

WHERE EVERYTHING IS YET TO HAPPEN

2nd chapter



EXPOSURES

Spaport Biennial 2009/2010

GDJE SE SVE TEK TREBA DOGODITI
2. poglavlje:

IZLOŽENOSTI

Izložba, Banja Luka, 30.10.-30.11.2010.
Fabrika "Rudi Čajavec", Salon Muzeja savremene umjetnosti
Spaport Bijenale 2009/2010

UČESTVUJU: Grupa Spomenik (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović, Milica Tomić) → Radna grupa Četiri lica Omarske (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučković i Milica Tomić) | STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić & Marc Neelen) | Istraživački arhiv "Nogomet metafora života" (Abart, Mostar) | FACTUM documentary film project | Igor Bošnjak | Lana Čmajčanin & Igor Grubić | Sandra Dukić & Boris Glamočanin | Flaka Haliti | Nicole Hewitt | Amel Ibrahimović | Margareta Kern | Eadenko Milak | Renata Poljak | Vahida Ramujić | Lala Račić | Borut Šeparović, Goran Ferić & "Generacija 91-95" | Bojana Tamindžija

UČESNIKE/CE POZVALE: DeVe | Institut za trajanje, mjesto i varijable (Ivana Bago i Antonia Majača)

ORGANIZATOR: Protok – Centar za vizuelne komunikacije, Banja Luka, www.protok.org

METR OPLOJIS

Котор Варош
Kotor Varos
Чаймац
Сепинас









IZLOŽENOSTI

EXPOSURES

VOUR-a ŠV
 Št. _____

VOUR-a ŠV
 Št. _____

ŠKART I
 ANALIZA KVALITET
 OD _____ 19 82.
 DO _____ 19 _____

SAMOUPRAVNI
 SPORAZUMI
 I
 POSLOVNICI O
 RADU RS
 OD _____ 19 82.
 DO _____ 19 _____



Št. _____

VIŠEŠLOŽN
můžeme
dovést
množství

OD _____ 19____
DO _____ 19____



A PULL MOÖBOTT / OVER THE COUNTER

Introduction
Principles

...wishes to establish a Jewish state in Thuringia, Germany, with the city
...to capital.

...is a solution to overcome the present crises and heal Jewish trauma,
...East Mediterranean conflicts, East German troubles and many other prob-
...to world.

...will ensure the autonomy of art and its institutions, as well as the
...and a forum to convene the citizens of Germany, the
...Jewish communities and the international community to
...state.



Međunarodna godišnja izložba savremene umjetnosti

International Annual Exhibition of Contemporary Art

/

WHERE EVERYTHING IS YET TO HAPPEN2nd chapter: Exposures

14. oktobra – 30. novembra 2010. | Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Mostar | BiH
 October 14 – November 30, 2010 | Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Mostar | BH

Grupa Spomenik / Monument Group (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović, Milica Tomić) → Radna grupa “Četiri lica Omarske” / Working Group “Four Faces of Omarska” (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic & Milica Tomić) | STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić & Marc Neelen) | Istraživački arhiv Nogomet metafora života? / Research archive Football - A Metaphor for Life? (ABART, Mostar) | Borut Šeparović, Goran Ferčec & “Generacija 91-95” / “Generation 91-95” | FACTUM Documentary Film Project | Igor Bošnjak | Lana Čmajčanin & Igor Grubić | Sandra Dukić & Boris Glamočanin | Andrea Geyer | Flaka Haliti | Nicole Hewitt | Amel Ibrahimović | Margareta Kern | Radenko Milak | Renata Poljak | Vahida Ramujkić | Lala Raščić | Ivan Šušnjar | Bojana Tamindžija | uz učestvovanje Grupe “Jezik, moć, ideologija” / with the participation of the Group “Language, Power, Ideology”

Kustosice / Curators:

Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača

Organizacija i produkcija / Organization and production:

Protok – Centar za vizuelne komunikacije / Center for Visual Communications Banja Luka

u suradnji sa / in collaboration with:

Institut za trajanje, mjesto i varijable (DeLVe), Zagreb / Institute for Duration, Location and Variables (DeLVe), Zagreb

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Izloženosti, drugo poglavlje dugoročnog, suradničkog projekta *WEIYTH – Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* odvija se u Banja Luci, Mostaru i Sarajevu, kroz izložbu, seminare, radionice i seriju novih produkcija. Projekt smo započele suradnjom s timom kustosica i kustosa (u kojem su bili Anselm Franke, Ana Janevski, Vit Havranek & Zbynek Baladran, Erden Kosova, Nina Montmann, Jelena Vesić), a koja je rezultirala izložbom *Možeš li govoriti o tome? – Da, mogu* u Banja Luci 2009. godine. Potaknuta temeljnim konceptom projekta *WEIYTH* koji propituje pitanje zajednice i imaginacije budućnosti, prošlogodišnja je suradnja kroz umjetničke i kustoske pozicije predstavljene na izložbi otvorila niz podtema koje su odredile i usmjerile daljnji razvoj projekta: pitanje suradnje, suučesništva, artikulacije traume, pitanje egzila i povratka, politike sjećanja, politike jezika, politizacije umjetnosti naspram kulturalizacije politike.

Ta su pitanja ove godine postala temeljem začetka novih suradnji, kroz okupljanje grupa i generiranje novih, privremenih zajednica umjetnika, teoretičara/ki, studenata/ica i kustosa/ica te potaknule stvaranje novih vokabulara i konstelacija koji zajedno čine *Izloženosti*, drugo poglavlje projekta. Poput prvog, i ono je, prije svega, zasnovano na insistiranju postavljanja pitanja: “Možeš li govoriti o tome?”, pri čemu potvrđan odgovor upućuje prvenstveno na prihvaćanje odgovornosti kroz artikulaciju i propitivanje pozicije svih učesnica/ka u odnosu na društveni i politički kontekst u kojem se odvija čitav projekat, kao i u odnosu na same pojedine teme koje se kroz njega problematiziraju. Projekat okuplja umjetnike, filmske i kazališne redatelje, i intelektualce koji u svom radu problematiziraju neke od brojnih aspekata traume raspada Jugoslavije: rat, genocid, rasap socijalističkog

Exposures, the second chapter of the long-term, collaborative project *WEIYTH – Where Everything Is Yet to Happen* takes place in Banja Luka, Mostar and Sarajevo in the form of an exhibition, as well as a series of seminars, workshops, and new productions. The project was initiated by our collaboration with a team of invited co-curators (Anselm Franke, Ana Janevski, Vit Havránek & Zbyněk Baladrán, Erden Kosova, Nina Möntmann and Jelena Vesić), which resulted in the exhibition *Can you speak of this? – Yes, I Can* in Banja Luka in 2009. Incited by *WEIYTH*'s underlying concept of rethinking of the notions of community and future, the artistic and curatorial propositions delineated in the first chapter opened up a set of topics, designating the course of the further development of the project: the issues of collaboration, complicity, articulation of trauma, exile and return, politics of language, politics of memory, culturalisation of politics and the politicisation of art.

These topics became a base for initiating new collaborations, gathering groups and temporary communities of artists, theoreticians, activists, students and curators, and generating new vocabularies that together form *Exposures*, the second chapter of the project. Like the first one, it keeps insisting on the question: “Can you speak of this?“, where an affirmative answer points first of all to an acceptance of responsibility to articulate and question one’s own position in relation to the historical, social and political context the project is set in, as well as in relation to particular topics it addresses. The project gathers artists, film-makers and intellectuals who in their practice deal with the many aspects of the trauma of the break-up of Yugoslavia: war, genocide, dissolution of the socialist economic and political system, transition into

ekonomskog i političkog sistema, tranziciju u 'divlji kapitalizam', uništenu ekonomiju, perpetuiranje rata 'drugim sredstvima', kao i utjecaj koji ovi rascjepi i katastrofe imaju na najmlađe generacije, odrasle u strahu i zazoru prema etno-konfesionalnom Drugom.

Prihvatiti poziv na sudioništvo u kustoskom, umjetničkom, teorijskom i transformativnom traženju, i poziv uputiti drugima, značilo je emancipirati sam proces traženja, istovremeno prisvajajući izloženost stanju radikalne neizvjesnosti. Značilo je, za sve uključene u proces – organizatore, kustosice, sve pozvane autore/ice i brojne učesnike i učesnice radionica, seminara i razgovora – pristati na stanje, i akciju, beskompromisne izloženosti: izloženosti raskolu između očekivane reprezentivnosti projekta koji se naziva bijenalom i odluke da se istraži upravo kako jedan takav projekt može subvertirati imperativ spektakularnosti i reprezentivnosti; gdje je 'umjetnost' kao materijalni rezultat tek od sporedne važnosti u odnosu na procese političke subjektivizacije i artikulacije odnosa između svih koji su, i koji će biti, uključeni u proces; izloženosti, prije svega, jednih drugima.

– ib & am

'wild capitalism', destroyed economy, perpetuation of war 'by other means', as well as the influence of these dissolutions and disasters on the youngest generations, informed by fear and abjection toward the ethno-confessional Other.

Accepting the invitation to participate in this long-term curatorial, artistic, theoretical and transformational quest, and addressing the invitation to others, has emancipated the very process of searching while embracing the exposure to a state of radical uncertainty. For all involved in the process – organizers, curators, participants, guests and the public – it has meant accepting the state (and action) of exposure without compromise – exposure also to the gap between the public's expectations formed by dubbing the project a 'biennial' and the decision to question exactly how such a project can subvert the imperative of spectacle and representation; where 'art' as material product is secondary to the processes of political subjectivisation and the articulation of relations between all who have been, and who will yet become, involved in the process; exposure, most relevantly, to each other.

– ib & am

Program

IZLOŽBA, BANJA LUKA

30.10.–30.11.2010.

Fabrika "Rudi Čajavec", Salon Muzeja
savremene umjetnosti RS, javni prostor

DOGAĐANJA U OKVIRU PROJEKTA
(MOSTAR I SARAJEVO)

14.10. 2010., 18 h

Lala Raščić, *Prokleta brana*, izvedba i razgovor,
SCCA, Sarajevo

15.–16.10. 2010.

Istraživački arhiv *Novomet metafora života?*
(Abart, Mostar), razgovor i prezentacija
arhiva, OKC Abrašević, Mostar

DOGAĐANJA U OKVIRU PROJEKTA
(BANJA LUKA: FABRIKA "RUDI ČAJAVEC")

21.–22.10. 2010.

Vahida Ramujkić, *Istorije u raspravi*, radionica

Damir Arsenijević (Grupa Spomenik), *Vrijeme*
je da se upoznamo onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo,
poetska seansa

30.10.2010.

17.00

Lala Raščić, *Prokleta brana*, performans

18.30

Nicole Hewitt, *Spisi/Jasmina*, performans

19.00

Branimir Stojanović (Grupa Spomenik),
predstavljanje novina *Matemi reasocijacije*

21.00

Otvorenje izložbe: Spaport o Spaportu,
uvod organizatora

31.10. 2010.

11.00-14.00

Jelena Petrović (Grupa Spomenik) i Stanislav
Tomić, *Istorija sadašnjice*, javno čitanje

15.00-18.00

Jasmina Husanović (Grupa Spomenik), *Protiv*
smrti političkog subjekta. O kulturnoj produkciji
i emancipativnoj politici, radionica i javna
diskusija

18.00

Margareta Kern, *GUESTure/GOSTikulacija*,
predavanje

20.00

Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske"
(Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja,
Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan
Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovac
i Milica Tomić), javni radni sastanak

01.11.–07.11.2010.

STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić i Marc
Neelen), *Uzeti zajedničku stvar u svoje ruke*,
istraživački arhiv i otvoreni razgovori

01.11.2010., 17.00

Sandra Dukić i Boris Glamočanin, *Ljubija*
ubija, prezentacija projekta, Salon Muzeja
savremene umjetnosti

Programme

EXHIBITION, BANJA LUKA

30.10.–30.11.2010

"Rudi Čajavec" Factory, Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art of RS, Public Space

EVENTS (MOSTAR AND SARAJEVO)

14.10. 2010, 6 pm

Lala Raščić, *Damned Dam*, performance and discussion, SCCA, Sarajevo

15.–16.10. 2010

Research archive *Football – A Metaphor for Life?* (Abart, Mostar), discussion and presentation of the archive, OKC Abrasevic, Mostar

EVENTS (BANJA LUKA: "RUDI ČAJAVEC" FACTORY)

21.–22.10. 2010

Vahida Ramujkić, *Disputed Histories*, workshop

Damir Arsenijević (Grupa Spomenik), *It's Time We Got to Know Each Other As We Really Are*, poetry session

30.10.2010

5 pm

Lala Raščić, *Damned Dam*, performance

6.30 pm

Nicole Hewitt, *Documents/Jasmina*, performance

7 pm

Branimir Stojanović (Grupa Spomenik), presentation of the *Mathemes of Reassociation*

9 pm

Exhibition opening: *Spaport on Spaport*, introduction by the organizers

31.10. 2010

11 am–2 pm

Jelena Petrović (Grupa Spomenik) & Stanislav Tomić, *History of the Present*, public reading

3–6 pm

Jasmina Husanović (Grupa Spomenik), *Against the Death of the Political Subject. On Cultural Production and Emancipatory Politics*, public discussion

6 pm

Margareta Kern, *GUESTure*, lecture

7 pm

Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic and Milica Tomić), public meeting of the work group

01.11.–07.11.2010

STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić & Marc Neelen), *Taking Common Matters Into One's Own Hands*, workshop and research archive

01.11. 2010, 5 pm

Sandra Dukić & Boris Glamočanin, *Ljubija Kills*, presentation of the project, Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art of RS





Projekt *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi / Where Everything Is Yet To Happen (WEIYTH)* Instituta za trajanje, mjesto i varijable (DeLve), u svom dugoročnom i modularnom formatu problematizira urgentna pitanja zajednice i imaginacije budućnosti. Njegov naslov sadrži reference na trajanje, mjesto i varijable očekivanog događaja. Ti “nesigurni” parametri smješteni su u procjepu između prošlosti koja ne

Nicoline van Harskamp: Testiranje kolektiva, 2008, s izložbe “Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu” / Testing the Collective, 2008, from the exhibition “Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I can”, Banja Luka, 2009.



nudi događaj kojemu bismo se obvezali na vjernost i budućnosti od koje se “očekuje” upravo to – “čudo” događaja.

Projekt *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* započele smo u Banja Luci, suradnjom s timom suradnica i suradnika - Anselmom Franke, Anom Janevski, Vitom Havranekom & Zbynekom Baladranom, Erdenom Kosova, Ninom Montmann i Jelenom Vesić. Ta je suradnja rezultirala izložbom “Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu”¹ u listopadu 2009, koja je prisvajanjem

¹ “Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu”, referirala se na esej Giorgia Agambena “O Potencijalnosti” koji započinje parafrazom uvoda u poemu *Rekvijem* Ane Ahmatove. U njemu pjesnikinja opisuje kako joj je, dok je stajala u redu ispred lenjinogradske zatvora tijekom Staljinovih čistki, čekajući vijesti o svom zarobljenom sinu, pristupila nepoznata žena i upitala je može li “opisati” što se oko njih događa. Na zahtjev da se artikulira užas koji ih u tome trenutku okružuje, pjesnikinja odgovara – *Da, mogu*. Kako Agamben naglašava, “Mogu” ovdje ne znači uvjerenje u posjedovanje određenih sposobnosti koje garantiraju uspješno opisivanje neopisivog, već jedno radikalno prihvaćanje iskustva potencijalnosti, koje je, unatoč nesigurnosti u određenu sposobnost, “apsolutno obvezujuće”.

The *Where Everything Is Yet To Happen (WEIYTH)* project of the Institute for Duration, Location and Variables (DeLVe) takes up, in its long-term and modular format, pressing issues of community and the imagination of the future. Its title contains reference to the duration, location and variables of an expected event. These uncertain parameters are located in the gap between the past that offers no event capable of eliciting a promise of fidelity and a future from which precisely that is “expected” – a miracle of an event.

Chto Delat?/What is to be done?, Partisan Songspiel: Beogradska priča, 2009 / Partisan Songspiel: Belgrade Story, 2009, s izložbe "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu" / from the exhibition "Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I can", Banja Luka, 2009.



We started *Where Everything Is Yet To Happen* in Banja Luka, in collaboration with a team of associates – Anselm Franke, Ana Janevski, Vit Havranek and Zbynek Baladran, Erden Kosova, Nina Montmann and Jelena Vesić. The outcome of this joint work

was the exhibition “Can you speak of this? – Yes, I can”¹ in October 2009, which, by taking up this question and the explicitly positive answer to it, above all activated the space of potentiality, in which the possibility of “speech“ is established, along with a re-examination of factors that impair this possibility. Above all, the fundamental question was posed: what can art and critical intellectual and theo-

retical practice speak of and what must they speak of in complex, divided and traumatised social and political environments?

