Stepančič, “Pionirski časi. Osebni spomini na prvi festival Mesto žensk,” *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 43, no. 261 (2015): 35.

and a male curator.²⁵ In *Studio* she transformed the Kapelica Gallery into a studio for three weeks, during which time she molded, in the nude, a bust of the Kapelica artistic director Jurij Krpan. For *Squash*, she challenged the then artistic director of the Škuc Gallery Gregor Podnar to a match of squash in the gallery itself. In *Studio* she changed a space of presentation into a space of production, thus foregrounding an invisible but central part of artistic work. By changing the purpose of the space, replacing the product with production, and divesting the programming director of his authority of a commissioner of an artwork, appropriating it for herself (in a studio, artists set their own rules of production), Žvegelj overturned the usual relation between the respective functions of curators and featured artists. The decision to mold in the nude was her way of addressing the most frequent role women have in art: that of an object often represented in the form of a nude by a dominant male gaze. Žvegelj turned this perspective around: she shifted the passive role of the objectified female body with her active role of producer, and objectified the curator in a representation.

If these works can be seen as an engagement of and reflection on institutional critique of patriarchy in relation to the art system and within the domain of art, the activist feminist perspective must also be mentioned, fostered by the lesbian and gay movements as a continuation of their struggles for the rights of the LGBT population in the 1980s. Among the women artists in this movement, Aprilija (formerly Majda) Lužar stands out. Focusing on feminist topics in her work already in the 1980s, Lužar won the recognition of feminist art circles only in the 2000s with her ongoing project *Women’s Taxi* (1997–).²⁶ The project was conceived as an interactive, mobile, therapy confessional, where the artist tried to “establish communication between art, the public, and women in their common struggle against violence. It involves an anonymous taxi ride, free of charge, for female passengers around Ljubljana and its

25 The artist questioned not only the attributed hierarchy of the relationship between programming directors and artists, but also underscored the relationship based on gender differences.

26 The *Women’s Taxi* project was part of the City of Women Festival in 2002, after having been selected the same year at the V-Day competition – the STOP RAPE CONTEST initiative to find original strategies to prevent violence against women.

feministična umetnost, so bili tudi feministični performansi v devetdesetih letih še vedno redkost.²⁵ Festival Mesto žensk, ustanovljen na pobudo Urada RS za žensko politiko leta 1995 (leto pozneje pridobi tudi pravno-formalni status društva), je s popularizacijo feminizma postopoma prispeval k obsežnejši rabi feminističnih izjav v umetnosti, a je moral najprej poskrbeti predvsem za vidnost, spodbudo in splošno podporo ženskim ustvarjalkam. Četudi se bolj kot feministična perspektiva v interpretacijah pojavlja institucionalna kritika umetniškega sistema, je treba posamezne projekte ustvarjalk osvetliti z vidika feminizma. Mednje sodita Maja Licul in Janja Žvegelj.

Maja Licul je v performansih, v katerih je obračunala s slikarstvom, obravnavala tudi iluzije patriarhata. Za projekt *Očetje in sinovi, matere in hčere* (1994, NLB Galerija Avla) je umetnica slikarska platna uporabila za pomivanje tal, brisanje prahu in čiščenje lastnega telesa, v poznejšem performansu (*Pralnica slik*, 1995, Galerija Škuc) pa tudi pranje, s čimer je zgovorno odstirala stereotipne delitve dela in jih z umetniškimi sredstvi subvertirala.

Janja Žvegelj se je v performansih *Atelje* (1996) in *Squash* (1998) neposredno lotila asimetrije moči med umetnico in kustosom.²⁶ V *Ateljeju* je Galerijo Kapelica za tri tedne spremenila v atelje, v katerem je gola modelirala doprsni kip umetniškega vodje galerije Jurija Krpana, dve leti kasneje pa je takratnega umetniškega vodjo Galerije Škuc Gregorja Podnarja izzvala na športni dvoboj v squashu, ki se je odvil v galeriji (*Squash*, 1998). V *Ateljeju*, kot zgovorno pove sam naslov, je prostor prezentacije spremenila v prostor produkcije, s čimer je na vidno mesto postavila nevidni, a ključni del umetniškega dela. S tem, ko je prostoru spremenila namembnost in proizvod nadomestila s proizvodnjo ter programskemu vodji odvzela avtoriteto, povezano z običajno funkcijo naročnika, in si jo prilastila (v ateljeju umetnik ali umetnica odreja svoja lastna pravila proizvodnje), je spreobrnila siceršnja razmerja funkcij kustosa in gostujočih umetnic ali umetnikov. Z odločitvijo, da bo modelirala gola, je ustvarjalka opozorila na

25 Liljana Stepančič, »Pionirski časi. Osebni spomini na prvi festival Mesto žensk«, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 43, št. 261 (2015), str. 35.

26 Umetnica pod vprašaj ne postavi zgolj pripisane hierarhije odnosa med programskimi direktorji in umetniki/umetnicami, temveč poudari razmerje, ki izhaja iz spolne razlike.

najbolj razširjeno vlogo ženske v umetnosti: vlogo objekta, ki ga v aktu pogosto upodablja dominantni moški pogled. Janja Žvegelj je to perspektivo obrnila: pasivno vlogo popredmetenega ženskega telesa je premestila z dejavno vlogo proizvajalke in kustosa popredmetila z upodobitvijo.

Če lahko o teh delih govorimo kot o neposrednem prepletu in odsevu institucionalne kritike patriarhata v odnosu do umetniškega sistema in tudi znotraj domene umetnosti, morava nujno omeniti tudi aktivistično feministično perspektivo, ki jo je gojilo lezbično in gejevsko gibanje z nadaljevanji svojih bojov za pravice LGBT populacije iz osemdesetih let.

V tem gibanju je med likovnicami izstopala Aprilija (nekoč Majda) Lužar, ki se je že v osemdesetih letih v delih posvečala feminističnim tematikam, a so jo feministično-umetniški krogi prepoznali šele v naslednjem stoletju, v katerega se je vpisala predvsem s trajajočim projektom *Ženski taxi* (1997–).²⁷ Projekt je bil zasnovan kot interaktivna mobilna terapevtska spovednica, s katero si je umetnica prizadevala »vzpostaviti komunikacijo med umetnostjo, javnostjo in ženskami v skupnem prizadevanju proti nasilju (...) [ter je] [v]ključ[eval] anonimen in brezplačen prevoz potnic po Ljubljani in okolici.«²⁸ Ob umetniškem performansu velja poudariti tudi širše delovanje LGBT skupnosti s številnimi političnimi pobudami in akcijami, z ustanavljanjem različnih združenj, vzpostavljanjem varnih prostorov, kjer so redno potekali tudi performansi in performativne točke članov in povabljenih gostov.²⁹

(2) Kritika protokolov, praks in gest, ki jih proizvaja družbena inercija, je bila na delu v performansu Franca Purga *Where is the Line?* (1998 Galerija Škuc). V sprejemni prostor galerije je avtor postavil z mesninami in vinom obloženo mizo, v zadnji pa lesen zaboj z živim teletom, pripravljenim za zakol. Na ta način je običajnemu protokolu otvoritve kot prostoru gostoljubja in druženja zagotovil neprijetno

27 Projekt *Ženski taxi* je bil izveden v okviru festivala Mesto žensk (2002), potem ko je bil istega leta izbran na natečaju V-Day – STOP RAPE CONTEST, pobudi, ki spodbuja izvirne strategije za preprečevanje nasilja nad ženskami.

28 *Ženski taxi*, dostop 12. 3. 2021, <http://www.cityofwomen.org/en/node/1569>.

29 Nataša Velikonja (ur.), *Dvajset let gejevskega in lezbičnega gibanja (1984–2004)* (Ljubljana: Društvo Škuc, 2004).

surroundings.”²⁷ In addition to art performances, the broader scope of the LGBT community’s activities deserves mention, involving numerous political initiatives and actions, the formation of various associations, and establishing safe place sites where the performances and performative acts of both members and guests regularly took place.²⁸

(2) Franc Purg’s performance *Where is the Line?* (1998, Škuc Gallery) had at its core a critique of the protocols, practices, and gestures produced by social inertia. The artist had tables laden with cold cuts and wine set up in the front room of the gallery, and in the back room, a wooden box with a live calf prepared for slaughter. In this way he ensured that the usual exhibition opening protocol as a venue of socializing and hospitality had an unpleasant prequel, but in reverse order: first he enticed the visitors with a sumptuous feast and then discreetly led them on into the next room where they found themselves witnessing slaughter. The artist conceived the project to broach the issue of those aspects of everyday life we refuse to face, further laying emphasis, by transferring slaughter from a slaughterhouse to a gallery, on the elusive line dividing the public and the private, artistic and unartistic acts, in accordance with the title of the performance.²⁹

(3) Artivism or “soft terrorist” performances were the domain of Marko Breclj, a performer, poet, musician, and activist, a tireless fighter against the centers of power.³⁰ While Breclj first became involved in performative acts while a member of the cult band Buldožer, developing them further in his solo career, he started focusing on his performances of “soft terrorism” only in the late 1990s. The phrase brought together two apparently

27 *Women’s Taxi*, accessed 12 March 2021, <http://www.cityofwomen.org/en/node/1569>.

28 Nataša Velikonja (ed.), *Dvajset let gejevskega in lezbičnega gibanja (1984-2004)* (Ljubljana: Društvo Škuc, 2004).

29 Overstepping this line caused a violent reaction in the public, leading to a lawsuit against the artist filed by animal rights activists, which the artist avoided, since he is a vegetarian and a proponent of vegetarianism.

30 Breclj engages all key centers of power, from mayors, ministers, and the government, to the church and cardinals, to NATO and US marines. See: Aldo Milohnič, “O mehkoterorističnih performansih Marka Breclja”, *Gledališče upora* (Ljubljana: AGRFT, 2021), 105.

“incompatible categories: a concrete, *hard* political line and its *soft* poetization and implementation, a direct ethical and political condemnation of chosen public figures and phenomena and their parodic metaphorizing, conspirational subversion, performative guerrilla, and a public and declaratory, manifestly political activism.”³¹

Breclj’s nonviolent direct actions testify to his lucid combining of play and political commentary. The 1990s saw only his performance *For Anton and the Pohorje Battalion* (Maribor, 19 September 1999), carried out on the occasion of the beatification of Anton Martin Slomšek. The two-part site-specific performance clearly named its two references in the title: (the 19th century bishop) Anton (Martin Slomšek) and the Pohorje Battalion, a legendary Partisan unit (1942–1943) that had been very successful in its less than a year-long guerrilla warfare against the Germans in the Štajerska region, before being surrounded by Nazi troops on 8 January 1943 and executed down to the last member. In his performance, Breclj drew an analogy between two kinds of heroism (the confirmation of the virtues of a servant of God and those serving the people), which he isolated in terms of location, brought together in time, and addressed in his performance. Breclj and his collaborators carried out the first part of the performance on a lawn in front of the Betnava Castle during the beatification ceremony: dressed as altar boys they blew up balloons and then jumped on them.³² The second part of the performance took place at the site of the Pohorje Battalion’s final battle at Osankarica: Breclj had a recital in the manner of a church sermon, and his team filmed the ritual. In this performance, he brought together the incompatible: the Roman Catholic Church and the Partisan antifascist struggle, two institutions based on two different kinds of martyrdom and on fighting for two different kinds of freedom, the former promising freedom in the afterlife, and the latter fighting for freedom in the reality of this world.³³

31 Blaž Lukan, “Kolenovanje: mehkoteroristični performans Marka Breclja”, *Dialogi* 51, no. 1–2 (2015): 145.

32 Alenka Pirman in conversation with Marko Breclj, “Mehki terorizem,” 15 March 2006, <https://www.dodogovor.org/shownews.aspx?newsid=961>.

33 With this gesture the artist stressed the barely perceptible but persistent re-Catholicization of Slovenian society, which is a secular society according to its Constitution.

predzgodbo, a v obratnem zaporedju. Obiskovalce je najprej premamil z obilno pogostitvijo, nato pa jih je diskretno zvalil v drugi prostor, kjer so postali očitvidci zakola. Avtor je projekt zasnoval, da bi odprl vprašanja o tistih vidikih vsakdanjega življenja, s katerimi se ne želimo soočiti, pri čemer je s prenosom zakola iz klavnice v galerijo izpostavil tudi izmuzljivo mejo med javnim in zasebnim, umetniškim in neumetniškim dejanjem, skladno z naslovnim vprašanjem performansa, »Kje je meja?«.³⁰

(3) Artivizem oziroma »mehkoteroristični« performans je izum Marka Breclja, performerja, pesnika, glasbenika in aktivista, neutrudnega bojavnika proti centrom moči.³¹ Četudi se je Breclj s performativnimi dejanji začel ukvarjati že v kulturni zasedbi Buldožer ter jih je razvijal tudi v samostojnih nastopih, se je performansom »mehkega terorizma« posvetil šele ob koncu devetdesetih let. V poimenovanju je spojil dve na videz »nezdružljivi kategoriji: konkretnega, *trdega* političnega načrta in *mehke* poetizacije in njegove izvedbe, neposredne etične in politične obsodbe izbranih javnih oseb in pojavov ter njihove parodične metaforizacije, konspirativne subverzije in performativne gverile ter javnega in deklarativnega, manifestativno političnega aktivizma.«³²

Nenasilne direktne akcije so dokaz lucidnega spoja Brecljevega ludizma s političnim komentarjem. V obravnavanem desetletju je nastal zgolj performans *Anton in Pohorskemu bataljonu* (Maribor, 19. 9. 1999), ki ga je umetnik izvedel ob beatifikaciji Antona Martina Slomška. Dvodelnost lokacijskega (*in situ*) performansa je Breclj nakazal z naslovom, s katerim je označil tudi osredna referenta: škofa Antona Martina Slomška iz 19. stoletja in Pohorski bataljon, legendarno partizansko enoto (1942–1943), ki je v slabem letu delovanja proti Nemcem na Štajerskem izvedla številne uspešne akcije, dokler je ni 8. januarja 1943 obkolila nacistična nemška

30 Prav meja je bila tista, ki je sprožila burne reakcije javnosti in vodila v tožbo umetnika s strani aktivistov za pravice živali, iz katere se je umetnik uspešno izvlekel, saj je tudi sam vegetarijanec in zagovornik vegetarijskega načina prehranjevanja.

31 Vključuje vse ključne centre moči, od županov, ministrov in vlade prek cerkve in kardinalov do Nata in ameriških marincev. Glej: Aldo Milohnič, »O mehkoterorističnih performansih Marka Breclja«, *Gledališče upora* (Ljubljana: AGRFT, 2021), str. 105.

32 Blaž Lukan, »Kolenovanje: mehkoteroristični performans Marka Breclja«, *Dialogi* 51, št. 1–2 (2015), str. 145.

vojska in vse postrelila. S performansom je Breclj vzporejal dve obliki junaštva (potrditve krepčnosti božjega in narodnega služabnika), ki ju je krajevno osamil, časovno pa povezal in obravnaval v performansu. Prvi del je Breclj s soustvarjalci izvedel na zelenici pred gradom Betnava v času slavnostnega obreda; tam so kot ministranti napihovali balone in nato skakali po njih.³³ Drugi del performansa se je odvil na mestu zadnje bitke Pohorskega bataljona na Osankarici, kjer je Breclj v maniri cerkvenega nagovora izvedel recital, obred pa je ekipa obeležila tudi s filmom. Breclj je v performansu združil nezdružljivo: katoliško cerkev in partizanski antifašistični boj, instituciji, zasnovani na dveh različnih vrstah mučeništva in borbi za dve različni vrsti svobode, prva obljublja svobodo v onstranstvu, druga se je borila za svobodo v tuzemski stvarnosti.³⁴

(b) V drugi sklop umeščava umetniške performanse, s katerimi so umetnice in umetniki vzpostavljali vzporedne modele institucij ali še pogosteje vzporedne klasifikacijske oblike (t. i. parazitizem). Pri tem velja še posebej omeniti Tadeja Pogačarja s P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. muzejem sodobne umetnosti, fleksibilno in instrumentalizirano platformo. Umetnik jo označi kot »virtualno kritično strukturo, ki ne poseduje lastnih prostorov in zaposlenih, temveč zgolj naseljuje teritorije, lokacije ali mreže in se hrani s sokovi institucij.«³⁵ Četudi je umetnikove intervencije v celoti mogoče razumeti kot (aktivistične) performativne geste, se bova na tem mestu osredotočila zgolj na projekt *Kralji ulice* (1995), prvega iz trilogije, v kateri je avtor razvijal sodelovanje s prezrtimi družbenimi skupinami, ki za svoje preživetje oblikujejo vzporedne oblike ekonomij in samoorganizacij.

Performans brezdomcev *Kralji ulici* je avtor postavil v središče prestolnice. Posedel jih je na dvignjene podstavke, od koder so se zapletali v pogovore z mimoidočimi, za kar so prejeli tudi plačilo. Brezdomci so se tako iz anonimnežev prelevili

33 Alenka Pirman v pogovoru z Markom Brecljem, »Mehki terorizem«, 15. 3. 2006, <https://www.dodogovor.org/shownews.aspx?newsid=961>.

34 Umetnik z gesto izpostavi neopazno, a vztrajno rekatolizacijo slovenske, po ustavi sekularne družbe.

35 Vojko Urbančič, »Tadej Pogačar, umetnik in parazit«, *Delo*, 23. 2. 2010, <https://old.delo.si/kultura/tadej-pogacar-umetnik-in-parazit.html>.

(b) The second large category in our classification comprises performances through which artists established parallel models of institutions, or more frequently, parallel forms of classification (the so-called parasitism). One of the prominent artists here is Tadej Pogačar and his P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Museum of Contemporary Art, a flexible and instrumentalized platform that the artist describes as “a virtual critical structure without its own premises or staff, inhabiting territories, locations, or networks and feeding on the juices of institutions.”³⁴ While Pogačar’s interventions can all be read as (activist) performative gestures, we will focus here only on his *Kings of the Street* project (1995), the first in a trilogy that generated collaboration with marginalized social groups that devise parallel economies and forms of self-organization to survive.

Pogačar’s performance *Kings of the Street* was carried out by a group of homeless men in the center of Ljubljana. The artist had them sit on raised pedestals from where they engaged passersby in conversation and received payment for that. The homeless thus transformed from anonymous individuals into representatives of a disregarded social group, co-authors of the projects, and performers. With this project, Pogačar proposed a new model of connecting, surpassing with its complexity mere social commentary or a specific work of art – based on this project, a homonymous society to provide help to the homeless and encourage self-help within this community was established a decade later.³⁵

Alenka Pirman approached institutional critique from the angle of communication and with the thought of reaching the broadest public, for which she set up numerous fictional institutions that “made the artistic gesture less conspicuously recognizable as such and effectively dealt with social pathologies of the time”³⁶ – the *SK8 Museum*; the *Domestic Research Institute*

34 Vojko Urbančič, “Tadej Pogačar, umetnik in parazit,” *Delo*, 23 February 2010, <https://old.delo.si/kultura/tadej-pogacar-umetnik-in-parazit.html>.

35 Svet umetnosti, “Tadej Pogačar: P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Muzej sodobne umetnosti in Novi parazitizem,” public lectures, 1998, accessed 12 March 2021, <http://www.worldofart.org/aktualno/archives/11443>.

36 Vladimir Vidmar, “Alenka Pirman,” in *Druga eksplozija – 90. leta*, (ed.) Tadej Pogačar (Ljubljana: Zavod P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E., 2016), 83.

(1996–1998), which collected, with the help of the interested public, German loan words used in Slovenian; and *RIGUSRS – the Research Institute for Geo Art Statistics of the Republic of Slovenia* (1994–1997), established together with Vuk Ćosić and Irena Woelle. *RIGUSRS* in a way problematized similar ideas as, for example, the *NSK State in Time*. State or national *identities* that defy the logic of time as represented in the notion of *difference* get caught, as a rule, in the trap of nationalisms and various forms of abjection (the exclusion of various social groups from participating in the common), since the abject is always obsessed with territoriality (the abject’s *Where am I?* replaces the temporal structure of the subject’s *Who am I?*) and its phantasmal dimensions.

In *RIGUSRS*, the artists addressed such territorial obsessiveness by introducing a new unit of measure, the SMM (46.6 km), that seemingly doubled the length of Slovenia’s coastline, thus providing the phantasmal underpinnings of obsession with territory with apparent pleasure in an amusing and witty way, and at the same time ensuring a projection gap in the relation between space and identity. The artists invested the establishment of the institute and the presentation of the SMM with all seriousness, following to the letter the performative protocols of a state institution (organizing meetings with politicians and submitting a Proposal for the Introduction of a New International Unit of Measure), ending up with a ceremonial and pompous public presentation in Tartini Square in Piran.³⁷

Radical Forms of Performance

The genre of radical performance underwent conceptual and performative transformations under the influence of new (bio)technologies and models of governance that subjected the body to “administrative and social regulations, statistics, binary matrices, genetic script, and biological coding as well as cognitive and medical enthusiasm.”³⁸ In Slovenia, radical performance was a new thing, scrutinized with a finely honed

37 The project’s main points, departure and development available at: <http://www.ljudmila.org/~vuk/rigusrs/>, accessed 12 March 2021.

38 Bojana Kunst, “Razprta potencialnost telesa,” in *Prostori umetnosti* (Ljubljana: Društvo inovatorjev, 2002), 93.

v zastopnike marginalne družbene skupine, soavtorje projekta in performerje. Pogačar je s projektom ponudil nov model povezovanja in z njegovo kompleksnostjo presešel tako socialni komentar kakor tudi specifično umetniško dejanje, saj je prav na podlagi tega projekta desetletje kasneje vzniknilo istoimensko društvo za pomoč in samopomoč brezdomcem.³⁶

Alenka Pirman se je kritike institucije lotila s komunikacijskega vidika in z mislijo na najširšo javnost, za katero je vzpostavila številne fiktivne institucije, s katerimi »poglablja neprepoznavnost umetniške geste in učinkovito opravlja s sočasnimi družbenimi patologijami«³⁷ – *SK8 muzej*, *Inštitut za domače raziskave* (1996–1998), v okviru katerega je s pomočjo zainteresirane javnosti zbirala germanizme v slovenskem jeziku, ter *Raziskovalni inštitut za geo-umetniško statistiko Republike Slovenije* (*RIGUSRS*, 1994–1997), ki ga je ustanovila z Vukom Ćosićem in Ireno Woelle. S slednjim je na svoj način v problem pretvorila podobne ideje, s kakšnimi se nenazadnje ukvarja *NSK država v času*. Državlanske ali nacionalne *identitete*, ki se izmikajo časovni logiki, kakršne predstavlja pojem *razlike*, se praviloma vselej ujamejo v zanko nacionalizmov ali različnih oblik abjekcije (izključevanja raznih družbenih skupin iz participacije v skupnem), saj je abjekt vselej obseden s teritorialnostjo (abjektni kje-sem nadomesti časovno strukturo subjektovega kdo-sem) in njenimi fantazmatskimi razsežnostmi.

V projektu *RIGUSRS* so avtorji obravnavali tovrstno teritorialno obsesivnost z uvedbo nove merske enote SMM (46,6 km), ki je dolžino slovenske obale navidezno podvojila in s tem fantazmatski opori teritorialne obsedenosti na zabaven način zagotovila navidezen užitek, hkrati pa dala razmerju med prostorom in identiteto projekcijsko razpoko. Ustanovitev inštituta in predstavitev SMM so avtorji izvajali z izjemno resnostjo in skladno s performativno protokolarnostjo, kakršna po navadi pritiče državnim institucijam (sestanki s politiki in vloženi Predlog za uvedbo nove mednarodne

36 Svet umetnosti, »Tadej Pogačar: P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Muzej sodobne umetnosti in Novi parazitizem«, javna predavanja 1998, dostop 13. 3. 2021, <http://www.worldofart.org/aktualno/archives/11443>.

37 Vladimir Vidmar, »Alenka Pirman«, v: *Druga eksplozija – 90. leta*, ur. Tadej Pogačar (Ljubljana: Zavod P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E., 2016), str. 83.

merilne enote), ter z ustreznim pompom javne predstavitve na Tartinijevem trgu.³⁸

Radikalne oblike performansa

Pod vplivom spoznanj o novih (bio)tehnologijah in modelu vladanja, ki so telo podvrgli »administrativnemu in socialnemu reguliranju, statistiki, binarnim matricam, genetskemu skriptu in biološkemu kodiranju, pa tudi kognitivnemu in medicinskemu entuziazmu«,³⁹ se je konceptualno in izvedbeno preoblikoval žanr radikalnega performansa. V Sloveniji je bil radikalni performans novum, ki ga je s kuratorsko prefinjenostjo motril arhitekt Jurij Krpan, programski vodja novoustanovljene študentske Galerije Kapelica (1994).⁴⁰

Program Galerije Kapelica že od druge polovice devetdesetih let naprej v središče postavlja umetniške prakse, ki preiščujejo o vplivih in (možnih) posledicah razvoja kirurške in korektivne medicine, neozdravljivih bolezni sodobnega sveta, kibernetiki in biotehnologiji, ter z umetniškimi projekti odgovarja na vprašanja o spolnih identitetah, življenju s tehničnimi vsadki, nadomeščanju in zamenjavi tkiv in genov, možnostih reprodukcije ipd.

V devetdesetih letih je Krpan svoj avtorski (kuratorski) kredo utrjeval z izborom umetniških projektov, ki so razpirali vprašanja tehnološkega totalitarizma in rušili nezaželene in nerešene družbene tabuje, ter z uvidom, da sta radikalni telesni in tehnološki performans izvorna in učinkovita strategija tovrstnega predstavljanja. S tehtnim mednarodnim programom je zbudil zanimanje za ta žanr v Sloveniji tako med umetniki in umetnicami kot pri širši javnosti, kar dokazujejo tudi številni radikalni performansi domačih ustvarjalcev, ki so se ob koncu devetdesetih let zvrstili v Galeriji Kapelica. Med njimi so bili Ive Tabar (*El-en-ti*, 1998, *Evropa I–IV*, 1999–2007), duo Eclipse (*Zajtrk na travi* in *Venerin test*, 1999), Goran Bertok (*Meso sužnja*, 1999), Peter Mlakar (performans predavanje *C Point as an Artwork*, 1998) in avtorji,

38 Izhodišča in razvoj projekta dostopna na: <http://www.ljudmila.org/~vuk/rigusrs/>, dostop 13. 3. 2021.

39 Bojana Kunst, »Razprta potencialnost telesa«, v: *Prostori umetnosti* (Ljubljana: Društvo inovatorjev, 2002), str. 93.

40 Jurij Krpan, »Strategije predstavljanja – primer Kapelica«, v: *Prostori umetnosti*, str. 216.

curatorial sense by the architect Jurij Krpan, the artistic director of the then newly established student gallery Kapelica (est. 1994).³⁹

Since the mid-1990s, the Kapelica Gallery's program has focused on artistic practices that consider the influences and (possible) consequences of developments in surgical and corrective medicine, the incurable diseases of the modern world, cybernetics, and biotechnology, promoting artistic projects that address issues of gender identity, living with technical implants, tissue and gene replacement, possibilities of reproduction, etc.

In the 1990s, Krpan followed his curatorial credo with a selection of projects broaching issues of technological totalitarianism and breaching undesirable and unresolved social taboos, with an insight that radical body and technological performance art was an original and effective strategy for such presentations. His well-thought-out international program engendered interest for this genre in Slovenia, both among artists and the general public, and led to numerous radical performances by Slovenian artists in the Kapelica Gallery in the late 1990s: Ive Tabar's *El-en-ti* (1998) and *Europe I-IV* (1999–2007), the duo Eclipse's *Luncheon on the Grass* (1999) and *Venus Test* (1999), Goran Bertok's *Slave's Flesh* (1999), Peter Mlakar's performance-lecture *G Point as an Artwork* (1998), and the performative events by the artists Igor Štromajer, Marko Peljhan, and Davide Grassi, focusing on new technologies. In this way, the gallery program continuously "explored the boundaries of artistic discourses, artistic poetics delving into repressions and blockages at work in a social milieu."⁴⁰

Ive Tabar's performances are still considered a unique phenomenon even today. A nurse by profession, he exposed his body to medical procedures and instruments. In *Europe I* (1999, Kapelica Gallery), he performed a gastric lavage. Dressed in blue scrubs with small white five-pointed stars pasted all over, he inserted a tube via his nose into his stomach, filled his stomach with

39 Jurij Krpan, "Strategije predstavljanja – Primer Kapelica," in *Prostori umetnosti* (Ljubljana: Društvo inovatorjev, 2002), 216.

40 *Ibid.*, 211.

"European blue" liquid (which contained yellow stars), then connected the tube to an aspirator and pumped his stomach.⁴¹ If we ignore the aesthetic component of the performance, we can talk about it in terms of the transfer of a certain practice from its primary environment into the artificiality of the gallery setting, which "differs from the original setting above all in the purpose and object of the medical activity."⁴² The artist took his healthy body for the object of the procedure rather than a diseased/injured body, thus covering his role with a useless act. Like *Europe I*, Tabar's other performances were acts of transgression, transfer, and transcending the object, making visible the corporeal – it is this that makes them explicitly political.

The duo Eclipse took a different route, combining in their performances kitsch and pornography and exposing the binary opposition between sexual and political orientation to disclose the official institutional politics and ownership relations. In their debut *Luncheon on the Grass* (1999), the artists reinterpreted Manet's painting: in an artificial turf-covered space they installed more than 300 photographs of themselves, plastic dildos, and other symbolically charged objects with which they then *played*, in the nude, relaxed, tirelessly repeating "Was ist Kitsch? Was ist Kunst?". With their performance the artists directed a critique of the pleasure of consumerism at the changing art system that succumbed to the insatiability of the capitalist modus operandi at the end of the millennium.

Performance and Video

The subversive and activist video of the alternative scene of the 1980s was both an independent art form and an important scenic element of performances. In their videos, artists often used and combined documentary (readymade) footage with filmed provocative performative actions (most often explicitly sexual scenes in the videos of Meje kontrole št. 4 [Borders of Control No. 4] and Borghesia) as a critique of the socialist world,

41 The artist played with phrases such as "cannot stomach something" that he enacted rather than uttered.

42 Blaž Lukan, "Politični bodiartistični performansi Iveta Tabarja," in *Hibridni prostori umetnosti*, (eds.) Barbara Orel, Maja Šorli, and Gašper Troha (Ljubljana: Maska and AGRFT, 2012), 119–138.

ki so v performativnih dogodkih tematizirali razvoj novih tehnologij, med drugimi Igor Štromajer, Marko Peljhan in Davide Grassi. To dokazuje kontinuiranost programske usmeritve galerije v »raziskovanje meja, do katerih segajo umetniški diskurzi, umetniške poetike, ki problematizirajo potlačitve in zapore, ki so na delu v neki družbeni sredini.«⁴¹

Performansi Iveta Tabarja še danes veljajo za enkratni fenomen. Medicinski tehnik je z njimi izpostavljal svoje telo medicinskim postopkom in instrumentom. V *Evropi I* (1999 Galerija Kapelica) je uprizoril čiščenje želodca. Oblečen v modro delovno obleko, oblepljeno z belimi peterokrakimi zvezdicami, si je po skozi nosnice napeljami cevki napolnil želodec z »evropsko« modro tekočino –v njej so bile rumene zvezde –, nato pa je cevko priključil na aspirator in si iz želodca izčrpal vso tekočino.⁴² Če performansu odvzamemo estetsko komponento, lahko o njem govorimo v okviru prenosa prakse iz primarnega okolja v artificialnost galerije, ki pa »se od izvirne razlikuje predvsem po namenu in objektu medicinske dejavnosti.«⁴³ Namesto obolelega/poškodovanega telesa vzame za objekt posega zdravo telo, svojo vlogo pa na ta način pokrije z nekoristnim dejanjem. Podobno kot *Evropa I* so tudi drugi Tabarjevi performansi akti transgresije, prenosa in prekoračitve objekta, ki šele s prekoračitvami naredijo vidno telesnost; prav to jih dela tudi izrazito politične.

Povsem drugače je s spojem kiča in pornografije, razgaljanji binarnega nasprotja med spolno in politično naravnostjo z namenom razgrinjanja institucionalne politike oblasti in njenih lastniških razmerij s svojimi performansi učinkoval tandem Eclipse. V svojem debutu *Zajtrk na travi* (1999) sta avtorici v reinterpretaciji Manetove slike z umetno travo postlan prostor naselili z več kot trestotimi svojimi fotografijami, plastičnimi dildi in drugimi simbolno nabitimi predmeti, da bi se z njimi sproščeno goli *igrali*, pri tem pa neutrudno ponavljali »Was ist Kitsch? Was ist Kunst?«. Kritiko

41 Prav tam, str. 211.

42 Gre za poigravanje s pregovori in reki (v omenjenem primeru gre za retorično figuro »imeti nekoga v želodcu«), ki jih avtor ne izgovarja, temveč dobesedno uprizori.

43 Blaž Lukan, »Politični bodiartistični performansi Iveta Tabarja«, v: *Hibridni prostori umetnosti*, ur. Barbara Orel, Maja Šorli in Gašper Troha (Ljubljana: Maska in AGRFT, 2012), str. 119–138.

užitka v potrošnji sta avtorici s performansom uperili v spreminjajoči se umetniški sistem, ki se je ob koncu tisočletja predal nenasitnosti kapitalističnega modusa operandi.

Performans in video

Video alternativne scene osemdesetih let, ki sta ga pomembno zaznamovala subverzivnost in aktivizem, se je pojavljal kot samostojna umetniška oblika in pomemben scenski element performansov. Umetnike in umetnice so v videu uporabljali in pogosto kombinirali dokumentarne (readymade) posnetke s posnetimi, provokativnimi performativnimi akcijami (najpogosteje z eksplisitnimi seksualnimi prizori v videih Meje kontrole št. 4 in Borghesie), s katerimi so naglašali kritiko socialističnega sveta, predvsem njegove nastrojenosti proti tistim delom družbe, ki so ogrožali njegovo poenoteno podobo. V devetdesetih letih je neposredno provokativnost in subverzivnost, ki sta preplavljali video umetnost osemdesetih let, nadomestila izoblikovana umetniška poetika, ki je z vzpostavljanjem fikcijskih in pripovednih del, kot meni Miško Šuvaković, osvetljevala predvsem koncepte teoretske psihoanalize.⁴⁴

Performans in video sta nastopala v različnih relacijah. Pri Emi Kugler je bil performans pogosto živa in neponovljiva ambientalna inscenacija, ki jo je avtorica posnela in kasneje razvila v samostojno formo video dela. Izrazit primer tovrstne prakse je performans *Tajga* (1995, Forum Ljubljana), izveden v opustošeni hali Metalke Commerce v Vižmarjah na prvi ediciji mednarodnega festivala Mesta žensk, leto kasneje pa ga je avtorica predstavila kot video. Temačno atmosfero je naselila z antropomorfnimi (vojščaki, rokoborec in utapljajoča se ženska) in zoomorfnimi figurami (torzi belih voščeni psov), ki se v upočasnjenem ritmu in ob dramatični elektronski glasbi rušijo (figure psov se talijo pod ognjenimi zublji, vojščaki se umikajo) ter se preobražajo v nasprotje. »Bistvo tajge je akt destrukcije ali tranzicije. Destrukcija umetniške forme ustvarja novo, popolnoma drugačno obliko. Tranzicija postane dogodek, ki vsebuje sporočilo.«⁴⁵

44 Miško Šuvaković, »Negotovost ali point de caption: Lacanovska teoretska psihoanaliza v Sloveniji in vprašanje umetniških in teoretskih praks v letih med 1968 in 1999«, *Maska* 8, št. 5–6 (1999), str. 39–43.

45 Barbara Borčič (ur.), Videodokument: video umetnost v slovenskem prostoru 1969–1998 (Ljubljana: SCCA, 1999), str. 79.

especially its antagonism against those segments of society that defied the uniformity of its image. In the 1990s, the explicit provocativeness and subversion of the 1980s video art was replaced by elaborate artistic poetics producing fictional and narrative works that, according to Miško Šuvaković, primarily focused on concepts of theoretical psychoanalysis.⁴³

Performance art and video appear in various relations. In Ema Kugler's work, performances are often live and unrepeatable spatial mise-en-scènes that the artist films and then develops into independent video works. One such example is *Taiga* (1995, Forum Ljubljana), a performance carried out in the deserted production hall of Metalka Commerce in Ljubljana as part of the first edition of the City of Women Festival, and presented as a video a year later. The artist inhabited a dark atmosphere with anthropomorphic figures (soldiers, a wrestler, a drowning woman) and zoomorphic ones (white wax dog torsos), which collapse in slow motion to the accompaniment of dramatic electronic music, transforming into their opposites (the dog figures melt in flames, the soldiers retreat). "Taiga's main point is the act of destruction or transition. The destruction of an artistic form creates another, completely different form. Transition becomes a message-bearing event."⁴⁴

Marko A. Kovačič has pursued a hybrid fusion of performance and video, or multimedia performance, since the 1980s, focusing not so much on Lacanian concepts as on Baudrillard's simulacra. This came to the fore in his multimedia performance *Heroes Are Falling* (1991, Club K4; 1992, Mladinsko Theater) with a multi-channel installation with six TV objects set up in a semicircle, a video, and a live performance. Kovačič filled empty TV sets with tiny action figures, reflected as in a mirror in a video recording, from which the protagonists stepped into the auditorium in bodily form. They played a chess match in front of the spectators, during which their apparent friendship transformed into aggression

43 Miško Šuvaković, "Negotovost ali point de caption: Lacanovska teoretska psihoanaliza v Sloveniji in vprašanje umetniških in teoretskih praks v letih med 1968 in 1999," *Maska* VIII, no. 5–6 (1999): 39–43.

44 Barbara Borčič (ed.), *Videodokument: video umetnost v slovenskem prostoru 1969–1998* (Ljubljana: SCCA, 1999), 79.

without a winner. The grotesque turned into horror.⁴⁵ In his review in the newspaper *Delo*, Janez Strehovec wrote: "fallen heroes engender violence, intensified, acute, which is effectively stylized, aestheticized, ironized in this video play, e.g. with a Hitchcock reference, but also with the introduction of a parallel play, when objects-mobiles-toys go berserk and fight, designed sometimes comically and sometimes grotesquely, but definitely more Disney-like cool than murderous. The performance of all the actors is also stylized, especially in the choreography of the mechanical ballet in the tradition of Oscar Schlemmer and Lothar Schreyer. The performers have a mechanistic, machine-like image, human-machine then, after machines have anthropomorphized through technologies of violence."⁴⁶

In their video essays, Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid explore the boundaries of the medium, transforming it into unique performances, complex commentaries on current politics, unveiling the workings of domination, the play of power, and the production of evil arising from marking, classifying, arranging, and excluding various identities and spaces, and conditioning the individual's existence with new technologies. Their territorial frame of reference was the broken-up, blood-soaked Yugoslavia, transforming into an increasingly horrific war zone. Their work is eclectic and discursive, woven into a dense web of quotes, shocking images that the protagonists (performers/replicants of film and television characters) use to comment on the war. As Gržinić explained in an interview, she and Šmid mapped the spaces and bodies that the capitalist machine excluded from equal treatment, foregrounding subjectivities that emerged from the point of bifurcation, formulating in this way certain tactics of resistance.⁴⁷

Practiced Places, Performative Spaces

The so-called *second line* narrative (the name was given by Ješa Denegri), i.e. a history of art

45 See: Marko A. Kovačič, *Thing* (Ljubljana: Škuc idr., 1994), 32–33.

46 Janez Strehovec, "Stilizirano nasilje," *Delo* (Ljubljana), 29 October 1992.

47 Marina Gržinić, Tanja Velagić (eds.), *Trenutki odločitve* (Ljubljana: Društvo ZAK, Društvo za proučevanje zgodovine, antropologije in književnosti, 2006), 74.

Hibridnost, predstavljeno v neposrednem spoju performansa in videa oziroma multimedijskega performansa, že od osemdesetih let naprej v svojem delu gradi Marko A. Kovačič, ki morebiti bolj kot lacanovske koncepte preigrava baudrillardovski koncept simulakra. To je še posebej izrazito v multimedijem performansu *Heroji padajo* (1991 v Klubu K4, 1992 v Mladinskem gledališču) z večkanalno instalacijo s šestimi televizijskimi objekti, razporejenimi v polkrožni postavitvi, videom in nastopom v živo. Kovačič je izpraznjena televizijska ohišja napolnil z drobnimi akcijskimi figurami, ki so bile kot zrcalni odsev reflektirane v video zapisu, iz katerega sta protagonista v telesni obliki stopila v avditorij. Pred gledalci sta izvedla partijo šaha, v kateri je navidezno prijateljstvo eskaliralo v nasilje brez zmagovalca, groteska pa se je spremenila v grozo.⁴⁶ Janez Strehovec je v kritiki v dnevniku *Delo* zapisal: »padli heroji vzpostavljajo nasilje, celo stopnjevano izostreno, vendar pa ga v tem videu-igri učinkovito stilizirajo, estetizirajo in ironizirajo, recimo s citatom na Hitchcocka, pa tudi z vpeljavo vzporedne igre, ko na šahovnici ponorijo in se spopadejo objekti-mobili-igrače, oblikovani zdaj komično, zdaj groteskno, dejansko bolj disneyjevsko cool kot pa zares ubijalsko. Stilizirana je tudi igra nastopajočih predvsem v koreografiji mehničnega baleta tradicije Oscarja Schlemmerja in Lotharja Schreyerja. Vsekakor gre za mehanicistični, strojni imidž nastopajočih, človek-stroj torej po tistem, ko so se skozi tehnologije nasilja antropomorfizirali stroji sami.«⁴⁷

Marina Gržinić in Aina Šmid v svojih video esejih iščeta robove medija ter ga spreminjata v svojevrstne performanse, kompleksne komentarje aktualne politike, razgrinjata postopke delovanja gospostva, igro moči in proizvodnjo zla, ki vznikata iz vsakokratnega označevanja, klasificiranja, razporejanja in izločanja različnih identitet in prostorov ter z novimi tehnologijami pogojuje posameznikovo bivanje. Njun referenčni prostor je razpadla, s krvjo prepojena Jugoslavija, ki se je spreminjala v vse bolj grozljivo vojno stanje. Njuno delo je eklektično in diskurzivno, stikano iz goste citatnosti, šokantnih podob, s katerimi protagonistke (performerke/replikantke filmskih

46 Glej: Marko A. Kovačič, *Thing* (Ljubljana: Škuc idr., 1994), str. 32–33.

47 Janez Strehovec, »Stilizirano nasilje«, *Delo* (Ljubljana), 29. 10. 1992.

in televizijskih figur) komentirajo vojno situacijo. Kot v nekem intervjuju pravi Marina Gržinić, z Aino Šmid mapirata tiste prostore in telesa, ki jih kapitalistični stroj izključuje iz enakopravne obravnave, izpostavljata subjektivitete, ki vznikajo iz točke razcepa, ter tako oblikujeta svojevrstne taktike upora.⁴⁸

Practicirani kraji, performativni prostori

V zgodbi t. i. *druge smeri* (druga linija, Ješa Denegri), zgodovine umetnosti, s katero se vzpostavlja vez med avantgardnimi umetnostmi, so doma formalni estetski preizkusi, umetniški proceduralizmi ter njihove vsakokratne strategije in taktike, ki se estetskim normam zoperstavijo s formalnimi hibridizacijami, negotovimi prezencami (predstav in nastopov) in tveganimi situacijami, predvsem novimi režimi gledanja. Te prakse prostorov ne razumejo več izključno kot krajev, na katerih so pogoji dela in prikazovanja materializirani v obliki gledališke arhitekture s tovarno zaposlenih (kulturnih) delavcev, ampak kot manifestacijo »practiciranih krajev«⁴⁹ umetnosti in njenih kultur, učinkovin umetniško-kreativnih socialnih dinamik, mest soočenj, srečanj in pogajanj, kar izključuje enotenje posameznih gledalcev v določeno občinstvo na temelju skupnih pomenov,⁵⁰ vključuje pa relativnost gledalskih pozicij z vsemi njihovimi posameznimi ideološkimi predpostavkami. Od dramaturgije uprizoritvenega produkta (predstave) se (uprizoritvena) tehnologija te zgodbe osredotoča na dramaturgijo procesov v estetskem ter družbenem in političnem smislu,⁵¹ kompleksnost situacije pa terja teoretizacijo, ki postane inherenten in legitimen del umetnosti same. Prostori, ki jih rabi odrska produkcija tretje generacije ali umetnost postperformansa (Marko

48 Marina Gržinić in Tanja Velagić (ur.), *Trenutki odločitve* (Ljubljana: Društvo ZAK, Društvo za proučevanje zgodovine, antropologije in književnosti, 2006), str. 74.

49 Michel De Certeau razlikuje med »krajem« in »prostorom«. »Prostor je učinek, ki ga proizvedejo operacije, ki ga usmerjajo, umeščajo v okoliščine, v čas, in ga privedejo do tega, da deluje v polivalentni enoti konfliktnih programov ali pogodbenih bližin. (...) V nasprotju s krajem prostor (...) nima ne enoznačnosti ne stabilnosti nečesa 'lastnega'. (...) prostor je praticiran kraj.« Michel de Certeau, *Iznajdba vsakdanjosti* (Ljubljana: SH, 2007), str. 214.

50 Kunst, »Težave s sodobnostjo«.

51 Pri tem misliva na »dejavnost ravnanja z dejanjem samim (...), dejavnost, ki govori o dejavnosti (...): metadejavnost« ali »kritično modalnost dejavnosti«, kakor je tehnologije plesa in performansa v devetdesetih letih opisal Boyan Manchev.

that seeks links between the avant-gardes in art, includes formal aesthetic experiments, a focus on artistic procedures, and strategies and tactics countering aesthetic norms with the hybridization of forms, uncertain presences (of performances), and hazardous situations, especially in terms of new regimes of spectatorship. Such practices no longer see spaces merely as places where the conditions of work and presentation are materialized as theater architecture with a factory of employed (cultural) workers, but as manifestations of “practiced places”⁴⁸ of art and its cultures, active ingredients of artistic and creative social dynamics, places of confrontations, meetings, and negotiations, which excludes unifying individual spectators into a certain audience on the basis of common meanings,⁴⁹ and includes the relativity of spectators’ positions with all their individual ideological premises. Rather than on the dramaturgy of a performing product (a performance), the (performing) technology of this narrative focuses on the dramaturgy of processes, both in the aesthetic and social and political senses,⁵⁰ while the complexity of the situation requires theorization that becomes an inherent and legitimate part of art itself. The spaces used by the Third Generation’s scenic productions or the art of postperformance (Marko A. Kovačič) are spaces informed every time as works of art and their procedural production by negotiations in the register of *politicality*, regimes of the distribution of the sensible (Rancière). Rather than architectural shells that need to be filled with art and culture, these are totalities of diverse social, cultural, and artistic relations that derive their material dimensions from events – forms of actions and procedures (the Third Generation’s initiation rituals) used by artistic and cultural communities to create a new (cultural) public, and spaces as performative gestures.

48 Michel De Certeau makes this distinction between “places” and “spaces”: “Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. (...) In contradistinction to the place, it has none of the univocity or stability of the ‘proper.’ In short, *space is a practiced place*.” Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Steven Rendall (Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

49 Kunst, “Težave s sodobnostjo”.

50 Here we are referring to “the activity of working with the act itself (...), the activity that speaks about the activity (...), the meta-activity” or “the critical modality of activity” as Boyan Manchev described the technologies of dance and performance in the 1990s.

Deterritorializations

The search for new spaces of culture in Ljubljana was quite specific. Due to their aesthetic affinities and ways of thinking about space, the generation of artists that includes Dragan Živadinov was on the horns of a creative dilemma posed by a problem that can be articulated as a question: what kind of architecture (place) would be suitable for the vastly varied forms of the spaces of theatrical productions; how not to cement the spatial possibilities for potential future forms of scenic practices with some specific theater architecture like the Italian box Teatro Farnese in Parma (1618), yet still demand places with infrastructure that would meet the requirements and conditions of work of contemporary scenic practices?

These questions were addressed in a 1995 themed issue of *Maska* entitled *Space* and dedicated to aesthetic aspects of space.⁵¹ In the introductory article, Simon Kardum first outlined the difference from the canonized space of classic institutional theaters. According to Kardum, the second type of using space “is pragmatic and primarily dependent on spaces that are functionally not intended for performances, although their architecture potentially allows performative events. In spaces (...) where actors and spectators physically share the same space, the decentralization of the spectator’s gaze often occurs. This is because the spectators are frequently positioned in the center or on the edge of the actors’ platform.”⁵² The third type of spaces, Kardum writes, are *outdoor scenes*, “an ideal testing ground for street theaters (...), summer festivals, happenings, (...) and ritualized events in the countryside,” resorted to by artists and collectives in the 1980s and 1990s more than ever before or after. Subsumed here is also Emil Hrvatini’s “category of *re-theatricalized space*” that includes Hrvatini’s *Canon*, which he created, together with collaborators, in an earthquake shelter on Gerbičeva Street in Ljubljana, and the “spectacular, Sokol sport, and temporary mise-en-scènes in Matjaž Berger’s various environments – a riverbank and a railway bridge, an airstrip, a quarry, a sports hall, a state celebration in front of the Parliament building, a ski jump.”

51 The articles were written by Simon Kardum & Jože Zajc, Tomaž Toporišič & Meta Hočevar, Livija Pandur & Marko Japelj, Barbara Pušič, Maja Breznik, Emil Hrvatini, Bojana Kunst, and Vlado Repnik. *Maska* 5, no. 1–3 (1995).

52 Simon Kardum, “Prostori prostora,” *Maska* 5, no. 1–3 (1995): 50.

A. Kovačič), so prostori, ki jih v obliki umetniških del in njihove proceduralne proizvodnje oblikujejo vsakokratna pogajanja v registru *političnega*, režimi distribucije čutnega (Rancière). To niso arhitekturne lupine, ki bi jih bilo treba z umetnostjo in kulturo šele naseliti, ampak vsota različnih družbenih, kulturnih in umetniških odnosov, ki jim dogodki zagotavljajo materialne razsežnosti, oblike ravnanj in postopkov (uvodni rituali tretje generacije), s katerimi so umetniške in kulturne skupnosti ustvarjale novo (kulturno) javnost; prostori kot performativne geste.

Deteritorializacije

V Ljubljani se je iskanje krajev za nove javne kulturne prostore odvijalo drugače. Generacija ustvarjalcev, ki ji pripada Živadinov, je zaradi svojih estetskih afinitet in mišljenja prostora prihajala v ustvarjalno dilemo s problemom, ki ga je mogoče artikulirati kot vprašanje: kakšna arhitektura (kraj) bi ustrezala najrazličnejšim oblikam prostorov predstav, kako ne zabetonirati prostorskih možnosti za potencialne oblike prihodnjih scenskih praks z določeno, specifično gledališko arhitekturo, kakršna je (črna) italijanska škatla Teatra Farnese v Parmii (1618), a po drugi strani vseeno terjati kraje z infrastrukturo, kjer bi imele sodobne scenske prakse zagotovljene pogoje dela?

Na omenjeno vprašanje odgovarja tematski sklop *Prostor*, posvečen estetskimi vidikom prostora, ki je izšel v *Maski* leta 1995.⁵² Simon Kardum v uvodniku vzpostavi razliko v odnosu do kanoniziranega prostora klasičnih institucionalnih gledaliških hiš. Drugi tip prostorske rabe, pravi Kardum, »je pragmatičen in primarno odvisen od prostorov, ki v funkcionalnem smislu niso namenjeni uprizorjanju, potencialno pa njihova arhitektura omogoča izvajalske dogodke. V prostorih, (...) kjer si fizikalno gledano igravec in gledalec delita isti prostor, prihaja velikokrat do decentralizacije, razsrediščenja gledalčevega pogleda. Večkrat se namreč zgodi, da je gledalec posajen v središče ali na obod igralskega podija.«⁵³ Kot tretji tip prostorov avtor opisuje *prizorišča na prostem*, »idealno poligon za poulična gledališča (...), poletne

52 Članke so prispevali: Simon Kardum in Jože Zajc, Tomaž Toporišič in Meta Hočevar, Livija Pandur in Marko Japelj, Barbara Pušič, Maja Breznik, Emil Hrvatini, Bojana Kunst in Vlado Repnik. *Maska* 5, št. 1–3 (1995).

53 Simon Kardum, »Prostori prostora«, *Maska* 5, št. 1–3 (1995), str. 50.

festivale, happeninge (...) in ritualizirane dogodke v naravi«, ki so jih v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih različni kolektivi in avtorji zasedali pogosteje kot kadarkoli prej in potem. Sem prišteva tudi Hrvatinovo »kategorijo *reteatraliziranega prostora*«, kamor sodijo Hrvatini *Kanon*, ki ga je ustvaril s soustvarjalci v zaklonišču na Gerbičevi ulici v Ljubljani, in »spektakelske, sokolsko-športne, tudi priložnostne inscenacije v najrazličnejših ambientih Matjaža Bergerja – rečna obala z železniškim mostom, športno letališče, kamnolom, športna hala, državna proslava pred slovenskim parlamentom, smučarska skakalnica«. Četrty tip, ki se zdi Kardumu od vseh najbolj zanimiv in mu predstavlja tudi neko domačo specifiko, »je gradnja paralelnih *gledaliških svetov*«. To so »konceptualni konstrukti«, ki izhajajo iz topičnega ali optičnega principa in so »na eni strani plod mesianizma, na drugi pa utopični projekti postavantgardnih umetnikov, ki svoje delo razumejo ne le kot poslanstvo, ampak tudi kot testno polje, kjer se preizkuša verjetje nastopajočih in perceptivna (ne)prilagojenost občinstva – že zaradi konceptualnih premis reduciranega, izbranega ali celo sprevrženega v objekt«. Pri teh konstrukti se mu zdi zanimiva igra z gledalčevim pogledom ter arhitekturna konstrukcija, »nadomestno prizorišče – svetišče, ki to omogoča«. Primeri četrtega tipa so naseljene skulpture Dragana Živadinova, *panoptikumi* Emila Hrvatina in gradnje prostorskih konceptov Vlada Repnika.

Ustvarjalci nove estetske proksemike, razmerja med pogledom (gledalec, občinstvo) in umetniškim objektom (predstava), iščejo rešitve v različnih ambientih, krajih in vsakokratnih prostorskih gradnjah, kar ustreza avantgardnemu pojmovanju gledališkega prostora, kjer je med (fiktivnim ali materialnim) prostorom predstave in gledališko arhitekturo (z vsemi pripadajočimi protokoli dogodka) potegnjena svojevrsena enačaja. Prostorske utopije – natančneje: heterotopije –, ki izhajajo iz zgodovinskih avantgard, naj ne bi pristajale na gostovanja v obstoječih, historičnih ali tradicionalnih konceptih gledališke arhitekture, saj slednje načnejo manifestativno totaliteto skonstruirane teatralne realnosti. A stvarnost je takšne heterotopije ves čas vlekla nazaj v renesančne, baročne, razsvetljenske itn. estetske paradigme, ki so se jih ustvarjalci izogibali z radikalnimi transformacijami odrskih in avditorijskih arhitekturnih lupin.

The fourth type, which Kardum finds the most interesting of all and also specifically Slovenian, is “building parallel *theatrical* worlds.” These are “conceptual constructs” deriving from a topical or optical principle and “on the one hand, a result of messianism, and on the other, utopian projects of post-avant-garde artists that see their work not just as a mission, but also as a testing ground for the performers’ beliefs and the perceptive (mal) adjustment of the audience – which has been reduced to, chosen as, or even perverted into an object by the conceptual premises themselves.” What he finds interesting in these constructs is the playing with the spectator’s gaze and the architectural construction, “a substitute scene – a temple that allows it.” Examples of this fourth type are Dragan Živadinov’s inhabited sculptures, Emil Hrvatin’s *panopticons*, and Vlado Repnik’s constructions of spatial concepts.

The creators of the new aesthetic proxemics, the relation between the gaze (spectator, audience) and artistic object (performance), sought solutions in a variety of environments, places, and temporary spatial constructions, in accordance with the avant-garde notion of theatrical space, which in a way equals the (fictional or material) space of the performance with theater architecture (with all the appurtenant protocols of the event). Spatial utopias – or more precisely, heterotopias – deriving from the historical avant-gardes should not acquiesce to guest appearances in existing, historically or traditionally conceived theater architecture, since the latter erodes the manifestative totality of constructed theatrical reality. But objective reality always pulled such heterotopias back into renaissance, baroque, enlightenment, etc. aesthetic paradigms, which the artists evaded by radically transforming the architectural shells of stages and auditoria.

Such transfers can be understood as a need for variety and heterogeneousness, potentially projecting a vision of the state structure in the making. In this sense, the innovative artistic strategies and tactics of the 1990s can be divided as follows: (a) appropriating and inhabiting places on the principle of squatting, e.g. the formation of the autonomous artistic-cultural zone of Metelkova; (b) locating abandoned spaces and making them places of production, e.g. the Old Power Station – Elektro Ljubljana, which gradually

transformed, through sporadic use, into one of the non-institutional scene’s central spaces for performing arts, or the vacated Kino Šiška cinema, used mostly as a rehearsal space in the 1990s; (c) situating hybrid projects by theater directors in atypical theater spaces (Moderna galerija, the Kapelica Gallery, and St Joseph’s Church in Ljubljana, the Minorites’ Church in Maribor), which can be understood as seeking new alliances, or as a response to the changed requirements of interdisciplinary projects, or even as a form of protest against the rigidity of institutions and their policies; (d) (other) nomadic strategies of crossover between spaces and media, most strategically obvious with the Third Generation, whose explorations challenged the basic elements of theater (above all the question of (theatrical) time and exiting classic theatrical space)⁵³; (e) constructing new events of venues, e.g. building a boxed cube-like space for Igor Štromajer’s project at *ON.KRAJ* at the Kapelica Gallery; (f) setting up and running parallel production initiatives, e.g. Tadej Pogačar’s P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Museum of Contemporary Art, and Alenka Pirman and collaborators’ various projects of quasi-institutions; (g) interventions into and transformations of white-cube exhibition spaces into temporary and mutable spaces of encounters, e.g. changing the Kapelica Gallery into a studio, or the Škuc Gallery into a squash court (Janja Žvegelj) or a slaughter house (Franc Purg) or a launderette (Maja Licul); (h) the extreme transfer from space to time, carried out by the NSK collective with the *NSK State in Time* (1992), which also constituted a critique of the inability of politics to realize, in addition to the territorial principle, also the temporal one. This led to something we could call, in reference to Julia Kristeva, a Republic of Abjection, a territorial formation incapable of realization as a repetition in time, but merely as a territory that demands, in many areas, including culture, institutional protectionism of a state in which certain and conclusive identities (pasts) live. In this respect, the *NSK State in Time* is a utopian concept that is also a symptom of the independent Republic of Slovenia: a place of the articulation of its truth, the unrealized lack that keeps the Republic of Slovenia

53 Bojana Kunst, “Nomadsko desetletje tveganega naseljevanja,” in *Teritoriji, identitete, mreže: slovenska umetnost 1995–2005*, (ed.) Igor Španjol (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2005), 78.

Tovrstne premestitve je mogoče razumeti kot potrebo po razliki in heterogenosti, ki nemara projicirata vizijo vzpostavljajoče se državne tvorbe, pri čemer je inovativne umetniške taktike in strategije devetdesetih let mogoče razdeliti tudi na sledeč način: (a) prisvajanje in naseljevanje fizičnih prostorov po načelu skvota, kot je na primer vzpostavljeni avtonomni umetniško-kulturni prostor Metelkova; (b) iskanje opuščeni prostorov in umeščanje produkcij vanje, na primer Stara mestna elektrarna – Elektro Ljubljana, ki se ob občasni rabi postopoma preoblikuje v enega osrednjih uprizoritvenih prostorov neinstitucionalne scene, ali opuščeni prostor Kina Šiška, ki sceni v devetdesetih letih služi predvsem kot vadbišče; (c) umeščanje hibridnih projektov gledaliških režiserjev v atipične gledališke prostore (Moderna galerija, Galerija Kapelica, cerkev sv. Jožefa, minoritska cerkev v Mariboru), kar je mogoče razumeti tudi kot iskanje novih zavezništev, odgovor na spremenjene potrebe interdisciplinarnih projektov ali tudi kot oblika protesta proti rigidnim institucijam in njihovim politikam; (d) (druge) nomadske strategije prestopanja med prostori in mediji, ki jih najbolj strateško prepoznamo pri tretji generaciji, ki s svojimi raziskovanji problematizira temeljne gledališke prvine (predvsem vprašanje (gledališkega) časa in izstop iz klasičnega gledališkega prostora)⁵⁴; (e) konstruiranje novih dogodkov prizorišč, kot je postavitev ograjene kocke za projekt Igorja Štromajerja na *ON.KRAJ* v Galeriji Kapelica; (f) vzpostavljanje, urejanje paralelnih produkcijskih iniciativ (Tadej Pogačar s P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. muzejem sodobne umetnosti ali Alenka Pirman (s sodelavci) z raznolikimi projekti kvaziinstitucij); (g) intervencije in transformacija bele kocke razstavnih prostorov v začasne in spremenljive prostore srečanj (spreminjanje Galerije Kapelica v atelje ali Galerije Škuc v igrišče za squash (Janja Žvegelj), klavnico (Franc Purg), pralnico (Maja Licul) idr.); (h) skrajna premestitev iz prostora v čas, ki jo vzpostavi kolektiv NSK z *Državo v času* (1992), ki je hkrati tudi kritika nezmožnosti politike, da se ob teritorialnem načelu ustrezno realizira tudi časovno. Slednje je pripeljalo do nečesa, kar bi, sledeč Julii Kristevi, lahko poimenovali

54 Bojana Kunst, »Nomadsko desetletje tveganega naseljevanja«, v: *Teritoriji, identitete, mreže: slovenska umetnost 1995–2005*, ur. Igor Španjol (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2005), str. 78.

Republika abjekcij, teritorialno tvorbo, ki se ni sposobna realizirati kot ponovitev v času, temveč zgolj kot območje, ki na različnih področjih, tudi na kulturnem, terja institucionalni protekcionizem države, v kateri živijo gotove in zaključene identitete (preteklosti). *NSK država v času* v tem pogledu predstavlja utopičen koncept, ki je hkrati simptom samostojne Republike Slovenije: mesto, kjer je artikurirana resnica o njej; nerealizirani manko, ki Republiko Slovenijo ločuje od razvoja s tem, ko ji zagotavlja fantazmagorično statistiko rasti. Država brez časa ima zgolj to lastnost, da zavzema prostor. Ustanovitvi *NSK države v času* je sledil projekt veleposlaništva NSK v Moskvi, ki je opozoril na potrebo po različnih strategijah in modelih (kulturne) produkcije v postsocialističnem svetu, s svojo državo pa uspel povezati ljudi na podlagi estetskih in kognitivnih principov.⁵⁵

Omenjene aktivnosti je ob estetskih potrebah treba razumeti tudi kot borbo za prostore (vadbene, izvedbene idr.), ki jih je na izveninstitucionalni sceni v tistem času bistveno primanjkovalo,⁵⁶ in hkrati kot potrebo po »reartikulaciji prostora, drugačni[h] modeli[h] kulturnega naseljevanja, z neprestano aktualizacijo dejanskega časa«,⁵⁷ pri čemer je, kot ugotavlja Bojana Kunst v zaključku svojega prispevka, še kako pomembno, da se umetniki zavedajo, da se teritorij vzpostavlja šele z umestitvami, ki jih ključno določajo tudi načini pozicioniranja. Našteti projekti dokazujejo izjemno raznorodnost umeščanja, še posebej zanimive pa so najbolj skrajne premestitve, s katerimi se umetniki uspejo umakniti iz zemeljskega teritorija ter vstopijo v vesolje (Dragan Živadinov) in virtualni prostor medmrežja (umetniki, ki delujejo pod okriljem Ljudmile, Igor Štromajer idr.).

Deteritorializacija spleta in vesolja

Če je teritorializacija razumljena kot oblika imperialističnega in hegemonističnega osvajanja,

55 Zdenka Badovinac, »NSK Država v času«, v: *NSK od Kapitala do kapitala*, vodič po razstavi (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2015).

56 Leta 1992 je Forum neodvisnih ustvarjalcev na Ministrstvo za kulturo vložil dokument, ki govori o potrebi po novem centru, specializiranem za produkcijo in distribucijo sodobne kulturne umetniške produkcije idr. Leta 1994 se je ustanovil Forum za artikulacijo prostorov drugačnosti na pobudo predstavnik mestnih oblasti Branka Lovrečiča, ki je predlagal sestavo ekspertne skupine, a je slednja ostala zgolj kot zapis.

57 Kunst, »Nomadsko desetletje«, str. 80.

from developing by providing a phantasmagorical statistic of growth. Without time, a state's only characteristic is occupying space. The formation of the *NSK State in Time* was followed by the *NSK Embassy Moscow* project, underscoring the need for diverse strategies and models of (cultural) production in the post-socialist world, while the *NSK State in Time* brought together people on the basis of aesthetic and cognitive principles.⁵⁴

In addition to their aesthetic aspects, these activities must be seen also as a fight for spaces (for rehearsals, performances, etc.) that the non-institutional scene sorely lacked at the time,⁵⁵ as well as a need for "a re-articulation of space, different models of cultural inhabitation, and an incessant articulation of the actual time,"⁵⁶ where, as Bojana Kunst concludes in her article, it is highly important for artists to realize that a territory is only constituted through placements crucially determined by modes of positioning. The projects mentioned above illustrate how diversified their places were. The most extreme examples, where artists managed to abandon the territory of Earth and enter the universe (Dragan Živadinov) or the virtual space of the World Wide Web (Igor Štromajer, artists working under the auspices of Ljudmila) are especially interesting.

Deterritorialization of Space and the Internet

If territorialization is understood as a form of imperialist and hegemonic conquering and subjugation, uninhabited spaces (the universe and the World Wide Web) opened up a new field of struggle in the 1990s, by uniting humans and machines. In the 20th century, the shift into new spheres with the development of science and technology enabled the imperialist wars of conquest to continue in the as-yet uninhabited territories in space (missions to the Moon)

54 Zdenka Badovinac, "NSK State in Time," in *NSK from Kapital to Capital*, exhibition guide (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 2015).

55 In 1992, the Forum of Freelance Creative Workers submitted a document about the need for a new center for the production and distribution of contemporary artistic and cultural production to the Ministry of Culture. In 1994, the Forum for the Articulation of Spaces of Difference was established on the initiative of a representative of the City of Ljubljana, Branko Lovrečič, who also proposed the formation of an expert group, which, however, only remained on paper.

56 Kunst, "Nomadsko desetletje," 80.

and/or the World Wide Web. While historical avant-gardists were already fascinated by new technologies that would enable previously inconceivable cultural ventures as well as call for a radical change of perception and a reconsidering of the physical and other conditions of realization, it wasn't until the end of the second millennium that the conditions for their global realization were actually met. The 1990s artistic practices discussed here thus also entailed changes in artistic planning and concepts and a consideration of possible ways to transfer to the territories of the universe and the Web.⁵⁷

In the early 1990s, the retro-utopian Dragan Živadinov announced his transition to postgravity art with the *Cosmokinetic Cabinet Noordung*. He categorically applied his concept of postgravity to "all art that will take shape under conditions of zero gravity and form as yet inconceivable systems under the new conditions of existence."⁵⁸ Živadinov announced this shift from gravity to zero gravity at a five-hour long press conference in 1991, as the approach of the long-anticipated moment when humans would finally be able to overcome gravity and thus liberate themselves of "the final problematic planetary force."⁵⁹ Significantly, the artist approached the project deliberately, thoughtfully, gradually, and holistically. His goal was not simply overcoming a physical barrier, but a total, programmatic realization of the ideas of historical avant-gardists, including Malevich, who understood postgravity art as the achievement of a "total abstract work of art."⁶⁰ A proof of the gradualness of the project and the careful consideration that had gone into it was also the announcement of its premiere, scheduled for 20 April 1995 in Ljubljana. Živadinov had a carefully planned program with all the stages of the execution/performance of the fifty-year project *Noordung::1995-2045*, including all the performers he invited to participate in the project (and their

57 One cannot simply transfer into these spaces, or repeat there the established modes of representation, performance, viewing, but must take into account their specific laws, enter them with deliberation, in accordance with their given circumstances.

58 Dragan Živadinov, "50 Koordinat," SCRIBD, 2010, accessed 15 February 2021, www.scribd.com/document/31097592/50koordinat.

59 *Ibid.*

60 Quoted from Maja Murnik, "Performans in gravitacija," *Amfiteater* 5, no. 2 (2017): 86-100.



Janez Janša (Emil Hrvatin): *Celica / Cell*, 28. junij / 28 June 1995, Slovensko mladinsko gledališče / The Mladinsko Theater I Foto / Photo: Diego Andrés Gómez

Performans in politike v vmesnem času devetdesetih let v republiki Sloveniji / Rok Vevar in Jasmina Založnik

so nenaseljeni prostori (splet in vesolje) v devetdesetih letih z združevanjem človeka in stroja odprli neko novo polje boja. V dvajsetem stoletju je premik v nove sfere z razvojem znanosti in nove tehnologije omogočil nadaljevanje osvajalskih imperialističnih vojn, usmerjenih na še nezasedene teritorije v vesolju (poleti na luno) ali/in na spletu. Navdušenje nad novo tehnologijo, ki omogoča neslutene kulturizacijske podvige in zahteva tudi radikalno spremembo percepcije, in premislek o fizikalnih in drugih pogojih udejanjanja zasledimo že med historičnimi avantgardisti, a šele ob koncu tisočletja se v resnici vzpostavijo pogoji za njihovo globalno uresničevanje. Prav pri obravnavanih ustvarjalcih in njihovih praksah v devetdesetih letih se razprejo tudi spremembe v umetniškem načrtovanju in snovanju ter ob tem premislek o načinih prestopa v omenjene teritorije.⁵⁸

Retroutopist Dragan Živadinov je v začetku devetdesetih let oznanil prehod v postgravitacijsko umetnost s Kozmokinetičnim kabinetom *Noordung*. S pojmom postgravitacijskosti je kategorično označil »vs[o] umetnost, ki se bo izoblikovala v pogojih breztežnosti ter bo v novih pogojih bivanja oblikovala sisteme, ki jih še ne poznamo.«⁵⁹ Premik iz gravitacije v breztežnost je Živadinov najavil na peturni konferenci leta 1991 kot končno približevanje dolgo pričakovanega trenutka, ki bo človeku omogočil, da preseže gravitacijo in se osvobodi »poslednje problematične planetarne sile.«⁶⁰ Pri tem je pomembno, da se je umetnik projekta lotil preudarno, postopno in celostno. Ni mu šlo namreč zgolj za premostitev fizikalne ovire, temveč za nujno celostno programsko uresničevanje idej historičnih avantgardistov, ki so z Malevičem razumeli postgravitacijsko umetnost kot dovršitev »popolne abstraktne umetnine.«⁶¹ Dokaz postopnosti in preudarnosti je bila tudi napoved premiere za 20. 4. 1995 v Ljubljani. Živadinov je imel natančno izdelan program in očitane vse korake izvedbe petdesetletnega projekta

58 V te prostore se ne moremo zgolj premestiti, ne moremo torej zgolj ponoviti ustaljenih načinov predstavljanja, gledanja, učinkovanja, temveč moramo upoštevati njihove specifične zakonitosti, vanje preiščeno vstopiti in zapopasti njihove potencialne danosti.

59 Dragan Živadinov, »50 Koordinat«, SCRIBD, 2010, dostop 15. 2. 2021, www.scribd.com/document/31097592/50koordinat.

60 Prav tam.

61 Citirano po Maja Murnik, »Performans in gravitacija«, *Amfiteater* 5, št. 2 (2017), str. 86-100.

Noordung::1995–2045, vključno s performerji (in njihovo predvideno usodo), ki jih je povabil k projektu. Enotnost projekta Živadinov nakaže z nespremenjeno zasedbo; pokojne člane bodo nadomestili simboli (repliko žensk bo zaznamovala melodija, repliko moških pa ritem), do katerih bodo preostali performerji vzpostavljali nespremenjene odnose.

V zaključnem dejanju projekta leta 2045 bodo tehnološki nadomestki performerjev z vesoljskim plovilom odleteli v orbito, kjer se jim bo pridružil tudi edini še živeči član, avtor Živadinov. Bojana Kunst projekt razume kot »natančno preiščevanje teritorija, ki se je z ekskluzivno časovnostjo in stopenjsko progresivnostjo radikalno umaknilo od dejanskega fizičnega prostora.«⁶² Poudariti je treba, da projekt *Noordung::1995–2045* ni edini, s katerim Živadinov vstopa v postgravitacijsko umetnost, temveč zgolj najbolj očitno in kontinuiran, saj natančno beleži korake možne izpolnitve zadanega načrta.

Morda še bolj plastičen primer postgravitacijske faze Živadinova je performans *Gravitacija nič – Biomehanika Noordung* (1999; Zvezdno mesto pri Moskvi), saj gre za avtorjevo prvo dejansko umetniško dejanje v breztežnostnem prostoru, natančneje na 6660 metrov nadmorske višine v zrakoplovu, ki ga Rusija uporablja za urjenje kozmonavtov. V spremenjenih pogojih se spremenijo zakonitosti gibanja, ki spremenjenim režimom gledanja zagotovijo drugačno fizikalno osnovo in retroutopično udejanjijo del avantgardnih tehnoloških sanj.

V tem pogledu je treba postgravitacijsko umetniško fazo Živadinova brati tudi v povezavi s takrat vse aktualnejšimi teorijami kiberprostora, vprašnji spremembe prostorsko-časovne paradigme ter spremembami teles in subjektivitet. Živadinov se tako vpne in poveže tudi z drugim aktualnim deteritorialnim zastavkom – vprašanjem virtualnega, ki je bilo v svoji zgodnji fazi razumljeno kot potencialnost bolj egalitarne produkcije vednosti in znanja ter tako možna oblika borbe zoper obstoječo (kulturno) hegemonijo. Četudi je pri tem pogosto šlo za potencialnost, so se umetniki zelo dobro zavedali tudi pasti razširitve imperialističnih tendenc pri prisvajanju

62 Kunst, »Nomadsko desetletje«, str. 81.

expected fate). Živadinov indicated the unity of the project by opting for an unchanging cast; any deceased members were to be replaced by symbols (women's spoken text by melodies, men's by rhythms) and the remaining performers would maintain unchanged relationships with them.

In the final act of the project in 2045, the performers' technological replacements are to be taken into orbit aboard a spacecraft, there to be joined by the only surviving member, the author of the project, Dragan Živadinov. Bojana Kunst understands this project as a "careful thinking about territory that has radically moved away from actual physical space through an exclusive temporality and an incremental progressiveness."⁶¹ *Noordung::1995-2045* is not the only Živadinov project of postgravity art, but it is the most continuous and detailed in schedule, with precisely determined stages of implementation. Perhaps the most plastic example of Živadinov's postgravity art is his performance *Zero Gravity – Biomechanics Noordung* (1999, Star City, Moscow), since this is his first work of art actually carried out in zero gravity conditions, more specifically, at an altitude of 6,660 meters in an Ilyushin aircraft used for training Russian cosmonauts. Under the altered conditions the laws of movement change, providing a different physical basis for the altered regimes of watching and realizing a piece of the avant-garde's technological dreams in a retro-utopian fashion.

In this regard, Živadinov's postgravity-art stage should also be read in relation to the then increasingly topical theories of cyberspace, the questions about the changes in the space-time paradigm and the bodies and subjectivities in it. This links Živadinov to the other de-territorial premise – that of virtuality, understood in its early stage as a potential for a more egalitarian production of information and knowledge and thus a possible form of fighting the existing (cultural) hegemony. While works often dealt with potential solutions, the artists were nonetheless well aware of the pitfalls of the expansion of imperialist tendencies in conquering new territories. Today it is clear that the Web represents another dimension of intergovernmental and corporate struggle for control and commercialization, but in the

61 Kunst, "Nomadsko desetletje," 81.

1990s this space seemed an open territory of free opportunities and numerous undiscovered uses.

A prominent player in this field in Slovenia was Ljudmila, initially a program of technical literacy and infrastructure that formally became an organization in 1994–1995.⁶² Interestingly, Ljudmila also became a context of artistic production (Vuk Ćosić, Marko Peljhan, and Luka Frelih among others). The artists made the most of the opportunity and partly appropriated the platform as "an improvised substitute for an institution allowing all manner of initiatives."⁶³ With its numerous and diverse activities, Ljudmila "rode on the wind of the then transformation of information technology; directed by the Open Society Institute, there was an avalanche of infrastructural projects of transition into an open information society; the first artists', NGOs', and event websites were launched, with the ambition to encourage using the creative potential of the Internet as a medium, and not merely as an instrument of presentation."⁶⁴

The key activist protagonists resisted commercial exploitation, preferring to follow radical endeavors in the field of cyber culture. Affirmation of Internet art soon spread also among other artists in Slovenia (Igor Štromajer, Marko Košnik, Jaka Železnikar, Teo Spiller, Borut Savski); this generation put Slovenia on the map in the 1990s with their performances and performative gestures. Bojana Kunst concisely described these transfers in relation to scenic artists as a "nomadic decade of hazardous settlement" in an article with this as the title published in the catalogue of the exhibition *Territories, Identities, Networks: Slovenian Art 1995–2005*.⁶⁵

Mateja Bučar's performance *Dependance* (1997) also belongs here, departing from the premise that if every individual performance sets up its own specific communication system, all performances must be interrelated precisely because of that.

62 Ljudmila was established on the initiative of Zavod za odprto družbo (ZOD) / Open Society Institute, which also financed it until the end of the millennium.

63 Miha Colner, Ida Hiršenfelder, "Zgodovina neformalnih presežkov," in *POWERED by Ljudmila*, (eds.) Alenka Gregorič, Keiko Suzuki (Ljubljana: Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljana, 2011), 14.

64 *Ibid.*, 16.

65 Kunst, "Nomadsko desetletje," 78–86.

novega teritorija. Danes je sicer jasno, da splet predstavlja dodatno dimenzijo meddržavnih in z njimi povezanih korporativnih bojev nadzora in komercializacije, v devetdesetih letih pa se je ta prostor kazal kot teritorij nenaseljenih in nezasedenih možnosti ter številnih še neodkritih (upo)rab.

V to zgodbo se najizraziteje umesti Ljudmila, sprva program tehničnega opismenjevanja in infrastrukture, ki v letih 1994–1995 dobi pravno-formalni status organizacije.⁶³ Zanimivo je, da je pri Ljudmili začela nastajati tudi umetniška produkcija (predvsem Vuka Ćosića, Marka Peljhana in Luka Freliha). Ustvarjalci so izkoristili ponujene danosti in si platformo deloma prisvojili za »improviziran nadomestek institucije, ki [jim] dopušča najrazličnejše iniciative.«⁶⁴ S svojimi raznorodnimi aktivnostmi Ljudmila »ujame veter aktualne transformacije informacijske tehnologije; pod taktirko ZOD je sprožen plaz infrastrukturnih projektov prehajanja v odprto informacijsko družbo; ustvarijo se prva spletna mesta za umetnike, nevladne organizacije in dogodke, pri čemer želijo avtorji vzpodbuditi kreativne možnosti izrabe interneta kot medija, ki presega golo predstavitevno orodje.«⁶⁵

Aktivistična naravnost osrednjih protagonistov se je uprla komercialni eksploataciji in raje sledila radikalnim prizadevanjem v polju kiberkulture. Afirmacija spletnega ustvarjanja se je kmalu (raz)širila tudi med druge slovenske ustvarjalce (Igor Štromajer, Marko Košnik, Jaka Železnikar, Teo Spiller, Borut Savski); z njihovimi umetniškimi performansi in performativnimi gestami je Slovenija postala v devetdesetih letih prepoznavna. Bojana Kunst omenjene premestitve v zvezi z generacijo scenskih umetnikov strnjeno označi kot »nomadsko desetletje tveganega naseljevanja« v istoimenskem članku, objavljenem v katalogu razstave *Teritoriji, identitete, mreže: slovenska umetnost 1995–2005*.⁶⁶

Sem sodi tudi predstava *Dependance* (1997), v kateri je Mateja Bučar izhajala iz predpostavke, da

63 Ljudmila nastane na pobudo Zavoda za odprto družbo (ZOD), ki jo obilno financira vse do konca tisočletja.

64 Miha Colner in Ida Hiršenfelder, »Zgodovina neformalnih presežkov«, v: *POWERED by Ljudmila*, ur. Alenka Gregorič, Keiko Suzuki (Ljubljana: Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljane, 2011), str. 14.