Answers to this question in the context of the first

¹ “Can you speak of this? – Yes, I can” refers to the essay of Giorgio Agamben “On Potentiality” that starts with a paraphrase of the introduction to the poem *Requiem* of Ana Akhmatova. The poet recounts how, while she was standing in queue in front of the Leningrad jail during the Stalin purges, waiting for news of her imprisoned son, she was approached by an unknown woman who asked her if she could “describe” what was going on around her. At the request to articulate the horror that surrounded them at that time, the poet replied – Yes, I can. As Agamben points out, *I can* here does not mean the conviction of the possession of any particular capacities that guarantee a successful description of the indescribable, rather a radical acceptance of the experience of potentiality that, in spite of the uncertainty in a certain ability, is nevertheless “absolutely binding”.

ovog pitanja kao i eksplicitno potvrdnog odgovora na njega, aktivirala prostor potencijalnosti u kojem se uspostavlja mogućnost za “govor”, ali i preispitivanje faktora koji utječu na nemogućnost da se govori. Prije svega, postavljeno je temeljno pitanje: o čemu umjetnost i kritička intelektualna i teorijska praksa mogu, a zatim i moraju, govoriti u kompleksnim, podijeljenim i traumatiziranim društvenim i političkim sredinama?



Odgovori na ovo pitanje u kontekstu prvog poglavlja WEIYTH-a proizašli su iz svojevrsnog kustoskog “suučesništva”, čime su se naša inicijalna polazišta dodatno razvijala, bivala podcrtavana ili dovedena u pitanje, ali i kreirala nove smjerove daljnjem razvoju cijelokupnog projekta, koji je i sam u neprekidnom stanju postajanja.

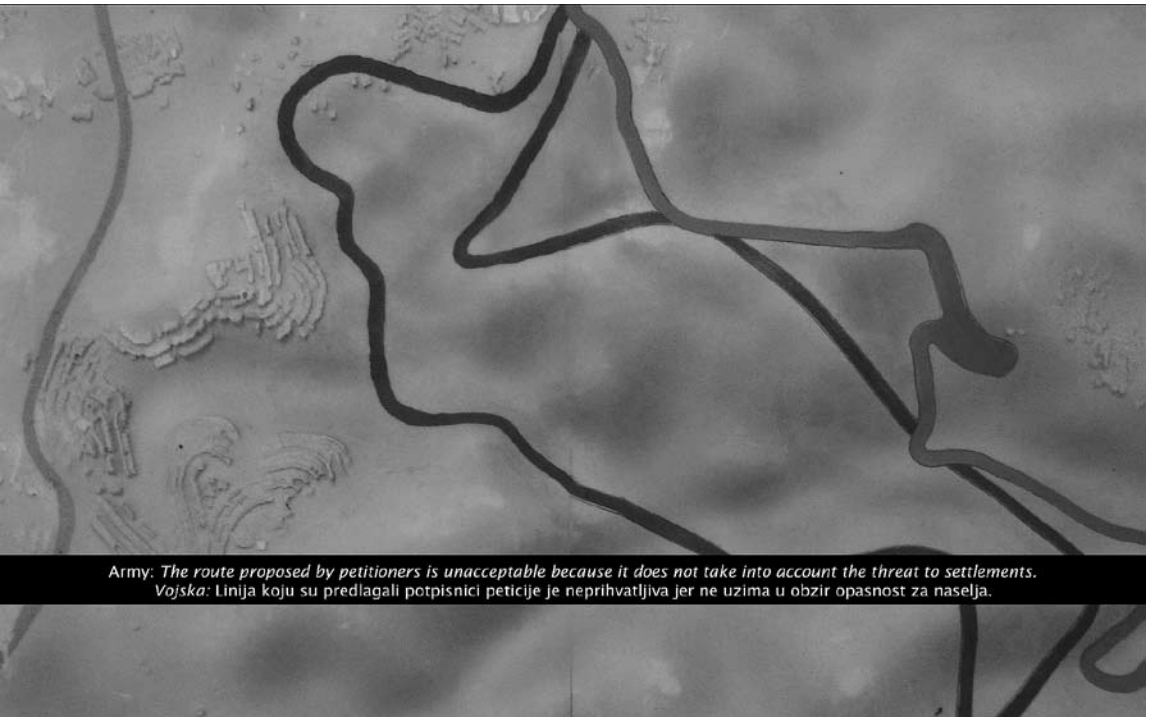
Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi,
1. poglavlje, knjiga / *Where*
Everything Is Yet To Happen, 1st
chapter book

Izložba “Možeš li govoriti o tome? – Da, mogu” predstavljala je tako razradu nekih od tema koje su se ukazivale postupno – pitanja suučesništva, suradnje, solidarnosti, artikulacije traume, politika jezika, politika sjećanja, egzila i povratka, te politizacije umjetnosti naspram kulturalizacije politike.

Ta su pitanja ove godine postala temeljem začetka novih suradnji – kroz okupljanje i generiranje novih, privremenih zajednica teoretičara, aktivista, studenata/tica, umjetnika/ca i kustosica te potaknula stvaranje novih vokabulara i konstelacija koji zajedno čine *Izloženosti*, drugo poglavlje projekta.

Poput prvog, i ono je, prije svega, zasnovano na inzistiranju postavljanja pitanja: “Možeš li govoriti o tome?”, pri čemu potvrdan odgovor ovdje upućuje

chapter of WEIYTH derived from a kind of curatorial “complicity” that led to further development of our initial points of departure, that were being reaffirmed or called into question, and also resulting in new lines for further development of the whole project, which is itself in some incessant state of becoming.



Eyal Weizman, 665: *Manje zlo / 665: Lesser Evil, s izložbe "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu" / from the exhibition "Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I can"*
Banja Luka, 2009.

The exhibition “Can you speak of this? – Yes, I can” thus constituted the working out of some of the topics that had materialized gradually – questions of complicity, collaboration, solidarity, the articulation of trauma, politics of language, politics of memory, exile and return and the politicisation of art as against the culturalisation of politics.

These questions this year became the basis for the conception of new collaborations – through the gathering and generation of new ad hoc communities of theorists, activists, students, artists and curators, inciting the creation of new vocabularies and

*Arhiv samoupravljanja/ The Archive of
Self-management, s izložbe "Možeš li
govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu" / from
the exhibition "Can You Speak of This?
-Yes, I can", Banja Luka, 2009.*





prvenstveno na spremnost na kontinuirano propitivanje pozicije svih nas (sudionica/ka) u odnosu na društveni i politički kontekst, kao i u odnosu na pojedine teme koje se kroz njega problematiziraju radikalno se izlažući kompliciranim pitanjima usmjerenima jednih drugima ali i izlaganju sredini u kojoj radimo. Vjerujemo međutim, da je upravo ovakav poziv na 'izlaganje' - izloženost prije svega kao djelovanje, a ne puko stanje, jedini prihvatljiv model na koji kritička suvremena umjetnička i intelektualna praksa smije participirati i može djelovati u kontekstu poput Banja Luke, Republike Srpske i Bosne i Hercegovine danas.



Libia Castro, Olafur Olafsson, Tvoja zemlja ne postoji, Banja Luka 2009 / Your country does not exist, Banja Luka 2009, s izložbe "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu" / from the exhibition "Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I can", Banja Luka, 2009.

Bosna i Hercegovina, petnaest godina nakon uspostave 'daytonskog mira' i dalje je u ratu u kojem političke elite dnevno-političkom praksom beskrupulozno manipuliraju trima etnijima forsirajući osjećaj međusobne ugroženosti. Recentna se povijest svakodnevno nanovo ispisuje, a ratna je prošlost dio svakodnevice, prisutna u svim sferama društvenog života. Rat se nastavlja drugim sredstvima unatoč prividnoj 'normalizaciji' već i samom činjenicom da su neki od najokrutnijih ratnih zločinaca još uvijek na slobodi što za neke predstavlja svakodnevnu noćnu moru a za druge razlog za slavlje, faktor društvene kohezije i stvar nacionalnog ponosa. Žrtve 'svih strana' instrumentaliziraju se u svrhu dnevne politike, u toj eksploataciji i karnevalizaciji nanovo postaju žrtve, a perpetuiranje samo-viktimizacije kroz rad pojedinih organizacija žrtava traumatično iskustvo "ne koristi kao poticaj za formiranje novih

constellations that together form *Exposures*, the second chapter of the project.

Like the first, this too is primarily grounded in the insistence on the posing of the question: "Can you speak of this?", with the positive answer suggesting primarily the readiness for continued interrogation of the position of us all (the participants) vis-à-vis the social and political context, and in relation to individual topics that become problematised by radically exposing ourselves to complex questions directed at each other and by the exposure to the environment in which we work. We believe however that this invitation to 'exposure', understood above all as activity and not as condition, is the only acceptable model on which critical contemporary artistic and intellectual practice can participate and can act in a context such as that of Banja Luka, Republika Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina today.

Fifteen years after the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still at war, a war in which the political elites by their everyday political practice unscrupulously manipulate the three ethnic groups, instilling in them a feeling of reciprocal menace. Recent history is being rewritten on a daily basis, and the wartime past is part of the quotidian, present in all spheres of social life. The war is continued with other means, in spite of the ostensible 'normalisation', by the very fact that some of the cruellest war criminals are still at large, which is for

some a continuing nightmare and for others a reason for celebration, a factor for social cohesion and a matter of national pride. Casualties on all sides are instrumentalised for party political purposes and in this exploitation, this carnivalisation, become vic-

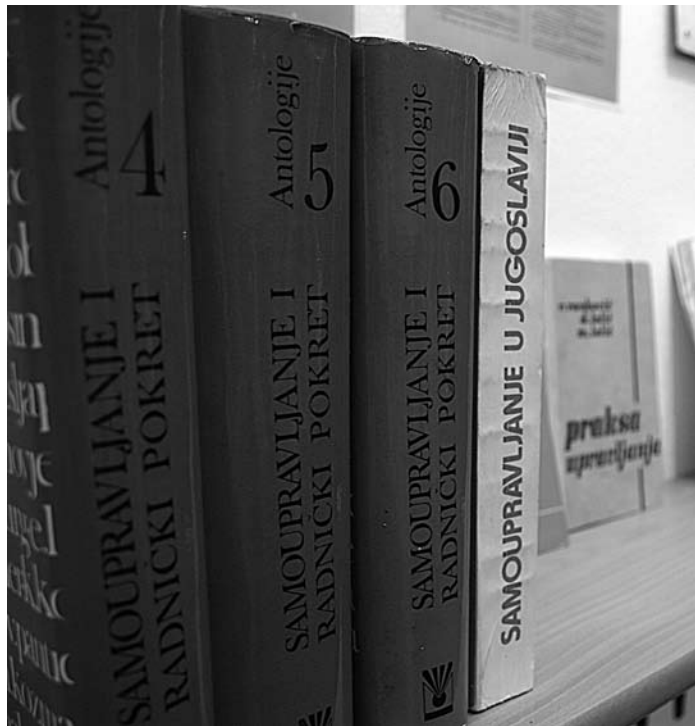


Dragan Nikolić, Nacionalni Park
/ National Park, 2006, s izložbe
 "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da,
možu" / from the exhibition
"Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I
can", Banja Luka, 2009.

društvenih i političkih vrijednosti, već ostaje u službi vladajućih politika i održavanja agresivnog, svadalačkog i ucijenjivačkog ambijenta“.²

Trauma se s jedne strane – pravnim tijelima beskompromisno i bešćutno administrira a s druge profanira i kontaminira dnevnom politikom, dok se, istovremeno, stvarno suočavanje ne događa i dok se kompleksni uzroci i posljedice ne istražuju i ne iznose na vidjelo u vidu argumentirane i osvještene javne rasprave. Rat se nastavlja prije svega stoga što nikad nije niti prekinut i stoga što je mir na kojem počiva današnja Bosna i Hercegovina sazdan na fragilnim osnovama – između ostalog i na davanju političke legitimnosti projektu stasalom na onome što se paradoksalno i eufemistički naziva – ‘etničko čišćenje’.

Postkomunistička i post-ratna društva poput ovih u kojima živimo u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, savršeni su rasadnici korupcije i klijentelizma u kojima se i ratno profiterstvo (u svom najširem smislu) legitimira u procesima nekontrolirane i groteskne neo-liberalizacije. U takvim je dinamikama radništvo do krajnjih granica obespripravljeno, srednji sloj gotovo posve izumruo, a opća razina obrazovanosti i političke participacije kontinuirano erodira. U svemu tome, političke elite i korumpirani krupni kapital vješto love u mutnom, manipulirajući nacionalnim i nacionalističkim agen-



² Belma Bećirbašić: Trgovanje emocijom žrtve, BH Dani, br. 697, 22.10. 2010.

tims all over again, while the perpetuation of self-victimisation through the work of some of the victims' organisations, does "not use [the traumatic experience] as a stimulus for the formation of new social and political values, but subserves the ruling politics and the maintenance of an atmosphere of aggression, extortion and combativeness".²

On the one hand, the trauma is uncompromisingly and pitilessly administered by the legal bodies and on the other, is contaminated and profaned by the politics of the day, while, at the same time, no real confrontation occurs, and the complex causes and consequences are not explored and are not brought into the light of day in the form of a well-argued and insightful public debate. The war is continued above all because it has never been stopped and because the peace on which the current Bosnia and Herzegovina is based is built on fragile foundations – among other things on giving political legitimacy to a project that developed on what is paradoxically and euphemistically known as 'ethnic cleansing'.

Post-communist and post-war societies like those in which we live in the former Yugoslavia are perfect nurseries for the corruption and clientelism in which wartime profiteering (in its broadest possible sense) is legitimised in the processes of uncontrolled and grotesque neoliberalism. In such dynamics the working class is ultimately disenfranchised, the middle class is all but extinct and the general level of education and political participation is continuously eroded. In all this the political elites and corrupted big capital adroitly fish in the dark, manipulating national and nationalist agendas, exploiting a trau-

Arhiv samoupravljanja / Archive of Self-management, s izložbe "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu" / from the exhibition "Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I can", Banja Luka, 2009.



² Belma Bećirbašić: "Trgovanje emocijom žrtve" [Trading on the emotion of the victim], *BH Dani*, no. 697, 22.10. 2010.

dama, eksploatirajući traumatizirano društvo koje na aparatima preživljava u uvjetima posvemašnjeg socijalnog, političkog i ekonomskog kaosa.

U postratnom prostoru gdje se 'normalizacija' dogodila 'prebrzo', procesuirana 'vanjskom rukom' onoga što se naziva 'međunarodna zajednica', ova su, duboko podijeljena društva, iscrpljena krvoprolićima, logorima, masovnim grobnicama, još uvijek traumatizirana, požurila – bez svijesti o trenutku u kojem se nalaze, i bez operativne mogućnosti da utječu na uvjete pod kojima su oblici novih 'državnosti' formirane – živjeti 'normalno', prilagođavajući se zakonima novog ekonomskog i društvenog poretka.



S istraživanja Radne grupe
"Četiri lica Omarske" /
Working Group "Four Faces of
Omarska", field research.

Photo: MT

Danas je međutim jasno da nakupljena i neadekvatno adresirana kolektivna trauma mora eruptirati, te da je stanje umjetnog mira prepletenog nacionalnom mržnjom, osjećajem ugroženosti, izdatosti i nepravde neodrživo stanje te da se o traumama prošlosti nužno mora započeti široka i otvorena javna rasprava na svim razinama društva.

Nakon završetka prvog poglavlja projekta koje je poslužilo kao svojevrsna kutija s alatom ali i sredstvo barem približne 'dijagnoze', bile smo odlučne da ćemo se, ako prihvatimo da i sljedeće poglavlje ima svoje ishodište u Banja Luci, nužno morati aktivno uključiti u poticanje i eksponiranje ovakvog javnog zagovaranja potrebe da se o prošlosti otvoreno govori i s njome suočava. U tome smislu bilo je važno razviti metodologiju koja nešto što bi u svom formatu trebala biti reprezentativna izložba suvremene



matised society that is maintained on life support machinery in conditions of overriding social, political and economic chaos.

In the post-war space where 'normalisation' took place 'too fast', processed by the external arm of what is called the 'international community', these deeply divided societies, exhausted with the blood spilling, the camps, the mass graves, still traumatised, hastened – without any awareness of the moment in which they were placed, without an operational capacity to affect the conditions under which the forms of the new 'statehood' were formed – to live 'normally', adapting to the laws of the new economic and social system.

Today however it is clear that the accumulated and inadequately addressed collective trauma can erupt and that the state of artificial peace shot through with ethnic hatreds, senses of threat, betrayal and injustice is an untenable state and that a wide and open public debate about the traumas of the past has to be initiated, at all levels of society.

After the close of the first chapter of the project, which served as a kind of toolbox as well as a means for achieving at least an approximate 'diagnosis', we were determined that we would, if we accepted that the next chapter would have its origin in Banja Luka, try to get actively involved in fostering and putting forward this kind of public advocacy of the need to talk about the past openly and come to terms with it. From this point

of view it was important to develop a methodology that would transform something that in its format ought to be a showcase exhibition of contemporary art into an ongoing public debate and the place for



Sandra Dukić, Boris
Glamočanin, Ljubija ubija,
razgovor / Ljubija kills, razgovor
/ discussion.

Photo: TJ

umjetnosti pretvori u kontinuiranu javnu raspravu i mjesto proizvodnje novih političkih subjektivizacija i novih zajednica.

Prihvatiti naš poziv na sudioništvo u ovom procesu značilo je prije svega pristati na sudjelovanje u transformativnom traženju. Poziv uputiti drugima, značilo je emancipirati sam proces traganja, neizvjesnosti ishoda, ali i kontinuiranim zajedničkim angažmanom stvarati uvijete za osnaživanje postojećih savezništava i stvaranje novih uzajamnosti, otvorenosti za sudružništvo, za zajedničko učenje u “učionici teških pitanja” (Jasmina Husanović), bez rezultata koji se mogu obuhvatiti jednim pogledom i s lakoćom definirati.

Odlukom davanja prednosti ovoj vrsti ‘izlaganja’, nasuprot spektakularizaciji, reprezentaciji i izlaganju artefakata prigrlile smo još jednom ‘bezrezultatnost’ i nedovršenost, nastojeći konstituirati polje govora i kritičke refleksije u kojoj su sve unaprijed zadane uloge destabilizirane i dovedene pod pitanje, u kojoj su svi uključeni jednako tako istraživači, kreatori sadržaja, kustosi, sudionici, učenici i publika. Nastojale smo pritom u projekt uključiti one pojedince i grupe u BiH i u regiji koje smo prepoznale kao ključne protagoniste kritičkog djelovanja u odnosu na pitanja koja projekt postavlja. Međutim, proces međusobnog prepoznavanja nije nipošto išao jednosmjerno, ustaljenom kustoskom matricom *connoisseurskog* ‘selektiranja’ postojećeg materijala, već su u nekim slučajevima sudionici prepoznali sam projekt kao mjesto na kojem žele testirati svoje ideje, za neke od kojih je WEIYTH tek početna ili jedna od stanica u razvoju projekta. Prije svega, nastojale smo osnažiti one ideje i metodologije za koje smo vjerovala da bi se obogatila izlaganjem nekim drugim, paralelnim procedurama i za koje bi ovo poglavlje WEIYTH- a moglo poslužiti kao važna stanica, mjesto

the production of new political subjectivities and new communities.

To accept our invitation to take part in this process meant above all to consent to take part in a transformative quest. To send the invitation to others meant to emancipate the actual process of searching, the uncertainty of the outcome and also, through the continued joint commitment, to create the conditions for empowering the existing alliances and to create new mutualities, openness to camaraderie and joint learning in the “classroom of difficult questions” (Jasmina Husanović), without results that can be comprehended at a glance and be easily defined.

With the decision to privilege this kind of ‘exposure’ against spectacularisation, representation and the exhibition of artefacts, we once again embraced ‘resultlessness’ and incompleteness, endeavouring to constitute a field of speech and critical reflection in which all the roles set in advance are destabilised and brought into question, in which all are involved equally as researchers, creators of contents, curators, participants, learners and audience members. We endeavoured at the same time to include in the project those individuals and groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region whom we have identified as key protagonists of critical activity with respect to the issues that the project has posed. However, the process of mutual recognition has not at all been one-directional as in the established curatorial pattern of a connoisseur’s ‘selection’ of existing material. Instead of that, in some cases the participants have themselves identified the project as a place in which they wish to test out their own ideas for some of which WEIYTH is just the first stage or one of the stages in the development of their project. Above all, we have attempted to empower those ideas and

Photo: TJ





radikalizacije pristupa, mjesto javnog zagovaranja, mjesto testiranja, mjesto na kojem nitko neće strahovati upuštajući se u neizvjesno, čak i riskantno 'izlaganje'.

Za sve uključene u ovaj proces – organizatore, kustosice, sve pozvane autore i autorice i brojne učesnike i učesnice – značilo je to pristati na stanje beskompromisne izloženosti: između ostalog – izloženosti prekarnim financijskim i produkcijskim okolnostima, izloženosti raskolu između očekivane reprezentativnosti projekta i odluke da se subvertira imperativ reprezentativnosti te konačno i prije svega – izloženosti u kojoj je 'Umjetnost' kao materijalni rezultat tek od sporedne važnosti u odnosu na procese subjektivizacije i artikulacije odnosa između svih koji su, i koji će biti – uključeni u proces; izloženosti, prije svega – jednih drugima.

ooo

Drugo 'poglavlje' započelo je uspostavljanjem suradnje s tri umjetnička/intelektualna/kustoska kolektiva: Grupom Spomenik, tandemom STEALTH.unlimited, te organizacijom Abart iz Mostara, odnosno kustosicama Anjom Bogojević i Amilom Puzić. Te su suradnje označile nastavak nekih od tema otvorenih prvim poglavljem, istovremeno ih osnažujući kao ključne oslonce i ishodišta za daljnji razvoj projekta i njegove metodologije, kao i uspostavljanje novih suradnji. Ukratko, riječ je o tri problemske osnovice, odnosno o tri podskupa temeljnog pitanja/odgovora *Možeš li govoriti o tome? - Da, mogu* – koji se svi spajaju u traumatskoj točki raspada Jugoslavije.

Prvo je pitanje artikulacije ratne traume, genocida, kolektivne i individualne krivnje i odgovornosti, koje Grupa Spomenik, kao jedinstvena platforma u regiji, kontinuirano preispituje već niz godina, zagovarajući emancipativnu politiku sjećanja koju

methodologies that we believed would be enriched by exposure to some other, parallel procedures, and for which this chapter of WEIYTH could serve as an important stop on the way, a place for the radicalisation of methodologies, a place for public advocacy, a place for testing, a place in which nobody need fear to embark on the uncertain, and even risk-laden 'exposure'.

For *all* involved in the process – the organisers, the curators, all the invited artists and the many participants – this has meant agreeing to a state of uncompromising exposure; among other things, exposure to precarious circumstances of funding and production, exposure to the gap between the expected representativeness of the project and the decision to subvert the imperative of representativeness and finally to the exposure in which Art as material result is of only a minor importance as compared to the processes of subjectivisation and articulation of relations between all those who are or will be involved in the process; exposure, above all, to each other.

ooo

Chapter Two started with the establishment of collaboration with three artistic/intellectual/curatorial collectives: Grupa Spomenik, the STEALTH.unlimited duo and the organisation Abart of Mostar, i.e. curators Anja Bogojević and Amila Puzić. These collaborations marked the continuation of some of the topics initiated in the first chapter, at the same time reinforcing them as key resources and points of departure for the further development of the project and its methodology, as well as the establishment of new collaborations. In brief, three problem bases were included, three subgroups of the basic question and answer: *Can you speak of this? – Yes, I can!* – which are all linked in the traumatic point of the collapse of Yugoslavia.

je moguće sažeti postulatom: “Tamo gdje je bio genocid, biće politički subjekt”³. Suradnja s Grupom Spomenik temelji se i na prepoznavanju jedinstvene metodologije djelovanja, pri čemu “grupa” ne predstavlja fiksni identitet i kolektiv, nego prije svega platformu čija svaka nova transformacija nosi potencijal okupljanja i osnaživanja različitih sudionika/ca i suradnika/ca, nerijetko generirajući i emancipirajući nove platforme. U ovom slučaju primjer takvog djelovanja je Radna grupa “Četiri lica Omarske” (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučković i Milica Tomić), koja se konstituira kao zaseban projekt/platforma, temeljena na djelovanju Milice Tomić u okviru Grupe Spomenik. Ovakvo, antihermetično konstituiranje “grupnog” djelovanja, koje generira ne tek nove projekte, nego i nove udružene subjekte, korespondira upravo s temeljnim pitanjem koje projekt WEIYTH postavlja: na koji način je moguće razmišljati o poimanju i konstituiranju zajednice, mimo esencijalističkih modela identifikacije i pripadnosti, već radije u skladu s filozofskim promišljanjima zajednice koja bitak definiraju prije svega kao “bivanje sa”, singularno-pluralno bivanje - radikalnu izloženost jednih drugima (Jean - Luc Nancy), ili “whatever singularity” Giorgia Agambena?

Grupa Spomenik (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović i Milica Tomić) u okviru projekta uređuje i predstavlja novine *Matemi reasocijacije*, jedan od rezultata



Grupa Spomenik (Monument Group): Novine Matemi Reasocijacije, postav / Mathemes of Reassociation newspaper, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ



³ *Matem*, Grupa Spomenik (Damir Arsenijević, Ana Bezić, Jasmina Husanović, Pavle Levi, Branimir Stojanović, Milica Tomić), samizdat, 2010.

First is the question of the articulation of the war-time trauma, genocide, collective and individual guilt and responsibility that Grupa Spomenik [Monument Group], a unique platform in the region, has been re-examining continually for a number of years, arguing for an emancipatory politics of remembrance that is possible to sum up with the postulate: “Where there was genocide there will be a political subject”³. The collaboration with Grupa Spomenik is also based on the identification of a unique methodology of work, in which “the group” does not constitute any fixed identity or collective, rather a platform, every new transformation of which bears the potential to gather and empower different participants and associates, quite often generating and emancipating new platforms. Such example is the Working Group “Four Faces of Omarska” (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Herigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovac and Milica Tomić), which has been constituted as a separate project or platform founded on the work of Milica Tomić within the context of Grupa Spomenik. This kind of anti-hermetic constitution of “group” action that generates not just new projects but also new associated subjects corresponds exactly with the fundamental question that WEIYTH sets up: in what way is it possible to consider the conception and constitution of a community, beyond essentialist models of identification and belonging, but rather in line with philosophical conceptualisations of



³ *Matem, Grupa Spomenik* (Damir Arsenjević, Ana Bezić, Jasmina Husanović, Pavle Levi, Branimir Stojanović, Milica Tomić), samizdat, 2010.

dugotrajnog rada na traganju za emancipativnim vokabularom kojim se u umjetničkoj i intelektualnoj praksi može govoriti o genocidu i onome što ostaje nakon njega, odnosno pitanjem na koji je način, nakon genocida, uopće moguće djelovati u kontekstu umjetnosti i kritičke prakse. Pojedinačne intervencije članova Grupe Spomenik predstavljaju 'ekstenzije' novina, a odvijaju se u formi čitalačkih grupa, radionica, javnih čitanja i razgovora. Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovac i Milica Tomić) - baveći se s četiri 'života' rudničkog kompleksa Omarska (rudnik u socijalizmu, logor smrti za vrijeme rata u BiH, lokacija snimanja filma/spektakla *Sveti Georgije ubija aždahu*, te ponovno rudnik u vlasništvu jedne od najbogatijih svjetskih multinacionalnih kompanija Mittal) – na određen način 'okuplja' i aktivira sve tematske smjernice u kojima se i projekt WEIYTH: *Izloženosti* prepoznaje: susret s osobnom i kolektivnom ratnom traumom, tranzicijskom traumom i pitanjem kulturne reprezentacije u kontekstu neoliberalizma koji briše individualne i kolektivne traume i povijesti, istovremeno ih ostavljajući nerazrješenima. U programe i radionice Grupe Spomenik, kao i čitav projekt, također se aktivno uključuje i studentska grupa Jezik, moć, ideologija s Filozofskog fakulteta u Banja Luci, koju vodi Danijela Majstorović.



Javni radni sastanak Radne grupe "Četiri lica Omarske" / Public working meeting of Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska".

Photo: TJ

Platforma srodna Grupi Spomenik, koja djeluje u području dokumentarnog i aktivističkog filma je FACTUM – dokumentarni filmski projekt, koja u

community that define being as above all “being with“, being singular-plural, a radical exposure to each other (Jean-Luc Nancy), or the “whatever singularity“ of Giorgio Agamben?

Within the framework of the project, Grupa Spomenik (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović and Milica Tomić) presents the newspaper *Matemi reasocijacije* (*Mathemes of Reassociation*), one of the results of long-lasting work on a search for an emancipatory vocabulary with which it is possible in artistic and intellectual practice to talk of genocide and what remains after it, or question in what way it is at all possible to work in the context of artistic and critical practice after genocide. Individual interventions of members of Grupa Spomenik present ‘extensions’ of the newspaper, and take place in the form of reading groups, workshops, public readings and talks. The Working Group “Four Faces of Omarska“

(Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic and Milica Tomić), dealing with the four lives of the mining complex of Omarska (a mine during socialism, a death camp during the time of the Bosnia and Herzegovina war, a location for

the shooting of the film/spectacle *St George Slays the Dragon*, and once again a mine, owned by one of the world’s richest multinational companies, Mittal), in a certain way ‘gathers’ and activates all the thematic guidelines within which the project *WEIYTH: Exposures* can be identified: an encounter with the personal and collective war trauma, the transitional personal and collective trauma and the question of cultural representation in the context of neo-liber-



Radna grupa “četri lica Omarske”, s postava izložbe / Working Group “Four faces of Omarska”, exhibition view.

Photo TJ

Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske",
s terenskog istraživanja / Working
Group "Four faces of Omarska", field
research.

Photo: MT





hrvatskom kontekstu pionirski i kontinuirano aktualizira "zabranjene" i potiskivane teme: zločine i etničko čišćenje kao rezultat ratne akcije Oluja, zločine u ratnom logoru Lora u Splitu, ali i brojna druga pitanja koja problematiziraju hrvatsko društvo u tranziciji. U suradnji s osnivačem i voditeljem FACTUM-a, Nenadom Puhovskim, na izložbi su predstavljena tri filmska naslova: *Oluja nad krajinom* Božidara Kneževića – film koji je uzburkao hrvatsku javnost prvim otvorenim tematiziranjem ratnih zločina hrvatske vojske, ne samo u umjetničkom, već i *mainstream* medijskom prostoru; *Graham i ja*, film Nenada Puhovskog o britanskom građaninu koji se, u znak protesta, zapalio ispred britanskog parlamenta,



Factum | Božidar Knežević,
Oluja nad Krajinom, 2001.,
s postava izložbe / *Storm over
Krajina*, 2001, projekcija /
screening view.

Photo: TJ

kako bi zagovarao promjenu stava britanske vlade prema ratu na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije; te film *Dečko kojem se žurilo* Biljane Čakić Veselić, osobnoj i intimnoj priči redateljice koja, sa svojom obitelji, traga za tijelom brata, koji je 'nestao' za vrijeme rata u Hrvatskoj.

Upravo je tijelo, odnosno leš, u središtu rada *Čas anatomije* Igora Bošnjaka. Preuzimanjem Rembrandtove slike *Čas anatomije* i referirajući se na istoimeni

alism that erases the individual and collective traumas and histories, while at the same time leaving them unresolved. The programmes and workshops of Grupa Spomenik, as well as the entire project, is joined by the active participation of the student group Jezik, moć, ideologija [Language, Power, Ideology] of the Banja Luka Faculty of Humanities, led by Danijela Majstorović.



Factum | Biljana Čakić Veselić,
Dečko kojem se žurilo, isječak iz
filma / The Boy Who Rushed, film
still, 2001.

Photo: Factum archive

A platform similar to Grupa Spomenik, which works in the area of documentary and activist film is FACTUM – documentary film project, which in the Croatian context is a pioneer in the re-opening of 'forbidden' and suppressed issues – the crimes and ethnic cleansing that was a result of the Oluja/Storm military action during the war, the crimes in the wartime camp Lora in Split, as well as many other issues that problematise the Croatian society in transition. In collaboration with the FACTUM founder and leader Nenad Puhovski, the exhibition shows three film titles: *Storm over Krajina / Oluja nad Krajinom* by Božidar Knežević – a film that put the Croatian public in a tizzy with its first overt handling of the war crimes of the Croatian Army in not merely the art but also the mainstream media space; *Graham and I*, a film of Nenad Puhovski about a British citizen who set fire to himself in front of the Houses of Commons in London to protest against the attitude of the British government to the war in the former Yugoslavia; and the film *The Boy Who Rushed / Dečko kojem se žurilo* of Biljana Čakić Veselić, a personal and intimate story of the director, who, with her family, is searching for the body of her brother, who 'disappeared' during the war in Croatia.

It is exactly the body, or cadaver, that is at the centre of *Anatomy Lesson* of Igor Bošnjak. Appropriating Rembrandt's painting and gesturing outward

polemički tekst Danila Kiša, Bošnjak kreira metaforu društveno-političke stvarnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Likovi dr. Tulpa i znatiželjnih promatrača zamijenjeni su likom Josipa Broza Tita i aktualnih političkih lidera Bosne i Hercegovine i regije, koji, nagnuti nad mrtvo tijelo, izgovaraju dnevno-političke floskule u skladu s ispraznim programima vlastitih stranki i pripadajućih etno-nacionalnih interesa, referirajući se, među ostalim, na spremnost 'međunarodne zajednice' da, kao i uvijek, pripomogne na putu 'stabilizacije i pridruživanja'. Nasuprot programiranim natucanjima 'političkih elita' postavljen je anonimni leš – nijemo, secirano tijelo koje istovremeno predstavlja živote onih koji su za ove političke projekte žrtvovani u ratu, ali i svih koji su preživjeli rat, da bi se danas svakodnevno nosili s vlastitim, jednako nijemim i društveno-ekonomski obespravljenim i poniženim, 'golim životima'.



Igor Bošnjak, *Čas anatomije*,
iz videa / *Anatomy Class*, video-
still, 2010.