65 Prav tam, str. 16.

66 Kunst, »Nomadsko desetletje«, str. 78–86.

če vsaka posamezna predstava vzpostavlja svoj lastni, specifičen komunikacijski sistem, so prav zato vse predstave med sabo povezane. Avtorica je predstavo posvetila ruskemu znanstveniku A. L. Čiževskemu, ki je razvil posebno teorijo o vplivu dinamik na Sončevi površini na življenje na Zemlji. V predstavi je bila intenzivnost svetlobe skladna z izračuni merilnega sistema, ki ga je razvil Čiževski, in z empiričnimi podatki za 7. februar 1997, ko bi znanstvenik praznoval stoti rojstni dan, ritem svetlobnih teles pa so narekovali vmesniki, ki so merili srčni utrip plesalk Mateje Bučar v Ljubljani in Paule Massanov v Kulturnem centru de Belem v Lizboni ter ga prenašali med predstavama na dveh koncih Evrope.

Kljub temu da spletne umetnosti v devetdesetih letih ne smemo razumeti zgolj kot umetniški performans – četudi je mogoče vrsto performansov v tem času brati v tesni zvezi z novimi spletnimi, tehnološkimi in prostorskimi konfiguracijami (Marko Peljhan: *Trije egoritmi. Projekt Atol*, 1992, *Ladimir Фактыра: Prva površina – MIKROLAB*, 1994; Marko Košnik: *Cukrarna*, 1994, *A.B.Sence*, 1996; Igor Štromajer: *ON.KRAJ*, 1997) –, pa je nedvomno tudi zgodnje oblike spletne umetnosti treba razumeti kot (uspešno) performativno gesto, ki je odpirala številna drzna vprašanja o (upo)rabi spleta in skrbela za kritičen diskurz in aktivističen razvoj odprtokodnih programov ter za brezplačno (upo)rabo interneta.

Stroj

Pojem stroja, ki postane vseprisoten v devetdesetih letih, se napaja predvsem v konceptualizaciji Deleuza in Guattarija. Ta izhaja iz grškega pojma *machana*, ki ne razločuje med materialno, tehnično podstatjo stroja in njegovo nematerialno, tj. miselno dimenzijo, s čimer pojmovanje stroja sega onstran opozicijske logike stroj – človek ali mehanizem – organizem. Konceptualizacija razpre strukturne pasti in potencialnosti, ki jih sprožajo različni odnosi in proizvodnje sil med strojem (določenim dispozitivom) in njegovim upravljalcem.

Na podlagi definicije rizomatskih strojev je mogoče prebirati tudi umetniške stroje/geste/ performanse in družbena gibanja različnih obdobj, saj se po definiciji zoperstavljajo statičnim strukturam, ki so v domeni države in njenih aparatov (njenih podsistemov ali institucij). Tovrstna prizadevanja so prisotna v različnih obdobjih, a v devetdesetih letih

Bučar dedicated her performance to the Russian scientist A. L. Chizhevsky, who developed a theory of the influence of sunspot activity on life on Earth. At the performance, the intensity of light was calculated in accordance with a measuring system developed by Chizhevsky and the empirical data for 7 February 1997 (the 100th anniversary of his birth), while the rhythm of light bodies was dictated by interfaces measuring the heart rates of dancers Mateja Bučar in Ljubljana and Paula Massanov at the Cultural Center Belem in Lisbon and transmitting them between the two performances in two parts of Europe.

Despite the fact that Internet art in the 1990s cannot be understood just as performance art – although many performances of the time can be read as closely linked to the new Internet, technological, and spatial configurations (Marko Peljhan: *Three Egorhythms. Projekt Atol*, 1992, *Ladimir Daktya: First Surface – MIKROLAB*, 1994; Marko Košnik: *Cukrarna*, 1994, *A.B.Sence*, 1996; Igor Štromajer: *ON.KRAJ*, 1997) – undoubtedly also the early forms of Internet art need to be seen as (successful) performative gestures that broached many bold questions about the uses of the Internet, and ensured critical discourse about and activist development of open-code software and free use of the Internet.

Machine

The notion of the machine, which became omnipresent in the 1990s, tapped primarily into the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari. It derives from the Greek *machana* that does not distinguish between the material, technical premise of the machine and its immaterial, conceptual dimension, which takes the notion of the machine beyond the oppositional logic of machine – man or mechanism – organism. This conceptualization opens up the structural pitfalls and potentialities of the diverse relations and productions of forces between the machine (a certain dispositif) and its operator. The definition of rhizomatic machines can also serve as a basis for reading artistic machines-gestures-performances and social movements in various periods, since they oppose, by definition, the static structures upheld by the state and its apparatuses (its subsystems and institutions). While present in various periods, such endeavors took a very special form in the 1990s, not least

because of the context of transition and the transformation of the state structure and its subsystems. This is a period marked by an “expansion of diverse, borderline, interconnecting, intertextual, intervisual, and intercorporeal idioms”⁶⁶ forming productive artistic machines, conceived in the desire of *spectator castration* and their transition to new theaters and conceptual associations.

Initiation rituals are quite conspicuous in this period, most frequently introducing spectators into the work with a synthetic variation of the performance motifs (Dragan Živadinov, *Drama Observatory Kapital*,⁶⁷ 1991, Public Warehouses, Ljubljana, *Prayer Machine Noordung – Ballet*,⁶⁸ 1993, Cankarjev Dom Center, the Štih Hall; Vlado Repnik, *Brigades of Beauty*,⁶⁹ 1990, Cankarjev Dom Center, the Štih Hall, *Walter Wolf*,⁷⁰ 1993, Križanke, Knights’ Hall; Matjaž Berger, *Volunteers on Mt. Eiger*,⁷¹ 1993).⁷² The other prominent aspect is non-standard optical positions (reverse perspectives), especially in the works of Dragan Živadinov and Emil Hrvatin, deriving from the realization that “the point of view is not determined by what the eye sees, but rather, what the eye sees is determined by the position occupied in the theatrical machine by the observing body.”⁷³ This means that the artist always has the power to direct the spectator’s gaze in a way that transfers the traditional spectator

66 Emil Hrvatin, “Uvod,” in Boris Pintar & Jana Pavlič, *Kastracijski stroji: gledališče in umetnost devetdesetih* (Ljubljana: Maska in Center za raziskave scenskih umetnosti DELAK, 2001), 9.

67 Spectators chosen in an earlier selection process were handed an object/artefact/model of the satellite devised by Slovenian astro-visionary Herman Potočnik Noordung, a sacral object that the artist idolized later in the performance.

68 Dressed in NASA jumpsuits, assistants checked tickets (airline tickets) and decided from which position (standard auditorium or the stage) the spectators would “take off into space.”

69 The actors placed approximately every tenth visitor on an autopsy gurney and transported them to the auditorium via a dark corridor behind the scenes.

70 The visitors were met at the door by monks who led them by hand in the dark to their seats, and after the show, again led them out, whispering incantations about self-awareness into their ears.

71 Simon Kardum reads the helicopter incursion as a ritualization of the environment and an expansion of the theatrical territory in the style of mass games.

72 Simon Kardum, “Uvodni rituali,” *Maska* 3, no. 4–5 (1993): 38–41.

73 Bojan Anđelković, *Umetniški ustroj Noordung: filozofija in njen dvojniki* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2016), 179.

zavzamejo prav posebno obliko, nenazadnje tudi zato, ker gre za kontekst tranzicije in transformacije državne strukture in njenih podsistemov. Gre za obdobje, zaznamovano z »ekspanzijo različnih, mejnih, povezovalnih, intertekstualnih, intervizualnih in interkorporalnih govoric.«⁶⁷ ki oblikujejo tvorne umetniške stroje, zasnovane v želji *kastracije gledalcev* in njihovega prehoda k novim gledališčem in miselnim povezavam.

Še posebej izraziti so v tem obdobju uvodni rituali oziroma iniciacije, ki najpogosteje s sintetično variacijo motivov performansa uvedejo gledalca v delo (Dragan Živadinov, *Dramski observatorij Kapital*⁶⁸ (1991, Javna skladišča), *Molitveni stroj Noordung – balet*⁶⁹ (1993, Štihova dvorana CD); Vlado Repnik, *Brigade lepote*⁷⁰ (1990, Štihova dvorana CD), *Walter Wolf*⁷¹ (1993, Viteška dvorana, Križanke); Matjaž Berger, *Priglasje na gori Eiger*⁷² (1993) idr.),⁷³ in nestandardizirane optične pozicije (obrnjene perspektivnosti) (tu izstopata Dragan Živadinov in Emil Hrvatin); slednje izhajajo iz spoznanja, da »[t]očka pogleda ni določena s tistim, kar oko vidi, ampak je tisto, kar oko vidi, določeno z mestom, ki ga v gledališkem stroju zaseda telo, ki opazuje.«⁷⁴ To pomeni, da ima umetnik vselej moč, da gledalčev pogled usmeri tako, da je njegova ustaljena gledalska pozicija premeščena in s tem usmerjena na način razpiranja drugačnih videnj in s tem tudi spoznanj. Ker so devetdeseta leta polna tovrstnih trikov/invencij, tudi Boris Pintar svojo knjigo, posvečeno pregledu uprizoritvenih praks

67 Emil Hrvatin, »Uvod«, v: Boris Pintar in Jana Pavlič, *Kastracijski stroji: gledališče in umetnost devetdesetih* (Ljubljana: Maska in Center za raziskave scenskih umetnosti DELAK, 2001), str. 9.

68 Vsak gledalec, izbran po vnaprejšnji selekciji, je dobil v roke objekt/artefakt/model satelita slovenskega astrovizionarja Hermana Potočnika Noordunga, sakralni objekt, ki ga je kasneje v performansu malikoval avtor sam.

69 Asistenti, oblečeni v kombinezone Nase, so preverjali vstopnice (letalske vozovnice) in se odločali, s katere pozicije (iz klasičnega avditorija ali z igralskega podija) bodo gledalci »poleteli v vesolje«.

70 Igralci so približno vsakega desetega obiskovalca posadili na obdukcijsko mizo in ga po zatemnjenem koridorju izza kulis odpeljali do avditorija.

71 Obiskovalce so pri vhodu pričakali menihi in jih v temi, vodeč jih za roko, posedli, po koncu predstave pa jih pospremili ven in jim pri tem šepetali na uho uroke o samospoznanju.

72 Vdor helikopterja Simon Kardum bere kot ritualizacijo ambienta in ekspanzijo gledališkega teritorija v slogu stadionskih športnih spektaklov.

73 Povzeto po: Simon Kardum, »Uvodni rituali«, *Maska* 3, št. 4–5 (1993), str. 38–41.

74 Bojan Anđelković, *Umetniški ustroj Noordung: filozofija in njen dvojniki* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2016), str. 179.

devetdesetih let, naslovi kar *Kastracijski stroji*, s čimer meri na psihoanalitični pojem simbolne kastracije, pri kateri bi gledalčevo frustracijo lahko opisali z naslednjo formulacijo, ki je posebej zabavna, če pomislimo na razmestitve glav gledalcev v scenografiji *Molitvenega stroja Noordung* Živadinova: »Dokler te ni v jeziku (ali performansu), ne obstajaš, ko pa si v jeziku (ali performansu), nikoli nisi cel.«

Postrukturalizem in psihoanaliza

Nove teoretske smeri s francoskim strukturalizmom, poststrukturalizmom in teoretsko psihoanalizo so z ustanovitvijo Društva za teoretsko psihoanalizo (1983) močno prežamema mlade intelektualce in umetnike s koncepti, s katerimi se je dalo različne družbene, politične, kulturne in umetniške razvidnosti preiščevati na dotlej še nepričakovanih mestih, z njihove hrbtni strani ali v njihovih fantazmatskih oporah. Teorija je v vrsti primerov burila domišljijo ustvarjalcev, tudi v primerih, ko so si jo razlagali s konceptualnimi napakami. Zdi se, da ni nič tako učinkovito ostrilo kulturniških in umetniških taktik in strategij kakor prav konceptualna zaloga teorije, ki je nastajala od šestdesetih let in postopoma vznikala v kulturnem horizontu, saj je bilo z njo mogoče nagovarjanje sistema z upoštevanjem Niča, na katerega so bili pripeti različni institucionalni sistemi.

Lacanovska teoretska psihoanaliza je svoj paradigmatični značaj v umetniškem in kulturnem ustvarjanju utrjevala tudi v devetdesetih letih, saj je s prvinami kritike postmoderne poljubnosti in relativizma omogočala ohranjanje distance do poznega kapitalizma. Dialog s teorijo je v veliki meri še naprej generiral šok, bodisi z obscenostmi (trupla, tehnotelesa in pornografija) ali še pogosteje z obrati, izpostavljenimi necelostmi (preigravanja perspektivnosti, nelinearna dramaturgija in naracija, podvojitve kot različni načini spopada z vdorom realnega⁷⁵ idr.) in simptomi, ki jih je med drugim prepoznati v konceptualnih nastavkih (obravnave fantazme, falusa kot označevalca, manka, travme,

75 Izpostaviti velja performans Vlada Repnika *Brigade lepote*, hvalnico novi gledališki umetnosti, ki je izšla iz »razpada tehnološko-informacijske hipertrofije, razpada ideologije in razpada morale«, kot zapiše umetnik v najavnem besedilu. V avtorski obdelavi bibličnega motiva o Kajnu in Abelu je v figuri »Vdor realnega« nastopil slikar in obdukcijski pomočnik Jože Tisnikar, ki naj bi na odru seciral resnično truplo (kar ustvarjalni ekipi ni uspelo) in tako s svojo poklicno biografijo v dvorano vnesel občutek realnega. Glej: *Likovne besede* 7, št. 21–22 (1992).

position, directing it to open to different visions and, thus, realizations. The 1990s were so full of such tricks/inventions, that Boris Pintar entitled his book giving an overview of the performing arts in the 1990s *Kastracijski stroji* [Castration Machines], in reference to the psychoanalytical notion of symbolic castration. In this regard, the spectators' frustrations could be summed up with the following phrase, which is even funnier if one thinks of the way Živadinov positioned the spectators' heads in the set design of the *Prayer Machine Noordung*: "As long as you are not in the language (or the performance), you don't exist, but when you *are* in the language (or the performance), you're never whole."

Post-Structuralism and Psychoanalysis

New theoretical trends, French structuralism, post-structuralism, theoretical psychoanalysis, and the formation of the Society for Theoretical Psychoanalysis (1983) imbued young intellectuals and artists with concepts that enabled them to think (about) various social, political, cultural, and artistic appearances from unexpected positions, e.g. from the back or their phantasmal underpinnings. This theory fired the imagination of artists in numerous works, and also in some cases when it was conceptually misinterpreted. Nothing seems to have honed cultural and artistic strategies and tactics so successfully as the conceptual store of theory evolving since the 1960s and seeping into the horizon of culture, since it allowed engaging the system through the notion of Nothingness and the various institutional systems associated with it. Lacanian theoretical psychoanalysis solidified its position of a paradigm in artistic and cultural production in the 1990s, since its critique of postmodern arbitrariness and relativism enabled maintaining a distance from late capitalism. To a large extent, the dialogue with theory continued to generate shock, either through obscenity (dead bodies, techno-bodies, and pornography) or, more frequently, through turns, through emphasized non-wholes (changes in perspective, nonlinear dramaturgy and narration, duplication as a form of countering the intrusion of reality,⁷⁴ etc.)

74 Vlado Repnik's performance *Brigades of Beauty* deserves special mention. A hymn to new theatrical art, it arose from "the dissolution of technological-information hypertrophy, the dissolution of ideology, and the dissolution of morale," as the artist described it in the press release. In the treatment of the biblical motif of Cain and Abel, the "Intrusion of Reality" figure

and symptoms recognizable, among others, in conceptual underpinnings (the focus on phantasms, the phallus as signifier, the lack, trauma, repression, fetish, etc.) and in the proliferation of various forms of para-institutions (devising symbolic systems, such as political, social, and also erotic). An important aspect is the attempts to objectify the public through the so-called initiation rituals, which the artists used to perform the Lacanian paradox of the split between the eye and the gaze, the perspectival and agonistic logic of the gaze and its history. In such highly heterogeneous artistic productions, performances and performative gestures were crucial.

War and Art

An overview of the numerous (graphic, textual, and performative) interventions in the late 1980s, especially in the sphere of student culture, gives a strong impression of how accurately the events on the horizon were anticipated, including the premonitions of the horrors of war in the aftermath of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, war and its multiple consequences were not central topics in artistic practices; there was just a handful of artistic performances dealing specifically with the war in Bosnia. This does not, however, mean that artists and other cultural workers were not directly involved in numerous initiatives, actions, and forms of help: there were cultural, educational, and other civil-society initiatives for helping the refugees on various levels and assisting those who stayed in Slovenia to become involved in culture and art.

One of the central meeting points for refugees was the cultural-artistic center KUD France Prešeren in Ljubljana. There, actress and writer Draga Potočnjak formed the *Pregnanci* [The Displaced] community, where displaced people spoke about another, different home in a series of projects. The project won the Europe Prize for the (second) best humanitarian project. Similarly, the theater troupe *Nepopravljivi optimisti* [Incorrigible Optimists] comprised Slovenian artists who worked in collaboration with young refugees. Among others,

included the appearance of Slovenian painter and autopsy assistant Jože Tisnikar, who was initially intended to perform an autopsy on a real human corpse (which turned out to be impossible) and thus introduce the sense and element of reality in the theater. See: *Likovne besede* 7, no. 21-22 (1992).

potlačitve, fetiša idr.) in v razmahu različnih oblik parainstitucij (vzpostavljanje simbolnih sistemov, političnega, družbenega, pa tudi erotičnega). Poudariti je treba tudi poskuse objektivacije javnosti s t. i. uvodnimi rituali, s katerimi umetniki in umetnice gledalcu uprizarjajo lacanovski paradoks shize očesa in pogleda, perspektivno in agonistično logiko pogleda in njegove zgodovine. Performans in performativne geste so v izrazito heterogenih umetniških izvedbah ključni.

Vojna in umetnost

Pregled številnih intervencij (grafičnih, besedilnih in tudi performativnih) iz obdobja proti koncu osemdesetih let, nastalih zlasti v polju študentske kulture, nas zlahka prepriča o natančni detekciji prihajajočega obdobja, vključno s slutnjami vojnih grozot, ki jih bo prinesel razpad Jugoslavije. Tematizacija vojne in njenih multiplih posledic kljub temu ni stopila v središče umetniških praks. Kljub temu da lahko umetniške performanse, ki komentirajo vojno v Bosni, preštejemo verjetno celo na prste ene roke, so takrat nastale številne pobude, oblike pomoči in delovanja, v katerih so bili kulturniki neposredno vpeti. Sem sodijo kulturne, izobraževalne in druge civilnodružbene iniciative, ki so pomagale beguncem na različnih ravneh in olajšale tistim, ki so ostali, vstop v kulturno-umetniške sredine. Eno osrednjih mest zbiranja beguncev je bil KUD France Prešeren, kjer je med drugim dramska igralka in pisateljica Draga Potočnjak ustvarila skupnost *Pregnancev*, ki so v seriji projektov spregovorili o nekem drugem domu. Projekt je prejel nagrado Sveta Evrope za (drugi) najboljši humanitarni projekt. Tako se je oblikovala tudi gledališka skupina *Nepopravljivi optimisti*, v kateri so slovenski umetniki soustvarjali z mladimi begunci. Med drugim je s skupino sodeloval tudi kolektiv Ana Monro v predstavi *I mirna Bosna* (1994), ki preigrava usodo treh bosanskih beguncev na poti skozi Evropo. Kljub številnim akcijam, delavnicam in projektom, ki so obravnavali probleme vojne in z njo povezanega begunstva, so le redki avtorji omenjeno tematiko vtkali neposredno v umetniške performanse.

Eden redkih primerov obravnave vojne v umetniških delih je umetniški tandem Marine Gržinić in Aine Šmid, ki sta se tematizacije lotili

s ciklom video performansov (1990–1995). Tema vojne v njenem delu ne nastopa samostojno, temveč se prepleta s premislekom in v povezavi z drugimi simbolnimi sistemi, ki se vpisujejo v telo (politizacija telesa, prevpraševanje marginaliziranih identitet in vsakokratnih in partikularnih oblik gospostva in odnosov moči), ki jih avtorici obravnavata z nizanem filmskih, literarnih, glasbenih in seveda teoretskih referenc. *Bilokacija* (1990) uvaja »izvirno dokumentarno gradivo, ki ga je Televizija Slovenije posnela med 'državljansko vojno' na Kosovu leta 1989.«⁷⁶ Delo *Tri sestre* (1992) obravnava tranzicijo političnega sistema, ki jo ustvarjalki reflektirata skozi »prvi kapitalistični svet«, ki ga postavljata pod vprašaj. V delu sta uporabili tudi dokumentarno gradivo televizijskih posnetkov vojne na Hrvaškem v devetdesetih letih (eksodus iz Vukovarja, napad na Osijek).⁷⁷ *Labirint* (1993) med drugim kontekstualizira »paradigmo sodobnih globalnih mest, ki [se spreminja v] koncentracijsko taborišče, tudi v njegovi sodobni inačici begunskih zbirnih centrov, prehodnih domov za tujce, raznih azilov itd.«⁷⁸ *Luna 10* (1994) obravnava »vlogo različnih medijev med vojno v Bosni in Hercegovini v devetdesetih letih«⁷⁹ in izpeljuje tezo, da ima vsaka vojna svoj medij, ki vojno opredeljuje, in z njim tudi vsakokratne specifike.

Taktično-komunikacijski vidik vojne je obeležil Marko Peljhan s projektom *Terminal* (1996). Avtor je projekt zasnoval kot ritmično spreminjajoči se prikaz navigacijskih kart nad območji teritorialnih konfliktov, s katerim so z avtomatizirano radijsko opremo VHF in UHF presegali komunikacijo, ki je v času vojne v Bosni nad Slovenijo in Hrvaško (za)-beležila tudi različne vojaške in reševalne lete v smeri jugovzhoda.

Odnos do vojne je s performativno gesto neposredno izrazila tudi Rene Rusjan, ki se je na začetku devetdesetih let manifestativno umaknila iz umetniškega konteksta. Njen zavestni prestop v civilno sfero in neposredni vstop na področje socialnega dela z begunci pronicljivo govorita tudi o relaciji med umetnostjo in vojno oziroma

76 Gržinić in Velagić, *Trenutki odločitve*, str. 35.

77 Prav tam, str. 38-39.

78 Prav tam, str. 41.

79 Prav tam, str. 41-42.

the Ana Monro collective worked with them in the performance *And Peace in Bosnia* (1994), which portrayed the fate of three Bosnian refugees on their journey across Europe. However, despite the numerous actions, workshops, and projects that addressed the issues of war and refugees, few artists used such topics as subjects of their artistic performances.

Among such rare examples of artists directly dealing with war in their works were Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid, a duo of artists that focused on the subject in a series of video performances (1990–1995). War does not appear as the sole topic in their works, but in combination with reflections on other symbolic systems associated with the body (the politicization of the body, the questioning of marginalized identities, of incidental and particular forms of dominance and power relations), addressed through numerous film, literary, musical, and theoretical references. *Bilocation* (1990) includes “original documentary footage filmed by Television Slovenia during the ‘civil war’ in Kosovo in 1989.”⁷⁵ *Three Sisters* (1992) deals with the transition of the political system, which the artists reflect through “the First, capitalist, World,” which they question. In this video, documentary footage of the war in Croatia in the 1990s is used (the Vukovar exodus, the shelling of Osijek).⁷⁶ *Labyrinth* (1993) contextualizes “the paradigm of contemporary global cities [changing into] a concentration camp, also in its current form of refugee centers, various asylum and aliens centers, etc.”⁷⁷ *Luna 10* (1994) is about “the role of different media during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s”⁷⁸ and puts forward the idea that every war has its own medium that defines the war, and with the medium, also its specific characteristics.

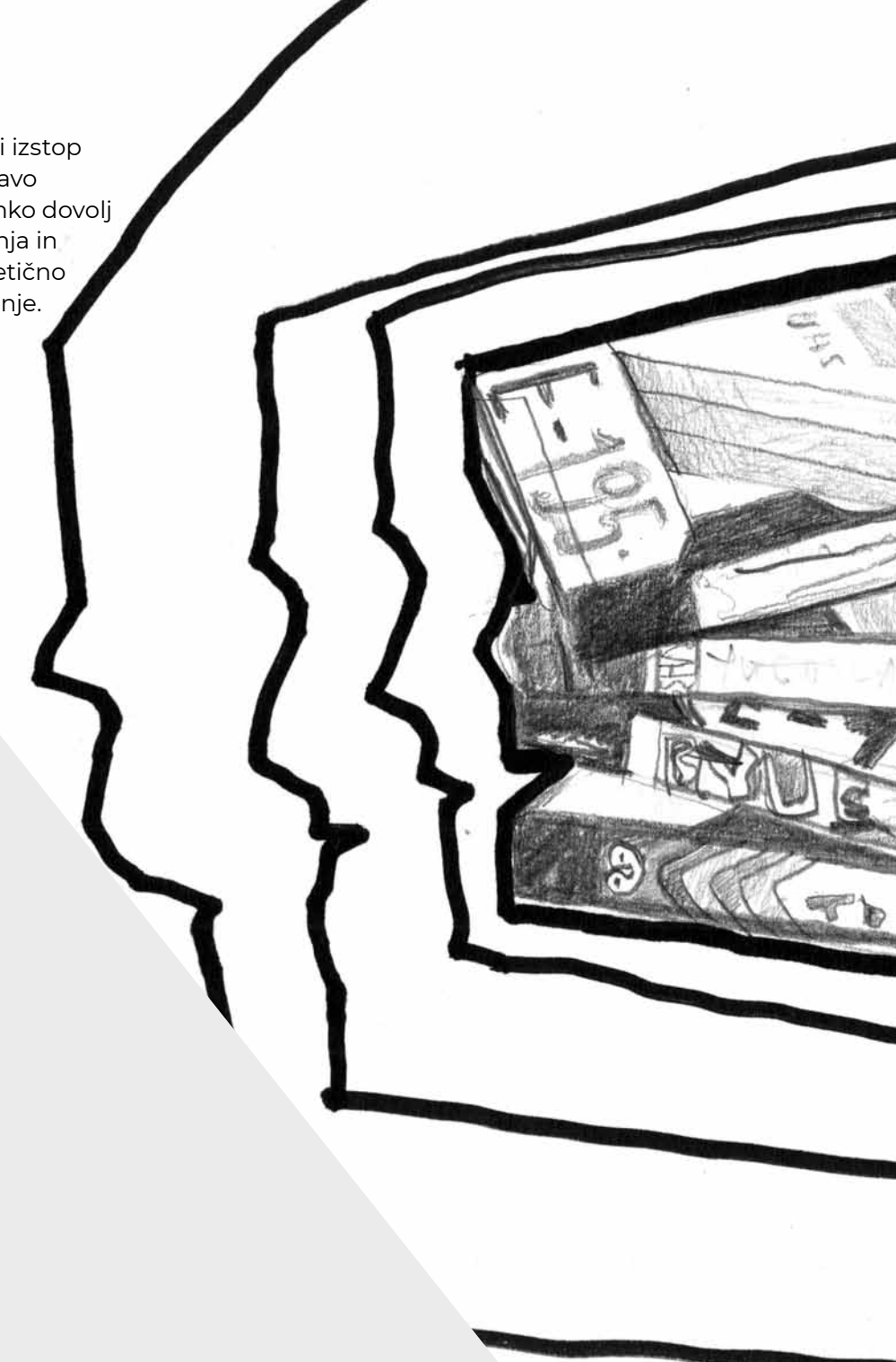
Marko Peljhan underscored the tactical communication aspect of war in his project entitled *Terminal* (1996). He conceived it as a rhythmically changing display of navigation charts over the areas of territorial conflicts, intercepting with automated VHF and UHF radio equipment communications that also indicated various

military and rescue flights over Slovenia and Croatia during the war in Bosnia.

Rene Rusjan also expressed her attitude to the war with a direct performative gesture: in the early 1990s, she demonstratively stepped out of the context of art. Her deliberate transfer into the civil sphere and her direct involvement in social work with refugees are lucid comments on the relation between art and war, or between artists and war. Her temporary withdrawal from the sphere of art turned out to be the only truly engaged action. This gesture graphically reveals the artists’ unwritten expectations and ethics – that representing war without having direct experience of it would be unethical.

Translated by Tamara Soban

umetnikom ali umetnico in vojno. Začasni izstop iz sfere umetnosti se razkrije kot edino pravo angažirano početje. Z omenjeno gesto lahko dovolj nazorno odstremo nenapisana pričakovanja in etiko umetnic in umetnikov, da bi bilo neetično predstavljati vojno brez neposredne izkušnje.



⁷⁵ Gržinić and Velagić, *Trenutki odločitve*, 35.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 38–39.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 41–42.

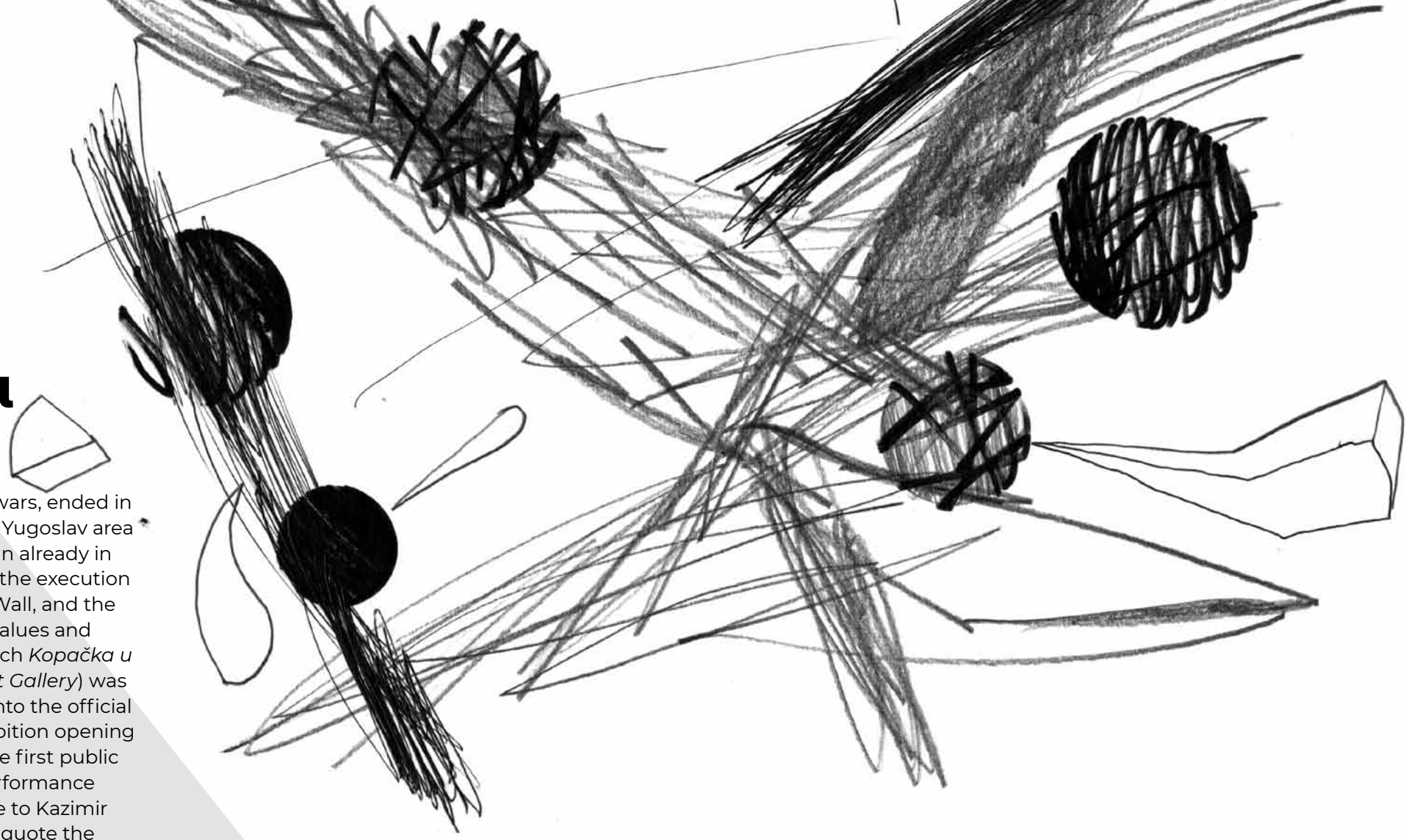
03

Performance as an Exercise of Political Will

The long 20th century, a century of wars, ended in Croatia – and probably in the entire Yugoslav area – with the final decade, which began already in 1989. “This was the period that saw the execution of Ceausescu, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the disappearance of solid systems of values and ideology.”¹ This is the context in which *Kopačka u galeriji* (*The Football Boot in the Art Gallery*) was created in form of an intervention into the official program of Kazimir Malevich’s exhibition opening in Zagreb on 22 December 1989. The first public performance of the theater and performance group was presented as an homage to Kazimir Malevich’s painting *Sportsmen* – to quote the collective themselves, the action took place on the then Day of the Yugoslav People’s Army and was performed by 11 young men without any stage experience, who were dressed in costumes inspired by the painting. It is worth noting that merely a few months after the “Theatralization of Football Culture” proclaimed by Montažstroj, the football match between Dinamo from Zagreb and Crvena Zvezda from Belgrade was interrupted by violent rioting at the stadium in Zagreb, accompanied by a series of fights and confrontations across the city. As was confirmed by fans from both sides on multiple occasions, this was not merely a clash between football fans, but rather a national one.² In early September, when announcing their first stage performance, Montažstroj performed a prophetic action in a public space: “Institutionally and non-

1 <http://montazstroj.hr/projekt/index.php?id=4>, accessed 4 January 2021.

2 <https://www.goal.com/hr/news/8632/nogometne-legende/2015/05/13/11659862/s-delijama-je-bio-i-dana%C5%A1nji-srpski-premijer-nije-bilo>, accessed 10 January 2021.



**Jasna
Jakšić**

Performans kot vaja politične volje

Dolgo dvajseto stoletje, stoletje vojn, se je na Hrvaškem, tako kot verjetno po vsej Jugoslaviji, končalo z desetletjem, ki se je začelo že leta 1989. »To je bil čas, ko je bil ubit Ceausescu, ko je padel berlinski zid in ko so izginili trdni vrednostni in ideološki sistemi.«¹ To je opis konteksta, v katerem je nastala *Kopačka v galeriji* takrat ustanovljenega združenja Montažstroj, ki je bila izvedena v obliki intervencije v uradni otvoritveni program razstave Kazimirja Maleviča v Zagrebu 22. decembra 1989. Prvi javni nastop gledališko- performerske skupine je bil izveden kot poklon sliki Kazimirja Maleviča *Športniki*. Po besedah članov kolektiva se je akcija zgodila na dan JLA, izvedlo pa jo je enajst mladeničev brez gledaliških izkušenj, oblečenih v kostume, za katere so dobili navdih pri Malevičevi sliki. Dodati je treba le še to, da so nekaj mesecev po »Teatralizaciji nogometne kulture«, ki jo je objavil Montažstroj 13. maja 1990, tekmo med zagrebškim klubom Dinamo in beograjskim klubom Crvena Zvezda preprečili spopadi in nasilni izgredi na zagrebškem stadionu ter pretepi in spopadi v mestu. Kot so navijači na obeh straneh že večkrat potrdili, to ni bil spopad navijačev, ampak nacionalni spopad.² V začetku septembra je Montažstroj ob napovedi prve predstave izvedel preroško akcijo v javnem prostoru: »Tako v institucijah kot zunaj njih je bilo vzdušje razgreto do vrelišča, kar je ponazarjala prva ulična akcija performerske skupine Montažstroj *Achtung Alarm!* leta 1990, ki je državljanke pozivala k budnosti in previdnosti z gasilskega vozila, s katerim so se takratni člani

1 <http://montazstroj.hr/projekt/index.php?id=4>, dostop 4. 1. 2021.

2 <https://www.goal.com/hr/news/8632/nogometne-legende/2015/05/13/11659862/s-delijama-je-bio-i-dana%C5%A1nji-srpski-premijer-nije-bilo>, dostop 10. 1. 2021.

institutionally, the atmosphere was brought to a climax, which was illustrated by the first street action of the performance group Montažstroj *Achtung Alarm!* in 1990; the group members rode through the city center in a fire engine, sporting a futurist-avant-garde combination of costume and makeup, urging the citizens to be alert and cautious. The sound of the siren and warnings spoken through a megaphone were simultaneously a reflection of playfulness of the decadent 1980s and a prelude to the tragic chaos of the 1990s. Furthermore, this action was also one of the last for a long time to come, since there was neither the atmosphere nor room anymore for artistic street actions with symbolic meaning and subtle metaphors, and there would probably have been no understanding of them on the part of citizens; hence such actions had to be clearly legitimized as anti-war, albeit patriotic, and affirmative and supportive in the artistic as well as political senses.³

In late June of 1991, in the very wake of the war, the fifth edition of Eurokaz – The International Festival of New Theater took place. The international guests arrived via Hungary since Slovenia had already been blocked; at the end of the festival, some of them were evacuated in ships through Italy, outside of the war zone. On the east of Croatia, in Osijek, the war interrupted the planned event PostEurokaz, although performances by Ivana Popović and Montažstroj, both coproduced by Eurokaz, were among the three staged ones.

The political context of the stage performance *Ribizl bomba (Blackcurrant Bomb)* by the visual artist and fashion and costume designer Ivana Popović, according to Suzana Marjanić,⁴ is evident in the omnipresence of the red and white square pattern, which invokes tavern tablecloths, but also the ubiquitous national iconography at the time, as well as the sentimental tradition of Licitar Hearts. Furthermore, Marjanić continues, the original idea for the poster was a pattern sample, like in *Burda* magazine, in the shape of the disintegration

3 Igor Ružić, "Pripadati, pripasti ili propasti u (ne)zaslužnim vremenima," accessed 4 January 2021, <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/pripadati-pripasti-ili-propasti-u-nezaslužnim-vremenima>.

4 Suzana Marjanić, "A Story without End or Pattern: Performances of a Fashion Leftist Who Sculpted Fabric," in *Love and Resistance of Ivana Popović* (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2019), 76–122.

of Yugoslavia, but its use was prevented by the artist's mother, whose company sponsored the performance.⁵

Rap-Opera 101 by Montažstroj combined the aesthetics of the Russian avant-garde, Greek tragedy, rap music, and the AK-47 automatic rifle—whose time in these areas was soon to come—with the aesthetics of music videos. The topicality of the moment in which the rifle became a victorious weapon, and which visually rests on the engaged and agitating, by no means pacifist poster "Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge" by El Lissitzky, does not demand additional political explication. The theater of football, perhaps even "of weapons," confirmed itself with shooting the ball into the auditorium—according to Borut Šeparović, as an element of reality accompanied by a monologue calling people to battle, to arms.⁶

On the day of the start of the war in Slovenia, 27 June, the final Yugoslav Youth Biennial was opened in Rijeka. A month later, Berislav Valušek, Director of the Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art, sent a telegram inviting all artists to protest against war—the paintings were turned over to face the walls, the sculptures enshrouded, and the video projections turned off. As noted by Ana Marija Milčić, author of the article "Biennial of Young Yugoslav Artists 1960–1991," the anti-war protest was thus no longer associated with the activity of the museum staff, but with the artists' protest itself.⁷

A few days prior, at a performance on the occasion of opening the exhibition of the Association's members presented at the building of the former People's Revolution Museum that is today the Croatian Association of Visual Artists—and by chance, also on Bastille Day—performer and visual artist Tomislav Gotovac ran naked across the roof of the modernist rotunda, went down the stairs, and jumped in the fountain while shouting "Liberté, fraternité, égalité, jebali te!" (*Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité, Fuck It! Fall of the Bastille, 14 July 1991*).⁸ This is one of Gotovac's performances from the

5 *Ibid.*

6 Suzana Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2014), 77.

7 Ana Marija Milčić, "Biennale mladih jugoslavenskih umjetnika u Rijeci 1960–1991," *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 58, no. 1 (2015).

8 Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa*, 481–482.

skupine vozili po središću Zagreba v futuristično-avantgardni kombinaciji kostumov in ličil. Zvok sirene in opozorila, izrečena v megafon, so bili hkrati odmev ludizma dekadentnih osemdesetih let in napoved tragičnega kaosa v devetdesetih letih. Obenem je bila to ena zadnjih takšnih akcij, saj po tem ni bilo ne volje ne prostora—in verjetno ne bi bilo niti državljskega razumevanja—za ulične umetniške akcije s prenesenim pomenom in subtilno metaforiko, zato je bilo treba tovrstne akcije jasno legitimirati kot protivojne, a domoljubne, afirmativne in podporne v umetniškem in tudi političnem smislu.³

Konec junija 1991, na samem začetku vojne, je potekal peti festival novega gledališča Eurokaz. Tuji gostje so prišli preko Madžarske, saj je bila Slovenija že blokirana, po koncu festivala pa so nekatere z ladjo evakuirali preko Italije—zunaj vojnega območja. Na vzhodu države, v Osijeku, je vojna prekinila napovedano manifestacijo PostEurokaz—izvedene so bile tri predstave, med njimi sta bili predstavi Ivane Popović in Montažstroja, ki sta nastali v Eurokazovi koprodukciji.

Politični kontekst predstave *Ribezova bomba* vizualne umetnice, oblikovalke in kostumografije Ivane Popović je po besedah Suzane Marjanić⁴ je razviden iz vseprisotnosti rdeče-belega vzorca, kvadratov, ki spominjajo na gostilniške prte, pa tudi na takrat povsod prisotno nacionalno ikonografijo, do sladkobne tradicije lectovih src. Poleg tega, kot nadaljuje Marjanićeva, je bila prvotna zamisel, da bi bil plakat izrezan kroj iz revije *Burda* v obliki razpada Jugoslavije, kar pa je preprečila umetničina mati, katere podjetje je predstavo sponzoriralo.⁵

Raperska opera 101 skupine Montažstroj je združevala estetiko ruske avantgarde, grško tragedijo, rap glasbo in avtomatsko puško AK-47, katere čas na tem območju je prihajal, z estetiko video spotov. Aktualnost trenutka, v katerem je zmagovito orožje postala strojnica in ki se vizualno

3 Igor Ružić, »Pripadati, pripasti ili propasti u (ne)zaslužnim vremenima«, dostop 4. 1. 2021, <https://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/pripadati-pripasti-ili-propasti-u-nezaslužnim-vremenima>.

4 Suzana Marjanić, »Priča bez kraja i kroja: izvedbe modne ljevičarke koja je kiharila tkaninu«, v: *Ljubav i otpor Ivane Popović* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2019), str. 76–122.

5 Prav tam.

naslanja na angažirani in agitacijski, niti malo ne pacifistični plakat El Lisickega »Razbij bele z rdečim klinom«, ne zahteva dodatnih političnih pojasnil. Po besedah Boruta Šeparovića se je nogometno, celo »oboroženo« gledališče potrdilo s streljanjem žoge v občinstvo kot element realnosti v spremstvu monologa, ki poziva k boju, k orožju.⁶

Na dan, ko se je začela vojna v Sloveniji, 27. junija, je bila otvoritev zadnjega jugoslovanskega bienala mladih na Reki. Mesec dni pozneje je Berislav Valušek, direktor Galerije moderne in sodobne umetnosti, vse umetnike s telegramom pozval k protestu proti vojni—slike so bile obrnjene z licem proti steni, skulpture prekrite in video projekcije izključene. Kot ugotavlja avtorica članka »Bienale mladih jugoslovanskih umetnikov na Reki 1960–1991« Ana Marija Milčić, je bil protivojni protest bolj povezan z delovanjem zaposlenih v muzeju kot s protestom samih umetnikov.⁷

Nekaj dni pred tem je performer in filmski ustvarjalec Tomislav Gotovac izvedel performans ob odprtju razstave članov Hrvaškega društva likovnih umetnikov v stavbi nekdanjega Muzeja revolucije, zdaj pa HDLU-ja, ki je bilo po naključju na dan padca Bastilje, 14. julija: gol je tekel po strehi modernistične rotunde, se spustil po stopnicah in skočil v vodnjak ob vzklikih »Liberté, fraternité, égalité, jebali te!« (*Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité, jebali te! Padeč Bastilje, 14. 7. 1991*).⁸ To je eden Gotovčevih performansov iz turbulentnih časov, ki so kanalizirali in potencirali kolektivno stanje pred vojno psihozo. Po drugi strani pa je prvi in neizogibni politični eksces v tem in sploh v večini Gotovčevih performansov golo telo v javnem prostoru. Ješa Denegri vidi Gotovčevo razkazovanje lastne golote na javnem mestu kot simbolno dejanje svobode vedenja, s katerim odpira prostor svobode za druge: »Umetniška akcija v javnem prostoru, z eno besedo umetnost, Gotovcu torej služi kot kritje, alibi, okrilje v osnovi anarhističnega političnega dejanja, celo kot zgleden etični primer. Vse se zgodi tako, kot on razume delež političnega in delež etičnega v sklopu svoje lastne umetniške akcije in navsezadnje tudi

6 Suzana Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2014), 77.

7 Ana Marija Milčić, »Biennale mladih jugoslavenskih umjetnika u Rijeci 1960–1991«, *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 58, št. 1 (2015).

8 Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa*, str. 481.

turbulent times that channeled and fortified the collective state preceding the psychosis of war. On the other hand, the first and indispensable political excess in this and most of Gotovac's other performances is the naked body in public space. Ješa Denegri views Gotovac's exposure of his own nudity in a public space as the symbolic act of the freedom of conduct, whereby he also opens up a space of freedom for others: "An artistic action in a public space – or, briefly put, art – Gotovac thus uses as coverage, alibi, aegis in the foundation of an anarchist political act, even of a model ethical example. Everything occurs as he understands the share of political and the share of ethical as part of own art action and, finally, as part of own concept of art."⁹ Several years later, in 1994, Gotovac climbed yet again on the roof of the Meštrović Pavilion – the politically controversial edifice in the square whose name was changed in the 1990s from the Square of the Victims of Fascism to the Croatian Nobles Square, and which was also planned by the then President Franjo Tuđman to be the Croatian Pantheon. In the work entitled *Watch on the Rhine*, referring to the eponymous Allied propaganda film from 1943, Gotovac – in a *contrapposto*, like a classical sculpture – assumes the guard's position towards the East, i.e. towards the enemy's side in the never-declared war. As he basically implied in his years-long cycle *Paranoia View Art* – which, according to Slobodan Šijan, began in 1984 and ended in 1994 – and stated in several of his interviews and texts, Gotovac saw Yugoslav politics merely as a reflection of conflict of the global forces, and the late President Josip Broz Tito as an agent of the United States. One of the bases of *Paranoia View Art*'s political context is Glenn Miller, whose name appears in titles or on costumes, a white jazz musician and volunteer in World War II whose music was broadcast to boost the morale of the Allied forces and for counterpropaganda activities, who died in the war¹⁰ and embodies, according to Gotovac, the contradictions of American society. Specifically, in wartime, Gotovac's love of the United States escalated into manifest rejection, as seen, for example, in his writing of graffiti in protest at

9 Jerko Denegri, "Pojedinačna mitologija Tomislava Gotovca," in *Tomislav Gotovac: Kad otvorim oči vidim film*, (eds.) Diana Nenadić and Aleksandar Battista Ilić (Museum of Contemporary Art and Croatian Film Association, 2003), 9.

10 Slobodan Šijan, *Kino Tom: Antonio G. Lauer ili Tomislav Gotovac između Zagreba i Beograda* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umjetnosti; Hrvatski filmski savez), 188-189.

the exhibition *War Art Point Blank* at the Karas Gallery, with which he renounced the US and opted for Pope John Paul II, as well as the Croatian tricolor flag, in lieu of the Stars and Stripes. And finally, in the performance presented at his 57th birthday dinner party¹¹ during the exhibition *Point Blank* at the Franklin Furnace Archive in the US in 1994, Gotovac transformed the hammer and sickle into tools of priapic violence. Wearing a mask of death with a red star, he proclaimed the end of the socialist Superman, Josip Broz Tito, and the victory of America and the original, capitalist superhero and Superman, underneath the poster of the art and activist group Act Up! highlighting the deaths that had occurred in New York due to the AIDS epidemic. Five years before, in the year of the fall of the Berlin Wall, Gotovac stated the following in *Polet*, a journal of socialist youth: "I find it important that the idea of 'total direction,' the idea of this project, was being born in the preceding decades. All of my actions before it were actually a preparation for this paramount action... I think that we're already getting the hang of the period for which the storyboard has already been made and that everything that's going on – not only in Yugoslavia, not only in Europe, but also in the world – is simply a preparation, similar to the preparations for the first and second world slaughter."¹²

While the activity of Osijek's multimedia war project Noise Slawonische Kunst – already in its cultural production, rehearsals and documentarist activity – also represented an act of resistance to the martial state in its mobilizing spirit, perhaps understood too literally even for the tastes of Croatian official politics, the activities of Osijek's musician, publisher, visual artist and performer Goran Lišnjić – as part of the project *Metropolie Trans* and its sequels *Nowy Lef* and *Lebensformer* – were closer in spirit to the retro-avant-garde projects and the retro-principle such as *New Europe* in Zagreb and *NSK* in Ljubljana. At the abovementioned *Post Eurokaz*, *Nowy Lef* was supposed to present the performance *Sjekire, kojoti i beskonačne vrpce* (*Axes, Coyotes, and Endless Bands*). On 20 August 1994, *Lebensformer* – Goran Lišnjić and Goran Šerbedžić – performed the action *Attack on Fine Arts First Detonation* by

11 The party and the performance took place in the apartment of Michael Katchen, senior archivist at Franklin Furnace.

12 Mate Bašić, Zoran Simić, "The Tom Gotovac Story," *Polet* no. 412 (30 June 1989).



Tomislav Gotovac: *Straža na Renu / Watch on the Rhine*, 1994 | Foto z dovoljenjem / Photo courtesy: Sarah Gotovac

LEBENSFORMER

CONTINUITY OF PURE FORM

Goran Lišnjić: *Lebensformer – Neprekinjenost čiste oblike / Lebensformer – Continuity of Pure Form*, 1994
razstavni plakat / exhibition poster / Z dovoljenjem umetnika / Courtesy of the artist

Performans kot vaja politične volje / Jasna Jakšić

v sklopu svojega lastnega pojmovanja umetnosti.⁹ Več let pozneje, leta 1994, je Gotovac spet splezal na streho Meštrovićevega paviljona – politično kontroverzne zgradbe na trgu, katerega ime so v devetdesetih letih spremenili iz Trga žrtev fašizma v Trg hrvaških velikanov, zgradbe, ki jo je tedanji predsednik Franjo Tuđman načrtoval kot hrvaški panteon. V delu z naslovom *Watch on the Rhine*, ki se nanaša na istoimenski zavezniški propagandni film iz leta 1943, Gotovac – v kontrapostu, kot klasičen kip – zavzame pozicijo čuvaja proti vzhodu, tj. proti strani sovražnika v nikoli napovedani vojni. Kot je v osnovnih obrisih nakazal že v večletnem ciklusu *Paranoia view art*, ki ga Slobodan Šijan zamejuje z začetkom leta 1984 in koncem leta 1994, ter navedel v več intervjujih in besedilih, je Gotovac jugoslovansko politiko videl le kot odraz konfliktov svetovnih sil, pokojnega predsednika Josipa Broza Tita pa kot ameriškega agenta.

Eden od temeljev političnega konteksta *Paranoia view art* je Glenn Miller, čigar ime se pojavlja v naslovih ali na kostumih. Beli jazzovski glasbenik in vojaški prostovoljec, katerega glasbo so med drugo svetovno vojno predvajali za dvigovanje morale zavezniških vojakov in za protipropagandne dejavnosti in ki je umrl v drugi svetovni vojni,¹⁰ je za Gotovca poosebljal protislovja ameriške družbe. Med vojno je namreč Gotovčeva velika ljubezen do Združenih držav Amerike prerasla v manifestno zavračanje, kar se je izrazilo v protestnem pisanju grafitov na razstavi *War Art Point Blank* v Galeriji Karas, s katerimi se je odrekel ZDA in izbral papeža Janeza Pavla II. ter hrvaško trobojnico namesto ameriške zastave. Na koncu je Gotovac v performansu, ki ga je izvedel na svoj 57. rojstni dan na *Point Blank*¹¹ v Franklin Furnace Archive v ZDA leta 1994, srp in kladivo spremenil v orodje priapovskega nasilja. V maski smrti z rdečo zvezdo in pod plakatom umetniško-aktivistične skupine Act up!, ki naznanja, da New York umira zaradi epidemije aidsa, je razglasil konec socialističnega supermana JBT-ja in zmago Amerike ter prvotnega, kapitalističnega superheroja Supermana. V letu, ko je padel berlinski zid, je Gotovac za glasilo socialistične mladine *Polet*

9 Jerko Denegri, »Pojedinačna mitologija Tomislava Gotovca«, v: *Tomislav Gotovac: Kad otvorim oči vidim film*, ur. Diana Nenadić in Aleksandar Battista Ilić (Muzej suvremene umjetnosti in Hrvatski filmski savez, 2003), str. 9.

10 Slobodan Šijan, *Kino Tom: Antonio G Lauer ili Tomislav Gotovac između Zagreba i Beograda* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti; Hrvatski filmski savez), str. 188–189.

11 Večerja in performans sta se odvila v stanovanju Michaela Katchena, višjega arhivarja v Franklin Furnaceu.

izjavil: »Pomembno je, da se je ideja o 'totalni režiji', ideja o tem projektu, porajala pred desetletji. Vse moje akcije pred tem so bile dejansko priprava za to kronsko akcijo ... mislim, da vstopamo v obdobje, za katero je že bila napisana snemalna knjiga, in da je vse, kar se dogaja ne samo v Jugoslaviji, ne samo v Evropi, ampak v svetu, preprosto priprava, podobna pripravam na prvo in drugo svetovno klanje.«¹²

Medtem ko je dejavnost osiješkega vojnega multimedijskega projekta *Noise Slawonische Kunst* že v sami kulturni produkciji, vajah in dokumentarni dejavnosti predstavljala dejanje upora proti vojnemu stanju v svojem duhu mobilizacije, ki je bil morda razumljen preveč dobesedno celo za okus hrvaške uradne politike, pa so bile dejavnosti osiješkega glasbenika, založnika, vizualnega umetnika in performerja Gorana Lišnjića v okviru projekta *Metropolie Trans* in nadaljevanj *Nowy Lef* in *Lebensformer* po duhu bližje retroavantgardnim projektom in retroprincipu, kot sta *Nova Evropa* v Zagrebu in *Ljubljanski NSK*. Na že omenjenem *PostEurokazu* bi moral *Nowy Lef* izvesti performans *Sekire, kojoti in neskončni trakovi*. 20. 8. 1994 je *Lebensformer* – Goran Lišnjić in Goran Šerbedžić – izvedel akcijo *Attack on Fine Arts First Detonation / Napad na likovno umetnost* s postavitvijo spominske plošče na kino *Royal* v spomin na dadaistični večer, ki so ga tam organizirali Dragan Aleksić in skupina dadaistov 72 let pred tem. Po besedah Gorana Lišnjića je bilo na spominski plošči, ki je bila zaradi privatizacije kina odstranjena nekaj let po akciji, besedilo, ki je poleg omenjanja dadaistične matineeje protestiralo tudi proti t. i. kulturni politiki vladajoče HDZ.¹³ Performans *Continuity of the Pure Form*, ki ga je skupina izvedla na svoji prvi večji razstavi v Študentskem centru v Osijeku leta 1994, je po Lišnjićevih besedah vključeval prevpraševanje emotivnega kapitala devetdesetih let, ki sta jih zaznamovala vojna in brutalna prvotna kapitalistična akumulacija.¹⁴ Uro po odprtju je bila razstava prekinjena zaradi obstreljevanja mesta.¹⁵

12 Mate Bašić in Zoran Simić, »The Tom Gotovac Story«, *Polet* št. 412 (30. 6. 1989).

13 Goran Lišnjić, »Intervju sa Suzanom Marjanić«, *Zarez* št. 330 (12. 4. 2012).

14 Prav tam.

15 Objava na Facebook strani Barutane, dostop 10. 1. 2021, https://d.facebook.com/Barutana.Osijek/photos/a.1507271259528924.1073741828.1507228569533193/1767593003496747/?type=3&__tn__=EH-R.

placing a memorial plaque on the Royal Cinema in memory of the *Dada Soirée* organized by Dragan Aleksić and a group of Dadaists at the same place 72 years earlier. According to Goran Lišnjić, the memorial plaque – removed a few years after the action because the cinema was privatized – bore an inscription which, in addition to mentioning the Dadaist Matinee, also expressed a protest against the so-called cultural policy of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union.¹³ The performance *Continuity of the Pure Form*, presented by the group at their first large-scale exhibition in Osijek's Student Center in 1994, included, according to Lišnjić, the questioning of the emotional capital of the 1990s marked by war and the brutal original capitalist accumulation.¹⁴ An hour after the opening, the exhibition had to be wrapped up due to the shelling of the city.¹⁵

In direct danger because of the war, and at the very beginning of the various conflicts, the artist Božidar Jurjević from Dubrovnik presented in autumn of 1991 the performance *ART-UBI Fluxus Ibi Motus*, in which he enclosed himself in a metal safety box of the Rupe Ethnographic Museum in Dubrovnik. The city, protected by UNESCO, was under attack at the time and stored its art for safekeeping. By enclosing himself in the box, Jurjević surrendered his own body to its protection, thus imitating an artwork; at the same time, however, he alluded both to the potentially extreme situation of hypoxia, and to a frequent companion to performances and performative events at the time – a coffin. The performance was witnessed by the photographer Pavo Urban, who lost his life soon after while photographing the attack on Dubrovnik, and by Slaven Tolj, the manager of the Lazareti Art Workshop in Dubrovnik for many years, an activist and author of a series of now-anthological performances that marked the 1990s. The politicality of Tolj's work resulted from personal history¹⁶ – he approached the

13 Goran Lišnjić, "Interview with Suzana Marjanić", *Zarez* no. 330 (12 April 2012).

14 *Ibid.*

15 From a post on the Facebook page of Barutana, accessed 10 January 2021, https://d.facebook.com/Barutana.Osijek/photos/a.1507271259528924.1073741828.1507228569533193/1767593003496747/?type=3&__tn__=EH-R.

16 "I perceive performances as a form of public confession, so I include personal history and experiences, without annoying the audience with intimate stories," Slaven Tolj interviewed by Hrvoje Ivanković, *Frakcija: Journal of Performing Arts* no. 22/23: 46.

performances from Dubrovnik's war years from the positions of mourning and survival. Mourning, which is found at the dawn of the artistic narrative forms, is genealogically inscribed – in the work *Untitled*, through a performative act of sewing the national flag – in the quilting point of the flag in Pavo Urban's final photograph, taken just before his death in the morning of 6 December 1991. In Tolj's variation of the flag as a mourning object, the fabric is devoid of color – it is executed in grey hues, not as the recently established national tricolor flag, but rather as a visual ready-made object taken from a particular black and white photograph, a document of the tragic event, of a crime, but also of mourning. In the performance *Dubrovnik-Valencia-Dubrovnik*, he reached his own body with the stitching point, thus patiently, dedicatedly and discreetly approximating the radical practices of historic body art. As described by Janka Vukmir, during the performance the artist changed and removed 12 layers of clothing. As the number of clothing items increased, the number of buttons also increased – the first item had one button, the second two, all the way to the twelfth clothing item, a sailing parka "which he wore in every winter spent in Dubrovnik, including the war winter of 1991/1992." When he took off the parka, he was topless; he pulled off one of the buttons and stitched it to his bare skin.¹⁷

In the same year, 1993 Tolj presented the performance *Hrana za preživljavanje (Food for Survival)* in Helsinki, with the artist Marija Grazio. The couple applied on their own bodies the contents of cans bearing the multilingual inscription *alimento di sopravvivenza*, or, as termed by Antun Maračić, "a cynical product of civilization."¹⁸ This was the food that came to Dubrovnik during the war in form of humanitarian aid. The performing couple thus applied the barest of foods intended for bare survival on their semi-bare bodies. The body is both the object and subject of survival, aroused by Eros in its function of the instinct to sustain life, but also the need for the Other. The audience was put into a state of discomfort – the discomfort of the position of power given to them by voyeurism in observing the bodies and the instinct. The politicality was revealed through accusations, but also through

17 Janka Vukmir, *Perceptual Art* (Zagreb: SCCA, 1997), 46.

18 Antun Maračić, in *Slaven Tolj: Bubo-Bubo Maximus* (Dubrovnik: Museum of Modern Art Dubrovnik; Zagreb: Zvonimir Gallery, 1994), 8.

V neposredni vojni nevarnosti je dubrovniški umetnik Božidar Jurjević na samem začetku spopadov jeseni 1991 izvedel performans *ART-UBI Fluxus Ibi Motus*, v katerem se je zaprl v kovinski zaščitni zaboj Etnografskega muzeja Rupe v Dubrovniku. Mesto, ki je pod zaščito Unesca, je bilo takrat tarča napadov in je pospravljalo umetnine na varno. Jurjević je s tem, ko se je zaprt v zaboj, lastno telo v maniri umetnine predal zaščiti zaboja, hkrati pa je aludirjal na možno ekstremno situacijo pomanjkanja zraka ali pa na takrat pogosto spremljevalko v različnih performansih in performativnih dogodkih – krsto. Performansu sta bila priča Pavo Urban, fotograf, ki je med snemanjem napada na Dubrovnik kmalu zatem izgubil življenje, in Slaven Tolj, dolgoletni vodja umetniške delavnice Lazareti v Dubrovniku, aktivist in avtor serije danes že antologijskih performansov, ki so zaznamovali devetdeseta leta. Politična narava Toljevega dela izhaja iz njegove osebne zgodovine¹⁶ – v performansih v vojnih letih v Dubrovniku je Tolj izhajal s stališča žalovanja in preživetja. Žalovanje, to prapočelo umetniških pripovednih oblik, je v delu *Brez naslova* preko performativnega dejanja šivanja državne zastave rodoslovno vpisano v točki prešitja zastave z zadnje fotografije Pava Urbana, posnete tik pred njegovo smrtjo zjutraj 6. decembra 1991. Tkanini je v Toljevi izvedbi zastave kot objekta žalovanja odvzet kolorit – izvedena je v sivih tonih, ne kot nedavno sprejeta državna trobojnica, temveč kot readymade vizualni objekt, prevzet s točno določene črno-bele fotografije, dokumenta tragičnega dogodka, zločina, a tudi žalovanja. V performansu *Dubrovnik-Valencia-Dubrovnik* je Tolj s šivom segel še v lastno telo in se potrpežljivo, predano in diskretno približal radikalnim praksam zgodovinskega body arta. Kot opisuje izvedbo Janka Vukmir, je umetnik med performansom oblekel in slekel 12 slojev oblačil. Več kot je bilo oblačil, več je bilo tudi gumbov – prvi predmet je imel en gumb, drugi dva in tako naprej do dvanajstega oblačila, jadralske bunde, »v kateri je preživel vse dubrovniške zime in tako tudi vojno zimo 1991/92.« Ko je slekel bundo, je ostal gol do pasu, odtrgal enega od prišitih gumbov in ga prišil na golo kožo.¹⁷

16 »Performans doživljam kot javno izpoved, vključujem osebno zgodovino in izkušnje, vendar brez neprimernege posiljevanja z intimnimi zgodbami.« V: »Slaven Tolj u razgovoru s Hrvojem Ivankovićem«, *Frakcija: magazin za izvedbene umjetnosti* št. 22/23, str. 46.

17 Janka Vukmir, *Perceptualna umjetnost* (Zagreb: SCCA, 1997), str. 46.

Istega leta, tj. 1993, je Tolj z umetnico Marijo Grazio v Helsinkih izvedel performans *Hrana za preživetje*. Par je na svoji telesi nanašal vsebino pločevink z večjezičnim napisom *alimento di sopravvivenza* ali, kot je temu rekel Antun Maračić, »cinični proizvod civilizacije«. Gre za hrano, ki je med vojno prihajala v Dubrovnik kot humanitarna pomoč. Umetnika sta si na polgolo telo nanašala najosnovnejšo hrano, namenjeno golemu preživetju. Telo je objekt in subjekt preživetja, ki ga vzbuja eros v funkciji nagona po ohranjanju življenja, a tudi potrebe po drugem. Občinstvo je privedeno do nelagodja – nelagodja zaradi položaja moči, ki jim ga daje voajerizem pri opazovanju telesa in nagonov. Političnost se razkriva z obtožbami, a tudi z ranljivostjo in prepuščanjem golote pogledom.

Ranljivost in bolečina sta pogosto sredstvo komunikacije radikalnega body arta. Zgodovinski performansi Marine Abramović so vsebovali elemente radikalne predaje Drugemu, npr. delo *Lips of Thomas*, vrezovanje peterokrake zvezde ali jemanje zdravil za duševne bolnike. Gina Pane, ena najpomembnejših evropskih umetnic body arta, se je od slikarstva preusmerila v performans prav zaradi svoje politične angažiranosti, povezane z revolucionarnimi gibanji pariške pomladi 1968 in protesti proti ameriški intervenciji v Vietnamu. Samopoškodovalne telesne prakse v njenem delu med drugim usmerjajo odnos med avtorico in občinstvom preko izkušnje radikalne empatije, ki jo izzove trpeče telo. Z izjemo Marine Abramović so bile takšne prakse v jugoslovanskem in hrvaškem kontekstu bolj povezane s protikulturnimi gibanji in glasbenim performansom.

Ivica Čuljak, ki je z nastopi pod psevdonimoma Kečer II in Satan Panonski v poznih osemdesetih in zgodnjih devetdesetih letih pridobil kulturni status in zvesto skupino privrženecv v subkulturnih krogih, je v odrskih predstavah med recitiranjem poezije izvajal performanse samopoškodovanja, še zlasti v obdobju prestajanja kazni na zaprtem oddelku psihiatrične bolnišnice v Popovači. Nastopi so vključevali vbode, rezanje z britvico, puščanje krvi, polivanje z vročim voskom. Po interpretaciji Ljubice Džambić Anđelković je odrsko telo Ivica Čuljaka v njegovi kratki performerski karieri postalo telo

18 Antun Maračić, v: *Slaven Tolj: Bubo-Bubo Maximus* (Dubrovnik: Muzej moderne umjetnosti Dubrovnik; Zagreb: Galerija Zvonimir, 1994), 8.

vulnerability and the surrender of nudity to the gaze. Vulnerability and pain are often means of communication in radical body art. The historical performances by Marina Abramović possessed the elements of radical surrender to the Other, such as the work *Lips of Thomas*, the incision of a five-pointed star, or taking medicine for mental illness. Gina Pane, one of Europe's most significant body artists, was directed from painting to performance art precisely by her political engagement related to the revolutionary movements of May 1968 in Paris, and the protest against American intervention in Vietnam. Her corporeal practices of self-mutilation also possess, among other things, the role of channeling the relationship between the author and the audience through the experience of radical empathy provoked by the tormented body. Save for Marina Abramović, such practices tended to be related to counterculture movements and music performance in the Yugoslav and Croatian contexts. Ivica Čuljak – who gained a cult status in subcultural circles and a devoted group of followers with his performances in the late 1980s and early 1990s under the pseudonyms Kečer (Catcher) II and Satan Panonski (Satan of Pannonia) – practiced self-mutilation in his performances alongside reciting poetry, particularly while serving his sentence at the enclosed ward of the psychiatric hospital in Popovača. These performances included stabbing, cutting with razors, the drawing of blood, and pouring of hot wax. In the interpretation by Ljubica Anđelković Džambić, Ivica Čuljak's stage body had become a body of resistance in his short-term performing career. "The performances varied by choice of the manner of self-mutilation, while some of the most memorable moments are definitely the incision of a five-pointed star on his back using a razor, as well as the suspension of a bandolier on his own chest using a safety pin: a powerful prewar expression of an individual's existential despair, in which the safety pin as the symbol of punk – a movement celebrating freedom and independence, which opposes any system destroying individuality and humanity – is used as a tool that fastens a tool for killing, attached to a piece of human flesh that can be interpreted both as the body of resistance and as cannon fodder, which is what became of many participants in the bloody war in the following years, including Satan Panonski himself."¹⁹ In the

19 Ljubica Anđelković Džambić, *Tijelo otpora Satana Panonskog – autodestruktivni body art u hrvatskoj umjetnosti performansa i izvedbenoj praksi*, PhD thesis (Zagreb: Faculty of

context of the war years of the 1990s, however, self-mutilation was no longer customary at his concert performances – alongside changes in the living environment, the reality of war took on the events of the stage.²⁰

Among the limited number of forms of resistance in Croatia in the first half of the 1990s, it is important to note the activity of the Virus Theater Michelangelo, founded by Ivana Popović on 6 March 1992, on Michelangelo Buonarroti's birthday, elicited by the media reports on the emergence of the destructive computer virus Michelangelo in Australia.²¹ Vladimir Stojšavljević noted that the group's activity quickly moved to Zagreb, or, to put it in Ivana Popović's own words: "You cannot dress little girls in this situation, or throw huge cakes in people's laps in either war or peace, let alone in 1991."²² The actions also included public actions on the streets, in trams, and mid-performance intrusions – a group of performers would simply take the stage and temporarily interrupt the ongoing performance with their own. On the other hand, in the fashion procession *Madona: Ja sam trudna! Ja: Ja sam žrtva mode! (Madonna: I'm Pregnant! Me: I'm a Fashion Victim!)*, performed in 1995 at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, Popović was engaged in traditional female roles while also introducing the context of fashion as the theater of cruelty, which she would go on to pursue in the subsequent decade.²³

Vlasta Delimar – an artist who has focused on the socially-directed and channeled policies of longing since the late 1980s through a series of performances that frequently attracted controversy – was also preoccupied with a woman's socially defined role in her performance *Tražim ženu (Looking for a Woman)*. With her head covered – and her identity denied – the artist put on a military jacket after slaughtering an animal, thus

Humanities and Social Sciences), 121.

20 *Ibid.*, 255.

21 Ivana Popović, interview with Milivoj Đilas, reprinted in *Love and Resistance of Ivana Popović*, (ed.) Nataša Ivančević (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2019), 21.

22 Vladimir Stojšavljević, "On the Phenomenon of Theatre in the Artistic Production of Ivana Popović," in *Love and Resistance of Ivana Popović*, 34.

23 Lea Vene, "Against Fashion – Against (Standard) Fashion Design by Ivana Popović," in *Love and Resistance of Ivana Popović*, 130.

odpora. »Nastopi so se razlikovali po izboru načina samopoškodovanja, med tistimi, ki so se najbolj vtisnili v spomin, sta gotovo vrezovanje peterokrake zvezde v hrbet z britvico in obešanje nabojnika z varnostno sponko, t. i. ziherico, na lastne prsi: močan predvojni izraz eksistencialnega obupa posameznika, v katerem je bila sponka kot simbol punka – gibanja, ki je slavilo svobodo in neodvisnost ter nasprotovalo vsakemu sistemu, ki uničuje individualnost in človečnost – uporabljena kot sredstvo, ki nosi sredstvo za ubijanje, pritrjeno na kos človeškega mesa, ki ga je mogoče interpretirati kot telo upora, a tudi kot topovsko hrano, kar so v naslednjih letih postali številni udeleženci krvave vojne, tudi sam Satan Panonski.«¹⁹ Toda v kontekstu vojnih devetdesetih let je treba dodati, da po odhodu iz zavoda za duševno bolne samopoškodovanje na njegovih koncertnih nastopih ni bilo več običajno – poleg spremembe življenjskega okolja je na dogodke na odru vplivala realnost vojne.²⁰

Med redkimi oblikami odpora na Hrvaškem v prvi polovici devetdesetih let je pomembno omeniti delovanje Virus teatra Michelangelo, ki ga je 6. marca 1992 ustanovila Ivana Popović v Ljubljani na dan rojstva Michelangela Buonarrotija, k čemur so jo spodbodli časopisni članki o pojavu uničujočega računalniškega virusa Michelangelo v Avstraliji.²¹ Kot piše Vladimir Stojšavljević, se je dejavnost kmalu preselila v Zagreb; po besedah Ivane Popović: »V takih razmerah ne moreš oblačiti deklic, ne moreš ljudem metati ogromnih tort v naročje v razmerah ne vojne ne miru, kaj šele leta 1991.«²² Akcije so vključevale tudi javne akcije na ulici, v tramvaju in vdore v gledališke predstave – ko je skupina performerjev preprosto zasedla oder in s svojim nastopom začasno prekinila predstavo. Po drugi strani pa se je v modni povorki z naslovom *Madonna: Noseča sem! Jaz: Žrtev mode sem!*, ki jo je izvedla leta 1995 v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu, ukvarjala s tradicionalnimi ženskimi

19 Ljubica Džambić Anđelković, *Tijelo otpora Satana Panonskog – autodestruktivni body art u hrvatskoj umjetnosti performansa i izvedbenoj praksi*, doktorska disertacija (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet), str. 121.

20 Prav tam, str. 255.

21 Ivana Popović, intervju z Milivojem Đilasom, ponatisnjeno v: *Ljubav i otpor Ivane Popović*, ur. Nataša Ivančević (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2019), str. 21.

22 Vladimir Stojšavljević, »O fenomenu kazališta u stvaralaštvu Ivane Popović«, v: *Ljubav i otpor Ivane Popović*, str. 34.

vlogami in vpeljala kontekst mode kot gledališča krutosti, s čimer se je potem ukvarjala v naslednjem desetletju.²³

Z družbeno opredeljeno vlogo žensk se je v performansu *Iščem žensko* ukvarjala tudi Vlasta Delimar. Od poznih osemdesetih let je v vrsti performansov, ki so pogosto sprožali polemike, tematizirala družbeno usmerjene in kanalizirane politike želje. S pokrito glavo – in s tem zanikano identiteto – si je umetnica po zakolu živali oblekla vojaški jopič ter tako neposredno povezala nasilno dejanje z mehanizmi moči²⁴ pa tudi s temeljnim nasiljem, na katerem sloni državnost in ki so ga nedvomno izkusile države, nastale z razpadom Jugoslavije. Performans *Zrela ženska* (1997) izhaja iz spektakularizacije lastnega golega telesa, kateremu doda statusne simbole, ki jih množični mediji štejejo za nadomestke ženske moči – od kostima, čevljev z visoko peto do vibratorja –, obenem pa je tudi popolnoma prekrita s črnim nikabom. V performansu sodeluje tudi moški lik, ki je le v funkciji asistenta, dodatka, ki potrjuje fiktivni, izpeljani družbeni status. Kot piše Marina Gržinić v besedilu, objavljenem v monografiji *Vlasta Delimar: to sam ja*, Vlasta Delimar v performansu *Zrela ženska* nastopa na vznemirjujoč način, obenem kot gospodinja in kot kurba, je hkrati »kljubovalna in podrejena v simulirani psihološki in pretirani senzualnosti. Vlasta Delimar uprizarja premestitev sebe (in Drugega), je 'podoba', ki registrira, projicira in spodkopava hrepenenje in metafore sodobne družbe.«²⁵ Kot »bastardna feministka s proletarsko identiteto« predstavlja, razvija in izvaja subverziven potencial.²⁶ Konec devetdesetih let je z umetniškim in življenjskim sopotnikom Milanom Božičem izvedla performans *Bojevnik ali ženska je izginila*, v katerem je po besedah Marian Mazzone navidezno pristala na patriarhalno delitev vlog – na pohlevno, seksualizirano podrejeno žensko, ki nase prevzema hrepenenje po že zdavnaj izgubljeni materi in erotični združitvi (Tanatos in Eros).²⁷ Vojna

23 Lea Vene, »Kontra (modnog) standarda – modni dizajn Ivane Popović«, v: *Ljubav i otpor Ivane Popović*, str. 130.

24 Suzana Marjanić, »Vlasta Delimar ili žena je žena je žena...: auto/biografski performansi«, v: *Vlasta Delimar: to sam ja*, ur. Martina Munivrana (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2014), str. 57.

25 Marina Gržinić, »Vlasta Delimar«, v: *Vlasta Delimar: to sam ja*, str. 181.

26 Prav tam, str. 182.

27 Marian Mazzone, »Radikalno tijelo Vlaste Delimar«, v: *Vlasta Delimar: to sam ja*, str. 165.

directly relating the violent act with mechanisms of power,²⁴ but also with the founding violence on which statehood rests, which was undoubtedly experienced by all countries that emerged from the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The performance *Zrela žena (Mature Woman, 1997)* proceeds from the spectacularization of her own nude body, with the addition of status symbols that are deemed substitutes for female power by the mass media – the dress, stiletto heels, a vibrator, but also the full coverage of a niqab. The performance also featured a male figure, functioning merely as an assistant, an addition that confirms the fictional, derived social status. In this performance, Vlasta Delimar – to quote Marina Gržinić in the text published in the monograph *Vlasta Delimar: This Is I* – presents herself in a disturbing manner, as housewife and whore at the same time, she is both “defiant and submissive in her simulated psychological and excessive sensuality. Delimar stages a displacement of herself (and of the Other); she is an ‘image’ registering, projecting, and subverting the desire and metaphors of contemporary society.”²⁵ As “a bastard feminist whose identity is proletarian,” she presents, develops and performs a subversive potential.²⁶ At the very end of the 1990s, together with her partner in art and life Milan Božić, she presented the performance *Razgovor s ratnikom ili žena je nestala (Conversation with a Warrior or the Woman Has Disappeared)* in which, to quote Marian Mazzone, she seemingly agrees to a patriarchal division of roles – the submissive, sexually subordinate woman, who takes upon herself the longing for the long-lost mother and for erotic union (Thanatos and Eros).²⁷ The trauma of war and post-traumatic stress syndrome would go on to mark the subsequent decade through the omnipresence of war veterans as means of metaphorical, but also potentially armed political pressure, following the death of Franjo Tuđman, the long-standing war president, and the victory of the opposition forces at the turn from 1999 to 2000. The war is translated into a personal, erotic

24 Suzana Marjanić, “Vlasta Delimar or a woman is a woman is a woman...: the auto/biographical performances,” in *Vlasta Delimar: This is I*, (ed.) Martina Munivrana (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2014), 57.

25 Marina Gržinić, “Vlasta Delimar,” in *Vlasta Delimar: This is I*, 181.

26 *Ibid.*, 182.

27 Marian Mazzone, “The Radical Body of Vlasta Delimar,” in *Vlasta Delimar: This is I*, 165.

partnership,²⁸ while the overcoming of trauma sounds like an echo of Milena Dravić’s seasoned cry from the legendary Black Wave film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* by Dušan Makavejev: “Fuck freely, comrades!”

The performance *Mature Woman* was presented as part of one of the first artistic events that began returning to public space – the performance week *Javno tijelo / Public Body*, curated by Jadranka Vinterhalter and organized by the Soros Center for Contemporary Art from Zagreb in collaboration with the Ujazdowski Castle Center for Contemporary Art and the Soros Center for Contemporary Art from Sarajevo. The exhibition took place in public spaces of the city of Zagreb from 14 to 18 October 1997. Among the participants were Tomislav Gotovac, Božo Jurjević, Nan Hoover, Slaven Tolj, Nebojša Šerić Shoba, Nenad Dančuo, Alina Anka Kowalska, Zlatko Kopljar, and Vlasta Delimar. The performances were presented in public spaces (Marshal Tito Square, the corner of Berislavićeva Street and Preradovićeva Street, West Train Station, Zrinjevac Square), Gradska Gallery, and Zagreb Youth Theater. Implemented through a program of regional cooperation, the exhibition possessed the elements of an “annual exhibition,” through which the Soros Centers for Contemporary Art in Eastern Europe supported the production and presentation of artistic practices that exceeded the framework of traditional media. Performance as a medium had also long been institutionalized, primarily through the activity of the Student Center Gallery and the former Gallery of Contemporary Art. *Public Body* – held in the same year as the 11th Eurokaz Festival, featuring artists who build upon the radical body poetics of American body art of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Annie Sprinkle, Ron Athey, and Franko B – heralded, also from the institutional context, the return of performance, but also of artistic activity to public space. As it turned out in subsequent events, a younger and new audience – mentioned in the introductory text – did not remain a mere dead letter. Specifically, an action entitled *Book and Society 22%* by Igor Grubić took place a year after the *Performance Week*, while the 33rd Zagreb Salon, organized in 1998 with the curatorial concept by Igor Zabel, included performances and interventions in public spaces.

28 *Ibid.*, 166.

travma in posttravmatski sindrom sta zaznamovala naslednje desetletje zaradi vseprisotnosti vojnih veteranov kot sredstva metaforičnega, potencialno pa tudi oboroženega političnega pritiska po smrti medvojnega in dolgoletnega predsednika Franja Tuđmana in zmage združenih opozicijskih sil na prehodu iz leta 1999 v leto 2000. Vojna je prevedena v osebno, erotično partnerstvo,²⁸ premagovanje travme pa zveni kot odmev davnega vzklika Milene Dravić v legendarnem črnovalovskem filmu Dušana Makavejeva *W. R. – Misterij organizma*, »Tovariši, jebite se z veseljem!«

Performans *Zrela ženska* je bil izveden v sklopu enega prvih umetniških dogodkov, ki so se začeli vračati v javni prostor. To je bil teden performansa *Javno telo / Public Body* kustosinje Jadranke Vinterhalter v organizaciji Sorosovega centra za sodobno umetnost Zagreb v sodelovanju s Centrom za sodobno umetnost grad Ujazdowski iz Varšave in Sorosovim centra za sodobno umetnost Sarajevo. Razstava se je odvijala v javnih prostorih Zagreba med 14. in 18. 10. 1997. Med sodelujočimi so bili Tomislav Gotovac, Božo Jurjević, Nan Hoover, Slaven Tolj, Nebojša Šerić Šoba, Nenad Dančuo, Alina Anka Kowalska, Zlatko Kopljar in Vlasta Delimar. Performansi so bili predstavljeni v javnih prostorih (Trg maršala Tita, vogal Berislavićeve in Preradovićeve ulice, zahodna železniška postaja, Trg Zrinjevac), v Mestni galeriji in v Zagrebškem mladinskem gledališču. Razstava, ki je bila izvedena v sklopu programa regijskega sodelovanja, je tako vsebovala prvine »letnih razstav«, s katerimi so Sorosovi centri za sodobno umetnost v Vzhodni Evropi podpirali produkcijo in prezentacijo umetniških praks, ki so presegle okvire tradicionalnih medijev. Performans kot medij je tudi imel že dolgo zgodovino institucionalizacije, predvsem v sklopu delovanja galerije Študentskega centra in nekdanje Galerije sodobne umetnosti. *Javno telo* – ki je potekalo istega leta kot 11. festival Eurokaz, na katerem so bili predstavljeni umetniki, ki izhajajo iz radikalnih telesnih poetik ameriškega body arta šestdesetih in sedemdesetih let, kot so Annie Sprinkle, Ron Athey in Franko B – je naznanjalo tudi v institucionalnem kontekstu povratek performansa, a tudi povratek umetniških dejavnosti v javni prostor. Kot se je izkazalo v dogodkih, ki so sledili, mlajša in nova publika – omenjena v uvodnem besedilu – ni ostala

28 Prav tam, str. 166.

zgolj črka na papirju. Tako je Igor Grubić leto dni po tednu performansa izpeljal akcijo *Knjiga in družba 22 %*, 33. zagrebški salon, organiziran leta 1998 po kuratorskem konceptu Igorja Zabela, pa je vključeval performanse in posege v javni prostor.

V drugi polovici devetdesetih let, natančneje leta 1997, je zaradi spremenjenega in bolj liberalnega zakonodajnega okvira prišlo do večjih možnosti ustanavljanja nevladnih organizacij in svobodnejšega razvoja civilne družbe. To se je odražalo v bolj organizirani in sistematični obliki javnega delovanja in zagovorništva ter v vrsti prireditev, ki so vključevale tudi performanse v javnem prostoru. Med najpomembnejšimi je bila gotovo ATTACK, avtonomna tovarna kulture, ustanovljena v času, ko se je civilna scena šele oblikovala, zbrana okoli organizacij, kot so Antiratne kampanje, LGBT aktivisti in borke za pravice žensk ter anarho-punk scena. Avtonomna tovarna kulture, ki je bila organizirana po načelu platforme in je zavračala hierarhično strukturo, je želela slediti zgledu začasnih avtonomnih con, o katerih je pisal Hakim Bey, in prostorom umetniškega eksperimentiranja in sodelovanja v smislu Warholove Tovarne (Factory).²⁹ V kontekstu alternativne kulture, ki si je prizadevala zgraditi institucije od spodaj in po zgledu zgodovinske avantgarde popeljati umetnost na ulice, je bila organizirana cela vrsta akcij, performansov in happeningov. Med prvimi so bile akcije javnega branja *Novic na cesti* organizacije Nova loža nore mame, izvajane leta 1997 kot odpor organizacij civilne družbe proti prevladujoči medijski politiki,³⁰ med najbolj znanimi pa so tudi demonstracije za vrnitev imena Trgu žrtev fašizma leta 1999, ki so naznanjale tudi skorajšnje spremembe v družbi.

Od leta 1997 do leta 1999 je Avtonomna tovarna kulture organizirala 33 performansov in gledaliških predstav, ki so bile v veliki meri povezane z dejavnostmi neformalnih skupin Schmrtz teatar, Not Your Bitch, Theatre de femmes, Menerik in Le cheval. Schmrtz teatar, ki je začel kot alternativna skupina, si je v petih letih delovanja zagotovil zavidljivo medijsko pozornost z akcijami, kot sta *Millennium Marijuana March* in *Out, Demons, Out*, izganjanjem demonov iz stavbe Hrvaškega

29 *Naša priča: 15 godina ATTACK!-a* (Zagreb: Autonomni kulturni centar, 2013), str. 27.

30 Prav tam, str. 67.

In the second half of the 1990s, and specifically in 1997, due to the amended and more liberal legislative framework, new possibilities opened for establishing non-governmental organizations and facilitating the development of civil society. This was reflected in the more organized and systematic form of public activity and advocacy, as well as in a series of events, which also included performances in public spaces. ATTACK: Autonomous Culture Factory was certainly one of the more significant of these; it was initiated in the period when the civil scene – gathered around organizations such as the Anti-War Campaign, LGBT activists, women's rights activists, and the anarcho-punk scene – was only just being constructed. Organized on the principle of a platform and rejecting a hierarchical structure, the Autonomous Culture Factory sought to operate following the example of temporary autonomous zones described by Hakim Bey, and a space of artistic experiment and cooperation in the sense of Warhol's Factory.²⁹ In the context of alternative culture, which sought to build institutions from the bottom up and to bring art into the streets on the lines of the historical avant-garde, an entire series of actions, performances, and happenings was organized. Among the first were the public reading actions *Vijesti na cesti* (*News from the Street*) organized by the collective Nova Loža Lude Mame, performed in 1997 as a form of resistance by civil society organizations towards the dominant media policy,³⁰ while among the best-known ones were the demonstrations for the return of the name of the Square of the Victims of Fascism in 1999, which also heralded further changes in society. From 1997 until 1999, a total of 33 performances and stage plays were organized by the Autonomous Culture Factory; they were largely associated with the activities of the informal groups Schmrtz Theater, Not Your Bitch, Theatre de femmes, Menerik, and Le Cheval. Within its five-year activity as an alternative group, Schmrtz Theater also gained enviable media attention with actions such as the *Millennium Marijuana March* and *Out, Demons, Out*, in which they expelled demons from the building of the Croatian National Theater.³¹ According to co-founder

29 *Naša priča: 15 godina ATTACK!-a* (Zagreb: Autonomni kulturni centar, 2013), 27.

30 *Ibid.*, 67.

31 Igor Ružić, "Schmrtz teatar – 10 godina kasnije: angažman kaosa i kaotičnost angažmana," *Kazalište* no. 43–44 (2010): 80–85.

Mario Kovač, in the postwar years of the 1990s, Schmrtz Theater stood out from other alternative groups for its engagement in grand narratives instead of immersing in its own intimacy, and was modelled on the political, direct Living Theater. The performances typically included manipulation, excess, and penetrating the safety zone between the performers and the public. As stated by Igor Ružić in the review of the group's activity ten years later, "on the one hand, Schmrtz was merely an adolescent vent, while on the other hand, it was either the initiator of or a comrade in many activities that heralded that contemporary Croatia would go on to become a slightly more civilized country."³² With the happening *Ljubavni poljupci Jelene Perić* (*Jelena Perić's Kisses of Love*), Schmrtz Theater was the first to penetrate the cultural blockade towards the occupied territory, the no-man's land of Vukovar in 1997, the city that is synonymous with the horrors of war, which soon entered the process of peaceful reintegration. The audience was watching the group's preparations for the performance on television; once they got onstage, the actors chose a person from the audience and invited them on stage for a kiss. As Kovač himself put it, the exchange of long, French kisses was supposed to initiate reconciliation and bring love.³³

Damir Bartol Indoš, a member of the experimental group Kugla Theater, which produced radical political theater in the context of amateur theater and cultural centers in the 1980s, presented in the early 1990s the anti-war performances *Ratna kuhinja* (*War Kitchen*) and *Konjski rep* (*Horse's Tail*), with which they reacted to the reality of war in the first half of the 1990s. According to Indoš, *War Kitchen* was created at the Student Center, in which Kugla Theater had a rehearsal and production space. The literally found ambience – the brass military kitchen – became a spatial installation and a music instrument with which the performers made music by improvising. Brass music, brass kitchen, war intrigues, and political kitchens. The performance *Horse's Tail* owes its twist to language – the title directly refers to the Turkish meaning of

32 *Ibid.*

33 "Od skandala do strogo kontroliranih izvedbi," Mario Kovač interviewed by Suzana Marjanić and Višnja Rogošić, *Zarez* (VII), no. 149: 32–33.





Igor Grubić: Črni Peristil / Black Peristyle, 1998 | Foto z dovoljenjem umetnika / Photo courtesy of the artist

narodnega gledališča.³¹ Po besedah enega od ustanoviteljev, Maria Kovača, je v povojnih devetdesetih letih Schmrtz izstopal med drugimi alternativnimi skupinami po tem, da se je ukvarjal z velikimi temami, in ne s potapljanjem v lastno intimo, ter se pri tem zgledoval po političnem, neposrednem gledališču Living Theater. Predstave so običajno vključevale manipulacije, eksces in presejanje cone udobja med izvajalci in publiko. Kot piše Igor Ružič v pregledu dejavnosti skupine deset let pozneje, »je bil Schmrtz po eni strani le mladostniški ventil, po drugi strani pa je bil pobudnik ali soborec številnih dejavnosti, ki so nakazovale, da bo Hrvaška postala nekoliko bolj civilizirana država.«³² S happeningom *Ljubezenski poljubi Jelene Berić* je Schmrtz teatar leta 1997 prvi prebil kulturno blokado proti okupiranim ozemljem, tedanji nikogaršnji deželi v Vukovarju, mestu, ki je na Hrvaškem sinonim za vojno trpljenje in kjer se je kmalu zatem začel proces mirne reintegracije. Občinstvo je na televiziji spremljalo priprave skupine na nastop, po prihodu na oder pa so igralci med občinstvom izbrali osebo, ki so jo povabili na poljubljanje na oder. Izmenjava dolgih francoskih poljubov naj bi po Kovačevih besedah začela spravo in prinesla ljubezen.³³

Damir Bartol Indoš, član eksperimentalne skupine Kugla glumišče, ki je v osemdesetih letih ustvarjala radikalno politično gledališče v okviru amaterskega gledališča in kulturnih centrov, je na začetku devetdesetih let izvedel protivojna performansa *Vojna kuhinja* in *Konjski rep*, s katerima je odreagirala na realnost vojne v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih. Po njegovih besedah je *Vojna kuhinja* nastala v takratnem Študentskem centru, kjer je imelo gledališče Kugla prostor za vaje in produkcije predstav. Dobesedno najdeni ambient – pločevinasta vojaška kuhinja – v performansu postane prostorska instalacija in glasbilo, v katerem nastopajoči izvajajo glasbo z improvizacijo. »Pleh« glasba, »pleh« kuhinja, vojne spletke in politične kuhinje. Performans *Konjski rep* pa dolguje obrat jeziku – ime se neposredno nanaša na turški pomen

31 Igor Ružič, »Schmrtz teatar – 10 godina kasnije: angažman kaosa i kaotičnost angažmana«, *Kazalište* št. 43-44 (2010), str. 80-85.

32 Prav tam.

33 »Od skandala do strogo kontroliranih izvedbi, Mario Kovač u razgovoru sa Suzanom Marjanić i Višnjom Rogošić«, *Zarez* (VII) št. 149, str. 32-33.

imena Arkan,³⁴ vzdevka verjetno najbolj medijsko izpostavljenega in oblikovanega vojnega zločinca v jugoslovanskih vojnah, vodje navijačev Crvene zvezde v predvojnem obdobju.

Sanja Iveković, umetnica, katere delo *Trikotnik* iz leta 1979 je med antologijskimi zgodovinskimi političnimi performansi,³⁵ je v drugi polovici devetdesetih let izvajala performativna dela, ki so vključevala neposreden stik z občinstvom; to je bilo globoko vpeto tudi v dejavnost ženskega umetniškega centra ELECTRA, ki ga je ustanovila v devetdesetih letih v okviru platforme ATTACK. V parku Ribnjak je izvedla enodnevno akcijo *Obraz jezika* v organizaciji skupine B.a.B.e. in Avtonomne tovarne kulture. Akcija je vključevala plakate z obrazi pretepenih žensk skupaj z besednimi izrazi spolnega nasilja.³⁶ Naslednje leto je v dubrovniški galeriji Otok v slogu dela *Gen XX* iz devetdesetih let v obliki časopisne akcije na temo pozabljenih junakinj druge svetovne vojne predstavila performans iz ciklusa *Nada Dimić files*, posvečenega junakinji, katere kljubovalni in izmučeni obraz je bil eden od simbolov junaške mladosti in protifašističnega upora v drugi svetovni vojni. V performansu *Repetitio est mater* je pisala pismo Nade Dimić tovarišem, med katerimi je bil tudi Večeslav Holjevac, partizan in povojni župan Zagreba, ki so mu nekaj let pred tem postavili veličasten spomenik, medtem ko so spomenike Nadi Dimić rušili, njene slike so bledele, tovarna tekstila, poimenovana po njej, pa se je preimenovala v Endi international in je bila na robu zapiranja in odpuščanja premalo plačanih delavk. Po pričevanju Sanje Iveković je performans pri delu občinstva izzval burne odzive.³⁷

Leta 1998 je bil *Trikotnik* predstavljen na ikonični razstavi *Body and the East* v Moderni galeriji v Ljubljani, Muzej sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu pa je objavil monografijo Sanje Iveković z naslovom *Is This My True Face*, v kateri analiza *Trikotnika* služi

34 Goran Sergej Pristaš, »Devedesete«, *Frakcija* št. 2 (1996), str. . 22.

35 Glej: Bojana Pejić, »Metonymical Moves«, v: *Sanja Iveković: Is This My True Face*, ur. Tihomir Milovac (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 1998); Ruth Noack, *Sanja Iveković: The Triangle* (London: Afterall Books, 2013).

36 Bojana Pejić, *Sanja Iveković: Public Cuts* (Ljubljana: P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Institute, 2006), str. 24.

37 Nataša Govedić in Suzana Marjanić, »Žive skulpture i medijske interakcije, intervju s Sanjo Iveković«, *Zarez* št. 101, str. 12-14.

the name Arkan,³⁴ the nickname of the man who was probably the most notorious war criminal in the Yugoslav wars in terms of media exposure, and the leader of the soccer team Crvena Zvezda's supporter group in prewar times.

Sanja Iveković, the artist whose work *Trokut (The Triangle)* from 1979 is found among the anthological historical political performances,³⁵ developed in the second half of the 1990s performative works that included direct contact with the audience; the latter was embedded in the activity of the women's art center ELECTRA, which she founded and which operated within the ATTACK platform. In 1998 she carried out the one-day action *Lice jezika (The Face of Language)* at Ribnjak Park, organized by B.a.B.e. Association and the Autonomous Culture Factory – the action included posters with faces of abused women with accompanying verbal statements of gender violence.³⁶ In the following year, at the Otok Gallery in Dubrovnik, along the lines of the work *Gen XX* performed in the 1990s as a newspaper action and pursuing the forgotten heroines of World War II, Iveković presented the performance from the cycle *Nada Dimić Files*, dedicated to a heroine whose defiant and tormented face was one of the symbols of heroic youth in World War II and the Antifascist Struggle. In the performance *Repetitio Est Mater*, she writes in public a letter from Nada Dimić to her comrades, one of whom was also Većeslav Holjevac, a partisan and the postwar Mayor of Zagreb; while an impressive monument was erected in his honor in 1994, the monuments to Nada Dimić were demolished, her image faded, and the eponymous textile factory changed its name into Endi International, which then faced closure and the laying off of its underpaid (female) workers. According to Sanja Iveković's testimony, the performance sparked strong reactions among a portion of the audience.³⁷ Still, in 1998, *Triangle* was presented at the canonic exhibition *Body and the East* at Moderna galerija in

34 Goran Sergej Pristaš, "Devedesete," *Frakcija* no. 2 (1996): 22.

35 See: Bojana Pejić, "Metonymical Moves," in *Sanja Iveković: Is This My True Face?*, (ed.) Tihomir Milovac (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1998); and Ruth Noack, *Sanja Iveković: The Triangle* (London: Afterall Books, 2013).

36 Bojana Pejić, "Public Cuts," (Ljubljana: P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Institute, 2006), 24.

37 Nataša Govedić and Suzana Marjanić, "Žive skulpture i medijske interakcije," interview with Sanja Iveković, *Zarez* no. 101: 12–14.

Ljubljana, while the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb published Sanja Iveković's monograph, entitled *Is This My True Face?*, where its analysis serves as the introduction to the text "Metonymical Moves" by Bojana Pejić.³⁸ We can only speculate about the potential critical interpretation of this work prior to the 1990s; it seems, however, that it was only the late 1990s and the political context – not overly inclined towards the memory of Tito – alongside Manifesta – the European Biennial of Contemporary Art as the monograph's co-publisher, that enabled a favorable political context for the reception of the work.

Among the actions co-organized – at least nominally – by ATTACK, there is also *Knjiga i društvo 22% (Books and Society 22%)* by Igor Grubić. Conceived as a protest against the introduction of a 22% value-added tax on books, the action gathered a large number of participants from the independent art scene,³⁹ which would go on to become increasingly active and visible. It was one of the rare actions in those years that actually had some effect on upcoming political decisions – as the tax on books was scrapped in the following year. On a January morning of 1998, the Peristyle, the inner courtyard of Split's city core under the protection of UNESCO, was found covered in a black stain. The stain in the form of a circle was accompanied by a message affixed on a window of a nearby shop: "In honor of the group Red Peristyle 30 years after. Like a magic mirror, the Peristyle reflects the state of social awareness. Black Peristyle." The action, which attracted great media attention, was anonymously performed by Igor Grubić, who applied – with press clippings of the action as the work's integral part – for participation at the Zagreb Salon as the group Black Peristyle, and won second prize. The very act of applying for the exhibition – which invoked exactly the local neo-avant-garde tradition of art as a public act and was in many ways pivotal for the Croatian scene – indicates that the public space into which Black Peristyle intervened is primarily the media one. Having collected the prize as the representative of the still anonymous group eight months after the work's execution, Grubić was faced with a

38 Before that, it was reproduced in the catalogue of her 1981 exhibition *Installation/Performance*. Noack, *Sanja Iveković: The Triangle*, 15.

39 Marko Golub, "Obrnuto ispričana priča: uzorci urbane scene Zagreba," *Život umjetnosti* no. 73 (2004): 30.

kot uvod v besedilo »Metonimične poteze« Bojane Pejić.³⁸ O možnem kritičnem branju tega dela pred začetkom devetdesetih let lahko le ugibamo, vendar se zdi, da so šele pozna devetdeseta in politični kontekst, ki ni bil preveč naklonjen Titu in njegovemu režimu, skupaj z evropskim bienalom sodobne umetnosti Manifesto kot soizdajateljico kataloga omogočili ugoden politični kontekst za razstavitev dela in nadaljnjo recepcijo.

Med akcijami, za katere je bil ATTACK vsaj nominalno naveden kot soorganizator, je bila tudi akcija Igorja Grubića *Knjiga in družba 22 %*. Akcija, zasnovana kot protest proti uvedbi 22-odstotnega davka na dodano vrednost na cene knjig, je združila veliko število akterjev z umetniške in neodvisne scene,³⁹ ki je postajala vse aktivnejša in vidnejša. To je bila tudi ena redkih akcij v tistih časih, ki je resnično nekoliko vplivala na prihodnje politične odločitve – davek na knjige so naslednje leto ukinili.

Nekega januarskega jutra leta 1998 je bil Peristil, notranje dvorišče v splitskem mestnem jedru, ki je pod Unescovo zaščito, prekrit s črno barvo. Madež, narejen v obliki kroga, je spremljalo sporočilo, prilepljeno na izložbo bližnje trgovine: »V čast skupini Rdeči Peristil 30 let pozneje. Peristil kot čarobno ogledalo odraža stanje družbene zavesti. Črni Peristil.« Akcijo, ki je pritegnila veliko medijske pozornosti, je pod krinko anonimnosti izvedel Igor Grubić, potem pa kot skupina Črni Peristil prijavil časopisne izrezke o akciji kot integralni del dela na Zagrebški salon, kjer prejel je drugo nagrado. Sámó dejanje prijave na razstavo, ki je obujala prav lokalno neoavantgardno umetniško tradicijo kot javno dejanje in ki je bila v marsičem prelomna za hrvaško sceno, kaže na to, da je javni prostor, v katerega je posegel Črni Peristil, predvsem medijski prostor. Potem ko je Grubić kot tiskovni predstavnik še vedno anonimne skupine prevzel nagrado, je osem mesecev po izvedenem delu sledil informativni pogovor in prijava zaradi teroristične dejavnosti in poškodovanja kulturne dediščine; prijava je bila pod pritiskom javnosti umaknjena. S tem, ko se pokloni intervenciji iz leta 1968, ki je splitski trg ilegalno spremenila v rdeč kvadrat in s tem avtorjem zagotovila veliko blažje kvalificirano

38 Pred tem je bil reproduciran v katalogu njene razstave *Installation/Performance* iz leta 1981. Noack, *Sanja Iveković: The Triangle*, str. 15.

39 Marko Golub, »Obrnuto ispričana priča: uzorci urbane scene Zagreba«, *Život umjetnosti* št. 73 (2004), str. 30.

prijava od Grubićeve in obenem status kultne in kontroverzne skupine, o katere obstoju se še danes dvomi, se Grubić ne le odziva, kot je pripomnil sloviti splitski umetnostni zgodovinar Duško Kečkemet, na kvadrat s krogom, na rdečo barvo s črno in, lahko bi še dodali, na površino z breznom, ampak zastavlja tudi vprašanje statusa angažirane in protestne umetnosti v tistem času – tudi če gre v nacionalni umetnostni zgodovini za fantazmo in poznejši konstrukt. Maroje Mrduljaš je eden mnogih, ki imajo prav *Črni Peristil* Igorja Grubića za emblematično delo devetdesetih let: »Z umetniškega vidika je to nacionalno patologijo izgubljenega desetletja morda najbolje utelesila in uprostorila neka sprva anonimna splitska intervencija. *Črni Peristil* Igorja Grubića je nedvoumni znak časa, na katerega se je nanašal.«⁴⁰

Anonimna akcija, ki je takoj vzbudila veliko pozornosti policije, se je odvila leta 1999 v Osijeku med festivalom alternativnih mladih umetnikov UŠTEK. Čez noč so se v parku na Trgu Petra Preradovića pojavile rumene zastavice z napisom MINE.⁴¹ Ker je šlo za lokacijo, kjer je stanovanje Branimirja Glavaša, dolgoletnega gospodarja nad življenjem in smrtjo v Osijeku in v novem tisočletju protagonista neskončnega sojenja za vojne zločine, na odziv policije ni bilo treba čakati več mesecev. Šlo je za intervencijo Borisa Šinceka s Paulom Rajkovićem in Petrom Paradžikom, ki so enako intervencijo izvedli tudi v Zagrebu na lokaciji, namenjeni Muzeju sodobne umetnosti, v sklopu drugega Festivala alternativnega gledališča, ki ga je organizira Avtonomna tovarna kulture.

Ugodnejša družbena in kulturna klima v devetdesetih letih na Reki, v mestu, ki je v devetdesetih letih kot opozicijsko nosilo epitet »rdeče« in v katerem je bila na punkovski in alternativni glasbeni sceni močna linija performansa, je omogočila delovanje Galerije O.K. u klubu Palach pod vodstvom Damirja Čargonje - Čarlija. Galerija je bila v študentskem klubu, poimenovanem po češkem študentu, ki se je zažgal v protest proti sovjetskemu zatrtju praške pomladi, in je vzdrževala kontinuiteto mejnih umetniških praks in njihovo povezanost z alternativno glasbeno sceno. Konec

40 Saša Šimpraga, "Patologija izgubljenog desetljeća", *Život umjetnosti* št. 90 (2012), str. 108.

41 Olga Majcen Linn, "Smrt u hrvatskom performansu – nekoliko primjera", *Život umjetnosti* št. 91 (2012), str. 90.; Suzana Marjanić, "O mentalnim i kulturnim minkim Razgovor s Borisom Šincekom", *Zarez* št. 196/7 (IX), str. 38–39.

police interview and a report for terrorist activity and damaging of cultural heritage, which was withdrawn under public pressure. By paying honor to the '68 intervention, which illegally turned the Split square into a red rectangle and warranted a report to its authors with far milder accounts than that to Grubić, but also a cult and controversial status for the group whose existence is still questioned to this day, Grubić not only reacted – as observed by the renowned art historian Duško Kečkemet from Split – to a rectangle with a circle, to the red with the black, or, we could add, to a surface with an abyss, but also posed the question of the then status of engaged and protest art, even if this may be a phantasm and subsequent construct in national art history. Maroje Mrdoljaš is one of the many who consider *Black Peristyle* the most emblematic work of the 1990s: "In terms of fine art, this national pathology of the lost decade was perhaps best embodied and enspaced by an initially anonymous Split intervention. *Black Peristyle* by Igor Grubić is an unambiguous sign of the times to which it referred."⁴⁰

An anonymous action that attracted great and prompt attention of the police took place in 1999 in Osijek, during UŠTEK – Festival of Young Alternative Art. In a park on Petar Preradović Square, yellow flags with the inscription MINE (MINES) appeared overnight.⁴¹ Since this is the location of the residence of Branimir Glavaš, for many years a master of life and death in Osijek and the protagonist of an interminable war crimes trial in the 2000s, the reaction of the police was prompt. This intervention was authored by Boris Šincek with Paul Rajković and Petar Paradžik, who performed it once again in Zagreb, at the location intended for the Museum of Contemporary Art, as part of the 2nd Alternative Theater Festival organized by the Autonomous Culture Factory.

A more favorable social and cultural climate of the 1990s in Rijeka, a city that bore the oppositional epithet of "the red one" in the 1990s and in which a strong performative line existed on the punk and alternative scene, was also enabled by the activity of the O.K. Gallery in Palach Club, managed by

40 Saša Šimpraga, "Patologija izgubljenog desetljeća," *Život umjetnosti* no. 90 (2012): 108.

41 Olga Majcen Linn, "Smrt u hrvatskom performansu – nekoliko primjera," *Život umjetnosti* no. 91 (2012): 90.

Damir Čargonja-Čarli. Located at the eponymous student club, named after the Czech student who set himself on fire in protest against the Soviet quelling of the Prague Spring, the gallery provided a continuity of unconventional art practices and their connectivity with the alternative music scene. Sven Stilinović, who managed the gallery program in the late 1990s, performed the third performance in the series *The Geometry of Bloodthirstiness* in O.K.; the previous ones were in Berlin (1993) and the Kapelica Gallery in Ljubljana (1998). The ritual and collective eating of a lamb with all of its religious and culturological connotations – barbecued lamb was the favorite treat of Croatia's newly-established political elite of the 1990s – was accompanied by the performer wearing as a mask the bloody, porous tissue of a cow's heart, large enough to cover his face. According to Stilinović, the subject of bloodthirstiness includes the bloodthirstiness for food, the bloodthirstiness of the economy and, finally, the bloodthirstiness for energy.⁴² Uncomfortably brutal and frank, with the message "Vlast je slast, a slast je slast" ("Power is sweet, and sweetness is sweet"),⁴³ the performance announced to the participants – having fed them the archetype of the sacrificial animal in monotheistic religions – that their hands were bloody, their mouths greasy, and they themselves not at all innocent.

In the early 1990s, as a reaction to rising nationalism and hate speech, Mladen Stilinović produced the cycle *Bijela odsutnost* (*White Absence*), in which he used voids to express the inability to speak of the horrors of war. The color white, a symbol of mourning in many cultures, but also the color of silence, represents pain for Mladen Stilinović. "White is nothing and everything. In the everyday life it is often forgotten and repressed. Still, one cannot escape its symptoms scattered everywhere. In Stilinović's works, death and pain are omnipresent."⁴⁴ At the Biennale of Sydney in 1992, during the war, Stilinović exhibited mattresses painted in white, displayed in the manner of minimalist objects. "Sometime before the end of the nineties I concluded that I had to finish this mattress cycle. It was an excellent opportunity

42 Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa*, 1426.

43 The inscription on the shirt worn by Stilinović during his performance at the Ghetto Gallery in Split.

44 Igor Zabel, "General Equivalent," in *Mladen Stilinović: Pain* (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2003), 5–18.

devetdesetih let je program galerije vodil umetnik Sven Stilinović, ki je v njej izvedel tretjega od performansov v seriji *Geometrija krvoželjnosti*; prejšnja dva sta bila v Berlinu (1993) in v Galeriji Kapelica v Ljubljani (1998). Ritualno in skupinsko uživanje jagnjetine z vsemi verskimi in kulturnimi konotacijami – mlada jagnjetina na žaru je bila najljubša poslastica novoustanovljene hrvaške politične elite v devetdesetih letih – spremlja maskiranje performerja s krvavim in poroznim tkivom govejega srca, dovolj velikim, da mu prekrije obraz. Po besedah Stilinovića tema krvoločnosti vključuje krvoločnost za hrano, krvoločnost ekonomije in končno tudi krvoločnost za energijo.⁴² Neprijetno brutalen in iskren, s sporočilom »Oblast je slast, a slast je slast«,⁴³ je performans udeležencem, ki so jih nahranili z arhetipsko žrtveno živaljo v monoteističnih religijah, razkril, da imajo krvave roke, mastna usta in da niso niti malo nedolžni.

V začetku devetdesetih let je Mladen Stilinović v odziv na naraščajoči nacionalizem in sovražni govor naredil ciklus *Bela odsotnost*, v katerem je s prazninami izrazil nezmožnost govora o vojnih grozotah. Bela, v mnogih kulturah barva žalovanja, pa tudi barva tišine, je pri Mladenu Stilinoviću barva bolečine. »Bela je nič in vse. V vsakdanjem življenju je pogosto pozabljena in potlačena. Kljub temu se ne moremo izogniti njenim povsod razpršenim simptomom. V Stilinovićeve delih sta smrt in bolečina vseprisotni.«⁴⁴ Na bienalu v Sydneyju leta 1992, na vrhuncu vojne, je Stilinović razstavil vzmetnice, prebarvane z belo in postavljene v maniri minimalističnih objektov. »Nekje pred koncem devetdesetih let sem sklenil, da moram končati ta cikel vzmetnic. Odlična priložnost se je pojavila, ko so me povabili na razstavo v Slavonski Brod. Na stare vzmetnice sem preprosto napisal besedo BOLEČINA in jih zakopal v grob. Pokopal sem jih, da bi se znebil bolečine. Vendar so grobovi vedno kraj, ki se simbolično spominja bolečine, zato sem spoznal, da gre dejansko za zaprt krog, nenehno ponavljanje, da se bolečini ne moremo izogniti.« Simbolično je bilo pokopano poslednje desetletje stoletja vojn, a še danes, več kot dvajset let pozneje, se še vedno iščejo grobovi, vojni zločinci pa so morda samo malo manj junaki.

42 Marjanić, *Kronotop hrvatskog performansa*, str. 1426.

43 Napis na Stilinovićevo majico med izvedbo performansa.

44 Igor Zabel, "General Equivalent", v: *Mladen Stilinović: Pain* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2003), str. 5–18.

when I was invited to an exhibition in Slavonski Brod. I simply wrote the word PAIN on some old mattresses and buried them in a grave. I buried them to be rid of pain. However, graves are always a place that symbolically remembers pain, and then I realized that it was actually a closed circle, a constant repetition, that pain can't be avoided." The last decade of the century of wars has been symbolically buried; but today, more than twenty years after, the graves are still looked for, while the war criminals are perhaps only slightly less seen as heroes.

Translated by Mirta Jurilj



04

The Performative as Resistance to the Violence of War and Transition

From the perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is difficult to create a historical overview of performance art that would position it as a significant phenomenon in the field of visual art in the Yugoslav space. The reason for this is that, except for individual cases, that did not occur before the mid-1980s – such as the happenings and actions of the Zvono group and performances by Jusuf Hadžifejzović, followed, due to the circumstances, by actions and performative site-specific interventions during the siege of Sarajevo (1992–1995), amidst ruins, on the street, in sight of snipers – performance art only gained momentum with a younger generation of artists that left the autonomy of art and entered the space of social, even political practice.

In Bosnian and Herzegovinian socialist society, even its liberalized version of the 1980s, the art scene – especially visual art dominated by traditional art forms – was not very political, that is, critical and oppositional towards the structures of power/government. However, subversive intrusions into the field of politics – through specifically Sarajevan humor, slang and wit, as well as strategies of parody and the appropriation of political events that revealed the mechanisms that destroyed Yugoslav society – appeared in the domain of performative discourse: the cult radio/TV series *Top lista nadrealista*, the performances of rock star Elvis J Kurtovich and the Zabranjeno pušenje band, all of which form the backbone of a cultural phenomenon, i.e. the Sarajevo New

Asja Mandić

Performativno kot upor proti vojnemu nasilju in tranziciji

Z vidika Bosne in Hercegovine je težko narediti zgodovinski pregled performansa, ki bi ta medij umestil kot pomemben pojav na področju likovne umetnosti v Jugoslaviji, saj je z izjemo posameznih primerov, ki so se pojavili šele sredi osemdesetih let (na primer dogodki in akcije skupine Zvono in performansi Jusufa Hadžifejzovića), in po sili razmer nastalih akcij ter *in situ* performativnih intervencij med obleganjem Sarajeva (1992–1995), v ruševinah, na ulici, na »muhi« ostrostrelca, performans postal bolj očitno prisoten šele v povojnem obdobju z generacijo mlajših avtorjev, ki so zapustili avtonomijo umetnosti in vstopili v prostor družbene in tudi politične prakse.

V bosansko-hercegovski družbi v času socializma, tudi v bolj liberaliziranem obdobju v osemdesetih letih, umetniška scena – in še zlasti likovna scena, ki se je gibala v glavnem znotraj tradicionalnih medijev – ni igrala posebno politične ali kritično-opozicijske vloge do struktur oblasti. Subverzivni vdor na področje političnega – s specifičnim sarajevskim humorjem, slengom in duhovitostjo, pa tudi s strategijami parodije in apropiacije političnih dogodkov, ki so razkrivali mehanizme, ki so uničevali jugoslovansko družbo – se je pojavil v domeni performativnega diskurza v kulturni radijski in televizijski seriji *Top lista nadrealista* in v nastopih rockerja Elvisa J. Kurtovicha in skupine Zabranjeno pušenje, ki predstavljajo temelj kulturnega fenomena, imenovanega Sarajevski New Primitiv (SNP).¹ SNP je bil predstavljen leta 1990 kot multimedijaska razstava, ki je zaznamovala konec obdobja skupnosti, vključeval pa je tudi

¹ Pavle Levi, *Raspad Jugoslavije na filmu* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2009), str. 105–119.

Primitiv (SNP).¹ Presented in the form of a 1990 multimedia exhibition that was to mark the end of an era of commonality, SNP also included Jusuf Hadžifejzović's *Sarajevo Depot Café*.² Hadžifejzović's performances marked the whole decade and spanned from examples that critically dealt with the status and role of the artist in society through body language, announced bloodshed, or from the perspective of exile indicated a state of hopelessness, war and siege, to his *depot* and the (so-called) *depotographies* that came after the war when, with his return to Sarajevo, he continued actively to take part in the Sarajevo art scene.

The Beginning of the End:

The Performances of Jusuf Hadžifejzović

Jusuf Hadžifejzović is an artist who substituted his paintbrush with his own body, that is, the artistic object with process, transforming the temporal and spatial status of the work by placing it in situation. The question of the artist's status and his role in a society that is unsusceptible towards "new artistic practices" as well as the function of art institutions emerges in performances *The Artist in Preparation for the Exhibition Opening* (1984) and *Asleep at the Exhibition Opening* (1985), where the body becomes a means of expression as well as critical investigation of space of performative praxis. In this context one can talk about Hadžifejzović's spatial-performative *Café Depots (Sarajevo Café Depots, 1990; 1991)* at which he sold and served drinks in the space of the art gallery, as well as the project (then titled *Sarajevo '84*) that culminated in the organization of the first and second *Yugoslav Documenta*. It is interesting that the *Yugoslav Documenta* of 1989 symbolically marked the end of "Yugoslav projects" in the visual arts, and very soon also the end of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In a similar manner, Hadžifejzović's performances marked the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the years-long siege of the city that had been the center of Yugoslavism in the second half of the 1980s.

The performance *From Kitsch to Blood is Just One Step* (Od kiča do krvi samo je jedan korak), although

1 Pavle Levi, *Disintegration in Frames: Aesthetics and Ideology in the Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Cinema* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 67-77.

2 The exhibition, curated by Nermina Zildžo and Tatjana Alvađ, took place in the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

performed several times with certain typical modifications to the performance act and title, but always in the presence of Christian symbols and attributes – bread (flour and water) and fish – signaled the start of the war bloodshed in 1991, when in a moment of stitching knives into the belly of a fish the artist cut his own hands, leaving a bloodstained mark on the wall: *from kitsch to blood is just one step*. Even though it may not have been his aim to delve into the sphere of the political, the provocation, shock and the unpredictability of the reaction to the bloody performative act, that revealed the socio-political state and crisis of an impending war, nevertheless, had all the features of politicality. The same can be said of *The Last Supper*, a 1992 performance in front of the National Theater in Sarajevo. The iconography of the performance alluded to the motif of treason that, barely a few months later, manifested itself in the attacks of the Yugoslav People's Army on the city and the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression that culminated in ethnic cleansing and genocide.

State of Siege: Bodies of Resistance

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state of siege, and the struggle for bare survival that became manifest in a permanent panoptic demonstration of control and power, began on 5 April 1992, out in the street, in the square in front of the seat of government, the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a mass demonstration, an antiwar protest, during which the spaces of the street and square were transformed into performative sites of resistance, of direct conflict with reality. Through bodies, with performing of the bodies, through movements, hollering, gestures, with protest slogans and Tito's photographs, a space of political acts and political actions was produced, directly aimed at social change. Radical in its purpose, which was overthrowing government and its nationalist apparatus, and especially in its outcome – absolute violence against the body, in which two lives were extinguished forever by sniper fire,³ the antiwar protest started a period of four years of harrowing, killing, mutilation, but also the bodily resistance to the murderous war machine.

The state of siege, the closed, cut-off city, reduced

3 The first victims of the war in Sarajevo were Suada Dilberović and Olga Sučić.

Sarajevo Depot Café Jusufa Hadžifejzovića,² avtorja, ki je potem s svojimi performansi zaznamoval celo desetletje – od tistih, ki so se z jezikom telesa kritično nanašali na status in funkcijo umetnika v družbi, napovedovali prelivanje krvi ali z vidika begunstva kazali na stanje brezupa, vojne in obleganja, pa vse do depojev in depografij, s katerimi je po vojni, potem ko se je vrnil v Sarajevo, še naprej aktivno deloval na sarajevski umetnosti sceni.

Začetek konca:

performansi Jusufa Hadžifejzovića

Jusuf Hadžifejzović je umetnik, ki je slikarski čopič zavestno zamenjal s svojim telesom oziroma umetniški predmet s procesom ter pri tem spremenil časovni in prostorski status dela tako, da ga je postavil v situacijo. Vprašanji statusa in funkcije umetnika v družbi, ki je odklonilna do »novih umetniških praks«, in vloge umetniških institucij v njej se pojavljata v delih *Umetnik se pripravlja na otvoritev razstave* (1984) in *Spanje na otvoritvi razstave* (1985), v katerih telo postane sredstvo za izražanje in raziskovanje prostora izvajanja in kritičnega odnosa do tega. V tem kontekstu lahko gledamo tudi Hadžifejzovićeve prostorsko-performativne *Sarajevo Café Depots* (1990, 1991), v katerih je v galerijskem prostoru prodajal in stregel pijačo, in projekt (takrat imenovan *Sarajevo '84*), ki je dosegel vrhunec z organizacijo prve in druge razstave Jugoslovanski dokumenti. Zanimivo je, da so Jugoslovanski dokumenti leta 1989 simbolično zaznamovali konec »jugoslovanskih projektov« v vizualni umetnosti in kmalu zatem tudi konec Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, tako kot so potem Hadžifejzovićeve performansi zaznamovali začetek vojne v Bosni in Hercegovini in dolgotrajno obleganje mesta, ki je bilo sredi osemdesetih let središče jugoslovanstva.

Performans *Od kiča do krvi je le korak* – čeprav je bil sicer izveden večkrat, z določenimi, za umetnika značilnimi spremembami v izvajanju in naslovu, a vedno sta bila prisotna krščanska simbola in atributa kruh (moka in voda) in riba – je naznanjal začetek vojnega prelivanja krvi leta 1991, ko si je umetnik med šivanjem nožev v ribji trebuh

2 Kustosinji razstave, ki je bila v Umetniški galeriji BiH, sta bili Nermina Zildžo in Tatjana Alvađ.

porezal roke in pustil na steni krvav pečat: »od kiča do krvi je le korak«. Čeprav umetnik morda ni imel namena zaiti na polje političnega, pa so imeli provokacija, šok in nepredvidljivost odziva na krvavo performativno dejanje, ki je razkrivalo družbenopolitične razmere in krizo tik pred vojno, zagotovo politični značaj. Podobno je bilo s performansom *Zadnja večerja*, ki ga je izvedel pred Narodnim gledališčem v Sarajevu leta 1992 in ki ikonografsko aludira na motiv izdaje, ki se je pokazala le nekaj mesecev pozneje v napadih Jugoslovanske ljudske armade na mesto in v srbsko-črnogorski agresiji, ki je dosegla vrhunec v etničnem čiščenju in genocidu.

Oblegano stanje: telesa odpora

Vojna v Bosni in Hercegovini (oblegano stanje in boj za golo preživetje), ki se je manifestirala tudi v stalnem panoptičnem izkazovanju nadzora in moči, se je začela 5. aprila 1992 na ulici, na trgu pred Skupščino BiH z množičnimi demonstracijami, protivojnimi protesti, pri čemer so se prostori ulice in trga spremenili v performativna mesta odpora, neposrednega spopada s stvarnostjo. S telesnimi nastopi, z gibi, vzkliki, kretnjami, s protestnimi gesli in Titovimi fotografijami je bil ustvarjen prostor političnega delovanja, politične akcije, ki je bila neposredno usmerjena v družbene spremembe. Protivojni protest, radikalen po svojem namenu, tj. zamenjavi oblasti in njenega nacionalističnega aparata, predvsem pa po svojem izidu, absolutnem nasilju nad telesom, v katerem sta pod ostrostrelskimi streli za vedno ugasnili dve življenji,³ je pomenil uvod v obdobje štirih let mrcvarjenja, ubijanja, pohabljanja, a tudi zoperstavljanja telesa morilskemu vojnemu stroju.

Oblegano stanje, zaprto, odrezano mesto, zreducirano na boj za golo preživetje (brez vode, elektrike, hrane), obdano s cevmi težke artilerije, z ostrostrelci oziroma z vseprisotnimi pogledi, ki so nadzorovali življenje in smrt meščanov, je delovalo skoraj kot Foucaultova panoptična funkcija moči, osredotočena na prostor, gibanje in vedenje, torej na discipliniranje in kaznovanje telesa.⁴ Opazovalni pogledi, ki niso prihajali samo od zunaj, z olimpijskih

3 Prvi žrtvi vojne v Sarajevu sta bili Suada Dilberović in Olga Sučić.

4 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995), str. 195-228.

to the struggle for bare survival (without water, electricity, or food), surrounded by heavy artillery, snipers, the omnipresent gaze that controlled the lives and deaths of its citizens, operated almost like Foucault's panoptic function of power, focused on space, movement and behavior, i.e., disciplining and punishing the body.⁴ The controlling gaze, which came not solely from the outside, from the Olympic mountains and hills surrounding the city, but also from inside its core (the occupied Grbavica), was present in each of its segments and internalized in the bodies of its inhabitants as control mechanisms of behavior and movement. Punishment was mostly carried out on those bodies that dared to move within the area of constant surveillance – the snipers' field of vision (intersections, squares, bridges) – or to group, gather, interact, and communicate, i.e., get involved in the processes and situations that make up the essence of the urban (Lefebvre).⁵

In the context of cultural and artistic life, any visit to theater performances, film screenings, concerts, exhibitions as places where social space was produced, could be considered subversive-performative. It was during those war years that participation in cultural life was perceived as a form of resistance, the need to continue with normal life or, we might say, to create the illusion of one. Theater played perhaps the most important role in this, considering that performances were organized on a daily basis. During the four-year siege, the Chamber Theater (Kamerni teatar) alone organized over a thousand theater performances, and the SARTR war theater was founded which, by showing the play *Shelter*⁶ in the very first months of the siege, offered an authentic testimony of the war. From plays that stirred in citizens a sense of escape from the micro-world they inhabited (e.g. the musical *Hair* directed by Kaća Dorić), to those posing questions about what a city that is falling apart or a city under siege actually is (*Play* by Haris Pašović), or by creating analogies with the Spanish Civil War, the building of walls and the divisions throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina⁷ (*Wall* directed by Dino Mustafić),

4 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995), 195–228.

5 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

6 Safet Plakalo was the author of the play directed by Dubravko Bibanović.

7 Dino Mustafić, in Davor Diklić, *Teatar u ratnom Sarajevu*

theatrical performances played an important role in preserving the urban at the time of the city's annihilation.⁸

What Michael Fried characterized as the theatricality or the state of non-art in the visual arts field, by insisting on the effect of presence, temporality, placing the object/body in situations,⁹ at the time of the siege started to enter the works of artists who had worked to that point in traditional media and who were true to aesthetic autonomy and the formal qualities of the artwork. The first artists to replace the artist's studio with the street and the sculptor's material with debris, soot, rubble and their own bodies were Ante Jurić and Zoran Bogdanović. In the first war months they set in motion a street action to collect and rescue the remnants of the Central Post Office – one of the most beautiful buildings of Viennese Secession in Sarajevo, which was set on fire in a military diversion on 2 May 1992.¹⁰ Simultaneously, Predrag Čančar used photography to record their performative act. By positioning their own bodies on a crossroad and in the snipers' direct field of vision, the artists questioned and provoked the panoptical machinery of surveillance and punishment, the omnipresent force that regulated citizens' behavior and movement. Although their intention was to collect authentic sculptural material and exhibit it in a gallery setting, the conditions under which the performance took place, i.e., the specific spatial-temporal situation, the very act of documenting, and Jurić's subsequent textual-conceptual intervention into photocopied photographic document, as well as the possibility of visitor participation in the exhibition where Čančar's photographs were displayed, are what made this action a performance.¹¹

1992–1995: *Svjedočanstva* (Sarajevo-Zemun, 2004), 190–191.

8 Sources: Diklić, *Teatar u ratnom Sarajevu 1992–1995*, and the exhibition *Theater Under Siege* curated by Hana Bajrović, part of the *Memory Module* program, Festival MESS, The Sarajevo National Theater, 25 April – 12 June 2019.

9 Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, (eds.) P. Wood, C. Harrison (Oxford, UK & Cambridge, MA, Blackwell, 1999), 822–834.

10 For these actions, see: Asja Mandić, "Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo: Spaces of Gathering and Socialization," in *Participation in Art and Architecture: Spaces of Interaction and Occupation*, (eds.) M. Stierli, M. Widrich (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 110–112; and Asja Mandić "The Formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo," *Third Text* 25, no. 6 (2011): 727–728.

11 Philip Auslander, "The Performativity of Performance Documentation," *PAJ* 84 (2006): 1–10.





Ante Jurić: *Sarajevsko streljanje* / *Sarajevo Shot*, 1992, dvorišče Akademije dramskih umetnosti / the Academy of Performing Arts yard, Sarajevo | Foto arhiv / Photo Archive: Obala Art Centar

Performativno kot upor proti vojnemu nasilju in tranziciji / Asja Mandić

gora in gričev, ki obkrožajo mesto, temveč tudi iz notranjščine njegovega tkiva (zasedene Grbavice), so bili prisotni v vsakem od njegovih segmentov, ponotranjeni v telesih njegovih prebivalcev, kot nadzorni mehanizmi vedenja in gibanja. Kaznovanje se je najbolj izvajalo nad tistimi telesi, ki so si upala premikati se znotraj območja stalnega nadzora, vidnega polja ostrostrelcev (križišča, trgi, mostovi) ali pa se zbirati v skupine, stopati v interakcijo in komunikacijo, tj. vključevati se v procese in situacije, ki tvorijo bistvo urbanega (Lefebvre).⁵

V kontekstu kulturnega in umetniškega življenja bi lahko vsak obisk gledališke predstave, filmske projekcije, koncerta, razstave kot krajev, kjer se je ustvarjal družbeni prostor, obravnavali kot subverzivno-performativen. V tistih vojnih letih se je prav sodelovanje v kulturnem življenju dojemalo kot način ljudskega odpora, potreba po tem, da življenje normalno teče naprej ali pa se vsaj ustvari iluzija tega. Gledališče je tu igralo morda najpomembnejšo vlogo glede na to, da so bile predstave organizirane vsak dan, da je bilo samo v Komornem gledališču v štiriletnem obleganju več kot tisoč predstav, da je bilo ustanovljeno vojno gledališče SARTR, ki je s predstavo *Zaklonišče*⁶ že v prvih mesecih obleganja podalo avtentično pričevanje o vojni. Od predstav, ki so ljudem omogočile občutek pobega iz mikrosveta (muzikal *Lasje* v režiji Kaće Dorić), do tistih, ki se sprašujejo, kaj je pravzaprav mesto, ki razpada, kaj je oblegano mesto (predstava *Mesto Harisa Pašovića*), ali iščejo analogijo s špansko državljansko vojno, grajenjem zidov, delitvijo Bosne in Hercegovine⁷ (*Zid* v režiji Dina Mustafića) – v tistem času absolutnega ubijanja mesta so imele gledališke predstave pomembno vlogo pri ohranjanju urbanega.⁸

Na področju likovne umetnosti je tisto, kar Michael Fried opiše kot teatralizacijo ali stanje neumetnosti zaradi vztrajanja na učinku prisotnosti, časovnosti,

postavljanju objektov/teles v situacije,⁹ v času obleganja vstopilo v delo umetnikov, ki so do takrat delali v tradicionalnih medijih in bili zvesti estetski avtonomiji in formalnim lastnostim dela. Prva umetnika, ki sta zamenjala atelje za ulico in kiparski material za ruševine, saje, odpadke in lastni telesi, sta bila Ante Jurić in Zoran Bogdanović: v prvih mesecih vojne sta začela ulično akcijo zbiranja in reševanja ostankov glavne pošte, ene najlepših secesijskih zgradb v Sarajevu, požgane 2. maja 1992 v vojaški diverziji,¹⁰ Predrag Čančar pa je fotografsko dokumentiral njuno performativno dejanje. Umetnika sta svoji telesi postavila na križišče, naravnost v vidno polje ostrostrelcev, in s tem postavila pod vprašaj in izzvala panoptični stroj nadzora in kaznovanja, vseprisotno moč, ki je regulirala vedenje in gibanje prebivalcev mesta. Čeprav je bil njun namen zbrati avtentičen kiparski material in narediti razstavo v galerijskem prostoru, pa je ta akcija performans zaradi pogojev izvedbe, tj. specifične prostorsko-časovne situacije, samega dejanja dokumentiranja in pozneje Jurićevih besedilno-konceptualnih posegov v fotokopirani fotografski dokument ter možnosti sodelovanja obiskovalcev razstave, na kateri so bile razstavljene Čančarjeve fotografije.¹¹

Umetniške intervencije na prostem, v javnem prostoru Sarajeva, in tudi v opustošenih, porušenih stavbah, ki so pomenile izpostavljanje telesa kontrolnemu, nadzornemu pogledu, so predstavljale odpor proti represivnemu mehanizmu moči, še zlasti če upoštevamo, da je bilo zbiranje v javnem prostoru prepovedano oziroma je človek postal tarča. Med štiriletnim obleganjem performansov v pravem pomenu besede tako rekoč ni bilo, če izzamemo Jurićevo *Sarajevsko streljanje*, ki ga je prvič izvedel na dvorišču Akademije dramskih umetnosti novembra 1992, ko je v referenci na strele Gavriła

9 Michael Fried, »Art and Objecthood«, v: *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ur. P. Wood in C. Harrison (Oxford, UK, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1999), str. 822-834.

10 Za te akcije glej: Asja Mandić, »Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo: Spaces of Gathering and Socialization«, v: *Participation in Art and Architecture: Spaces of Interaction and Occupation*, ur. M. Stierli, M. Widrich (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016), str. 110-112; in: Asja Mandić, »The Formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo«, *Third Text* 25, št. 6 (2011): str. 727-728.

11 Philip Auslander, »The Performativity of Performance Documentation«, *PAJ* 84 (2006), str. 1-10.

5 Anri Lefevr [Henri Lefebvre], *Urbana revolucija* (Beograd: Nolit, 1974), str. 136.

6 Avtor predstave je Safet Plakalo, režiser pa Dubravko Bibanović.

7 Dino Mustafić, v: Davor Diklić, *Teatar u ratnom Sarajevu 1992-1995: Svjedočanstva* (Sarajevo-Zemun, 2004), str. 190-191.

8 Vira: Diklić, *Teatar u ratnom Sarajevu 1992-1995*; razstava *Teatar pod opsadom* avtorice Hane Bajrović v sklopu programa »Modul Memorije«, Festival MESS, Narodno pozorište Sarajevo, 25. 4.-12. 6. 2019.

Outdoor art interventions, in Sarajevo public spaces, as well as in devastated, ruined buildings, that assume the body being exposed to a controlling, supervising gaze, were a form of resistance to the repressive mechanism of power, especially when taking into account that gatherings in public spaces were “forbidden,” that is, targeted. During the four-year siege, there were almost no performances in the true sense of the word, with the exception of Jurić’s *Sarajevo Shot*, first performed in the courtyard of the Academy of Performing Arts in November 1992. In reference to Gavrilo Princip’s 1914 shooting in Sarajevo, the artist fired several bullets from a pistol at a tin surface supported by sandbags as a warning “to the world, of the potential danger of a new Balkan World War.”¹² However, in Jurić’s writings, sketches, drawings, and elaborations of artistic ideas we still find a preoccupation with the “aesthetic process,” the state of materials and their transformation, in which performance is merely the process of object creation or “a phase of real creation” after which “an object with memory of an event” remains.¹³

However, in a war when everything is subject to annihilation and destruction, when durability, permanence, strength, support, and any sense of security are lost, everything becomes temporal, momentary, subject to transformation, decay, from the urban social fabric to the human body, tortured, mutilated, massacred to the point of being unrecognizable. The reality of life changed to such an extent that it was almost impossible to maintain the autonomy of art. Due to the lack of everything, including materials and space to work, as well as neutral and clean white gallery walls, artists challenged conventional artistic means and the notion of the eternal nature and timelessness of a work of art. It was inevitable that during those years art should move away from the sphere of aesthetic autonomy. In place of the isolated status of the work of art embodied in the “white cube” gallery concept came the placement of the object or body in non-gallery spaces of destruction, which directly indicated the physical, psychological, as well as socio-political state of siege. Thus, with the

12 Ante Jurić’s journal, document “Pucanje u material”/“Shooting at Material” (17 November 1992) and “Sarajevski pucanj 1992”/“The Sarajevo Shots of 1992” (13 June 1993) signed by the artist.

13 Ante Jurić’s journal “Pucanje u material”/“Shooting at Material” (17 November 1992).

use of non-artistic means and materials resulting from devastation (debris, remnants of destruction, waste), interventions in destroyed buildings initiated events and situations in which not only the temporal and spatial status of the work of art was transformed, but in which also ruins were transformed into spaces of communication and socialization, spaces of participatory practice and the creation of micro-communities that resisted mechanisms of control and destruction.¹⁴

A paradigmatic example of exhibition practices and artistic interventions that were contextually determined by spaces of ruins, which were location-specific but in some ways also performative, were exhibitions in the devastated Sutjeska Cinema, which had been in its final phase of renovation and transformation into the Obala Open Stage space just before the start of the war. Held between December 1992 and March 1993, the exhibitions of Nusret Pašić, Zoran Bogdanović and Ante Jurić, Mustafa Skopljak and Petar Waldegg, Sanjin Jukić, Edin Numankadić, and Radoslav Tadić were closer to temporary interventions in a devastated space than exhibitions in the classical sense, because they usually ended after the opening, when the artist would remove the works to protect them from rain, snow, and further decay in what remained of the building. The destroyed space of the former cinema started functioning as an open stage where artists intervened in the very substance of the destroyed building with their works and installations, and at the same time interacted and communicated not only with exhibition visitors, but also with passers-by, because the desolate cinema, located on one of the most dangerous intersections, was used as a passage that sheltered people from the sniper’s gaze. Nevertheless, an exhibition’s performativity, even in terms of its dematerialization, may certainly be applied to the context of the *Witnesses of Existence*, a group exhibition that reunited the eight artists in the same space. Conceived as scenography “for a series of performances assembled into a theatrical whole”¹⁵ – where, highlighted by spotlights and sound, the artists successively dramatically revealed

14 Mandić, “Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo,” 107–126.

15 Tanja and Stjepan Roš, “Postavka izložbe Svjedoci postojanja,” in *Svjedoci postojanja/Witnesses of Existence*, exhibition catalogue, digital publication (Sarajevo: Galerija Obala, 1993).





Performativno kot upor proti vojnemu nasilju in tranziciji / Asja Mandić

Principa leta 1914 izstrelil več nabojev iz pištole v pločevinasto površino, podprto z vrečami peska, v opozorilo »svetu, da potencialno grozi nevarnost nove balkansko-svetovne vojne.«¹² Vendar v Jurićevih spisih, skicah, risbah, razdelavah umetniških idej še vedno najdemo zanimanje za »estetski proces«, stanje materialov in njihovo preobrazbo, pri čemer je performans le proces ustvarjanja objekta ali »faza resničnega ustvarjanja«, po katerem ostane »objekt s spominom na dogodek.«¹³

Vendar pa v vojni, ko je vse podvrženo rušenju in uničevanju, ko se izgubijo stanovitnost, trajnost, moč, podpora in kakršen koli občutek varnosti, vse postane začasno, trenutno, podvrženo preobrazbi, propadanju, od urbanega tkiva do človeškega telesa, mučenega, pohabljenega, zmasakriranega do neprepoznavnosti. Realnost življenja se je spremenila do te mere, da je bilo skoraj nemogoče ohraniti avtonomijo umetnosti. Zaradi pomanjkanja vsega, vključno z materiali in prostorom za delo ter galerijskimi nevtralnimi in čistimi belimi stenami, so umetniki postavili pod vprašaj običajna umetniška sredstva in tudi pojem večnosti in brezčasnosti umetniškega dela. Bilo je neizogibno, da je v tistih letih umetnost opustila estetsko avtonomijo oziroma da je izolirani status umetniškega dela, ki ga je utelešal koncept galerije kot »bele kocke«, zamenjalo postavljanje objektov ali teles v zunajgalerijske prostore uničenja, ki so se neposredno nanašali na fizično, psihološko in družbenopolitično stanje obleganja. Tako so z uporabo neumetniških sredstev in materialov, ki so izhajali iz razdejanja (ruševine, ostanki uničenja, odpadki), intervencije v opustošenih stavbah sprožile dogodke in situacije, v katerih se je vidno preoblikoval ne le časovni in prostorski status umetniškega dela., ampak so se tudi ruševine spremenile v prostore komunikacije in socializacije, prostore participativne prakse in ustvarjanja mikroskupnosti, ki so se upirale mehanizmom nadzora in uničenja.¹⁴

Paradigmatični primer razstavne prakse in umetniških intervencij v prostore ruševin, ki so

12 Dnevnik Anteja Jurića, zapisa »Pucanje u material« (17. 11. 1992) in »Sarajevski pucanj 1992« (13. 6. 1993), podpisana od umetnika.

13 Dnevnik Anteja Jurića, »Pucanje u material« (17. 11. 1992).

14 Mandić, »Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo«, str. 107-126.

bile kontekstualno določene, lokacijsko specifične in na neki način tudi performativne, so razstave v opustošenem kinu Sutjeska, ki je bil pred vojno v zaključni fazi prenove in preobrazbe v prostor Odprtega odra Obala. Med decembrom 1992 in marcem 1993 so se odvijale razstave Nusreta Pašića, Zorana Bogdanovića in Anteja Jurića, Mustafe Skopljaka in Petra Waldegga, Sanjina Jukića, Edina Numankadića in Radoslava Tadića: bolj kot razstave v klasičnem smislu so bile to kratkotrajne intervencije v opustošenem prostoru, saj so se najpogosteje končale takoj po otvoritvi, ko je umetnik dela umaknil pred dežjem, snegom in poškodbami zaradi nadaljnega propadanja rušeče se stavbe. Uničeni prostor nekdanjega kina je takrat deloval kot odprt oder, kjer so umetniki s svojimi deli in instalacijami posegali v tkivo uničene stavbe, hkrati pa komunicirali in stopali v interakcijo ne le z obiskovalci razstave, temveč tudi z naključnimi mimoidočimi, saj je propadajoči kino v bližini enega najnevarnejših križišč služil kot prehod in zaščita pred ostrostrelskimi pogledi. O performativnosti razstave celo v smislu njene dematerializacije pa gotovo lahko govorimo v primeru *Prič obstoja*, skupinske razstave, na kateri se je v istem prostoru ponovno zbralo vseh osem avtorjev. Zasnovana kot scenografija »za izvedbo niza performansov, sestavljenih v gledališko celoto«¹⁵ (avtorji so iz teme drug za drugim, najavljeni z reflektorji in zvokom, dramatično razkrivali svojo prisotnost in pri tem dosegali scenski učinek tako svojih del kot tudi teles), je bila razstava performativna v odnosu do prostora, publike, v trajanju izkušnje in v sodelovanju. A tudi uničeni prostor kina, njegov učinek minljivosti in procesa propadanja kot metaforični odsev stanja mesta in njegovih prebivalcev, bi lahko istovetili s performativno prakso, kot medij, v katerem se je materializirala praksa performansa, v katerem je njena izkušnja našla svojo prostorskost. Izkušnja prostora in telesna izkušnja, ki morda nista bili pomembni za vsako razstavljeno delo, pa sta bili izjemno pomembni tako za obiskovalce kot za splošno izkušnjo razstave.¹⁶

15 Tanja in Stjepan Roš, »Postavka izložbe Svjedoci postojanja«, v: *Svjedoci postojanja / Witnesses of Existence* (Sarajevo: Galerija Obala, 1993). Katalog razstave, digitalna publikacija.

16 Za več informacij o razstavah v Kinu Sutjeska glej: Asja Mandić, »Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo«, in: Mandić, »The Formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo«, str. 727-728.

their presence in the darkness, achieving stage effects for their works and their own bodies – the exhibition was performative in that it related to the space, audience, and the duration of experience and participation. Also, the ruined space of the cinema, its effect of transience and decay as a metaphorical reflection of the state of the city and its inhabitants, could identify with the performative practice as a means in which the practice materialized and in which experiencing the performance gained its spatiality. Experiencing space, the bodily experience, which may not have held equal importance for each exhibited work, was nevertheless extremely important for the visitors and the overall experience of the exhibition.¹⁶

Exhibition openings, especially those in spaces of destruction, surpassed theatrical performances in initiating gatherings, communication, dialogue, establishing contacts in a more direct and unhindered way, thus producing social relations and micro-communities that defied the panoptical mechanisms of control. They created zones of human relations, visitors gathered around warm tea, entered into communication, exchanged information, advice, i.e., a sense of togetherness and equality and erasing the differences was created through discussions about ways of surviving in a city under siege, about what they all shared. Through social interaction and the social context, micro-communities were formed that were relational in Bourriaud's sense of the word.

¹⁷ However, it is noteworthy that the community was not fixed and complete, but in the process of creation, it was in communication, or, as Jean-Luc Nancy would say, it was "inoperative."¹⁸

Through performing spatial practices and the performative, exhibitions were thus able to empower, regenerate the social fabric, and produce a social body that showed resistance, attempted to change and humanize the reality of war. In this sense, devastated buildings played a

¹⁶ For more information on exhibitions in Sutjeska Cinema, see: Mandić, "Exhibitions in Damaged and Destroyed Architectural Objects in Besieged Sarajevo," and Mandić, "The Formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo," 725-735.

¹⁷ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (Dijon: Les presses du reel, 2002).

¹⁸ Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, ed. Peter Connor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

special role because engagement in such spaces was analogous to action in an open public space; something radical in itself because it resisted the control mechanisms specifically aimed at banning movement and gatherings. In such spaces, subject to the contingent, elusive and transient, artists' works can be seen only as temporary spatial situations. Such were the *Sarajevo Caryatids* by Kemal Hadžić: photographs of Sarajevo young women leaning against the burned pillar of the National Library, presented in 1995 in the scorched and ruined space of the National Library and accompanied by a performance of ballerinas from the National Theater.

In addition to the performativity of the exhibition, in the case of the exhibitions *Witnesses of Existence* and, in a way, the *Sarajevo Caryatids*, we can also speak of the performative in the context of traditional media such as sculpture, which gained a new dimension during the siege of Sarajevo by entering public space. In wartime, it becomes almost impossible to make a clear distinction between art-in-public-places and art-as public-spaces, that is, between a sculpture that is public only in its size and scale and free access and one that refers to location and intervenes in the very social fabric of the city,¹⁹ both physically and socially. Enes Sivac's *Equilibrists*,²⁰ a composition of wire sculptures of a cyclist, a flyer, and a jumper (which is today aestheticized to the extreme, having been re-set in the same place, polished, and propped in a manner that amplifies and brings to the fore its aesthetic qualities), was directed at war destruction in 1994, both visually and metaphorically as well as through the performative act in which it obtained its final appearance. After erecting his sculptures wrapped in paper above the Miljacka River in the immediate vicinity of the burned out Central Post Office, of which only the shell remained, Sivac set the sculptural pieces on fire that same night, at the opening of the exhibition.²¹ In this

¹⁹ Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (London and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), 56–65.

²⁰ This composition of sculptures was presented as the exhibition *Preticanje vjetra / Overtaking the Wind*; see: Muhamed Karamehmedović, "Kreacija slobodne budućnosti," *Oslobođenje* (31 August 1994). The exhibition was held on 24 August 1994 at the summer festival Beba univerzum / Baby Universe (festival authors: Haris Pašović and Suada Kapić).

²¹ Testimony of Enes Sivac in: Suada Kapić, *The Siege of Sarajevo 1992–1996* (Sarajevo: FAMA, 2000), 802–807.

Otvoritve razstav, še zlasti v prostorih uničenja, so še bolj kot gledališke predstave vodile v druženje, komunikacijo, dialog, bolj direktno in neposredno vzpostavljane stikov, v katerih so nastajali družbeni odnosi in mikroskupnosti, ki so se upirale panoptičnim mehanizmom nadzora. Na njih so nastajale cone medosebnih odnosov, obiskovalci so se zbirali, se greli s toplim čajem, vstopali v komunikacijo, izmenjavo informacij, nasvetov – v komunikaciji o preživetju v obleganem mestu, v pogovorih o stvareh, ki so jim bile vsem skupne, je nastajala skupnost, v kateri se je vzpostavila enakost in so se zabrisale razlike. V socialni interakciji in družbenem kontekstu so nastale mikroskupnosti, ki so bile relacijske v Bourriaudovem smislu.¹⁷ Vendar je pri tem pomembno poudariti, da skupnost ni bila nekaj dokončno določenega, ampak je bila v procesu oblikovanja, v komunikaciji ali, kot bi rekel Jean-Luc Nancy, bila je »nedelujuča«.¹⁸

Z izvajanjem prostorskih praks, s performativnostjo so razstave tako lahko krepile in obnavljale družbeno tkivo, ustvarjale družbeno telo, ki se je upiralo in poskušalo spremeniti, počlovečiti medvojno resničnost. V tem smislu zasedajo posebno mesto opustošeni objekti, saj je bilo angažiranje v takih prostorih analogno delovanju v odprtem javnem prostoru, kar je že samo po sebi radikalno zato, ker se je upiralo mehanizmom nadzora, osredotočenim še posebej na prepoved gibanja in zbiranja. V takih prostorih, ki so podvrženi kontingentnemu, neulovljivemu in prehodnemu, je dela mogoče gledati le kotčasne prostorske situacije. Take so bile tudi *Sarajevske kariatide* Kemala Hadžića, fotografije Sarajevčank, naslonjenih na zažgani steber Narodne knjižnice, predstavljene leta 1995 v požganem in porušenem prostoru Narodne knjižnice ob nastopu balerin Narodnega gledališča.

Poleg performativnosti razstav, kot sta bili *Priče obstoja* in do neke mere *Sarajevske kariatide*, lahko o performativnem govorimo tudi v kontekstu tradicionalnih medijev, kot je kiparstvo, ki je v času obleganja dobilo novo dimenzijo z vstopom v javni prostor. V vojnih pogojih je postalo skoraj nemogoče jasno ločevati med umetnostjo v javnem

¹⁷ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (Dijon: Les presses du reel, 2002).

¹⁸ Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, ur. Peter Connor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

prostoru in umetnostjo kot javni prostor, torej med skulpturo, ki je javna le po svojih dimenzijah in prostem dostopu, in skulpturo, ki se nanaša na lokacijo in posega v tkivo mesta,¹⁹ tako fizično kot družbeno. *Ekvilibristi*²⁰ Enesa Sivca, kompozicija žičnih skulptur kolesarjev, letalcev in skakalcev, ki je danes na istem mestu, predelana in spolirana, videti skrajno estetizirana, postavljena tako, da se izpostavljajo, poudarjajo in pridejo do izraza njene estetske lastnosti, je bila leta 1994 usmerjena v vojno uničenje tako vizualno kot metaforično ter tudi v performativnem dejanju, v katerem je dobila svoj končni videz. Potem ko je dvignil svoje v papir zavite skulpture nad reko Miljacko v neposredni bližini požgane secesijske pošte, od katere je ostala samo lupina, jih je Sivac ponoči na odprtju razstave zažgal.²¹ V tej performativni inavguraciji *Ekvilibristov* lahko prepoznamo izomorfizem narave, človeškega dela in arhitekture oziroma reke, ki simbolizira nestalnost, minljivost in antropomorfizem ruševin, ki evocirajo propadanje, razpadanje telesa.

Reka Miljacka, ki je bila od nekdaj temelj mesta in vodilo skozi različne prostorske in zgodovinske dele Sarajeva, je med vojno postala območje nadzora; njena obrežja in mostovi so postali arena za strelce z okoliških gričev. Sarajevčani so jo prečkali v teku, hitreje od vetra, na kar je morda namigoval tudi naslov Sivčeve razstave *Prehitevanje vetra*, na kateri je predstavil *Ekvilibriste*. Istega leta je bila izvedena akcija skupine Art Publishing (Bojan Bahić in Sanda Hnatjuk) z naslovom *To ni zid*, v kateri sta v Miljacko metala sporočila miru v znak protesta proti temu, da so reke postale »vsiljeni zidovi«,²² na mostu Drvenija pa so prebivalci sodelovali pri pisanju transparenta, ki so ga nato spustili po reki.

Navedenečasne prostorske situacije, časovne intervencije v vojni vsakdan, postavljanje predmetov in teles v situacije, v katerih prisotnost umetnika postane nujna za materializacijo ali izvedbo dela, vključujejo ne samo kontekstualne in prostorsko-

¹⁹ Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (London; Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), str. 56–65.

²⁰ Ta kiparska kompozicija je bila predstavljena kot razstava *Preticanje vjetra*. Glej: Muhamed Karamehmedović, »Kreacija slobodne budućnosti«, *Oslobođenje*, 31. 8. 1994. – Razstava je bila 24. 8. 1994 v sklopu poletnega festivala Beba univerzum (avtorja festivala: Haris Pašović in Suada Kapić).

²¹ Pričanje Enesa Sivca v: Suada Kapić, *The Siege of Sarajevo 1992–1996* (Sarajevo: FAMA, 2000), str. 802–807.

²² »Ovo nije zid«, *Oslobođenje*, 27. 4. 1994.

performative inauguration of the *Equilibrists* one can recognize the isomorphism between nature, human body, and architecture, that is, the river that symbolizes the impermanence and transience, and the anthropomorphism of the ruins that evoke deterioration and bodily decay.

The Miljacka River, which has always been the cornerstone of the city and a guide through Sarajevo's various spatial and historical parts, became a surveillance zone during the war; its banks and bridges turned into an arena for snipers from the surrounding hills. Sarajevans crossed the river running, their steps swifter than the wind, which may have been what Sivac's exhibition *Overtaking the Wind* – at which the *Equilibrists* were presented – alluded to. The action by the Art Publishing group (Bojan Bahić and Sanda Hnatjuk), entitled *This is not a Wall*, also took place in 1994. Protesting the fact that rivers had become "imposed walls,"²² messages of peace were thrown into the Miljacka River and citizens participated in writing banners on the Drvenija bridge and floating them down the river.

The above-mentioned temporary spatial situations, temporal interventions into the war quotidian, the placement of objects and bodies in situations where the presence of the artists becomes a necessity for the materialization or performance of the work, involve not only contextual and spatial-temporal traits, but also the participation of the viewer. Situations in which interaction and communication take place, in which the artist is not only the author of the work, but also an equal member of the community, present interventions into the social fabric with elements of socially engaged practices. However, the conscious delving into the socio-political state of things and the concept of the work of art as process, as well as the body-based performance within the spatial-temporal context were only to appear in the postwar period with a new generation of young artists entering the art scene.

A Critical Questioning of the Postwar Condition

The postwar condition was marked by the process of normalization that, according to Boris Buden, is related to an understanding of the transition

22 "Ovo nije zid," *Oslobodjenje* (27 April 1994).

process based on the logic that things, before they can become better, must turn for the worse in comparison to the prior situation.²³ It was precisely with the degradation and dismantling of socialism in Yugoslavia – through war, destruction, and dissolution – that the post-war process of "normalization" started.²⁴ That was directly materialized in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in division, national turmoil, political chaos, economic collapse, lawlessness, and the destruction of institutions, where a new social contract was made, based on ethno-nationalist sovereignty and neoliberal logic.

In their approach to financing and co-financing, neoliberal capitalism and the corporate machinery enforce their own rules, establishing new relations in the field of culture and art and at the same time destabilizing institutions as bearers of traditional (one-party) values and socialist heritage as backwards and incapable of engaging in modern trends and of achieving self-sustainability. Therefore, in 1996 the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (SCCA), established by the Open Society Fund and led by Dunja Blažević, was founded as an organization that, besides promoting and supporting contemporary art, in effect also had to act as a "corrective or complement to the institutions of the old system."²⁵ This introduced Sarajevo to the network of Soros centers, i.e., "Western institutions whose role was to work on the encouragement, initiation, and facilitation of transition processes in the East (from the states of the former USSR, across communist countries of Central Europe to the Balkans),"²⁶ as well as cultural networking paradigmatic of the globalization processes of the 1990s, i.e., the introduction of a "new developmental information age and network society paradigm."²⁷

23 Boris Buden, "The post-Yugoslavian Condition of Institutional Critique: An Introduction," November 2007, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0208/buden/en.html>. Accessed 25 November 2020.

24 *Ibid.*

25 For more information see the Bosnia and Herzegovina Open Society Fund web page: <https://osfbih.org.ba/index.php/14-naslovna/111-gradani-i-lokalna-vlast-zajedno-do-boljih-usluga>, accessed 28 November 2020.

26 Miško Šuvaković, "Ideologija izložbe: O ideologijama Manifeste," *Platforma SCCA*, no. 3 (January 2002), <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma3/suvakovic.htm>, accessed 25 November 2020.

27 Željka Tonković and Sanja Sekelj, "Godišnje izložbe Soros centra za suvremenu umjetnost Zagreb kao mjesto umrežavanja," *Život umjetnosti*, no. 99 (2016): 80–95.

časovne značilnosti, temveč tudi sodelovanje gledalcev. Situacije interakcije, komunikacije, v katerih umetnik ni le avtor dela, temveč tudi enakopraven član skupnosti, predstavljajo posege v družbeno tkivo, ki so imeli elemente družbeno angažiranih praks. Vendar pa so se zavestno poseganje v družbenopolitično stanje, pojmovanje umetniškega dela kot procesa in telesno izvajanje v prostorsko-časovnem kontekstu pojavili šele v povojnem obdobju, ko je na sceno stopila mlajša generacija umetnikov.