U projektu *20.000 - Trauma jednog zločina* Lana Čmajčanin i Igor Grubić postavljaju pitanje odnosa zločina, traume i zakona u slučaju žena koje su žrtve programskog i masovnog silovanja tijekom rata, kao 'pomoćnog' oružja u nasilnom patrijarhalnom ratnom obrascu osvajanja, osvete i poniženja, čiju pozornicu simbolički predstavlja žensko tijelo. Preko 20.000 silovanih žena tijekom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini suočeno je s traumama i stigmatizacijom o kojima se tek rijetke usuđuju govoriti u javnosti, što ne olakšava činjenica da se u našim društvima nasilje nad ženama općenito često interpretira kao 'zasluga' samih žena žrtava nasilja. Žene silovane u ratu u BiH su zatim dodatno viktimizirane kroz zakonsko



to the polemical piece of writing of the same name by Danilo Kiš, Bošnjak creates a metaphor of the social and political reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The figures of Dr Tulp and the curious lookers-on are replaced with the figure of Josip Broz Tito and the current political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region who, bent over the cadaver, pronounce the party political catchwords in line with the vapid programmes of their own parties and the pertaining ethnic/national interests, referring among other things to the readiness of the 'international community to, as always, help on the way to 'stabilisation and association'. As against the programmed smatterings of the political elites lies the anonymous corpse – the mute, dissected body that at the same time represents the lives of those who were sacrificed during the war for these political projects and those who survived the war so as to have to cope every day with their own equally mute and socially and economically disenfranchised and humiliated 'bare lives'.

In their project *20,000 - Trauma of a Crime*, Lana Čmajčanin and Igor Grubić raise the question of the relation between crime, trauma and law in the case of women who were the victims of programmed mass rapes during the war, an 'auxiliary' weapon in the violent patriarchal pattern of conquest, revenge and humiliation, the stage of which is symbolically represented by the female body. Over 20,000 women raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina are faced with the traumas and stigmatisation that only few of them dare to discuss in public, also due to the fact that in our societies violence against women in general is often interpreted as the 'fault' of the female victims of violence themselves. The women raped in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina are then additionally victimised through legal and institutional violence: although they were, (and

i institucionalno nasilje: iako im je, i to tek nedavno, priznat status žrtava rata, rascjep između dvaju entitetskih zakonskih regulativa (Federacije BiH i RS-a) onemogućuje im da status ostvaren u jednom entitetu imaju i u drugom. Projekt Lane Čmajčanin i Igora Grubića zamišljen je kao dugoročna akcija koja koristi prije svega javni i medijski prostor, a *Izloženosti* predstavljaju njenu inicijalnu fazu.

U istraživačkom radu *Spisi/Jasmina*, čija se inicijalna faza također predstavlja u sklopu programa izložbe, Nicole Hewitt bavi se odnosom zločina i zakona, uzimajući za predmet istraživanja Haški tribunal, odnosno njegove mehanizme djelovanja, prije svega mehanizme iskaza/svjedočenja i tehnologija njegove dokumentacije, transkripta i prijevoda, kao i problema u prevođenju. Pogađajući u rascjep između emocionalne nesavladivosti i neiskazivosti traumatskog događaja i hladnog administriranja



Nicole Hewitt, *Spisi/Jasmina*, performans / Documents / *Jasmina*, performance, Banja Luka, 2010.

Photo: TJ

'pravde' putem sudskih procedura i instanci, Nicole Hewitt razotkriva traumatsku strukturu samog procesa 'prevođenja' traume u iskazima svjedoka, kao i samog Haškog tribunala kao instance ovlaštene

only recently) acknowledged with the status of victims of the war, the split between the body of laws of the two entities (the Federation of Bosnia and Her-



Lana Čmajčanin & Igor Grubić:
20.000 – Trauma jednog zločina,
postav / 20,000 – Trauma of a
Crime, exhibition view.

Photo: St

zegovina and the Republika Srpska) makes it impossible to have a status acquired in one entity recognised in the other. The project of Lana Čmajčanin and Igor Grubić is imagined as a long-term action that above all uses the public and media space, with *Exposures* being its initial phase.

In the research piece *Documents/Jasmina*, the initial phase of which is also presented as part of the exhibition programme, Nicole Hewitt deals with the relation of crime and law, taking the Hague Tribunal (ICTY) as her research subject, particularly its mechanisms of work, above all the procedures of statement taking, testimony giving and the technology of their documentation, the transcripts and translations, as well as the problems in translation. Delving into the cleft between the emotional insuperability and unutterability of the traumatic event and the cold administration of 'justice' through judicial procedures and instances, Nicole Hewitt uncovers the traumatic structure of the actual process of 'translating' the trauma in the witness statements, and of the ICTY itself as the instance authorised to carry out authoritarian and universally valid 'international translation' and narrative of the war traumas in the Balkans and the corresponding distribution of justice. In her performance, Hewitt sidesteps the core of the traumatic experience, here presented by an encounter with

za proizvodnju autoritarnog i općevažećeg 'međunarodnog prijevoda' i narativa o ratnim traumama na Balkanu, te njima odgovarajuću distribuciju pravde. U svom performansu, Hewitt zaobilazi jezgro traumatskog iskustva, koje ovdje predstavlja susret s Haškim tribunalom, a posredno i ratnom prošlošću – kao i s inherentnim nasiljem zakona – te se posvećuje opsesivnom forenzičkom nabravanju samih mehanizama administracije zločina, do najsitnijih detalja poput proizvodne marke video kasete koja će biti upotrebljena za dokumentaciju iskaza.

U filmu *Kazneni slučaj 40/61: Odjek* [Andrea Geyer](#) inscenira jedno od suđenja koje je obilježilo 20. stoljeće: suđenje Adolfu Eichmannu u Jeruzalemu 1961. godine. Prema Shoshani Felman, ovo suđenje predstavlja povijesnu prekretnicu u strukturi suđenja rat-

nim zločinima, odnosno prekretnicu u onome što ona naziva "pravnim nesvjesnim": sudnica postaje "teatar pravde", u kojoj se po prvi put otvara prostor za individualni iskaz žrtve. Upravo je spektakularizacija individualne traume kroz svjedočenje ono što je Hannah Arendt kritizirala u svom izvješću s ovog suđenja, međutim Felman smatra da je ovaj upliv intimnog i privatnog u javno imao transformativnu funkciju, čija je posljedica da sud ne uzima u obzir tek suhe fakte i pravne paragrafe, već je sam uhvaćen u prepoznavanju vlastitog nesvjesnog, koje ga dugoročno transformira. Andrea Geyer suđenje Eichmannu uzima zapravo kao matricu. Služeći se transkriptima sa suđenja te već spomenutim teks-

[Andrea Geyer: Kazneni slučaj 40/61: Odjek, s izložbe / Criminal case 40/61: Reverb, projekcija / screening view.](#)

Photo: TJ



the ICTY in The Hague and indirectly with the war-time past – as well as with the inherent violence of the law – and dedicates herself to an obsessive listing of the actual mechanisms of administering the crimes, to the smallest details, like the production numbers of the video cassettes used for the documentation of statements.

In the film *Criminal Case 40/61: Reverb*, Andrea Geyer stages one of the trials that marked the 20th century, the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961. According to Shoshana Felman, this trial was a historical turning point in the structure of the processing of war crimes, or a turning point in what she calls the “legal unconscious”: the court becomes a “theatre of justice“, in which for the first time the space is opened up for the individual statement of the victim. It was the spectacularisation of the individual trauma through testimony that Hannah Arendt criticised in her report from the trial; however Felman finds that this influence of the intimate and the private on the public had a transformative function, the consequence of which was that the court did not take into consideration merely the dry facts and legal paragraphs, but was caught up in the recognition of its own unconscious, which in the long run transformed it. Andrea Geyer takes the trial of Eichmann as a template. Making use of the transcripts of the trial and the already mentioned piece of Hannah Arendt – *Eichmann in Jerusalem – A Report on the Banality of Evil*, she puts up front the archetypal figures and the universal plot of every courtroom drama: accused, defence, judge, prosecution, report and public, and each of these figures in the film is embodied by the same actress.

Flaka Haliti, in the video installation *Our Death, Other's Dinner* deals with the spectacularisation of trauma and crime. The video of the Kosovo music band

tom Hannah Arendt *Eichmann u Jeruzalemu* – izvještaj o banalnosti zla, ona u prvi plan postavlja arhetipske likove i univerzalni zaplet svake sudske drame: optuženog, branitelja, suca, tužitelja, izvjestitelja i publiku/javnost, a svaki od ovih likova u filmu utjelovljuje ista glumica.

Flaka Haliti se u video instalaciji *Naša smrt, njihova večera* bavi spektakularizacijom traume i zločina. Video spotu kosovske grupe Jericho za pjesmu koja ukazuje na problem nestalih i ujedno prikazuje portrete nestalih muškaraca za vrijeme rata, umjetnica kontraponira audio zapis rasprave koju vode obitelji nestalih osoba. Video spot je povod raspravi, međutim sudionici postavljaju puno šire i kompleksnije pitanje: tko sve profitira od tuđe traume i na koji način? Od političara koji žrtve koriste za dobivanje izbornih poena, do državnih aparata koji ih koriste kako bi dobili novce od međunarodne pomoći koju onda nikada ne isplaćuju onima kojima je namijenjena, te na koncu do kulturnih manifestacija poput ovoga video spota u kojem empatija sa žrtvama postaje i instrument afirmacije jedne rock grupe a onda i njenog uvećanog financijskog profita. Pitanje odnosa umjetnosti i kulture – koje se dakako referira i na sam rad autorice, ali i umjetnost koja se bavi 'patnjama drugih' općenito – nije jednoznačno postavljeno. Unatoč tome što jest izvor osobnog profita, pjesma i video rad za sudionike rasprave ipak predstavljaju značajan oblik javnog tematiziranja pitanja nestalih osoba, kao i vrstu utjehe za obitelji nestalih.

Spektakularizacijom i medijalizacijom zločina bavi se i Radenko Milak u seriji slika *A šta ste još vidjeli?* – *Nisam mogao vidjeti sve!* Odgovor na postavljeno pitanje riječi su Rona Haviva, američkog fotoreportera čija je fotografija Arkanovog vojnika koji brutalno nogom udara ženu koja leži na trotoaru, na

Jericho for a song that takes up the problem of the disappeared and at the same time shows portraits of men who went missing during the war is counterpointed with an audio recording of the discussion conducted between the artist and the families of the disappeared. The video is the occasion for the debate, but the participants pose much broader and more complex questions: who is profiting from other people's traumas, and how? From the politicians who use the victims to get points at the elections to the government departments that use them to get cash



Flaka Haliti, Naša smrt, njihova večera, s izložbe / Our Death, Other's Dinner, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ

from international aid that they never then pay out to those for whom it was meant and finally to cultural events like this video spot in which empathy for the victims is turned into an instrument for a rock group to bolster its image and then boost its earnings. The question of the relation of art and culture – which of course also reflects on the role of the artist herself, as well as the art that deals with the 'sufferings of others' in general – is not placed unambiguously. In spite of the fact that it is a source of personal profit, participants in the debate find the song and the music video nevertheless to be an important way of public thematisation of the issue of missing persons, as well as a kind of consolation for their families.

The work of Radenko Milak in the series of paintings *What else did you see? - I couldn't see everything!* also deals with spectacularisation and medialisation of crime. The answer to the posed question are the words of Ron Haviv, the American photographic reporter whose photograph of the Arkan soldier brutally kicking a woman lying on the pavement at the

samom početku rata u Bjeljini, obišla svijet i jedan je od najpoznatijih simbola medijskog posredovanja rata u BiH. Autor se dotiče načina na koji je uopće moguće dokumentirati i posredovati rat i zločin, te kako se medijski posredovanim prikazima manipulira kao oružjem za nastavak rata drugim sredstvima između suprotstavljenih strana, jednoznačno i kolektivno reduciranih na uloge žrtvi i zločinaca, kroz radikaliziranu dihotomiju koja onemogućava istinski susret s ratnom traumom i ulogama i pozicijama svakog pojedinca u odnosu na nju. Milakova serija slika, potaknuta projektom *Izloženosti*, čin je opsesivnog ponavljanja istog motiva s fotografije Rona Haviva, kao svojevrsnog preispitivanja i nadilaženja rascjepa između posredovanja zločina i traume putem masovnih medija i intimnog, osobnog doživljaja rata i pokušaja osobne artikulacije njegovog značenja. Ona je nevidljiva u samim slikama kao krajnjem proizvodu rada, te čin suočavanja s ratnom traumom ostaje intimno i transformativno iskustvo samog autora.

Radenko Milak, *A šta ste još vidjeli? - Nisam mogao vidjeti sve!*, s postava izložbe / *And what else did you see? - I couldn't see everything!*, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ



Rad Bojane Tamindžije *Tu. Ovdje. Tamo. preispitivanje prisutnosti u nužnosti i izolaciji* kao ključnu točku susreta mapira upravo onu između kolektivne i osobne odgovornosti. Nasilje identifikacije s državno-nacionalnim kolektivitetom u ime kojega se zločini vrše, trpe, procesuiraju, i za koje se traži kolektivna osuda/oprost nasilje je koje stvara kompleksnu i traumatsku dinamiku kolektivne i individualne odgovornosti. Vrlo često je proklamiranje kolektivne odgovornosti, kako smatra Hannah Arendt u slučaju 'lakoće' s kojom su, primjerice, njemački

very beginning of the war in Bjeljina went round the world and is one of the best known symbols of the media transmission of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The author re-examines how it is possible at all to document and mediate war and crime, and how the media-conveyed representations are manipulated as weapons in the continuation of the war by other means between the opposing sides, simplistically and collectively reduced to roles of victims and criminals, through the radicalised dichotomy that makes impossible any genuine encounter with the trauma of war and the roles and positions of each individual with respect to it. Milak's series of paintings, encouraged by the *Exposures* project, is an act of obsessive repetition of the same motif from a photograph of Ron Haviv, a kind of re-examination and surmounting of the gap between the crime and trauma as conveyed via the mass media and an intimate, personal experience of war and the attempt at personal articulation of its meaning. It is invisible in the actual paintings as the final product of the work; the act of facing the war trauma remains the intimate and transformative experience of the author himself.



The key point of encounter, in the work of Bojana Tamindžija *Here. There. Elsewhere. re-examination of presence in necessity and isolation*, is precisely that which is between personal and collective responsibility. The violence of identification with the state-cum-national collective in the name of which the crimes are committed, endured, persecuted, and for which collective condemnation or forgiveness is sought, is a violence that creates a complex and traumatic dynamic of collective and individual responsibility. Very often, the proclamation of collective guilt, as Hannah Arendt finds in the case of the 'ease' with which, for example, German citizens accepted responsibility for the Holocaust, is just a way out

građani prihvatili odgovornost za Holokaust, tek opravdanje za nespремnost suočavanja sa, i procesuiranja pojedinačnih zločina i pojedinačne krivnje. Istovremeno, pozicija žrtve/zločinca nasljeđuje se generacijama samom pripadnošću određenom kolektivitetu, prividnom lakoćom koja svaki pokušaj stvaranja distance prema jedinstvenom nacionalnom biću i 'državotvornim' vrijednostima komplicira kada shvatimo da smo, preuzimajući kritičku poziciju, zapali u istu zamku poistovjećivanja i prešutni dogovor koji nalaže da ipak najveći legitimitet ima kritički govor o zločinima i nepravdama počinjenih od strane 'vlastite' nacije. Tamindžija pod prekriva tankom, bijelom tkaninom ispod koje se naziru poznati prizori iz već spomenutog medijskog rata slikama, dok se na zidu nalazi natpis *Die Verantwortung* (odgovornost). Hodajući po bijeloj tkanini 'nevinosti', ispod koje su prostrti već medijski istrošeni 'dokazni materijali', promatrač/ica se susreće s vlastitom pozicijom u odnosu na pitanja kolektivne i individualne identifikacije i odgovornosti.

Drugi 'podskup' pitanja projekta *Izloženosti* proizlazi iz reaktualizacije samoupravnog socijalizma kao društvenog, političkog i ekonomskog modela kojega STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić i Marc Neelen) preispituju na temelju osobne i obiteljske povijesti, odnosno životnih priča djeda i bake Ane Džokić koji su, nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, u Jugoslaviji pokrenuli niz poduzetničkih i samo-organiziranih inicijativa: tvornicu *Vitaminka* u Banja Luci, *Orlujak*, zadrugu za proizvodnju i preradu ljekovitog bilja u Dubcu, *Dragačevsku zadrugu žena* u Dubcu. Arhivski materijali koji dokumentiraju ove inicijative nisu tek zabilješka iz prošlosti, već prijedlog za



Bojana Tamindžija, Tu. Ovdje. *Tamo, preispitivanje, prisutnosti u nužnosti i izolaciji, s postava izložbe/ Here. There. Elsewhere. Re-examination of presence in necessity and isolation, exhibition view.*

Photo: TJ



for unreadiness to face up to and process individual crimes and individual guilts. At the same time, the position of victim/criminal is inherited for generations by the mere fact of belonging to a certain collectivity. Any attempt to create a distance towards a uniform national being and its 'state-forming' values complicates itself when we understand that, by taking up a critical position, we have fallen into the same trap of identification and a tacit agreement that the greatest legitimacy is granted to the critical speech about crimes and injustices perpetrated by 'one's own' nation. Tamindžija covers the floor with a thin white cloth beneath which are discernable familiar scenes from the already mentioned media war with pictures, while on the wall is the sign *Die Verantwortung*, responsibility. Walking on the white cloth of 'innocence', underneath which is spread the already media-depleted 'evidentiary material', the observers encounter their own positions in relation to the question of collective and individual identification and responsibility.

STEALTH.unlimited, Uzeti zajedničku stvar u svoje ruke, s postava izložbe / Taking Common Matters Into One's Own Hands, exhibition view.

Photo: St



A second 'subgroup' of issues in the *Exposures* project derives from the reactivation of self-managing socialism as a social, political and economic model that STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić and Marc Neelen) are testing out on the basis of their personal and family history, that is, of the life stories of Ana's grandfather and grandmother, who, after WWII in Yugoslavia started up a number of entrepreneurial and self-organised

budućnost, primjer angažiranog i emancipirajućeg poduzetništva kao mogućeg putokaza za hvatanje u koštac s društveno-ekonomskom situacijom regije, pogođene agresivnom, često i pljačkaškom privatizacijom i tranzicijom u neoliberalne modele ek-spolatacije. Serijom otvorenih razgovora arhiv se, intervencijama sudionika, aktivira i transformira, rastvarajući potencijal imaginacije samo-orga-niziranog i emancipativnog djelovanja u sadašnjosti i budućnosti.

Istraživački projekt Margarete Kern Gosti bavi se drugom stranom razdoblja socijalističkog samou-pravljanja: činjenicom da su brojni građani Jugo-slavije, zbog teške ekonomske situacije, od 1960-ih godina nadalje, bili primorani napustiti zemlju u potrazi za poslom u inozemstvu. Naročito je fenom-en masovnog odlaska radnika u zapadnu Njemačku, gdje su činili prepoznatljivu zajednicu tzv. *Gastar-beitera*, predstavljao težak udarac za jugoslavenski projekt samoupravnog socijalizma temeljenog na antifašizmu, samom činjenicom da nje-govi građani sreću odlaze tražiti u zemlji koja reprezentira fašistički projekt na temelju otpora prema kojem je jugoslaven-sko društvo stasalo. Multimedijalna in-stalacija *Gosti* zasnovana je na osobnim pričama žena i njihovim iskustvima rada u Njemačkoj, nostalgijom za domom i bližnjima, ali i pozitivnim aspektima tog iskustva, poput emancipacije i osa-mostaljivanja. Arhiv je nastao na osnovu umjetničinog višemjesečnog istraživanja, koje još uvijek traje, razgovora sa svje-dokinjama, te znanstvenih studija i istraživanja ove teme.



Margareta Kern, Gosti, iz arhive
/ Guests, from the archive.

Prokleta brana Lale Rašić oslanja se na bosansko-hercegovačku tradiciju oralne književnosti i epskog

initiatives: the *Vitaminka* factory in Banja Luka; *Orlujak*, a cooperative for the production and processing of medicinal herbs in Dubec; *Dragačevska Women's Co-op* in Dubac. Archival materials that document these initiatives are not just notes from the past but a proposal for the future, examples of a committed and emancipatory entrepreneurial activity as a possible signpost for being able to come to grips with the present social and economic situation of the region, which has been violated by the aggressive and frequently rapinous privatisation and transition to a neoliberal model. With

a series of open conversations, the archive, through the interventions of the participants, is activated and transformed, opening up a potential for the imagination of a self-organised and emancipatory activity now and in the future.

Margareta Kern's research project *Guests* deals with the other side of the period of socialist self-management: the fact that many citizens of Yugoslavia, because of the difficult economic situation, were driven from the 1960s on to leave the country in search of work abroad. In particular, the phenomenon of the mass departure of working people for West Germany, where they created part of the familiar and distinctive *Gastarbeiter* community, was a heavy blow to the Yugoslav project of self-managing socialism based on anti-fascism, by the mere fact that its citizens were seeking happiness in a country that represented the fascist project, resistance to which resulted in the very creation of the state of Yugoslavia. The multimedia installation *Guests* is based on the personal stories of women and their



STEALTH.unlimited, *Uzeti zajedničku stvar u svoje ruke, iz arhive / Taking Common Matters Into One's Own Hands*, from the archive.







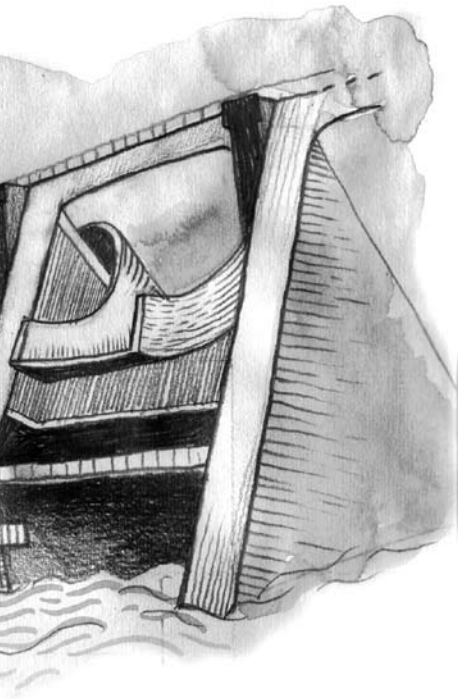
priповijedanja, pri čemu umjetnica, na temelju izučavanja tradicionalnih formi, pripovjeda suvremenu ljubavnu priču s društveno-političkim konotacijama. S obzirom na činjenicu da se novonastala, postjugoslovenska društva, temelje upravo ne na nestanku, nego novom uspostavljanju “velikih narativa”, ili, po riječima Kenana Efendića, “epski postamentiranih etnonacionalizama”, rad Lale Raščić može se tumačiti i kao dekonstrukcija ideje velikih narativa. Samim time on ukazuje i na pitanja: koje su književne i umjetničke strategije koje se odupiru dominantnim narativnim politikama i strategijama te na koje načine umjetnost može kreativno preuzeti i interpretirati tradicionalne, “epske” forme, mimo njihove eksploatacije u svakodnevnom političkom diskursu? Istovremeno *Prokleta brana*, repozitorijem motiva i tema koji se pojavljuju u priči ukazuje na društvenu patologiju postjugoslavenskog prostora – romantizacije i kultivacije katastrofe, odnosa kapitalizma i korupcije, odnosa uzroka i posljedice, pokušaja protagonista da realiziraju život u svakom od mjesta na kojima se, tragajući za boljom budućnošću zateknu; posljedične odnose sadašnjosti i budućnosti, emancipacije i pravde, istovremeno propitivajući eskapizam u fikciji, metaforu brane kao granice te bosanskog epa kao graničarskog epa.



Ljubija, mjestasce 12 km udaljeno od Prijedora u prošlosti se sastojala od dva dijela, Islam Ljubija (Donja Ljubija) i Latin Ljubija (Gornja Ljubija ili Rudnik Ljubija), koja je bila jedan od najvećih rudnika željezne rude u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. U rano ljeto 1992. etničko nesrpsko stanovništvo Ljubije masovno je hapšeno i odvoženo u logore Keraterm i Omarska. 51 % kompleksa rudnika “Ljubija” 2004. kupio je od Republike Srpske “Mittal Steel Company”. Stav

experiences of work in Germany, nostalgia for home and loved ones, but also the positive aspects of their experience, such as emancipation and gaining independence. The archive was created on the basis of the artist's several-month long research, still ongoing, on conversations with witnesses and on scholarly studies of, and research into this topic.

Damned Dam by Lala Raščić draws on the Bosnia and Herzegovinian tradition of oral literature and epic narration, where the artist, on the basis of the study of traditional forms, narrates a contemporary love story with social and political connotations. Because the newly created post-Yugoslav societies are based not upon the disappearance but precisely on the establishment of the “grand narratives“, or in the words of Kenan Efendić, “ethno-nationalisms on epic pedestals“, Lala's work can be interpreted as a deconstruction of the idea of big narratives. This can be seen by the mere fact that it also draws attention to the questions: what are the literary and artistic strategies that resist the dominant narrative politics and strategies and in what ways can art creatively take over and interpret the traditional epic forms notwithstanding their being exploited in the party political discourse? At the same time, *Damned Dam*, through the inventory of motifs and themes that show up in the story, draws attention to the social pathology of the post-Yugoslav space – the romanticisation and cultivation of catastrophe, the relations of capitalism and corruption, cause-and-effect relations, the attempts of protagonists to make a life in each of the places in which, searching for a better life, they happen to be; relations of the present and future, emancipation and justice, at the same time testing



Lala Raščić, *Proleta brana, iz arhiva istraživanja/ Damned Dam*, from the artist's research archive.

službene politike RS o logorima na području Prijedora nije se puno izmijenio od 1992. godine. Danas se Ljubija bori za preživljavanje, ona je mjesto o kojem su donedavno na internetskoj stranici grada svi tekstovi bili napisani u prošlom vremenu, u kome je vrijeme stalo, a današnjica je slika obe-



spravljenosti, bijede, slika života zaboravljenih srpskih izbjeglica iz drugih dijelova BiH te Bošnjaka povratnika na prethodno etnički očišćen teren. Ljubijski Srbi danas su gotovo podjednako zaboravljeni i poniženi kao i ljubijski Bošnjaci, smješteni na periferiji svega što RS ima namjeru biti. Neoliberalna agenda Mittal kompanije čini se nameće jedinu perspektivu koja će neminovno pogodovati svima osim stanovništvu Ljubije a osobito njegovom nesrpskom stanovništvu koje ne dobiva radna mjesta u kompaniju čija je polovica vlasništva u rukama RS, a čime se u osnovi perpetuirira proces etničkog čišćenja. U instalaciji i javnoj intervenciji *Ljubija ubija* Sandra Dukić i Boris Glamočanin upućuju na Ljubiju kao metaforu načina kako društvo proizvodi ljudske živote kao neželjeni otpad, kao ilustraciju pritom vješto koristeći i činjenicu da ljubijska livnica

Sandra Dukić & Boris
Glamočanin, *Ljubija ubija* /
Ljubija kills, s razgovora / from
the discussion.

Photo: TJ

out escapism in fiction, the metaphor of the dam as border and the Bosnian epic as a borderer epic.

Ljubija, a small place 12 km from Prijedor, consisted in the past of two parts, Islam Ljubija (Lower Ljubija) and Latin Ljubija (Upper or Mine Ljubija), which was one of the biggest iron ore mines in the former Yugoslavia. In early summer of 1992 the ethnic non-Serb population of Ljubija was subject to mass arrests and detention in the camps of Keraterm and Omarska. Fifty one percent of the mine complex of Ljubija was bought by Mittal Steel in 2004. The



viewpoint of official RS politics about the camps in the Prijedor area has not much changed since 1992, when images of the tortured inmates went round the world. Today Ljubija is fighting for its survival; it is a town on whose official Internet site, until quite recently, the text was in the past tense, in which time stood still, whereas today's image is of disenfranchisement, poverty, the picture of the lives of forgotten Serbian refugees from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Bosniak returnees to a land that was previously ethnically cleansed. Ljubija Serbs are today almost as forgotten and degraded as Ljubija Bosniaks, located on the periphery of everything that Republic of Srpska aims at being. The Mittal neo-liberal agenda seems to impose the only perspective that will ineluctably suit everyone,

except the population of Ljubija, especially its non-Serbian population that has hard time getting jobs in the mines (still owned by Republic of Srpska to a large extent) which basically, perpetuates the process of ethnic cleansing. In their installation and public intervention *Ljubija ubija / Ljubija Kills* Sandra Dukić and Boris Glamočanin use the town of Ljubija as a metaphor for the manner in which society produces human lives as unwanted waste, which is illustrated by using the fact that the Ljubija foundry

proizvodi kanalizacijske šahtove BiH. Jedan aspekt projekta umjetnika dokumentira neke od priča koje svjedoče o bijedi 'golog života' stanovnika Ljubije, dok javne intervencije za cilj imaju skretanje pozornosti javnosti na te, i njima srodne priče, s kojima se mogu poistovijetiti i stanovnici brojnih drugih mjesta u regiji. Istovremeno, umjetnici surađuju sa ženskom zadrugom iz Ljubije, te koriste javnu vidljivost projekta kako bi, za doprinos ljubijskoj zadruzi, prodavali 'suvenire', koje su umjetnici dizajnirali a izradile ljubijske žene.

Film Renate Poljak, simptomatičnog naslova *Velika očekivanja*, prati transformacije urbanog krajolika – rezultate masovne izgradnje i građevinskog nasilja na hrvatskoj obali tijekom zadnja dva desetljeća. Istovremeno, umjetnica rekonstruira razvoj i transformaciju tog nasilja u vlastitoj sredini, od ratnog nasilja do nasilja divljeg kapitalizma kroz osobnu, rodno osvješćenu perspektivu. Čini to istražujući tri generacije iste patrijarhalne obitelji u tradicionalnoj dalmatinskoj sredini. Često groteskna arhitektura koju umjetnica promatra zapravo je prefiguracija erektivnog, šovinističkog hrvatskog društva u kojemu se dominacija patrijarhalne nuklearne strukture ogleda u akumulaciji nasilne intruzije u prirodni i urbani okoliš. Ovo dvostruko kodiranje usmjerava narativ ispunjen ikonografijom tranzicijske arogancije, pohlepe i post-ratnih društvenih trauma. Jednako tako film se dotiče novo uspostavljene 'moralnosti' nove nacionalne države i nerijetko pervertiranih načina kojima se u magli ratnog i postratnog bogaćenja ostvaruje projekt 'normalizacije' i pripajanja kapitalističkom 'progresivnom' zapadu. Implementacija nekritički usvojenih modela 'napretka' u ovim zemljama, dvadesetak godina od uspostave država-nacija ne stvara uvijete za istinsku društvenu transformaciju, društvo suočeno s vlastitom prošlosti već zastaje na velikim očekivanjima

produces sewage manholes for Bosnia and Herzegovina. One aspect of the project documents some of the stories that tell of the misery of the bare life of the inhabitants of Ljubija, while public interventions are aimed at drawing the attention of the public to those and similar stories that inhabitants of other places in the region can identify with. At the same time, the artists are working with the women's co-op of Ljubija, and making use of the public visibility of the project to market, as a contribution to the co-op, 'souvenirs' designed by the artists and made by the Ljubija women.

The film of Renata Poljak, symptomatically called *Great Expectations*, follows the transformations of an urban landscape – the results of mass development and the violence of the construction industry on the Croatian coastline during the last two decades. At the same time she reconstructs the development and transformation of this violence in her own environment, from wartime violence to the violence of unregulated capitalism through her personal and gender-conscious perspective. She does this while exploring three generations of the same patriarchal family in a traditional Dalmatian setting. The often grotesque architecture that the artist observes is actually a prefiguration of the erective, chauvinist society of Croatia, in which the domination of the patriarchal nuclear structure is seen in the accumulation of violent intrusions into the natural and urban environment. This double encoding directs a narrative filled with the iconography of transitional arrogance, greed and post-war social traumas. Equally, the film touches on the newly established morality of the new national state and the frequently perfected ways in which in the mist of war time and post-war enrichment projects of normalisation and adherence to the capitalist and progressive west are put into practice. The implementation





koja i dalje definiraju društveni i individualni imaginarij.

Konačno, treći segment projekta predstavlja zapravo najurgentnije pitanje, kojemu se pak ne daje ni približno pažnje koju zaslužuje: 'tko' su, zapravo, mlade generacije, rođene za vrijeme rata i raspada Jugoslavije, i što smo im ostavili u naslijeđe? U medijima se najčešće izvještava o pojedinačnim ekscesima, nasilju u školi, mladima koji bezrezervno i gotovo u znak inata preuzimaju ustaške simbole na Thompsonovim koncertima, navijačkim sukobima koji, naročito u BiH, zapravo predstavljaju još jedan oblik nastavka rata drugim sredstvima, dok nam najrecentniji prizori 'pobunjenih' mladih huligana dolaze iz Beograda, u neredima izazvanim na dan LGBT parade ponosa. Međutim, rijetko se postavlja pitanje o dubljim, društveno-političkim uzrocima i posljedicama onoga što se tek tako bezazleno i 'neutralno' naziva huliganstvom.

Istraživački projekt *Nogomet metafora života?* kustosica Anje Bogojević i Amile Puzić (*Abart, Mostar*) uzima nogomet kao metaforu, ili prizmu kroz koju je moguće, na primjeru Mostara, sagledati odnos pripadnosti nogometnom klubu i pripadnosti dvama različitim dijelovima grada, odnosno dvama različitim etničkim identitetima. U podijeljenom gradu poput Mostara, svaka nogometna utakmica stanovnike grada iznova dovodi u predratno stanje, u kojem se naglo povećavaju tenzije, a razina policijskog osiguranja odražava izvanredne okolnosti. Uključivanjem studenata/ica sa zapadne i istočne 'obale' Mostara, odnosno studenata/tica Sveučilišta i Univerziteta, projekt se odvio u vidu dvomjesečne radionice i istraživanja koji su rezultirali stvaranjem arhiva novinskih članaka, intervjua s pripadnicima dviju navijačkih skupina – Ultras i Red Army, dokumentacije umjetničkih akcija poput protestnog



Nogomet metafora života? / Football - A Metaphor for Life, radionica / workshop, Mostar, 2010.



of uncritically adopted models of progress in these countries, twenty years since the establishment of nation states, has not created the conditions for any authentic social transformation, a society that has come face to face with its own past, but has stopped stationary on the great expectations that continue to define the social and individual imaginary.