Kritičen razmislek o povojnem stanju

Povojno stanje zaznamuje proces normalizacije, ki je po besedah Borisa Budna povezan s razumevanjem tranzicijskega procesa na osnovi logike, da se morajo stvari v primerjavi s predhodnimi razmerami poslabšati, preden se izboljšajo.²³ Prav v degradaciji in razgradnji socializma in Jugoslavije z vojno, uničenjem in razdelitvijo, kar se je neposredno materializiralo v Bosni in Hercegovini, kjer se je proces povojne »normalizacije«²⁴ začel z delitvijo, nacionalnimi nemiri, političnim kaosom, gospodarskim kolapsom, brezpravjem in uničevanjem institucij, se je ukinjala stara in sklepala nova družbena pogodba, temelječa na etnonacionalni suverenosti in neoliberalni logiki. Ko pride do financiranja in sofinanciranja, neoliberalni kapitalizem in korporacijski stroj vsiljujeta svoja pravila. Tako so se tudi na področju kulture in umetnosti vzpostavili novi odnosi, hkrati pa so se institucije kot nosilke tradicionalnih (enostrankarskih) vrednot in socialistične dediščine destabilizirale kot zaostale in nesposobne, da bi se vključile v sodobne tokove in vzdrževale same sebe. Tako je Fond otvoreno društvo leta 1996 ustanovil Sorosov center za sodobno umetnost (SCCA), ki ga je vodila Dunja Blažević, kot organizacijo, ki naj bi poleg promoviranja in podpiranja sodobne umetnosti delovala tudi kot »korektiv ali dopolnilo za ustanove starega sistema«.²⁵ Tako se je tudi Sarajevo vključilo v mrežo Sorosovih

23 Boris Buden, »The post-Yugoslavian Condition of Institutional Critique: An Introduction«, november 2007, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0208/buden/en.html>. dostop 25. 11. 2020.

24 Prav tam.

25 Za več informacij glej spletno stran Fonda Otvoreno društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, dostop 28. 11. 2020, <https://osfbih.org.ba/index.php/14-naslovna/111-gradani-i-lokalna-vlast-zajedno-do-boljih-usluga>.

centrov, »zahodnih institucij, katerih naloga je spodbujati, sprožati in oskrbovati tranzicijske procese na Vzhodu (od držav nekdanje ZSSR preko komunističnih držav Srednje Evrope do Balkana)«,²⁶ in tudi v kulturno mreženje, paradigmatično za globalizacijske procese in devetdeseta leta, v »novo razvojno paradigmo informacijske dobe (information age) in mrežne družbe (network society)«.²⁷

Vendar pa je SCCA s svojo politiko »podpiranja tistih pojavov v sodobni umetnosti, ki presegajo/širijo obstoječe medijske meje in okvire,«²⁸ oziroma z delovanjem, v katerem je v sodelovanju z mladimi umetniki produciral umetnost, odigral pomembno vlogo pri vzpostavljanju nove umetniške scene, na kateri so se začeli pojavljati umetniki, ki so vidno odstopali od prevladujočih estetskih tendenc modernizma in tradicionalnih medijev ter preusmerili zanimanje s predmetov na prostorske situacije in telesne performanse.²⁹ Zaradi delovanja centra se je povečalo število instalacij, video del in performansov, pa tudi umetniških, razstavnih in zlasti kuratorskih praks, ki so bile kontekstualne, vezane na prostorske danosti (*in situ*, *site-specific*, *site-oriented*) in participativne.

Letne razstave kot ena temeljnih programskih dejavnosti vseh Sorosovih centrov so bile v Sarajevu osredotočene predvsem na javni prostor, ki že sam po sebi predpostavlja kraj politične dejavnosti. Na splošno »ima izraz *javen* demokratične konotacije. Pomeni 'odprtost', 'dostopnost', 'udeležbo'«,³⁰ vendar javni prostor predstavlja tudi zastopanje mehanizmov oblasti in moči. Zato se umetniški posegi v tkivo mesta neizogibno navezujejo na

26 Miško Šuvaković, »Ideologija izložbe: O ideologijama Manifeste«, *Platforma SCCA*, št. 3 (januar 2002), dostop 25. 11.2020, <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma3/suvakovic.htm>.

27 Željka Tonković and Sanja Sekelj, »Godišnje izložbe Soros centra za suvremenu umjetnost Zagreb kao mjesto umrežavanja«, *Život umjetnosti* št. 99 (2016): str. 80–95.

28 Dunja Blažević, intervju »Kultura i oblici«, *Sarajevo* 1, št. 2 (23. 12. 1997), str. 3.

29 Kljub temu je treba poudariti, da se je scena že začela oblikovati z delovanjem Galerije Obala (Obala Art Centar), ki jo je vodila Izeta Građević; ta je nadaljevala z delom, začetim med vojno (vključno z razstavo *Svjedoci postojanja* in vsemi pred njo), vendar pa se je po ustanovitvi SCCA-ja Galerija Obala hitro preusmerila v organiziranje festivala Sarajevo Film.

30 Rosalyn Deutsche, »The Question of 'Public Space'«, dostop 12. 7. 2020, https://iwalewapublicspace.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/rosalyn-deutsche-_the-question-of-_public-space_.pdf.

With its policy of “supporting those phenomena in contemporary art that transcend/expand existing media boundaries and frameworks,”²⁸ or through practice in which art was produced in collaboration with young artists, the SCCA played a significant role in establishing a new art scene where the new, emerging artists visibly departed from the dominant aesthetic tendencies of modernism as well as traditional media, by shifting their interest from objects to spatial situations and their own bodies.²⁹ The Center’s activities led to a proliferation of installations, video works, and performances, as well as artistic and exhibition-based practices, especially curatorial ones that were contextual, contingent, and spatially determined (site-specific, site-oriented), and participatory.

In Sarajevo, annual exhibitions, one of the fundamental program activities of all Soros centers, were primarily focused on public space, which in itself presupposes a place of political activity. In general, the term “public has democratic connotations. It implies ‘openness,’ ‘accessibility,’ ‘participation’.”³⁰ On the other hand, public space is also a representation of the mechanisms of power and authority. Artistic interventions in the fabric of the city therefore inevitably relate to its social, cultural, and political dynamics and reveal both the socio-political and symbolic meanings of a particular location. At the annual SCCA exhibitions – *Meeting Point* (1997), *Beyond the Mirror* (1998), and *Under Construction: Attention! Works!* (1999) – only a few works were political *per se*, but the way these exhibitions dealt with public space, locational identity, and institutions can be understood as curatorial practices that encroached on the field of the socio-political, i.e., as projects through which “a politically toned, but not completely explicit practice is realized.”³¹

28 Dunja Blažević, interview “Kultura i oblici,” *Sarajevo* 1, no. 2 (23 December 1997): 3.

29 Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that the scene already started to form with the activities of Obala Art Centar led by Izeta Građević, which continued with the activities started during the war (including the exhibition *Witnesses of Existence* and all exhibitions that preceded), but with the establishment of the SCCA, the Obala Art Centar diverted its activities to those dealing with the Sarajevo Film Festival organization.

30 Rosalyn Deutsche, “The Question of ‘Public Space,’” https://iwalewapublicspace.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/rosalyn-deutsche-_the-question-of-_public-space_.pdf, accessed 12 July 2020.

31 In the context of the activities of the Soros Centers for

Nevertheless, at the *Under Construction: Attention! Works!* (1999) exhibition, Maja Bajević performed her first work in a series entitled *Women at Work*, resulting from a dialogical collaborative practice with the women of Srebrenica and broaching several socio-political issues. *Women at Work: Under Construction* was a five-day long performance of embroidering patterns usually found on Bosnian kilims onto a scaffolding structure erected on the facade of the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The performance was executed by women who had not only suffered personal tragedies, but were also socially marginalized and exposed to political games and manipulation. Body-based performance in a public space is certainly a provocation and criticism of repression, of domination of aggression and violence, as well as an expression of overall hopelessness, thus opening numerous questions and problems, such as isolation and survival.

In this context, the works of Nebojša Šerić Shoba may be the most interesting since the notion of the public becomes his operative concept, a strategy of critically elucidating socio-political problems. Subversive questioning of democratic space and a critique of the state of postwar “normalization” can be recognized in several Šerić’s performances. In *No Lyrics, No Music, No Country, Nothing...* (1997), performed in the main pedestrian zone in Sarajevo (later also in Ljubljana), the artist played a guitar without strings and sang without making a sound with an empty can with a US label and the inscription “Not to Be Sold or Exchanged” before him. Equally striking were the performances *Cleaning the Garbage in Front of the EU Embassies After Visa Applicants* (1999) and *Under All Those Flags* (1998), which involved placing dozens of transparent plastic flags on pillars between two bridges along the Miljacka River, where official flags are displayed on public holidays. Interestingly, his flag installation pointing to a general emptiness, the absence of symbols, and the problem of the divided country and its statehood, was removed the following day by the institutions of power that controlled public space.³²

Contemporary Art, Šuvaković names such works of art indicative media projects, see: Šuvaković, “Ideologija izložbe: O ideologijama Manifeste”.

32 Dunja Blažević, “Oni dolaze,” *Maxumim* (Sarajevo: SCCA, 2000), 3–4.



Maja Bajević: *Dressed Up*, 1999, sedemurni performans / seven-hour performance, MINIMUM, SCCA, Mestna galerija Collegium Artisticum / City Gallery Collegium Artisticum, Sarajevo | Foto / Photo: Danica Dakić, SCCA



Performativno kot upor proti vojnemu nasilju in tranziciji / Asja Mandić

njegovo družbeno, kulturno in politično dinamiko ter razkrivajo tako družbenopolitični kot simbolni pomen določene lokacije. Čeprav na SCCA-jevih letnih razstavah *Meeting Point* (1997), *Izza ogledala* (1998) in *Pazi dela* (1999) ni bilo prav veliko del, ki bi bila politična sama po sebi, pa lahko govorimo o teh razstavah – glede na to, da so se ukvarjale z javnim prostorom, lokacijsko identiteto in institucijami – kot o kuratorskih praksah, ki posegajo na družbenopolitično področje, ali kot o projektih, s katerimi se »uresničuje politično naravnana, vendar ne povsem eksplisitna praksa.«³¹

Maja Bajević je kljub temu na letni razstavi *Pazi dela* leta 1999 izvedla svoje prvo delo v seriji *Women at Work*, realizirano v dialogu in sodelovanju z ženskami iz Srebrenice, delo, ki je načenjalo vrsto družbenih in političnih problemov. *Women at Work: Under Construction*, petdnevni performans vezenja vzorcev z bosanskih preprog na strukturo gradbenega odra, postavljenega pred fasado Umetnostne galerije Bosne in Hercegovine, je bil izveden z ženskami, ki so bile v svoji tragediji še družbeno marginalizirane in prepuščene političnim igram in manipulacijam. Nastop telesa v javnem prostoru gotovo predstavlja provokacijo in kritiko represije, prevlade agresije in nasilja ter splošnega brezupa in odpira številna vprašanja in probleme – izolacije, obstoja, preživetje.

V tem kontekstu so morda najbolj zanimiva dela Nebojše Šerića Shobe, umetnika, pri katerem je »javno« postalo koncept delovanja in strategija kritičnega razkrivanja družbenopolitičnih problemov. Subverziven dvom o demokratičnem prostoru in kritiko stanja povojne »normalizacije« najdemo v Šerićevem performansu *No Lyrics, No Music, No Country, Nothing...* (1997), izvedenem na glavni ulici za pešce v Sarajevu (in pozneje v Ljubljani), v katerem je pred prazno pločevinko z nalepko USA in napisom »Not to Be Sold or Exchanged« igral na kitaro brez strun in pel, ne da bi dal glas od sebe, potem v performansu *Cleaning the Garbage in Front of the EU Embassies After Visa Applicants* (1999) in v akciji *Pod vsemi temi zastavami* (1998), v kateri je namestil več ducatov prozornih plastičnih zastav na stebre med dvema mostovoma na reki

31 V kontekstu delovanja Sorosovih centrov za sodobno umetnosti Šuvaković taka umetniška dela imenuje demonstrativni medijski projekti. Glej: Šuvaković, »Ideologija izložbe: O ideologijama Manifeste«.

Miljacki na mesto, kjer so sicer izobešene uradne zastave ob državnih praznikih. Zanimivo je, da so institucije oblasti, ki nadzorujejo javni prostor, že naslednji dan odstranile njegovo instalacijo zastav, ki je kazala na neko splošno praznino, odsotnost simbolov in problem državnosti razdeljene države.³²

Pri mlajših umetnikih se je sodelovanje v javnem prostoru morda pojavilo kot potreba po regeneraciji urbanega tkiva, saj, kot navaja Lefebvre, »[p]rostor zaznavamo, živimo, proizvajamo s telesom.«³³ Preko telesa, tj. z izvajanjem telesa, lahko urbani prostor ustvarjamo in preoblikujemo tudi s preprostimi gestami, kot je hoja.³⁴ Tako sta Anela Šabič in Suzana Cerić, ko sta ustavili promet samo zato, da sta se sprehodili, leta 1997 oživili Titovo ulico, ji dali pomen, jo preoblikovali, skratka, ji vrnili funkcijo javnega prostora prebivalcev.³⁵ Precej bolj subtilen vstop v urbani prostor je bilo delo Šejle Kamerić *For My Sake* (1999), instalacija, ki jo lahko gledamo tudi kot performativno fotografijo: umetnica je tri dni dokumentirala svoj prihod na Akademijo za likovno umetnost in odhod z nje ter fotografije postavila kot plakate, ki označujejo kraj njene performativne prisotnosti. »Prisvajanje/osvajanje prostora«³⁶ kot modus operandi mladih avtorjev lahko razumemo tudi kot odpor do tega, kar prinašajo tranzicija, etnonacionalizem ali brisanje spomina na socialistično, antifašistično preteklost v potrebi po izgradnji novih identitet. V tem kontekstu je Danica Dakić naredila nekakšen performativni spomenik – na podstavek, s katerega je bil odstranjen doprtni kip Iva Andrića, je postavila video instalacijo. Bojan Šarčević pa je z akcijo plakatiranja na Ulici Maršala Tita pustil sledi spominov na antifašistično preteklost: povečano fotografijo ljudi, ki nosijo transparent z napisom »Živeli osvoboditelji našega Sarajeva«, je razmnoženo postavil v duhu uličnih punkovskih plakatov vse od vstopa v mesto (in to na zaščitni ograji Narodne knjižnice) pa vzdolž ulice, ki je že od nekdanjih glavni mestnih arterij.³⁷ S takšnimi akcijami, v katerih se (re)producira prostor,

32 Dunja Blažević, »Oni dolaze«, *Maximum* (Sarajevo SCCA, 2000), str. 3–4.

33 Henri Lefebvre, *Produkcija prostora*, prev. Varja Badžakovsky Antić (Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis, 2013), str. 196.

34 Michel de Certeau, *Invencija svakodnevnice* (Zagreb: Naklada MD, 2002), str. 183.

35 Blažević, »Oni dolaze«, str. 3.

36 Prav tam.

37 Vir za vsa našeta dela je SCCA-jeva dokumentacija, ki se nahaja v Dokumentacijskem centru Umjetničke galerije Bosne i Hercegovine.

Participation in public space in the works of a younger generation of artists may well have appeared as a need for the regeneration of the urban fabric, because, according to Lefebvre, "it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived – and produced."³³ Through the body, i.e., by performing the body, urban space can be generated and transformed in simple gestures such as walking.³⁴ This was how Anela Šabić and Suzana Cerić, who stopped the traffic in 1997 merely to take a walk, brought Marshal Tito Street to life, affording it meaning and transforming it, giving it back its function of civic public space.³⁵ A more subtle entry into urban space was made by Šejla Kamerić in her piece *For My Sake* (1999): an installation that could be interpreted as performative photography – the work involved the artist documenting her arrival at and departure from the Academy of Fine Arts for three days, and then putting up the photographs as posters to mark the locations of her performative presence. "The appropriation/claiming of space"³⁶ as the young artists' modus operandi may be seen as resistance to transition, to what it brings: ethno-nationalism and the erasure of the memory of a socialist, antifascist past for the purpose of constructing new identities. In such a context, Danica Dakić made an intervention resembling a performative monument that is, a video installation on the base where a bust of the writer Ivo Andrić used to stand (before being removed), while Bojan Šarčević, in his poster action, left traces of memory of an antifascist past by enlarging a photograph of people carrying a banner reading "Long Live the Liberators of Our Sarajevo," multiplying it and pasting it like a punk street poster along the main artery of the city, starting from the entrance to the city (on the protective fence of the National Library).³⁷ With such actions through which space is (re)produced, the contentions and contradictions of the transitional processes become tangible.

33 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 162.

34 Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 1988), 117.

35 Blažević, "Oni dolaze," 3.

36 *Ibid.*

37 The source for all of the above works is the SCCA documentation, which is located in the Art Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina Documentation Center.

Erasing the socialist past and the antifascist heritage, and tearing apart the Yugoslav identity into ethno-national fragmentary identities (in a multiethnic environment such as Bosnia and Herzegovina) as part of the traumatic processes of transition to a "new social contract" were inevitably reflected in the works of artists dealing with postwar changes. In 1999, Maja Bajević staged a seven-hour long performance *Dressed Up* at the City Gallery Collegium Artisticum as part of the *MINIMUM* exhibition. The performance involved her cutting a fabric, with a map of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia printed on it, into a tailored pattern, and in doing so, slitting and reshaping the borders to the accompanying sound of a sewing machine that evokes the rattle of machine guns. Another performance (and installation) at the same exhibition, *Corridor* by Alma Suljević, not only dismantled the state of individual and collective trauma and the aftereffects of war, but also aimed to change it. The work stemmed from a site-specific practice in which the artist entered minefields and participated in the demining process (in 1998, near Bristol Hotel, on the Sarajevo demarcation line, she carried out the action of demining 15 square meters of land, which was edited into a video piece entitled *Elektra*), and then symbolically moved the mined corridor into the space of the gallery, where she reconstructed her radical performative act.

Synchronously with the organization of the *MINIMUM* exhibition, the SCCA again gathered the group MAXUMIM. The group's second appearance on the art scene in 1998 was a protest of sorts, when instead of paying rent for the exhibition space they carried out a three-day action of cleaning and painting the City Gallery Collegium Artisticum.³⁸ Interestingly, the backbone of MAXUMIM (MAXUMIM I) consisted of mostly young artists who, just before the war, as protagonists of the Sing Sing band, had reacted to the prewar state of crisis, insecurity, and the revival of new values, both religious and national, in an eclectic instrumentalization of rock and rhythm and blues along with entertaining performative humor-based outbursts, jokes, and improvisations (in the spirit

38 A number of other young artists joined the group, which was now called MAXUMIM II, so that the action of painting was carried out by fourteen artists: Eldina Begić, Suzana Cerić, Alma Fazlić, Zlatan Filipović, Anur Hadžiomerspahić, Almir Kurt, Damir Nikšić, Hamdija Pašić, Samir Plasto, Rachel Rossner, Anela Šabić, Nebojša Šerić Shoba, Dejan Vekić, and Ajna Zlatar.

postanejo otipljivi protislovja in konflikti tranzicijskih procesov.

Brisanje socialistične preteklosti in antifašistične dediščine ter razkosavanje jugoslovanske identitete na etnonacionalne fragmentarne identitete (v multietničnem okolju, kot je Bosna in Hercegovina) v travmatičnih procesih prehoda na »novo družbeno pogodbo« se je neizbežno odražalo v delu umetnikov, ki so se ukvarjali s povojnimi spremembami. Leta 1999 je tako Maja Bajević v Mestni galeriji Collegium Artisticum v okviru razstave *MINIMUM* izvedla sedemurni performans *Dressed Up*, v katerem je tkanino z natisnjanim zemljevidom SFRJ ukrojila po svoji meri oziroma razrezala in prekrojila meje ob zvoku šivalnega stroja, ki spominja na streljanje z mitraljezom. Na isti razstavi je bil tudi performans (in instalacija) *Koridor* Alme Suljević, ki ni le razkrival stanja individualne in kolektivne travme in posledic vojne, ampak je to skušal tudi spremeniti. Delo namreč izhaja iz umetnišine *in situ* prakse, v kateri vstopa na minska polja in sodeluje v postopku razminiranja (leta 1998 je pri hotelu Bristol, na sarajevski razmejivni črti, izvedla akcijo razminiranja 15 kvadratnih metrov terena in jo potem zmontirala v video delu z naslovom *Elektra*), nato pa minirani koridor simbolično prenese v galerijski prostor, kjer rekonstruira to radikalno performativno dejanje.

SCCA je hkrati z organizacijo razstave *MINIMUM* ponovno zbral skupino MAXUMIM, ki je za svoj drugi nastop na likovni sceni izvedla svojevrsten protest, ko je leta 1998 v zameno za plačilo najemnine za razstavni prostor izvedla tridnevno čiščenje oziroma pleskanje Mestne galerije Collegium Artisticum.³⁸ Zanimivo je, da so jedro skupine MAXUMIM (MAXUMIM I) večinoma sestavljali mladi umetniki, ki so se pred vojno kot člani glasbene skupine Sing Sing odzivali na predvojno stanje krize, negotovosti in ponovnega oživljanja verskih in narodnih vrednot z eklektično instrumentalizacijo rock in R&B glasbe ter z zabavno-performativni izpadi, temelječimi na humorju, duhovitosti in improvizaciji (v duhu »novih primitivcev«).³⁹ Povezava med glasbeno-scenskimi

38 Skupini, ki se je zdaj imenovala MAXUMIM II, se je pridružilo še nekaj mladih umetnikov, tako da je pleskarsko akcijo izvedlo 14 umetnikov in umetnic: Eldina Begić, Suzana Cerić, Alma Fazlić, Zlatan Filipović, Anur Hadžiomerspahić, Almir Kurt, Damir Nikšić, Hamdija Pašić, Samir Plasto, Rachel Rossner, Anela Šabić, Nebojša Šerić Shoba, Dejan Vekić in Ajna Zlatar.

39 Tu imamo v mislih člane benda Sing Sing Anurja

nastopi Sing Singa (ki je deloval bolj kot koncept kot skupina), v katerih so uporabljali rekvizite, maskirali in deformirali telo ter neposredno vključevali občinstvo v izvedbo, in povojnimi performansi protagonistov skupine gotovo obstaja. V tem kontekstu je poleg že omenjenih Nebojše Šerića Shobe in Damirja Nikšića, ki sta s svojimi deli v novem tisočletju vstopila neposredno v politično sfero, treba od članov skupine Sing Sing omeniti še dela nekdanjega umetniškega dvojca Kurt & Plasto, ki s humorjem, banalnostjo, improvizacijo in duhovitostjo razkrivata povojno stanje prodora kapitalizma in neoliberalne demokracije, zaznamovano z brezpravjem, nesmiselnostjo in splošno družbeno praznino.

V Bosni in Hercegovini je infiltracija neoliberalizma na področje ekonomije in politike, vključno s kulturno politiko, zaznamovala nov pristop k odnosom moči, kar je mogoče razložiti z Deleuzovim konceptom družbe nadzora, značilnim za korporativni neoliberalni kapitalizem, in s pojavom nove informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije.⁴⁰ Če bi skušali Deleuzovo pojmovanje družbe nadzora v odnosu do panoptične disciplinarne družbe Michela Foucaulta povezati s primerom Sarajeva, bi govorili tudi o posebnostih in razlikah v prostorskem vzpostavljanju nadzora in moči. Kajti medtem ko je med vojno panoptični stroj podrejal telesa nadzoru in kaznovanju s prostorsko danostjo (obleganjem), se je tranzicijska kapitalistična nadvlada nad telesnostjo izvajala v abstraktnem prostoru s posredovanjem novih tehnologij, korporacij in trga, kjer je nadzor »neprekinjen in brezmejen, disciplina pa dolgotrajna, neskončna in neprekinjena.«⁴¹

Hadžiomerspahića, Almirja Kurta, Damirja Nikšića in Nebojša Šerića Shobo ter Dejana Vekića in Samirja Plasta (kot pridružena člana benda). Treba pa je poudariti, da so bile v izvorni zasedbi skupine MAXUMIM (MAXUMIM I) tudi umetnice Suzana Cerić, Alma Fazlić, Rachel Rossner, Anela Šabić in Ajna Zlatar.

40 Gilles Deleuze, »Postscript on the Societies of Control«, *October* 59 (zima 1992): str. 3-7.

41 Prav tam, str. 6.

of the “New Primitives”).³⁹ There is a definite link between the typical musical-scenic performances of the Sing Sing band (more a concept than a band), which used props, masked and deformed the body, and directly involved the audience in the performative act, and the postwar performances of their protagonists. In this context, in addition to the already mentioned Nebojša Šerić Shoba and Damir Nikšić, who directly entered the political sphere with his works in the new millennium, it is important to mention the works of former artistic duo Kurt & Plasto (also members of Sing Sing) who used humor, banality, improvisation, and wit to unmask the postwar state, the experience of the penetration of capitalism and neoliberal democracy marked by lawlessness, meaninglessness, and a general sense of social emptiness.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the infiltration of neoliberalism into the sphere of economy and politics, including cultural politics, has marked a new approach to power relations that may be explained with Gilles Deleuze’s concept of the society of control, characteristic of corporate neoliberal capitalism and the appearance of new information and communication technologies.⁴⁰ If we attempted to connect the case of Sarajevo with Deleuze’s understanding of social control in relation to Michel Foucault’s panoptical disciplinary society, we would have to deal with the specificities and distinctions of the spatial establishment of control and power. Because, while in war the panoptic machinery, the body was subjected to surveillance and punishment through spatial determination (siege), transitional capitalist domination over corporeality is exercised through abstract space by means of new technologies, corporations, and markets, where control is “continuous and without limit, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous.”⁴¹

Translated by Emilia Epštajn

39 This is a reference to members of the Sing Sing band: Anur Hadžiomerspahić, Almir Kurt, Damir Nikšić and Nebojša Šerić Shoba, including Dejan Vekić and Samir Plasto (associative band members). However, it is important to emphasize that the original group MAXUMIM (MAXUMIM I) consisted also of the following female artists: Suzana Cerić, Alma Fazlić, Rachel Rossner, Anela Šabić, and Ajna Zlatar.

40 Gilles Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” *October*, Vol. 59 (Winter 1992), 3-7.

41 *Ibid.*, 6.



05

Performance and Resistance in 1990s Serbia

Let us consider the relationship between performance and politics by turning to the “social choreography,”¹ i.e. the “social dramaturgy”² of two scenes that occurred directly prior to or as an introduction to the period we are dealing with in this text. The first was the last *slet* in 1988 on the Day of Youth at the Yugoslav People’s Army Stadium, which was performed, for the first time, as an “artistic dance act, with one heroine.”³ The second – the “great protest” organized by the Borovo factory workers from Vukovar, which culminated in protesters storming the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia. While the “dramatic and dark” performance by the famous ballerina and choreographer Sonja Vukićević expressively represented the figure of an individual “fighting obstacles and herself,” – as stated by the theorist of performing arts Ana Vujanović, who wrote extensively on the topic – the Borovo workers’ strike was a (collective and class motivated) act, never before witnessed in postwar Europe.⁴ Organized around the slogan “We want our pay, we want our bread,” the strike gathered approximately five

1 For the way Aldo Milohnić understands the concept of “social choreography,” see: Aldo Milohnić, “Koreografije otpora,” *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* no. 21 (December 2013): 15–20.

2 The phrase “social dramaturgy” was conceptualized in the discussions of Ana Vujanović, Bojana Cvejić, and Marta Popivoda. See: “History Never Repeats Itself: An interview with Ana Vujanović by Olia Sosnovskaya,” Berlin, November 2020, Vita Performactiva, accessed 13 May 2021, <http://www.anavujanovic.net/2021/04/history-never-repeats-itself-an-interview/>.

3 See: Ana Vujanović, “‘Crni talas’ jugoslovenskog sleta: Dan mladosti 1987. i 1988.,” *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* no. 21 (December 2013): 21–27.

4 Cited from: Sven Cvek, Jasna Račić, Snježana Ivčić, *Borovo u štrajku: rad u tranziciji 1987–1991* (Zagreb: Baza za radničku inicijativu i demokratizaciju, 2019), 61.



Vida
Knežević

Performans in odpor v Srbiji devetdesetih let

Začnimo pregled odnosa med performansom in politiko z dvema prizoroma »družbene koreografije«¹ oziroma »družbene dramaturgije«² ki sta se odvila tik pred obdobjem, ki ga obravnava to besedilo, ali kot »uvod« vanj. Prvi se nanaša na zadnji množični zlet ob dnevu mladosti na stadionu JLA leta 1988, ki je bil prvič izveden kot »umetniška plesna predstava z eno samo junakinjo«³ drugi pa na »veliki protest« delavcev in delavk vukovarskega Borova, ki je dosegel vrhunec z njihovim vdorom v jugoslovansko skupščino. Medtem ko je »dramatična in mračna« predstava v izvedbi slavne balerine in koreografinje Sonje Vukićević ekspresivno upodobila lik posameznika, ki se »bori z ovirami in samim seboj«, kot je o nastopu obširno pisala teoretičarka izvedbenih umetnosti Ana Vujanović, pa je stavka delavcev predstavljala (kolektivno in razredno motivirano) dejanje, kakršnega povojna Evropa še ni videla.⁴ S ključno zahtevo »Hočemo plačo, hočemo kruh« se je zbralo približno pet tisoč delavcev in delavk, ki so jih blokirali policijski kordoni, da se jim ne bi pridružili še drugi delavci iz Beograda

1 Za to, kako Aldo Milohnić razume koncept »družbene koreografije«, glej: Aldo Milohnić, »Koreografije otpora«, *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* št. 21 (december 2013), str. 15–20.

2 Pojem »družbena dramaturgija« so v diskusijah skupaj koncipirale Ana Vujanović, Bojana Cvejić in Marta Popivoda. Glej: »History Never Repeats Itself: An interview with Ana Vujanović by Olia Sosnovskaya«, Berlin, november 2020, Vita Performactiva, dostop 13. 5. 2021, <http://www.anavujanovic.net/2021/04/history-never-repeats-itself-an-interview/>.

3 Glej: Ana Vujanović, »‘Crni talas’ jugoslovenskog sleta: Dan mladosti 1987. i 1988.«, *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* št. 21 (december 2013), str. 21–27.

4 Navedeno po: Sven Cvek, Jasna Račić in Snježana Ivčić, *Borovo u štrajku: rad u tranziciji 1987–1991*. (Zagreb: Baza za radničku inicijativu i demokratizaciju, 2019), str. 61.

thousand workers who were blocked by police cordons when an attempt was made by other workers from Belgrade and its vicinity to join them.⁵ This first choreography was to become a paradigm of impending social turmoil, while the second was very quickly forgotten, having vanished from the pages of history.

The discursive framework for a possible reading of the status and function of performative (artistic) practice relating to decisive sociopolitical events in Serbia during the 1990s can be found in the antagonism between the two images (scenes). The first turning point occurred in 1989 with an act that represented the “official” abandonment of the building of a socialist society and a turn to capitalist relations of production,⁶ when the federal state initiated the legal abolition of social ownership,⁷ or else in 1991, when the brutal war started that led to the dissolution of the Yugoslav state.⁸ The “end” of the period is the year 2000, which witnessed the crackdown of Milošević’s regime, “democratic change” and the accelerated introduction of the capitalist market⁹ to Europe’s periphery. Although this second “breaking-point” may be interpreted as a form of continuity between Slobodan Milošević and the new “democratic” regime.¹⁰

This text will focus on political performance practices that (directly or indirectly) played a significant part in “socially engaged” art in Serbia,

5 Sven Cvek, Jasna Račić, Snježana Ivčić, “Ljeto 1988: ‘Hoćemo platu, hoćemo hleba,’” accessed 28 December 2020, <http://borovo1988.radnickaprava.org/ljeto-1988-hocemo-platu-hocemo-hleba>. For more, see: Cvek et al., *Borovo u štrajku*.

6 Vukša Tanja, Vladimir Simović, “Umesto uvoda – fragmenti za rekonstrukciju prošlosti i sadašnjosti,” in *Bilans stanja – doprinos analizi restauracije kapitalizma u Srbiji*, (eds.) Darko Vesić et al. (Beograd: Centar za politike emancipacije, 2015), 3–81.

7 See: Goran Musić, “Od ‘svačije-ničije’ do nečije, samo čije? Društvena svojina i javno dobro u srpskoj tranziciji,” in *U borbi za javno dobro: analize, strategije i perspektive*, (eds.) Darko Vesić et al. (Beograd: Centar za politike emancipacije, 2012), 63–79.

8 For an important step forward in the approach to the analysis of the disintegration of Yugoslav socialism, see: Domagoj Mihaljević, “U potrazi za izgubljenom budućnosti,” in *Gradove smo vam podigli: o protivrečnostima jugoslovenskog socijalizma*, (eds.) Vida Knežević, Marko Miletić (Beograd: CZKD, 2018), 25–41.

9 Filip Balunović, “O fenomenima procesa privatizacije u Srbiji,” in *Bilans stanja*, 83–143.

10 Vladimir Marković, “Obrazac liberalnog ekstremizma u Srbiji,” in *Kroz tranziciju – prilozi teoriji privatizacije*, (eds.) Željko Popović, Zoran Gajić (Novi Sad: AKO, 2011), 215–222.

and which were linked to alternative, i.e. para-institutional practices of contemporary visual art and contemporary para-theatrical practices in the 1990s. Unlike the dominant interpretive frameworks that define alternative art of the 1990s as “radical art,” central to creating an artistic and social “counter-public,”¹¹ or as forms characterized by the complete absence of a “radical critical perspective” and the “articulation of the alternative,”¹² the aforementioned artistic practice may instead be observed as a social practice which, in the specific political context of the demise of the left’s progressive forces and its institutions (trade unions, the Communist Party, etc.), appeared as a form of compensation. It is a case of the “social turn” in art as written about by Claire Bishop, who investigated the powerful proliferation of participative and performance practices in art in the last decades of the 20th century. Also useful are the theoretical clues put forth by Marxist art theorists Marko Kostanić and Rade Panić, relating to the contradictions between autonomous and socially engaged art, and the need to move the discussion into the field of class antagonisms.

Despite the empowered civil society “conglomerate” that was *de facto* ideologically liberal, the artistic practices in question were – through their performative gestures and by linking the political and the artistic – an attempt at dominant discourse intervention, a reaction, critique, a form of resistance, an effort to highlight burning social problems, and finally, a social corrective of sorts. In addition, such practices relied on different (art) tools that were at the artists’ disposal to “preserve” the political ideas of the absent left and did so most often in fragments, as intimations, and frequently in place of ruined social institutions. In a broader sense, certain aspects of these performance practices may be understood as the cultural expression of “carnivalization” only when they are appropriated by civil and student protests, thus becoming an integral and recognizable language of communication – with actual protesters, but also with the (media arbitrated) local and international public.

11 Milena Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora* (Beograd: FDU, 2018).

12 Ana Vilenica, “Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji – analiza istraživanja. Dijalog različitih, često nesvodivih pozicija,” in *Ženski glasovi u izvedbenim umjetnostima Zapadnog Balkana 1990–2010*, (ed.) Nataša Nelević (Podgorica: NOVA – Centar za feminističku kulturu, 2013), 19–40.

in okolice.⁵ Prva koreografija je pozneje postala paradigma prihajajoče družbene resničnosti, druga pa je kmalu izginila z zgodovinskega prizorišča.

V antagonizmu obeh nakazanih podob se nahaja diskurzivni okvir za mogoče branje statusa in funkcije performativnih (umetniških) praks v odnosu do ključnih družbenopolitičnih dogodkov v devetdesetih letih v Srbiji. Prva prelomnica je bila leta 1989 »uradna« odpoved nadaljnji izgradnji socialistične družbe in obnova kapitalističnih proizvodnih odnosov,⁶ ko je zvezna država sprožila zakonsko ukinjanje družbene lastnine,⁷ ali pa leta 1991 začetek brutalne vojne in razpad jugoslovske države.⁸ »Konec« tega obdobja postavljamo v leto 2000, ko je prišlo do dokončnega zloma Miloševićevega režima, vpeljave »demokratskih sprememb« in pospešene vzpostavitve kapitalističnega trga⁹ na evropskem obrobju, čeprav lahko ta drugi »prelom« prej razumemo kot specifično obliko kontinuitete med Miloševićevim in novim, »demokratskim« režimom.¹⁰

To besedilo bo obravnavalo tiste prakse političnega performansa, ki so (neposredno ali posredno) predstavljale pomemben del »družbeno angažirane« umetnosti v Srbiji in so bile povezane z alternativnimi, tj. parainstitucionalnimi praksami sodobne vizualne umetnosti in sodobne paragledališke prakse v obravnavanem obdobju.

5 Sven Cvek, Jasna Račić in Snježana Ivčić, »Ljeto 1988.: ‘Hoćemo platu, hoćemo hleba’«, dostop 28. 12. 2020, <http://borovo1988.radnickaprava.org/ljeto-1988-hocemo-platu-hocemo-hleba>. Za več podrobnosti glej: Sven Cvek, Jasna Račić in Snježana Ivčić, *Borovo u štrajku: rad u tranziciji 1987–1991*.

6 Tanja Vukša in Vladimir Simović, »Umesto uvoda – fragmenti za rekonstrukciju prošlosti i sadašnjosti«, v: *Bilans stanja – doprinos analizi restauracije kapitalizma u Srbiji*, ur. Darko Vesić et al. (Beograd: Centar za politike emancipacije, 2015), str. 3–81.

7 Glej: Goran Musić, »Od ‘svačije-ničije’ do nečije, samo čije? Društvena svojina i javno dobro u srpskoj tranziciji«, v: *U borbi za javno dobro: analize, strategije i perspektive*, ur. Darko Vesić et al. (Beograd: Centar za politike emancipacije, 2012), str. 63–79.

8 Za pomemben korak naprej v analizi propada jugoslovskega socializma glej: Domagoj Mihaljević, »U potrazi za izgubljenom budućnosti«, v: Vida Knežević in Marko Miletić (ur.), *Gradove smo vam podigli: o protivrečnostima jugoslovenskog socijalizma* (Beograd: CZKD, 2018), str. 25–41.

9 Filip Balunović, »O fenomenima procesa privatizacije u Srbiji«, v: *Bilans stanja – doprinos analizi restauracije kapitalizma u Srbiji*, str. 83–143.

10 Vladimir Marković, »Obrazac liberalnog ekstremizma u Srbiji«, v: *Kroz tranziciju – prilozi teoriji privatizacije*, ur. Željko Popović in Zoran Gajić (Novi Sad: AKO, 2011), str. 215–222.

Drugače od prevladujočih interpretativnih okvirov, ki alternativno umetnost v devetdesetih letih opredeljujejo kot »radikalno umetnost«, ki je ključna za ustvarjanje umetniške in družbene »protijavnosti«,¹¹ ali kot umetnost, za katero je značilna popolna odsotnost »radikalne kritične perspektive« in »artikulacije alternative«,¹² bi tu na omenjeno umetniško prakso raje gledali kot na družbeno prakso, ki je v specifičnem političnem kontekstu poraza naprednih sil levice in njenih institucij (sindikatoev, strank itd.) skušala te družbene sile nadomestiti. Gre za globalni »družbeni obrat« v umetnosti, o katerem je pisala umetnostna zgodovinarica Claire Bishop, ko je raziskovala siloviti razmah participativnih in izvedbenih praks v umetnosti v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja. Koristil nam bo tudi teoretski razmislek marksističnih umetnostnih teoretikov Marka Kostanića in Radeta Panića o protislovjih v odnosu med avtonomno in družbeno angažirano umetnostjo ter o potrebi, da se razprava umesti na polje razrednih antagonizmov.

Kljub »konglomeratu« okrepljene civilne družbe, ki je bil v resnici ideološko liberalno usmerjan, so obravnavane umetniške prakse s svojimi performativnimi gestami, ki povezujejo politično in umetniško, poskušale poseči v prevladujoči diskurz, se nanj odzvati, ga kritizirati, se mu upreti, opozoriti na pereče družbene probleme, biti družbeni korektiv. Poleg tega so takšne prakse uporabljale različna (umetniška) orodja, ki so jim bila na voljo, da bi »ohranile« izginule politične ideje levice, najpogosteje fragmentarno in nakazano, večkrat pa so bile tudi nadomestek propadlih družbenih institucij. Nekatere vidike teh izvedbenih praks lahko v širšem smislu razumemo kot kulturne prakse »karnevalizacije« šele takrat, ko si jih prisvojijo civilni in študentski protesti in iz njih naredijo nepogrešljiv in prepoznaven jezik komunikacije – neposredno s protestniki, pa tudi z (medijsko posredovano) javnostjo, tudi mednarodno.

11 Milena Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora* (Beograd: FDU, 2018).

12 Ana Vilenica, »Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji – analiza istraživanja. Dijalog različitih, često nesvodivih pozicija«, v: *Ženski glasovi u izvedbenim umjetnostima Zapadnog Balkana 1990–2010*, ur. Nataša Nelević (Podgorica: NOVA – Centar za feminističku kulturu, 2013), str. 19–40.

Performance and Resistance

The “social turn” or, as Claire Bishop¹³ also defines it, the “return to the social” in art at the start of the 1990s was marked by the powerful proliferation of artistic practices based on participation and collaboration whereupon the people (the public) constitute the central artistic medium and material, in the form of theater and performance. Bishop connects such heterogenous artistic practices that base their “participation” on the politicization of the working process with the transformed political imaginary surrounding such artistic practice, and more concretely, the fall of Communism in 1989 and the collapse of a collectivist vision of society. Like the key precursory sociopolitical turmoils of the 20th century (Bishop mentions the Soviet Revolution of 1917, along with the social and student movements of 1968, to which we may add the National Liberation Struggle and the Communist Revolution in Yugoslavia led by the Communist Party), this event is also accompanied by “utopian considerations” of art’s rapport with the social and its political potential manifested in reexaminations of the way in which art is produced, consumed, and discussed. Artists moved away from the idea of the “individual producers” of art objects, and closer to concepts of the artist as a “collaborator” or “producer” of a *situation*; instead of a completed and commodified work of art, there were “ongoing” and “long-term” projects with unclear beginnings and endings; the audience formerly defined as “observers” or “spectators” now assumed the role of “co-producers” or “participants.” The presence of tension between issues of quality and issues of equality and horizontality, of singular and collective authorship, friction and the need to find an artistic “substituent” for missing political positions, produced certain pressures on conventional ways of artistic production.

For art emerging in the 1990s, such a relational dialectic between art and politics was analytically crucial, as Marko Kostanić emphasizes building on Bishop’s ideas. It was a product of the relationship between the given social and political forces, a fact that must also be taken into account when talking about the (non-)existence of radicalism in its practices. However, contradictions between autonomous art and its social tension, according

¹³ See: Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London – New York: Verso, 2012).

to Kostanić, will not resolve a particular theoretical pattern “no matter how sophisticated it may be,” but only “the outcome of political struggles.”¹⁴

Nevertheless, the “productivity” of this dispute may reveal itself in another place. It is not about the issue at hand since its foundation lies in liberal ideology and its deliberation framework; rather, it is a matter of the “function of this debate in the reproduction of social formations and social relations within them.”¹⁵ While the function (advocacy) of autonomous art in socialist Yugoslavia was, as Rade Pantić points out, aimed at “blocking the development of a truly democratic socialist culture,” the same suggestion may be made for the period after the collapse of socialism. By introducing class optics to the relations at hand and based on the concrete example of political performance in the 1990s, it is of crucial importance to question the place art occupied in the pervasive social antagonisms, its potentials in progressive political struggles, and finally, whose interests it represented in these struggles.¹⁶

The years that came before the start of the wars in the Yugoslav region were marked by the struggle between labor and capital, whereupon workers were completely disarmed. “The issue of who was to organize the unemployed, dissatisfied, frustrated, and angry during the 1980s was wide open.”¹⁷ Political elites seemed to offer only nationalist rhetoric as the ground they stood on prepared for the capitalist transformation of social relations. The political forces that offered an alternative to this at the very beginning of the last decade of the 20th century, such as UJDI – the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, were rare.¹⁸ However,

¹⁴ For the establishment of the necessary criteria of value judgments, which is, after all, also a political issue, see: Marko Kostanić, “Društvena koreografija, ili društvena tenzija autonomije,” *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* no. 21 (December 2013): 11–14.

¹⁵ Rade Pantić “Od kulture u ‘socijalizmu’ ka socijalističkoj kulturi,” in *Gradove smo vam podigli*, 186.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁷ Mihaljević, “U potrazi za izgubljenom budućnosti,” 34.

¹⁸ For more: Krunoslav Stojaković, “Prešućena povijest. UJDI i antiratna opozicija u Jugoslaviji,” in *Društvo u pokretu: novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*, (eds.) Đorđe Tomić, Petar Atanacković (Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2009), 169–183; Dragan Stojković, “Antiratne i mirovne ideje u istoriji Srbije i antiratni pokreti do 2000. godine,” *Republika* no. 492–493, accessed 17 December 2020, <http://www.republika.co.rs/492-493/20.html>.

Performans in odpor

»Družbeni obrat« ali, kot to Claire Bishop še opredeli, »vrnitev k družbenemu«¹³ v umetnosti v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih zaznamuje močno širjenje umetniških praks, ki temeljijo na udeležbi in sodelovanju, v katerih ljudje (javnost) konstituirajo osrednji umetniški medij in material, v obliki gledališča in performansa. Bishopova povezuje heterogene umetniške prakse, katerih »participacija« temelji na politizaciji delovnega procesa, s spremenjenim političnim imaginarijem, ki obdaja takšno umetniško prakso, zlasti s padcem komunizma leta 1989 in propadom kolektivistične vizije družbe. Tako kot prejšnje ključne družbenopolitične pretrese v 20. stoletju (Bishopova navaja sovjetsko revolucijo leta 1917, družbena in študentska gibanja leta 1968, mi lahko dodamo še NOB in socialistično revolucijo v Jugoslaviji, ki jo je vodila Komunistična partija) je tudi ta dogodek spremljalo »utopično razmišljanje« o odnosu umetnosti do družbenega in njenem političnem potencialu, kar se kaže v ponovnem preučevanju načina, kako se umetnost proizvaja, porablja in kako se o njej razpravlja. Lik umetnika se odmika od ideje »individualnega proizvajalca« umetniških objektov in se približuje konceptom umetnika kot »sodelavca« ali »proizvajalca« *situacije*; medtem ko smo namesto dokončane in komodificirane umetnine dobili »dolgoročne« projekte ali projekte »v nastajanju« z nejasnim začetkom in koncem, publika, ki je bila prej opredeljena kot »opazovalec« ali »gledalec«, zdaj prevzame vlogo »koproducenta« ali »udeleženca«. Prisotnost napetosti med vprašanjem kakovosti in vprašanjem enakosti in horizontalnosti, posamičnega in kolektivnega avtorstva, napetosti in potrebe, da se najde umetniški »nadomestek« za manjkajoče politične pozicije, je povzročila pritisk na konvencionalne načine umetniške produkcije.

Za umetnost, ki je nastajala v devetdesetih letih, je takšna dialektika odnosov med umetnostjo in politiko analitično ključna, kot poudarja Marko Kostanić, ko se sklicuje na Bishopovo. Ta umetnost je produkt odnosov med danimi družbenimi in političnimi silami, kar je treba upoštevati tudi, kadar je govora o (ne)radikalnosti njene prakse. Vendar nasprotij med avtonomno umetnostjo

¹³ Glej: Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London, New York: Verso, 2012).

in njeno družbeno napetostjo po Kostanićevem mnenju ne bo rešil nek teoretični vzorec »ne glede na to, kako dodelan je«, temveč le »izid političnih bojev«.¹⁴

Vendar je »produktivnost« te razprave mogoče najti drugje. Ne gre za samo vprašanje, ki svoj temelj najde predvsem v liberalni ideologiji in njenem okviru razprave, temveč za »funkcijo, ki jo ima ta razprava pri reprodukciji družbenih formacij in družbenih odnosov v njih.«¹⁵ Medtem ko je bil cilj funkcije (zagovarjanja) avtonomne umetnosti v socialistični Jugoslaviji, kot poudarja Rade Pantić, »blokirati razvoj resnično demokratične socialistične kulture«, si lahko isto vprašanje zastavimo tudi za obdobje po razpadu socializma. Ko uvedemo razredno optiko v nakazane odnose, in to na konkretnem primeru političnega performansa v devetdesetih letih, si moramo nujno zastaviti vprašanja o mestu, ki ga je imela umetnost v vsesplošnih družbenih antagonizmih, o njenih potencialih v naprednih političnih bojih in končno, čigave interese je v teh bojih zastopala.¹⁶

Leta pred začetkom vojn na jugoslovanskem ozemlju je zaznamoval boj med delom in kapitalom, v katerem so bili delavci popolnoma razoroženi. »V osemdesetih letih se je na široko odprlo vprašanje, kdo bo organiziral brezposelne, nezadovoljne, frustrirane in besne.«¹⁷ Zdelo se je, da politične elite ponujajo samo nacionalistično retoriko, medtem ko se je pripravljajal teren za kapitalistično preobrazbo družbenih odnosov. Le redke politične sile so na začetku zadnjega desetletja 20. stoletja predstavljale alternativo temu, na primer UJDI – Združenje za jugoslovansko demokratično iniciativo.¹⁸ Sčasoma pa so se take iniciative začele vse bolj pojavljati tudi v ženskih in feminističnih protivojnih organizacijah in gibanjih.

¹⁴ Poleg vzpostavljanja nujnih kriterijev vrednostnega presojanja, kar je pa prav tako politično vprašanje. Glej: Marko Kostanić, »Društvena koreografija, ili društvena tenzija autonomije«, *TkH časopis za teoriju izvođačkih umetnosti* št. 21 (december 2013), str. 11–14.

¹⁵ Rade Pantić, »Od kulture u 'socijalizmu' ka socijalističkoj kulturi«, v: *Gradove smo vam podigli*, str. 186.

¹⁶ Prav tam, str. 196.

¹⁷ Domagoj Mihaljević, »U potrazi za izgubljenom budućnosti«, v: *Gradove smo vam podigli*, str. 34.

¹⁸ Več o tem: Krunoslav Stojaković, »Prešućena povijest. UJDI i antiratna opozicija u Jugoslaviji«, v: *Društvo u pokretu: novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*, ur. Đorđe Tomić in Petar Atanacković (Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2009), str. 169–183; Dragan Stojković, »Antiratne i mirovne ideje u istoriji Srbije i antiratni pokreti do 2000. godine«, *Republika* št. 492–493, dostop 17. 12. 2020, <http://www.republika.co.rs/492-493/20.html>.

over time, the number of such initiatives grew, particularly amongst women's and feminist antiwar organizations and movements.

Turbulent sociopolitical processes in which the political left had definitively lost its place and role in the creation of a wider political horizon were inevitably reflected in the sphere of production of culture, and more narrowly, on the contemporary art scene in Serbia. In the first few years of the 1990s, the most conspicuous inclination was "active escapism"¹⁹ (Lidija Merenik), i.e. avoiding facing the reality of war and crime. Later, this phrase was used to clarify the resistance strategies of the "enforced alternative" (Stevan Vuković),²⁰ which was an incentive or the very beginning of today's independent cultural and arts scene. On the other hand, the official cultural and art institutions were taken over by the "simulated mainstream"²¹ of right-wing art linked to the new political oligarchy. The once vital cultural institutions, especially those focusing on historically important, neo-avant-garde, and conceptual artistic practices, transformed into instruments of the ruling parties. All these trends in art at the dawn of the 1990s were a kind of response, i.e. reaction to the turbulent events of 1991/92, the start of the war, everyday life under sanctions, civil and student demonstrations, which over the course of an exceedingly long time intermittently marked the entire period. Thus, such a heterogeneous alternative scene in the making, lacking any frame of reference, continued to build its "resistance strategy,"²² its "critical" artistic practices in the aforementioned discursive

19 For more, see: Vladimir Tupanjac, "Umetnost i javna stvar (Srbija između 1989 i 2001)," in Branislava Anđelković et al., *O normalnosti. Umetnost u Srbiji 1989–2001* (Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2005), 217–233.

20 According to Stevan Vuković, the enforced alternative appeared in the form of the underground scene gathered around Radio B92, the project *Urbazona* by Miomir Grujić Fleka and the curatorial work of Darka Radosavljević; other forms included different projects by Jerko Denegri and Miško Šuvaković, as well as several galleries and alternative spaces along the route Belgrade–Novi Sad–Vršac; finally, also, exhibitions and publications by the Center for Contemporary Art (SCCA) and the Open Society Foundation. See: Vesna Milosavljević, Vesna Tašić, Mirosljub Marjanović, "Zatvoreni krug," in Jasna Jakšić et al, *From Consideration to Commitment: Art in Critical Confrontation to Society (Belgrade, Ljubljana, Skopje, Zagreb: 1990–2010)* (Beograd: Seecult.org; Skopje: Forum Skopje; Ljubljana: Center for Contemporary Arts SCCA; Zagreb: Kurziv – Platform for Matters of Culture, Media and Society, 2011), 78–101.

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

apparatus based on the "tension" between autonomous and "socially engaged" art.

In a political sense the Dayton Agreement was a turning point of the mid-1990s. It marked the end of the period of wars "on other territories," the time of sanctions and isolation, the further consolidation of civil sector institutions, Milošević's defeat in the local elections, and the several month-long protests of the opposition and students (from which the "people's" movement Otpor was born) in late 1996 and early 1997, as a reaction to Milošević's unwillingness to concede the actual results of the presidential election, while the end of the decade was marked by the war in Kosovo and the NATO bombing in 1998 and 1999.

With the start of the decade, the "social turn" in art practices was evident in Serbia. Parallel with the new wave of collective artistic practices, the turn occurred in terms of understanding artistic work as a long-term "project" (a work in progress). Showing resistance to or boycotting official art institutions often meant shunning art institutions *per se*, "returning" art to social reality, everyday life, to the markets, streets, squares, train stations. In the early 1990s, through their performative actions and as part of the project *Tuga* (Sorrow; 1992/93), the art group Škart produced "weekly *samizdat* booklets"²³ thematizing the everyday worries of unknown passersby they directly engaged: the "sorrows" of the potential traveler, the sorrow of friendship, of childbirth, of rifles, the sorrow of potential consumers, hitting the most vulnerable points of universal poverty in the war-torn 1990s.

Škart's performative gestures provided "intellectual and mental" resistance on behalf of those who felt and endured these sorrows themselves. Through what they later called the "architecture of human relations," i.e. consistent transdisciplinary connections of borderline practices such as poetry, performance, street "*samizdat/samodat*" (self-published/self-handed out) actions, alternative pedagogy, graphic design, architecture, and social activism, Škart made a connection between artistic and political resistance to the prevailing policies of war and capital. Such playful "fieldwork with its own

23 See the 2012 Škart group interview with Srđan Sandić, part of the Criticize This! project, accessed 25 December 2020, <https://www.books.hr/vijesti/sve/intervju-grupa-skart>.



laws” as well as “failures,” which inevitably lead to new “intersections and empowerments,” articulated “error” as a necessary part of every performance, of every artistic practice that produces both a “new value and a new beginning.”²⁴

This dislocation of artistic practices from “elitist” institutions to the sphere of everyday life and the changing role of artists from producers of art objects to producers of “situations” can be found in the singular practices of Saša Marković Mikrob, whose performative actions during the 1990s, like Škart’s “situations,” were critical first-person comments. As a host on radio B92 (*Ritam Srca/Rhythm of the Heart*, *Lepi ritam srca/Beautiful Rhythm of the Heart*), through his different “alter egos” (Microbe, The Mexican, Bamboo, Ganesh, Bachelor), by way of his photo-booth performances, art actions with “masks,” through poetry, storytelling and journaling, Saša Marković Mikrob spoke of the individual, the person on the “margin” caught in a miserable “transition,” referred to spaces and protagonists of the then “counter-public” (*Šetnja sa Mikrobom/Walking with Mikrob*), “preaching” the accessibility of art to everyone and advocating its simplicity and cheapness.²⁵

Unlike Škart and even Mikrob, who from the beginning separated their work from official (art) institutions by insistently refusing any affiliation with the art system, *Led Art (Ice Art)* was a long-lived collective project that developed into an art collective, gathering an academic art group that expressed its resistance to the official art system by “not accepting to be instrumentalized by institutions,” refusing to participate in “destruction,

24 See the Škart group interview with Nebojša Milikić, part of the project “Usmena istorija savremene umetnosti u Srbiji,” accessed 25 December 2020, <http://rexfiles.b92.net/index.php/usmena-istorija-savremene-umetnosti-u-srbiji-intervju-sa-grupom-skart/>. – Besides the *Tuge (Sorrows)* project, Škart’s performative practices also included acts of placing posters in public spaces *Optužena (Woman Accused)*; *Nahrani se (Feed Yourself)*; *Hodanje (Walking)* – a free pass for walking in all directions; *Kuponi za preživljavanje (Survival Coupons)*, in addition to peculiar Škart B92 radio shows, poetry readings (of poems by Škart and others) at poetry festivals across Yugoslavia, performances of the architectural anthem *Armatura (Armature)*, the love-technical musical *Marlen i zupčanici (Marlene and the Cogwheels)*, *Sofija, umij se, operi se, (Sophie, Wash Your Face, Wash Yourself)*, etc.

25 Saša Marković Mikrob, “Život moj,” *BALKAN UMBRELLA: magazin za dijalog kulturnih centara u regionu* no. 2 (June 2002): 40.

slaughter, plundering, abuse,”²⁶ and by deciding to step out of traditional art spaces. In using atypical “exhibiting” spaces such as freezing chambers, refrigerator-trucks, icy terrains, garages, and streets, the artists that gathered around *Led Art* and the concept of “frozen art” addressed key sociopolitical events of the time, such as wars and the destruction of Yugoslavia, inflation, poverty, migrations, nationalism and chauvinism, civil unrest, and the like. By relying on the effects of shock and provocation, their performance acts provoked the public to resistance and rebellion. It is interesting that at the time they were already addressing many of the currently pressing topics such as ecology, pollution, and the destruction of nature (*Ekspedicija na deponiju Vinča/ Expedition to the Vinča Landfill*), as well as issues of hunger and bare survival (*Umetničke kuhinje/Art Kitchens*, *Dobro čuvani hleb/The Safely Guarded Bread*, *Klin čorba/Wedge Soup*, *31 hlečić/31 Small Loaves*, *Humanitarna pomoć za ptice/Humanitarian Aid for Birds*, etc.).²⁷

A few years later the director Ana Miljanić, who was active in the Center for Cultural Decontamination, staged several “delegated” performances and street actions titled *Čuj, mali čoveče (Listen, Little Man!*; 1997) in the manner of the theater of the oppressed. The work was performed in different parts of town, aimed at different social groups spanning from pensioners (Kalemegdan Park), refugees (Mirijevo bocce plateau), housewives, unemployed youth, working women, high-school kids, commuters, radio listeners, and consumers (Čumićevo sokače).²⁸

26 See the 1993 manifesto stating: “*Led Art* is a driving force. Creativity as a method of resistance and overcoming the current situation. Creation despite everything... *Led Art* is engaged in the preparation of the existent and the reassessment of what is. It uses unnatural conditions (temperatures –20 degrees C, changes in physical states (water-ice-water), and the method of artistic action.” Accessed 21 December 2020, <https://sokzadruga.com/2017/05/17/danas-jedan-leda/>.

27 The art practice of the group *Apsolutno* may be situated at the intersection of performance and visual art, as do the (video) performances by Tanja Ostojić, Milica Tomić, Vesna Vesić, the works of artists Vladimir Nikolić, Neša Paripović, Balint Szombathy, Zoran Todorović, and many others who dealt with performative practices in their works while remaining within the visual arts system (or its institutions). Their works are related to the 1990s, and precisely and well documented in various art history reviews and analyses, most comprehensively in: Branislava Andeković et al., *O normalnosti. Umetnost u Srbiji 1989–2001* (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2005).

28 See the detailed description of the performance in: Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, 124–134.





Sonja Vukićević & Slobodan Bešlić: *Macbeth to / Macbeth It*, januar / January 1997
Foto: Vesna Pavlović

Takšen premik umetniških praks iz »elitističnih« institucij v vsakdanje življenje in spreminjanje vloge umetnika iz proizvajalca umetniških objektov v proizvajalca »situacij« najdemo v edinstveni praksi Saša Markovića Mikroba, čigar performativne akcije v devetdesetih letih so bile – podobno kot »situacije« skupine Škart – kritični komentarji v prvi osebi. Kot radijski voditelj na Radiu B92 (»Ritem srca«, »Lepi ritem srca«), v svojih različnih »alter egih« (Mikrob, Mehičan, Bambus, Ganeš, Ženin) je v foto performansih na fotoavtomatih, uličnih akcijah z »maskami«, poeziji, pripovedovanju zgodb in dnevniških zapiskih govoril o posamezniku, »obrobnežu« v turobni »tranziciji«, o prostorih in protagonistih takratne »protijavnosti« (*Sprehod z Mikrobom*) in »pridigal« o dostopnosti umetnosti vsem in vsakomur, zagovarjajoč njeno preprostost in cenovno dostopnost.²⁵

Drugače od skupine Škart in tudi od Mikroba, ki sta se že od samega začetka distancirala od uradnih institucij (umetnosti) z vztrajnim zanikanjem lastne pripadnosti umetniškemu sistemu, se je okrog dolgoletnega kolektivnega projekta *Led Art*, ki je nekaj let pozneje prerasel v umetniški kolektiv, zbirala akademska umetniška scena, ki je svoj odpor do uradnega umetniškega sistema izražala s stališčem »nesprejemanja instrumentalizacije s strani institucij«, z odklanjanjem sodelovanja pri »rušenju, klanju, ropanju, ustrahovanju«²⁶ in z odločitvijo, da se umaknejo iz tradicionalnih umetniških prostorov. Z uporabo netipičnih »razstavnih« prostorov, kot so zamrzovalne komore, tovarnjaki hladilniki, drsalnišča, garaže, ulice, so

v okviru projekta *Ustna zgodovina sodobne umetnosti v Srbiji*, dostop 25. 12. 2020, <http://rexfiles.b92.net/index.php/usmena-istorija-savremene-umetnosti-u-srbiji-intervju-sa-grupom-skart/>. – Poleg projekta *Žalost* so performativne prakse skupine Škart vključevale še akcije lepljenja plakatov v javnem prostoru *Obtožena, Nahrnite se, Hoja* (prepustnica za hojo v vse smeri), *Kuponi za preživetje*, ki so spremljale tudi določene oddaje v produkciji Škarta na slovitom radiu B92, branje svoje in tuje poezije na festivalih poezije v Jugoslaviji, izvajanje arhitekturne himne »Armatura«, ljubzensko-tehničnega muzikala, *Marlene in zobata kolesa, Sofija, umij se, operi se*, itd.

25 Saša Marković Mikrob, »Život moj«, *BALKAN UMBRELLA: magazin za dialog kulturnih centara u regionu* št. 2 (junij 2002), str. 40.

26 Glej njihov manifest iz leta 1993, v katerem poudarjajo: »Led art je gibalno. Kreativnost kot metoda odpora in premagovanje nastale situacije. Ustvarjanje navkljub vsem ... Led art se ukvarja s prepariranjem obstoječega in prevrednotenjem najdenega. Uporablja nenaravne pogoje (temperaturo -20 stopinj C) in spremembo agregatnega stanja (voda-led-voda) kot metode umetniškega delovanja«, dostop 21. 12. 2020, <https://sokzadruga.com/2017/05/17/danas-je-dan-leda/>

umetniki in umetnice, zbrani okoli Led Arta in koncepta »zamrznjene umetnosti«, obravnavali ključne tedanje družbenopolitične dogodke, kot so vojna in uničenje Jugoslavije, inflacija, revščina, migracije, nacionalizem in šovinizem, državljanske demonstracije itd., in z učinki šoka in provokacije ter s performativnimi dejanji močno izzivali javnost na odpor in upor. Zanimivo je, da so se že takrat lotevali številnih perečih sodobnih tem, kot so ekologija, onesnaževanje zraka in uničevanje narave (*Odprava na deponijo Vinča*), ter problema lakote in golega preživetja (*Umetniške kuhinje, Dobro varovani kruh, Klinova juha, 31 kruhkov, Humanitarna pomoč za ptice* itd.).²⁷

Kako leto pozneje je režiserka Ana Miljanić, delujoča v okviru Centra za kulturno dekontaminacijo, v tradiciji gledališča zatiranih naredila v raznih delih mesta niz »delegiranih« performansov in uličnih akcij z naslovom *Poslušaj, mali človek* (1997), namenjenih različnim družbenim skupinam, od upokojujencev (park Kalemegdan), beguncev (balinišče v Mirijevem), gospodinj, brezposelne mladine, zaposlenih žensk, srednješolcev, potnikov javnega prevoza, radijskih poslušalcev, potrošnikov (lokal Čumićevo sokače).²⁸

Umetnik Saša Stojanović je z referencami na zgodovinske avantgarde in neoavantgarde (Bogdanka Poznanović in Miroslav Mandić) kot del konteksta »angažirane alternative« devetdesetih let z javnimi akcijami in performansi prevrednotil ideje upora, »večnosti«, socialne solidarnosti, revščine in razredne zavesti z izzivanjem nevrvalgičnih točk vladajoče ideologije v drugi polovici devetdesetih let.²⁹ Čeprav je bila pod močnim vplivom zapuščine

27 Na presek izvedbenih in vizualnih umetnosti bi lahko umestili tudi umetniško prakso in dela skupine Apsolutno, (video) performanse Tanje Ostojić, Milice Tomić, Vesne Vesić, dela umetnikov, kot so Vladimir Nikolić, Neša Paripović, Balint Szombathy, Zoran Todorović, in številnih drugih, ki so se v delu posvečali performativnim praksam, čeprav so v glavnem ostajali v okviru sistema (Institucije) vizualnih umetnosti; njihovo delo, povezano z devetdesetimi leti, je precizno in dobro dokumentirano v različnih umetnostnozgodovinskih pregledih in analizah, med katerimi je ena najpodrobnejših v: Branislava Anđelković at al, *O normalnosti. Umetnost u Srbiji 1989-2001* (Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2005).

28 Za podroben opis performansa glej: Milena Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, str. 124-134.

29 Gre za naslednje performanse: *Joj ladjice – rekla je Dada* (1996, Priština), *Minuta radosti*, (1997, Priština), *Regresija družbe* (1997, Niš), *Triminutna slika* (1997, Novi Sad), *Poslednji poskus zdravljenja zemlje* (1998, Priština), *SFRJ* (1998/1999, Novi Sad/Beograd), *Umazane roke se hitro umijejo* (1998, Beograd),

By referencing historical and neo-avant-gardes (Bogdanka Poznanović and Miroslav Mandić) and as part of the “engaged alternative” context of the 1990s, the artist Saša Stojanović, reevaluated the ideas of rebellion, “eternity,” social solidarity, poverty, and class consciousness through public actions that triggered the most challenging points of the ruling ideology during the second half of the 1990s.²⁹ Although the Magnet group was under a strong influence of the avant-garde art heritage, which they learned about at the “alternative” school called “The Tradition of the Avant-Garde” (held in Belgrade, Palić, and Ečka between 1993 and 1995 by writer, artist, socialist and prominent protagonist of the Novi Sad neo-avant-garde Vujica Rešin Tucić with the support of numerous associates), Magnet’s members, nevertheless, directly addressed representative institutions of power through their many guerilla performances and explicit public actions, brought forth in a simplified symbolic language, comprehensible to the wider public (and targeting representatives of the government): from Radio Television of Serbia (RTS), the Academy of Serbian Sciences and Arts (SANU), the National Library, the National Bank, to the police and the building occupied by Serbia’s President, which is why Nune Popović, one of the group’s most prominent members, was often arrested (and why he spent ten years in “political asylum” in Slovenia).

From the Politicization to the Carnivalization of Performance

While during the 1980s the “cultural bureaucracy,” including many left-wing intellectuals and artists, increasingly merged with the Republic’s political bureaucracies, offering them nationalist cultural models,³⁰ many left-wing feminists who participated in building the Yugoslav feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s remained in solidarity with each other, overcoming ethno-

29 Referring to the following performances: *Joj brodići – rekla je Dada* (*Oh, Little Ships – Dada Said*; 1996, Priština), *Minut radosti* (*A Moment of Joy*; 1997, Priština), *Regresija društva* (*Society’s Regression*; 1997, Niš), *Trominutna slika* (*Three-Minute Image*; 1997, Novi Sad), *Poslednji pokušaj lečenja zemlje* (*The Last Attempt At Healing the Country*; 1998, Priština), *SFRJ* (1998/1999, Novi Sad/Belgrade), *Umazane ruke brzo se peru* (*Dirty Hands are Quickly Washed*; 1998, Belgrade), *Čovek* (*Man*; 1999, Belgrade).

30 See: Žarana Papić, “Europe after 1989: Ethnic Wars, the Fascization of Social Life and Body Politics in Serbia,” *Filozofski vestnik* 23, no. 2, special issue *The Body*, (ed.) Marina Gržinić Mauhler (2002): 191–205.

nationalist discourses. By the early 1990s, the work of the women-led activist group Žene u crnom (Women in Black) took center-stage in developing and nurturing practices of solidarity and cooperation with the above-mentioned artists and art collectives (Škart, Dah teatar, Saša Stojanović, Led Art and others). Using different forms of street agitation performance, they made intersectional connections within the complex interrelatedness of gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality.³¹ Moreover, with their clear antimilitarist, antifascist, and antinationalist views, they worked against the accelerated increase of sexism, militarism, and nationalism. Women in Black united political, activist, and performative incentives at a time when there was no one else to do so, when most public sector institutions offering social protection had retreated, either because of the ruling politics or the economic crisis due to which public institutions were reduced to complete passivity. They organized weekly protest performances in front of the governing apparatus’ leading institutions, engaging in political and social fieldwork. At the time, they undertook the resocialization of refugees from war-torn regions, maintaining living conditions in several refugee camps that were almost completely abandoned by the local official and designated international institutions.³²

While public theater companies and most of their employees remained on the sidelines, small, alternative para-institutional troupes, such as Dah Theater,³³ took to the streets, staging performances that combined Brecht’s antiwar poetry, theater anthropology, and various avant-garde performance

31 See: Vilenica, “Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji”.

32 Their first “standing” performance after founding the group happened in front of the Students’ Cultural Center (SKC) in 1991. From April 1992 to February 1996, each Wednesday, they protested against the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, dressed in black and in silence, in Republic Square in Belgrade. During 1992 they were part of the antiwar action “Crni flor” (Black Band of Mourning), in which tens of thousands of people took part. For more, see: Dubravka Knežević, “Marked with Red Ink,” in *Radical Street Performances*, (ed.) Jan Cohen-Cruz (London: Routledge, 1998), 52–63. Also in: *Theatre Journal* 48, no. 4 (1996): 407–418. Precise dates available at <http://zeneucnom.org/sr/>.

33 For the problem of vagueness in artistic discourse and the presence of “ludicrous ‘soft’ alternative” instead of radical criticism and intervention, in the alternative theater framework of the 1990s, see: Ana Vujanović, “Alternativni teatar i izvođačke umetnosti devedesetih godina,” in *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji XX veka, Prvi tom: Radikalne umetničke prakse*, (ed.) Miško Šuvaković (Beograd: Orion Art, 2010), 759–770.





Žalni trak / Black Ribbon, 31. maj / 31 May 1992, protivnojna ulična akcija v organizaciji Civilnega odporiškega gibanja / an anti-war street action organized by the Civil Resistance Movement, Beograd / Belgrade
Foto / Photo: Goranka Matić

umetniških avantgard, ki jo je spoznavala v nekakšni »alternativni« šoli, imenovani »Tradicija avantgarde«, ki jo je skupaj s številnimi sodelavci med letoma 1993 in 1995 v Beogradu, Paliću in Ečki vodil pisatelj in umetnik, socialist in ugledni protagonist novosadske neoavantgarde Vujica Rešin Tucić, je skupina Magnet s številnimi gverilskimi performansmi in eksplicitnimi javnimi akcijami ter reduciranim in širši javnosti najpogosteje razumljivim simbolnim jezikom, ki se je nanašal neposredno na predstavnike oblasti, direktno obravnavala reprezentativne institucije moči, od Radiotelevizije Srbija, Srbske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Narodne knjižnice, Narodne banke do policije in stavbe Predsedstva Srbije, zaradi česar je bil Nune Popović, eden najvidnejših članov skupine, pogosto aretiran in pridržan (in zaradi česar je deset let preživel v »političnem azilu« v Sloveniji).

Od politizacije izvajanja do njegove »karnevalizacije«

Medtem ko se je v osemdesetih letih »kulturna birokracija«, ki je vključevala številne levičarske intelektualce in umetnike, vedno bolj združevala z republiškimi političnimi birokracijami in jim ponujala nacionalistične kulturne vzorce,³⁰ so številne levičarske feministke, ki so sodelovale pri izgradnji jugoslovanskega feminističnega gibanja v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih, ohranile vzajemno medsebojno solidarnost in presegle etno-nacionalistične diskurze. Po vzpostavljanju in negovanju solidarnostnih praks sodelovanja z že omenjenimi umetniki in umetniškimi kolektivi (kot so skupina Škart, Dah teatra, Saša Stojanović, Led Art in drugi) že v zgodnjih devetdesetih letih izstopa delo ženske aktivistične skupine Ženske v črnem (Žene u crnom). Uporabljale so oblike uličnega agitacijskega performansa in intersekcionalno povezovale zapletene medsebojne odnose med vprašanji (družbenega) spola, razreda, etničnosti in seksualnosti³¹ ter se s svojimi jasnimi protimilitarističnimi, protifašističnimi in protinacionalističnimi stališči zoperstavljale pospešeni krepitvi seksizma, militarizma in

Človek (1999, Beograd).

30 Glej: Žarana Papić, »Europe after 1989: ethnic wars, the fascisation of social life and body politics in Serbia«, *Filozofski vestnik* 23, št. 2, posebna številka *The Body*, ur. Marina Gržinić Mauhler (2002), str. 191–205.

31 Glej: Vilenica, »Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji«.

nacionalizma. Ženske v črnem so povezale politično, aktivistično in performativno delo – vzporedno s tem, da so tedensko izvajale protestne performanse pred ključnimi institucijami vladajočega aparata, so se ukvarjale s političnim in socialnim delom na terenu – v času, ko ni bilo nikogar drugega, ko se je večina javnih ustanov za socialno zaščito umaknila bodisi zaradi vladajoče politike ali gospodarske krize, v kateri so bile javne institucije popolnoma pasivne. Ženske v črnem so se takrat lotile resocializacije beguncev s prizadetih vojnih območij in skrbele za več begunskih taborišč, ki so jih tako uradne lokalne kot pristojne mednarodne institucije pustile popolnoma na cedilu.³²

Medtem ko so se uradna, institucionalna gledališča in večina zaposlenih še naprej držali na strani, so šle na ulice majhne, alternativne parainstitucionalne skupine, kot je Dah teatra,³³ in tam izvajale performanse, ki so združevali Brechtovo protivojno poezijo, gledališko antropologijo in različne avantgardne tradicije uprizoritve³⁴ s poudarkom na telesu kot mediju »s pričakovanimi možnostmi neposredne prisotnosti in univerzalne komunikacije«³⁵ (*Ta babilonska zmeda, Legenda o koncu sveta*). Iz feminističnega in mirovnega gibanja se je razvila performativna praksa Zorice Jevremović kot praksa, ki se umika iz sveta umetnosti in se uporablja kot sredstvo za »neposredno družbeno-kulturno animacijo in intervencijo«³⁶ (*Bosna – človeške sledi, Žepno gledališče M, Avtovideografija*). Sodelovala je s

32 Njihov prvi izvedeni performans »stanja« po nastanku skupine se je zgodil pred Študentskim kulturnim centrom (SKC) leta 1991. Od aprila 1992 do februarja 1996 so vsako sredo v črni in molče na Trgu Republike v Beogradu protestirale proti vojni v BiH. Leta 1992 so bile del protivojne akcije »Črni žalni trak«, v kateri je sodelovalo približno več deset tisoč ljudi. Več o tem: Dubravka Knežević, »Marked with Red Ink«, v: *Radical Street Performances*, ur. Jan Cohen-Cruz (London: Routledge, 1998), str. 52–63. / *Theatre Journal* 48, št. 4 (1996), str. 407–418. Natančnejši datumi so dostopni na: <http://zeneucnom.org/sr/>.

33 O problemu nedorečenosti umetniškega diskurza in prisotnosti »ludistične 'mehke' alternative« namesto radikalne kritike in intervencije v okviru alternativnega gledališča v devetdesetih letih glej: Ana Vujanović, »Alternativni teatar i izvođačke umetnosti devedesetih godina«, v: *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji XX veka, Prvi tom: Radikalne umetničke prakse*, ur. Miško Šuvaković (Beograd: Orion Art, 2010), str. 759–770.

34 Knežević, »Marked with Red Ink«.

35 Vujanović, »Alternativni teatar i izvođačke umetnosti devedesetih godina«.

36 Prav tam.

traditions³⁴ that place emphasis on the body as a medium “with the given capacity of immediate presence and universal communication”³⁵ (*This Babylonian Confusion, The Legend of the End of the World*). Zorica Jevremović also based her performance practices on the feminist and peace movements. Her work stepped outside the world of art using “direct socio-cultural animations and interventions”³⁶ (*Bosna – ljudski tragovi/Bosnia – Human Traces, Džepno pozorište M/Pocket Theater M, Autovideografija/Autovideography*). She collaborated with many women’s organizations, such as the Autonomous Women’s Center Against Sexual Violence (the feminist theater PUT 5a, the show/performance *Šaputave devojke/Whispering Girls*), and her works were dedicated to the “emancipation and support of the female subject.”³⁷ Still, an understanding of art as the only possible generator of social change became absolutely dominant within the widely set civil sector, which was in the meantime (para)institutionally reinforced within the mass civil and student protests of late 1996, in reaction to the electoral fraud of Slobodan Milošević’s regime. Predominantly based on liberal ideology, these protests were a movement led by the urban middle class and students,³⁸ with no “place” with it for the resistance of the working class³⁹; neither were there any political players ready to address the problems of the most numerous social class – the disenfranchised.

Artistic practices in the form of street theater, performative actions, various site-specific performances, and situation-based performances within the mass civil protests, became their discursive testing ground. The opening “social dramaturgy scene” mentioned at the beginning of this text became at this point the paradigm for the “emancipation of the individual body” within the continued process of producing capitalist social

34 Knežević, “Marked with Red Ink”.

35 Vujanović, “Alternativni teatar i izvođačke umjetnosti devedesetih godina”.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Vilenica, “Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji”.

38 For a detailed analysis of student protests, see: Đorđe Tomić, “Ulične studije – odsek: protest! Studentski protesti tokom ‘ere Milošević’,” in *Društvo u pokretu: novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*, (eds.) Đorđe Tomić, Petar Atanacković (Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2009), 184–231.

39 For more, see: Goran Musić, *Radnička klasa Srbije u tranziciji 1988–2013* (Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2013).

relations, as Ana Vujanović described it writing about the last Yugoslav *slet*, and the ideological normalization of the private property principle,⁴⁰ also mentioned in the introduction as a key turning point in that period. Such an expressive performance of the “liberation of the (individual) body” within the civil *body* of mass protests is found in the emblematic scene of the “heroine,” also mentioned at the beginning of this text: the actress and ballerina Sonja Vukićević performed her *Makbet-ONO/Macbeth-IT* choreography (alongside her acting partner Slobodan Beštić) in front of a police cordon.

Between the two poles of professional artistic engagement, one being the performance of *Macbeth-IT* (unique in theater history) and the other the artists’ expression of “para-theater consciousness”⁴¹ in the *Dance of the Mirrors (Igra ogledala)* – performed by visual artists, members of associations of fine artists, and art historians who placed mirrors in front of policemen, thus creating a complicated and transforming relation between “performer” and the “public” – there were also innumerable para-theatrical examples of “amateur” performances by protesters.

A profound belief in the power of “political theater” in shaping public opinion, influential since the late 1970s and during the 1980s in Yugoslavia, led to the firm opinion shared by many on the alternative art-activist scene that only art could be the driving force of social change,⁴² that by introducing alternative political views, political theater “was the only oppositional movement in Yugoslavia’s one-party system for many years.”⁴³ In writing about the “carnival spirit” as the “spirit of play, spontaneity, and individual creativity,” with an emphasis on disguises, costumes, masks, puppets, various props accompanied by noise and specially made scenography, many authors like Milena Dragičević Šešić described the carnival character of the 1990s civil protests as their most salient trait.⁴⁴ They

40 Vujanović, “‘Crni talas’ jugoslovenskog sleta: Dan mladosti 1987. i 1988.,” 27.

41 Aleksandra Jovićević, “Građanski i studentski protest u Srbiji 1996/1997, između pozorišta, parapozorišta i karnevala,” in *Šetnja u mestu: građanski protest u Srbiji*, (ed.) Darka Radosavljević (Beograd: B92, 1997), 45–56.

42 Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*.

43 Knežević, “Marked with Red Ink”.

44 Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, 274.

številnimi ženskim organizacijami, kot je Avtonomni ženski center proti spolnemu nasilju (feministično gledališče PUT 5a, predstava/performans *Šepetajoča dekleta*), in se v delu posvečala »emancipaciji in podpori ženskemu subjektu«.³⁷

Odnos do umetnosti kot edine, ki lahko sproži proces družbenih sprememb, je še posebno prevladoval v široko zastavljenem civilnem sektorju, ki se je medtem (para)institucionalno okrepil, in v množičnih ljudskih in študentskih protestih, do katerih je prišlo konec leta 1996 kot odziv na Miloševićevo volilno krajo na lokalnih volitvah. Ti množični protesti, pretežno liberalno ideološko usmerjeni, so bili gibanje srednjega meščanskega razreda in študentov,³⁸ v katerem delavski razred (spet) ni našel svojega »mesta« odpora,³⁹ niti se ni noben od prisotnih političnih akterjev poskušal ukvarjati s problemi najštevilnejšega brezpravnega družbenega sloja.

Njihov diskurzivni poligon so postale umetniške prakse v obliki uličnega gledališča, performativnih akcij, različnih *in situ* predstav in uprizarjanja »situacij« v okviru množičnih ljudskih protestov. Uvodni prizor »socialne dramaturgije« z začetka besedila je zdaj postal paradigma »emancipacije posameznega telesa« v neprekinjenem procesu produkcije kapitalističnih družbenih odnosov, kot je to opredelila Ana Vujanović, ko je pisala o zadnjem jugoslovenskem zletu, in ideološke normalizacije načela zasebne lastnine,⁴⁰ prav tako omenjene v uvodnem delu kot ključne za dojemanje obravnavanega obdobja. Tako ekspresivno uprizoritev »osvoboditve (posameznega) telesa« znotraj *telesa* množičnega ljudskega protesta najdemo v emblematičnem prizoru »junakinje« z začetka besedila, igralka in balerine Sonje Vukićević, ki je svojo plesno točko v predstavi *Macbeth/ONO* skupaj s soplesalcem Slobodanom Beštićem zdaj izvajala pred policijskim kordonom. Med obema poloma profesionalnega umetniškega

37 Vilenica, »Uticaj ženskih/feminističkih izvedbenih umjetnosti u Srbiji«.

38 Za detaljno analizo študentskih protestov glej: Đorđe Tomić, »Ulične studije – odsek: protest! Studentski protesti tokom ‘ere Milošević’, v: *Društvo u pokretu: novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*, ur. Đorđe Tomić in Petar Atanacković (Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2009), str. 184–231.

39 Več o tem: Goran Musić, *Radnička klasa Srbije u tranziciji 1988–2013* (Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2013).

40 Vujanović, »‘Crni talas’ jugoslovenskog sleta«, str. 27.

angažmaja – na eni strani edinstven primer v zgodovini gledališča (uprizoritev predstave *Macbeth/ONO*) in na drugi primeri izražanja »paragledališke zavesti«⁴¹ umetnikov v »Igri ogledal«, v kateri so sodelovali likovni umetniki, člani društev likovnih umetnikov in umetnostni zgodovinarji, ki so pred policiste postavili ogledala in tako ustvarili zapleten in spremenljiv odnos med »izvajalci« in »občinstvom« – je še nepregledno število paragledaliških primerov »amaterskih« predstav udeležencev in udeleženk protestov.

Močna vera v moč »političnega gledališča« pri oblikovanju javnega mnenja – kot tako je bilo pomembno v Jugoslaviji že v poznih sedemdesetih in v osemdesetih letih – je privedla do trdnega prepričanja mnogih na alternativni umetniško-aktivistični sceni, da je le umetnost lahko gonilna sila družbenih sprememb,⁴² se pravi, da je bilo politično gledališče, ki je uvajalo alternativne politične poglede, »dolga leta edino opozicijsko gibanje v enopartijskem sistemu v Jugoslaviji.«⁴³ Pri opisovanju »duha karnevala« kot »duha igre, spontanosti in individualnega ustvarjanja« s poudarkom na preobleki, kostumih, maskah, lutkah in različnih rekvizitih ter spremljavi hrupa in posebej izdelane scenografije so mnogi avtorji, kot je na primer Milena Dragičević Šešić, kot ključni in najpomembnejši vidik opredelili karnevalskost v okviru ljudskih protestov.⁴⁴ Označili so jih kot »kodekse nove dobe«, tj. kot »kodekse državljanske civilizacije mladih sveta«, »praznik in slava demokracije«, veljali so za ključne dejavnike pri ustvarjanju »nove morale«,⁴⁵ morale, ki se bo razlikovala od patriarhalne morale (»poveljane v osemdesetih letih«) in morale socialistične družbe, »ki je povzročila številne mirnodobne zločine«. Medtem ko se je v prvi polovici devetdesetih let pojav takega duha karnevala le nakazoval v povezavi s študentskim protestom leta 1992 in akcijami Radia B92, pa je bilo med ljudskimi in študentskimi protesti leta 1996/97 ugotovljeno, da je »duh karnevala osvojil mesto, večino njegovih

41 Aleksandra Jovićević, »Građanski i studentski protest u Srbiji 1996/1997, između pozorišta, parapozorišta i karnevala«, v: *Šetnja u mestu: građanski protest u Srbiji*, ur. Darka Radosavljević (Beograd: B92, 1997), str. 45–56.

42 Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*.

43 Knežević, »Marked with Red Ink«.

44 Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, str. 274.

45 Prav tam, str. 268.

were defined as “codes of the new era,” as “codes of a citizen civilization of the youth of the world,” “a celebration and honoring of democracy,” that is, they were considered key factors in creating a “new morale,”⁴⁵ one that would differ from the patriarchal morale (“glorified in the 1980s”) and socialist society’s morale “that caused many crimes in times of peace.” While during the first half of the 1990s such a carnival spirit was only hinted at and brought into connection with the student protests of 1992 and the actions of Radio B92, during the civil and student protests of 1996/97, the conclusion was that “the spirit of the carnival conquered the city, most of its trends and events.”⁴⁶ That carnivalization had “managed to place life center stage.”⁴⁷

The simplification of artistic language and semantic signification, in addition to the reduction of form to “simple association” for the purpose of facilitating comprehension and readability, led to “performance populism,” i.e. “the massification of theatricality as a model of social action.”⁴⁸ Frequent references to ritual, magic, and the primitive (making and carrying around a Milošević effigy dressed in, for instance, a black-and-white-striped prison uniform), making noise, the use of different artifacts (banners, bricks, various found and used objects, ready-mades), relying on the effects of chance and absurdity were interpreted as an attempt to influence an alienated reality and the need to connect with “a terrified primitive being, trying to cope with adversity surpassing its powers.”⁴⁹

The prevailing middle-class character of oppositional protests⁵⁰ that insisted, first and foremost, on civilizational and cultural differences between “us” and “them” constantly produced discourse based on semantic dichotomies (civilized – backward, culture – primitivism, Europe – the Balkans, democracy – communism, urban – rural)

45 *Ibid.*, 268.

46 *Ibid.*, 274, see footnote 8.

47 *Ibid.*, 275.

48 Ivan Pravdić, “Odrednice za moguću analizu ili teatralnost masa – šetnja od propastana do bestragije savremene umetnosti,” in *Šetnja u mestu: građanski protest u Srbiji*, 37–42.

49 *Ibid.*, 40.

50 The conclusion about the social structure of the protest was based on the following 1997 sociological study: Marija Babović, “Maratonci šetaju (po)časni krug – sociodemografske karakteristike i politički profil učesnika Protesta 96/97,” in *Ajmo, 'ajde, svi u šetnju!: građanski i studentski protest 96/97* (Beograd: Medija centar & ISI FF, 1997).

and thus kept reproducing social division in which the dominant protest rhetoric was founded on roles based on “cultural distinctions” and “symbolic geography,” instead of affirming its political struggle in the language of politics.⁵¹

The artist Zoran Naskovski made an interesting observation about this in his ready-made performance *Apolo 9* (*Apollo 9*) at BELEF (Belgrade Summer Festival), which involved the famous 1960s Yugoslav folk singer Mašinka Lukić. As he concluded in his art statement: “What we expect from the population of developed (urban) settings, we find, in this case, in the provincial man. If there is a desire for dialogue and an inclination to enter a future in which the divides between urban and rural settings, between the center and the province are erased, the only way to achieve this seems to be if the periphery is given an opportunity to express itself from its own angle and in its own specific way.”⁵²

Instead of leading to social solidarity, such tendencies directed at transposing the social and political into the field of culture, produced, despite individual artists and artistic collectives that were *de facto* anti-capitalist, an even deeper rift in Serbian society, the consequences of which are still felt today. Instead of searching for causes and responsibility for such a state of affairs in political arguments, members of the urban and educated middle classes sought them amidst the poor, those less educated, the working class, and especially those from rural parts of Serbia,⁵³ for whom there was (obviously) no room in daily protest walks.

Instead of a Conclusion: Several Inconclusive Theses

Specific political performance practices could also be approached from another perspective if we shifted from the dominant (liberal) theoretical and interpretative narrative about art being

51 For more, see: Tamara Petrović Trifunović, “Artikulacija otpora u diskursu o protestima 1996/97. u Srbiji: politička borba vođena jezikom kulture i simboličke geografije,” *SOCIOLOGIJA* LIX, no. 4 (2017): 477–496.

52 Zoran Naskovski, “Performance Apolo 9 (featuring Mashinka Lukic, famous Yugoslav folk singer from the '60-ies),” accessed 28 December 2020, https://www.scca.org.mk/UTB/utb2000/syn_naskovski.htm.

53 Petrović Trifunović, “Artikulacija otpora u diskursu o protestima 1996/97. u Srbiji”.

tokov in dogodkov.«⁴⁶ Karnevalizaciji je »uspelo na sceno postaviti samo življenje.«⁴⁷

Simplifikacija umetniškega jezika in pomenskega označevanja ter redukcija na »proste asociacije« za boljšo razumljivost in jasnejšo berljivost sta tako privedli do »populističnosti performansa«, tj. do »pomasovljenja teatraličnosti kot modela družbenega delovanja.«⁴⁸ Pogoste reference na rituale, magijo in primitivno (denimo, izdelava in nošenje lutke Miloševića v zaporniški obleki), ustvarjanje hrupa, prisotnost artefaktov (transparenti, opeke, različni najdeni in rabljeni predmeti, ready made) ter učinki naključja in absurda se razlagajo tudi kot poskus vplivanja na odtujeno stvarnost in na potrebo po povezovanju s »prestrašenim primitivnim bitjem, ki se skuša spopadati s stiskami, ki presegajo njegove moči.«⁴⁹ Prevladujoče srednjerazredni značaj opozicijskih protestov,⁵⁰ ki so vztrajali predvsem na civilizacijskih in kulturnih razlikah med »nami« in »njimi«, je z nenehno produkcijo diskurzov, osnovanih na semantičnih dihotomijah (civilizacija – zaostalost, kultura – primitivizem, Evropa – Balkan, demokracija – komunizem, mesto – podeželje), nenehno reproduciral družbene delitve, v katerih je prevladujoča protestna retorika temeljila na izvajanju vlog na podlagi »kulturnih razlik« in »simbolne geografije« namesto na afirmaciji političnega boja z jezikom politike.⁵¹

To je na zanimiv način opazil umetnik Zoran Naskovski v svojem ready-made performansu z naslovom *Apollo 9*, izvedenem leta 1999 v okviru BELEF-a, v katerem je sodelovala tudi Mašinka Lukić, slavna jugoslovska narodna pevka iz

46 Dragičević Šešić, *Umetnost i kultura otpora*, str. 274, glej opombo 8.

47 Prav tam, str. 275.

48 Ivan Pravdić, »Odrednice za moguću analizu ili teatralnost masa – šetnja od propastana do bestragije savremene umetnosti«, v: *Šetnja u mestu: građanski protest u Srbiji*, str. 37–42.

49 Prav tam, str. 40.

50 Sklep o socialni strukturi protestov je temeljil na sociološki študiji iz leta 1997: Marija Babović, »Maratonci šetaju (po)časni krug – sociodemografske karakteristike i politički profil učesnika Protesta 96/97«, v: *Ajmo, 'ajde, svi u šetnju!: građanski i studentski protest 96/97* (Beograd: Medija centar & ISI FF, 1997).

51 Več o tem: Tamara Petrović Trifunović, »Artikulacija otpora u diskursu o protestima 1996/97. u Srbiji: politička borba vođena jezikom kulture i simboličke geografije«, *SOCIOLOGIJA* LIX, št. 4 (2017), str. 477–496.

šestdesetih let. Naskovski je v spremnem besedilu k delu sklenil: »Kar sicer pričakujemo od prebivalcev razvitih (urbanih) okolij, v tem primeru najdemo pri ljudeh iz province. Če obstaja želja po dialogu in težnja po vstopu v prihodnost, v kateri bi bile meje med mestnimi in podeželskimi okolji, med središčem in provinco izbrisane, je to po mojem mnenju mogoče doseči edino tako, da tudi periferija dobi možnost, da se izrazi iz svojega zornega kota in na svoj posebni način.«⁵²

Namesto da bi vodile k družbeni solidarnosti, so take težnje k prenosu družbenega in političnega na področje kulture, kljub posameznim umetnikom in umetniškim kolektivom, ki so bili dejansko protikapitalistično usmerjeni, vse bolj poglobljale prepad v družbi, katerega posledice se čutijo še danes. Namesto da bi razloge in odgovornost za takšno stanje v družbi iskali v političnih argumentih, so jih pripadniki in pripadnice urbanih in izobraženih srednjih slojev iskali pri revnih, nižje izobraženih, pri delavskem razredu, še zlasti pri tistih iz podeželskih delov Srbije,⁵³ za katere v dnevnih protestnih sprehodih (očitno) ni bilo prostora.

Namesto sklepa: nekaj odprtih tez

Če se odmaknemo od prevladujočega (liberalnega) teoretsko-interpretativnega narativa o tem, da lahko le umetnost ponudi politično alternativo družbi, na katerega so se pozneje navezovali tudi interpretacije o neuspehu tovrstnih »angažiranih« umetniških praks, da bi res pripeljale do političnih sprememb, pospremljene s teoretskimi razočaranji in enodimenzionalnimi diskvalifikacijami, in če uporabimo materialistično analizo konkretnega zgodovinskega trenutka, ki ga opredeljuje dejanski poraz socialističnih političnih alternativ, na katere bi se lahko navezale takšne (posamične, osamljene, obrobne) umetniške prakse odpora, bi lahko h konkretnim praksam političnega performansa pristopili tudi z drugačne perspektive.

Na primer tako, da se jim pripišejo zasluge z vsaj dveh vidikov, z vsemi protislovji, zaznanimi v posameznih primerih odnosa med umetnostjo in

52 Zoran Naskovski, »Performance Apolo 9 (featuring Mashinka Lukic, famous Yugoslav folk singer from the 60ies)«, dostop 28. 12. 2020, https://www.scca.org.mk/UTB/utb2000/syn_naskovski.htm.

53 Petrović Trifunović, »Artikulacija otpora u diskursu o protestima 1996/97. u Srbiji«.

the only source offering a political alternative to society, with later interpretations about the ineffectiveness of such "engaged" artistic practices to bring about actual political change, followed by theoretical disappointments and one-dimensional disqualifications, and if we applied a materialist analysis of the concrete historical moment defined by the *de facto* defeat of socialist political alternatives that such (individual, lone, marginal) artistic resistance practices could be associated with.

Thus such practices deserve merit in at least two respects, despite all the contradictions detected in individual cases of the relationship between art and politics. In 1990s Serbia, on whose territory the war did not take place, although the regime used all its mechanisms to create a public impression of an "endangered nation and territory," i.e. a narrative that was very much supported by the (right-wing) liberal opposition, while urban civil society tried to overthrow Milošević and most "intellectuals" (including a large number of professional artists and cultural workers) took the position of "active escapism," such "engaged" artistic practices were (often) the only source of basic public information about the violence, killings, crimes, brutal plundering initiated and committed in the name of that same public and taking place barely a few dozen miles away from the streets of the capital. The second aspect of such artistic and activist practices was related to concrete social work within the community – work no longer done by any state institution and including unpaid care for the most vulnerable, the refugees, the population impoverished overnight, physically and mentally drained and left at the mercy of isolation, hopelessness, and the streets. Many of these artistic practices continued to criticize dominant politics even when the opposition came to power and when many civil society organizations became one of the key pillars of the new, "democratic" reality. For this reason, they remained part of the "independent scene," often on the existential margin and some never adequately appreciated.

A third significant aspect of their practice might be added here: the hibernation, preservation, and transmission (leaving material traces) of leftist political ideas after the disappearance of all political players of the Left; in fragments, often only in the form of politically unarticulated, but affectively

indicated ideas (of social equality and solidarity, social security, internationalism, antinationalism, anti-capitalism, antifascism, accessible education, culture, and art), they were preserved for another time, for today, when the ideas of the Left are returning to the political arena.

A fourth aspect would be as follows: the above-mentioned critical practices in the field of performing arts were a continuation of critical art practices related to the artistic avant-gardes of the entire 20th century, from Dada, surrealism, Zenitism, and social art to the neo-avant-garde, thus building a bridge with contemporary critical art practices which have always been in a dialectical relation with the political (even in its absence).

Translated by Emilia Epštajn

politiko. V Srbiji devetdesetih let, na ozemlju katere vojne ni bilo, a je režim z vsemi mehanizmi v javnosti ustvarjal podobo »ogroženega naroda in ozemlja«, tj. narativ, ki ga je del (desnega krila) liberalne opozicije še kako podpiral, medtem ko se je urbana civilna opozicija ukvarjala z rušenjem Miloševića, večina »intelektualcev« (sem prištevam tudi veliko poklicnih umetnikov in kulturnih delavcev) pa je zavzela stališče »aktivnega eskapizma«, so bile te »angažirane« umetniške prakse (pogosto) edini vir osnovnega informiranja javnosti o nasilju, ubojih, zločinih in brutalnem ropanju, ki so se dogajali le nekaj deset kilometrov od ulic prestolnice, sproženi in storjeni v imenu iste javnosti. Drugi vidik takih umetniških in aktivističnih praks se je nanašal na konkretno socialno delo v skupnosti, ki ga ni več opravljala nobena državna institucija, od neplačane nege in oskrbe najranljivejših, beguncev, do čez noč osiromašenega prebivalstva, fizično in duševno izčrpanega in prepuščenega na milost in nemilost osamljenosti, brezupu in ulici. Mnoge od teh umetniških praks so nadaljevale s prakso kritike dominantne politike tudi v času, ko je na oblast prišla opozicija in ko so številne organizacije civilne družbe postale ključen steber te nove, »demokratske« resničnosti. Zato so še naprej ostale del »neodvisne« scene, pogosto na eksistencialnem robu, nekatere tudi nikoli dovolj cenjene.

Tu lahko dodamo še tretji pomembni vidik njihove prakse: hibernacijo, ohranjanje in prenos (puščanje materialnih sledi) političnih idej levice, potem ko so izginili vsi politični akterji levice; v fragmentih, pogosto le v idejah, politično neartikuliranih, a afektivno nakazanih (ideje o družbeni enakosti in solidarnosti, socialni varnosti, internacionalizmu, antinacionalizmu, antikapitalizmu, antifasizmu, dostopnem izobraževanju, kulturi in umetnosti), da so se ohranile za neki drug čas, za danes, ko se ideje levice vračajo na politično prizorišče. Četrto bi bilo naslednje: omenjene kritične prakse na področju izvedbenih umetnosti so predstavljale kontinuiteto kritičnih umetniških praks, povezanih z umetniško avantgardo v vsem 20. stoletju, od dadaizma, nadrealizma, zenitizma, družbene umetnosti do neoavantgarde, s čimer se je gradil most do sodobnih kritičnih umetniških praks, ki so bile vedno v dialektični zvezi s političnim (tudi v primeru njegove odsotnosti).

06

Why Are We the Way We Are? The Critical Body as Subversive Cultural Performance in 1990s Macedonia

Artwork. Ideology. Politics.

Every artwork carries in itself an ideological stamp of the context and the broader society where it is produced. The same can also be said of its political stamp. Whether it is intended to be visible or not, to be representational, to have an agency for certain change or simply in order to take on the role of flaneur and avoid any trace of the above, is unimportant – because it carries its political or ideological meaning already embedded in it.

Performance, as one of those types of art of a liminal and borderline nature, and an extended meaning beyond aesthetic performances, creates diverse stamps and draws maps which are influenced by the socio-political, economic, and cultural circumstances of a certain period, time, and space, thus creating numerous webs of meanings. Jon McKenzie sees performance as an emancipatory force that stands in opposition to industrial society, arguing that performance is beyond the limits of art and humanistic sciences.¹ Taking his cue from Lyotard and in dialogue with Foucault, McKenzie declares, "Performance will be to the twentieth and twenty-first century what discipline was to the eighteenth and

¹ Jon McKenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).



**Biljana
Tanurovska-
Kjulavkovski**

**Ivana
Vaseva**

Zakaj smo taki, kot smo? Kritično telo kot subverzivni performans v Makedoniji devetdesetih let

Umetnina. Ideologija. Politika.

Vsaka umetnina v sebi nosi ideološki pečat konteksta in širše družbe, v kateri je nastala. To lahko rečemo tudi za njen politični pečat. Vseeno je, ali v sebi nosi namen biti vidna ali ne, biti reprezentativna, imeti moč delovanja za neko spremembo, ali pa se ležerno ogniti vsakemu duhu tega – v sebi nosi vsajen politični in ideološki pomen.

Performans kot oblika umetnosti liminalne in mejne narave in z razširjenim pomenom onkraj estetskih performansov ustvarja raznolike pečate in izrisuje zemljevide, na katere vplivajo družbenopolitične, gospodarske in kulturne razmere določenega obdobja, časa in prostora, pri čemer nastajajo številne mreže pomenov. Jon McKenzie je *performance* – izvajanje, izvedbo, dosežek, rezultat, zmogljivost, učinkovitost, nastop, uprizoritev, performans – predstavil kot emancipacijsko silo, ki se upira industrijski družbi, z argumentom, da je onkraj meja umetnosti in humanističnih znanosti.¹ Izhajajoč iz Lyotarda in v dialogu s Foucaultom McKenzie izjavi: »*Performance* [Učinkovitost] bo za

¹ Jon McKenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (London in New York: Routledge, 2001).

nineteenth, that is, an onto-historical formation of power and knowledge.”² The “performance turn,” which emerged post-World War II, includes art as happenings, body art, theater, dance and beyond, as well as cultural, organizational and technological performance.³

Performance includes a complex web of critical vocabulary, as well as a range of disciplines that are related to the notion that it is “an essentially contested concept.”⁴

Cultural performance (Milton Singer, Victor Turner, John McKenzie and others) is based on an understanding of culture as social activities, cultural events, ceremonies etc., or (political) affects or “as an engagement of social norms, as an ensemble of activities with the potential to uphold societal arrangements or, alternatively, to change people and societies. In short, cultural performance produces efficacy. In simple terms, efficacy is its commanding authority to produce an effect: something which transgresses in the case of religious cultural performances and subverts, in the case of public demonstrations and political protests.”⁵

Thus, in its complexity, we here address performance as an aesthetic and expanded notion, as one that – as McKenzie claims⁶ – disperses across discourses, departing from human behaviors to include a whole range of phenomena related to efficiency, where productivity doesn’t pertain to individuals and groups, but to systems, technologies, and social apparatuses.

Starting from this stance, this complex term, related to art and the humanities, as well as society in general, and moving towards researching performance, whether its ideological or political potential, is a formidable task – especially if there

2 *Ibid.*, 18.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Mary Strine, Beverly Long, and Mary Francis Hopkins, “Research in Interpretation and Performance Studies, Trends, Issues, Priorities,” in *Performance, A Critical Introduction*, (ed.) Marvin Carlson (London and New York: Routledge, 2004). This explanation originally comes from W. B. Gallie, who suggested that certain concepts “such as art and democracy, had disagreement about their essence built into the concept itself.”

5 McKenzie, *Perform or Else*.

6 *Ibid.*

is no direct evidence of it in the classical sense. And even more, to research a political performance in North Macedonia is a challenging undertaking, since the direct answer to the question – is there a history of this kind of endeavor – is a clear no. It is almost an in-depth archaeological research task: in order to see why the situation is as it is we should reverse the inquiry and start with defining, noting, or understanding the political, the performance, and the specific context of Macedonia in the 1990s.

There are few examples of artistic performances in North Macedonia in the 1990s; however, those few were political in nature – as is every art, according to Mouffe.⁷ The political, according to Mouffe, is a way of constituting society using antagonism as an essential characteristic, or which interferes with the orderly configuration of the sensual.⁸ She says that from the point of view of the theory of hegemony, “artistic practices play a role in the constitution and maintenance of a given symbolic order or in its challenging, and this is why they necessarily have a political dimension.” The political, for its part, concerns the symbolic ordering of social relations, what Claude Lefort calls “the *mise en scène*”, “the *mise en forme* of human coexistence, and this is where lies its aesthetic dimension”.⁹ Mouffe adds that the real concern is the possible forms of critical art or the different ways in which artistic practices can contribute to questioning the dominant hegemony. It is in this direction that we here examine political performance in North Macedonia, as we also try to find forms of critical art as performance, or performance as extended notion holding up politicality as a form of criticality and antagonism to the dominant social and cultural-political state of affairs.

At the outset, we wanted to address the politicality of art, or critical art as the will and reason to regulate relations, or to interfere with societal issues. Or, art as an act which addresses changes in the environment, the sensual reconfiguration (*la partage du sensible*),¹⁰ which re-maps historical presuppositions,

7 Chantal Mouffe, “Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces,” *Art & Research* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2007).

Chantal Mouffe, *On the Political* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

8 Bojana Kunst, *Artist at Work, Proximity of Art and Capitalism* (London: Zero Books, 2015), 15.

9 Mouffe, “Artistic Activism”.

10 Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* (London: Continuum, 2004).

20. in 21. stoletje to, kar je bila za 18. in 19. stoletje disciplina – ontozgodovinsko oblikovanje moči in znanja.«² »Performativni obrat«, do katerega je prišlo po 2. svetovni vojni, vključuje umetnost, kot so happeningi, body art, gledališče, ples in drugo, ter kulturno izvajanje, organizacijsko učinkovitost in tehnološko zmogljivost in dosežke.³

Performance ob sebi vključuje zapleteno mrežo kritičnega besednjaka in tudi paleta disciplin, ki se navezujejo na pojem, ki je »v svojem bistvu sporen koncept.«⁴

Kulturno delovanje (*cultural performance*) (Milton Singer, Victor Turner, Jon McKenzie in drugi) temelji na razumevanju kulture kot družbenih dejavnosti, kulturnih dogodkov, ceremonij itd. ali (političnih) afektov ali »kot aktivno upoštevanje družbenih norm, kot skupek dejavnosti, ki imajo potencial, da ohranjajo družbene dogovore ali, kot druga možnost, spreminjajo ljudi in družbe. Skratka, kulturno delovanje ustvarja učinkovitost. Preprosto povedano je učinkovitost tisto, kar ga žene, da proizvede učinek: nekaj pregrešnega v primeru religioznih kulturnih delovanj in subverzivnega v primeru javnih demonstracij in protestov.«⁵

Tako pojem *performnce* v njegovi kompleksnosti tu obravnava kot estetski in širok pojem, ki se, kot pravi McKenzie,⁶ razprši po raznih diskurzih ter se oddaljuje od človeškega ravnanja in vključuje še celo vrsto pojavov, povezanih z učinkovitostjo, kjer produktivnost ne pripada posameznikom in skupinam, temveč sistemom, tehnologijam in družbenim aparatom.

Izhajajoč iz tega stališča, iz tega kompleksnega termina, povezanega z umetnostjo in humanistiko ter prav tako z družbo, je usmeritev k raziskovanju performansa, pa naj gre za njegov ideološki ali politični potencial, težka naloga, še zlasti, ker za

2 Prav tam, str. 18.

3 Prav tam.

4 Mary Strine, Beverly Long in Mary Francis Hopkins, »Research in Interpretation and Performance Studies, Trends, Issues, Priorities«, v: *Performance, A Critical Introduction*, ur. Marvin Carlson (London in New York: Routledge, 2004). – Prvi je razlago podal W. B. Gallie, ki je rekel, da določeni koncepti, kot sta umetnost in demokracija, že v srži samega koncepta nosijo nestrinjanje o njihovem bistvu.

5 McKenzie, *Perform or Else*.

6 Prav tam.

slednje ni nobenih neposrednih dokazov v klasičnem pomenu. Še več, raziskovati politični performans v Severni Makedoniji je velik izziv, saj je odgovor na eksplicitno vprašanje, ali obstaja zgodovina tovrstnih prizadevanj, jasen *ne*. Gre za skoraj arheološko in poglobljeno raziskovalno nalogo: da bi videli, zakaj je situacija taka, bi morali vprašanje obrniti na glavo in začeti z definiranjem, opisovanjem ali razumevanjem političnega, performansa in specifičnega konteksta devetdesetih let v Makedoniji.

V polju umetnosti v Severni Makedoniji v devetdesetih letih so bili primeri performansov redki, vendar so ti bili politični, kot je po besedah Chantal Mouffe vsa umetnost.⁷ Po njenih besedah je politično način konstituiranja družbe z antagonizmom kot bistveno lastnostjo ali kot tistim, kar moti urejeno konfiguracijo čutnega.⁸ Mouffova pravi, da z »vidika teorije hegemonije lahko umetniške prakse prisostvujejo pri ustanavljanju in vzdrževanju danega simbolnega reda ali pa ga izzivajo in spodkopavajo, zato nujno vsebujejo politično dimenzijo. Po drugi strani pa ima politično opraviti s simbolnim urejanjem družbenih odnosov, ki ga Claude Lefort poimenuje '*mise en scene*' oziroma '*mise en forme*' človeškega soobstoja, in prav v tem se nahaja estetska dimenzija političnega.«⁹ Tako, dodaja Mouffova, so pravo vprašanje možne oblike kritične umetnosti ali različni načini, kako lahko umetniške prakse pomagajo prevpraševati dominantne hegemonije. Tako politični performans v Severni Makedoniji raziskujeva v tej smeri in s tem skušava tudi najti oblike kritične umetnosti kot performansa ali performans kot razširjeni pojem, ki vsebuje politično kot obliko kritičnosti in antagonizma do dominantnega družbenega in kulturno-političnega stanja. Hoteli sva obravnava političnost umetnosti ali kritično umetnost kot voljo in razlog za reguliranje odnosov ali poseganje v družbena vprašanja. Ali: umetnost kot dejanje, ki obravnava spremembe okolja, delitev čutnega (*la partage du sensible*),¹⁰ ki drugače izrisuje zgodovinske predpostavke ali dekonstruira

7 Chantal Mouffe, »Umetniški aktivizem in agonistični prostori«, *Šum* # 2 (2014), str. 131–139. Chantal Mouffe, *On the Political* (London in New York: Routledge, 2005).

8 Bojana Kunst, *Artist at Work, Proximity of Art and Capitalism* (London: Zero Books, 2015), str. 15.

9 Mouffe, »Umetniški aktivizem«.

10 Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* (London: Continuum, 2004).

or to deconstruct the understanding of the political in the performance as it has been researched, thought, and presented in the context of North Macedonia. However, we couldn't find performance art works that could be considered critical as seen through this perspective, since they were simply reproducing or representing a reflection of society, the political situation, or everyday life, as thematic issues, but were not trying to interfere with society or the political order, to reform the environment in which they occurred. Our archaeological excavation of the history of performance art in North Macedonia in the 1990s left us puzzled as to why there were so few examples of performances in the country and why we cannot say that they were political.¹¹

When we talk about the 1990s we can say that it is a period burdened with events that could serve as "material" for the artists, but it seems that they didn't find engagement with socio-political issues sufficiently compelling.¹² Amongst the burning political, economic, social, and cultural issues of the 1990s – war in the region, privatization, multiculturalism, ethnically-driven unrest, identity issues, the transition from socialism to capitalism,

11 Ivana Vaseva and Filip Jovanovski, "Collective Action as Political, Not Organizational Decision," *AICA Macedonia*, March 2016, http://www.aica-macedonia.org.mk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/1-Vaseva-i-F-Jovsanovski-nagrada-AICA-2016_skratena-Eng.-v.-lektura.pdf. This may be the case with all art productions in the history of art in this geographical area. One research that talks about the art group and its politicality titled "Collective action as a political, not organizational decision" comes to the same conclusion, that there were no tectonic movements made by the groups in the broader historical period in Macedonia, spanning the period from 1945 to 2000. Regarding the political dimension of art and, what is more important, the social atmosphere they created: "which shared a moment that was not always in the direction of 'raising the art agency.' It was more of a socializing moment that never grew into a solid tissue that would create a political feature."

12 The lack of critical spirit – being critical, or critiquing something, in the form of written polemics and discussions, or reviews and comments, is something that was practiced in the 1990s as well, but this practice didn't develop further and may be one of the reasons we don't have a strong critical art tradition. This lack of being critical (but also its opposite, being critical), either in the professional field (by art critics or by people working in the arts) or in the broader public discourse (in the audience), or ignorance of even the smallest critique of something that is actual (for example in social media), talks about the ecology of the art context, its political (non-) potential, but also of the repercussions of its past actions. It seems that the context neutralized the critical apparatus, prevented oppositions to exist together and strive towards transformations, and with that assimilated and absorbed the critical processes, similar to the neoliberalism towards which it oriented itself in the 1990s.

etc. – there are little or no critical as political art projects in the 1990s; or as Nebojša Vilić writes, by the end of the 1990s artists that started to deal critically with reality would appear, however, not through performance. Zlatko Teodosievski agrees with Vilić and adds that: "in Macedonia there was no creative reaction (even) to the year of 1968, Macedonian art lacks the commitment of the kind shown by the Slovenian art group OHO, by Marina Abramović, IRWIN..."¹³

Given these circumstances our curatorial strategy is to draw another map – of performance as a critical act, as a gesture within the larger context – but also to see why it is so clearly absent in the country's art production. Or, to research politicality, criticality, and sensual reconfiguration not directly in performance as aesthetic notion, but in performance as expanded field. Thus we research and involve gestures, procedures, processes, methods, events, and spaces in art and the larger cultural field, as well as in society. With this research our curatorial work re-maps historical presuppositions or deconstructs the understanding of the political in performance as an expanded field.

The map and The story

To this end we will use Certeau's aphorism, "what the map cuts up, the story cuts across," in agreement with Dwight Conquergood, who reads this aphorism as a point of "transgressive travel between two different domains of knowledge: one official, objective, and abstract – 'the map'; the other one practical, embodied, and popular – 'the story'."¹⁴

Conquergood points out that such a transgressive approach into knowledge or as he describes it, "promiscuous traffic between different ways of knowing" carries the most radical promise of performance studies research as a field that opens space between theory and practice, analyses and actions, art and society.¹⁵

13 Zlatko Teodosievski, "Architecture of the Aggression and (or) on the Art Engagé [On the project "Architecture of the Aggression" of Tome Adzиеvski]," *The Large Glass*, no. 14/15 (2001/2): 109.

14 Dwight Conquergood, "Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research," *TDR* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 145–156.

15 *Ibid.*

razumevanje političnega v performansu, kot so ga raziskovali, o njem razmišljali in ga predstavljali v kontekstu Severne Makedonije do zdaj. Vendar pa nisva našli umetniških performansov, ki bi bili kritični gledano s te perspektive, saj so podajali ali predstavljali odsev družbe, politične situacije ali preprosto vsakdanjega načina življenja v vsebinskih temah, niso pa skušali posegati v družbo ali politični red, da bi reformirali okolje, v katerem so se pojavljali. Po tako rekoč arheološkem izkopavanju zgodovine performansa v Severni Makedoniji v devetdesetih letih sva bili začudeni nad tem, zakaj so bili primeri performansov pri nas tako redki in zakaj ne moreva reči, da so bili politični.¹¹

Ko govorimo o devetdesetih letih, lahko rečemo, da gre za obdobje, obremenjeno z dogodki, ki bi lahko umetnikom služili kot »material«, vendar se zdi, da jim angažiranost v družbenopolitičnih vprašanjih ni bila izziv.¹² Med perečimi političnimi, ekonomskimi, družbenimi in kulturnimi vprašanji v devetdesetih letih – vojna v regiji, privatizacija v državi, večkulturnost, etnični spopadi, vprašanja identitete, tranzicija iz socializma v kapitalizem itd. – ni kritičnih-kot-političnih umetniških projektov v devetdesetih letih, ali vsaj ne veliko. Kot piše

11 Ivana Vaseva in Filip Jovanovski, »Collective Action as Political, Not Organizational Decision«, *AICA Macedonia*, marec 2016, http://www.aica-macedonia.org.mk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/1-Vaseva-i-F-Jovsanovski-nagrada-AICA-2016_skratena-Eng.-v.-lektura.pdf – Temu ni nujno tako z vsemi umetniškimi produkcijami v zgodovini umetnosti na tem geografskem območju. Raziskava, ki govori o umetniški skupini in njeni politično naslovljeni »Kolektivni akciji kot politični, in ne organizacijski odločitvi«, pride do istega sklepa, da skupine niso izvedle nobenih tektonskih premikov v širšem zgodovinskem obdobju v Makedoniji od leta 1945 do prvega desetletja novega tisočletja. Glede na politično razsežnost umetnosti je pomembnejše družbeno vzdušje, ki so ga ustvarile: »to je bilo v momentu, ki ni vedno šel v smeri 'dvigovanja vplivne moči umetnosti'. Šlo je za bolj družabni moment, ki se ni nikoli razrasel v tkivo, ki bi razvilo politične poteze.«

12 Umanjkanje kritičnega duha – kritičnosti do ali kritiziranja nečesa v obliki polemik, pisnega polemiziranja in diskusij ali ocen in komentarjev je bila praksa tudi v devetdesetih letih, vendar se ni razvijala naprej in je lahko eden od razlogov, zakaj nimamo močne kritične umetnosti. To umanjkanje kritičnosti (a tudi nasprotno, kritičnost) bodisi na poklicnem področju (s strani umetnostnih kritikov ali umetniških delavcev) ali v širšem javnem diskurzu (pri publikih), ali ignoriranje še tako majhne kritike nečesa, kar je aktualno (na primer v družbenih medijih), govori o ekologiji umetnostnega konteksta, njenem političnem (ne)potencialu, a tudi o posledicah njenih preteklih dejanj. Zdi se, da je kontekst nevtraliziral kritični aparat, onemogočil nasprotnim polom, da bi sobivali in si skupaj prizadevali za spremembe, in s tem asimilirali in vase vsrkali kritične procese, podobno kot neoliberalizem, h kateremu se je obrnil v devetdesetih letih.

Nebojša Vilić, so se do konca devetdesetih let pojavili umetniki, ki so začeli kritično obravnavati realnost, vendar ne preko performansa. Zlatko Teodosievski se z Vilićem strinja in dodaja, da »v Makedoniji ni bilo ustvarjalne reakcije (niti) na leto 1968, v makedonski umetnosti manjka zavzetost, kakršno so pokazali slovenska skupina OHO, Marina Abramović, IRWIN ...«¹³

V teh okoliščinah je najina kuratorska strategija izrisati drug zemljevid, zemljevid performansa kot kritične umetnosti, kot geste znotraj večjega konteksta, vendar tudi videti, zakaj ga v umetnostni produkciji v naši državi ni. Ali, raziskovati politično, kritičnost in rekonfiguracijo čutnega, ne neposredno v performansu kot estetskem pojmu, temveč v *performance* [delovanju] kot razširjenem polju; tako raziskujeva in vključujeva geste, postopke, procese, metode, dogodke in prostore v umetnosti in na širšem kulturnem področju kot tudi v družbi. S tem raziskovanjem najino kuratorsko delo drugače izrisuje zgodovinske predpostavke ali dekonstruira razumevanje političnega v *performance* kot razširjenem polju.

Zemljevid in Zgodba

Za to bova uporabili de Certeaujev aforizem »kjer zemljevid prereže, jo zgodba ureže počez«. Tu se strinjava z Dwightom Conquergoodom, ki ta aforizem razume kot nakazovanje »transgresivnega potovanja med dvema različnima področjema znanja: eno je uradno, objektivno in abstraktno – 'zemljevid', drugo pa praktično, utelešeno in ljudsko – 'zgodba'.«¹⁴

Conquergood poudari, da tak transgresiven pristop k znanju ali, kot to opiše, »pogosto in neizbirčno prehajanje med različnimi načini vedenja« vsebuje najradikalnejši obet za raziskovalni študij performansa kot polja, ki odpira prostor med teorijo in prakso, analizami in akcijami, umetnostjo in družbo.¹⁵

13 Zlatko Teodosievski, »Architecture of the Aggression and (or) on the Art Engagé« [O projektu *Arhitektura agresije* Tomeja Adzиеvskega], *The Large Glass*, št. 14/15 (2001/2), str. 109.

14 Dwight Conquergood, »Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research«, *TDR* 46, št. 2 (poletje 2002), str. 145–156.

15 Prav tam.

Starting from here, we want to construct and draw another map of performance as one "realized" as resistance and a reaction to particular issues which informed, formed, and influenced the cultural field of performance and live art as critical in North Macedonia, while also using Conquergood's approach as a method of researching performance art and performance in general from this distance. Ana Vujanović points to the example of De Certeau's book *Practicing Everyday Life*, where he introduces a seminal distinction between strategies and tactics of life and living in modern society. She explains De Certeau distinguishing between strategies and tactics: *strategies belong to the order of social institutions and are characterized by certain products* (language, rights, customs, commercial products, culture, art, etc.), a physical place/space, their own history and tradition, while *tactics are primarily methodologies* (methods and techniques) of individualization and the adaptation of institutions to individual life. She says that *strategies of politicality* are created in the field of macro cultural policies, they are conducted via reproduction through individual cultural and artistic works, and projects, and are regulated by various forms of censorship. On the other hand, the tactics of the politicality of art belong to the domain of critical and proactive micro approaches and methodologies, as well as to singular interventions in the actual division of the sensible.¹⁶

It is in this sense that we will try to identify the *strategies and tactics* of critical art and politicality in the 1990s as performance, either as strategies that reproduce macro policies or as tactics that disturb them on a micro level.¹⁷ Thus we will search

16 Ana Vujanović, "Notes on Politicality of Contemporary Dance," in *Dance, Politics & Co-Immunity*, (eds.) Stefan Hölscher and Gerald Siegmund (Zürich: diaphanes AG, 2010/2013).

17 Slavčo Dimitrov and Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, "The 'Other' Body: Mapping the Archives of Choreographic Practices in Macedonia (1970-1990)," *Maska – Journal for Performing Arts* 32, no. 183-184 (June 2017): 9-44. Also, we can address them as ones that are *Symbolic body* - representative, performative gestures enclosed in the modernist autonomous art world as well as in the larger cultural field, and *ones that became Critical body* - critical, politically disturbing tactics as performative gestures and actions, where we can also see the appearance of the "Other body," which starts appearing in the 1970s, dissolves in the 1990s in North Macedonia, and reappears in the post-2000s. The other body is understood as a subject of art or the body of the very artist, not as a medium, artistic material, or tool (i.e., body as object or medium of art). Or the other body, not as something submitted to the

for strategies of the Symbolic body or strategies of reproduction of the socio-political context of the 1990s and tactics of the Critical body as critical art works or acts/gestures/events etc. or subversive cultural performances.

Macedonia the 1990s TRANSITION

The 1990s in this region are a period of history that is marked by a fratricidal war that dissolved a single large union – Yugoslavia – and privatized all aspects of society that were once civic and state-run, and furthered a sense of widespread nationalism. As if "one day you were living in one country and then you wake up in the same bed but in a completely different setting, and now find ourselves living the TRANSITION to the private, the civil, and the national.

Throughout the entire period Macedonia managed to keep out of the war, but the insurgency in the Republic of Macedonia or the armed conflict in Tetovo, which began when the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA) attacked the Macedonian security forces at the beginning of February 2001 and ended with the Ohrid Agreement, would be regarded as part of the Yugoslav wars. The main political issues of the 1990s consisted in internal affairs (Macedonian–Albanian relations as well as multiculturalism as discourse, corruption, privatization, irregular elections, controversial affairs (TAT), building national identity etc.) as well as external affairs involving Greece (the state name issue) and recognition as an independent country. With the first parliamentary elections held in the Republic of Macedonia (then still the Socialistic Republic of Macedonia) on 11 November 1990, after the introduction of political pluralism, the right-wing nationalist party gained a lot of support, and the decade as well as the entire political history of the country would be marked by three political forces: the nationalist or conservative VMRO – DPMNE, the social democratic party SKM – PDP (later SDSM), and the Albanian nationalist PDP (later other Albanian parties).

authority of a text, but the body which is "in its resistance to and slipping through signification practices, the body in its enduring and unavoidable and imminent materiality, and in relation to the dominant traditional-normative institutional frame as an artistic material or tool."

Na osnovi tega izhodišča želiva sestaviti in izrisati drug zemljevid performansa kot »realiziranega« v obliki odpora in reakcije na določena vprašanja, ki so oblikovala in vplivala na sedanje kulturno polje performansa in žive umetnosti kot kritične v Severni Makedoniji, pri čemer bova uporabili Conquergoodov pristop kot metodo za raziskovanje performansa kot umetnosti in splošnega *performance* s te razdalje.

Ana Vujanović za primer uporabi de Certeaujevo knjigo *Iznajdba vsakdanjosti. 1, umetnost delovanja*, v kateri uvaja bistveno razliko med strategijami in taktikami življenja v moderni družbi. Avtorica razloži de Certeaujevo razlikovanje med strategijami in taktikami tako: *strategije spadajo v red družbenih institucij in so zanje značilni določeni produkti* (jezik, pravice, običaji, komercialni proizvodi, kultura, umetnost, itd.), fizični kraj/prostor, njihova lastna zgodovina in tradicija, *taktike pa so v prvi vrsti metodologije* (metode in tehnike) individualizacije in prilagoditev institucij življenju posameznika. Nadalje pravi, da *strategije političnega* nastajajo v polju makrokulturnih politik, izpeljane so z reprodukcijo preko individualnih kulturnih in umetniških del in projektov, regulirajo pa jih razne oblike cenzure. Po drugi strani so taktike političnega umetnosti del področja kritičnih in proaktivnih mikropristopov in metodologij ter tudi posamične intervencije v dejansko delitev čutnega.¹⁶

V zvezi s tem bova skušali prepoznati *strategije in taktike* kritične umetnosti in političnega v devetdesetih letih kot *performance*, bodisi kot strategije, ki reproducirajo makropolitike, ali taktike, ki jih motijo na mikroravni.¹⁷ Tako bova

16 Ana Vujanović, »Notes on Politicality of Contemporary Dance«, v: *Dance, Politics & Co-Immunity*, ur. Stefan Hölscher in Gerald Siegmund (Zürich: diaphanes AG, 2010/2013).

17 Slavčo Dimitrov in Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, »Drugo' telo: Očrt arhiva koreografskih praks v Makedoniji (1970–1990)«, *Maska* 32, št. 183–184 (junij 2017), str. 9–44. O njih lahko govorimo tudi kot o tistih, ki so *Simbolično telo* - reprezentativne, performativne geste, zaprte v modernističnem avtonomnem umetnostnem svetu kot tudi v širšem kulturnem polju, in *tiste, ki postanejo Kritično telo* – kritične, politično moteče taktike kot performativne geste in dejanja, kjer lahko opazimo tudi pojav »Drugega telesa«, ki se začne pojavljati v sedemdesetih letih, razpade v devetdesetih letih v S.M., in se ponovno pojavi po letu 2000. Drugo telo je subjekt umetnosti ali telo samega umetnika, ne kot medij, umetniški material ali orodje (tj. telo kot objekt ali umetniški medij). Ali drugo telo, ne nekaj podvrženega avtoriteti besedila, ampak telo, ki »se upira in drsi skozi označevalne prakse, telo v vztrajni, neizogibni in neposredni materialnosti ter v povezavi

iskali strategije Simboličnega telesa ali strategije reprodukcije družbenopolitičnega konteksta devetdesetih let in taktike Kritičnega telesa kot kritična umetniška dela ali dejanja/geste/dogodke itd. ali subverzivno kulturno delovanje.

Makedonija Devetdeseta leta TRANZICIJA

Devetdeseta leta so v regiji zgodovinsko obdobje, zaznamovano z bratomorno vojno, ki je razbila veliko državno zvezo – Jugoslavijo in sprivatizirala vse vidike družbe, ki so bili nekoč državljanski in državni, ter v ospredje postavila nacionalizem. Kot če »bi en dan živel v eni državi, potem se pa zbudiš v isti postelji, vendar v povsem drugačnem okolju«, in zdaj živimo v TRANZICIJI v zasebno, civilno in nacionalno.

V vsem tem obdobju se je Makedonija držala ob strani in se ni vpletala v vojno, a kljub temu sta vstaja v Republiki Makedoniji in oboroženi spopad v Tetovu, ki se je začel, ko je militantna skupina etnično albanske narodnoosvobodilne vojske (NLA) napadla varnostne sile Makedonije na začetku februarja 2001, končal pa z Ohridskim sporazumom, veljala za del vojn v Jugoslaviji. Glavne politične teme v devetdesetih letih so bile notranje zadeve (makedonsko-albanski odnosi ter multikulturnost kot diskurz, korupcija, privatizacija, nepravilne volitve, afere (TAT), oblikovanje nacionalne identitete itd.) ter zunanje zadeve z Grčijo (problem imena) in mednarodnim priznanjem neodvisnosti države. Na prvih parlamentarnih volitvah v Republiki Makedoniji (ki je bila takrat še Socialistična republika Makedonija) 11. 11. 1990, po uvedbi političnega pluralizma, je desničarska nacionalistična stranka dobila veliko podporo. Vse desetletje in tudi vso politično zgodovino do današnjega dne so zaznamovale tri politične sile: nacionalistična ali konservativna VMRO–DPMNE, socialnodemokratska stranka SKM–PDP (pozneje SDSM) in albanska nacionalistična PDP (pozneje druge albanske stranke).

V polju vizualne umetnosti je prevladal pobeg v modernistično avtonomijo in še bolj se je okrepila želja po priznanju Zahoda. Tudi v gledališču in plesu

s prevladujočim tradicionalno-normativnim institucionalnim okvirom kot umetniški material ali pripomoček.«

The visual arts would fully embrace the escape to the modernist autonomy, and the desire for Western recognition would become even stronger. In theater and dance, a distinct leaning toward the West also dominated – in dramas and texts, in topics or directions in movement and collaborations with artists from the West etc. But what this period also saw in all art fields was a new orientation towards themes related to the establishment of a (new) national identity. This was the second major period in the history of art that would see groundbreaking shifts in strategic positioning – the first appeared in 1945, when the country established its first new institutions, and the second in the 1990s, when the country's institutions had to make the transformation from the socialist to the capitalist cultural model. Institutions started programming Western productions, so as to be perceived as modernized, or performing “modernization” as an aestheticizing of the repertoire; new public spaces as an independent cultural scene would appear that would promote internationalization of the program and collaboration. On the other hand, there were themes related to national identity; thus theater performances, music with “ethnic” elements, ballets with themes related to Macedonian national narratives, visual art works talking about “Us” and the “Other” etc. were produced at a time when ethnic divisions and clashes were making their own impact on the development of programs with a multicultural dimension. Thus, national symbolism was developing together with politically enhanced multiculturalism to form new key paradigms that would have their effects in the division and polarization of society and the new institutions of the future.

Post-socialist Macedonia, like post-socialist Eastern Europe in the 1990s, would also witness its “Soros realism,” an ambivalent term that was developed by Serbian theorist Miško Šuvaković and is related to the independent or non-institutional scene (civil society sector) in the (European) transitional countries of the 1990s, and continues today as so-called “foundation art.”¹⁸ The term is related to the thesis that the non-institutional scene in the region was critical of power and its cultural policies, but at the same time implemented neoliberal capitalist cultural policies that were directed through

18 Ana Vujanović, “Policije i Politike Izvedbe (Zapaljiva Roba. Pazljivo Rukovati),” *Teatron* 154/155 (Spring/Summer 2011): 21.

foundations and supported the scene. In the 1990s, the Soros Foundation¹⁹ led in creating the civil society sector and related organizations, but other foundations would soon follow.

Significant debate about the financing of the “cultural project” in the impoverished post-socialist countries, the relation between “centrist” and marginal ideas, the reasons why there was little complex sociological critique of the work of the Soros foundations, and the general development of the civil sector can be found in *Margina*, the only magazine dedicated to critical thinking and theory in Macedonia of that period.²⁰ We can say that this is the only source of critical reflection on the impact of “sorosrealizam” (in its specific form in the local context) and its effects in Macedonia at the time. The term *sorosrealizam*, as described by Šuvaković, points to its “late” effects in North Macedonia in recent history (2006–2017), when the country was under the governing right-wing VMRO-DPMNE, with Nikola Gruevski as prime minister. The term can be connected with the critical stance of the non-governmental scene towards political power, but also with recognition of the independent sector by the decision-making powers as unpatriotic and implementing (the) “foreign policies” (of the foundations). Amidst the infamous process of “desorosization” in 2016, 22 organizations in the civil sector were pressured and threatened by various institutions with audits of their documentation conducted by the Public Revenue Office in the presence of the police, a process that also included the Public Prosecution, MOI, the Financial Police, and Financial Intelligence Management.²¹

The term also opens up questions of unauthenticity related to critique coming from the independent scene, since it was directed by Soros and related foundations.²² Lazo Plavevski, in talking about the atmosphere in art at the end of the 1990s,

19 The name Soros Foundation is used colloquially and is used in the text for the Foundation Open Society Macedonia <https://fosm.mk/en/>

20 Polemics between Nikola Gelevski, editor of the magazine *Margina*, and Vladimir Milchin, director of the Soros Foundation in Macedonia. <https://zaum.mk/%d0%bc%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b3%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b1%d1%80-38/> <https://zaum.mk/%d0%bc%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b3%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b1%d1%80-39/>

21 For further reading, see: <https://prizma.mk/drzhavata-vo-stsenarioto-za-desorosoizatsija/>

22 Vujanović, “Policije i Politike Izvedbe,” 21.

je prevladovala usmeritev proti Zahodu – v besedilih in igrah, v temah in smereh gibanja, v sodelovanjih z zahodnimi umetniki itd. A v tem obdobju smo na vseh področjih umetnosti priča tudi liniji, ki se je usmerila k temam, povezanim z vzpostavljanjem (nove) nacionalne identitete. Gre za drugo večje obdobje v zgodovini umetnosti, v katerem je prišlo do prelomnih premikov v strateškem pozicioniranju – prvo obdobje je bilo po letu 1945, ko so se v državi oblikovale institucije, drugo pa v devetdesetih letih, kot je država morala svoje institucije preoblikovati iz socialističnega kulturnega modela v kapitalističnega. Institucije so začele v programe vključevati zahodno produkcijo, da bi jih dojemali kot modernizirane, ali pa so »modernizacijo« izvajale kot estetizacijo repertoarja; pojavili so se novi javni prostori kot neodvisna kulturna scena, ki se je zavzemala za internacionalizacijo programa in sodelovanje. Po drugi strani so se pojavile teme, povezane z nacionalno identiteto, tako da so nastajale gledališke predstave in glasba z »etničnimi« prvinami, balet s temami, povezanimi z makedonskimi nacionalnimi narativi, vizualna umetniška dela, ki govorijo o »Nas« in »Drugem«. itd., medtem ko so etnični razdori in spopadi obenem hromili razvoj programov z večkulturno razsežnostjo. Tako sta se skupaj razvijala nacionalni simbolizem in politično poudarjena večkulturnost kot ključni paradigmi, ki sta imeli svoje a(e)efekte v razkolu in polarizaciji družbe in novih institucij v prihodnosti.

Posocialistična Makedonija kot posocialistična Vzhodna Evropa je bila v devetdesetih letih priča tudi »sorosrealizmu« – ta dvoumni izraz je skoval srbski teoretik Miško Šuvaković, nanaša pa se na neodvisno ali neinstitucionalno sceno (sektor civilne družbe) v tranzicijskih državah od devetdesetih let do danes kot t. i. »fundacijska umetnost«.¹⁸ Izraz je povezan s tezo, da je bila neinstitucionalna scena v regiji kritična do oblasti in njenih kulturnih politik, vendar je obenem izvajala kulturne politike neoliberalnega kapitalizma, dirigirane s strani fundacij, ki so sceno podpirale. V devetdesetih letih je Sorosov sklad¹⁹ vodil pri oblikovanju civilnodružbenega sektorja in organizacij, pozneje so mu sledile še druge fundacije.

18 Ana Vujanović, »Policije i Politike Izvedbe (Zapaljiva Roba. Pazljivo Rukovati)«, *Teatron* 154/155, (pomlad/poletje 2011): str. 21.

19 Ime Sorosov sklad je uporabljeno pogovorno in tako kot v besedilu Foundation Open Society Macedonia <https://fosm.mk/en/>

Pomembne razprave o financiranju »kulturnega projekta« v obubožanih posocialističnih deželah, o odnosu med »centralnimi« in obrobni idejami, o tem, zakaj ni več kompleksne sociološke kritike o delu Sorosovega sklada, in o splošnem razvoju »civilnega sektorja« lahko najdemo v edini reviji, posvečeni kritični misli in teoriji v Makedoniji v tistem obdobju, z naslovom *Margina*.²⁰ Rečemo lahko, da edinole tu najdemo kritično refleksijo o vplivu »sorosrealizma« (v njegovi specifični obliki v lokalnem kontekstu) v tistem času in o njegovih učinkih v Makedoniji. »*Sorosrealizam*« je termin, ki ga je skoval Šuvaković, lahko pa rečemo, da ima v Severni Makedoniji »zapoznele« učinke v nedavni zgodovini (2006–2017), ko sta državi vladala desničarska VMRO-DPMNE in Nikola Gruevski kot predsednik vlade. Izraz se lahko navezuje na kritičnost nevladne scene do politične oblasti, a tudi na to, da strukture oblasti z močjo odločanja v neodvisnem sektorju vidijo nedomoljubne izvajalce »tujih politik« (tj. politik fundacij). V zloglasnem postopku »desorosizacije« leta 2016 so institucije grozile 22 organizacijam kot delu civilnega sektorja in nanje izvajale pritiske z dolgotrajnimi revizijskimi postopki, ki jih je izvajala davčna uprava ob prisotnosti policije. V postopek so bili vključeni tudi javno tožilstvo, MOI, finančna policija in uprava za finančno obveščanje.²¹

Ta izraz načenja tudi vprašanje nepristnosti kritike s strani neodvisne scene, saj so jo vodili Soros in fundacije.²² Ko je Lazo Plavevski govoril o vzdušju umetnosti v poznih devetdesetih letih in priznal neko utrujenost proti koncu desetletja, je razkril nekatere od politik in usmeritev fundacij: »pojav neodvisnih fundacij, zainteresiranih za podporo določenim tendencam, ki so delno združljive z nekaterimi interesi naših umetnikov, zelo pogosto, čeprav ne nujno, mladih.«²³

Po drugi strani je ta pojem zelo kompleksen in se je v vsakem kontekstu zelo različno odrazil. V

20 Polemike med Nikolo Gelevskim, urednikom revije *Margina*, in Vladimirjem Milchinom, direktorjem Sorosovega sklada v Makedoniji. <https://zaum.mk/%d0%bc%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b3%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b1%d1%80-38/> <https://zaum.mk/%d0%bc%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b3%d0%b8%d0%bd%d0%b0-%d0%b1%d1%80-39/>

21 Za dodatno branje glej: <https://prizma.mk/drzhavata-vo-stsenarioto-za-desorosoizatsija/>

22 Vujanović, »Policije i Politike Izvedbe«, str. 21.

23 Lazo Plavevski, »Fatigue«, *The Large Glass*, no. 12/13 (2000/1), str. 34.

acknowledged a certain fatigue towards the end of the decade and revealed some of the foundation's politics and directions: "the appearance of independent foundations interested in supporting certain tendencies partially compatible with some interests of our artists, very often, but not necessarily, young ones."²³

However, the term is very complex and was manifested very differently in each context. In Macedonia during the 1990s, *sorosrealizam* was largely neutral rather than critical, since the politics of the foundation were related to the politics of power and to transforming society into a civil, democratic society, from a socialist to a capitalistic neoliberal one. Thus, there was little criticism of the decision-makers, as criticism of certain politics, especially in the beginning of the 1990s, was rather a collaborative process between the state and civil society in the creation and realization of the "internationalization" of programs as indirect criticism of outdated or traditional art scenes. They also worked together in the development of the institutions, national identity, and its symbolic dimension. The newly formed non-institutional scene in the 1990s was the creation of the Soros Foundation, and was aimed at "modernization" or "internationalization" through the establishment and development of new annual exhibition events, new spaces, calls for support, festivals, and other relevant international and Western-oriented events, as well as contexts for commissioning art related to multimedia projects and interdisciplinarity. Thus, here, the penetration of the neoliberal agenda is evident as a strategy to create another art and culture paradigm that would open Macedonia up and bring it closer to the Western world and its new institutional paradigm.

As Vujanović also says,²⁴ the complexity of the notion of *sorosrealizam* lies in the fact that the politics of neoliberalism itself is so flexible and assimilative that its cultural policies include numerous and diverse artistic discourses, contents, and positions, from the creative industries to socially critical art. They did not all emerge as its strategic realizations, and in the past they arose from autochthonous practices of critical subjects,

23 Lazo Plavevski, "Fatigue," *The Large Glass*, no. 12/13 (2000/1): 34.

24 Vujanović, "Policije i Politike Izvedbe," 21.

which the neoliberal system easily digests, assimilates, and even supports as a form of control and as confirmation of its liberalness. In this sense, she says diachronically speaking, critical practices of the non-institutional or independent art scene in the region cannot, in principle, be called inauthentic and commissioned, but from a synchronic perspective are mediated by their structural transformation of the neoliberal system.

Overall, amidst the internal and external turmoil, the general atmosphere in art was promising, euphoric, and full of creative energy. Huge financial input was injected into the country, and many events were going on, all of which eventually led to artists participating in huge international exhibitions by famous curators staged in the countries of former Yugoslavia and abroad.

Artists Žaneta Vangeli and Slavica Janešlieva wrote of the period: "After an interval of 12 years, the 1990s seem unbelievable, unreal, unforgettable, and marked by a stimulated transition and tremendous energy to transcend it, (un)controlled entropy with all its dynamics, but also a huge, unstoppable sense of euphoria and blessing at the same time... It is one of the most intense periods in the history of the Western Balkans. It was a decade of change, faith, hope, possibility, and imagination without limits. A period of grief after the loss, but also of euphoric happiness and inspiration in the challenge of creation."²⁵

But, on the political side – which we addressed in the beginning of this text – no sign of a critical political gesture in art. We talk about the political more in the context of representational and constative art projects and not in active participation and engagement in the socio-political context. For Nebojša Vilić, this constative activity appears for the first time in the 1990s, in reference to international art projects. He says that the late 1980s and early 1990s saw different appearances of a critical approach to the social reality (in the form of "pseudo-committed" art as well as trans-, neo- and post-committed art etc.), but all ended in a form of "constative critique" as a way

25 Žaneta Vangeli and Slavica Janešlieva, "90's: Macedonian Art 1990-2000: EUPHORIA," exhibition *SKOPJE: THE ULTIMATE GOLDEN COLLECTION OF PERSONAL MEMORIES 1960-2010 vol. 1*, curated by Ivana Vaseva, Filip Jovanovski and Jovanka Popova in 2011.

Makedoniji v devetdesetih letih je bil sorosrealizem bolj nevtralen kot kritičen, saj je bila politika fundacije v odnosu do politike moči; šlo je za preobrazbo družbe v civilno, demokratično, iz socialistične v kapitalistično, neoliberalno. Zato kritika do odločevalcev ni bila prisotna kot kritika do določene politike, še zlasti ne na začetku devetdesetih let, ampak je šlo bolj za sodelovalne procese države in civilne družbe v ustvarjanju in realizaciji »internacionalizacije« programov kot posredne kritike zastarelih ali tradicionalnih umetniških scen. Sodelovali so tudi pri razvijanju institucij, nacionalne identitete in njene simbolike. Novooblikovano neinstitucionalno sceno v devetdesetih letih je ustvaril Sorosov sklad, naravnana pa je bila k »modernizaciji« in »internacionalizaciji« z ustanavljanjem in razvijanjem novih vsakoletnih razstav, novih prostorov, pozivov k podpori, festivalov in drugih relevantnih mednarodnih in zahodno usmerjenih dogodkov ter tudi kontekstov za naročanje umetnin, povezanih z multimedijскими projekti in interdisciplinarnostjo. Tako je tukaj jasno viden vdor neoliberalne agende kot strategije za ustvarjanje druge umetnostne in kulturne paradigme, ki bi Makedonijo odprla in jo približala zahodnemu svetu in njegovi novi institucionalni paradigmi.

Kot nadalje pravi Vujnovičeva,²⁴ je kompleksnost pojma sorosrealizem v tem, da je politika neoliberalizma sama po sebi tako fleksibilna in asimilativna, da njena kulturna politika vključuje številne raznolike umetniške diskurze, vsebine in pozicije, od kreativnih industrij do družbeno kritične umetnosti. Vsi se ne pojavijo kot strateške realizacije in v preteklosti so izhajali iz avtohtonih praks kritičnih subjektov, kar neoliberalni sistem z lahkoto prebavi, asimilira in celo podpira kot obliko nadzora in potrditev svoje liberalnosti. V tem smislu, pravi avtorica, gledano diahrono, za kritične prakse neinstitucionalne ali neodvisne scene v regiji ne moremo reči, da so neavtentične ali naročene, vendar pa s sinhronega gledišča nanje vpliva strukturno-transformacijska plat neoliberalnega sistema.

Na splošno je sredi internega in zunanega nemira občje vzdušje v umetnosti veljalo za uspešno in evforično ter polno ustvarjalne energije. Država je dobila ogromno finančno injekcijo in vrstili so

24 Vujanović, »Policije i Politike Izvedbe«, str. 21.

se številni dogodki, ki so na koncu vsi vodili do sodelovanja umetnikov na obsežnih mednarodnih razstavah slavnih kustosov, ki so se odvijale v državah nekdanje Jugoslavije in v tujini.

Umetnici Žaneta Vangeli in Slavica Janešlieva sta o tem obdobju zapisali: »Po preteku 12 let so se devetdeseta leta zdela neverjetna, nerealna, nepozabna in zaznamovana s stimulirano tranzicijo in izjemno energijo, da bi jo presegli, (ne) kontrolirano entropijo z vso njeno dinamiko, a tudi ogromno, neustavljivo evforijo in blagoslovom obenem ... Zgodovinsko gledano je to eno najintenzivnejših obdobij zahodnega Balkana. To je bilo desetletje sprememb, vere, upanja, možnosti in domišljije brez meja. Obdobje žalovanja po izgubi, a tudi evforične sreče in navdiha v izzivu ustvarjanja.«²⁵

A kar se tiče politične plati, ki sva se je že dotaknili na začetku tega besedila, v umetnosti ni bilo nobenega znaka kritične politične geste. Politično je bolj v reprezentacijskih in konstativnih umetniških projektih, in ne v aktivnem sodelovanju in angažmaju v družbenopolitičnem kontekstu. Za Nebojšo Vilića se ta konstativna dejavnost prvič pojavi v devetdesetih letih in se nanaša na mednarodne umetniške projekte. Pravi, da se je v poznih osemdesetih in zgodnjih devetdesetih letih pojavilo več različnih kritičnih pristopov k družbeni realnosti (v obliki »psevdoangažirane« umetnosti kot tudi trans-, neo- in postangažirane umetnosti), vendar so se vsi iztekli v obliko »konstativne kritike« kot načina »angažmaja v umetnosti devetdesetih let, ki je pomenil zgolj konstatiranje splošnega stanja in odnosov.«²⁶ Ne spušča pa se v podrobnosti o projektih makedonskih umetnikov, kar je tudi v skladu s to tezo.

Ta čas tranzicije, prehoda k nečemu, a tudi čas čakanja, da se to nekaj zgodi, je imel dovolj časa in energije, volje, da kaj zgradi, a tudi strahu, da bo tisto nekaj subvertirano, kot da bo zdaj zdaj prišlo do nove federacije, na kar so čakali vsi, ki so na referendumu leta 1991 glasovali »za«: »Ali ste za

25 Žaneta Vangeli in Slavica Janešlieva, »90's: Macedonian Art 1990-2000: EUPHORIA«, razstava *SKOPJE: THE ULTIMATE GOLDEN COLLECTION OF PERSONAL MEMORIES 1960-2010 vol. 1*, kustosi Ivana Vaseva, Filip Jovanovski in Jovanka Popova leta 2011.

26 Небојша Вилиќ, »Констативна критика«, *Културен живот* št. 7-8, str. 11.

of “engagement in the art of the 1990s that only meant a constating of the general condition and relations.”²⁶ But he doesn’t go into any details about any project of the Macedonian artists, which is also consistent with this thesis.

This time of transition, both towards something but also as a time of waiting for that something to happen, was characterized by money and energy, by a will to build something, but also by the fear that that something would be subverted, as if at any time the new federation would emerge as everyone who voted “yes” to the referendum in 1991 was expecting: “Are you for a sovereign and independent state of Macedonia, with the right to enter into any future alliance with the sovereign states of Yugoslavia?”²⁷ This unanswered political potential would completely disappear by the turn of the century and bring with it an even bigger political crisis.

We are included in “the map” and “the story”

The tactics of the politicality of art, which were part of the domain of critical and proactive approaches and methodologies, as well as singular interventions in the actual division of the sensible and which disturbed the “neutral” political context of the 1990s, can be found in the following selection of art works, performative gestures, events, processes, spaces etc. They can be seen as part of McKenzie’s cultural performance, or as an engagement of social norms, as an ensemble of activities with the potential to uphold societal arrangements or, alternatively, to change people and societies. Their effects spread beyond the art field and the aesthetic, though engaging the aesthetic as part of the sensible, and had their influence in the later manifestations of the subversive actions of the independent cultural scene in the post-2000s. Hitherto, moderation of critical politicality was effected through the implementation of policies driven by international foundations that “navigated” the critical apparatus into a moderate tone. Critical thinking was

26 Небојша Вилиќ, “Констативна критика,” *Културен живот*, 7–8: 11.

27 The original in Macedonian is: Дали сте за суверена и независна држава Македонија, со право на влез во иден сојуз на суверените држави на Југославија? ЗА ---- ПРОТИВ.

present in the projects, strategies, and programs developed in the civil sector in Macedonia later in the 2000s (2006–2016), but the reasons for that are not embedded in the discourse of the 1990s. What we also notice in this period was the critical tactics supported by the foundations (which can be also seen as possible late “Sorosrealism” related to “Gruevski power” in Macedonia), which enabled small initiatives by artists and organizations from the civil sector to become visible and have effects on the larger population, which eventually resulted in massive protests, and later, in a shift in the political scene. Cultural performance of the 1990s had its effects in the post-2000s in the public sphere, but still not in the field of art. We notice that the development of the critical dispositive, which would also support reforms and the penetration of new art forms, has to be supported by the system, by education as well as by institutions. Besides some modernization of the institutional repertoire we were unable to see any substantial reforms in education, culture, or the art institutions themselves. As already mentioned, performance as an aesthetic form was not very present in North Macedonia; however, the post-2000s started to see some development through collaboration among local artists and organizations with others from the larger region and internationally, thus effecting certain changes in the field of performance, like dance, theater, visual art, and music.

CULTURAL PERFORMANCE AT WORK

1.1. Performative gestures as political performances

In the history of the visual arts in Macedonia certain art works can be regarded “performance,” due in particular to the strength of their political potential and their processual nature. We see processuality and potentiality as the performative action of these works as a certain working mode, a gesture that is political and important as an object of research and deserving of presentation in this context. Other works also experimented with performative actions, and these art works are often experiments, one-time actions and bursts of something new and provocative, often labelled as happenings and actions and not recognized as performance but as “upgrades” of certain installations and objects. Bearing in mind that in this context the 1990s meant the “Westernization” of the artistic

samostojno in neodvisno državo Makedonijo, ki bo imela pravico vstopati v kakršnekoli prihodnje povezave s samostojnimi državami Jugoslavije?»²⁷ Ta neizpolnjeni politični potencial bo povsem izginil ob koncu stoletja in prinesel le še večjo politično krizo.

Vključimo se v »zemljevid« in »zgodbo«

V izboru umetniških del, performativnih gest, dogodkov, procesov, prostorov itd., ki sledi, lahko najdemo taktike političnosti umetnosti, ki so del področja kritičnih in proaktivnih pristopov in metodologij, kot tudi posamične posege v dejansko delitev čutnega, ki motijo »nevtralni« politični kontekst v devetdesetih letih. Vidimo jih lahko kot del McKenziejevega kulturnega delovanja ali kot vpletanje družbenih norm, kot skup dejavnosti s potencialom, da vzdržujejo družbene ureditve ali, alternativno, spreminjajo ljudi in družbe. Njihovi učinki se širijo onkraj polja umetnosti in estetskega, a zajemajo estetsko kot del čutnega in vplivajo na poznejše oblikovanje subverzivnih akcij neodvisne kulturne scene v novem tisočletju. Do tedaj se je zmernost kritične političnosti vzdrževala preko politik, ki so jih izvajale mednarodne fundacije, ki so »krmarile« kritični aparat v zmerne tone. Kritično mišljenje je prisotno v projektih, strategijah in programih, razvitih v civilnem sektorju v Makedoniji pozneje v novem tisočletju (od leta 2006 do 2016), a razlogi zanj niso vgrajeni v diskurz devetdesetih let. V tem obdobju lahko opazimo tudi to, da so fundacije podpirale kritične taktike (kar lahko razložimo kot možni pozni sorosrealizem, povezan z »močjo Gruevskega« v Makedoniji), kar je majhnim iniciativam umetnikov in civilnega sektorja omogočalo, da so postale vidne in učinkovale na širšo populacijo, kar je na koncu pripeljalo do množičnih protestov in pozneje premika na politični sceni. Kulturno delovanje devetdesetih let je imelo po letu 2000 učinek na javno sfero, na polju umetnosti pa še ne. Opazimo lahko, da mora imeti razvoj kritičnega dispozitiva, ki bo tudi podprl reforme in prodor novih umetnostnih oblik, podporo sistema, tako izobraževanja kot institucij. Razen modernizacije institucionalnega repertoarja nismo videli nobenih večjih reform v izobraževanju, kulturi in umetnostnih institucijah.

27 Izvirnik v makedonščini Дали сте за суверена и независна држава Македонија, со право на влез во иден сојуз на суверените држави на Југославија? ЗА ---- ПРОТИВ

Kot že omenjeno, performans kot estetska oblika v Severni Makedoniji ni bil zelo prisoten, a po letu 2000 se je začel razvijati preko sodelovanja med lokalnimi umetniki in organizacijami z drugimi iz regije in mednarodno ter je tako vplival na določene spremembe v polju izvajanja, kot je ples, gledališče, vizualna umetnost in glasba.

KULTURNO DELOVANJE V PRAKSI

1.1. Performativne geste kot politični performansi

V zgodovini vizualne umetnosti v Makedoniji lahko na določena umetniška dela gledamo kot na »performanse«, še zlasti zaradi moči njihovega političnega potenciala in njihove procesne narave. Meniva, da sta procesnost in potencial kot performativno dejanje teh del določen delovni način, gesta, ki je politična in jo je kot tako pomembno raziskati in predstaviti v tem kontekstu. Tudi nekatera druga dela eksperimentirajo s performativnimi akcijami; ta umetniška dela so pogosto eksperimenti, enkratne akcije in izbruhi nečesa novega in provokativnega. Mnogokrat so označena za happeninge in akcije, in ne prepoznana kot performans, ampak pogosto kot »nadgradnja« instalacij in objektov. Če upoštevamo, da so v tem kontekstu devetdeseta leta pomenila »pozahodnjenje« umetniškega diskurza, moramo načeti in temeljito odgovoriti na več vprašanj: »Če je tendenca slediti zahodnim umetnostnim paradigmam, zakaj je potem izpuščen performans, če lahko rečemo, da se performans pojavlja v vsem 20. stoletju, še zlasti uspešno v praksah v šestdesetih letih? Ali je obdobje šestdesetih let kot pomembno obdobje eksperimentiranja in izbruha ustvarjalnosti nekaj, kar je naš institucionalizirani modernizem namerno prezrli ali čemur je namenil premalo pozornosti, in namesto tega favoriziral, denimo, informel ali tradicionalno gledališče in klasični ples? Zakaj niso telesni eksperimenti drugačnih razsežnosti in moči 'zanimivi' za umetnike v Makedoniji? Ali 'svet umetnosti' (Dikie in Danto), ki so ga ustvarile modernistične institucije, ki so krojile makedonski umetniški diskurz in favorizirale dela visokega modernizma, obide vse druge umetniške eksperimente?»²⁸

28 Сузана Милевска, »Перфекционизмот на послушните (Или, зошто Биеналето на младите делува така класично)«, *ОПА Fondacija*, september 1991, <https://zaum.mk/wp->

discourse, the question that remains to be broached and thoroughly answered is this: "If the tendency is the pursuit of Western art paradigms, then why did performance miss out, if we can say that performance appears through the whole of the 20th century and particularly flourishes with the practices of the 1960s? The 1960s were a significant period of experimentation and saw a burst of creativity, something our institutionalized modernism deliberately ignored or granted insignificant attention, favoring instead Art Informel or traditional theater and classical dance. Why are bodily experiments of different scales and strengths not 'interesting' for artists in Macedonia? Does the 'art world' (Dikie and Danto) created by the modernistic institutions that tailored Macedonian art discourse and favored high modernist works circumvent all other artistic experiments?"²⁸

One answer to these questions may be because performance was regarded as a critical act, a new "genre" and "medium" that is open and subversive, that shakes and questions the institutionalizing (still not quite institutionalized) modernism, or opposes the historically important "nation building" process as currency that some artists turn to. On the other hand, the traditional understanding and division of the arts was very present, in which the body as medium was used and understood in a very classical sense. Thus, new and critical experiments worked with other, familiar media used in the past, and the body was modernized in dance, transformed by text in theater and rarely used as text in performance in the visual arts. The new body, or the other body of the artist,²⁹ was

28 Сузана Милевска, "Перфекционизмот на послушните (Или, зошто Биеналето на младите делува така класично)," *OPA Fondacija*, September 1991, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/1991_09_18_Perfekcionizmot_na_poslushnite.pdf. Suzana Milevska in her text "Перфекционизмот на послушните (Или, зошто Биеналето на младите делува така класично)," poses the question related to the lack of happenings and interventions from the exhibition in 1991 and the reasons the MoCA prefers clean and neat, modernistic works and marginalizes any other works. There is a reaction to this text, in: Викторија Васева Димеска, "За една потисната ексцентричност," *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1991_10_02_Za_edna_potisnata_ekscentricnost.pdf – and in a certain way confirms that Museum's involvement in paving the way for some artists' expression, as follows: "because if it wasn't the museum, all these years to amputate what material to use and with what kind of handwriting to express themselves they would not have reached the throne of the Yugoslav art scene."

29 Dimitrov and Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, "The 'Other' Body": 9–44.

rarely understood, accepted, and used as such in performance as an aesthetic element or as an art form. There were some appearances before the 1990s that were not stimulated to grow, reflected, or furthered, and were thus left out to disappear by themselves.