Finally, the third segment of the project represents the most urgent question of all, to which nothing like enough attention is given: 'who' in fact are the younger generations, born during the wartime and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and what kind of legacy are we leaving them? In the media one most often reads reports about individual outrages, violence in schools, the young who unhesitatingly and practically as a sign of defiance adopt Ustasha symbols at Thompson's concerts, about football violence that, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, actually

is another form of the continuation of war with other means, while the most recent scenes of revolting young hooligans come from Belgrade, in disorders induced by the LGBT pride parade. However, seldom is the question asked as to the deeper, social and political causes and consequences of what is seemingly harmlessly and 'neutrally' referred to as hooliganism.

The research project *Football – A metaphor for life?* by curators Anja Bogojević and Amila Puzić (Abart,

paljenja nogometne lopte Marije Kolobarić i Josipa Viskovića, tekstualnih osvrta samih istraživača/ica i gostiju pozvanih da, zajedno s istraživačima i publikom, sudjeluju na završnom javnom seminaru i prezentaciji arhiva u Mostaru. Seminar je pokazao izniman interes publike za ovu temu, potvrdivši polazišta projekta, i dajući mu osnovu za nastavak istraživačkog rada o odnosima sportskih rituala i načinima na koje isti zorno iscrstavaju neuralgične točke društva i stvarajući inicijalnu platformu za uspostavu dijaloga i drugačijeg mišljenja sporta u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu danas.

Video rad Amela Ibrahimovića *San Marino 2005* također se bavi navijačkim ritualima, dokumentirajući dvije skupine navijača BH-nogometne reprezentacije na njihovom nastupu u San Marinu 2005. godine. Riječ je o navijačima koji su porijeklom iz BiH ali žive u skandinavskim zemljama, te redovito prate internacionalne nastupe BiH reprezentacije.

Iako navijaju za istu reprezentaciju, dvije navijačke skupine imaju različite vizualne identitete i pjevaju različite navijačke pjesme. Video rad odražava ne samo kompleksne emigrantske identitete njegovih protagonista i njihovog odnosa prema zemlji iz koje dolaze, već postavlja i puno šire pitanje značenja same reprezentacije, odnosno Bosne i Hercegovine, koje se naročito aktualizira prikazivanjem rada u



BiH kontekstu. Što država Bosna i Hercegovina predstavlja njenim stanovnicima, podijeljenima između tri dominantne etnopolitike? Što navijanje za reprezentaciju BiH znači u Republici Srpskoj, a što u Federaciji BiH, i unutar Federacije, za njena dva konstitutivna naroda? Što, nadalje, znači za one koji se ne poistovjećuju ni s jednom od tri etnopolitike i čiji su identiteti znatno kompleksniji od jednostavne etnokonfesionalne jednadžbe?

Mostar) takes football as figure of speech, as a prism through which it is possible, using the example of Mostar, to see the relation between belonging to a football club and belonging to the two different parts of town, that is, the two different ethnic identities. In a divided town like Mostar, every game once again puts the town's inhabitants on a pre-war footing, in which tensions are suddenly increased, and the level of police presence reflects the state of emergency. By involving students from the west and east 'banks' of Mostar, of the two universities, the project went on in the form of a two-month long workshop and research that resulted in the creation of archives of newspaper articles, interviews with members of the two supporters' groups – the Ultras and the Red Army, the documentation of art actions like the protest burning of a soccer ball by Marija Kolobarić and Josip Visković, essays by the researchers and the guests invited, together with researchers and public, to take part in the final public seminar and presentation of the archive in Mostar. The seminar showed just how interested the public was in this topic, bearing out the premises of the project, and giving it the basis for the continuation of research about the relations of sporting rituals and the ways in which they tellingly plot the sore points of society, but also providing a platform for a dialogue to rethink the role of sport in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society today.

Amel Ibrahimović, *San Marino*,
iz videa / video still, 2005.



The video work of Amel Ibrahimović, *San Marino 2005*, also deals with supporters' rituals, documenting two groups of Bosnia and Herzegovinian national team supporters at the appearance in San Marino in 2005. The supporters were by descent from Bosnia and Herzegovina but lived in the Scandinavian countries, and regularly follow the international appearance of the Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ova se pitanja jasno ocrtavaju u činjenici da BiH još uvijek nema službeno prihvaćeni tekst državne himne. Dugotrajan proces pronalaženja najboljeg rješenja za himnu redovito je završavao beskonačnim raspravama i zaključkom da nijedan prijedlog u dovoljnoj mjeri ne zadovoljava i ističe simbole sva tri naroda, i da nijedan ne sadrži dovoljno elemenata s kojima bi se sva tri naroda poistovijetila.

Prijedlog Ivana Šušnjara da se za himnu BiH rearanžira glazba i usvoji tekst pjesme grupe Ekatarina Velika *Ovo je zemlja za nas* pokušaj je osnaživanja upravo onog zajedničkog i ponovnog postavljanja pitanja kako je, i je li uopće moguće, u kontekstu BiH jedno-glasno reći "mi", pozivanjem na zajedničko nasljeđe popularne kulture bivše zajedničke države i njezinog emancipativnog potencijala. Na izložbi je prijedlog predstavljen video-dokumentacijom snimke izvedbe ove pjesme u sarajevskoj Zetri, na Yutelovom koncertu za mir, 1991. godine. Ubrzo je uslijedio rat. Uz dokumentaciju je predstavljen prijedlog za himnu, te anketa u kojoj posjetitelji izložbe mogu izraziti svoje mišljenje i komentare na prijedlog.

Projekt uključuje i prijedlog za organizaciju tri javna pjevanja ove pjesme, u Mostaru, Banja Luci i Sarajevu, u kojima bi se pozvali stanovnici ovih gradova koji, pjevanjem pjesme, žele podržati i testirati potencijal zajedništva kojega simbolizira državna himna. Nakon, snažnom porukom nabijene, izvedbe ove pjesme u Zetri pred sam rat, njen tekst danas još jednom zadobiva novo značenje. *Čujem vrati se, ostani... oprost mi...* bolno asocira na sve ratne traume, nakupljenju mržnju i strah, etnički očišćene gradove i terito-

Ivan Šušnjara, *Ovo je zemlja za nas*, s izložbe, detalj / *This is the Land for Us*, exhibition view, detail.



team. Although they support the same team, the two groups have different visual identities and different fan chants. The video expresses not only the complex émigré identities of its protagonists and their attitudes to the land of their birth but raises a much broader question of the meaning of the actual Bosnia and Herzegovina team, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, which is particularly brought into focus by being shown in a Bosnia and Herzegovina context. What does the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina mean to its inhabitants, divided as it is among three dominant ethno-politics? What does the cheering for the Bosnia and Herzegovina team mean in Republic of Srpska, what in the Federation, and what within the Federation for its two constitutive peoples? What, furthermore, does it mean for those who do not identify themselves with any one of the three ethno-politics and whose identities are a lot more complex than that of a simple ethnic-cum-confessional equation?



These questions are clearly brought out in the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina still does not have an officially accepted wording for its national anthem. The lengthy process of finding the best solution for an anthem regularly ends up in endless debates and the invariable conclusion is that no proposal satisfactorily enough meets and puts forward the symbols of all the three peoples, and that not one contains enough elements with which all three nations can identify. The proposal of Ivan Šušnjar to base the BH anthem on the rearranged music and the words of the song by the band Ekaterina Velika [Catherine the Great] *Ovo je zemlja za nas* [This is the land for us] is an attempt at empowering the *common* and asking once again the question of whether it is possible in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina to unanimously say “we”, by referring to a common heritage of popular culture of the former state and its

rije, i sve koji su bili primorani napustiti svoje domove. Reference na dječju nevinost (*Ovo je zemlja za nas... za svu našu djecu... pogledaj me očima djetema*) ponovno nas vraća na pitanje generacijski naslijeđene traume i današnje društvo čija budućnost počiva na najmlađim generacijama.

Rad Vahide Ramujkić *Istorije u raspravi* zbirka je osnovno- i srednjoškolskih udžbenika povijesti sakupljenih u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije. Rad koji je i dalje u nastajanju preispituje različite povijesne narative koji su nastajali u zadnjih 20 godina, s fokusom na interpretacije povijesti Jugoslavije, ratova 90-ih i nacionalne povijesti. U dvodnevnoj radionici koju je umjetnica vodila sa srednjoškolcima u Banja Luci, učenici su zajednički analizirali različite i suprotstavljene narative, kreirajući skriptu koja okuplja neutralna mjesta i povijesne trenutke koji postaju bojno polje na kojem se sučeljavaju različite interpretacije i suprotstavljene istine. Rad postavlja pitanja ne samo o kriterijima pisanja povijesti i proizvodnje različitih istina, već prije svega o načinima na koje edukacijski mehanizmi generiraju kolektivni identitet i stavljaju ga u odnos prema drugim kolektivnim identitetima.



Vahida Ramujkić, *Istorije u raspravi*, s izložbe/ *Disputed Histories*, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ

Predstava redatelja Boruta Šeparovića *Generacija 91-95. Sat hrvatske povijesti*, nastala na temelju romana Borisa Dežulovića *Jebo sad hiljadu dinara*, u dramaturgiji Gorana Ferčeca i produkciji kazališta ZeKaEm (Zagreb), intervencija je u uvriježene obrascе prenošenja povijesnih narativa mladim gen-

emancipatory potential. The proposal is presented at the exhibition through the video documentation of a live recording of the performance of this song in Sarajevo's Zetra, at the Yutel Peace Concert in 1991. Soon after came the war. The documentation is accompanied by a proposal for the anthem, and a questionnaire in which the visitors to the exhibition can express their opinion about, and comment on, the proposal. The project includes a proposal for the organisation of three publicly sung performances of the song, in Mostar, Banja Luka and Sarajevo, inviting the inhabitants of the cities who, by singing the song, want to support and test out the potential for a community that is symbolised by the national anthem. After the performance of this song in Zetra before the war broke out, charged with powerful messages, its wording today takes on new meanings. *I hear come back..stay.. forgive me...* today has painful associations with all the traumas of war, the agglomeration of hatred and fear, the ethnically cleansed cities and lands, and all who were forced to leave their homes. References to childish innocence (*This is the land for us.. for all our children.. look at me with the eyes of a child*) takes us back again to the issue of the generation-inherited trauma and the society of today the future of which rests upon the youngest generations.

The work of Vahida Ramujkić *Disputed Histories* is a collection of history books for primary and secondary school children collected in the lands of ex-Yugoslavia. The work rests out the different historical narratives that were created in the last 20 years, with the focus on the interpretation of the history of Yugoslavia, the wars of the 90s and national history. In the two-day workshop that the artist had with secondary school children in Banja Luka, the children together analysed different and indeed contradictory narratives, creating a script that



eracijama. Pripadnike Armije BiH i HVO-a tijekom rata u BiH, dvije skupina vojnika prerušenih 'jedni u druge' na tajnom zadatku, koji čine osnovu fabule romana, u predstavi utjelovljuju dvanaestorica mladića u dobi od 14 do 18 godina, dakle, generacija mladića rođenih između 1991. i 1995., za vrijeme rata, izabranih putem javnog poziva na audiciju. Glumci u predstavi ne odrađuju tek unaprijed zadani scenarij; proces rada uključivao je istraživačko-radionički model, diskusije mladića s redateljskom ekipom, gdje su iznosili i preispitali vlastite stavove i spoznaje o recentnoj prošlosti, kojoj nisu neposredni svjedoci, nego su je doživjeli posredno, putem obitelji, škole i medija. Na taj način predstava o ratu postaje predstava o 'generaciji 91-95', o društveno-političkoj klimi u odnosu na koju su formirali životne stavove i uvjerenja. Fikcionalno zasnovana matrica predstave u jednom se trenutku prekida, kako bi se sami sudionici predstavili imenima i prezimena, sklonostima i interesima, uz obavezan 'biografski' detalj – odlična ocjena iz povijesti. Na izložbi je projekt predstavljen izabranom dokumentacijom samog procesa rada na predstavi, fotodokumentacijom, scenarijem, i prilogom u produkciji Trećeg programa Hrvatskog radija, autorice Agate Juniku, u kojem sudionici predstave govore o svom iskustvu sudjelovanja u projektu i načinu na koji je ono transformiralo njihove stavove prema društvenoj stvarnosti, ali i samom poimanju kazališta. *Generacija 91-95* dragocjen je i jedinstven primjer emancipativnog potencijala umjetničke prakse, iako ga se uobičajeno ne kontekstualizira unutar polja suvremene umjetnosti, a jedan je od ciljeva projekta *Izloženosti* upravo destabilizacija granica između pojedinih disciplina.

Uz druge projekte, koji na srodne načine tragaju za emancipativnim djelovanjem u polju umjetnosti, *Izloženosti* se rastvaraju prije svega kao točka okupljanja i međusobnog osnaživanja projekata koji

brings together the sore points and historical moments that become a battlefield on which different interpretations and opposed truths are marshalled. The work poses questions not only about the criteria for the writing of history and the production of differing truths, but above all about the ways in which the mechanisms of education generate a collective identity and juxtapose it to other collective identities.

The theatre piece of director Borut Šeparović *Generation 91-95. Croatian History Class* based on the novel of Boris Dežulović *Jebo sad hiljadu dinara* [Fuck a thousand dinars now], with an adaptation by Goran Ferčec and produced by the ZKM theatre in Zagreb is an intervention into the settled patterns of transferring historical narratives to the younger generations. Members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army and of the 'Croatian Defense Army' during the Bosnia and Herzegovina war, two groups of soldiers one disguised as the other on secret missions, which is the basis of the novel's fabula, are presented by twelve youngsters aged 14 to 18, that is, the generation of youngsters born between 1991 and 1995, i.e., during the war, chosen by open auditions. The actors in the show do not just work off a set script; the process of the work included a research and workshop model, discussions among the youngsters and the directorial crew, where they stated and questioned their own views and knowledge about the recent past, which they had not witnessed directly, but rather experienced indirectly, via their families, schools and media. In this way a performance about the war became a performance about the 91-95 generation, the social and political climate vis-à-vis which they had formed their views on life and their convictions. The fictionally based pattern of the show is suddenly interrupted, the participants introducing themselves with their names and family

Borut Šeparović, Goran Ferčec: Generacija 91-95, iz predstave / Generation 91-95, documentation of the theater play.

Photo: Mara Bratoš, ljubaznošću / courtesy of ZKM, Zagreb





se opiru imperativu statične reprezentacije, a čija je vizija usmjerena ka generiranju novih modela zajedničkog djelovanja i transformativnom učinku na sve koji postaju dijelom projekta, bilo kao autori, sudionici, kustosi, organizatori i publika.

names, their likes and interests, with the obligatory biographical detail of having had an “A in history“. At the exhibition, the project is presented by selected documentation of the actual process of the work at the performance, photographic documentation, a script and a story produced by Croatian Radio Third Programme devised by Agata Juniku, in which the participants of the show talk about their experience of taking part in the project and the way in which it transformed their views about the social reality, as well as their attitudes to theatre. *Generation 91-95* is an invaluable and unique example of the emancipatory potential of artistic practice, although it is not usually contextualised in the field of contemporary art – and one of the objectives of the *Exposures* project is precisely the destabilisation of the borders between the individual disciplines.

Along with other projects, which in similar ways search for an emancipatory practice in the field of art, *Exposures* opens itself up above all as a point for the gathering together and mutual empowerment of projects that resist the imperative of static representation and whose vision is directed to the generation of new models of joint action and the transformative effect on all who become a part of the project, whether as authors, participants, curators, organisers or the publics.

— translated to English by Graham McMaster

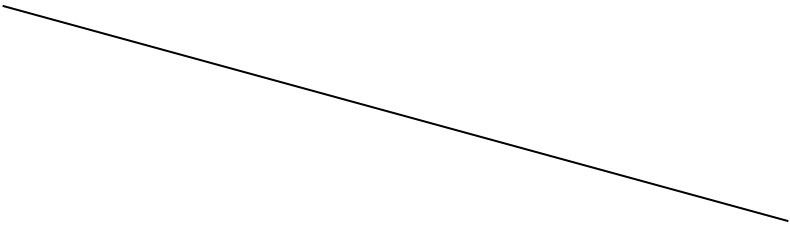
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Spasport Brijuni 2009/2010

~~IZLOŽENOSTI~~

GDJE SE
SVE TEK
TREBA
DOGODITI!





(Povodom projekta *Izložnosti*, Spaport, Banjaluka, 2010)

— Branislav Dimitrijević

Bivša tvornica "Rudi Čajavec", 2010. /

Ex "Rudi Čajavec" factory, 2010

Photo: Protok



THE RE-LOCALISATION OF THE TEMPORARILY
UNABANDONED

(On the occasion of the Exposure Project, Spaport, Banjaluka, 2010)

— Branislav Dimitrijević



Dugo je već aktuelna kritika galerijske “bele kocke” kao ekskluzivnog i ekskluzionističkog prostora za umetnost. Međutim, najčešće je glavni aspekt ove kritike ‘nominalistički’. Umesto “bele kocke” dobili smo “umetničke prostore”; umesto neutralnog, urednog i u belo okrećenog prostora dobili smo patinirane i urušene industrijske objekte ili skladišta; umesto formalne i univerzalističke modernističke institucionalizacije, dobili smo kompleks pseudoformalnih i partikularizovanih institucionalizacija... Umetnost se već neko vreme može pojaviti bilo gde i svakako izazovni cilj za umetnički sistem je da to ‘bilo gde’ sistematizuje i useli u nove ‘manastire’ umetničke globalizacije. Radi se dakle o razumevanju kritike “bele kocke” isključivo kao kritike uniformnog izlaganja umetnosti, dakle samo kao pitanje prostora za izlaganje umetnosti a ne kao pitanje promene njene sublimno-tržišne paradigme.