On the other hand, there are performative gestures that we consider political acts in their processuality and potentiality, and which are sometimes effectuated as an action that accompanies the art work and how it is presented, and sometimes it is the process that creates the work or through which it is created. These gestures are political acts in their potentiality, which as an act is not actualized as a presence, but is in a state of rupture between something that has not happened and something that has yet to happen. They reject the contemporary processes of actualization and do not participate in the exploitation of the totality of the experience of the presence.³⁰

The performative gesture can be located in artworks but also in events, actions, and manifestations that have a constructed setting, one in which artists and cultural workers want to make a critical stance, to point to a certain injustice in the socio-political and artistic context, to take a position in the situation. While not realized as an object or work, it is a performance that acts in its potentiality. This performativity often implies politicality that has the strength to disturb the general status of art, but is either marginalized or is not "read" as such.

While some of these questions and ruminations remain to be tackled and extensively discussed in future research, there are several endeavors in the current question that oscillates between performance and the political that merit mention. Also, this research does not attempt to write the entire history of political performance in the country; instead, it is only a first attempt in this direction, and we are hoping that it may stimulate discussion and further research.

30 Bojana Kunst, "On Potentiality and the Future Performance," March 2009, <https://kunstbody.wordpress.com/2009/03/13/on-potentiality-and-the-future-of-performance/>

Eden od možnih odgovorov na ta vprašanja je to, da so na performans gledali kot na kritično dejanje, kot na nov »žanr« ali »medij«, ki je odprt in subverziven, ki pretresa (še ne povsem) institucionalizirani modernizem ali dvomi vanj ali pa se upira zgodovinsko pomembnemu procesu »oblikovanja naroda« kot vrednosti, h kateri se obračajo nekateri umetniki. Po drugi strani sta bila zelo prisotna tradicionalna razumevanje in delitev umetnosti, v katerih je bil medij telesa uporabljan in razumljen zelo klasično. Tako so novi in kritični eksperimenti delali z drugimi, znanimi mediji, ki so jih uporabljali v preteklosti, telo pa se je moderniziralo v plesu, preoblikovalo z besedilom v gledališču in bilo redkokdaj uporabljeno kot besedilo v performansu v vizualni umetnosti. Novo telo ali drugo telo umetnika²⁹ je bilo redko razumljeno, sprejeto in uporabljeno kot tako v performansu kot estetski ali umetniški obliki. Bilo je nekaj pojavov pred devetdesetimi leti, vendar so brez spodbude za rast, refleksijo ali nadaljevanje sami od sebe zamrli.

Na drugi strani so performativne geste, ki jih zaradi njihove procesnosti in potenciala štejeva za politična dejanja, ki so včasih izvršene kot akcija, ki spremlja umetniško delo in način njegove predstavitve, včasih pa je proces tisto, kar ustvari delo ali skozi katerega delo nastane. Te geste so politična dejanja v svoji potencialnosti, ki kot dejanje ni udejanjena v prisotnosti, ampak je v prelomu med nečem, kar se ni zgodilo, in nečem, kar se še mora zgoditi. Odklanjajo sodobne procese udejanjanja in ne sodelujejo v izkoriščanju totalnosti izkušnje prisotnosti.³⁰

content/uploads/2018/09/1991_09_18_Perfekcionizmot_na_poslushnite.pdf. Suzana Milevska v besedilu »Перфекционизмот на послушните (Или, зошто Биеналето на младите делува така класично)« zastavlja vprašanje o odsotnosti happeningov in intervencij na razstavah leta 1991 in o razlogih, zakaj so MSU-ju ljubša čista modernistična dela in zakaj marginalizira vsa druga dela. Odziv na njeno besedilo je v Viktorija Vasева Димеска, »За една потисната ексцентричност«, *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1991_10_02_Za_edna_potisnata_ekscentricnost.pdf in na neki način potrjuje vpletenost muzeja v tlakovanje poti za izražanje nekaterih umetnikov, saj »če ne bi bilo muzeja, ki je vsa ta leta odločal, kateri materiali naj se uporabljajo in v kakšni pisavi naj se izražajo, se ne bi povzpeli na prestol jugoslovanske umetnostne scene.«

29 Dimitrov in Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, »'Drugo' telo«, str. 9–44.

30 Bojana Kunst, *On Potentiality and the Future Performance*, marec 2009, <https://kunstbody.wordpress.com/2009/03/13/on-potentiality-and-the-future-of-performance/>

Performativno gesto lahko najdemo v umetniških delih, a prav tako tudi v dogodkih, akcijah in manifestacijah, ki se odvijajo v skonstruiranem okviru, v katerem hočejo umetniki in kulturni delavci zavzeti kritično stališče, opozoriti na določeno krivico v družbenopolitičnem in umetniškem kontekstu, zavzeti držo v situaciji, vendar ni realizirana kot objekt ali delo, ampak je performans, ki deluje v svoji potencialnosti. Ta performativnost pogosto implicira politično, ki ima moč, da zmoti obči status umetnosti, a je ali marginalizirano ali pa se ga ne »bere« kot takega.

Medtem ko se bo nekaterih od teh vprašanj in razmišljanj treba lotiti in o njih obširno razpravljati v prihodnjih raziskavah, je v tej sedanjosti, ki niha med performansom in političnim, vredno omeniti več prizadevanj. Poleg tega ta raziskava ne skuša zabeležiti vse zgodovine političnega performansa v državi, ampak je le prvi poskus v tej smeri in upava, da bo spodbudila diskusije in nadaljnje raziskave.

Iskra Dimitrova je umetnica, ki je delovala v devetdesetih letih s performansi in instalacijami, zelo pogosto v multimedijiski izvedbi. V umetniških projektih uporablja svojo lastno mitologijo in različne simbole in materiale, a tudi svoje telo kot gesto, obred, ritual, da ustvarja ali »uprizarja« določena vzdušja ...³¹ Je ena redkih umetnic, ki je v devetdesetih letih govorila o feminizmu in ženski, v njenem primeru v liku »anime«. A za projekt *ČB (Čudovita bitja)*, ki ga je predstavila na Beneškem bienalu leta 1999, pravijo, da odraža »protest proti sedanjemu stanju na Balkanu, še zlasti v Makedoniji«. ³² V tem delu Dimitrova sedi v gondoli, v kateri je črna krsta s pozlačenim okrasjem, v katero je na mehko belo ogrinjalo položeno zrcalo, ter z megafonom v rokah pripoveduje romantično zgodbo o čudežnih hroščih. Z gondolo potuje po beneških kanalih od Trga sv. Marka do Giardinov in nazaj.

Aleksandar Stankoski je predvsem slikar in konceptualni umetnik, ki je bil dejaven v eksperimentalni skupini Zero v osemdesetih letih. Poleg tega je izvedel več različnih performativnih akcij z Zlatkom Trajkoskim Hinkijem in Miodragom

31 Liljana Nedelkova, »Iskra Dimitrova's Other Speech«, *The Large Glass*, št. 3 (1996), str. 39.

32 Katalog lahko najdete tu: <https://www.opafondacija.org/zaum/wc-wonderful-creatures-creature-meravigliose/>

Iskra Dimitrova is an artist who was quite active in the 1990s with her performances and installation works, often executed in a multimedia treatment. In her art projects she uses her own mythology and various symbols and materials, but also her own body as a gesture, ritual, creating or “staging” specific atmospheres.³¹ She is one of the few artists that talked about femininity and the female in the 1990s, in her case in the figure of “anima.” But her project *WC (Wonderful Creatures)* presented at the Venice Biennale in 1999, was said to reflect “a protest against the current situation in the Balkans, and in Macedonia in particular.”³² In this work, Dimitrova was seated in a gondola where a black coffin with gilded ornaments was placed, in which a mirror was laid on a soft white shroud, and with a megaphone in her hands narrated a romantic story of magic beetles. The gondola cruised along the canals of Venice from San Marco to Giardini and back.

Aleksandar Stankoski is primarily a painter and conceptual artist, who was active in the experimental group Zero in the 1980s. He has also produced different performative actions with Zlatko Trajkoski Hinki and Miodrag Desoski, but in this selection we include *Maklabas*, a full-length experimental video film (later transferred to celluloid)³³ which “often resembled a series of performances.”³⁴ The film was written and directed by Stankoski and produced by Vlatko Galevski, who was also director of photography. It involved the participation and efforts of many artists, cultural workers, and friends active on the art and cultural scene in 1990s, or the so-called Skopje underground, or at least people that identified as such in the 1990s.³⁵ In the film, Stankoski anticipates the future political developments in the country in a parodic way,

31 Liljana Nedelkovska, “Iskra Dimitrova’s Other Speech,” *The Large Glass*, no. 3 (1996): 39.

32 See the catalogue here: <https://www.opafondacija.org/zaum/wc-wonderful-creatures-creature-meravigliose/>

33 Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, “Development of Electronic Art in Macedonia,” graduation thesis, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje, Faculty of Philosophy, Institute of History of Art and Archeology, 1998.

34 Aleksandar Stankoski, “Interview with Abbe Busoni for Margina,” *Margina*, no. 26–28, (April, May, June 1996), 36. https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/1996_05_00_Margina_26_28.pdf

35 See part of the script here: https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1997_03_00_Margina_-40.pdf

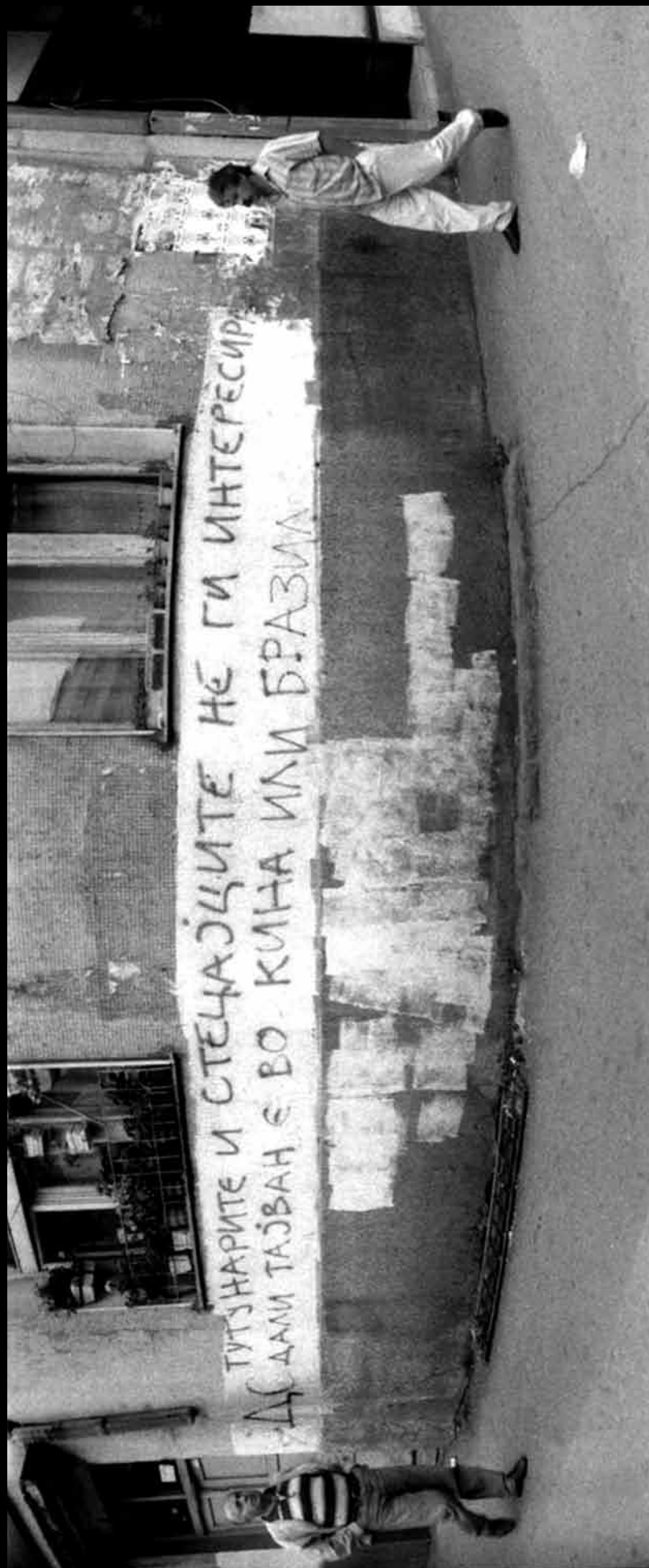
or as he says, “Maklabas is a parody – but also a critique – of some aspects of the Balkan man, who in those times (and still today) was faced with big political, social, and cultural problems.”³⁶ As announced in the production leaflet, the story is a metaphorical view of the post-communist and pre-information-age chaos in South East Europe, seen through the underground, intelligence and political aspects, with implications of the coming apocalyptic ecology.

Igor Toševski emerged from the Zero group (1985–1990), developing his own individual expression that is recognizable in all of his later conceptual projects and installations. His work *Dossier 96*, made in the midst of the privatization process of state-owned factories in Macedonia, speaks about this phenomenon and the production of discarded products (шкарт/skart – rejects, refuse), linking them to the ready-made, the positioning of the artist, and art’s social role under such circumstances. Throughout 1996, the artist travelled around Macedonia visiting several bankrupt factories (Porcelanka, Veles; AD Partizan, Prilep; Kiro Fetak, Kumanovo; Staklarnica, Skopje etc.) from which he collected faulty products and exhibited them in the local galleries, including the documentation of the process. The project was brought to a full circle with the final exhibition at the Museum of the City of Skopje in 1997.³⁷ With this work, the artist symbolically marked the political shift from one system to another, as well as the general problem of the conditions of transition. The idea of this work is not to give answers or offer a solution to the problems of reality, but rather expose them in an attempt to confront the protagonists with their own reality through the artistic act of appropriation and decontextualization. Thinking about the discarded materials as ready-made, Suzana Milevska writes about this project as a performative act, “starting from Austin’s very definition that performatives produce a meaning, even though they themselves are semantically empty, i.e. the

36 Stankoski, “Interview with Abbe Busoni for Margina,” 35.

37 Игор Тошевски, “Досие ’96,” *Маргина*, no. 36 (February 1997), 122. https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1997_02_00_Margina_36.pdf. Marika Bocvarova, “Igor Toshevski,” *The Large Glass*, no. 6 (1997), 32. Marika Bocvarova says that his reaction cannot be understood as a gesture of protest... “simply the wish of the author is to fulfil the cultural and civil ‘obligations,’ thereby realizing at the same time the artistic and social relations.”





Robert Jankuloski: Iz cikla Zidovi za vas, Čudovite ljudi / From the Walls for You Wonderful People series, 1999

Zakaj smo taki, kot smo? Kritično telo kot subverzivni performans v Makedoniji devetdesetih let / Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski in Ivana Vaseva

Desoskijem, a v ta izbor vključujeva *Maklabas*, ki ga je realiziral neodvisno kot eksperimentalen video film (pozneje je bilo delo preneseno na celuloid),³³ ki »je bil pogosto videti kot serija performansov.«³⁴ Stankoski je napisal scenarij in film režiral, producent in direktor fotografije pa je bil Vladko Galevski. V filmu je sodelovalo veliko njunih prijateljev in znancev z umetnostne in kulturne scene, t. i. skopski *underground* devetdesetih let.³⁵ V filmu Stankoski parodično predvidi razvoj političnih dogodkov. Kot pravi avtor sam, je »*Maklabas* parodija – a tudi kritika – na nekatere vidike Balkanca, ki se je v tistih časih (a tudi danes) soočal z velikimi političnimi, družbenimi in kulturnimi problemi.«³⁶ Kot piše v zloženki, je zgodba metaforična razlaga pokomunističnega in predinformacijskega kaosa z vidika, *undergrounda*, obveščanja in politike ter implikacijami prihajajoče apokaliptične ekologije.

Umetnik Igor Toševski izhaja iz skupine Zero (1985–1990), potem pa je razvil svoj lastni izraz, ki mu lahko sledimo v vseh njegovih konceptualnih projektih in instalacijah. Njegovo delo *Dosjeja 96* je nastalo sredi privatizacijskih postopkov v Makedoniji in govori o tem pojavu ter o produkciji odpadkov (škart – zavrženi ali odpadni material in proizvodi, smeti), ki jih obravnava kot *readymade* in jih poveže s statusom umetnika in družbeno vlogo umetnosti v takih pogojih. Umetnik je leta 1996 potoval po Makedoniji in obiskal več podjetij (v stečajju) (Porcelanka, Veles, AD Partizan, Prilep, Kiro Fetak, Kumanovo, Staklarnica, Skopje itd.), kjer je nabral njihove »škart« proizvode in jih razstavljal v galerijskih prostorih v mestih skupaj z dokumentacijo postopka, projekt pa je zaokrožil v Skopju z razstavo v Mestnem muzeju Skopje leta 1997.³⁷ Umetnik je s tem delom simbolno

33 Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, *Development of the Electronic Art in Macedonia*, diplomsko delo, Univerza sv. Cirila in Metoda v Skopju, Filozofska fakulteta, Inštitut za umetnostno zgodovino in arheologijo, 1998.

34 Aleksandar Stankoski, »Interview with Abbe Busoni for Margina«, *Margina*, št. 26–28, (april, maj, junij 1996), str. 36. https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/1996_05_00_Margina_26_28.pdf

35 Del scenarija je dostopen na: https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1997_03_00_Margina_40.pdf

36 Stankoski, »Interview with Abbe Busoni for Margina«, str. 35.

37 Igor Toševski, »Досие '96«, *Маргина*, št. 36 (februar 1997), str. 122. https://www.opafondacija.org/zaum/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/1997_02_00_Margina_36.pdf. Marika Bocvarova, »Igor Toshevski«, *The Large Glass*, št. 6 (1997), str. 32. – Marika Bocvarova pravi, da njegove reakcije ne moremo

označil politični prehod iz enega sistema v drugega ter splošni problem tranzicijskih pogojev. Delo ne skuša ponujati odgovorov ali rešitev na dejanske probleme, temveč jih zgolj razkriti, da bi se protagonisti v umetniškem dejanju apropiacije in dekontekstualizacije soočili z lastno realnostjo. Ko razmišlja o odvrženem materialu kot *readymadu*, Suzana Milevska o tem projektu piše kot o performativnem dejanju, »ki izhaja iz Austinove definicije, da performativi proizvedejo pomen, čeprav so sami semantično prazni, tj. sama demonstracija, artikulacija in proklamacija performativnega izreka izvede dejanje.«³⁸

Robert Jankuloski je umetnik, ki v glavnem dela v mediju fotografije, pogosto predstavljene v konceptualnih projektih. Projekt *Vidi tebe, vidi mene* je izvedel med letoma 1998 in 2001, sestavljalo pa ga je 1000 črno-belih plakatov, od katerih jih je bilo 500 nalepljenih povsod po mestu, 450 pa predstavljenih v Galeriji CIX. Plakate so lepili na javnih krajih, medtem ko so potekale predvolilne kampanje (za parlamentarne volitve leta 1998) in je bilo »mesto videti kot smetišče za papir.«³⁹ Nalepili so jih med vse druge plakate, na katerih so bili razni politični kandidati. Med lepljenjem plakatov so spraševali mimoidoče o osebi na plakatih in to posneli na video. Kot pravi umetnik v knjigi, objavljeni kot dokument tega postopka, je bilo to izvedeno kot dokumentiranje procesa uničenja milijonov plakatov po vsem mestu, ki so bili uporabljeni za volilno kampanjo, in da bi izzvali reakcijo »običajnih« državljanov, a tudi galerijskega občinstva. V dnevnem časopisju so objavili poziv k razmisleku o projektu, galerijska postavitev pa je sledila ideji oblikovanja »klavstrofobičnega« okolja z veliko plakati, ki bi strmeli v obiskovalce, medtem ko bi volili, pozneje pa se je spremenilo v akcijo, podobno performativni, ko je publika začela uničevati plakate.

Umetniška skupina Elementi je nastala leta 1992 v Bitoli. Sestavljalo jo je več ljudi, a jedro skupine sta Biljana Petrovska Isijanin in Ljupčo Isijanin.

razumeti kot geste protesta ... »avtorjeva želja je preprosto izpolniti kulturne in civilne 'dolžnosti' in tako obenem realizirati umetniške in družbene odnose.«

38 Suzana Milevska, »The Paradoxical Effects of the Performative Artistic Act«, OPA Fondacija, (marec 1997), str. 19, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/1997_03_27_Dosie_96_katalog.pdf

39 Robert Jankuloski, *See You See Me 1998–2001* (Skopje: Macedonian Centre for Photography, 2001), str. 5.

very demonstration, articulation, and proclamation of the performative utterance carries out the act.”³⁸

Robert Jankuloski is an artist whose main medium is photography, often presented in conceptual projects. His project *See You, See Me* was executed in the period 1998–2001 and consisted of 1000 black-and-white posters, of which 500 were put up around the city and 450 were presented in the CIX Gallery. The posters were put up in public spaces during the country’s pre-election campaign (parliamentary elections of 1998) and the “town looked like a waste-paper dump,”³⁹ and were placed among all the other posters for different election candidates. During the setting up of the posters, passersby were asked questions about the person on the posters, which was documented on video. As the artist says in the book published to document the process, it was done to document the process of the destruction of the millions of posters around the city that were used in the election campaign and to incite a reaction on the part of “ordinary” citizens, but also the gallery audience. A call was published in the daily newspapers inviting people to reflect on the project, and the gallery had the idea to create a “claustrophobic” setting with lots of posters looking or staring at the visitors while voting; and later it turned into a performative-like action, where the audience started destroying the posters.

The art group Elementi was formed in 1992 in Bitola and consisted of several people, but Biljana Petrovska Isijanin and Ljupčo Isijanin constituted the core of the group. The group was quite active in the 1990s with different projects, such as performances, installations, and actions in public space, happenings in cafés and bars or abandoned places throughout the city, as a way of trying to underline the non-existence of proper art spaces in the city and the carelessness of the institutions toward certain objects.⁴⁰ They also opposed the commodification of artworks and the logic of their market value through their decision to produce only

38 Suzana Milevska, “The Paradoxical Effects of the Performative Artistic Act,” *OPA Fondacija*, March 1997, 19, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/1997_03_27_Dosie_96_katalog.pdf

39 Robert Jankuloski, *See You See Me 1998-2001*, (Skopje: Macedonian Center for Photography, 2001), 5.

40 Билјана Исијанин, *Елементи Документ 1992-2012*, (Битола: ДООЕЛ Кокпит, 2012), https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2012_elementi.pdf

handmade promotional materials – or not to create any documentation of the art works.

They are not included here because of their performances in the period, which remained on the symbolic political level, tackling different topics in the art world, or their curatorial projects like *YES/NO* that tried to revive the public space in Bitola through different art performances, but also by remaining there. It is their engagement outside the center of Skopje as well as their space Fluxus, a club in which the ambient changed almost every day with the group’s various exhibitions, that speak about the importance of the group’s activities in their effort to stimulate the development of the local scene, as well as to create a space that would offer different possibilities to the artists and cultural workers in general.

The performance *Freedom of Movement* by Oliver Musovik was part of a group show entitled *view assistance (part one: city in sight)* and conceived as a guided tour through the city of Basel. The sights seen on the tour were works by foreign artists offering a new interpretation of the city.

The people taking the tour went to a border crossing where they were met by Oliver Musovik. He stamped their hands with a rubber stamp giving the title of the project, the name of the crossing, and the date, then he handed them closed envelopes with TO BE OPENED ONLY IN FRANCE written on them. Next they were directed to cross into France. Once on the French side (there was no checking of documents on either side of the border), they opened the envelopes and read a short story about the treatment of the Kosovo refugees, a crisis that was ongoing at the time. Musovik stayed on the Swiss side of the border, as he only had a Swiss visa and could not enter France (this was before the Schengen Area existed). Through the act of crossing country borders, the project tried to point out the necessity of crossing all kinds of borders, both physical and mental, and the necessity for communication.

Irena Paskali is an artist who worked in Macedonia in the 1990s. She worked largely with video as her medium, and included sculpture and performance, which she performed herself and which formed the basis of the video narrative or content. We decided to present three of her video works which reflect

Skupina je bila v devetdesetih letih precej aktivna z različnimi projekti, kot so performansi, instalacije in akcije v javnem prostoru, ki so se dogajali v kavarnah ali zapuščenih prostorih po vsem mestu, v katerih so skušali poudariti neobstoj pravih prostorov umetnosti v mestu in brezbržnost institucij do nekaterih objektov.⁴⁰ Nasprotovali so tudi komodifikaciji umetniških del in logiki njihove tržne vrednosti tako, da so se odločili za ročno izdelovanje promocijskih materialov in za to, da ne bodo dokumentirali umetnin.

V ta kontekst niso vključeni zaradi svojih takratnih performansov, ki so ostajali na simbolni politični ravni in obravnavali razne teme v okviru sveta umetnosti, ali zaradi kuratorskih projektov, kot je bil *DA/NE*, ki je skušal oživiti javni prostor v Bitoli z raznimi umetniškimi performansi, a je ostajal v isti domeni. O pomenu aktivnosti skupine govori njihova angažiranost izven centra, tj. Skopja, in njihov prostor Fluxus, klub, v katerem se je vzdušje spreminjalo tako rekoč vsak dan z razstavami skupine, s čimer so skušali spodbuditi razvoj lokalne scene in ustvariti prostor, ki bi umetnikom in drugim kulturnim delavcem nudil razne možnosti. Performans *Svoboda gibanja* Oliverja Musovika je bil del skupinske rezatve *view assistance (part one: city in sight) (Pomoč pri ogledu. Prvi del: mesto)*, zasnovane kot voden ogled Basla. »Znamenitosti« na ogledu so bila dela tujih umetnikov, ki so podajala novo interpretacijo mesta.

Udeleženci ogleda so odšli do mejnega prehoda, kjer jih je pričakal Musovik. Na roke jih je odtisnil žig z naslovom projekta, imenom mejnega prehoda in datumom ter jim izročil zaprte kuverte z napisom ODPRETI ŠELE V FRANCIJI. Nato so bili napoteni, naj prestopijo mejo v Francijo. Ko so prečkali mejo (brez preverjanja dokumentov), so odprli kuverte in prebrali zgodbo o ravnanju s kosovskimi begunci, kar je bilo v tistem času pereča kriza. Musovik je ostal na švicarski strani meje, saj je imel vizum le za Švico in ni mogel vstopiti v Francijo (to je bilo v času pred schengenskim območjem). Projekt je z dejanjem prečkanja državnih mej skušal opozoriti na potrebo po prestopanju vseh vrst meja, tako fizičnih kot miselnih, ter na potrebo po komuniciranju.

40 Билјана Исијанин, *Елементи Документ 1992-2012* (Битола: ДООЕЛ Кокпит, 2012), https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2012_elementi.pdf

Irena Paskali je umetnica, ki je delovala v Makedoniji v devetdesetih letih. Delala je v mediju videa ter vključevala skulpture in performanse, ki jih je izvajala sama in so bili osnova zgodbe ali vsebine videa. Odločili sva se predstaviti tri njena video dela, ki se nanašajo na devetdeseta leta (*Zwischen/Vmes/Pomegu*, 2001, *Na poti v/iz Makedonije*, 2002, *Na tem dnu*, 2003) in se sicer razlikujejo po estetiki, a so si podobna v odnosu do ustvarjalnega procesa, ki vključuje performans kot del video medija, vendar ne izključno, saj se umetnica ukvarja tudi z nekaterimi političnimi vprašanji. V teh videih se Paskalijeva kritično nanaša na družbenopolitična vprašanja, povezana z lokalnim in širšim kontekstom. V delu *Vmes* predstavi svoje kritično stališče do družbenega konteksta, družbeno-kulturnih dejavnikov in njihovega vpliva na posameznika.⁴¹

1.2. Uprizoritveni dogodki in prostori

Ko govoriva ali razmišljava o dogodku, ga povezujeva s performativnim značajem dogodka, ki v Badioujevi terminologiji generira kronološke ali temeljne multiple.⁴² Dogodek, prelom ali prekinitev vznemiri stanje situacije, »nekaj, kar osvetli možnost, ki je bila nevidna in celo nezamisljiva,«⁴³ ali Deleuzov koncept *aktualizacije in protiaktualizacije* – izvedbo dogodka, usmerjeno k odpiranju protistrani dogodka – procesno, ontološko nastajanje, razkrivanje možne diferenciacije.⁴⁴

V makedonski zgodovini umetnosti obstajajo dogodki, ki so politično relevantni tako za mednarodni ugled države kot za razvoj same scene: prva predstavitev Makedonije na 45. beneškem bienalu (park pri vhodu v Giardine: Gligor Stefanov, Petre Nikoloski) leta 1993, razstava *Image Box* (prva SCCA-jeva letna razstava), ki je predstavila elektronsko umetnost v novem prostoru Mala Stanica v letih 1994–1995, film *Pred dežjem*, ki je dobil zlatega leva na beneškem filmskem festivalu leta 1994, potem *Sod smodnika*, ki ga je leta 1994

41 Nada Peseva, »Irena Paskali: Das ich, Tetragramaton, One Day One Life, Померу«, *The Large Glass*, št. 12/13 (2000/1), str. 69.

42 Novost dogodka se izrazi v dejstvu, da prekine normalni režim opisa znanja, ki vedno temelji na klasifikaciji poznane, in vsili drugačno proceduro vsakomur, ki prizna, da se je prav tu na tem mestu, nekaj do sedaj neimenovanega resnični in prav zares zgodilo.

43 Alain Badiou, *Being and Event*, (London: Continuum, 2005), 9.

44 Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, (London: Continuum, 2003), str. 170–71.

the 1990s (*Zwischen/Between/Pomegu*, 2001, *On the way to/from Macedonia*, 2002, and *At This Bottom / Na ova Dno*, 2003) as diverse in aesthetics but similar in relation to her process of creation, which includes performance as part of the medium of video, but not exclusively, since the artist also tackles certain political questions and addresses them with a performative point of reference. In the three videos, Paskali critically refers to socio-political issues related to the local and broader context. In *Between*, she thus presented her critical stance on the social context, socio-cultural factors, and their effect on the individual.⁴¹

1.2. Performing events and spaces

When talking and thinking about an event, we relate it to the performative character of an event, which in Badiou's terms generates chronological or foundational multiples.⁴² An event, break, or rupture unsettles the state of the situation, "something that brings to light a possibility that was invisible or even unthinkable,"⁴³ or Deleuze's concept of *actualization* and *counter-actualization*, the performance of the event directed towards an opening to the counter-side of the event – the processual, ontological becoming, revealing the possible differentiation.⁴⁴ In the course of the history of art of the country certain events are politically relevant for the country's international reputation, but also for the development of the scene: the first presentation of Macedonia at the 45th Venice Biennale (entrance to Giardini: Gligor Stefanov, Petre Nikoloski) in 1993; the exhibition *Image Box* (first SCCA annual exhibition), which presented electronic arts in the new space of the Mala Stanica gallery in 1994–1995; the film *Before the Rain* winning the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1994; and Dejan Dukovski writing *Powder Keg* in 1994, maybe the most performed Macedonian dramatic text international. While these are momentous events,

41 Nada Peseva, "Irena Paskali: Das ich, Tetragramaton, One Day One Life, Πομεφυ," *The Large Glass*, no. 12/13 (2000/1), 69.

42 The novelty of an event is expressed in the fact that it interrupts the normal regime of the description of knowledge, which always rests on the classification of the well-known, and imposes another kind of procedure on whomever admits that, right here in this place, something hitherto unnamed really and truly occurred.

43 Alain Badiou, *Being and an Event* (London: Continuum, 2005), 9.

44 Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense* (London: Continuum, 2003), 170–71.

rare singular appearances in history and one-time occurrences, there are other events that we see from this perspective as ruptures and as excesses of the time that allowed certain processes to begin, to become the counter-actualization in the political sense. These events happened and caused many reactions, and thus their processuality lies in their "residues": their strength lies in the ramifications they have on the context, on the meaning of current things and the possible shift in direction. They are strategies rather than tactical disturbances; however, they uphold certain issues that influenced the political today; some of them remained in the state of the symbolic, while others opened up new critical perspectives.

Among these events we point out the following:

– The protest at the 22nd International Biennial in São Paulo, 1994

Jovan Šumkovski's participation at the 22nd International Biennial in São Paulo in 1994⁴⁵ can be defined as "participation/exhibition with protest,"⁴⁶ as the Greek delegation asked the Macedonian Biennial entry to participate under the name FYROM and not as Republic of Macedonia (its constitutional name), which was printed everywhere in the Biennial. The other demand was not to use the country's flag in any exhibition materials. Eventually, the Biennial's management decided to substitute the name of the country in their press material. As an act of protest, the artist and the curator Nebojša Vilić decided not to open the works and exhibit them as planned, but to show the exhibition packed and only partially opened. This was accompanied by a press release in which they explained their actions and which was put up on the wall. Under the circumstances, Šumkovski said they weren't choosing a definite and categorical stepping down in protest: "Extensive consultations with our colleagues, curators, and lawyers proceeded, and we absolutely did not decide to adopt a decisive attitude/position, because we would probably lose

45 Jovan Šumkovski, "Jovan Šumkovski: 22nd International biennial of Sao Paolo, October 12, 1994 – December 22, 1994," *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/1994_10_12_Jovan_Shumkovski.pdf

46 From an interview with the artist and the curator: <https://zaum.mk/%d0%b0%d0%ba%d0%b2%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b8%d1%83%d0%bc-1994/>

napisal Dejan Dukovski in je mogoče največkrat mednarodno predvajano makedonsko dramsko besedilo ... Medtem ko so ti dogodki sicer veličastni, a v zgodovini redki in le enkratni pojavi, so poleg njih še drugi dogodki, ki jih s sedanje perspektive vidiva kot prekinitve in ekscese v tistem času, saj so omogočili začetek določenih procesov, da so postali protiakualizacija v političnem pomenu. Ti dogodki so izzvali veliko reakcij, zato je njihova procesnost v njihovih »ostankih«: njihova moč leži v razvejanosti posledic v kontekstu, v pomenu sodobnih stvari in možnem premikanju smeri. So bolj strategije kot taktične motnje, vendar pa podpirajo določene teme, ki so vplivale na današnje politično; nekateri so ostali v stanju simbolnega, drugi pa so odprli kritične perspektive.

Med temi dogodki bi radi prikazali naslednje:

– Protest na 22. mednarodnem bienalu v São Paulu leta 1994

Udeležbo Jovana Šumkovskega na 22. mednarodnem bienalu v São Paulu leta 1994⁴⁵ lahko opredelimo kot »udeležbo/razstavo s protestom«,⁴⁶ saj je grška delegacija zahtevala od bienala, naj bo makedonski del predstavljen pod imenom NJRM, in ne kot Republika Makedonija (njeno ustavno ime), kar je bilo natisnjeno povsod po bienalu. Druga zahteva je bila, da se v razstavnih materialih ne uporablja državne zastave. Na koncu se je vodstvo bienala odločilo, da zamenja ime države v obvestilih za javnost. V znak protesta sta se umetnik in kustos Nebojša Vilić odločila, da del ne bosta razpakirala in razstavila, kot je bilo načrtovano, ampak da bodo prikazana zapakirana in le delno odprta. To sta pospremila z izjavo za javnost, v kateri sta razložila svoje dejanje in jo obesila na steno. Zaradi tega je Šumkovski rekel, da nista bila za dokončni in kategorični odstop iz protesta: »Po dolgotrajnih predhodnih posvetih s kolegi, kustosi in odvetniki se absolutno nisva odločila, da bi imela odločno stališče, pozicijo, in ker bi verjetno izgubila vso situacijo in priložnost na tej mednarodni razstavi.«⁴⁷

45 Jovan Šumkovski, »Jovan Šumkovski: 22nd International biennial of Sao Paolo, October 12, 1994 – December 22, 1994«, *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/1994_10_12_Jovan_Shumkovski.pdf

46 Iz intervjuja z umetnikom in kustosom: <https://zaum.mk/%d0%b0%d0%ba%d0%b2%d0%b0%d1%80%d0%b8%d1%83%d0%bc-1994/>

47 Prav tam.

Do te akcije je prišlo sredi grških pritiskov na Makedonijo, naj ne uporablja imena in zastave, ki sestoji iz 16-krake zvezde Vergine, simbola, ki si ga Grčija lasti kot narodno bogastvo. Pritiski so se povečali z zaprtjem grške meje z Makedonijo in z uvedbo gospodarske blokade, ki je ustavila transport vsega blaga preko Soluna razen hrane in zdravil. To je bil že drugi embargo, ki ga je uvedla Grčija proti Makedoniji v dveh letih.⁴⁸

Vprašanje imena je dogodek, ki se dogaja že od razglasitve neodvisnosti Makedonije ali od referendumu za samostojnost leta 1991 (8. septembra), ki ga je Grčija sumničavo opazovala zaradi imena Makedonija. Grško-makedonska pogajanja okoli imena so se spremenila v odisejado, ki se je končala februarja 2019 s spremembo imena v Republiko Severno Makedonijo.

Čeprav je bilo dejanje Šumkovskega in Vilića politično dejanje nestrinjanja z dnevnimi političnimi nameni nekoga drugega, bi ga lahko razumeli kot kulturni performans oziroma kulturno delovanje, dogodek, ki je z izvajanjem reakcije sodeloval v splošnem vzdušju dnevne politike, ki je temeljila na obrambi imena in gradnji države. Vidimo ga lahko kot dejanje, kot gesto s subverzivnim potencialom, ki bi ga lahko uporabili v prihodnjih umetniških referencah, ponovitvah ali kako drugače. Leta 2008 je bil veto Grčije za Makedonijo v Bukarešti, da ne dobi statusa kandidatke, v medijih predstavljen kot delno posledica dela *60 let eksodusa* Atanasa Boteva in njegove tedanje razstave v Kulturnem informacijskem centru.⁴⁹ A v teku zgodovine umetnosti so umetniške reakcije na žgoča politična vprašanja (in krivice) redke.

48 Iskra Dimitrova, Žaneta Vangeli in Igor Toševski, »After the Wall: Art and Culture in post-Communist Europe«, *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/2000_06_15_A_Fal_utan_publikacija_1.pdf, str. 188.

49 Za nadaljnje branje glej: <https://time.mk/arhiva/?d1=01&m1=01&y1=1991&d2=31&m2=12&y2=2012&all=0&vreme=1&fulltext=2&timeup=2&show=1&q=%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0%20%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%B1%D0%B0%20%D0%B5%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BD%D0%BE%20%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%B8%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%9A%D0%B5%20%D0%BD%D0%B0%20%D0%B5%D0%B3%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%B4%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BE%D1%82&read=6f335a6196166a9>

the great opportunity afforded by this international exhibition.⁴⁷

All of this unfolded amidst Greek pressure on Macedonia not to use the name and the flag, which consisted of a 16-point star of Vergina, a symbol claimed by Greece as a national treasure. The pressure was also stepped up with the closing of the Greek border with Macedonia and imposing an economic blockade that would prevent the shipment of all goods to and from the port of Thessaloniki except food and medicines. This was the second embargo imposed by Greece on Macedonia inside two years.⁴⁸

The name issue had been going on since Macedonia's independence or since the referendum on sovereignty in September 1991, when Greece looked on with suspicion over the name Macedonia. The Greek-Macedonian name negotiations turned into an odyssey that would finally end in February 2019 with country changing its name to the Republic of North Macedonia.

Although the act by Šumkovski and Vilić was a political act – in its not agreeing with another's political intentions of the day – it could be seen as a cultural performance, an event that with a performative reaction participated in the general daily politics that was built on defending the name and the building of the state. It can be seen as an act, a gesture with subversive potential that could be used in future artistic references, re-enactments, or other. In 2008, the veto by Greece on Macedonia in Bucharest that it not receive candidate status for the accession to the EU was presented in the media as the partial result of the work *60 Year Exodus* by Atanas Botev and his then-current exhibition at the Cultural Informative Center.⁴⁹ But, over the course of

47 *Ibid.*

48 Iskra Dimitrova, Žaneta Vangeli, and Igor Toševski, "After the Wall: Art and Culture in post-Communist Europe," *OPA Fondacija*, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/2000_06_15_A_Fal_utan_publikacija_1.pdf, 188.

49 For further reading see: <https://time.mk/arhiva/?d1=01&m1=01&y1=1991&d2=31&m2=12&y2=2012&all=0&vreme=1&fulltext=2&timeup=2&show=1&q=%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0%20%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%B1%D0%B0%20%D0%B5%20%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%87%D0%BD%D0%BE%20%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%B8%D0%B2%D1%83%D0%B2%D0%B0%1%9A%D0%B5%20%D0%BD%D0%B0%20%D0%B5%D0%B3%D0%B7%D0%BE%D0%B4%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BE%D1%82&read=6f335a6196166a9>

the history of art, rarely do we see artistic reactions to burning political questions (and injustices).

– The Venice Biennale "scandals"

The project *WC (Wonderful Creatures)* by Iskra Dimitrova is surrounded by certain controversies, not unlike almost every national presentation of this country at the Venice Biennale. The project was an unofficial representation of Macedonia at the 48th Venice Biennale in 1999. It had an unofficial character as it did not conform to the Biennale's way of presenting national pavilions.

The story surrounding the presentation started with the initial selection of artist Petar Hadzi Boškov to be the Macedonian representative at this prestigious manifestation, curated by Suzana Milevska in the frame of the Art Gallery (now the National Gallery). It is important to mention that the Ministry said that if the financial requirements for the project were greater than what the Ministry could provide, and if the author was not in a situation to co-finance the project, then a project by Boris Nikolovski would replace the selection.⁵⁰ It turned out that not only were the funds available for the project one-fifth of those required, but the Museum of Contemporary Art was also pushing for its own project; people there said they were pushing for an unofficial presentation by Jovan Šumkovski, Iskra Dimitrova, and Toni Maznevski, to be curated by Ljiljana Nedelkovska. In the end the Minister of Culture Dimitar Dimitrov decided not to support the presentation at this edition of the Biennale. Eventually, as a separate initiative and as an unofficial representative, a project by Dimitrova curated by Nebojša Vilić, the book *A Few Candies for Venice*, and a philatelist project by studio Adzura, one of the event's organizers, were chosen.

The (unofficial) motto of the Macedonian cultural strategy "We have to be present at the Venice Biennale," has created so many controversies and polemics starting with the first Macedonian presentation there in 1993, that it begs the question why must this happen and how is it politically and artistically relevant.⁵¹ The project by Aneta Svetieva

50 Petar Hadzi Boshkov selected as representative at the Venice Biennale. https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/1999_01_00_Petar_Hadzi_Boshkov_pretstavnik_za_Veneciskoto_bienale.pdf

51 https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2005_05_29_Se_vadime_deka_Venecija_e_cest.pdf

– »Afere« z Beneškim bienalom

Projekt *ČB (Čudovita bitja)* Iskre Dimitrove obdajajo določene kontroverznosti, tako kot tako rekoč vsako nacionalno predstavitev naše države na Beneškem bienalu. Omenjeni projekt je bil neuradni predstavnik Makedonije na 48. beneškem bienalu leta 1999. Bil je neuradne narave oziroma dejansko ne v sklopu načina, kako bienale predstavlja nacionalne paviljone.

Dejansko se je zgodba okrog te predstavitve začela s prvotnim izborom umetnika Petra Hadžija Boškova kot makedonskega predstavnika na tej prestižni manifestaciji: Kustosinja predstavitve je bila Suzana Milevska v okviru Umetnostne galerije (zdaj Narodne galerije). Pri tem izboru je treba omeniti, da je ministrstvo reklo, da če je za projekt potrebnih več finančnih sredstev, kot jih ministrstvo lahko zagotovi, in če avtor ni v stanju, da bi ga lahko sam sofinanciral, ga bo v izboru zamenjal projekt Borisa Nikolovskega.⁵⁰ Izkazalo se je, da so bila projektu namenjena finančna sredstva petkrat manjša od zaprosenih, poleg tega pa še, da je tudi Muzej sodobne umetnosti poskušal prodreti s svojim projektom, a, kot so rekli, le z neuradno prezentacijo umetnikov Jovana Šumkovskega, Iskre Dimitrove in Tonija Maznevskega, ki bi jo kurirala Ljiljana Nedelkovska. Na koncu se je minister za kulturo Dimitar Dimitrov odločil, da ne podpre udeležbe na tej ediciji bienala. Tako je kot ločena iniciativa in neuradni predstavnik nastopil projekt Dimitrove, ki ga je kuriral Nebojša Vilić, knjiga *Few Candies for Venice* in filatelistični projekt studia Adzura, ki je dogodek organiziral.

(Neuradni) moto makedonske kulturne strategije, »Moramo biti prisotni na Beneškem bienalu«, je prinesel toliko sporov in polemik od prve makedonske predstavitve leta 1993, da se poraja vprašanje, zakaj je to taka nuja ter kako je to politično in umetniško relevantno.⁵¹ Projekt Anete Svetieva na Beneškem bienalu leta 1995 ni bil predstavljen, ker sta jo predlagala Muzej sodobne umetnosti in Umetnostna galerija,⁵² govori pa o

50 Petar Hadži Boškov izbran za predstavnika na beneškem bienalu. https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/1999_01_00_Petar_Hadzi_Boshkov_pretstavnik_za_Veneciskoto_bienale.pdf

51 https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/2005_05_29_Se_vadime_deka_Venecija_e_cest.pdf

52 Sonja Abadzjeva, »Editorial«, *The Large Glass*, št. 3, (1996),

neučinkovitosti institucij (na koncu jo je predstavila leta 1997 Narodna galerija),⁵³ vse do zadnje predstavitve Nade Prlja leta 2019, ki so jo tudi spremljale polemike.⁵⁴

– Predstave MOT-a kot subverziven dogodek

Mlad otvoren teatar (MOT) je festival, dogodek, ki je v devetdesetih letih postal eksces v »svetu umetnosti« performansa in predstav v Makedoniji, saj je bil edini prostor, ki je izvajal »novi« performans v gledališču in plesu. Zato ga vključujeva kot dogodek, na katerem so se odvijali mednarodni kritični performansi in ki ga lahko gledamo tudi kot prikaz kritične umetnosti, a tudi kot del kulturnega delovanja, dogodek, ki v tistem času ni sam po sebi vplival na razvoj umetnostnega konteksta performansa v Severni Makedoniji, a ima vpliv v nastajajočem »umetnostnem svetu performansa«, ki se je takrat začel razvijati lokalno v novih smereh v oblikah (prihodnjega) neodvisnega plesa, gledališča, performansa itd..

MOT je bil in še vedno je prostor za predstavljanje novih, svežih, eksperimentalnih oblik gledališča, plesa in performansa, vključno s kritičnim-kot-političnim performansom. V okviru programa od njegovega začetka leta 1976⁵⁵ in v osemdesetih letih lahko vidimo vključevanje nekdanjih jugoslovanskih koreografskih praks in predstav ter bolj mednarodno usmerjen program. Kot že omenjeno, je bila to splošna usmeritev – modernizacija programa ali večje pozahodnjenje programa in vključitev performativnih praks, prihajajočih iz Zahodne Evrope in ZDA. A MOT-ov program in njegov subverzivni značaj sta vplivala na več generacij makedonskih izvajalcev, kar je pospešilo razvoj kritične misli v uprizoritvenih umetnostih.⁵⁶

<http://msu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BE-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%BE-The-Large-Glass-3-1996.pdf>

53 <http://msu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BE-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%BE-The-Large-Glass-5-1997.pdf>

54 Emil Aleksiev, »On the Selection of a Macedonian Representative at the Venice Biennale«, *OPA Fondacija* (februar 2019), https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/2019_02_12_Za_izborot_na_makedonski_pretstavnik_na_Umetnickoto_bienale_vo_Venecija.jpg.pdf

55 Program MOT-a lahko najdete na: http://www.mactheatre.edu.mk/main/fest_mac_mot.html#top

56 Љубиша Никодиновски-Биш, *Алтернативниот театар во Македонија* (Skopje: Magor, 2009).

for the Venice Biennale in 1995 wasn't presented because she was proposed by MOCA and Art Gallery,⁵² which speaks of the dysfunctional nature of the institutions (in the end she was presented in 1997 by the National Gallery),⁵³ which brings us up to the latest presentation by Nada Prlja in 2019, which was also accompanied by a number of controversies.⁵⁴

– MOT display as a subversive event

Mlad Otvoren Teatar (MOT) or Youth Open Theater is a festival, an event that came to represent the excess of the performance "art world" in Macedonia in the 1990s, since it was the only space that performed "new" performance in dance and theater. Here we include it as an event where international critical performances took place, and as something that can also be seen as a display of critical art, but also as part of cultural performance, an event that did not, at the time, intrinsically influence the development of art and performance in North Macedonia, but had its influence in the "performing art world" that was, when seen from this perspective, starting to develop and get its new directions locally, in the form of (future) independent dance, theater, performance etc.

MOT was and still is a space for presenting new, fresh, experimental theater, dance, and performance, including the critical as political performances. Looking at the program from its beginnings in 1976⁵⁵ and through the 1980s we see the inclusion of ex-Yugoslavian choreographic practices and performances shift to a more internationally oriented program. As was previously outlined, this was a general orientation – a modernization of the program, or the larger Westernization of the program and the inclusion

52 Sonja Abadzjeva, "Editorial," *The Large Glass*, no. 3, (1996), <http://msu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BE-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%BE-The-Large-Glass-3-1996.pdf>

53 <http://msu.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/%D0%93%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%BE-%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%BE-The-Large-Glass-5-1997.pdf>

54 Emil Aleksiev, "On the Selection of a Macedonian Representative at the Venice Biennale," *OPA Fondacija*, February 2019), https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/2019_02_12_Za_izborot_na_makedonski_pretstavnik_na_Umetnickoto_bienale_vo_Venecija.jpg.pdf

55 See MOT program here: http://www.mactheatre.edu.mk/main/fest_mac_mot.html#top

of performance practices coming from Western Europe and the USA. However, MOT's program and its subversive character influenced generations of Macedonian practitioners, which in turn furthered the development of contemporary thought in the performing arts.⁵⁶ Up until the 2000s, the Festival was the only space and event where critical as political performances could be seen in Macedonia as part of the theater and dance scene, and served to influence the larger sphere of art and the public's general understanding of performance. Here is an event that has a certain invisible potentiality which, from this perspective, was essential in informing the "art world" of performance art as something that can be politically critical and reformative.

National uprising through reactions and manifestations related to national symbolism

Reaction to the armed conflict in 2001

The Macedonian–Albanian relationship began to visibly suffer in the 1990s, a decade marked by different clashes between them, the formation of Albanian paramilitary units, the formation of the first Albanian-language university in Tetovo, and various incidents and instances of vandalism. Some 350.000 (unofficial number) Albanian refugees from Kosovo came to Macedonia as a result of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, which in 2001 would result in armed conflict in Tetovo and the nearby villages, also spreading to the periphery, to the villages of Kumanovo and to Skopje.

Although all of this was burning news, it didn't get any artistic attention,⁵⁷ except for the project *Architecture of Aggression* by the artist Tome Adzиеvski. The project consisted of six parts and was realized in the period 2001–2002 as "an attempt to set up possible foundations for a bi-ethnic dialogue,"⁵⁸ meaning Macedonians and Albanians, and "wants to show, completely honestly and impartially, his own view (which is in line with the

56 Љубиша Никодиновски-Биш, "Алтернативниот театар во Македонија," (Skopje: Magor, 2009).

57 Марика Бочварова, "Критиката е секогаш во право," *АИКА Македонија*, 2002, http://arhiva.aica-macedonia.org.mk/wp_arhiva/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Nedelkovska-Ljiljana-Opasni-vrski-2002.pdf

58 Томе Ациевски и Љубомир Д. Фрчкоски, "Архитектура на агресијата – Колумни," *ОГА Фондација*, Декември 2002, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/2002_12_20_359_expo_08_g.pdf.





Vangel Tanurovski: Oboroženi spopadi v Aracinovu / Armed conflict in Aracinovo, junij / June 2001

Zakaj smo taki, kot smo? Kritično telo kot subverzivni performans v Makedoniji devetdesetih let / Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski in Ivana Vaseva

Festival je bil do novega tisočletja edini prostor in dogodek, kjer je bilo v Makedoniji mogoče videti kritične-kot-politične performanse v sklopu gledališča in plesa. Vplival je na širšo umetnostno sfero in splošno razumevanje performansa v javnosti. Za naju je s tem dogodek, ki v sebi nosi nevidni potencial, ki je s tega vidika bistven za reformiranje »umetnostnega sveta« performansa kot umetnosti, ki je lahko politično kritična in reformna.

Narodna vstaja preko reakcij in manifestacij nacionalnega simbolizma Reakcija na oborožene spopade leta 2001

V makedonsko-albanskih odnosih so se v devetdesetih letih začeli pojavljati antagonizmi; to desetletje zaznamujejo različni spopadi, oblikovanje albanskih paravojaških enot, ustanovitev prve univerze v albanskem jeziku v Tetovu, različni incidenti in vandalizmi, prihod približno 350.000 (številka je neuradna) albanskih beguncev s Kosova v Makedonijo zaradi Natovega bombardiranja Jugoslavije, kar je leta 2001 pripeljalo do oboroženih spopadov v Tetovu in okoliških vaseh ter se razširilo do vasi na obrobju Kumanova in Skopja.

Čeprav je bila to žgoča tema v poročilih, ni bila deležna umetniške pozornosti,⁵⁷ z izjemo projekta *Arhitektura agresije* umetnika Tomeja Adzievskega. Projekt, ki je imel šest delov in je bil realiziran v letih 2001 in 2002, je »poskus vzpostavitve možnega temelja za dvoetnični dialog«,⁵⁸ se pravi makedonski in albanski, in »želi prikazati, popolnoma pošteno in nepristransko, njegov lastni pogled (ki meji na splošno mesto pogleda na Albance s strani Drugih, v tem primeru Makedoncev).«⁵⁹

57 Марика Бочварова, »Критиката е секогаш во право«, АИКА Мкедонија, 2002, http://arhiva.aica-macedonia.org.mk/wp_arhiva/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Nedelkovska-Ljiljana-Opasni-vrski-2002.pdf

58 Томе Ациевски и Љубомир Д. Фрчкоски, »Архитектура на агресијата – Колумни«, ОПА Фондација, Декември 2002, https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/2002_12_20_359_expo_08_g.pdf

59 Prav tam. V prvem delu umetnik pošilja pisma različnim ljudem v državi, v katerih podaja svoje misli o aktualnih dogodkih v državi (eno od pisem, denimo, podrobno razdelja njegovo nasprotovanje obrezovanju), v naslednjem uporabi znano Goebbellovo izjavo – »Ko slišim besedo kultura, primem za pištolo,« da lahko pokaže popolno risbo pištole Zastava, tretji segment je »konstrukt« dveh vojaških umetniških zgodb o Jani Bunevi in Ivani Orleanski, četrti je besedilo v reviji *Cultural Life*, v petem predstavlja po vsem svetu slavne Albance skupaj z običajnimi Albanci in njihovo taktiko prodajanja ponarejenih

Te osebne posplošitve Drugega in drugosti ter binarno nasprotje z višjim okvirom »Mene in Drugega« so še posebno nevaren diskurz, ki lahko pripelje do nacionalističnih čustev, ki zelo pogosto marginalizirajo partikularno oddeljenega »Drugega«. Napeto vzdušje med Makedonci in Albanci v devetdesetih letih je trajalo dlje od leta 2001, v »umetniškem polju« pa je izbruhnilo s projektom Skopje 2014 z upodobitvijo nacionalnih makedonskih čustev.⁶⁰ V projektu Skopje 2014, pri katerem je šlo za kičasto preureditev Skopja v t. i. »neobaročnem« slogu, je sodeloval Tome Adzievski s projektoma *Mačka* in *Spomenik padlim junakom*, splošno znanim kot *Prometej*,⁶¹ ki je dobil hlače, potem ko se je neznana ženska skupina pritožila, da Prometejeva golota žali njihova čustva. Adzievski se je brez zadržkov podvzval obleči Prometeja v hlače. O tem je Zlatko Teodosievski, ki je o projektu *Arhitektura agresije* pisal kot o enem angažiranih del v devetdesetih letih in kot o »jasnih človeških in ustvarjalnih pogledih v trenutkih, ki so pomembni za preživetje (ne le) države kot neokrnjene celote«,⁶² trinajst let pozneje rekel: »Ali je v tem primeru umetnik svojo *Arhitekturo agresije* zamenjal za agresijo kiča? Je tam pokopal vse svoje druge zamisli, vključno z 'Jano Bunevo, ki so jo zajeli balisti, jo mučili in ubili leta 2001 v Tetovu; 17 let'? Kje so taki makedonski junaki, prisiljeni in pokvarjeni?!«⁶³ Poleg njega je tudi veliko drugih umetnikov, ki so bili zelo aktivni v devetdesetih letih, podprlo ne le projekt SK14 kot neonacionalističen projekt,⁶⁴ ampak tudi politične poteze Gruevskega in njegove stranke VMRO DMPNE.

V gledališču je kritičnost, ki je bila prisotna v šestdesetih do osemdesetih letih, zamenjala nova nacionalna retorika, zato lahko opazimo

cigaretnih znamk na črno na cesti (bos-bos; abe-abe; parizjen-parizjen) in v zadnjem delu izvede performans *Humaniot lik na humanitarniot paket ...* prav tako pa naredi knjigo kolumn Ljubomira Frckovskega, za katero izdelava umetniški prispevek.

60 Albanski odgovor na to je lahko Skenderbegov trg, vendar se po velikosti in stroških ne more primerjati s Skopjem 2014.

61 Za več podatkov o Skopju 2014 glej: <http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/en/results/izv=0331>

62 Teodosievski, »Architecture of the Agression and (or) on the Art Engagé«, str. 114.

63 Златко Теодосиевски, »Недоволно писмена нација«, *Окно*, јули 2014, <https://okno.mk/node/39469>

64 Umetnike, ki so prispevali k uresničitvi načrta Skopje 2014, lahko najdete na: <http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com>. Tudi profesorji na Fakulteti za likovno umetnost in Fakulteti za arhitekturo so avtorji nekaterih objektov v Skopju, ki so del projekta Skopje 2014.

general view of Albanians, by the Others, in this case the Macedonians).”⁵⁹

These personal generalizations of the Other and otherness and the binary, oppositional frame of “Me and the Other” is an especially dangerous discourse that can lead to nationalist sentiments that often serve to marginalize the particularly disconnected “Other”. The tense atmosphere in the 1990s between the Macedonians and Albanians would last beyond 2001, and would erupt in the “artistic field” with the project “Skopje 2014” with the representation of various Macedonian national sentiments.⁶⁰ In the “Skopje 2014” project, which saw a revamping of Skopje in a kitsch style called “neo-baroque,” Tome Adziveski took part with two projects: *Cat*, and *Monuments of the Fallen Heroes* (generally known as *The Prometheus*⁶¹), which would be staged with pants after a complaint by an unknown group of women that Prometheus’s nudity was offensive. Without hesitation, Adziveski quickly dressed Prometheus in pants. Zlatko Teodosievski wrote about his project *Architecture of Aggression* as one of the engaged works in the 1990s and as a “clear human and creative view at a moment important for the survival of the country as an integral whole.”⁶² Some 13 years later he would add: “In this case, did the artist replace his *Architecture of Aggression* with kitsch aggression? Did he bury all his other ideas there, including (...) Jana Buneva, who was captured by ballists, tortured and killed in Tetovo in 2001; 17 years? Where are the Macedonian heroes like that, forced and

59 *Ibid.* – In the first part the artist sends letters to different people in the country in which he shares his thoughts on the current events in his country (one is an elaboration against circumcision), in the next he uses the well-known Goebbels statement – “When I hear the word culture I reach for my gun,” so he can show the complete scale drawing of the pistol “Zastava”; the third segment is a “construct” of two military artistic stories about Jana Buneva and Joan of Arc, while the fourth is a text in the magazine “Cultural Life”; in the fifth he presents famous Albanians in the world along with everyday Albanians and their street marketing tactics of falsified and “black” brands of cigarettes (bos-bos; abe-abe; parizjen-parizjen), and in the final one he makes a performance “Humanot lik na humanitarniot paket” and also makes a book consisting of columns by Ljubomir Frčkovski in which he makes an artistic contribution.

60 An Albanian answer to this could be Skender Beg Square, but it cannot be compared to the size and cost of Skopje 2014.

61 For more information on Skopje 2014 see: <http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/en/results/izv=0331>

62 Teodosievski, “Architecture of the Aggression and (or) on the Art Engagé,” 114.

corrupted?!”⁶³ Besides him, many artists active in the 1990s would support not only the SK14 project as a neo-nationalist project,⁶⁴ but also the political moves of Gruevski and his party VMRO DMPNE.

In the theater, criticality from the 1960s to 1980s was replaced with new national rhetoric, so we can point to a wave of performances that upheld narratives related to Macedonian history, independence, daily politics etc. Ana Stojanovska, a theater researcher from Macedonia noted: “(...) it can be concluded that the rise of political theater in Macedonia took place in the 1970s. It is important to point out the influence of European and world theater (mainly through BITEF) on the playwrights who inventively created fertile ground for new aesthetics.”⁶⁵

She would later add that the fully developed aesthetics of political theater in Macedonia (starting with the direction of Ljubiša Georgijevski, who at the time, together with Ljubiša Ristić and Dušan Jovanović, dominated the genre on the territory of the former SFRY) led to the “killing” of the idea of political theater (again through the work of Georgijevski, who would also run as a candidate for president, president of the Assembly, and ambassador, all exclusively political functions that inspired the title of the work related to a celebrated cult film of the past *How did rock and roll fail?*)⁶⁶

A historical review would show that the idea of political theater did not die after the 1980s, but was transformed in terms of social and political relations. Stojanovska would note: “As for political theater, during these years after independence and the new drama that dominated Macedonian theater (especially Dejan Dukovski’s plays, postmodern and new European drama), we can confirm that there are no political dramas or plays in the political theater genre.”⁶⁷

63 Златко Теодосиевски, “Недоволно писмена нација,” *Окно*, јули 2014, <https://okno.mk/node/39469>

64 The artists who contributed to the implementation of the plan Skopje 2014 can be found at <http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com>. Professors at the Faculty of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Architecture also authored some of the objects in Skopje that are part of the Skopje 2014 project.

65 Ana Stojanoska, “Kako je propao rock `n` roll, Dramski tekst i političko pozorište – makedonska situacija (ili studija slučaja),” available here by courtesy of the author.

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*

val predstav, ki podpirajo zgodbe, povezane z makedonsko zgodovino, neodvisnostjo, dnevno politiko. Ana Stojanovska, raziskovalka gledališča iz Makedonije, je zapisala: »... sklenemo lahko, da je do pojava političnega gledališča v Makedoniji prišlo v sedemdesetih letih. Pomembno je poudariti vpliv evropskega in svetovnega gledališča (v glavnem preko BITEF-a) na dramatike, ki so domiselno pripravili plodna tla za novo estetiko.«⁶⁵

Dodaja še, da je prišlo do tega, da je povsem razvita estetika političnega gledališča v Makedoniji (začenši z režijo Ljubiša Georgijevskega, ki je v tistem času skupaj z Ljubišo Rističem in Dušanom Jovanovićem obvladoval žanr na ozemlju nekdanje SFRJ) pripeljala do »ukinitve« ideje političnega gledališča (spet preko dela Georgijevskega, ki je pozneje tudi kandidiral za predsednika, bil uradni predsednik skupščine in ambasador – povsem politične funkcije, ki so vsilile naslov dela, povezanega z enim kulturnih filmov preteklosti *Kako je propadel rokenrol?*)⁶⁶

Zgodovinski pregled bi pokazal, da zamisel političnega gledališča ni umrla po osemdesetih letih, ampak se je spremenila v smislu družbenih in političnih odnosov. Kot pripomni Stojanovska: »Kar se tiče političnega gledališča, lahko v letih po razglasitvi neodvisnosti in novi dramatiki, ki je prevladovala v makedonskem gledališču (še zlasti igre Dejana Dukovskega, postmoderna in nova evropska dramatika), potrdimo, da ni bilo političnih dram ali iger v žanru političnega gledališča.«⁶⁷

Nastanek kritičnega telesa

Ena prelomnih točk za prihodnji razvoj kuratorskih praks in kompleksnih umetniških projektov, ki obravnavajo kritična vprašanja in teorijo, in prvi projekt s tako kompleksno strukturo je bil dogodek »Mednarodni projekt za umetnost in teorijo KAPITAL & SPOL« kustosinje Suzane Milevske.⁶⁸

65 Ana Stojanoska, »Kako je propao rock `n` roll, Dramski tekst i političko pozorište – makedonska situacija (ili studija slučaja)«, tu objavljeno z dovoljenjem avtorice.

66 Prav tam.

67 Prav tam.

68 Glej program dogodka tu: https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/2001_01_24_Kapital_i_pol_katalog.pdf. Dogodek je bil organiziran od 24. do 27. 1. 2001, Skopje (24.–26. januar: Konferenca Kapital in spol – Mestni muzej Skopje – Odprti grafični atelje), 25. januar: Marina Abramović – *Hoja po Kitajskem zidu* – razstava 12 fotografij z risbami – Mestni muzej

Projekt je obsegal konferenco s teoretiki, kustosi, umetnostnimi kritiki, menedžerji in umetniki iz raznih balkanskih in drugih vzhodnih držav, ki je obravnavala štiri različne podteme v sklopu krovne teme projekta: »problem odraza kapitala na spol in razlike med spoloma v državah, ki doživljajo prehod iz državnega v tržno gospodarstvo.« Med temami konference in programa, ki je vključeval tudi projekt v javnem prostoru *Perfect Match* [Popolnoma prav] in spletne delavnice, je bil tudi »problem povečanja dotoka denarja in informacij, kar vpliva na koncept spolnega razlikovanja v državah, kjer so bila družbena vprašanja enakopravnosti in razlik v zadnjih petdesetih letih strukturirana drugače kot v zahodnih državah.«⁶⁹

Projekt v javnem prostoru *Perfect Match* se je nanašal na to, da sta »preobrazba makedonske družbe in proces tranzicije gospodarstva iz socialističnega in državno vodenega do stopnje, kjer ga bo usmerjal trg, vplivala ne le na proizvodnjo in tržne odnose, ampak tudi na odnose med različnimi spoli.«⁷⁰ To je bilo izhodišče za dvajset mednarodnih umetnikov, vključenih v projekt, ki ni bil omejen na prostor galerije, ampak so bili umetniki povabljeni, naj naredijo javna dela za kraj, povezan z glavno temo: »odnos med idealno ljubeznijo in kapitalom. Tako so umetniki interaktivno sodelovali v življenju mesta ter vstopali s svojim ustvarjanjem bolj neposredno v svoje raziskovalno področje.«⁷¹ Umetniki so predstavili dela v različnih medijih: fotografijah, fotoinstalacijah, objektih, video delih in performansih.

Nakupovanje je vzeto kot metafora večne človeške želje, da bi preko oglasov našli, kar nam popolnoma ustreza, vse od oblek do zasebnega življenja. Tako je bila tudi otvoritev razstave zamišljena in strukturirana kot povabilo publikli na nakupovalni izlet v mestno nakupovalno središče, kot je zapisala Suzana Milevska.

Skopje – Odprti grafični atelje; 26. januar: projekt v javnem prostoru Popolno ujemanje – mestni nakupovalni center; 24.–27. spletne delavnice – Center sodobne umetnosti).

69 Suzana Milevska, »Report on Capital & Gender: International Project for Art and Theory«, 24.–27. januar 2001, Skopje, <https://nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-I-0102/msg00269.html>

70 Prav tam.

71 Prav tam.

Becoming of critical body

As one of the marking points of the future development of curatorial and complex art-related projects that dealt with critical issues and theory, and the first project of such complex structure, was the repeat event "International project for art and theory CAPITAL & GENDER," curated by Suzana Milevska.⁶⁸ The project included a conference with theorists, curators, art critics, managers, and artists from different Balkan and other Eastern European countries and which dealt with four different topics under the main theme of the project: "the problem of reflecting capital on gender and sexual difference in the countries that are experiencing the shift from state to market economy." The conference topics and program, which included the public art project *Perfect Match* and web workshops, addressed the "problem of the proliferation of money and information that is influencing the concept of sexual differentiation in the countries where social issues of equality and difference over the past 50 years were structured differently than in the Western countries."⁶⁹

The public art project *Perfect Match* referred to the "transformation of Macedonian society and the process of transition of the economy from socialist and state controlled to a stage where it will be directed by the market, influenced not only production and market relations but also the relations between different genders."⁷⁰ Such was the starting point for the 20 international artists that took part in the project, which was not limited to a gallery space, as artists were invited to produce public art projects for the site connected with the main theme: "the relation between ideal love and capital. Thus, the artists participated interactively in the life of the city, entering the realm of their

68 See the event program here: https://zaum.mk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/2001_01_24_Kapital_i_pol_katalog.pdf. The event was organized 24–27 January 2001, Skopje (24–26 January Conference Capital & Gender - Museum of the City of Skopje - Open Graphic Art Studio), 25 January Marina Abramović - The Great China Wall Walk - exhibition of 12 photographs with drawings - Museum of the City of Skopje - Open Graphic Art Studio; 26 January Public Art Project Perfect Match - City Shopping Mall; 24–27 Web project workshops - Contemporary Art Center).

69 Suzana Milevska, "Report on Capital & Gender: International Project for Art and Theory, 24–27 January 2001, Skopje," <https://nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-I-0102/msg00269.html>

70 *Ibid.*

investigation with their creation more directly."⁷¹ Artists presented works in different media, photographs, photo-installations, objects, video art projects, and performances.

Shopping was used as a metaphor for people's eternal desire to find the perfect match through the advertising of anything, from clothing to their personal life. Thus, the opening of the exhibition itself, Suzana Milevska noted, was imagined and structured as an invitation to the audience to embark on a shopping tour at the City Shopping Mall.

As we can see, this event, in addition to the critical theme, was a "performance" in itself, which involved all participants (artists, curators, theorists, art critics, managers and audiences) in a performative action of reforming the "art world," from a very traditional single-media flat symbolism to a complex and critical direct intervention into the dispositive, which resulted in the start of the "becoming of critical body" of the "contemporary art world" in North Macedonia. This event was one of the first to open up questions related to gender, sexuality, sex and pornography, among others. Not long after, in 2005, Kočo Andonovski in the frame of the TV show "Čumu" (Чумы) on A1 Television would be the first person to speak publicly about LGBT rights in Macedonia. Later, the organization MASSO was formed, which started working on LGBT rights.

The appearance of new spaces as political cultural performance

As we discussed earlier, the 1990s had their own specific role in the birth of civil society, which was a high priority for the Soros Foundation, which enabled the development of the Center for Contemporary Arts and the Performing Arts Center Multimedia as the two main pillars for contemporary art developments in civil society. With the establishment of these centers, contemporary "aesthetics" developed and new programs were established, which involved production and education, as well as dissemination of newly developed works in the frame of new festivals and exhibitions. These spaces enjoyed

71 *Ibid.*

Kot lahko vidimo, je bil dogodek poleg kritične teme tudi »performans«, ki je vključeval vse udeležence (umetnike, kustose, teoretike, umetnostne kritike, menedžerje in publiko) v performativno dejanje reformiranja »sveta umetnosti« iz zelo tradicionalnega, na posamični medij osredotočenega simbolizma v kompleksno in kritično neposredno intervencijo v dispozitiv, ki je pripeljala do začetka »nastajanja kritičnega telesa« »sodobnega umetnostnega sveta« v Severni Makedoniji. Ta dogodek je bil eden prvih, ki je načel vprašanja spola, seksualnosti, spolnosti in pornografije ter drugih. V naslednjem obdobju, ali konkretnije leta 2005, je bil Kočo Andonovski v okviru televizijske oddaje »Čumu« (Чумы) na televiziji A1 prvi, ki je javno spregovoril o pravicah LGBT skupnosti v Makedoniji, pozneje pa se je oblikovala organizacija MASSO, ki se je začela ukvarjati s pravicami LGBT skupnosti.

Pojav novih prostorov kot politično kulturno delovanje

Kot sva zapisali, so imela devetdeseta leta svoje posebnosti v rojstvu civilne družbe, ki jo je močno podpiral Sorosov sklad, ki je omogočil razvoj Centra za sodobno umetnost (CAC) in Centra uprizoritvenih umetnosti Multimedia (PAC Multimedia) kot dveh stebrov civilne družbe za razvoj sodobne umetnosti. Z ustanovitvijo teh centrov se je razvila sodobna »estetika«, prav tako pa so se vzpostavili novi programi, ki so vključevali produkcijo, izobraževanje in tudi prikazovanje novih del v okviru novih festivalov in razstav. Prostora sta imela večja proračuna od javnih zavodov in nista bila niti civilna družba, kot jo poznamo danes, niti instituciji, ampak sta podpirala institucionalni pravni okvir, saj sta bila »zasebna zavoda« vmes med institucionalnim formatom in civilnim sektorjem. Organizaciji sta imeli svoje prostore, ki so se spreminjali (selili so se od prostorov v institucijah do zasebnih hiš, a vedno so imeli javen prostor za predstavitve),⁷² vendar so bili predhodniki drugih javnih prostorov pred nevladnimi organizacijami, ki so se razvile po letu 2000.

Nekateri od drugih prostorov, ki so vzniknili v devetdesetih letih, so bili alternativni prostori, kot se jim je reklo, ali novi formati neinstitucionalnega angažmaja. Ko o teh prostorih govori Vilić, pripomni, da pojav novih prostorov v sebi ne nosi zamisli, da

72 Omeniva naj samo, da bil prvi urad Sorosovega sklada v posloplju Vlade Republike Makedonije.

bi bili alternativa uradnim muzejskim in galerijskim prostorom: »Ta kampanja za 'druge' prostore tako ni bojkot institucij ali poziv k spoprijemanju z njimi, temveč le priložnost in poskus, da bi preživeli kot umetniki.«⁷³ Vsi so bili centri za različne dejavnosti, a redkokdaj za performativna dela. Instalacije, novi mediji, elektronska umetnost in multimedijški projekti so dobivali veliko spodbude in bili v splošni rabi kot mediji v tistem desetletju. Ko potegnemo vzporednico s sedanjo situacijo oziroma s časom, ko je bilo napisano to besedilo, vidimo, da so bila devetdeseta leta obdobje razcveta ne le produkcije, ampak tudi prostorov, kjer je bilo to produkcijo mogoče pokazati, še zlasti ker danes razen institucij ni v Makedoniji niti enega samega samcatega prostora za sodobno umetnost.⁷⁴ Ali to pomeni, da jih polje umetnosti ne potrebuje? Vprašanje je, zakaj se tovrstna prizadevanja niso razvila v oblike delovanja, prakse ali modele, ki bi služili kot osnova za nove prostore.

Pobuda za odpiranje novih prostorov se je nehala na začetku novega tisočletja. Nekateri od že obstoječih prostorov so postali del institucij, drugi so se zaprli, in leta 2020 lahko rečemo, da je Makedonija država institucij brez »neodvisnih« prostorov. Sledimo lahko razvoju od živahnih umetniških dejavnosti do utrujenosti (Plavevski, Abadžieva) ob koncu devetdesetih let.⁷⁵

Z odprtjem različnih z umetnostjo povezanih prostorov poleg Centra za sodobno umetnost (CAC) in Centra za uprizoritvene umetnosti Multimedia (PAC Multimedia) lahko potrdiva tezo, da je bilo to obdobje razcveta ne le za umetnost in kulturno produkcijo, ampak tudi za produkcijo prostorov v Makedoniji, ki jo je prinesla mednarodna finančna podpora, ki je uvajala tudi nove politike. Politika skladov je bila naklonjena razvijanju novih modelov institucij, tako sta bila ustanovljena CAC in Multimedia kot »instituciji«. Kot lahko opazimo, njun razvoj ni nasprotoval javnim institucijam, ampak so ga razumeli kot določeno institucionalno nadgradnjo. Tudi drugi prostori, ki so bili v odnosih

73 Nebojša Vilić, *Dossier 1994–97* (Skopje: Horizons Unlimited Ltd., 1997), str. 23.

74 Med najino raziskavo in pisanjem tega besedila je bil edini sedanji neodvisno vodeni prostor, posvečen sodobni umetnosti, zaprt. V mislih imava projektni prostor za sodobno uprizoritveno umetnost in kulturo Kino Kultura (2015–2020) www.kinokultura.org.mk

75 Plavevski, »Fatigue«, str. 34.

bigger budgets than the public institutions and were neither part of civil society – as we know it today – nor were they institutions, but observed an institutional legal framework as “private institutions,” which was something between the institutional format and the civil sector. These organizations had spaces that were changeable (they changed from spaces in institutions to private houses, yet always had a public presentation space);⁷² however, they were predecessors of other public spaces led primarily by NGOs, which were developed in the post-2000s.

Some of the other spaces that appeared in the 1990s were so-called alternative spaces that offered new formats of non-institutional engagement. But as Vilić notes, these new spaces were not intended to serve as an alternative to official museums and gallery spaces: “So this campaign for ‘other’ sites is not a boycott or a call to take on art institutions, it is just an opportunity and an attempt to survive as an artist.”⁷³ These were centers for different activities, but rarely for performative works. Installations, new media, and electronic arts and multimedia projects were stimulated and generally used throughout the decade. When we draw parallels with the current situation or the time of the writing of this text, we can say that the 1990s were a boom period, not only in terms of production, but also in terms of places where this production could be shown – especially because today in Macedonia, apart from the institutions, there is not a single space for contemporary art.⁷⁴ Does this mean that the art field doesn’t need them? For the question is, why didn’t these kinds of endeavors develop a way of functioning, a practice or a model that would serve as a basis for new spaces?

The initiative to open up new spaces would come to a halt at the beginning of the 2000s. Some existing ones would become part of institutions, while some would close, and in 2020 we can say that this is a country of institutions without “independent”

72 Just to note that the Soros Foundation’s first office was in the building of the Government of Republic of Macedonia.

73 Nebojša Vilić, *Dossier 1994-97* (Skopje: Horizons Unlimited Ltd., 1997), 23.

74 While researching and writing, the only independently run space that existed and was dedicated to contemporary art was closed. We refer to the Kino Kultura project space for contemporary performing arts and culture (2015–2020) www.kinokultura.org.mk

spaces. Thus, we can trace a line between earlier lively artistic activity and the fatigue (Plavevski, Abadziewa) that had set in by the 1990s.⁷⁵

With the opening up of different art-related spaces – other than CAC and PAC Multimedia – we can confirm the thesis that it was a period of flourishing, not only for arts and cultural production, but also for production of spaces in Macedonia that came with international support and which were also establishing new policies. Foundation policies supported new models of institutional development, thus CAC and Multimedia were established as “institutions.” As we see, their development didn’t oppose or work against the existing public institutions but was understood as a certain institutional upgrade. Also, other spaces which were connected with the institutions were certain upgrades of the public institutions (Gallery JAT (Yugoslavian Aero Transport) and Art City – a story of the new city – Havzi Pasini konaci in the village Bardovci as part of Museum of contemporary Art, Graficko Studio of the Museum of the City of Skopje, Cifte amam Turkish bath, which served as a space for three consecutive exhibitions organized by artists in the 1990s and early-2000s and opened as a new space of the National Gallery of Macedonia), but not as a critique or anti-hegemony political gesture, since the institutional hegemony was in the process of “becoming.” These processes enabled other spaces for art to open, such as the interior of the SAM tea room, the guest room of a private house at No. 92 Kej 13 November; Fluxus café in Bitola, Aero gallery (opened in 1999 next to the Tabernaul bookstore, which was also a toponym in the city); in 2000 the Degree Gallery opened as part of the cultural venue Mesto, and the same year the Macedonian Center for Photography, the small prewar house at No. 8 Zeleznicka street (The Duplo (Double) Gallery), which was only used once, and for the exhibition *Icon on Silver*, the second annual exhibition of the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts – Skopje in 1996.

The only private initiative was Mala Stanica, which was established as a private organization in 1991 and received support for the space from the Ministry of Defense. The organization rented the building, and as one of the founders, theater director Slobodan Unkovski said, Mala Stanica was an alternative

75 Plavevski, “Fatigue,” 34.

z institucijami, so bili določena nadgradnja javnih institucij (Galerija JAT, Art City – zgodba o novem mestu, Havzi Pasini konaci v vasi Brdovci kot del MSU-ja, Grafični atelje v Mestnem muzeju Skopje, turška kopel Cifte imam, ki je bila prostor treh zaporednih razstav, ki so jih organizirali umetniki v devetdesetih letih, leta 2000 pa se je odprla kot novi prostor Narodne galerije Makedonije), in ne kritika ali politična gesta proti hegemoniji, saj je bila institucionalna hegemonija v procesu »nastajanja«. Ti postopki so pospešili odpiranje drugih prostorov umetnosti, kot je notranjost čajnice SAM, soba za goste v zasebni hiši na Kej 13. november 92, kavarna Fluxus v Bitoli, Galerija Aero (ki se je odprla leta 1999 poleg knjigarne Tabernaul, ki je bila tudi toponim mesta). Leta 2000 je bila odprta Galerija Stopinja kot del kulturne lokacije Mesto, istega leta tudi Makedonski center za fotografijo, majhna predvojna hiša na Železniški cesti 6, Galerija Duplo, ki je bila uporabljena le enkrat, in sicer za razstavo *Ikona na srebru*, drugo letno razstavo SCCA Skopje leta 1996. Edina zasebna iniciativa je bila Mala Stanica, ki je bila ustanovljena kot zasebna organizacija leta 1991 in ki jo je s prostorom podprlo Ministrstvo za obrambo. Organizacija je imela stavbo v najemu in, kot je rekel eden od ustanoviteljev, gledališki režiser Slobodan Unkovski, je bila Mala Stanica alternativni forum za uprizoritvene in vizualne umetnosti ter po svoji logistiki popolnoma neprofitna organizacija. Ta prostor je bil odvzet državi in najprej spremenjen v prostor, v katerem bi države EU predstavljale svojo umetnost in kulture, kar nikoli ni zaživel, potem pa so ga leta 2005 spremenili v »multimedijski prostor« kot del Narodne galerije Makedonije. V prenovljenem prostoru ni bilo prostorskih možnosti za razvoj in predstavitev gledališča ali plesa. Prostor je nekaj časa uporabljalo nekaj nevladnih organizacij, danes pa je multimedijski center, ki se v glavnem uporablja kot galerijski prostor.

Drugi prostor ni fizičen, ampak radijski; Glasbeni radio kanal 103 je bil ustanovljen kot del državne RTV, a je deloval neodvisno. »Glasbeni radio – kanal 103 je edina alternativna (nekomercialna) radijska postaja v Makedoniji, ki je dosegla kulturni status in strastno privrženo poslušalstvo. Oddaja že od leta 1991, njegovo poslanstvo je promocija avantgardne glasbe in idej, odgovoren pa je za nekatere od najpomembnejših kulturnih transformacij v regiji.«⁷⁶

76 Za več informacij glej: <http://www.kanal103.com.mk/about103.php?lang=1&mb=5>

Z ustanavljanjem teh prostorov se je začelo zamišljanje novega »sveta umetnosti«, čeprav se žal ni ohranilo, zato jih lahko beremo kot eksces, kot prelom, kot idejo, ki je ukinjena kot nevidna. A kljub temu želiva narediti vidne kulturne prostore kot dogodke v družbenem okolju, ki jih lahko beremo kot kulturno delo, kot dejanje izvajanja prostora sodobne umetnosti ali nove modele institucij, sredstvo za umetnostno produkcijo itd., ne pa kot projekt »sorosrealizma«, ki ga poganja neoliberalizem. Nič huđega, če so nekateri od njih to bili, za naju je pomembnejše, kaj so kot procesi oddajali v tej prisotnosti. Zato jih želiva vstaviti v predhodnike v procesu nastajanja okolja za politično-kot-kritično umetnost. Izvajajo prisotnost, ki je odsotna, zato je še toliko bolj treba o njih ponovno razmisliti.

forum for performing and visual arts, and was a definitively non-profit organization. This space was taken over from the state and was transformed first into a space for EU countries representing their art and culture, which never came to life, and was then transformed in 2005 into a “multimedia space” as part of the National Gallery of Macedonia. In the renewed space there were no spatial possibilities for the development and presentation of theater or dance. The space was used for some time by some NGOs; today it is a multimedia center, used primarily as a gallery space.

Another space, which is not an actual physical space, but a radio space, is Music Radio Kanal 103, which was established as part of the National Radio and TV but operated independently. “Music Radio – Kanal 103 is the only alternative (non-commercial) radio station in Macedonia that achieved a cult status and a passionately devoted following among its audience. Transmitting since 1991, its mission is to promote avant-garde music and ideas, and is responsible for some of the most important cultural transformations in the region.”⁷⁶

The establishment of these spaces piqued the imagination of the new “art world”, but unfortunately could not be sustained; thus, they can be read as excesses, as ruptures, as an idea that is abolished as invisible. Still, we want to make visible those cultural spaces as events in their social surroundings that can be read as cultural performance, as acts of performing a space(s) of contemporary art, or new models of institutions, means for art production etc... rather than as neoliberally-driven “sorosrealism” projects. Regardless of the fact that some of them were just that, it is more important (for us) what they as processes produced or generated in these circumstances. Thus, we want to place them among the forerunners in the process of becoming an environment for the political as critical art. They perform a presence that is absent, which is even more reason that they should be revisited.

76 For more information see: <http://www.kanal103.com.mk/about103.php?lang=1&mb=5>



07

A Small Island of Unofficial Truths: Staging the Politics of Humor, Protest and Agency at Dodona Theater

Open scene:

Prizrenlija (played by Luan Daka) walks on stage and embraces Faruk Begolli.

He has come to put in a word for an actor auditioning for an upcoming play directed by Begolli. However, Prizrenlija ends up performing himself. Enacting a Prizrenian accent and syntax marked by an absence of grammatical gender and the mixing of Albanian, Turkish and Serbian language words, Prizrenlija confidently explains that he offered the candidate some tips on preparing: "a monologue, a poem, something funny and something more dramatic."¹

Prizrenlija embraces Begolli.

Begolli: Do we know each other?

Prizrenlija: Of course, I know you! I saw you play in Partisan and cowboy films...Tito made good, made actors...

Following some more "empty talk" Prizrenlija goes on to perform:



**Linda
Gusia**

**Nita
Luci**

Otoček neuradnih resnic: uprizarjanje politike humorja, protesta in delovanja v Gledališču Dodona

Začetni prizor:

Prizrenčan (igra ga Luan Daka) pride na oder in objame Faruka Begollija.

Prišel je, da bi priporočil igralca, ki se je prijavil na avdicijo za igro, ki jo bo režiral Begolli. Vendar na koncu Prizrenčan nastopi sam. Z uprizarjanjem prizrenskega naglasa in sintakse, za katero je značilna odsotnost slovničnega spola, v mešanici albanskih, turških in srbskih besed Prizrenčan samozavestno pojasni, da je kandidatu svetoval, naj pripravi »monolog, pesem, nekaj smešnega in nekaj bolj dramatičnega.«¹

Prizrenčan objame Begollija.

Begolli: A se poznava?

Prizrenčan: Seveda te poznam! Videl sem te igrati v partizanski in kavbojski filmi ... Tito dobro delal, delal igralce ...

Po še nekaj praznega klepeta Prizrenčan zaigra:

Mas pari po flasish poezija, nji dakik koncentracija. Najprej poveš pesem – uporabi srbsko besedo; počakaš trenutek – uporabi turško besedo; koncentracija – uporabi srbsko besedo.

¹ *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi*, directed and written by Faruk Begolli, 1992, accessed 19 April 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P657dcKFxJ0>.

¹ *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi*, scenarij in režija Faruk Begolli, 1992, dostop 19. 4. 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P657dcKFxJ0>.

Mas pari po flasish poezija, nji dakik koncentracija.
First you speak a poem – uses a Serbian word; hold a *moment* – uses a Turkish word; *concentration* – uses a Serbian word.

Landovica²

....
A ta ka kap shumbullima
...
E ka flas Vllaznim Bashkim
Dy heroja, dy heroja dy trimneshka
Boro hem Ramiz, Shiptar hem Serbian, dy trimneshka
E kanë dhez vllaznim - bashkim
Historia ka me flas a oshtë e drejta a e padrejta
...
Sma ka tut as kral as mbret e jo po tus nji *pismilet*

Ramiz, o vella (original)

Landovicë, a i pe dy trima?
Landovicë, a të rroku shungullima?
A pe oj, ne pritë?
Në luftën që su ndanë,
Nën plumbat e tradhtarit Boro e Ramizi kur ranë?
Landovicë, a ndjeve oj?
...
Me ty o, flamurtar
Nën yllin çlirimtar,
U ngrit i ulti rob
Punëtor e katundar!
Me ty lulëzoi vëllaznimi,
Dora dorës iu shtri
...

Landovica (recitation)

...
Did the shudders grab you?
....
It spoked of Brotherhood Unity
Two heroes, two brave heroines
Boro and Ramiz, on one hand Albanian on the other
Serb, two heroines
History will speaks if it just or if it is unjust
...
I did not get scared by Kralj or King, and neither will
I of this *pismilet*.³

2 In original “Ramiz, o vlla” by Esat Mekuli, 1951.

3 Turkish word used colloquially to refer to a person or

Ramiz, o brother (original)

Landovica, did you see two brave men?
Landovica did you feel the shudders?
Did you see hey, in the ambush?
In the battle undivided
Beneath the traitor’s bullets when Boro and Ramiz fell?
Landovica, did you feel it hey?
...
With you, flagbearer
Under the liberation star,
Rose the lowly slave

Worker and peasant!
With you brotherhood flowered
One hand reached out to the other

The poem recited, written by Esat Mekuli in 1951, was dedicated to Ramiz Sadiku and Boris Vukmirović, an Albanian and Montenegrin, respectively. Both members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, they were killed by Italian Fascists in Landovicë, Prizren, in April 1943. The relevance of the story lies in Sadiku’s refusal to abandon Vukmirović although he was offered to walk free. Both were executed. Exalted as heroes, they came to constitute the backbone of brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia. Many buildings, centers, schools, parks and streets were named after them, and many more poems and songs were written and performed in their honor. Monuments were erected to signify loyalty to their ideology, as well as their loyalty to each other, as the epitome of interethnic fraternity and friendship. However, Daka’s recitation brings to question that which had been publicly silenced, that is, not the truthfulness of the event, but just how *just* were the structures of the system built upon the event. His monologue invites a Bakhtinian concern with the dimensions and dynamics of speech indexicality, “ways that the now-said reaches back to and somehow incorporates or resonates with the already-said and reaches ahead to, anticipates, and somehow incorporates the to-be-said.”⁴ The intentional inaccuracy and lack of a temporal signifier is telling – “History will speak if just or if

persons who are considered to be a mix of negative attributes (untrustworthy, unscrupulous, suspicious, or generally shady).

4 Richard Bauman, “Indirect Indexicality, Identity, Performance: Dialogic Observations,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 50, no. 1 (2005): 145.

Landovica²

....
A ta ka kap shumbullima
...
E ka flas Vllaznim Bashkim
Dy heroja, dy heroja dy trimneshka
Boro hem Ramiz, Shiptar hem Serbian, dy trimneshka
E kanë dhez vllaznim - bashkim
Historia ka me flas a oshtë e drejta a e padrejta
...
Sma ka tut as kral as mbret e jo po tus nji *pismilet*

Ramiz, o vella (original)

Landovicë, a i pe dy trima?
Landovicë, a të rroku shungullima?
A pe oj, ne pritë?
Në luftën që su ndanë,
Nën plumbat e tradhtarit Boro e Ramizi kur ranë?
Landovicë, a ndjeve oj?
...
Me ty o, flamurtar
Nën yllin çlirimtar,
U ngrit i ulti rob
Punëtor e katundar!
Me ty lulëzoi vëllaznimi,
Dora dorës iu shtri
...

Landovica (deklamacija)

...
Te je zgrabil tresenje?
....
Govorilo je o bratstvu enotnosti
dva heroja, dve pogumni heroji
Boro in Ramiz, na eni strani Albanec in drugi Srb,
dve heroji
Zgodovina bo povedal če pravična ali če nepravična
...
Nisem bal kral ne kralj, pa ne bom bal ta *pismilet*.³

Ramiz, brat moj (original)

Landovica, si videla pogumna moža?
Landovica, te je spreletel srh?

2 V originalu “Ramiz, o vlla” Esata Mekulija, 1951.

3 Turška beseda, ki se uporablja v pogovornem jeziku za človeka ali ljudi slabih lastnosti (nevrednih zaupanja, brezobzirnih, sumljivih in nepoštenih).

Si videla, ej, v zasedi?
Ko v boju nerazdružljiva
pod krogami izdajalca sta padla Boro in Ramiz?
Landovica, si to čutila, ej?
...
S tabo, zastavonoša
pod zvezdo osvoboditve,
se je dvignil ubogi suženj,
delavec in kmet!
S tabo je vzcvetelo bratstvo.
roka je segla v roko

Pesem, ki jo recitira, je napisal Esat Mekuli leta 1951, posvečena pa je Ramizu Sadikuju in Borisu Vukmiroviću, Albancu in Črnogorcu. Oba sta bila člana Jugoslovanke komunistične partije in oba so ubili italijanski fašisti aprila 1943 v Landovici v Prizrenu. Relevantnost zgodbe je v tem, da se je imel Sadiku možnost rešiti, a ni hotel zapustiti Vukmirovića. Oba so usmrtili. Po vojni sta bila čaščena kot junaka in njuna zgodba je bila eden temeljev bratstva in enotnosti v Jugoslaviji. Mnogo stavb, centrov, šol, parkov in ulic je nosilo njuni imeni in mnogo drugih pesmi je bilo napisanih in zapetih v njuno čast in slavo. Postavljali so spomenike, da bi označevali zvestobo njuni ideologiji, pa tudi njuno medsebojno lojalnost kot posebljenje medetničnega bratstva in prijateljstva. Dakovo recitiranje pa zastavi dvom o tem, kar je bilo v javnosti utišano: ne o resničnosti dogodka, temveč o *pravičnosti* struktur sistema, zgrajenega na tem dogodku. Njegov monolog kliče po bahtinovskem razmisleku o razsežnostih in dinamični govorne indeksikalnosti, »načinih, kako zdaj-povedano sega nazaj do, nekako inkorporira in odzvanja že-povedano ter sega naprej do, pričakuje in nekako inkorporira kar-bo-povedano.«⁴ Namerna netočnost in odsotnost časovnega označevalca sta zgovorni – »Zgodovina bo povedal če pravična ali nepravična«. Recitiranje je nekako ujeto v sedanosti, v nelagodnem položaju, v katerem je preteklost tarča posmeha, prihodnost pa negotova. Se bo zgodba izkazala za dovolj močno, da zdrži, kar je bilo mogoče napovedati že takrat: nova in porajajoča se spraševanja o zgodovini in prihodnje revizije? Zakaj in kako se bodo porušili politične strukture in kulturni označevalci tega ideala?

4 Richard Bauman, »Indirect Indexicality, Identity, Performance: Dialogic Observations«, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 50, št. 1 (2005), str. 145.

it unjust.” The recitation is somehow trapped in the present, in an uncomfortable position where the past is mocked, and the future is uncertain. Would the story prove to withstand, what even then could be predicted, new and emergent historical interrogations and revisions to come? Why and how would the political structures and cultural signifiers of this ideal collapse?

Playing with words in combining Albanian, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian, a discursive battle is performed on stage between indices of past ideologies and newly formed ones. It is played out in a dialogic context – between the actor (auditioning) and the director (acting) – towards a colloquial hybridity that serves to generate one’s own presence as quoted speech: “*I saw you play in Partisan and cowboy films... Tito made good, made actors.*” Mixing the three languages creates an utterance of critique, a mixing of language, based on a colloquialism which signifies both historical ethnic diversity and signals differences based on ethnic identifications. This release of some of the potential burden carried by otherwise dramatic discourses and social relations, on stage and outside of it, invites laughter to calibrate and face new political realities. Pomorska argues that:

Either we remember and respond to someone else’s words... or we represent them in order to argue, disagree, or defend them... or, finally, we carry on an inner dialogue, responding to someone’s words. In each case someone else’s speech makes it possible to generate our own and thus becomes an indispensable factor in the creative power of language.⁵

Reciting a poem that everyone in the audience undoubtedly knew as part of the Yugoslav pedagogic curriculum, and relying on the familiarity of the concept of brotherhood and unity, it creates a moment, albeit brief, to regard past *kings* and *kraljs*, and the emerging regime, as rulers and colonizers that have always been resisted (the Ottomans notwithstanding; Prizrenlijas hybridity is predicated on the historical and cultural relevance of the Ottomans in Prizren). With all the past “good and bad guys,” be they partisans, cowboys, *kraljs*

5 Krystyna Pomorska, “Foreword,” in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), ix.

or kings, whether on screen, stage or the street, surviving the new *pismilet* (i.e. Milošević) would require new kinds of perseverance.

Staging the resistance

Humor and comedy as artistic performance are context bound. Humor is fundamentally also interactional. As a cultural product it relies upon shared norms and ideas and furthermore can help shape new discourses and experiences, as well as create a sense of agency and the tools for social protest.⁶ In this treatment of a theater play, the comedy of Dodona Theater is read as a small island of humor and truths.⁷ Considering them as political performances, as acts of subversion, they speak to additional forms of protest sought against the repressive regime being installed in Kosova at the time. In the absence of what would be regarded, or recognized, as “performance art,” we bring to the forefront one theater, and selected scenes from one play in particular, to tell a story of the social, cultural and political staging and enactments of resistance. The selected characters and scenes, intentionally resurfaced here, used humor to stage artistic acts of dissent and protest and became part of shared narrative formations based on collective experiences. Humor was thus not only a powerful communication tool, or a “weapon of the weak,” rather it engaged in reversed discourse, revising and generating critique based on a creative antagonism.⁸ It called into question not just the authority and legitimacy of emergent structures, but also created a new discourse and frames to articulate, report, ridicule and dismantle. In this instance, framing the reading as that of a cultural and political production of performance, we look to the conceptualization and practices of art, and the making of public spaces for enacting politics.

Dodona was established as a puppet theater in 1987. Its troupe initially performed in various theaters throughout Kosova until the building was open for production in 1992. The small narrow space with one stage and 167 seats began operating at a peculiar time. The National Theater had shut

6 Marjolein 't Hart, “Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction,” *International Reviews of Social History*, no. 52 (2007): 2.

7 Here we draw inspiration from Bakhtin’s use of “islands” and their Menippean qualities to dialogically reveal the truth.

8 Hart, “Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction”, 18.

V besedni igri, ki kombinira albanščino, turščino in srbohrvaščino, se na odru izvaja diskurzivna bitka med indeksi preteklih in novonastalih ideologij. Odvija se v kontekstu dialoga – med igralcem (ki je na avdiciji) in režiserjem (ki igra) – k pogovorni hibridnosti, ki služi za ustvarjanje lastne prisotnosti kot citirani govor: »Videl sem te igrati v partizanski in kavbojski filmi ... Tito dobro delal, delal igralce.« *Mešanje* treh jezikov ustvari kritično izjavo, mešanje jezikov, osnovano na pogovornih izrazih, označuje zgodovinsko etnično raznolikost in nakazuje razlike na osnovi etničnih identifikacij. To odlaganje dela potencialnega bremena, ki ga sicer nosijo dramatični diskurzi in družbeni odnosi, na oder in zunaj njega vabi smeh, da bi kalibriral in soočal nove politične realnosti. Kot pravi Pomorska:

Besed nekoga drugega se ali spomnimo in se odzovemo nanje ... ali jih predstavimo, da o njih razpravljamo, se z njimi ne strinjamo ali jih zagovarjamo, ... ali pa se, na koncu, zapletemo v notranji dialog in odgovarjamo na tuje besede. V vsakem od teh primerov nam govor nekoga drugega omogoča generirati naš lastni govor in s tem postane nepogrešljiv dejavnik v ustvarjalni moči jezika.⁵

Recitiranje pesmi, ki so jo vsi v občinstvu nedvomno poznali kot del jugoslovanskega učnega načrta, in zanašanje na to, da je bil koncept bratstva in enotnosti vsem dobro znan, sta ustvarila trenutek, četudi kratek, gledanja na pretekle kralje in *krale* ter na porajajoči se režim kot na vladarje in kolonizatorje, proti katerim se je ljudstvo vedno upiralo (navkljub Turkom; hibridnost Prizrenčanov temelji na zgodovinski in kulturni relevantnosti Turkov v Prizrenu). Pri vseh preteklih »ta dobrih in ta hudobnih«, pa naj je šlo za partizane, kavboje, *krale* ali kralje, na filmskem platnu, na odru ali na ulici, je bila za to, da bi preživeli novega *pismileta* (tj. Miloševića), potrebna nova vrsta vztrajnosti.

Uprizarjanje odpora

Humor in komedija kot umetniški performans sta vezana na kontekst. Humor je v temelju tudi interakcijski. Kot kulturni produkt se zanaša na skupne norme in ideje ter lahko poleg tega pomaga

5 Krystyna Pomorska, »Foreword,« v: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), str. ix.

izoblikovati nove diskurze in izkušnje ter ustvariti občutek zmožnosti delovanja in orodja za družbeni protest.⁶ V tej obdelavi gledališke igre bereva komedijo gledališča Dodona kot otoček humorja in resnic.⁷ Če o njej razmišljamo kot o političnem performansu, kot o dejanju subverzije, se nanaša na dodatne oblike protesta proti represivnemu režimu, ki so ga takrat uvajali na Kosovu. V odsotnosti nečesa, kar bi lahko gledali ali prepoznali kot »umetniški performans«, se osredotočava na eno gledališče in še zlasti na izbrane prizore iz ene igre, da poveva zgodbo o družbenem, kulturnem in političnem uprizarjanju in izvajanju odpora. Tu načrtno predočeni izbrani liki in prizori so z uporabo humorja uprizarjali umetniška dejanja nestrinjanja in protesta ter postali del skupnih narativnih formacij, osnovanih na kolektivnih izkušnjah. Humor tako ni bil zgolj močno komunikacijsko orodje ali »orožje šibkih«, ampak se je uporabljal v obrnjenem diskurzu za revizijo in generiranje kritike na osnovi kreativnega antagonizma.⁸ Ni le zbuval dvomov o avtoriteti in legitimnosti porajajočih se struktur, ampak je tudi oblikoval nov diskurz in okvire za artikuliranje, poročanje, smešenje in rušenje. V tem primeru oblikujeva branje kot branje kulturne in politične produkcije performansa in se pri tem zgledujeva po konceptualizaciji in praksah umetnosti in ustvarjanju javnih prostorov za uprizarjanje politike.

Gledališče Dodona je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1987 kot lutkovno gledališče. Skupina je na začetku nastopala po raznih gledališčih po Kosovu, dokler se ni stavba leta 1992 odprla za predstave. Mali in ozki prostor z enim odrom in 167 sedeži je začel delovati v čudnem času. Narodno gledališče je bilo zaprto zaradi »izrednih ukrepov«, ki so zaustavili delovanje umetnostno-kulturne scene in njenih institucij in jih izrinili iz uradnih prostorov delovanja. Februarja 1989 je Miloševićev režim na Kosovu uvedel vojno stanje. »Izredno stanje«, ki je trajalo naslednjih devet let, je pomenilo *de facto* apartheid na osnovi etnične segregacije in državno podpiranega nasilja nad albansko večino. 23. marca 1990 so srbski vojaški tanki in policija obkolili Skupščino Kosova, nakar so srbske

6 Marjolein 't Hart, »Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction«, *International Reviews of Social History*, št. 52 (2007): str. 2.

7 Navdih za to sva dobili pri Bahtinovi rabi »otokov« in njihovih menipejskih lastnosti za razkrivanje resnice.

8 Hart, »Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction«, str. 18.

down under so-called “special measures,” which closed and pushed the art and cultural scene and institutions out of formal spaces of operation. In February 1989, the Milošević regime imposed martial law on Kosovo. The “state of emergency” that lasted the next nine years consisted of *de facto* apartheid based upon ethnic segregation and state-sponsored violence against the Albanian majority. On 23 March 1990, Serbian military tanks and police had surrounded the Assembly of Kosovo whereby, without a quorum, Serbian political authorities amended the constitution. These changes resulted in the revocation of Kosovo’s status as an autonomous province. The decision also imposed restrictions that aimed, as Howard Clark has observed, at “nothing less but to change the ethnic structure of Kosovo permanently.”⁹ By July of the same year, members of the Kosovo Assembly gathered on the steps of the building to declare Kosovo’s sovereignty and on 7 July proclaimed its constitution. This declaration came after the Serbian Parliament had approved the creatively titled, *Political Action Platform of the Central Committee of Yugoslavia in the Political Circumstances of the Province of Kosovo* and the plan of the Republic of Serbia for *Peace, Freedom, Equality, Democracy and Prosperity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo*, which was made official in March 1990.¹⁰ Following the proclamation, the police took over Prishtina’s radio and television station RTP. Albanian journalists were expelled, followed by the removal of all government employees from all other state institutions, dramatically affecting services for health care, media, education, and other cultural, economic, and political institutions. During 1990 alone, an estimated 45 percent of Kosovar Albanians lost their jobs under these measures, reaching almost all public sector employees by the end of the following year. The Milošević regime centralized control in Belgrade and annexed Kosovo. The schools and the University of Prishtina were also closed in 1992, marking the beginning of the decade long parallel school system.

Fig 1. Agim Qena’s satirical comic strip appeared in the daily newspaper and was often the first

9 Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 73.

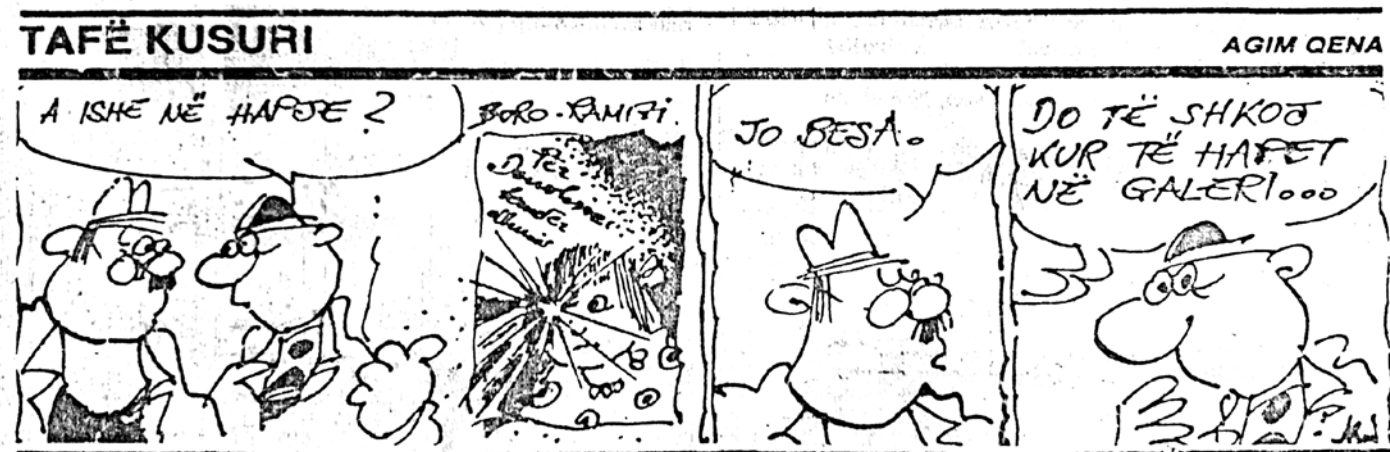
10 *Ibid.*, 58.

thing readers searched for in the paper.¹¹ Here Tafë Kusuri, Qena’s central character, asks a Serbian acquaintance, a recurring character, if he had attended the exhibition *For Democracy – Against Violence* organized at the People’s Province Theater foyer. Oblivious, insensitive, or even mocking the parallel system and the new emerging reality, he replies: “I’ll visit when it opens at the Gallery.” A petition *For Democracy, Against Violence* was also presented to the UN with some 400,000 signatures. Forced out of formal institutions, the art and cultural scene was transposed to various private spaces – including restaurants, bars, culture centers, homes, as well as abandoned spaces – and thus initiating a parallel artistic scene, similar to that of Dodona Theater. One example was the Dodona Gallery which opened as late as 1996, funded by the Soros Open Society Foundation.

In this political and social context Dodona Theater emerges as a space of multiple possibilities. As a public theater its program housed puppet shows for children during the daytime, would be rented as a concert hall for emerging music bands, was a home away from home for the National Theater that was now closed, and a school for new actors and directors. Sustaining itself from the ticket sales of popular performances, plays by Chekhov, Shakespeare, and others, and highly popular comedies like *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi* (Professor I am a talent indeed), Dodona became an independent and self-financed artistic space that negotiated disparate constraints and pressures to emerge into a space of transformation, pedagogy, performance and resistance. In the context of extreme forms of police violence – street beatings, arbitrary arrest, clouds of tear gas, water cannons and killings – Dodona was a space where everyone was invited and where the audience was often included in the performances. With the active participation of the audience, sharing laughter and engaging in the wit and satire on stage, going to the theater also became an invitation to expand the protest. Once public gatherings of more than five persons in public spaces became legally restricted, going to the theater also became a manifestation of political disobedience, sharing the experience, as well as performing agency.

11 Agim Qena, “Tafe Kusuri,” *Rilindja*, 6 April 1990: 16. Taken from the Rilindja public archive at the Kosovo National Library.

Slika 1. / Fig 1.



politične oblasti brez kvoruma sprejele ustavna dopolnila. Spremembe so pripeljale do odvzema statusa avtonomne province Kosovu. Odredba je tudi uvajala omejitve, katerih namen je bil, kot je to opisal Howard Clark, »nič manj kot trajno spremeniti etnično strukturo Kosova.«⁹ Julija istega leta so se člani skupščine Kosova zbrali na stopnica stavbe, da bi razglasili samostojnost Kosova in 7. julija proglasili njegovo ustavo. Do razglasitve je prišlo po tem, ko je srbski parlament potrdil kreativno poimenovano »Politično akcijsko platformo Centralnega komiteja Jugoslavije v političnih razmerah Pokrajine Kosovo« in načrt Republike Srbije za »Mir, svobodo, enakost, demokracijo in blagostanje v Socialistični avtonomni pokrajini Kosovo«, ki sta stopila v veljavo marca 1990.¹⁰ Po tej razglasitvi je policija zasedla prištinsko radiotelevizijo RTP. Albanske novinarje so izgnali, čemur je sledilo odstranjevanje vse vladnih uslužbencev iz vseh drugih državnih ustanov, kar je dramatično prizadelo zdravstvene storitve, medije, izobraževalne in druge kulturne, gospodarske in politične ustanove. Le v letu 1990 je zaradi teh ukrepov izgubilo službo po ocenah 45 % kosovskih Albancev, do konca prihodnjega leta pa skoraj vsi, ki so bili zaposleni v javnem sektorju. Miloševićev režim je centraliziral nadzor v Beogradu in priključil Kosovo. Leta 1992 so se zaprle še šole in Univerza v Prištini, kar je zaznamovalo začetek desetletje dolgega vzporednega šolskega sistema.

Slika 1. Satira Agima Qena je izhajala v dnevniku in bila pogosta prva stvar, ki so jo bralci v časopisu

9 Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), str. 73.

10 Prav tam, str. 58.

poiskali.¹¹ Tu Tafë Kusuri, Qenov glavni junak, vpraša srbskega znanca, ki se tudi pogosto pojavlja, če si je ogledal razstavo *Za demokracijo – proti nasilju*, organizirano v foajeju Ljudskega pokrajinskega muzeja. Morda iz nevednosti, morda brezbrizno, morda pa v posmehu do vzporednega sistema in porajajoče se nove realnosti mu znanec odgovori: »Bom šel pogledat, ko se bo odprla v Galeriji.«

Peticija »Za demokracijo – proti nasilju« s 400.000 podpisi je bila predana tudi OZN-ju. Umetniška in kulturna scena, ki je bila izgnana iz uradnih ustanov, se je preselila v razne zasebne prostore – vključno z restavracijami, lokali, kulturnimi centri, domovi in zapuščenimi prostori – in tako vzpostavila vzporedno umetniško sceno, podobno gledališču Dodona. Tak primer je bila Galerija Dodona, ki se je odprla šele leta 1996 s podporo Sorosove fundacije za odprto družbo.

V tem političnem in družbenem kontekstu je gledališče Dodona delovalo kot prostor mnogoterih možnosti. Kot javno gledališče je čez dan izvajalo program lutkovnih predstav za otroke, oddajalo prostor za koncerte novim glasbenim skupinam, bilo začasno domovanje za zaprto Kosovsko gledališče in šola za nove igralce in režiserje. Vzdrževalo se je s prodajo vstopnic za popularne predstave, igre Čehova, Shakespeara in drugih, ter za izjemno priljubljene komedije, kot je *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi* (Profesor, jaz sem res talent). S tem je postalo neodvisen, samofinanciran umetniški prostor preobrazbe, pedagogike, performansa in odpora. V kontekstu ekstremnih oblik policijskega

11 Agim Qena, »Tafe Kusuri«, *Rilindja*, 6. 4. 1990, str. 16. Vzeto iz javnega arhiva Rilindje, Kosovska narodna knjižnica.

One of the first shows to be performed in Dodona Theater was *Professor jam talent se jo mahi*.¹² Faruk Begolli, as director of the play auditions the actors, and by situating himself with the audience facilitates their responses. Begolli in particular uses the performance as a personal and self-reflecting mechanism where the jokes about him as a star of Yugoslav film and theater are persistent and mark his transformation and coming to terms with the crumbling of Yugoslavia and the new regime. Begolli himself acted in over 60 films produced throughout Yugoslavia, so when Dilber from Gjakova auditions, he reminds Begolli:

Te Era dhe Lisi ...e lujshë partizanin une Ballistin, mi pate dhonë edhe njo dy plumba në ballë, në emër të popullit, e une në emër të popullit po ta fali...la futen drynin Kosova filmit - se koma pasë me lujtë te lepuri me 6 kambë, 7 kambë, po nejse qysh ia qiten drynin, edhe ia hjekim

In *Era dhe Lisi*... you played the partisan and I played the Ballist,¹³ you gave me two bullets in the head in the name of the people, I also forgive you in the name of the people... They put the lock on Kosova Film – I was about to play in the movie *Rabbit with Six Legs*, then *Seven*, whatever, the same way they put the lock on it we'll take it off.

Both *Era dhe Lisi* (The wind and the oak) and *Lepuri me pesë këmb* (The rabbit with five legs) are regarded as examples of Kosova Film's short-lived golden age. Established in 1969, Kosova Film, a film production, distribution and screening company, was significant mostly because it created the first Albanian language films in Kosova. However, it also engaged with the dominant tropes through which Albanian cultural, social and political positions in Yugoslavia were understood. The films dealt with, among others, socialist state building, collectivization, Fascist collaborationists, social

¹² The play premiered at the People's Province Theater and was the first play staged at Dodona in this format on 22 June 1992. The play remained open, in three consecutive renditions, throughout the 1990s.

¹³ The Balli Kombetar (National Front) was formed in November 1942 and as a nationalist movement called for the creation of a greater Albania, while the Communist-dominated National Liberation Movement, which later became the National Liberation Front, was largely formed with the lead from Yugoslav Communists. The latter unsurprisingly opted for a policy that left Kosova in Yugoslavia.

and women's emancipation. They, however, also reproduced a discourse and representational imaginary that saw Albanians in continual conflict with the modernizing forces of socialist Yugoslavia. Yugoslav films had consistently relied on a number of tropes which showed a fascination with an Albanian subjectivity and "tradition," which they aimed to capture on film. This cinematography played an important role in shaping a broader social gaze and projections upon Albanians – reduced to highlanders reliant on customary laws, women subjugated by tradition, uneducated peasants resisting the state. Even those attempts that have been praised for not relying on such a narrow vision, such as Karanović's *Besa*, set in the context of World War I, erect a *Noble Savage* persona for Azem (played by Predrag Manojlović). When asked by Lieutenant Yevrem to keep his wife Lea safe, Azem gives his word/oath, his *Besa*. In the film synopsis Azem is defined as "an illiterate, patriarchal Albanian, the school custodian."¹⁴ His dedication to custom is used to anchor the spectators' fear, that even when left alone with Lea, Azem would not act with sexual aggression. Albanian men in particular were imagined through a contradictory nexus, of sexual aggression, particularly towards Slavic women, on the one hand, and cultural and political impotence on the other. This blind reductionism persistently masked the racism, and ways of seeing patriarchy as the *Other*, that speaks to an inability in the Yugoslav artistic scene, and the broader social field, to acknowledge this racism and the profound impact of these representations. Films produced by Kosova Film had also, to some extent, mirrored the blind spots of the limited frame of such dominant tropes. However, the representation of experiences and subjectivities of a heterogeneous society required not just an awareness of the inverted gaze, but also a rupture with regard to the limitations of a rigid system, a shift in perspective and standpoint, required for immersion into the painful process of decolonizing the imagination.

Dodona became part of a necessary rupture. Not just mirroring Yugoslav disintegration, but because and in spite of it. Through what can be read as a pedagogic exercise, Dodona inverted the hegemonic gaze by simultaneously facing extreme political violence and constructing a new

¹⁴ *Besa* directed by Srdjan Karanović (2009, Serbia), https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1272006/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl.

nasilja – pretepanja na ulici, arbitrarnih aretacij, oblakov solzivca, vodnega topa in ubojev – je bila Dodona prostor, kamor so bili povabljeni vsi in kjer je bilo občinstvo pogosto vključeno v predstavo. Z aktivnim sodelovanjem občinstva, s skupnim smehom in deljenimi duhovitostmi in satiro je postal odhod v gledališče tudi povabilo k širjenju protesta. Potem ko so zakonsko omejili zbiranje več kot petih oseb na javnih krajih, je obisk gledališča postal manifestacija politične nepokorščine, deljenje skupne izkušnje in izvajanje moči delovanja.

Ena od prvih predstav v gledališču Dodona je bila *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi* (Profesor, jaz sem res talent).¹² Faruk Begolli kot režiser izbira igralce na avdiciji in s tem, ko se postavi med občinstvo, olajša njihovo odzivanje. Begolli uporabi predstavo kot osebni mehanizem avtorefleksije, pri čemer se ne nehajo šale na njegov račun kot zvezdo jugoslovanskega filma in gledališča; te zaznamujejo njegov preobrazbo in spoprijemanje z razpadom Jugoslavije in novim režimom. Begolli je igral v več kot 60 filmih po vsej Jugoslaviji, zato ga Dilber iz Gjakova na avdiciji spomni:

Te Era dhe Lisi ...e lujshë partizanin une Ballistin, mi pate dhonë edhe njo dy plumba në ballë, në emër të popullit, e une në emër të popullit po ta fali...la futen drynin Kosova filmit - se koma pasë me lujtë te lepuri me 6 kambë, 7 kambë, po nejse qysh ia qiten drynin, edhe ia hjekim

V *Era dhe Lisi* ... si igral partizana, jaz pa balista,¹³ v imenu ljudstva si mi poslal dva metka v glavo, zato ti tudi jaz odpuščam v imenu ljudstva ... Na Kosova film so dali ključavnico – bil sem na tem, da bi igral v *Zajcu s šestimi nogami*, ali sedmimi, saj je vseeno, tako kot so ga zaklenili, bomo ključavnico tudi sneli.

Tako *Era dhe Lisi* (Veter in hrast) kot *Lepuri me pesë këmb* (Zajec s petimi nogami) veljata za primera

¹² Igra je bila premierno uprizorjena v Ljudskem pokrajinskem gledališču, v gledališču Dodona pa je bila v tem formatu prvič uprizorjena 22. 6. 1992. V treh zaporednih priredbah so jo izvajali skozi vsa devetdeseta leta.

¹³ Balli Kombetar (Narodna fronta) je bila ustanovljena novembra 1942. Bila je nacionalistično gibanje, ki se je zavzemalo za oblikovanje velike Albanije, medtem ko je narodnoosvobodilno gibanje, ki so ga vodili komunisti in ki je pozneje postalo narodnoosvobodilna fronta, nastalo v glavnem pod vodstvom jugoslovanskih komunistov. Slednji so se, kar ni presenetljivo, odločili za politiko, ki je ohranjala Kosovo v Jugoslaviji.

kratkotrajne zlate dobe Kosova filma, podjetja za filmsko produkcijo, distribucijo in predvajanje, ki je bilo ustanovljeno leta 1969 in bilo pomembno predvsem zato, ker je ustvarilo prve filme v albanščini na Kosovu. Vendar pa je uporabljalo tudi dominantne trope razumevanja kulturnega, družbenega in političnega položaja Albancev v Jugoslaviji. Filmi so med drugim obravnavali izgradnjo socialistične države, kolektivizacijo, fašistične kolaboracioniste, družbeno in žensko emancipacijo. Obenem pa so tudi reproducirali diskurz in upodobitveni imaginarij, ki sta prikazovala Albance v nenehnem konfliktu s silami modernizacije v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Jugoslovanski filmi so se dosledno zanašali na trope, ki so prikazovali fascinacijo nad albansko subjektivnostjo in »tradicijo«, ki so jo skušali ujeti in prikazati na filmu. Ta kinematografija je odigrala pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju širšega družbenega pogleda in projekcij na Albance – ti so bili zreducirani na hribovce, ki se ravna po starih običajih in svojih zakonih, na ženske, ki se uklanjajo tradiciji, na neizobražene kmete, ki se upirajo državi. Nekateri poskusi zaslužijo pohvalo, ker ne izhajajo iz tako ozkega pogleda, kot na primer Karanovićev film *Besa*, ki se dogaja v kontekstu prve svetovne vojne, a celo ta predstavi lik Azema (ki ga igra Predrag Manojlović) kot *plemenitega divjaka*. Ko ga poročnik Jevrem prosi, naj poskrbi za varnost njegove žene Lee, mu da Azem svojo besedo, *beso*. V sinopsisu filma je Azem opisan kot »nepismen, patriarhalen Albanec, šolski čuvaj.«¹⁴ Njegova predanost običajem je uporabljena za to, da se zasidra gledalčev strah, da tudi ko bo sam z Leo, ne bo ravnal seksualno agresivno. Še zlasti albanske moške so si zamišljali v protislovni zvezi na eni strani seksualne agresije, še posebno do slovanskih žensk, in na drugi strani kulturne in politične nesposobnosti. Ta slepi redukcionizem je vztrajno prikrival rasizem in načine videnja patriarhije kot *drugega*, ki govori o nezmožnosti jugoslovanske umetniške scene in širšega družbenega področja, da bi priznala ta rasizem in globoki vpliv takih upodobitev. Do neke mere so tudi filmi v produkciji Kosova filma zrcalili slepe pege omejenega okvira takih dominantnih tropov. Vendar reprezentacija izkušenj in subjektivnosti heterogene dražbe ni zahtevala le zavedanja obrnjenega pogleda, temveč tudi prelom z omejitvami rigidnega sistema, premik

¹⁴ *Besa* v režiji Srdjana Karanovića (2009, Srbija), https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1272006/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl.

imagination. Being pushed to the ultimate margins and away from any form of institutionalized life created a more profound apprehension of just how *Other* Albanians had been regarded. In each scene of the play there is a slow process of making visible, by Begolli to himself, and the public, an awareness and recognition of historical and contemporary violence. *Profesor jam talent se mahi* borrowed the main concept from the highly popular performance *Audicija* which was first put on stage in 1985. It is thought that some 2.5 million people saw some version of thus, making it one of the most popular comedy plays in the former Yugoslavia. Producing its own take on the concept, *Profesor* stays within references to a Yugoslav imagination, artistic aesthetic, and set of practices that spanned the borders of a dying political ideology. Through *Profesor jam talent se jo mahi* equals may laugh¹⁵ and, in this case, carry on producing their own interpretations, altering existing frameworks, while appropriating and in the process dismantling the frame. Dilber reminding Begolli of the bullets in the head is about signaling the silenced, often contradictory narratives, and unequal social structures that were now being questioned. When a public call for *Kosova Republikë* and any other critique carried a jail sentence, this historical reminiscence served as carnivalesque humor and as “a social force that allowed a text to enter a socio-political discourse, while enjoying impunity, and thus bring about cultural transformation.”¹⁶

Amela and the oppositional gaze

Dodona stages a rendition of a carnival of auditions, of drama students playing *untalented wannabe actors*, in a comedy that relies on ambiguities and contradictions, repetitive mocking, and moments of radical rupture and loss. Humor and satire, in particular, were used to create new political solidarities, not always amicable, and social and cultural discourse to speak back and resist an authoritarian regime. Thus, Dodona was made into a social space, akin to Bakhtin's definition of carnival, in which social and political hierarchies are

15 Hart, “Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction,” 4.

16 Nehama Aschkenasy, “Ruth and Bakhtin's Theory of Carnival,” (2007), <https://silo.tips/download/ruth-and-bakhtin-s-theory-of-carnival>. Cited in: Yeşim Kaptan, “Laugh and Resist! Humor and Satire Use in the Gezi Resistance Movement,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 15 (2016): 571.

temporarily suspended and people are liberated from social norms and sanctions. Whereas social hierarchies function by means of obscuring the contradictions, both making this order possible and threatening to destroy it, comedy, as Zupančič argues, exposes them.¹⁷ Comedy, more so than tragedy, offers a radical view of this movement. On one hand, the relevance of creating and maintaining comedy is that it can be a form of resistance in critical situations, specifically “resistance to that tendency of completely reducing the subject(ivity), say, to a victimized “suffering flesh” or to some other all-absorbing determination.”¹⁸ Secondly, by these means it allows for expressions of unstable and shifting understandings of subjectivity.

As the symbolic structures and infrastructures of Yugoslavia were being transgressed and separated, the production of social structures that had enabled certain subjectivities, experiences and positionalities where forced to find new ground and symbolic articulations. We are thus introduced to Amela Xhokoviqi played by Arbërsha Grabovci. Everybody calls her Kurumfil (carnation) because of her sweet temper and appeal. She comes from Rozhaje, a mountainous periphery and a border town at the same time, located in Montenegro but sharing close social, familial and economic ties with Peja on the Kosova side. She declares herself as an Albanian but her “ethnic belonging” is a possible point of contention. Referring to herself as a “Bosnian delight” and “Shqipareska” (Albanianesque), she is a young woman and a minority on either side of the border. Her background is also working class – her mother had been a waitress and father a driver – and is ambiguously situated in the “post Tito-pioneers” era of transitions and new negotiations and alliances. She invites and enacts a position that is reflective of her situatedness in a space of intersecting vectors

17 Alenka Zupančič, *The Odd One In: On Comedy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 214.

18 *Ibid.*, 216–217. “The zone of subjectivity that comedy might thus help us preserve and sustain is, of course, fundamentally ambivalent. It could function as that distance that ultimately helps to sustain the very oppression of the given order or situation, because it makes it bearable and induces the illusion of an effective interior freedom. On the other hand, however, it is precisely a surplus, empty place of subjectivity that constitutes the playground of any possible change, and gets mobilized in this change. It is the production of this kind of subjectivized empty space that the movement of comedy is very good at.”

v perspektivi in stališču, potreben za potopitev v boleči proces dekolonizacije domišljije.

Dodona je postala del nujnega preloma. Ne zgolj kot odsev razpada Jugoslavije, ampak zaradi tega in kljub temu. V nečem, kar lahko beremo kot pedagoško vajo, je Dodona obrnila hegemonični pogled s tem, da se je obenem soočila z ekstremnim političnim nasiljem in izoblikovala novo imaginacijo. Odrinjenost na skrajni rob in proč od vsake oblike institucionaliziranega življenja je pripeljala do še globljega spoznanja, kako zelo so bili Albanci videni kot Drugi. V vsakem prizoru igre je počasen proces, v katerem Begolli samemu sebi in publiku dela vidno zavedanje in prepoznavanje zgodovinskega in sodobnega nasilja. *Profesor jam talent se mahi* si je osrednji koncept izposodil pri izredno priljubljeni predstavi *Audicija*, ki so jo prvič uprizorili leta 1985. Menda jo je v eni ali drugi izvedbi videlo 2,5 milijona ljudi, s čimer je postala ena najbolj priljubljenih komedij v Jugoslaviji. Z lastno interpretacijo koncepta *Profesor* ostaja znotraj referenc na jugoslovansko imaginacijo, umetniško estetiko in prakse, ki so segale do vseh meja umirajoče politične ideologije. *S Profesor jam talent se jo mahi* se enakopravni lahko smejejo¹⁵ in v tem primeru naprej oblikujejo svoje lastne interpretacije, spreminjajo obstoječe okvire, medtem ko si prisvajajo in pri tem razgrajujejo okvir. Pri Dilberjevem opominjanju Begollija na strele v glavo gre za nakazovanje utišanih, pogosto protislovnih narativov in neenakih družbenih struktur, o katerih so se zdaj spraševali. Ko je javna zahteva po *Kosova Republikë* in vsaka druga kritika pomenila zaporno kazen, je ta zgodovinska reminiscenca služila kot karnevalski humor, kot »družbena sila, ki je omogočila vstop besedila v družbenopolitični diskurz brez kazni in s tem povzročila kulturno preobrazbo.«¹⁶

Amela in opozicijski pogled

Dodona uprizarja izvedbo karnevala avdicij študentov igre, ki igrajo *netalentirane igralske aspirante*, v komediji, ki temelji na dvoumnostih

15 Hart, »Humour and Social Protest: An Introduction«, str. 4.

16 Nehama Aschkenasy, »Ruth and Bakhtin's Theory of Carnival«, (2007) <https://silo.tips/download/ruth-and-bakhtin-s-theory-of-carnival>. Citirano v: Yeşim Kaptan, »Laugh and Resist! Humor and Satire Use in the Gezi Resistance Movement«, *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, št. 15 (2016): str. 571.

in protislovljih, ponavljajočem se posmehovanju in trenutkih radikalnega preloma in izgube. Še zlasti humor in satira sta rabila za oblikovanje novih političnih solidarnosti, ki niso bile vedno prijateljske, in družbenega in kulturnega diskurza za odgovarjanje nazaj in upiranje avtoritarnemu režimu. Dodona je tako postala družbeni prostor, soroden Bahtinovi definiciji karnevala, v katerem so družbene in politične hierarhije začasno razveljavljene, ljudje pa osvobojeni družbenih norm in sankcij. Medtem ko družbene hierarhije delujejo z zakrivanje protislovlj ter s tem tako omogočajo ta red kot grozijo, da ga bodo uničile, pa jih komedija razgalja, kot pravi Alenka Zupančič.¹⁷ Komedija ponuja bolj radikalen pogled na to gibanje kot tragedija. Po eni strani je relevantnost ustvarjanja in vzdrževanja komedije v tem, da je v kritičnih situacijah lahko oblika odpora ali natančnejše »odpor proti tendenci, da povsem zreduciramo subjekt(ivnost) na, denimo, viktimizirano 'trpeče telo' ali kako drugo opredelitev, ki vse posrka vase.«¹⁸ In kot drugo, s tem omogoča izraze nestabilnega in spreminjajočega se razumevanja subjektivnosti.

Ko so se prekoračevale in ločevale simbolne strukture in infrastrukture Jugoslavije, je bila produkcija socialnih struktur, ki so omogočile določene subjektivnosti, izkušnje in umestitve, prisiljena v iskanje novega terena in simbolnih artikulacij. Tako smo spoznali Amelo Xhokoviqi, ki jo je igrala Arbërsha Grabovci. Vsi jo kličejo Kurumfil (nagelj) zaradi njene miline in privlačnosti. Prihaja iz Rozhaje, hribovite periferije in mejnega mesta, ki se nahaja v Črni gori, a je družbeno, rodovno in gospodarsko tesno povezano z mestom Peja na kosovski strani. Amela se izreka za Albanko, a njena »etnična pripadnost« je lahko sporna. Sama si reče »bosanska radost« ali »Shqipareska« (Albanka) in je na obeh straneh meje mlada ženska in manjšinka. Izhaja iz delavske družine – njena mama je bila natararica, oče pa šofer – in se dvoumno nahaja

17 Alenka Zupančič, *The Odd One In: On Comedy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), str. 214.

18 Prav tam, str. 216–217. »Območje subjektivnosti, ki nam jo komedija tako lahko pomaga ohraniti in vzdrževati, je seveda fundamentalno ambivalentno. Lahko bi delovalo kot tista oddaljenost, ki na koncu pripomore k vzdrževanju prav zatiranja določenega reda ali situacije, ker ga naredi vzdržnega in vzbudi iluzijo učinkovite notranje svobode. Po drugi strani pa je prav višek, prazni prostor subjektivnosti tisti, ki konstituira igrišče za katerokoli možno spremembo in ki se mobilizira v tej spremembi. Gibanje komedije je zelo uspešno prav pri produkciji tovrstnega subjektiviziranega praznega prostora.«

of gender, class, and ethnicity, that had given shape to perceived and experienced privileges and marginality. In a performance from the margins – *Gjithë me kulturë jom marrë* (I've always been involved with culture) – and perseverance and hope – *Valla une hic s'po mshefi* (I am not hiding anything) – she explains herself as follows:

Mas pari kom qenë pionerka vogëll. A kom qenë kryetare *kllases*, sekretare *kllases*, *elle* arkatare *kllases*...a tona, prite bre sharmanti jem mos u ngut bre ti...A tona kam qenë kryetare shkollës, sekretare shkollës, *elle* arkatare shkollës..A qe bre shpirti socializmit, mos u ngut, *elle* ti. A kam qenë *aktivistkinja* e partisë komuniste valla profesor, une hic spo mfshefi, po kallxoj krejt sinqerisht...A valla gjith po boj kafe e ata *buxhovanat* po m'bojnë sekretaricë. A kam qenë në lldhjen e rinisë, bashkësinë krahinore, republikane, lokale...Ku po shkoj po thojnë Amella ma e bukra...shpirti i komunizmit. *Elle* në lldhjen e kuajve, qatyne që po i hypin e po i zhdrypin kuajve...Lldhjen e *gollubarve*.. dashamirve të allkohollit...A kom qenë në lidhjen e lidhjeve të lidhjeve krejt cka po ekzistojnë...A po e bojmë qëtu një lldhje profesor?...A qëdash që qëto partijat e reja cka kanë dale kurkush spo m'pranon, Amella shpiunka, Amella shpiunka po thojnë...A për inati une po boj partinë teme, Motrat Xhokoviqi. A po vjen n'partin teme profesor?

First I was a little pioneer. I was also class president, class secretary, class treasurer...then, wait my charming one, don't hurry.... Then school president, school secretary, school treasurer... Ahh wait you the heart of socialism, don't rush me, I was the activist of the Communist Party professor! I am not hiding anything, I am telling it all, sincerely. I was also making coffee for the leaders [*buxhovanat*], they made me secretary! Youth league, provincial community, regional, local... the soul of communism. Also in the horse league, of those who get on and off the horse. Pigeon league, they kept on whistling. I was in the league of lovers of alcohol, I think I saw you there professor... I was in the league of the league of all the leagues that are existing... Should we make a league here, professor. In these new political parties that are out today nobody accepts me, Amela the spy, Amela the spy, they say... I will make my own party to spite

them, Sisters Xhokoviq, do you want to come to join my party professor?

Amela is in a new context, she does not shy away from having been part of the system and is now attempting to find ground in a new one. However, she is cast within the trope of the seductress and a politically untrustworthy subject. She is an invention of a phallogocentric gaze.¹⁹ Amela exemplifies the performativity of gender and sexuality and the ways it draws from assumptions about the natural character of bodies, especially in imaginaries of national belonging. As a woman of ambiguous ethnic heritage her image and distinctive comic character are an example of what Zupančič reads as being two things at once: "they are the ones who enjoy (their symptom – whatever it is), and it is precisely because of this that they are also radically exposed..." thereby enabling "opposing realities to coexist despite their contradictory status."²⁰ Amela introduces herself as capable and experienced, but is unwanted in the new political landscape and her position is viewed with suspicion. Characteristic of comic characters, she is indestructible in her happiness, performing her in/vulnerability amidst new structures that are persistently blind to the regimes of gendered oppressions and the pliability of patriarchy. In the post-state-socialist context of "pluralism," initiating a political party that calls upon sisterhood (Motrat Xhokovic) is maybe the truest act of subjectivity from the margin, involving herself in the process of opposing and transforming political and social structures.

Comedy forces us to confront, in this instance, the moral and political authority that became associated with the political movements during these times of change. These movements sought to unveil the deficiencies, at the very least, of a now crumbling system. They embarked on amending the political system, simultaneously transforming the symbolic and linguistic codes, but were often unable to account for or transcend the multiple and embedded hierarchies of power. Partaking in this endeavor, Amela makes use of shared codes and registers – *I was also making coffee for the leaders, they made me secretary!* – through exaggeration, and her own exposure in speech, while making

19 bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

20 Zupančič, *Odd One In*, 63.

v dobi »po Titovih pionirjih«, v času tranzicij in novih pogajanj in zavezništcev. Privablja in uprizarja položaj, ki odraža njeno situiranost v prostoru križajočih se vektorjev spola, razreda in etničnosti, ki so oblikovali dojemane in doživete privilegiranosti in marginalnosti. V predstavi z obrobja – *Gjithë me kulturë jom marrë* (vedno sem se ukvarjala s kulturo) – in vztrajnosti in upanja – *Valla une hic s'po mshefi* (ničesar ne skrivam) – razloži:

Mas pari kom qenë pionerka vogëll. A kom qenë kryetare *kllases*, sekretare *kllases*, *elle* arkatare *kllases*...a tona, prite bre sharmanti jem mos u ngut bre ti...A tona kam qenë kryetare shkollës, sekretare shkollës, *elle* arkatare shkollës..A qe bre shpirti socializmit, mos u ngut, *elle* ti. A kam qenë *aktivistkinja* e partisë komuniste valla profesor, une hic spo mfshefi, po kallxoj krejt sinqerisht...A valla gjith po boj kafe e ata *buxhovanat* po m'bojnë sekretaricë. A kam qenë në lldhjen e rinisë, bashkësinë krahinore, republikane, lokale...Ku po shkoj po thojnë Amella ma e bukra...shpirti i komunizmit. *Elle* në lldhjen e kuajve, qatyne që po i hypin e po i zhdrypin kuajve...Lldhjen e *gollubarve*.. dashamirve të allkohollit...A kom qenë në lidhjen e lidhjeve të lidhjeve krejt cka po ekzistojnë...A po e bojmë qëtu një lldhje profesor?...A qëdash që qëto partijat e reja cka kanë dale kurkush spo m'pranon, Amella shpiunka, Amella shpiunka po thojnë...A për inati une po boj partinë teme, Motrat Xhokoviqi. A po vjen n'partin teme profesor?

Najprej sem bila pionirka. Bila sem tudi predsednica razreda, tajnica razreda, blagajničarka razreda ... potem, počakaj, šarmer moj, ne hiti ... Potem predsednica šole, tajnica šole, blagajničarka šole ... Ah, počakaj, ti srce socializma, ne priganjaj me, bila sem aktivistka komunistične stranke profesor! Ničesar ne skrivam, vse povem pošteno. Kuhala sem tudi kavo za voditelje, naredili so me za tajnico! Zveza mladine, pokrajinska skupnost, regionalna, lokalna ... duša komunizma. Tudi v zvezi konjev, tistih, ki se spravijo na konja in spet dol. Zveza golobov, ti so stalno žvižgali. Bila sem v zvezi ljubiteljev alkohola, mislim, da sem tam videla vas profesor ... Bila sem v zvezi zveze vseh zvez, ki obstajajo ... A bi morali ustanoviti zvezo tukaj profesor. V teh novih političnih strankah, ki so danes zunaj, me nihče ne sprejme. Amela

vohunka, Amela vohunka, pravijo ... Zanalašč bom ustanovila svojo stranko, Sestre Xhokoviq, a se hočete pridružiti moji stranki profesor?

Amela se v novem kontekstu ne izmika temu, da je bila del starega sistema in da se zdaj skuša znajti v novem. Vendar pa je njena vloga postavljena znotraj tropa zapeljivke in politično nezanesljivega subjekta. Iznajdba falocentričnega pogleda je.¹⁹ Amela pooseblja performativnost spola in seksualnosti in načine izpeljevanja iz predpostavk o naravnem značaju teles, še zlasti v imaginarijih narodne pripadnosti. Ker je ženska dvoumne etnične dediščine, sta njena podoba in izraziti komični lik primer tega, kar Alenka Zupančič razume kot biti dve stvari hkrati: »oni so tisti, ki uživajo (v svojem simptomu – karkoli že je), in prav zaradi tega so tudi radikalno izpostavljeni ...«, kar mogoča, da »nasprotujoče si realnosti sobivajo kljub svojemu protislovnemu statusu.«²⁰ Amela se predstavi kot sposobna in izkušena, vendar je v novi politični krajini nezaželena, na njen položaj pa se gleda sumničavo. Kot je značilno za komične like, je v svoji sreči neuničljiva in uprizarja svojo ne/ranljivost sredi novih struktur, ki so vztrajno slepe za režime spolnega zatiranja in fleksibilnost patriarhata. V kontekstu postsocialističnega »pluralizma« je osnovevanje politične stranke, ki poziva k sestrstvu (Motrat Xhokovic), morda najresničnejše dejanje subjektivnosti z obrobja, pri čemer se vplete v proces nasprotovanja političnim in družbenim strukturam in njihovo spreminjanje.

Komedija nas prisili, da se soočimo – v tem primeru – z moralno in politično avtoriteto, ki so jo v tistih časih sprememb začeli pripisovati političnim gibanjem. Ta gibanja so želela razkriti vsaj pomanjkljivosti razpadajočega sistema. Lotila so se popraviljanja političnega sistema ter obenem spreminjanja simbolnih in jezikovnih kodov, vendar pogosto niso zmogla upravičiti ali preseči številnih in zakoreninjenih hierarhij moči/oblasti. Amela, ki se udeleži tega početja, uporablja skupne kode in registre – *Kuhala sem tudi kavo za voditelje, naredili so me za tajnico!* – s pretiravanjem in lastnim razkritjem v govoru, ko naredi vidne strukture zatiranja, ki se križajo. Govori v svojem naglasu in pri tem poudarja »l« in izpušča »dh« ter izgovarja

19 bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992).

20 Zupančič, *The Odd One In*, str. 63.

visible the structures of intersecting oppressions. Making use of her accent, she accentuates the “l” and omits “dh” (pronounced *the*), and pronounces “edhe” as “elle,” common in the pronunciation of Albanian language sounds absent in the Serbian language. She engages in a reversal of the stereotypic Albanian mispronunciations of Serbian language, such as pronouncing “l” as “lj”. Characteristic of reversal strategies found in black comedy, these mispronunciations and exaggerations call forth a central trope found in images of Blackness and racialization, that is whether it is a “play on” or “play off” the long-established Black clown stereotype, and whether we are being invited to laugh with or at the Black comic entertainer.”²¹ This predicament is played out by the accidental appearance of Kadri Abazi, performed by Luan Jaha. Kadri is a farmer who has come to denounce a case of police brutality. He performs the “ignorant peasant,” typically reserved for Albanian men in the Yugoslav imaginary and representations of Yugoslav Others. Holding a bunch of papers and a written statement prepared by a lawyer, he has found an audience to speak of his encounter with police:

Kadri imitating a police officer: Šta radiš? (What are you doing?)

Kadri: Radim zemlju. (I’m working the land.)

Police: Čiju zemlju, bre? (Whose land, eh?)

Kadri: Kukuruz. (Corn.)²²

Kadri’s response that he is working the *corn* is a subtle avoidance of scripts which otherwise highlight territorial contestation and the marking of borders, and that would be used to discipline and discern subjects on matters of their national and ideological belonging and loyalty. The police “have cause” to begin beating him, as Kadri retells the events, once they find “evidence” of his transgressions in his pocket, a paper slip confirming he had voted in the referendum in support of the Albanian political structures. He also speaks

21 Weaver continues: “[w]hile in any linguistic utterance the preferred meaning of the speaker cannot be guaranteed, in a reverse discourse the antagonism between the potential readings often increases its polysémie potential.” Simon Weaver, “The ‘Other’ Laughs Back: Humour and Resistance in Anti-racist Comedy,” *Sociology* 44, no. 1 (2010): 92.

22 *Profesor Jam talent se jo Mahi*, directed by Faruk Begolli (1992) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLYN1U-Ckks> Professor #2, 53:06.

formally with the universally accepted language of the state. When retelling the beating he received, Kadri uses the Serbian language to not only reconstruct and retell the event but to also mark it as untranslatable. While employing linguistic cues to signal the difficulty of recalling a traumatic event, the most unsettling thing is the black eye on his face, as clear and recognizable evidence of such encounters. Accompanied by official paperwork, his intention to document the violence is turned into a comical act on stage, but which for years to follow remained as one of the few acts available to perform one’s agency, that is by making use of bodies and experiences to render visible the im/possibilities of cataloguing and evidencing such violence (despite international media or human rights organizations). At the end of the scene, in a pedagogic and informative intervention, Begolli promises to help Kadri file a report with the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedom. Both Amela and Kadri, therefore, are not subjects as opposed to the structure. Zupančič would argue regarding the distinct location and characteristics of comic characters, “they are subjectivized points of the structure itself. They are the sensitive, problematic points of the structure running wild, and running around on their own—that is, independently of the rest of the structure. This is why exaggeration and intensification are such important comic techniques.”²³

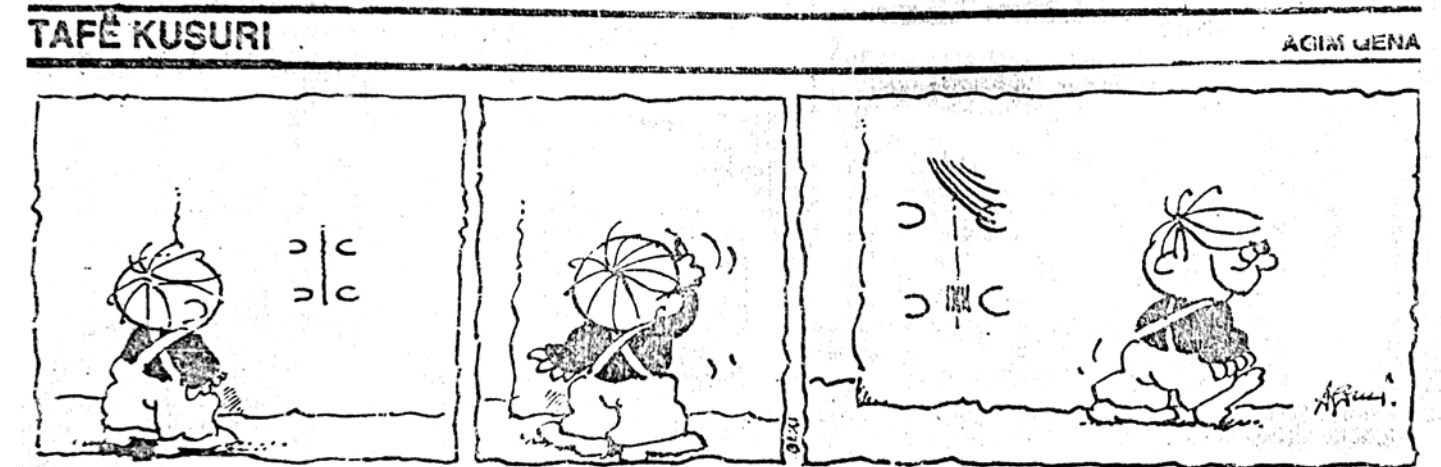
Fig 2. Qena’s *Tafë Kusuri* appeared regularly in the largest daily *Rilindja*, and later moved to *Bujku* (*The Farmer*; a supplement turned daily paper) after the forced closure and dismissal of Albanian language media and workers. Here, Tafë’s son intervenes on an iconographic representation of the Serbian coat of arms drawn on a wall.²⁴

Social anger against the brutal practices of state-sanctioned violence and the recognition of such structures would define the long 1990s in Kosovo. The simple comic strip above is just one of the additional ways in which such anger would be performed. Whereas Tafë’s friend misrecognized and remained impervious to these structures (Figure 1), a little boy, however, sees through them. If read along the lines proposed by Zupančič, the

23 Zupančič, *The Odd One In*, 196.

24 Agim Qena, “Tafë Kusuri,” *Bujku*, 28 March 1991: 8. Taken from the *Bujku* public archive at the Kosovo National Library.

Slika 2. / Fig 2.



»edhe« kot »elle«, kar se običajno zgodi z izgovorjavo albanskih fonemov, ki jih ni v srbsčini. Pri tem izvede obrat stereotipne albanske napačne izgovorjave srbskih besed, kot je na primer izgovorjava l-ja kot »lj«. Take strategije preobrata najdemo v črnski komediji, kjer napačna izgovorjava in pretiravanja priključijo v misel enega osrednjih tropov v podobah črnstva in rasne (stereo)tipizacije, tj. ali gre za »izrabljanje' ali 'izigravanje' globoko zasidranega stereotipa temnopoltega klovna in ali nas vabijo, naj se smejimo skupaj s temnopoltim komičnim zabavljajem ali njemu.«²¹ Ta situacija se odvije, ko se naključno pojavi Kadri Abazi, ki ga igra Luan Jaha. Kadri je kmet, ki je prišel prijaviti primer policijske brutalnosti. Uprizori »nevednega kmeta«, kar je bilo v jugoslovanskem imaginariju in upodobitvah jugoslovanskega Drugega tipično rezervirano za albanske moške. S šopom papirjev v rokah in pisno izjavo, ki mu jo je sestavil advokat, ima zdaj občinstvo, kateremu pove o svojem srečanju s policijo:

Kadri oponaša policista: Šta radiš? (Kaj delaš?)

Kadri: Radim zemlju. (Obdelujem zemljo.)

Policist: Čiju zemlju, bre? (Čigavo zemljo?)

Kadri: Kukuruz. (Koruzo.)²²

Kadri se z odgovorom, da obdeluje *koruzo*, subtilno izogne scenariju, ki sicer poudarja teritorialne spore in označevanje meja ter se uporablja

21 Weaver nadaljuje: »Medtem ko v nobeni jezikovni izjavi ne moremo zagotoviti zelenega pomena govorca, v obratnem diskurzu antagonizem med možnimi branji pogosto poveča potencial večpomenskosti izjave.« Simon Weaver, »The 'Other' Laughs Back: Humour and Resistance in Anti-racist Comedy«, *Sociology* 44, št. 1 (2010): str. 92.

22 *Profesor Jam talent se jo Mahi*, režija Faruk Begolli (1992) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLYN1U-Ckks> Professor #2, 53:06.

za discipliniranje in ugotavljanje subjektov pri vprašanih njihovih nacionalnih in ideoloških pripadnosti in lojalnosti. Policisti »imajo razlog«, da ga začnejo pretepati, kot Kadri pripoveduje o dogodku, ko pri njem najdejo »dokaze« o njegovih prestopkih – v žepu ima potrdilo, da je glasoval na referendumu v podporo albanskim političnim strukturam. Govori tudi uradno v splošno sprejetem jeziku države. Ko pripoveduje o tepežu, Kadri uporablja srbsčino, ne le za rekonstruiranje dogodka in pripoved o njem, ampak tudi za to, da ga označi kot neprevedljivega. Z uporabo jezikovnih iztočnic nakaže, kako težko se je spominjati travmatičnega dogodka – največ skrbi vzbuja njegovo podpluto oko kot nedvoumen in prepoznaven dokaz takih srečanj. Njegov namen dokumentirati nasilje, kar pospremijo tudi uradni dopisi, se na odru spremeni v komično dejanje, ki pa je v letih, ki so sledila, ostalo eno redkih razpoložljivih dejanj za izvajanje moči delovanja, tj. uporaba teles in izkušenj, da se naredi vidno ne/zmožnost katalogizacije in evidentiranja takega nasilja (kljub mednarodnim medijem in organizacijam za človekove pravice). Na koncu prizora Begolli v pedagoški in informativni intervenciji obljubi, da bo Kadriju pomagal vložiti pritožbo pri Odboru za zaščito človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin. Tako Amela kot Kadri tako nista subjekta, ki nasprotujeta strukturi. Alenka Zupančič bi glede na določnost lokacije in značilnosti komičnih likov rekla, da so »subjektivizirane točke same strukture. Občutljive, problematične točke strukture so, ki so ušle z vajeti in zdaj same tekajo naokrog – tj. neodvisno od preostale strukture. Prav zato sta pretiravanje in stopnjevanje tako pomembni komični tehniki.«²³

23 Zupančič, *The Odd One In*, str. 196.

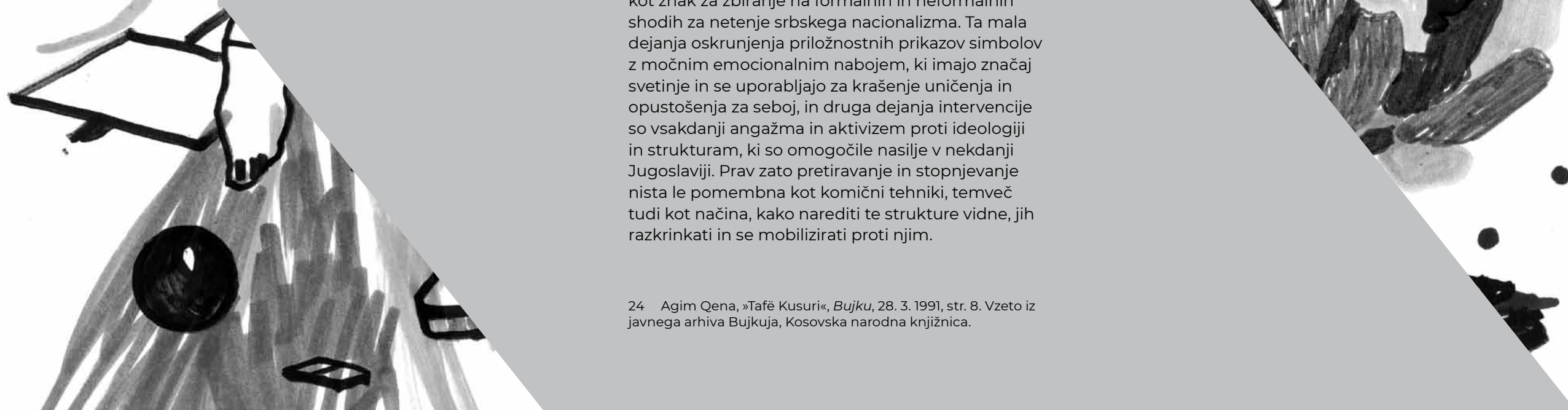
boy is situated on the other side, as a subject that these structures oppress but who manifests his point of view and experience of such symbolic structures in an act of speaking back. With a very simple intervention: all he has to do is add a few lines and bring to the surface that which risks remaining hidden. This is a first step towards a phenomenology of privilege, of those situated in power, but very visible to those who are marginalized and oppressed. *Tafe Kusuri's* satire, in this case, draws association between the Serbian flag and coat of arms and the schematic depiction of Hitler, marking the new public iconography and symbolic manifestations of power and violence. The cross and four firesteels, with the inverted Cyrillic letter S from the Serbian coat of arms and flag, was painted, sprayed, and written on all kinds of surfaces throughout the spaces of war – in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo – and marked locations of violence to say *X was here*. Military, paramilitary, and police forces would most frequently leave the sign after themselves as they moved through villages, cities and towns. It was also used as a rallying sign in formal and informal gatherings to galvanize Serbian nationalism. Violating a casual display of the sacred character of emotionally charged symbols, used to adorn the devastation and destruction left behind, these small and other acts of intervention are a profane engagement and activism against the ideology and structures that made the violence in former Yugoslavia possible. This is why exaggeration and intensification are not only important comic techniques, but also ways of rendering visible, unmasking, and mobilizing against such structures. Throughout the 1990s, Dodona, a small island of humor and truth, served as a space of protest and subversion, providing a sense of belonging to a collective and the grounds for rethinking the political. Pushed outside of formal institutions and the existing system, similar artistic locations and expressions, performances, events and interventions created threads that would later permeate recognition and discourse about the underground artistic scene in post-war Kosovo. Here we have only scratched the surface of such struggles and recognitions, which were neither monolithic nor of a single structure, by evoking and selecting parts that not only gave name to, but also resisted, the crisis of the time. Small islands of humor and truth are in turn not just points of inspiration but necessary spaces that

are fundamental in uncovering the structures of violence and outlining the struggles of particular moments. In 1990s Kosovo, these locations were fragmented more than unitary, sporadic more than strategically mapped out in advance. However, they were persistent and helped animate a larger social resilience to experiences of violence and injustice.

Slika 2. Qenov *Tafë Kusuri* je redno izhajal v največjem dnevnem časopisu *Rilindja*, pozneje pa v *Bujkuju* (*Kmetu*, nekdanji prilogi, ki je postala dnevnik) po prisilni ukinitvi medijev v albanščini in odpustu njihovih zaposlenih. Tukaj Tafëjev sin posega v ikonografsko upodobitev srbskega grba, narisane na zid.²⁴

Družbena jeza zaradi brutalnih praks državno uzakonjenega nasilja in prepoznavanje takih struktur sta opredelila dolga devetdeseta leta na Kosovu. Gornji preprosti strip je le eden od dodatnih načinov za uprizarjanje te jeze. Medtem ko Tafëjev prijatelj ni znal prepoznati teh struktur in je ostal slep zanje (slika 1), pa fantek jasno vidi skozi je. Če to beremo v smislu tez Alenke Zupančič, se deček nahaja na drugi strani, kot subjekt, ki ga te strukture zatirajo, on pa izraža svoj pogled in izkušnjo takih simbolnih struktur tako, da jim odgovarja nazaj. Z zelo preprostim posegom: le nekaj črt mora dodati, da splava na površje, kar bi sicer lahko ostalo skrito. Gre za prvi korak k fenomenologiji privilegija, tj. tistih, ki se nahajajo na oblasti in so tako vidni tistim, ki so potisnjeni na rob in zatirani. Satira *Tafë Kusuri* v tem primeru nakaže povezavo med srbsko zastavo in grbom ter shematskim prikazom Hitlerja in tako označi novo javno ikonografijo in simbolne manifestacije moči/oblasti in nasilja. Križ in štirje C-ji (kar je v cirilici S) s srbskega grba in zastave so bili naslikani, narisani s pršilom ali napisani na vseh mogočih površinah v vseh prostorih vojne – v Sloveniji, na Hrvaškem, v Bosni in Hercegovini ter na Kosovu – in so označevali lokacije nasilja, kot bi govorili *X je bil tukaj*. Največkrat so ta znak puščale za seboj vojaške, paravojaške in policijske sile, ko so prodirale skozi vasi in mesta. Uporabljali so ga tudi kot znak za zbiranje na formalnih in neformalnih shodih za netenje srbskega nacionalizma. Ta mala dejanja oskrunjenja priložnostnih prikazov simbolov z močnim emocionalnim nabojem, ki imajo značaj svetinje in se uporabljajo za krašenje uničenja in opustošenja za seboj, in druga dejanja intervencije so vsakdanji angažma in aktivizem proti ideologiji in strukturam, ki so omogočile nasilje v nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Prav zato pretiravanje in stopnjevanje nista le pomembna kot komični tehniki, temveč tudi kot načina, kako narediti te strukture vidne, jih razkrinkati in se mobilizirati proti njim.