Otuda je i indikativno i stimulatивно što je kustoski projekat Ivane Bago i Antonie Majače realizovan za SPAPORT Bijenale u Banjaluci, i koji je povod za pisanje ovog teksta, naslovljen *Izloženosti*. Jer on pojam “izlaganja” nikako ne vidi u nominalnoj raspravi o prirodi i kontekstu izloženosti umetnosti, u pitan-



Naomet metafora života?, s izložbe / Football - a metaphor for life?, exhibition view. Photo: TJ

The criticism of the “white cube” of the gallery as an exclusive and exclusionist venue for art has been on the books for a some time now. However, most commonly the main aspect of this criticism has been purely ‘nominalist’. Instead of “white cubes” we have got “art spaces”, and in place of neutral, well ordered and whitewashed spaces we have got patinated and ruinous industrial structures or warehouses; instead of formal, universalising, modernist institutionalisation, we have acquired a complex of quasi-informal and particularised institutionalisations... For quite some time, art has been able to show up ‘anywhere at all’, and, absolutely, the objective of the art system is to systematise this ‘anywhere at all’ and to move it into new ‘cloisters’ of artistic globalisation. What we are dealing with, then, is the understanding of the criticism of the “white cube” only as criticism of the uniform exhibiting of art, only, that is, as a question of the venue for exhibiting art, and not at all a question of any change in its subliminal marketing paradigm.

It is both indicative and stimulating, then, that the curatorial project of Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača produced for the Spaport Biennial in Banjaluka – and which provided the occasion for the writing of this article – is entitled *Exposures*. For it does not in any way comprehend the concept of *exposing/exhibiting* within the merely nominal debate about the nature and the context of the ‘exhibition’ of art, in the matter of the ‘tactics’ of exposing/exhibiting objects to subjects whom they are supposed in various ways to seduce.¹ On the contrary, it is a way of understanding “exposure” in which the relations of subjects and objects are mutual and reciprocal, and where it is above all subjects that are exposed to each other – i.e., what is exposed is the fact that neither subjects

¹ I deliberately use a term from the somewhat forgotten arsenal of the writing about the art of post-modernism of the eighties, i.e. the discourse about the seductiveness of the object.

ju 'taktike' izlaganja objekata subjektima koji treba da budu njima na razne načine 'zavedeni' ¹. Naprotiv, radi se o poimanju "izloženosti" u kom su odnosi objekata i subjekata uzajamni, recipročni, i gde su pre svega subjekti izloženi jedan drugom – što će reći u kom je izloženo to da ni subjekti ni objekti ne stupaju u odnose bez nekog od mogućih "predikata" (a prvi među mogućima je ono prosto *biti*); bez neke radnje, neke performativnosti odnosa između sada i ovde i u kom je taj performativni odnos ono što može da postane izloženo kao *izloženost*. To *sada-i-ovde* nije zapravo ništa više nego ono što se zateklo u uveliko likvidiranom poimanju "javne sfere", ono što je izgubilo svoju "volju" i preostaje nam samo kao "kontingencija". Ovo bivstvovanje-u-svetu ne može biti artikulisano pa ni pojmljivo ako to nije pre svega bivstovanje u *lokalnom* u kom se može misliti neko *zajedničko*, ali zajedničko koje ne određuje neko esencijalno "zajedničko bivstvovanje" već ne-esencijalno *bivstvovanje-u-zajedničkom* ².

Delovanje u lokalnom (ali onakvom kakvo ono *jeste* – i kao *ovde/sada*, i kao kontingencija) može jedino da artikuliše veze i procepe između osetilnog i smisaonog, između estetskog i političkog, ali ne kroz stvaranje *javnih* estetskih objekata ili iskazivanje *lokalnih* političkih stavova. U savremenoj umetnosti (onoj koja je na marginama već marginalnog sistema kulturnih vrednosti) akteri koji deluju u lokalnom mogu da *postanu* upravo subjekti artikulacije nekog zajedničkog saznanja koje može da motiviše neke "svrsishodne konfiguracije" i u okviru preko potrebnog društvenog *disenzusa*. Iako je savremena umetnost danas sve deklarativnije usmerena na "političko" ona svoju političnost (koliko

¹ Namerno koristim termin iz donekle zaboravljenog arsenala pisanja o umetnosti „postmodernizma“ osamdesetih, t.j. diskursa o „zavodljivosti objekta“.

² Za značaj ovih pojmova filozofa Žan-Lika Nansija (Jean-Luc Nancy) za umetnost koja deluje u javnoj sferi i koja je specifična svojoj lokaciji, videti Miwon Kwon, *One place after another - Site-specific art and locational identity*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2004.

nor objects form relations without some of the possible “predicates” (and the first among the possible is simply to *be*); without some action, some performativity of relations between here and now and in which this performative relationship is what can be exhibited as *exposure*. This *here-and-now* is actually nothing more than what was caught up in the largely liquidated idea of the “public sphere”, something that has lost its “will”, and remains to us only as “contingency”. This *being-in-the-world* cannot be articulated or even conceivable if it is not above all *being-in-the-local*, which allows for the rethinking of the *common*, but a common that is not determined by some essential “common-being” but by a non-essentialist *being-in-common*².

Acting in the local (but as it actually *is* – both as *here and now* and as contingency) can only articulate the links and fissures between the sensory and the intellectual, between the aesthetic and the political, but not through the creation of *public* aesthetic objects or the statement of *local* political views. In contemporary art (which is at the margins of an already marginal system of cultural values) the actors that work in the local can actually become the subjects of articulation of some common understanding that might motivate certain “purposeful configurations” and within the framework of a crucially necessary social *dissensus*. Although contemporary art today is increasingly, in theory at least, aimed at the “political”, it can no longer articulate its political nature (however much it might be motivated by the will to emancipation) through the standardised model of big exhibitions of contemporary art that are the dominant form of public “performativity” that, even if in its ultimate consequences, is always me-

² For the significance of these ideas of the philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy for art that acts in the public sphere and that is specific to its location, see Miwon Kwon, *One place after another - Site-specific art and locational identity*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2004

god ona bila emancipatorski motivisana) ne može više artikulisati kroz standardizovani model velikih izložbi savremene umetnosti kao dominantnog oblik javne “performativnosti“ koja je, makar samo u svojim krajnjim konsekvencama, uvek posredovana logikom spektakla kao ponuđenog odnosa između umetnosti i sve brojnijih a nezainteresovanijih i zasićenijih posmatrača. Ono što se u takvoj spektakularizaciji prvo obavlja jeste fetišizacija umetnosti koja daleko prevazilazi ono što je, u poređenju, bio krajnje asketski format – fetišizam objekta u modernističkoj beloj kocki. Ako je, marksistički gledano, fetišizam oblik lažne svesti o poreklu izloženog objekta, odnosno oblik maskiranja ili prikrivanja realnih uslova i okolnosti proizvodnje i rada, onda je ideja o “umetnosti koja je bilo gde“ zapravo oblik prikrivanja onoga što jeste *negde* a ne tek bilo gde, onoga što jeste zapravo aktuelni a ne napušteni lokalitet, a u krajnjoj liniji i onoga što i čini poimanje *lokalnog*. Pođimo otuda, od teze da je umetnost danas moguća samo lokalno, odnosno da je danas umetnički rad moguć samo, kako kaže Badiou, kao “situirana *istraga* o istini koju on lokalno aktualizuje ili čije je on konačan fragment.”³

Inicijativa o stvaranju SPAPORT bijenala u Banjaluci mogla bi biti još jedan pokušaj da se u nekoj ‘perifernoj’ sredini, koja još nije stavljena ‘na mapu’ priredbi savremene umetnosti, inicira kako lokalno tako i međunarodno interesovanje (što se najščešće svodi samo na ovo drugo). Međutim, lokalna predispozicija i međunarodna predstava o ovoj lokaciji je već visoko simbolizovana: radi se o najvećem gradu u srpskom delu Bosne i Hercegovine koji je zbog rata u Bosni devedesetih stekao posebno demonizovanu međunarodnu reputaciju. Radi se o društvenoj sredini u kojoj tek započinje neizvestan psihološki

³ Alain Badiou, *Handbook of Inaesthetics*, Stanford University Press, 2005, str. 12.

diated by the logic of spectacle as the offered relation between art and the ever more numerous, but uninterested and sated observers. What is first of all done in this kind of spectacularisation is the fetishisation of art that far exceeds what was, in comparison, an extremely ascetic format – the fetishism of the object in the modernist white cube. If, looked at from a Marxist point of view, fetishism is a form of false consciousness about the origin of the object exhibited, that is, a form of camouflaging or concealing the real conditions and circumstances of production and work, then the idea of “art that is anywhere at all” is actually a form of concealment of something that is actually *somewhere* and not just anywhere, what is actually an ongoing and viable and not an abandoned site, and ultimately of what comprises the conception of the *local*. Let us start off, then, from the thesis that art is today possible only locally, or that today the artistic work is possible only, in the words of Badiou, as “a situated *inquiry* about truth that it locally actualizes or of which it is a finite fragment”.³

The initiative concerning the creation of the Sport Biennial in Banjaluka might have been just another attempt to elicit, in some ‘peripheral’ milieu that has not yet been placed ‘on the map’ of events of contemporary art, some local and international interest (most often reduced just to the second). However, the local predisposition and the international representation of this location are already



Banja Luka, 2010, Photo: Protok

Photo: ST

³ Alain Badiou, *Handbook of Inaesthetics*, Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 12.

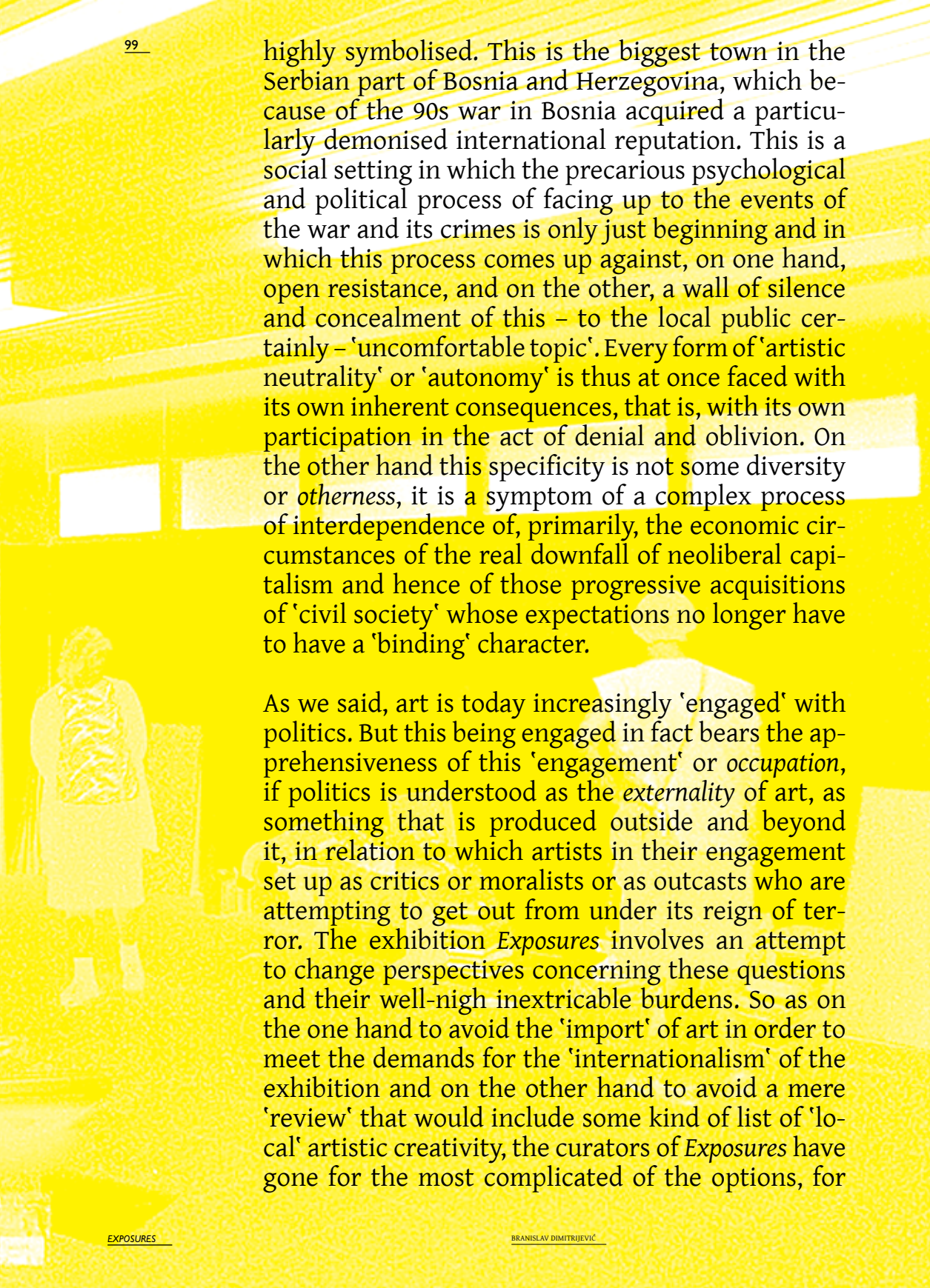




i politički proces suočenja s ratnim događajima i zločinima i u kojoj ovaj proces s jedne strane nalazi na otvoren otpor a s druge na zid ćutanja i prikrivanja ove, za tamošnju javnost, svakako 'neprijatne teme'. Svaka forma 'umetničke neutralnosti' ili 'autonomije' tako je odmah suočena sa svojim posledicama, odnosno sa svojom participacijom u činu poricanja i zaborava. S druge strane, ova specifičnost nije neka različitost ili *drugost*, ona je simptom složenog procesa međuzavisnosti pre svega ekonomskih okolnosti realnog sunovrata neo-liberalnog kapitalizma pa samim tim i onih progresivnih tekovina 'građanskog društva' čija očekivanja više ne moraju imati karakter 'obavezujućeg'.

Kao što rekosmo, umetnost se danas svakako sve više 'bavi' politikom. Ali to bavljenje upravo nosi nelagodnost ovog 'bavljenja', ili *okupiranosti*, ukoliko se politika shvata kao *spoljašnjost* umetnosti, kao nešto što se ostvaruje izvan nje i mimo nje, u odnosu na šta se umetnik svojim bavljenjem postavlja ili kao kritičar, ili kao moralista, ili pak kao izgnanik koji pokušava da se udalji od njenog terora. Izložba *Izloženosti* donosi pokušaj izmene perspektive u odnosu na ova pitanja i njihova gotovo nerazmrsiva opterećenja. Kako bi se s jedne strane izbegao 'import' umetnosti i ispunio zahtev 'internacionalnosti' izložbe, a s druge izbegla 'revijalnost' nekakvog popisa umetničkog stvaralaštva 'u lokalu' kustoskinje *Izloženosti* su se odlučile za najkomplikovaniju opciju, za ono što *tek može (i treba?) da se dogodi*.⁴ Glavni akcenat je otuda stavljen na istaživački proces koji nije povinovan postojećim umetničkim institucionalnim okvirima već koji pokreće aktivno sa-dejstvo sa neostvarenim potencijalom krhkih lokalnih inicijativa, individualnih i kolektivnih (a uglavnom iz BiH i neposrednog okruženja), koje operišu

⁴ *Izloženosti* su zapravo "drugo poglavlje" dvogodišnjeg projekta pod nazivom *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*, Instituta za trajanje, mjesto i varijable, kojeg su osnivačice Ivana Bago i Antonia Majača.

A photograph of a woman standing in a gallery space. She is wearing a dark skirt and a patterned vest over a light-colored top. The background features large windows and a white wall. The lighting is bright, creating a high-contrast scene.

highly symbolised. This is the biggest town in the Serbian part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which because of the 90s war in Bosnia acquired a particularly demonised international reputation. This is a social setting in which the precarious psychological and political process of facing up to the events of the war and its crimes is only just beginning and in which this process comes up against, on one hand, open resistance, and on the other, a wall of silence and concealment of this – to the local public certainly – ‘uncomfortable topic’. Every form of ‘artistic neutrality’ or ‘autonomy’ is thus at once faced with its own inherent consequences, that is, with its own participation in the act of denial and oblivion. On the other hand this specificity is not some diversity or *otherness*, it is a symptom of a complex process of interdependence of, primarily, the economic circumstances of the real downfall of neoliberal capitalism and hence of those progressive acquisitions of ‘civil society’ whose expectations no longer have to have a ‘binding’ character.