Dodona, otoček humorja in resnic, je v devetdesetih letih služila kot prostor protesta in subverzije ter ustvarjala občutek pripadnosti kolektivu ter bila temelj za drugačno premišljevanje o političnem. Podobni umetniški kraji in izrazi, performansi, dogodki in posegi, ki so bili izrinjeni iz uradnih institucij in obstoječega sistema, so ustvarili teme, ki so pozneje prežemale spoznanja in diskurz o neformalni umetniški sceni v povojnem Kosovu. V tem prispevku sva le načeli temo o teh bojih in spoznanjih, ki niso bili niti monolitni niti ena sama struktura, s tem, ko sva obudili spomin na izbrana dela, ki niso le poimenovala krize tistega časa, ampak so se ji tudi uprla. Otočki humorja in resnice niso zgolj točke navdiha, ampak potrebni prostori, ki so temeljni pri odkrivanju struktur nasilja in orisovanju bojov v določenih trenutkih. Na Kosovu v devetdesetih letih so bili ti kraji bolj fragmentarni kot enotni, bolj sporadični kot strateško vnaprej načrtovani. A bili so vztrajni in pripomogli so k spodbujanju večje družbene odpornosti do izkušenj nasilja in krivic.



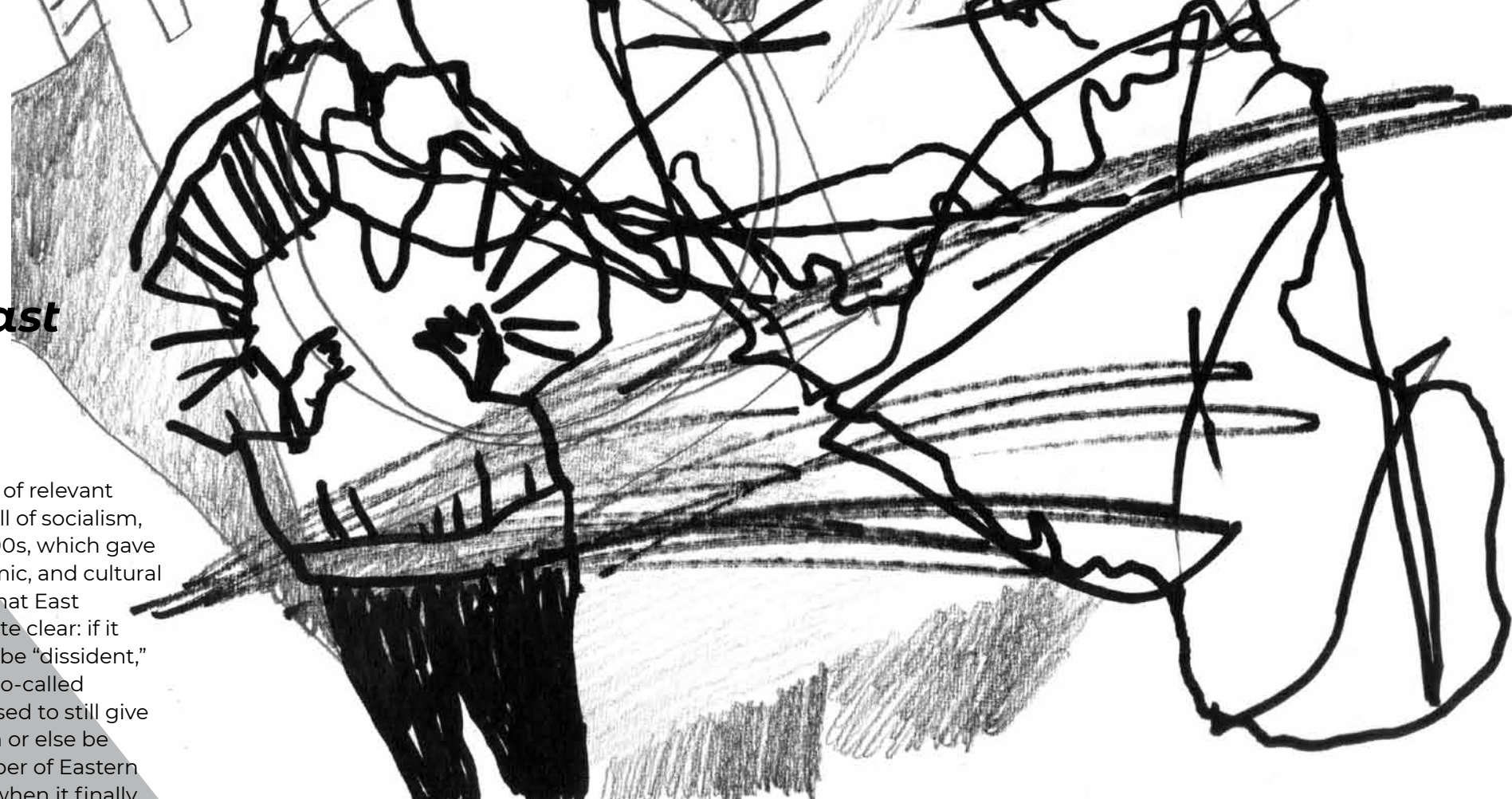
24 Agim Qena, »Tafë Kusuri«, *Bujku*, 28. 3. 1991, str. 8. Vzeto iz javnega arhiva Bujkuja, Kosovska narodna knjižnica.

08

Body and the East 23 Years Later

East European art became a subject of relevant discussions only at the time of the fall of socialism, that is, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which gave it undertones of geopolitical, economic, and cultural interests. Also the expectations of what East European art *should be like* were quite clear: if it was made under socialism, it was to be "dissident," and if it emerged in the time of the so-called transition, in the 1990s, it was supposed to still give off a whiff of the poverty of socialism or else be exotic. This was the card that a number of Eastern artists eager to make it in the West when it finally became accessible played. Not all, however – many artists were quick to see the obviously destructive power of capitalism, realizing that many people were worse off than they had been under socialism. In 1989, when socialism was in its death throes and capitalism had already begun its ravaging sweep, Lithuanian artist Česlovas Lukensas did a performance at the city dump on the banks of the Nemunas River – he lay unmoving on his stomach, like a discarded piece of trash.

In the Balkans, artists reacted to the war of the 1990s, either by presenting their status of victim or by actively intervening in the war. One such example was Slovenian artist Marko Peljhan, who followed, as an amateur radio operator, various local and international telecommunications involved in conducting war operations in Bosnia. Artists like him knew only too well that information was everything, that technologies controlled the world, and that surveillance society had long been replaced by disciplinary society. In the 1980s, the multimedia group Laibach took the tack of overidentification with militant totalitarianism, underscoring in this way also the "totalitarianism" of Western pop culture. They made a cover of Queen's song "One Vision" in German, to give it



**Zdenka
Badovinac**

Body and the East 23 let pozneje

O vzhodnoevropski umetnosti smo začeli bolj kompleksno govoriti šele po padcu socializma, ob koncu osemdesetih in v začetku devetdesetih let, zato je termin obarvan z geopolitičnimi, ekonomskimi in kulturnimi interesi. Takrat se je pričakovalo, kako *naj bi bila videti* vzhodnoevropska umetnost: če je nastajala še v času socializma, je morala biti »disidentska«, če pa je nastajala v času tranzicije, v devetdesetih letih, naj bi še vedno dišala po revnem socializmu ali bila vsaj videti eksotična. Na to karto so igrali tudi nekateri vzhodni umetniki, ki so hoteli uspeti na Zahodu, zdaj končno odprtem tudi zanje. Ne seveda vsi – nekateri umetniki so se zazrli v že očitno destruktivno silo kapitalizma in takoj ugotovili, da mnogi živijo slabše kot prej v socializmu. Tik pred razpadom socializma, leta 1989, ko je kapitalizem že začel pustošiti po Vzhodu, je litovski umetnik Česlovas Lukensas izvedel performans na mestnem odlagališču smeti na bregu reke Nemunas: nepremično je ležal na trebuhu kot odvržen odpadek.

Na Balkanu so umetniki v devetdesetih letih reagirali na vojno; bodisi so se predstavljali kot njene žrtve ali pa so aktivno posegali vanjo kot slovenski umetnik Marko Peljhan, ki je kot radioamater sledil različnim lokalnim in mednarodnim telekomunikacijam, ki so pripravljale vojne operacije v Bosni in Hercegovini. Umetniki kot on so se zavedali izjemnega pomena informacij, tega, da je tehnologija začela obvladovati svet in da je družbo nadzora že zdavnaj zamenjala družba discipline. Skupina Laibach, ki se je v osemdesetih letih nadidentificirala z militantnim totalitarizmom, je hkrati opozarjala na »totalitarizem« zahodne pop kulture. Tako je apropiirala pesem »One Vision« skupine Queen, katere besedilo so člani Laibacha peli v nemščini in ji tako dodali »totalitarističen«

a “totalitarian” undertone with the language. It would be wide off the mark to equate East European art with resistance against the socialist regime and its repression. On the contrary: at least indirectly, a lot of East European art also contained a critique of the other side in the Cold War. In their works, women artists such as Marina Abramović, Sanja Iveković, and Natalia LL, critically commented on consumerism, which not even socialism was immune to.

So what is East European art, what or who defines or can define it? Well, there seem to be as many East European arts as there are people wanting to define it.

The term is far from neutral, and its definitions are sometimes diametrically opposite. There is not even consensus regarding its geographical frame, let alone its identity. The first to focus on East European art in the early 1990s in the West were Austrians, staging a number of exhibitions and openly presenting themselves as mediators between the East and the West. In their efforts, they prioritized Central Europe, more or less excluding the territory of the former Soviet Union. The first decade of the new millennium saw this Austrian interest augment also with the network of the Transit organizations set up by the Erste Foundation, which corresponded to the territory covered by the Erste Bank, which roughly coincides with the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Also East European art historians often distanced themselves from the Soviet Union, especially nationals of countries that used to be under the Soviet domination. An example that comes to mind is the prominent Polish writer Piotr Piotrowski, who laid out the reasons for his stance in his book *In the Shadow of Yalta*: “Of course, besides the political factors – such as state of sovereignty and a tradition of Communism that was longer by several decades – that created in Russia a system of cultural and artistic references that are completely different and impossible to compare with that of the East European countries, there are also pragmatic reasons for excluding Russian art from the present analysis.”¹ Due to its specificities, Albania too was excluded from the analyses by Piotrowski and certain other

1 Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 7.

art historians. The same could have happened to Romania or even Yugoslavia, which had developed its own model of socialism, called workers’ self-management, initiated the Non-Aligned Movement, and was generally the most democratic of all socialist states. But Yugoslavia definitely cannot be treated more in the non-aligned than the socialist cultural context. It shares far more traits with the latter – from the particularities of the one-party system to various historical alliances – than it does with, say, faraway countries of the so-called Third World.

My approach to projects focused on East European art has virtually always been to include all of the formerly socialist countries. This is because the common denominator that interests me is the acute need for the historicization of the post-socialist spaces and their sovereign inclusion in the international exchange of ideas. Coupled with these efforts has always been the urgent need to change the dominance of the Western art system. It has therefore been my priority to promote historicization based on heterogeneous histories that both complement and interrupt one another. One of the goals of historicization is to oppose a single historical master narrative.

My work has thus always focused on the idea that the spaces of the Other cannot and must not be merely the objects of representation by stronger agents, but must become agents of their own narratives and influential in the global exchange of ideas. The fact that I have worked in this East European space my entire career is not negligible, as it also colors my understanding or conception of the exhibition and the collection as tools, which refers to their performative role in society.

I realized all this as early as my first exhibition of East European art entitled *Body and the East*. There, I put performance art – in the sense of public performance – in relation to the representational role of the East European artist. My decision to stage the first exhibition of East European art with a focus on body art was far from random. *Body and the East* was among the earliest East European art exhibitions and the first produced in the region itself, which made the issue of representational economy all the more sensitive. In the text for the catalogue I wrote:

predznak. Zelo narobe bi bilo vzhodnoevropsko umetnost poistovetiti zgolj z odporom do socialističnega režima in njegovih represij. Lahko bi rekli, da je bila v njej vsaj posredno ves čas prisotna tudi kritika druge strani v hladni vojni. Starejše umetnice, kot so Marina Abramović, Sanja Iveković in Natalia LL, so v svojih delih komentirale tudi potrošništvo, do katerega ni bil imun niti socializem. Kaj je torej vzhodnoevropska umetnost, kaj ali kdo jo definira? Zdi se, da je vzhodnoevropskih umetnosti toliko, kolikor je tistih, ki jo želijo definirati.

Vsekakor to ni nevtralen pojem in njegove definicije so včasih celo diametralno nasprotne. Konsenz ne obstaja niti glede njenega geografskega okvira, kaj šele glede kakršnekoli njene identitete. V začetku devetdesetih let so se na zahodni strani tej umetnosti prvi posvetili Avstrijci z vrsto razstav in se tudi odkrito predstavljali kot posredniki med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Pri tem so izpostavili predvsem Srednjo Evropo in v glavnem izključevali teritorij nekdanje Sovjetske zveze. V novem tisočletju so Avstrijci stopnjevali interes in z mrežo organizacij Transit, ki jih je ustanavljala Erste Foundation, v bistvu pokrili teritorij podružnic banke Erste Bank, ki se v veliki meri ujema z ozemljem Avstro-Ogrske. Tudi vzhodni umetnostni zgodovinarji so se dostikrat distancirali od Sovjetske zveze, še zlasti tisti iz dežel, ki so bile v času socializma pod rusko dominacijo. Med njimi je bil prominentni poljski pisec Piotr Piotrowski, ki je razloge za tako držo tudi pojasnil v knjigi *In the Shadow of Yalta*: »Poleg političnih dejavnikov – kot sta državna suverenost in več desetletij daljša tradicija komunizma –, ki so v Rusiji vzpostavili popolnoma drugačen kulturno-umetniški referenčni sistem, neprimerljiv s sistemom v vzhodnoevropskih državah, so bili za izključitev ruske umetnosti iz te analize seveda še povsem pragmatični razlogi.«¹ Tako Piotrowski kot tudi nekateri drugi umetnostni zgodovinarji so iz svojih obravnav zaradi specifične izključevali tudi Albanijo, podobno bi se lahko zgodilo še z Romunijo ali celo Jugoslavijo, ki je razvila poseben model socializma – samoupravljanje, bila pobudnica gibanja neuvrščenih in sploh najbolj demokratična od socialističnih držav. Vsekakor pa bi bilo neprimerno Jugoslavijo potiskati bolj v neuvrščeni

1 Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), str. 7.

kot v vzhodnoevropski kulturni kontekst, s katerim ima poleg enostrankarskega socializma v vseh njegovih različicah skupnih tudi neprimerno več zgodovinskih vezi kot, denimo, z daljnimi deželami t. i. tretjega sveta.

Sama sem v svoje vzhodnoevropske projekte skoraj vedno vključevala vse dežele nekdanjega socializma, saj je bil skupni imenovalec, ki je zanimal mene, predvsem povezan z akutno potrebo po zgodovinenju posocialističnih prostorov in njihovem suverenem vključevanju v mednarodne izmenjave ideje. Vsi ti naporji so bili pri meni vedno povezani z nujnostjo hkratnega spreminjanja dominantnega zahodnega umetnostnega sistema. Sama se tako ves čas zavzemam za zgodovinenje, ki temelji na heterogenih zgodovinah, ki se hkrati dopolnjujejo in prekinjajo. Eden od ciljev zgodovinenja je nasprotovanje eni sami véliki zgodbi zgodovine.

Moje delo je bilo tako ves čas posvečeno ideji, da prostori Drugega ne smejo biti samo objekti reprezentacije s strani močnejših akterjev, ampak da morajo postati agenti svojih lastnih zgodb in tako tudi imeti vpliv na globalne izmenjave idej. Seveda ob tem ni zanemarljivo dejstvo, da sama neprekinjeno delujem znotraj vzhodnoevropskega prostora. V tej luči je treba razumeti tudi moje pojmovanje razstave in zbirke kot orodja, kar se nanaša na njuno performativno vlogo v družbi.

Vsega tega sem se zavedala že pri svoji prvi razstavi vzhodnoevropske umetnosti *Body and the East*, v sklopu katere sem performans v smislu javnega nastopanja postavila v odnos do reprezentacijske vloge vzhodnoevropskega umetnika. Odločitev, da pripravim prvo razstavo vzhodnoevropske umetnosti prav v povezavi z body artom, ni bila naključna. *Body and the East* je bila ena prvih vzhodnoevropskih razstav in sploh prva, narejena v sami regiji, zato je bilo vprašanje reprezentacijske ekonomije še zlasti občutljivo. V razstavnem katalogu sem med drugim zapisala:

Ali se je mogoče izogniti tej »reprezentacijski« vlogi vzhodnega umetnika? In zakaj se mi zdi, da je prav umetnost, ki gradi na umetnikovem lastnem telesu, primeren zgled, če poskušamo odgovoriti na to vprašanje? Odgovor je: ker je umetnikovo telo nujno opredeljeno šele v odnosu do drugega in ker je zaradi inherentne

Is it possible to avoid the “representational” role of the Eastern artist? And why is it that it is precisely art based on the artist’s own body that appears to be the best guide if we attempt to answer this question? The answer runs as follows. It is because the artist’s body is necessarily defined only in terms of the relation with the other, and because – due to its inherent intersubjectivity and performativeness – it can be a model of another representational economy. The artist’s body in body art is not self-sufficient – his/her identity acts within a context, but at the same time his/her body is also the location for projections of viewers’ desires. The intersubjectivity and dependence deny directness and the unique presence of body in body art (and performance).²

In my catalogue text, the term “body art” was problematized in such a way that it could be substituted throughout with the term “East European art” (or Latin American art, or African art, or the art of any other particular space or social group). I attributed intersubjectivity to the body, which meant a denial of any essentialism, which could in my case be immediately applied to spaces other than East Europe and to other forms of particularity. Different particularities thus acquired the characteristics of the body in the broader sense of the term. Such a body is not self-sufficient since the text of another is constantly inscribed in it; its identity is not stable, but subject to mutual influences and the dynamics of desires and expectations on various parts. The aim of the *Body and the East* exhibition was not merely to expose representational economy, but above all to take an active ethical and political position vis-à-vis the urgencies in the local and international art systems. In this sense, the term “historicization” as I use it could be compared to Donna Haraway’s term of “situated knowledge,” and my more than twenty years’ worth of work in the field of East European art described as “situated curatorship.” The term *situated knowledge* is very useful in our case also because it is very critical of reductionism as defined by Donna Haraway, that is to say, the situation when a single language becomes the standard for translating diverse contexts.

² Zdenka Badovinac, “Body and the East” in *Body and the East: od šestdesetih let do danes / From the 1960s to the Present* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 1998), 10.

As I write in the catalogue of the *Body and the East* exhibition, particular contexts are not wholly translatable, nor can they be wholly reproduced. Such is, for instance, the pain inflicted upon him- or herself by an artist in a performance, or everything that does not fit within the known frame of the symbolic order of a given community. My text talks about the power of what I call “the radically unmarked” in reference to Peggy Phelan’s text *Unmarked – the Politics of Performance*, where she also says:

By locating a subject in what cannot be reproduced within the ideology of the visible, I am attempting to revalue a belief in subjectivity and identity which is not visibly representable. This is not the same thing as calling for greater visibility of hitherto unseen. *Unmarked* examines the implicit assumptions about the connection between representational visibility and political power which have been dominant force in cultural theory in the last ten years.³

These past thirty years have seen all manner of endeavors to give greater visibility to East European art or the art of any other particular context. At least in part, also *Body and the East* resulted from such efforts, but at the same time it came with an inbuilt distance, to underscore that what we believe to be the thing itself, is merely an interpretation of it. Underpinning the exhibition was the ambition to present – as much as was feasible – a comprehensive overview of body art in East Europe, also with the collaboration of consultants from the different countries. The display design, however, did not follow a geographical key; the works were intermingled and put into dialogue with one another, based primarily on period and the various sociopolitical shifts from the 1960s through the late 1990s. The aim of the exhibition was not only to look at the past, but to relate all its segments to the current moment. “Lived time” was best captured in the performances that took place at the opening of the exhibition. The most talked about among them was Alexander Brener’s unannounced performance: during the inauguration speeches Brener showed up and started throwing eggs at the audience, smashing one on the head of the then Slovenia’s Minister of Culture. He also distributed notes with

³ Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

BODY AND THE EAST od šestdesetih let do danes / **From the 1960s to the Present**
 kustos razstave/curator: **Zdenka Badovinac**
Moderna galerija Ljubljana/Museum of Modern Art
 7. julij - 27. september 1998 / 7 July - 27 September 1998

SPREMLJEVALNI PROGRAM/ACCOMPANYING EVENTS

Petek, 11. september ob 20. uri / Friday 11 September at 8 p.m.
Performansa/Performances: OLEG KULIK, PETER MLAKAR; Moderna galerija Ljubljana

Sobota, 12. september 1998 ob 10. uri / Saturday 12 September 1998 at 10 a.m.:
Enodnevna konferenca/One-day Conference
 Informacijski center Moderne galerije / Information Centre of Moderna galerija
 Udeleženci / Participants:
 PARVEEN ADAMS, MARK COUSINS, London; BOJANA PEJIĆ, Berlin;
 PIOTR PIOTROWSKI, Poznan; RENATA SALECL, Ljubljana
 Moderator/Chaired by: Špela Mlakar

intersubjektivnosti in performativnosti lahko model drugačne reprezentacijske ekonomije. Umetnikovo telo v body artu ni samozadostno, temveč je njegova identiteta kontekstualizirana; hkrati pa je telo tudi prostor projekcij gledalčevih želja. Intersubjektivnost in odvisnost zanikata neposrednost in enkratno prezentnost teles v body artu (in performansu).²

Termin *body art* je bil v mojem tekstu v katalogu problematiziran tako, da bi ga lahko ves čas zamenjavali s terminom *vzhodnoevropska umetnost* (ali latinskoameriška ali afriška umetnost ... ali katerakoli druga umetnost partikularnih prostorov ali družbenih skupin). Telesu sem tu pripisala intersubjektivnost, ki je pomenila zanikanje vsakega esencializma, kar je bilo v mojem primeru mogoče takoj aplicirati tudi na drugačne prostore, kot je Vzhodna Evropa, in na druge različne partikularnosti. Različne partikularnosti so tako dobile značilnosti telesa v širšem pomenu besede. To telo ni samozadostno, saj se vanj neprestano vpisuje tekst nekoga drugega; pri njem ne gre za stabilne identitete, ampak za medsebojna vplivanja, dinamike želja in pričakovanj z različnih strani. Ob tem vsem je treba poudariti tudi to, da namen razstave *Body and the East* ni bil samo razkrinkati te reprezentančne ekonomije, ampak predvsem zavzeti aktivno etično in politično pozicijo do nujnosti v lokalnem in v mednarodnem umetnostnem sistemu. V tem smislu bi morda lahko pojem zgodovinjena, kot ga uporabljam sama, primerjala s pojmom Donne Haraway *situated knowledge*, situirano ali umeščeno znanje, in bi v tem smislu tudi svoje več kot dvajsetletno delo na področju vzhodnoevropske umetnosti lahko opredelila kot *umeščeno kuriranje* (*situated curatorship*). Termin *situated knowledge* je za nas uporaben tudi zato, ker je kritičen do redukcionizma, kot ga opredeli Donna Haraway, se pravi do situacije, ko samo en jezik postane standard za prevajanje različnih kontekstov.

Kot pišem v katalogu razstave *Body and the East*, partikularni konteksti niso v celoti prevedljivi in se jih ne da popolnoma reproducirati. Takšna je, denimo, bolečina, ki si jo zadaja umetnik v performansu, ali vse tisto, kar v neki skupnosti ne

sodi v znane okvire simbolnega reda. V besedilu opozarjam prav na moč tistega, čemur tu pravim »radikalno neoznačeno« in se pri tem sklicujem na besedilo Peggy Phelan *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, v katerem med drugim piše:

Z umeščanjem subjekta v nekaj, česar v ideologiji vidnega ni mogoče reproducirati, skušam znova spodbuditi vero v subjektivnost in identiteto, ki nista vidno predstavljeni. To ni isto kot poziv k večji vidnosti doslej nevidnega. *Neoznačeno* pretresa implicitne podmene o zvezi med predstavitveno vidnostjo in politično močjo, ki predstavlja prevladujočo silo v kulturni teoriji zadnjih desetih let.³

V zadnjih tridesetih letih so opazna različna prizadevanja dati večjo vidnost vzhodnoevropski ali kakršnikoli drugi umetnosti partikularnih kontekstov. Razstava *Body and the East* je bila gotovo vsaj delno tudi plod takšnih prizadevanj, hkrati pa je imela v sebi vgrajeno distanco in je tudi opozorila na to, da je tisto, kar mislimo, da je stvar sama, samo njena interpretacija. Razstava je gotovo imela ambicijo podati kolikor toliko celovit pregled body arta v Vzhodni Evropi, zato sem k sodelovanju tudi povabila svetovalce iz posamičnih držav, vendar so bila dela na razstavi pomešana in postavljena v medsebojen dialog, ki je sledil predvsem posamičnim obdobjem in družbenopolitičnim premenam od šestdesetih do konca devetdesetih let. Vendar razstava nikakor ni hotela biti zazrta samo v preteklost, ampak se je v vseh segmentih osmišljala v odnosu do aktualnega časa. Največ živega časa je bilo zajetega v performansih, ki so se zvrstili ob otvoritvi razstave; med njimi je bil najodmevnejši nenapovedani performans Alexandra Brenerja. Ko so se začeli vrstiti otvoritveni govori, se je pojavil Brener in začel metati jajca v publiko, eno je zdrobil tudi na glavi tedanjega ministra za kulturo. Na listkih, ki jih delil publiko, je bila napisana razlaga performansa: »Zdenka je povabila Alexandra, naj sodeluje na razstavi. Alexander in Barbara sta Zdenki poslala dobro politično delo *Berlinski zid obstaja*. Govori o dejstvu, da berlinski zid še vedno obstaja, ne sicer materialno, ampak kot simbolična meja, ki ločuje narojeno od tujega, blagostanje od revščine, 'združeno Evropo' od 'tujcev'. In da še vedno živimo

² Zdenka Badovinac, »Body and the East« v: *Body and the East: od šestdesetih let do danes / From the 1960s to the Present* (Ljubljana: Moderna galerija, 1998), str. 10.

³ Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006), str. 1.



Body and the East, 1998, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, fotografije postavitve / installation views
Foto / Photo: Lado Mlekuž, Matija Pavlovec

the description of the performance: "Zdenka invited Alexander to take part in this exhibition. Alexander and Barbara send Zdenka a good political work 'The Berlin wall exists.' This is about the fact that the Berlin wall exists, not material but as a symbolic border which separates innate from the foreign, prosperity from poverty, a 'united Europe' from all 'aliens'. And that we still exist in surroundings of primitive oppositions produced by power. But Zdenka said: 'This is not body art. My exhibition is about body art.' But for Barbara and Alexander 'body art' is bullshit and political art is very important and therefore we are throwing eggs." (Alexander Brener, Barbara Schurz).

In reality, Brener's performance was a very accurate complement to and critique of my concept of the *Body and the East* exhibition, which united in its very title the body with a geopolitical space that I basically conceived as a body, that is, as a living, specific entity with a voice of its own. While Brener and Schurz's original proposal consisted of mostly just text, not including a performance, it spoke in its essence about these two different conceptions of the body: the artist's body and the body of the artist's space.

There is another performance related to the *Body and the East* exhibition, in which the relation between the artist and the artist's space was performed even more radically, verging on fatally – this was Slaven Tolj's performance in 2001, when *Body and the East* traveled to Exit Art in New York. In his performance, Tolj sat at a table with a liter of vodka and a liter of whiskey before him, alternately pouring himself shots from the two bottles. Glass by glass he drank up a liter of vodka symbolizing the East, and a liter of whiskey symbolizing the West. When he was finished, he got up and went to a small bar in the middle of the exhibition space, while lectures started in the auditorium. Before the first lecture was over, the organizers interrupted the program. We were told that Tolj had collapsed and had to be taken to the hospital with an ambulance. We were asked to leave. The program was over.

A few years later I happened upon a text by a young Australian art writer Anthony Gardner, who astounded me with his description of Tolj's performance at Exit Art, and even more with his precise definition of what he called the "aesthetic of withdrawal." Gardner placed this term in critical

relation to the then topical Bourriaud's relational aesthetics. Gardner compares conservative democracy and safe participation in relational aesthetics with Tolj's performance, in which the audience and/or the organizers participated by taking the critically intoxicated artist out of the auditorium. Gardner used the term "aesthetic of withdrawal" also in his subsequent texts about Brener, Oleg Kulik and Ilya Kabakov, always in reference to active not-being, withdrawal from identification, and thus to resistance to and withdrawal from the existing economy of representation.

In the time since the *Body and the East* show I have curated many other exhibitions with East European art at their focus, especially involving works from Moderna galerija's Arteast 2000+ Collection, founded two years after the *Body and the East* show. As already mentioned, *Body and the East*, the Arteast 2000+ Collection and these other exhibitions have served as a tool, most often as a tool for historicizing, and also as a tool for the production of our local context. It matters a great deal who the subject of historicizing is, and what their motives are. My motives and the motives of the institution I ran have always been related to efforts for fairer international dialogue and the constant redefining of the museum's role under specific sociopolitical circumstances. At the beginning, over twenty years ago, the *Body and the East* exhibition helped me understand space as the body of elocution. The *situated knowledge* I have formulated together with my colleagues at the Moderna galerija was in dialogue with the shifts and changes occurring in relation to our locality. While the 1990s were largely dedicated to the issues of identity politics, the crises of the 2000s brought home the realization we were all caught in the same processes dictated by global capital and global climate changes. With the current pandemic, the crises have only deepened, but instead of turning toward anti-globalist movements we are increasingly resorting to localities and, due to the refugee crisis and racism, to particular identities and political correctness. At the macro-political level, the need to protect national economies is increasing, while at the micro-political level, affiliation with discrete communities is growing stronger. These processes are of a different order; on the one hand, concern for everything local entails also care for local ecosystems and is thus

v okolju primitivnih nasprotij, ki jih ustvarja moč. Toda Zdenka je rekla: 'To ni body art. Moja razstava se ukvarja z body artom.' Ampak za Barbaro in Alexandra je 'body art' sranje, politična umetnost pa zelo pomembna, zato mečeva jajca.« (Alexander Brener, Barbara Schurz)

Brenerjev performans je bil v resnici zelo natančno dopolnilo in kritika mojega koncepta razstave *Body and the East*, ki je že s samim naslovom združevala telo z geopolitičnim prostorom, ki sem ga sama v bistvu razložila kot telo, se pravi, kot živo, konkretno stvar, ki ima svoj glas. Čeprav je prvotni predlog Brenerja in Schurzeve vključeval samo tekst, in ne performans – ta se je zgodil kot presenečenje –, je v bistvu govoril ravno o teh dveh razumevanjih telesa – o telesu umetnika in o telesu njegovega prostora.

V nadaljevanju bom opisala še en performans, ki je spremljal razstavo *Body and the East* in v katerem je bila ta zveza med umetnikom in njegovim prostorom uprizorjena še bolj radikalno, že skoraj usodno. Gre za performans Slavena Tolja, ki ga je izvedel leta 2001, ko je razstava *Body and the East* gostovala v galeriji Exit Art v New Yorku. Tolj je ob tej priložnosti sedel za majhno mizo, na katero je postavil liter vodke in liter viskija, in nato izmenično natakal v kozarec pijačo iz obeh steklenic. Postopoma je tako popil liter vodke, ki je simbolizirala Vzhod, in liter viskija, ki je simboliziral Zahod. Ko je končal, je vstal in odšel v bar sredi razstavnega prostora, medtem ko so se v majhnem avditoriju začela vrstiti predavanja. Niti prvo predavanje se še ni končalo, ko so prišli organizatorji in prekinili program. Obveščeni smo bili, da se je Tolj med prvim predavanjem onesvestil in da so zato morali nemudoma poklicati rešilca, ki ga je odpeljal v bolnišnico. Prosili so nas, naj zapustimo prostor, in program je bil tako končan.

Nekaj let zatem mi je po naključju prišlo v roke besedilo mladega avstralskega pisca Anthonyja Gardnerja, ki me je presenetilo z opisom Toljevega performans v Exit Artu in še bolj z Gardnerjevo natančno označbo »*aesthetic of withdrawal*«, estetike umaknitve ali odstopa. Gardner je ta pojem postavil v kritičen odnos do tedaj aktualne Bourriaudove relacijske estetike. Gardner je primerjal konservativno demokracijo in netvegano sodelovanje znotraj relacijske estetike s Toljevimi performansom, v katerem so organizatorji (tj.

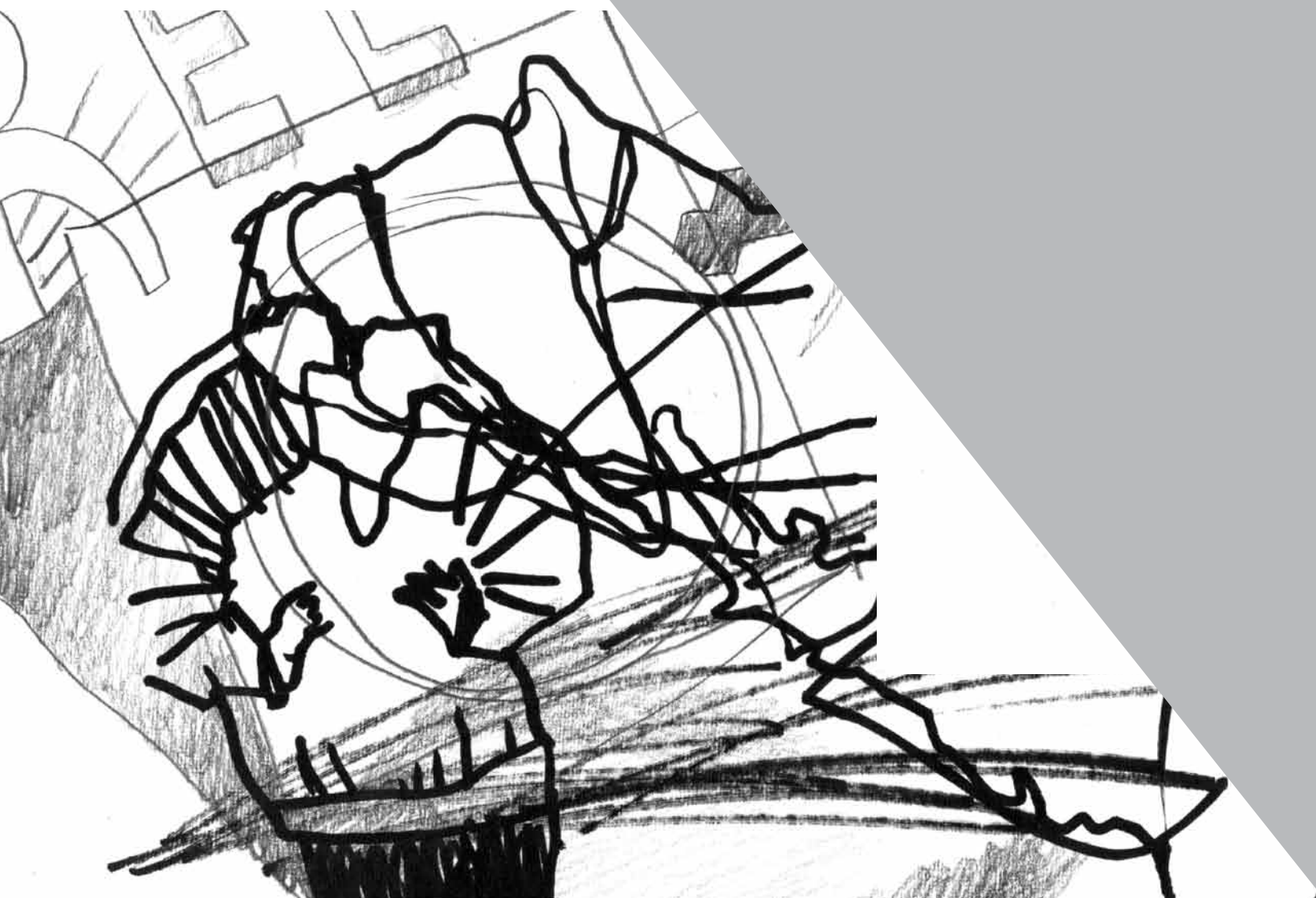
publika) sodelovali tako, da so napol mrtvega umetnika odnesli iz avditorija. Gardner je termin *aesthetic of withdrawal* uporabil tudi v svojih poznejših pisanjih o Brenerju, Olegu Kuliku in Ilyi Kabakovu in se v vseh primerih nanašal na »aktivno ne-bitni, odstop od identifikacije« in s tem na odpor in umik iz obstoječe ekonomije reprezentacije.

Razstavi *Body and the East* je do danes sledilo še veliko razstav, ki sem jih pripravila v povezavi z vzhodnoevropsko umetnostjo, še zlasti z deli iz naše zbirke Arteast 2000+, ki se je oblikovala dve leti po razstavi *Body and the East*. Tako *Body and the East* kot vse druge razstave in tudi zbirka Arteast 2000+ so mi, kot rečeno, služile kot orodje, največkrat kot orodje zgodovinenja in potem tudi kot orodje produkcije našega lokalnega konteksta. Ni vseeno, kdo je subjekt zgodovinenja in kakšni so njegovi motivi. Moji motivi in motivi institucije, ki sem jo vodila, so bili in še vedno so povezani s prizadevanji za pravičnejše mednarodne dialoge in tudi z neprestanim redefiniranjem vloge muzeja in konkretnih družbenopolitičnih okoliščinah. Na začetku teh prizadevanj pred več kot dvajsetimi leti mi je razstava *Body and the East* pomagala razumeti prostor kot telo izgovorjave. *Umeščeno znanje (situated knowledge)*, ki sem ga skupaj s kolegi v Moderni galeriji ob vsem tem oblikovala, je bilo v dialogu s premenami, ki so se ves ta čas dogajale v odnosu do lokalnosti. Medtem ko so bila devetdeseta leta v veliki meri posvečena spraševanju o identitetnih politikah, je prvo desetletje novega tisočletja s svojimi krizami okrepilo zavedanje, da smo vsi ujeti v iste procese, ki jih diktirajo globalni kapital in podnebne spremembe. Zdaj, v času pandemije, se vse to samo še krepi, mi pa se namesto k antiglobalnim gibanjem bolj in ponovno zatekamo k lokalnostim, spričo begunske krize in rasizma pa tudi vse bolj k partikularnim identitetam in politični korektnosti. Na makropolitni ravni se krepi potreba po zaščiti nacionalnih gospodarstev, na mikropolitni pa pripadnost posamičnim skupnostim. Vsi ti procesi imajo različne predznake; po eni strani skrb za lokalno pomeni skrb za lokalne ekosisteme in je tako v odnosu do skrbi za planet in trajnostni razvoj, po drugi strani je vračanje k partikularnemu tudi izključujoče do vsega drugačnega in nosi v sebi mnoge čeri, ki vodijo nazaj k provincializmu in nacionalizmu. Razstava *Body and the East* me je naučila, da so telesa in tudi prostori pretočni in intersubjektivni. Ena od nalog razstav, ki jih delamo,

related to care for the planet and sustainable development, while on the other hand it is a return to the particular, and thus exclusion of everything different, which is fraught with potential danger of reverting to provincialism and nationalism. I've learned from the *Body and the East* exhibition that bodies are fluid and intersubjective. One of the tasks of the exhibitions we stage is to seek resonances between different bodies and spaces, a thing that is increasingly important today as all kinds of tensions grow. Resolving current crises cannot be a matter of closed spaces, but of synergies and connections between the urgencies of various spaces and the planet as a whole. The whole planet is like a body, but a body that cannot be entirely included in our symbolic order; we must respect its otherness, as we must understand other bodies, the bodies of plants and animals included, and their being *active unmarked*.

Translated by Rawley Grau

je, da iščejo resonance med različnimi telesi in prostori, kar je danes, v času vse večjih tenzij, tudi vse pomembnejše. Reševanje aktualnih kriz ne more biti stvar zaprtih okolij, ampak sinergij in povezovanj nujnosti posamičnih prostorov in celega planeta. Ves planet je kot telo, vendar kot telo, ki ga ne moremo v popolnosti vpisati v naš simbolni red; spoštovati moramo njegovo tujost, razumeti druga telesa, tudi telesa rastlin in živali in njihovo *aktivno neoznačeno*.



09

**Photographs of the
Exhibition *Realize!
Resist! React!
Performance and
Politics in the 1990s
in the Post-Yugoslav
Context***

This reader is part of the exhibition *Realize! Resist! React!, Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context* in the frame of the larger project *Our Many Europes* organised by the museum confederation *L'Internationale* and its partners, and co-funded by the *Creative Europe* programme of the European Union. Besides *Moderna galerija (MG+MSUM)*, Ljubljana, Slovenia) the partners are *Museo Reina Sofía* (Madrid, Spain); *MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Spain); *Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (M HKA)*, Antwerp, Belgium); *Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w Warszawie* (Warsaw, Poland), *SALT* (Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey) and *Van Abbemuseum (VAM)*, Eindhoven, Netherlands), and its partners are *HDK-Valand Academy of Art and Design* (HDK-Valand, Gothenburg, Sweden) and the *National College of Art and Design (NCAD)*, Dublin, Ireland).

**Fotografije razstave
*Spoznanje! Upor!
Reakcija! Performans
in politika v
devetdesetih letih v
pojugoslovanskem
kontekstu***

Zbornik je del razstave *Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!, Performans in politika v devetdesetih letih v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu* in širšega projekta *Naše mnoge Evrope* muzejske konfederacije *Internacionala*, ki ga sofinancira program Evropske unije *Ustvarjalna Evropa* in v katerem poleg *Moderne galerije* sodelujejo še *Museo Reina Sofía* (Madrid, Španija); *MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Španija); *Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (M HKA)*, Antwerpen, Belgija); *Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w Warszawie* (Varšava, Poljska), *SALT* (Istanbul in Ankara, Turčija) in *Van Abbemuseum (VAM)*, Eindhoven, Nizozemska) s partnerji *HDK-Valand Academy of Art and Design* (HDK-Valand, Göteborg, Švedska) in *National College of Art and Design (NCAD)*, Dublin, Irska)





Photographs of the Exhibition *Realize! Resist! React!* Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context

Fotografije razstave *Realize! Resist! React!* Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context







Zaključni (skladni) planovi za izgradnju i opremanje izložbenog prostora za izložbu "Balk Vostok" u muzeju "Kulturni centar"
 Adria, izložba 2018. (Kulturni centar, Zagreb).
 Although the photographs were taken in a museum, they are not intended for a museum. They are intended for a museum.

The Temporary Museum of Contemporary Art is a temporary exhibition space established by the artist in the form of a photo gallery. In March 2018, the artist exhibited a series of photographs in the Temporary Museum of Contemporary Art. The artist is a member of the artist collective "Kulturni centar".

Photographs of the Exhibition *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*

Fotografije razstave *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*





Photographs of the Exhibition *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*

Fotografije razstave *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*







Photographs of the Exhibition *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*

Fotografije razstave *Realize! Resist! React! Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context*







Sodelujoči / Participants

Arkzin | Art Publishing group (Bojan Bahić & Sanda Hnatjuk) | Autonomna tvornica kulture – Attack! (Autonomous Cultural Center – Attack!) | Maja Bajević | Damir Bartol Indoš | Aleksandar Battista Ilić, Ivana Keser, Tomislav Gotovac | Faruk Begolli | Matjaž Berger | Goran Bertok | Iva-Matija Bitanga & Bijesne gliste | Zoran Bogdanović | Marko Breclj | Mateja Bučar | Centar za izveduvački umetnosti Multimedia (Performing Arts Center Multimedia) | Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju (Center for Cultural Decontamination) | Suzana Cerić & Anela Šabić | Predrag Čančar | Ivica Čuljak (Satan Panonski) | Dah Teatar | Danica Dakić | Vlasta Delimar | Iskra Dimitrova | Dodona Teatri (Dodona Theater) | Eclipse | Feral Tribune | Tomislav Gotovac | Igor Grubić | Grupa Elementi (Biljana Petrovska Isijanin, Ljupčo Isijanin) | Marina Gržinić & Aina Šmid | Kemal Hadžić | Jusuf Hadžifejzović | Emil Hrvatini (Janez Janša) | Ištvan Išt Huzjan | Irwin | Sanja Iveković | Sanjin Jukić | Robert Jankuloski | Ante Jurić | Božidar Jurjević | Kanal 103 | KOHA | Zlatko Kopljar | Marko Košnik, Inštitut Egon March (Egon March Institute) | Marko A. Kovačić | Ema Kugler | Bojana Kunst & Igor Štromajer | Laibach | Le Cheval | Led art | Maja Licul | Goran Lišnjić (LEBENSFORMER) | Magnet | Mala Stanica | Saša Marković Mikrob | Goranka Matić | MAXUMIM (Eldina Begić, Suzana Cerić, Alma Fazlić, Zlatan Filipović, Anur Hadžiomerspahić, Almir Kurt, Damir Nikšić, Hamdija Pašić, Samir Plasto, Rachel Rossner, Anela Šabić, Nebojša Šerić Shoba, Dejan Vekić, Ajna Zlatar) | Ana Miljanić | Mirovni inštitut (The Peace Institute) | Mladina | Peter Mlakar | Montažstroj | Mreža za Metelkovo (The Metelkova Network) | Oliver Musovik | Muzej biciklističkog ustanka (Museum of the Bicycle Uprising) | Nepopravljivi optimisti (The Incurable Optimists) | Novi kolektivizam (New Collectivism) | NSK | Edin Numankadić | Organizirane ženske skupine Slovenije (Organized Women's Groups of Slovenia) | Irena Paskali | Nusret Pašić | Marko Peljhan | Alenka Pirman, Vuk Ćosić, Irena Woelle | Tadej Pogačar | Ivana Popović | Arjan Pregl, Miha Štrukelj, Marko Zatler | Franc Purg | Agim Qena | Radio Študent | Vlado G. Repnik | Sarajevski New Primitiv (Sarajevo New Primitiv) | Schmrz Teatar | Enes Sivac | Mustafa Skopljak | Maja Smrekar | Soros centar za savremena umetnost Skopje (Soros Center for Contemporary Arts Skopje) | Aleksandar Stankoski et al. | Mladen Stilinović | Sven Stilinović | Saša Stojanović | Alma Suljević | Bojan Šarčević | Nebojša Šerić Shoba | Škart | Ive Tabar | Radoslav Tadić | Slaven Tolj | Igor Toševski | Srđan Veljović | Vreme | Sonja Vukićević | Petar Waldegg | Žene u crnom (Women in Black) | Dunja Zupančič::Dragan Živadinov | Janja Žvegelj



10

Biographies

Zdenka Badovinac is a curator and art critic who served as Director of the Moderna galerija in Ljubljana between 1993 and 2020. In her work, she highlights the difficult processes of redefining history alongside different avant-garde traditions within contemporary art. Badovinac's first exhibition to address these issues was *Body and the East: From the 1960s to the Present* (1998). She also initiated the first Eastern European art collection, the Arteast 2000+ Collection. Her most recent book is *Comradeship: Curating, Art, and Politics in Post-Socialist Europe* (ICI, 2019).

Linda Gusia is a sociologist and feminist scholar. She lectures at the Department of Sociology and the Faculty of Arts at the University of Pristina. Her research has focused on topics of gender, feminism, activism, space, memory and violence. She co-founded the University Program for Gender Studies and Research (UP), which synergizes research with pedagogy and social involvement through feminist theories and practice. She was co-curator and researcher of the multimedia art exhibition *Data Mars* (2018) on women's protests in Kosovo during the 1990s. She is the principal investigator of the project *The Making of the Museum of Education: Memory, violence and resistance as seen by artists, youth and institutions* (UKAHRC/GCRF Changing the Story). She is also a co-investigator of the project *ReSpace Reanimating Contested Spaces (ReSpace): Designing Participatory Civic Education for and with Young People in Kosovo and Rwanda*, which investigates how concepts of space, through arts-based participatory methods, can engage the "post-memory" generation in Rwanda and Kosovo to reimagine specific sites of contested memory.

Siniša Ilić is a visual artist whose work includes drawing, painting, installation and video, and also works in the field of performance art and theater. Ilić's practice addresses social phenomena and

Biografije

Zdenka Badovinac je kustosinja in umetnostna kritičarka, ki je bila med letoma 1993 in 2020 direktorica Moderne galerije v Ljubljani. V svojem delu izpostavlja težavne procese redefiniranja zgodovine ob različnih avantgardnih tradicijah znotraj sodobnega časa umetnosti. Njena prva razstava, ki je obravnavala ta vprašanja, je bila *Body and the East* (1998). Zdenka Badovinac je tudi pobudnica prve vzhodnoevropske umetniške zbirke Arteast 2000+. Njena najnovejša knjiga je *Comradeship: Curating, Art and Politics in Post-Socialist Europe* (ICI, 2019).

Linda Gusia je sociologinja in znanstvenica na področju feminizma. Predava na Oddelku za sociologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Prishtini. V raziskavah se posveča temam spola, feminizma, aktivizma, prostora, spomina in nasilja. Soustanovila je univerzitetni program za študije in raziskave spola, ki združuje raziskovanje s pedagogiko in družbenim angažmajem preko feministične teorije in prakse. Bila je sokustosinja in raziskovalka pri multimedijški razstavi *Data Mars* (2018) o demonstracijah žensk na Kosovu v devetdesetih letih. Je glavna raziskovalka pri projektu *The Making of the Museum of Education: Memory, violence and resistance as seen by artists, youth and institutions* (UKAHRC/GCRF Changing the Story) in soraziskovalka pri projektu *ReSpace Reanimating Contested Spaces (ReSpace): Designing Participatory Civic Education for and with Young People in Kosovo and Rwanda*, ki preiskuje, kako lahko s sodelovalnimi metodami na osnovi umetnosti koncepti prostora pritegnejo generacijo »postspomina« v Ruandi in na Kosovu, da si ponovno zamisli določene kraje spornega spomina.

Siniša Ilić je vizualni umetnik; njegovo delo vključuje risbe, slike, instalacije in video, dela pa tudi v polju performansa in gledališča. Ilić v umetniški



mechanisms, exploring forms of labor, tension, social violence and states of uncertainty. He collaborates with other artists and authors using various collaborative formats. He is among the founders of the TkH-Walking Theory (2000–2017) art and theory platform in Belgrade. He has shown his works at: Weltmuseum, Vienna; Kunstraum Innsbruck; MAXXI Museum, Rome; Belgrade Cultural Center, October Salon, Museum of Contemporary Arts, and Museum of African Arts, Belgrade; Gallery Nova, Zagreb; Apoteka Gallery, Vodnjan; Nadežda Petrović Gallery, Čačak; Georges Pompidou Center, Kadist Art Foundation, Paris; Tate Modern, and the galleries Calvert 22 and Fordham London; Ural Biennial, Yekaterinburg, Lofoten Festival, Norway; Moderna galerija, Mestni muzej, Ljubljana; Open Space, Vienna; DEPO, Istanbul. <http://sinisailic.blogspot.com>

Jasna Jakšić is a curator and art critic based in Zagreb. She graduated in art history and the Italian language and literature, as well as librarianship, from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. Since 2004 she has worked in the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb (MSU), where she manages the Library and Documentation and Information Department. She has curated numerous exhibitions and coordinated international collaboration projects such as *Digitizing Ideas* (2010–2012) www digitizig-ideas.org and *Performing the Museum* (2014–2016). In her curatorial work she focuses on the presentation, accessibility and mediation of artist's books and magazines, visual poetry and archival documents, and the borderline between artwork and artistic documentation. Since 2007, she has been working on the digitization of MSU publications and archival collections. She has recently curated or co-curated the following exhibitions: *Your Presence is Requested*, MMW, Wrocław, 2015; *Paolo Scheggi: Opla' Stick 1969–2019*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb, 2019; *Damir Očko: Human Scale*, 2019, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb; *Vlado Martek: Being a Piece of Paper Next to a Museum*, 2019, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb; and *To Be Continued: Comics and visual culture in Croatia*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb, 2020.

Vida Knežević is an art historian, curator, cultural worker, and a member of the Kontekst collective whose work is based on a process of connecting

critical theory and practice, the field of arts and culture with wider social and political effects. In 2019, she completed her PhD thesis entitled "Theory and Practice of the Critical Left in Yugoslav Culture (Yugoslav Art Between the Two World Wars and the Revolutionary Social Movement)". Since 2014 she has been one of the editors of the educational project and the left-wing online magazine Masina.rs, where she deals with the relationship between cultural, art and media production, economy, politics and activism.

Nita Luci is a feminist scholar. She teaches at the University of Pristina and is chair of the Department of Anthropology. Her scholarship has focused on the intersection of nationalist cultural politics, manhood, memory and heritage, violence and political movements. She co-founded the University Program for Gender Studies and Research, has (co-) led various teaching and research projects (Memory Mapping Kosovo; Gender and Sexuality Summer School; ReContextualizing Contested Heritage) and contemporary art initiatives (Women n/or Witches: Representation, Feminism and Art supplement; Protest, Imagery, and Art course; Missing Identity project). As a co-investigator on the ACT project (GCRF "Changing the Story") she is part of a participatory collaboration that interrogates the ways in which artists, arts organizations, initiatives and institutions engage young people with and through arts on civic education, heritage and social justice.

Asja Mandić is a curator, researcher, and art critic who works as an Associate Professor of modern and contemporary art and museum studies at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo. She completed her undergraduate and graduate education in art history and museum studies in the United States of America and received a PhD from the University of Sarajevo (advisor Andrew McClellan, Tufts University, Medford/Boston). For seven years she worked as a curator of Ars Aevi Museum/Center of Contemporary Art, Sarajevo. Over the years she curated over twenty exhibitions, including the first pavilion of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Venice Biennale. She is the author of the book *Challenges of Museum Education* (Bosnian language), six exhibition catalogues, co-editor of a catalogue/book *Treasures of Socialism* (with Michael Fehr) and the *Journal of Museum Education* (with Patrick Roberts).

praksi obravnava družbene pojave in mehanizme ter raziskuje oblike dela, napetosti, družbenega nasilja in negotova stanja. Na različne načine sodeluje z drugimi umetniki in avtorji. Je eden od ustanoviteljev beograjske platforme za umetnost in teorijo TkH-Walking Theory (2000–2017). Dela je razstavljal v številnih mednarodnih institucijah, med njimi so: Weltmuseum, Dunaj; Kunstraum Innsbruck; MAXXI, Rim; Beograjski kulturni center, Oktobrski salon, Muzej sodobne umetnosti in Muzej afriške umetnosti, Beograd; Galerija Nova, Zagreb; Galerija Apoteka, Vodnjan; Galerija Nadežda Petrović, Čačak; Centre Georges Pompidou, Kadist Art Foundation, Pariz; Tate Modern in galeriji Calvert 22 in Fordham London; Uralski bienale, Jekaterinburg, Festival Lofoten, Norveška; Moderna galerija, Mestni muzej, Ljubljana; Open Space, Dunaj; DEPO, Istanbul. <http://sinisailic.blogspot.com>

Jasna Jakšić je kustosinja in umetnostna kritičarka iz Zagreba. Diplomirala je iz umetnostne zgodovine, italijanskega jezika s književnostjo in knjižničarstva na Fakulteti za humanistiko in družbene vede Univerze v Zagrebu. Od leta 2004 dela v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu (MSU), kjer vodi knjižnico in dokumentacijsko-informacijski oddelek. Kot kustosinja je pripravila veliko razstav in koordinirala projekte mednarodnega sodelovanja, kot sta *Digitizing Ideas* (2010–2012) www digitizig-ideas.org in *Performing the Museum* (2014–2016). V kuratorskem delu se posveča predstavitev, dostopnosti in posredovanju knjig in revij umetnikov, vizualne poezije in arhivskih dokumentov ter meji med umetnino in umetniško dokumentacijo. Od leta 2007 dela na digitalizaciji MSU-jevih publikacij in arhivskih zbirk. Nedavne razstave, ki jih je pripravila kot kustosinja ali sokustosinja, so *Your Presence is Requested*, MMW, Wrocław, 2015; *Paolo Scheggi: Opla' Stick 1969–2019*, MSU, Zagreb, 2019; *Damir Očko: ljudska mjera*, 2019, MSU, Zagreb; *Vlado Martek: biti papirič pored muzeja*, 2019, MSU, Zagreb; *Nastavit će se... Strip i vizualna kultura u Hrvatskoj*, MSU, Zagreb, 2020.

Vida Knežević je umetnostna zgodovinarica, kustosinja, kulturna delavka in članica kolektiva Kontekst, ki v delu združuje kritično teorijo in prakso, polje umetnosti in kulture pa s širšimi družbenimi in političnimi učinki. Leta 2019 je dokončala doktorsko disertacijo z naslovom »Teorija

in praksa kritične levice v jugoslovanski kulturi (jugoslovanska umetnost med obe svetovni vojnami in revolucionarno družbeno gibanje)«. Od leta 2014 je ena od urednic izobraževalnega projekta in levičarske spletne revije Masina.rs, kjer se ukvarja z odnosom med kulturno, umetniško in medijsko produkcijo, gospodarstvom, politiko in aktivizmom.

Nita Luci je znanstvenica na področju feminizma. Uči na Univerzi v Prištini, kjer je vodja Oddelka za antropologijo. V znanstvenem delu se posveča temam na presečišču nacionalistične kulturne politike, moškosti, spomina in dediščine, nasilja in političnih gibanj. Soustanovila je univerzitetni program za študije in raziskave spola, (so)vodila je razne pedagoške in raziskovalne projekte (Memory Mapping Kosovo; Gender and Sexuality Summer School; ReContextualizing Contested Heritage) in iniciative sodobne umetnosti (Women n/or Witches: Representation, Feminism and Art supplement; Protest, Imagery, and Art course; Missing Identity project). Kot soraziskovalka pri projektu ACT project (GCRF »Changing the Story«) sodeluje pri preiskovanju načinov, kako umetniki in umetniške organizacije, pobude in institucije z umetnostjo v mladih zbudijo zanimanje za državljsko izobraževanje, dediščino in družbeno pravičnost.

Asja Mandić je kustosinja, raziskovalka in umetnostna kritičarka ter izredna profesorica za moderno in sodobno umetnost in muzeologijo na Filozofski šoli Univerze v Sarajevu. Dodiplomski in podiplomski študij umetnostne zgodovine in muzeologije je končala v ZDA in potem doktorirala na Univerzi v Sarajevu (mentor Andrew McClellan, Tufts University, Medford/Boston). Sedem let je delala kot kustosinja Muzeja Ars Aevi Museum/Centra za sodobno umetnost v Sarajevu. Kurirala je več kot 20 razstav, vključno s prvim paviljonom Bosne in Hercegovine na beneškem bienalu. Je avtorica knjige *Izazovi muzejske edukacije*, šestih razstavnih katalogov, sourednica kataloga/knjige *Treasures of Socialism* (z Michaelom Fehrom) in *Journal of Museum Education* (s Patrickom Robertsom). Prispevke objavlja v lokalnih in mednarodnih katalogih, revijah in knjigah, kot so *Third Text* (Routledge, 2011), *GTA Papers* (GTA Verlag, 2018) in *Participation in Art and Architecture* (Tauris, 2006). V letu 2005/2006 je imela Fulbrightovo štipendijo za študij na Tufts University v Bostonu.

Her articles have been published in local and international catalogues, journals and books such as *Third Text* (Routledge, 2011), *GTA Papers* (GTA Verlag, 2018) and *Participation in Art and Architecture* (Tauris, 2006). She was a Fulbright Scholar at Tufts University, Boston in 2005/2006.

Bojana Piškur works as a curator in the Moderna galerija in Ljubljana. The focus of her professional interest is on political issues as they relate to or are manifested in the field of art, with special emphasis on the region of the former Yugoslavia. She has curated many events, written for numerous publications, and lectured in different parts of the world on topics such as the post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, experimental film, radical education, socialist cultural politics, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski is a cultural producer, activist in culture, researcher and a curator. She is a co-founder of NGO Lokomotiva, the Nomad Dance Academy platform (NDA), Locomotion Festival for Contemporary Dance and Performance and Kino Kultura (KK), a project space for contemporary performing arts and culture in Skopje, among other initiatives. Recently she has been interested in research on models of institutions, labor rights, and critical curatorial approaches in performance, theater and choreography. She is visiting lecturer in diverse academic programs, and writes and publishes articles dealing with cultural policy, art/cultural production and curating. She holds a BA in the History of Art and Archaeology, an MSc in Interculturalism, Cultural Management and Cultural Policy from the University of Arts in Belgrade, and PhD from the Faculty of Drama Arts in Belgrade. In 2019, she won an ENCATC International Research Award on Cultural Policy and Cultural Management for her doctoral thesis.

Ivana Vaseva is a curator and researcher of cross-disciplinary, collaborative and socially engaged works and programs. She curated several exhibitions and educational and discursive programs both in North Macedonia and abroad, and was an editor of numerous publications. She won the prestigious Golden Triga Award at the 2019 Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space for the project *This Building Talks Truly* (as curator of the project). She won the

“Ladislav Barishikj” Award of AICA – Macedonia for the research project “Collective actions as a political, and not organizational decision” (2015, co-author), and the Special Architecture Award from the Association of Architects of Macedonia (2014, co-participant). She is program director of the organization Faculty of things that can't be learned (FR~U) and co-curator of the AKTO Festival for Contemporary Arts, founded in 2006. Vaseva graduated from the Faculty of History of Art at the University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje, and specialized at the Curatorial Program (2011/2012) at de Appel Arts Center in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Rok Vevar is a writer on contemporary scenic arts and a historian of contemporary dance, a member of the regional and local Nomad Dance Academy, and the founder of the Temporary Slovenian Dance Archive (MSUM, 2018). Since 2012 he has co-curated the international contemporary dance festival CoFestival (Nomad Dance Academy Slovenia, Kino Šiška). He has published a selection of his reviews and articles in *Rok za oddajo* (2011), and edited, selected the material, and wrote the accompanying texts for *Dan, noč + človek = Ritem: Antologija slovenske sodobnoplesne publicistike 1918–1960* in 2018. 2020 saw the publication of his monograph *Ksenija, Xenia: Londonska plesna leta Ksenije Hribar 1960–1978*. He received the Ksenija Hribar Award in 2019, and in 2020 the Vladimir Kralj Honorable Mention for his achievement in theater research over a two-year period.

Jasmina Založnik is a dance dramaturge, writer, and producer, who obtained a PhD from the University of Aberdeen, the Department of Film and Visual Culture, on a grant from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and the Elphinstone PhD Scholarship. She is an active member of the Nomad Dance Academy Slovenia collective and of the Nomad Dance Academy network, of the City of Women and other associations (the Association of Theater Critics and Researchers of Slovenia, the Contemporary Dance Association Slovenia), as well as an engaged writer, dramaturge, curator, moderator, researcher, and artistic collaborator active at home and internationally. In 2015 she received the Ksenija Hribar Award for special achievements in the field of contemporary dance.

Bojana Piškur dela kot kustosinja v Moderni galeriji v Ljubljani. V delu se posveča temu, kako se politična vprašanja navezujejo na umetnost ali se v njej odražajo, še zlasti v regiji nekdanje Jugoslavije. Kot kustosinja je pripravila veliko razstav in dogodkov, pisala za številne publikacije in predavala po svetu o temah, kot so postavantgarde v Jugoslaviji, eksperimentalni film, radikalno izobraževanje, socialistične kulturne politike in gibanje neuvrščenih.

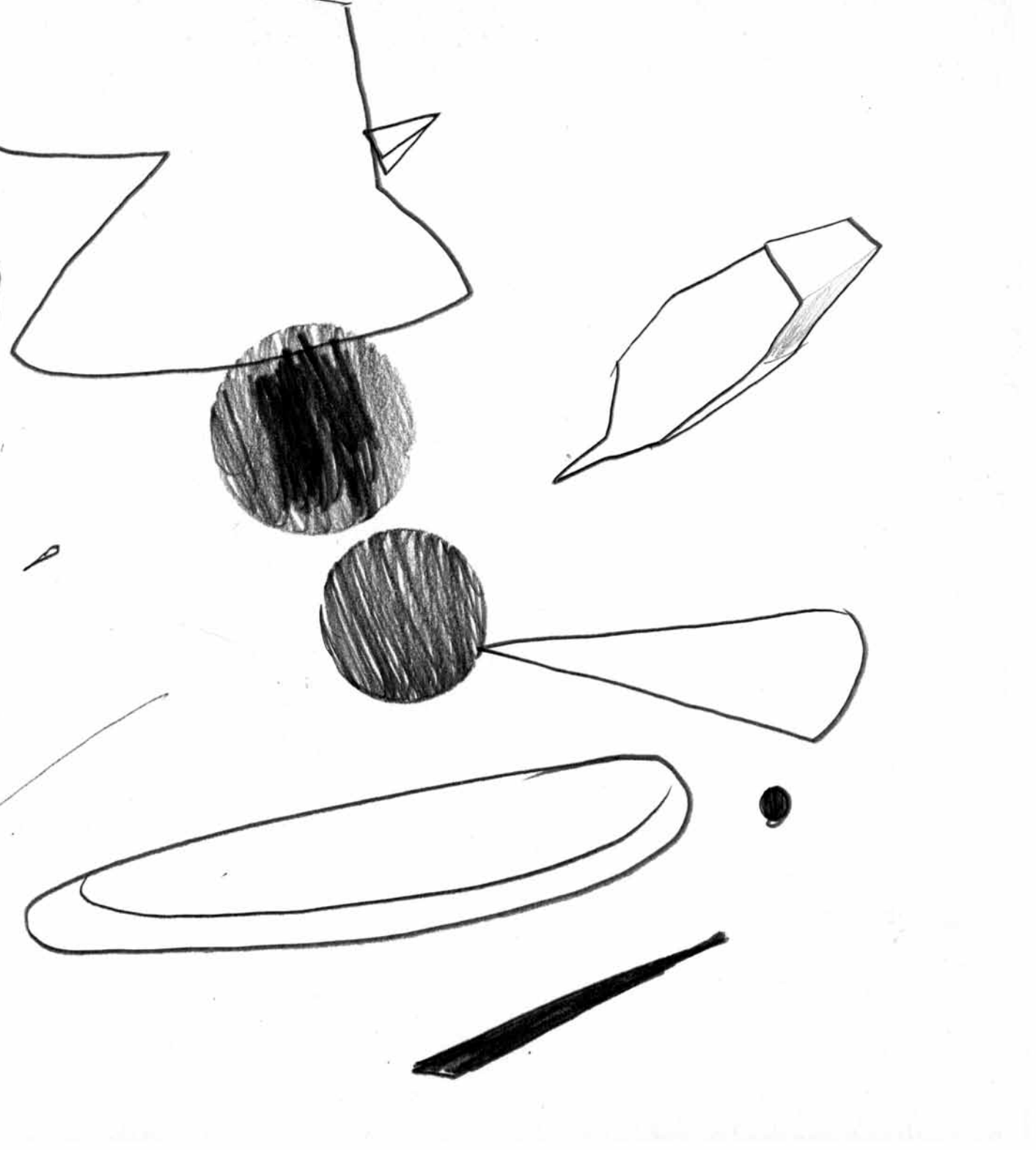
Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski je producentka v kulturi, aktivistka, raziskovalka in kustosinja. Je soustanoviteljica nevladne organizacije Lokomotiva, platforme Nomad Dance Academy (NDA), festivala za sodobni ples in performans Locomotion, projektnega prostora za sodobne scenske umetnosti in kulturo v Skopju Kino Kultura (KK) in drugih iniciativ. Zadnje čase se posveča raziskovanju modelov institucij, pravic iz dela in kritičnih kuratorskih pristopov v performansu, gledališču in koreografiji. Kot gostujoča predavateljica sodeluje pri različnih študijskih programih ter piše in objavlja članke o kulturnih politikah, produkciji umetnosti/kulture in kuriranju. Diplomirala je iz zgodovine umetnosti in arheologije, magistrirala iz interkulturalizma, kulturnega managementa in kulturne politike na Filozofski univerzi v Beogradu in doktorirala na Fakulteti za dramske umetnosti v Beogradu. Leta 2019 je za doktorsko disertacijo prejela mednarodno raziskovalno nagrado za kulturno politiko in kulturni management ENCATC.

Ivana Vaseva je kustosinja in raziskovalka meddisciplinarnih, sodelovalnih in družbeno angažiranih del in programov. Kurirala je več razstav ter izobraževalnih in diskurzivnih programov tako v Severni Makedoniji kot na tujem in uredila veliko publikacij. Leta 2019 je na Praškem kvadrienu scenskega oblikovanja in prostora dobila prestižno nagrado Golden Triga za projekt *This Building Talks Truly* (kot kustosinja projekta). Dobila je nagrado Ladislav Barishikj, ki jo podeljuje AICA – Makedonija za raziskovalni projekt »Kolektivne akcije kot politična, in ne organizacijska odločitev« (2015, soavtorica), in posebno arhitekturno nagrado Društva arhitektov Makedonije (2014, soudeležnica). Dela tudi kot programska direktorica organizacije Faculty of things that can't be learned (FR~U) in sokustosinja leta 2006 ustanovljenega festivala sodobnih umetnosti AKTO. Vaseva je diplomirala na Fakulteti za zgodovino umetnosti Univerze sv.

Cirila in Metoda v Skopju in opravila specializacijo na programu za kustose (2011/2012) Centra de Appel Arts v Amsterdamu na Nizozemskem.

Rok Vevar je publicist na področju sodobnih scenskih umetnosti in zgodovinar sodobnega plesa, član regijske in lokalne Nomad Dance Academy ter ustanovitelj Začasnega slovenskega plesnega arhiva (MSUM, 2018). Od leta 2012 je sokurator mednarodnega festivala sodobnega plesa CoFestival (Nomad Dance Academy Slovenija, Kino Šiška). Izbor svojih kritik in člankov je objavil v knjigi *Rok za oddajo* (2011), leta 2018 pa je uredil knjigo *Dan, noč + človek = ritem: Antologija slovenske sodobnoplesne publicistike 1918–1960*, za katero je izbral gradiva in napisal spremna besedila. Leta 2020 je izšla njegova monografija *Ksenija, Xenia: Londonska plesna leta Ksenije Hribar 1960–1978*. Za svoje delo je leta 2019 prejel nagrado Ksenije Hribar in 2020 priznanje Vladimirja Kralja za dosežke na področju teatrologije v zadnjih dveh letih.

Jasmina Založnik je plesna dramaturginja, publicistka in producentka, ki je s štipendijo Ministrstva za kulturo RS in Elphinstone PhD Scholarship doktorirala na Oddelku za vizualno kulturo in filozofijo Univerze v Aberdeenu v Veliki Britaniji. Je aktivna članica kolektiva Nomad Dance Academy Slovenija in mreže Nomad Dance Academy, društva Mesto žensk in strokovnih združenj (Društvo kritikov in teatrologov, Društvo za sodobni ples) ter angažirana publicistka, dramaturginja, kustosinja, moderatorica, svetovalka, raziskovalka in umetniška sodelavka v domačem in mednarodnem polju. Leta 2015 je prejela nagrado Ksenije Hribar za izjemne dosežke na področju sodobnega plesa.



**Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!, Performans in politika
v devetdesetih letih v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu
/ Realize! Resist! React!, Performance and Politics in
the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context**

MG+MSUM

Izdala / Published by

Moderna galerija, Windischerjeva 2, SI-1000, Ljubljana,
Slovenija

Tel. + 386 1 2416 800, info@mg-lj.si, www.mg-lj.si

Zanjo / Represented by

Aleš Vaupotič

Urednica / Editor

Bojana Piškur

Besedila / Texts

Bojana Piškur, Jasna Jakšič, Vida Knežević, Nita Luci & Linda
Gusia, Asja Mandić, Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski & Ivana
Vaseva, Rok Vevar & Jasmina Založnik, Zdenka Badovinac

**Prevodi v slovenščino in pregled slovenskih besedil /
Slovenian translations and copyediting of Slovenian texts**

Tamara Soban

Prevodi v angleščino / English translations

Emilia Epštajn, Rawley Grau, Mirta Jurilj, Tamara Soban,
avtorice/ authors

Angleška lektura / English copyediting

Jeff Bickert

Oblikovanje / Graphic design

Katarina Popović

Risbe / Drawings

Siniša Ilić: Iz serije *Devetdeseta leta* / From the series *The 1990s*,
2020/21

Fotografije postavitve razstave / Photos of the exhibition

Dejan Habicht, Siniša Ilić

Tisk / Printed by

Standard 2, Beograd

Naklada / Print run

1000

@2021 Moderna galerija, Ljubljana in avtorji / authors

Zbornik je del razstave *Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!, Performans
in politika v devetdesetih letih v pojugoslovanskem
kontekstu* in širšega projekta Naše mnoge Evrope muzejske
konfederacije Internacionala, ki ga sofinancira program
Evropske unije Ustvarjalna Evropa in v katerem poleg Moderne
galerije sodelujejo še Museo Reina Sofia (Madrid, Španija);
MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (Barcelona,
Španija); Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen (M
HKA, Antwerpen, Belgija); Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w
Warszawie (Varšava, Poljska), SALT (Istanbul in Ankara, Turčija)
in Van Abbemuseum (VAM, Eindhoven, Nizozemska) s partnerji
HDK-Valand Academy of Art and Design (HDK-Valand,
Göteborg, Švedska) in National College of Art and Design
(NCAD, Dublin, Irska).

This reader is part of the exhibition *Realize! Resist! React!,
Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav
Context* in the frame of the larger project Our Many Europes
organised by the museum confederation L'Internationale
and its partners, and co-funded by the Creative Europe
programme of the European Union. Besides Moderna galerija
(MG+MSUM, Ljubljana, Slovenia) the partners are Museo Reina
Sofía (Madrid, Spain); MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani
de Barcelona (Barcelona, Spain); Museum van Hedendaagse
Kunst Antwerpen (M HKA, Antwerp, Belgium); Muzeum Sztuki
Nowoczesnej w Warszawie (Warsaw, Poland), SALT (Istanbul
and Ankara, Turkey) and Van Abbemuseum (VAM, Eindhoven,
Netherlands), and its partners are HDK-Valand Academy of
Art and Design (HDK-Valand, Gothenburg, Sweden) and the
National College of Art and Design (NCAD, Dublin, Ireland).

Spoznanje! Upor! Reakcija!, Performans in politika v devetdesetih letih v jugoslovanskem kontekstu / Realize! Resist! React!, Performance and Politics in the 1990s in the Post-Yugoslav Context

Muzej sodobne umetnosti Metelkova / Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana
24. 6. – 10. 10. 2021

Kustosi razstave / Exhibition curators

Bojana Piškur in /and Linda Gusia, Jasna Jakšič, Vida Knežević, Nita Luci, Asja Mandić, Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, Ivana Vaseva, Rok Vevar, Jasmina Založnik.

Koordinacija projekta / Project coordination

Sanja Kuveljić Bandić

Odnosi z javnostmi / Public relations

Mateja Dimnik

Obrazstavni program / Public program

Adela Železnik

Spletna stran razstave / Exhibition website

Ida Hiršenfelder

Pedagoški program / Pedagogical program

Lucija Cvjetković

Oblikovanje razstave / Exhibition design

Siniša Ilić

Fotografiranje in priprava foto in video materialov za razstavo / Photo documentation and preparation of the photo and video materials for the exhibition

Dejan Habicht

Koordinacija fotografiranja / Coordination of photography

Sabina Povšič

Asistenka pri razstavi / Exhibition assistant

Katarina Bogataj

Tehnična koordinacija / Technical coordination

Tomaž Kučer

Tehnična ekipa / Technical crew

Boris Fister, Vojko Kmetič, Janez Kramžar, Armin Salihović, Duško Škrbin

Zahvale / Acknowledgements

Umetnikom in umetnicam, fotografom in fotografinjam, institucijam, galerijam in posameznikom, da so nam posodili umetniška dela in arhivski material in dovolili njegovo uporabo ter nam s tem omogočili realizacijo razstave.

Thanks to all of the participating artists, photographers, institutions, galleries and individuals that have kindly loaned us the works of art and the archival materials and/or given us permission to use them, making the realization of the exhibition possible.

Marko Jenko, Robert Botteri, Igor Modic, Vlasta Jalušič, Iztok Šori, Urška Savič, Matjaž Zorec, Vesna Bukovec, Anto Baković, Danilo Milatović, Sandra Sajović, Jurij Krpan, Ana Grobler, Sebastian Krawczyk, Nika Ham, Darka Radosavljević, Nataša Serec, Djordje Balmazović, Janez Prešern, Dino Schreilechner, Ivan Hrašovec, Vojislav Milošević, Ana Vujanović, Marijana Cvetković, Mirjana Dragosavljević, Andreja Mirič, Marijana Stojčić, Marko Miletić, Ana Isaković, Flaka Surroi, Melihate Qena, Ilire Vinca, Armond Morina, Diellza Hyseni, Dritëro Nikqi, ANIBAR Animation Festival, Visar Krusha, Dafina Zherka, Changing the Story ReSpace project, Hana Qenađ, Ivana Bago, Lepasava Popović, Darko Šimičić, Sarah Gotovac, Zora Cazi Gotovac, Ljubica Anđelković Džambić, Branka Stipančić, Valentina Radoš, Marijan Špoljar, Ivan Marušić, Tanja Vrvilo, Tena Erceg, Viktor Ivančić, Zdenko Franjić, Dejan Dragosavac Ruta, Dejan Kršič, Nataša Ivančević, Ema Kugler, Marko Košnik, Igor Štromajer, Janez Janša, Vlado Repnik, Draga Potočnjak, Mateja Bučar, Vadim Fiškin, Alenka Pirman, Janez Burger, Galerija Kapelica, Miha Fras, Zavod Maska, Dragan Živadinov, RTV Slovenija, Barbara Borčič, Marko A. Kovačič, Marina Gržinić Mauhler, Aina Šmid, Ida Hiršenfelder, Sanja Kuveljić Bandić, Tamara Soban, Blaž Lukan, Ivana Udovičić, Ideologija, Sarajevo; Umjetnička galerija Bosne i Hercegovine, Milomir Kovačević, SCCA/pro.ba, Senad Pečanin, Zenit Đozić, Haris Pašović, Suada Kapić and FAMA Sarajevo, Obala Art Centar, TV BiH, Oslobođenje, Media centar Sarajevo, Muzej savremene umjetnosti Ars Aevi, OPA (Obsessive Possessive Aggression): Slobodanka Stevceska, Denis Saraginoski, zaum.mk, Filip Jovanovski, Mirko Popov, Ana Stojanovska, Vlatko Galevski, Ljupco Tanurovski, Tosho Filipovski, Natalija Popovska, Vangel Tanurovski, Pavle Ignovski, Kristijan Karadzovski, Youth Open Theatre, Youth Cultural Center, Violeta Kachakova, Violeta Simjanovska.

Vsebinska publikacija je izključno odgovornost avtorjev in v nobenem primeru ne predstavlja stališč Evropske komisije. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the European Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

Projekt so finančno podprli / The project was supported by



CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

7.01:32(497.1)«1991/...»
7.038.531

SPOZNANJE! Upor! Reakcija! : performans in politika v devetdesetih letih v pojugoslovanskem kontekstu = Realize! Resist! React! : performance and politics in the 1990s in the post-Yugoslav context / [urednica Bojana Piškur ; besedila Bojana Piškur ... [et al.] ; prevodi v slovenščino Tamara Soban ; prevodi v angleščino Emilia Epštajn ... [et al.] ; risbe Siniša Ilić ; fotografije postavitve razstave Dejan Habicht, Siniša Ilić]. - Ljubljana : Moderna galerija, 2021

ISBN 978-961-206-145-6
COBISS.SI-ID 75997187

Re

Re

Re

alize!

sist!

act!