As we said, art is today increasingly ‘engaged’ with politics. But this being engaged in fact bears the apprehensiveness of this ‘engagement’ or *occupation*, if politics is understood as the *externality* of art, as something that is produced outside and beyond it, in relation to which artists in their engagement set up as critics or moralists or as outcasts who are attempting to get out from under its reign of terror. The exhibition *Exposures* involves an attempt to change perspectives concerning these questions and their well-nigh inextricable burdens. So as on the one hand to avoid the ‘import’ of art in order to meet the demands for the ‘internationalism’ of the exhibition and on the other hand to avoid a mere ‘review’ that would include some kind of list of ‘local’ artistic creativity, the curators of *Exposures* have gone for the most complicated of the options, for

u graničnim sferama umetnosti, političkog aktivizma, antropoloških istraživanja, i svih drugih oblika predočavanja/izloženosti ekonomskih, političkih i kulturnih okolnosti koje se ne mogu neposredno reprezentovati tek nekim vizuelnim odgovorom ili sublimatom. Tako je napušten uobičajeni 'reaktivni' princip već se re-aktuelizovala neposrednost iskustva koja dovodi u pitanje posrednost reprezentacije i odvodi umetničku praksu izvan tog polja, u nepoznata i neistražena područja iskustvene refleksije, odnosno neposredne 'izloženosti' aktera i predmeta njihovih istraživanja u polju onog jezika koji ne zna za 'umetničku distancu'. Na taj način istraživanje je lokalno a implikacije su 'izložene': aktuelizuju se i ravnopravno posmatraju različite prakse koje nadomeštavaju nedostatak ili rutinsko prisustvo savremene umetnosti u polju periferije koja u nastojanju da simulira 'umetnički život' beži od onoga što se doživljava kao teška stega lokalne nepomičnosti i besperspektivnosti.

Međutim, kako ovakav kustoski proces može biti učinjen vidljivim? Na koji način može biti 'izložen' u još uvek zamislivoj formi prezentacije u 'izložbenom' prostoru? Svakako da "bela kocka" ovde ne pomaže ali podjednako ne pomaže ni estetska 'atraktivnost' napuštenih negalerijskih prostora u kojima umetnost treba da 'skvotuje'. Šta može dakle biti prostor



1) Margareta Kern: *Gosti*, s izložbe / *Guests*, from the exhibition.

2) i 3) Stara tvornica Rudi Čajavec / Old Rudi Čajavec factory. Courtesy Bojana Baralić

what is yet to happen (or should happen?)⁴. The main accent hence is placed on the process of research that is not compliant with existing artistic institutional frameworks but that generates active co-operation with the unrealised potential of the fragile local initiatives, individual and collective (mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the immediate surrounds), that operate in marginal spheres of art, political activism, anthropological research and all other forms of the representation/exposure of economic, political and cultural circumstances that cannot be directly represented with just a visual response or sublimation. Thus the usual 'reactive' principle has been abandoned, and the immediacy of experience re-actualised, calling into question the mediated nature of representation and taking artistic practice out of this field, into unknown and unexplored areas of experiential reflection, that is, of immediate 'exposure' of actors and objects of their investigations in the field of that language that knows no 'artistic distance'. In this way the inquiry is local and its implications are 'exposed': different practices are actualised and observed in full equality, compensating for the failure or mere routine presence of contemporary art in the periphery that, in the endeavour to simulate 'artistic life', flees from what is experienced as the heavy burden of local immobility and the lack of any hope for the future.

However, how can this kind of curatorial process be made visible? In what way can it be 'exposed' in a still conceivable form of presentation in an 'exhibition' space? Certainly the "white cube" does not help here, but in just the same way, there is no help from the aesthetic 'attractiveness' of abandoned non-gallery venues in which art is supposed to start

⁴ Exposure is actually the second chapter of a two-year project entitled *Where Everything Is Yet To Happen*, of the Institute for Duration, Location and Variable (DeLVe), the joint founders of which are Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača.

umetnosti u okviru periferijske tranzicije u kojoj ne samo da dolazi do očiglednog propadanja 'namenskih prostora' nego i do perverzne transformacije njihove prvobitne namene u mnoštvo privremenih namena koji su simptomi ekonomskog i društvenog kolapsa, ne samo u okviru neposrednog lokaliteta nego i generalnije, koji su na snazi u mnoštvu lokacija tranzicijskog bankrota? Govorimo o 'izloženosti' nekog potencijalnog političkog subjekta u umetnosti koji je opterećen obeshrabrujućom 'ekonomijom stalne privremenosti'. Govorimo o lokaciji koja se svrstava u 'tranzicijsku' po svojoj predaji neumoljivoj logici kapitala čijoj 'prvobitnoj akumulaciji' već godinama prisustvujemo i kojoj je svojstven vulgarni diskontinuitet s realnim životnim iskustvom višedecenijskog socijalističkog društvenog uređenja.

U užem smislu govorimo i o lokaciji s nasleđenim poimanjem umetnosti koje u najprogresivnijem slučaju predstavlja poslednje uporište nerazvijenog i nedovršenog modernizma. Govorimo i o, ovom nasleđu pripadajućim, kulturnim institucijama koje ili rutinski nastavljaju, i do kraja petrifikuju ovu nepomičnu nedovršenost; ili koje pak ulaze u agonijski sukob s 'palankom', njenim javnim mnijenjem, medijima koji su i posledica i uzrok nerazvijene javne sfere, s čitavom građevinom 'nacionalne kulture' (predimenzioniranom koliko i trošnom), a konačno i sa samom neumoljivom logikom kapitala u čijoj prvobitnoj akumulaciji za umetnost nema mesta ukoliko ona tvrdi za sebe da je više od robe, više od dekoracije, i više od mita. Savremena umetnost kao da se u ovakvim okolnostima strukturalno ni ne uklapa: njeno postojanje može u najboljem slučaju biti 'odloženo' za neko buduće vreme dok se jednog dana i ovde ne dogodi nešto što se i dalje zove 'Zapad'. U grčevitom oslanjanju jedino na ideju o autonomiji umetnosti, i to upravo na ideju autonomije

up a 'squat'. What then can be the space of art in the framework of the peripheral transition in which not only is there an obvious deterioration of 'special-purpose premises' but also a perverse transformation of their original purpose into a mass of temporary purposes that are symptoms of economic and social collapse, not only in the framework of the immediate site, but more generally as well, in a multitude of sites of the transitional bankruptcy? We are speaking of the 'exposure' of some potential political subject in art that is burdened with a discouraging 'economy of constant temporariness'. We are speaking of the location that is classified as a space of 'transition' by virtue of its surrender to the implacable logic of capital whose 'primary accumulation' we have been witnessing for years now, one that is typified by a vulgar discontinuity with the real life experience of the several-decades-long socialist social system.

In a narrower sense we are talking about a location with an inherited concept of art that in the most progressive case represents the last stronghold of undeveloped and incomplete modernism. We are also talking of the cultural institutions pertaining to this inheritance that either routinely perpetuate or ultimate petrify this immobile incompleteness; or that get into some agonistic conflict with the 'province', with its public opinion, the media that are both the cause and the result of the lack of development of the public sphere, with the whole edifice of 'national culture' (as oversized as dilapidated) and finally with the very implacable logic of capital in whose primary accumulation there is no place for art if it says of itself it is more than commodity, more than decoration, more than myth. In such circumstances, contemporary art seems structurally not to fit anywhere; its existence can in the best case be 'deferred' to some future time until, one day,

Jelena Petrović (Grupa Spomenik / Monument Group) & Stanislav Tomić, *Istorija sadašnjosti / History of the present*, public reading.

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Photo: TJ





za koju “imanentnost društvenog u umetnosti nije imanentnost umetnosti u društvu već esencijalna društvena relacija *same* umetnosti“⁵, pokušava se održati osnovna forma egzistiranja umetnosti gotovo na ivici provalije našeg sopstvenog nepoverenja u njenu sposobnost da bude društveno relevantna.

Vrlo je važno zarad preciznosti reći da osnovni antagonizam koji uspostavlja projekat kao što je banjalučki SPAPORT jeste antagonizam u odnosu na nasleđeni umetnički sistem koji upravo pokazuje da prostor umetnosti nije demontiran već i dalje nastanjen određenim učahurenim idejama i konceptima. Pre svega umetničke škole i druge umetničke institucije perpetuiraju pozno-modernističke koncepte koji čini jedinstven sistem u kom se umetnikom postaje samo sa akademskom profesionalnom autorizacijom i verifikacijom, i što simultano izaziva otpor i povinovanje onih koji su se nužno zatekli u okviru takvog sistema. Otpor prema lokalnim umetničkim autoritetima (posebno onima koji pripadaju ‘profesorskom kadru’) postaje osnovna motivacija ali i osnovno ograničenje *postajanja* umetnošću. A situacija se pre svega manifestuje u iskrivljenom poimanju lokalnog. Naime, lokalno nije neko zajedničko polje delovanja već uveliko zaposednuto (odnosno *nenapušteno*) polje u kom vlada figura ‘lokalnog umetnika’. Lokalni umetnik je sublimiran figurom ‘lokalne veličine’, ali kao veoma razočarane, neostvarene, umorne i emotivne veličine čije razočarenje, neostvarenost, umor i emocije stoje kao nepomična, nedovršena ali *nenapuštena* strukturalna gromada. Studenta lokalne veličine otuda lokalno više i ne zanima. On zbog lokalnih autoriteta beži dalje od lokalnog za koje zna da ga vuče nazad, ka onom istom razočarenju, neostvarenosti, umoru i tugi. Život je otuda *uvek negde drugde* a fantazam o njemu

⁵ T.W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, Routledge, London, 1984, str. 330.

what is still called the 'West' happens here too. In the convulsive reliance only upon the idea of the autonomy of art, actually upon the idea of an autonomy for which "the immanence of society in art is not the immanence of art *in* society but the essential social relation of art,"⁵ there is an endeavour to retain the basic form of the existence of art almost on the brink of the abyss of our own lack of trust in its ability to be socially relevant.

It is very important for the sake of preciseness to say that the basic antagonism that is set up by a project such as the Banjaluka Spaport is an antagonism vis-à-vis the inherited art system that actually shows the space of art has not been dismantled and is still populated by certain cocooned ideas and concepts. Artistic schools and other art institutions above all perpetuate the late modernist concepts that make up a unified system in which you can become an artist only with the professional authorisation and verification of a tertiary institution, which excites the simultaneous resistance and compliance of those who happen to be in the framework of this kind of system. Resistance to local artistic authorities (especially those who belong to 'the faculty') becomes the basic motivation and yet also the basic restriction of *becoming* in art. The situation is manifested above all in the distorted conception of the local. The local is not some common field of action but a very much occupied (or unabandoned) field in which the figure of the 'local artist' reigns. The local artist is sublimated by the figure of 'local greatness', but a very disappointed, unfulfilled, weary and emotional greatness whose disappointment, lack of fulfilment, weariness and emotion stand as an immobile, incomplete but *unabandoned* structural mass. The local thus no longer interests students

⁵ T.W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, Routledge, London, 1984, p. 330.

se nalazi u slikama iz *glossy art* magazina koje uvek izgledaju bolje i pametnije od radova lokalnih autoriteta i uopšte od svega što ih u lokalu okružuje. Tako umetnost nema mesto artikulacije u lokalnom već agonijski pokušava da nastani neki nepostojeći prostor lišen antagonizama, neki prostor snoviđenja koji nema svoje uporište u realnom i u njemu se pojavljuje samo u formi halucinacije. Svako ko se nalazi unutar tog začaranog kruga simultanosti otpora i povinovanja ne može da deluje lokalno, a samim tim i nikako drugačije. Ova uslovljenost redefiniše periferiju preciznije kao *predgrađe*, mesto *stalne privremenosti*.

Izložba *Izloženosti* je možda otuda jedna specifična propozicija jer je privremeno naselila prostor koji nije napušteni 'prostor umetnosti' ali koji takođe nije ni prostor nastanjenosti ili ispunjenosti. Radi se o administrativnoj zgradi banjalučke firme "Rudi Čajavec" koja je u stečaju i gde su neke prostorije u ovoj petospratnoj građevini iz vremena "socijalističkog modernizma" date u najam manjim privatnim firmama koje se bave različitim delatnostima. Zanimljivo je da su to uglavnom delatnosti koje su karakteristično društveno neproduktivne 'tran-



Bivša tvornica Rudi Čajavec / Ex Rudi Čajavec factory, Banja Luka, 2010. Photo: Protok

of local greatness. Because of these local authorities, they pull away from the local, which they know to be pulling them back, to the same disappointment, lack of fulfilment, weariness and sadness. Life is hence *always somewhere else*, and a fantasy about it can be found in pictures from the glossy art magazines that always look better and smarter than the works of local authorities and in general anything that surrounds them in the local context. Thus art has no place of articulation in the local but agonically attempts to populate some non-existent space devoid of antagonisms, some place of dream visions that has no foothold for itself in the real and appears in it only in the shape of a hallucination. Anyone inside this vicious circle of simultaneous resistance and compliance cannot act locally, and ipso facto in any other way either. This conditioning redefines the periphery more precisely as *suburb*, a place of *constant temporariness*.

The exhibition *Exposures* is perhaps hence a specific proposition, for it has temporarily colonised a space that is not an abandoned 'space of art' but that is also not a space of inhabitation or fulfilment. This is the administration building of the Banjaluka firm "Rudi Čajavec" that went into administration, where some of the rooms in this five-floor building from the time of "socialist modernism" are leased out to small privately owned firms engaged in various activities. It is interesting that these are on the whole activities that are characteristically socially unproductive 'transitional activities' that deal exactly with individual *aesthetic* upgrading, i.e., the aestheticisation of the *distorted transitional body*: massage parlours, gyms, training and aerobics centres, and even a whole "Faculty of cosmetology and aesthetics"! This is a space whose semi-defunct life cannot be obviated or concealed so as to provide a fitting site for art; it is on the contrary an extremely

zicijske delatnosti' koje se upravo bave individualnim *estetskim* unapređivanjem, odnosno estetizacijom *narušenog tranzicionog tela*: saloni za masažu, teretane, fitnes i aerobik centri, pa čak i čitav "Fakultet kozmetologije i estetike"! Ovo je prostor čiji se poluugašeni život ne može ukloniti ili sakriti da bi se u njega smestila umetnost: to je naprotiv jedan ekstremno *nenapušteni* prostor koji se ne može transformisati u prazan okvir umetničkog izlaganja. Tako da se radi o prostoru u kom je antagonizam i *disenzus* neminovan. O prostoru u kom se izlaganje umetnosti ne može doživeti u nekim nepatvorenim okolnostima već u neposrednoj koliziji sa simptomima tranzicijskog iskustva. Radi se dakle o *stečajnom prostoru*: ne o prostoru koji ostaje nakon katastrofe i kom umetnost treba da povrati simboličku vitalnost, već upravo o prostoru u kom se katastrofa neposredno odvija, *sada i ovde*. I u takvom prostoru se ne mogu tek izložiti "radovi" jer oni stalno ulaze i izlaze iz polja vidljivosti, ne mogu se sistematizovati, ne mogu se očekivati, ne mogu se često ni pronaći. Ono što je ovde izloženo ulazi sa svom svojom fragilnošću u nezaštićenu neposrednost sveprisutnog mnoštva.

Otuda ova *izloženost* ne može biti onaj uobičajeni marginalni aspekt dominantne i hiper-razvijene kulture komercijalnog spektakla, ali ni ona koja u svojoj navodnoj kritici spektakla i komercijalizma ostaje u istim formalnim i medijskim okvirima estetizovanog polja. Ovde svakako moramo da pođemo od pojmova koji su u poslednjih deset do dvadeset godina u opticaju (*relaciona* umetnost, umetnost *participacije* ili umetnost *afirmacije*) kao strateških odrednica u okviru kojih umetnost pokušava da načini *re-invinciju* svoje politike i *postane* politična ne kroz izraz svog *bavljenja* već upravo kroz izraz *invencije*. Ovde tvrdimo, i ova izložba to nedvosmisleno pokazuje, da je danas o političkim i kritičkim

unabandoned space that cannot be transformed into an empty frame for artistic exhibition. It is thus a space in which antagonism and *dissensus* is ineluctable. A space in which the exhibition of art cannot be experienced in some unadulterated circumstances, rather in immediate collisions with the symptoms of transitional experience. This is a *space of bankruptcy*, not a space that remains after a catastrophe, to which art is supposed to return symbolic vitality, rather a space in which a catastrophe is going on before one's eyes, *here and now*. In such a space one cannot simply exhibit 'works', for they are constantly coming and going from the field of vision, they cannot be systematised, cannot be expected, cannot often even be found. What is exhibited here comes with all its fragility into the unprotected immediacy of the omnipresent multitude.

Hence this *exposure* cannot be that common marginal aspect of dominant and hyper-developed culture of commercial spectacle, or that which in its alleged critique of spectacle and commercial stays within the same formal and media frameworks of the aestheticised field. Here we certainly have to start off from concepts that have been in circulation in the last ten to twenty years, *relational art*, art of *participation*, art of *affirmation*: the strategic determinants in the frame of which art is attempting to carry out a *re-invention* of its politics and to *become* political not through the expression of its *engagement with* but rather through the expression of *invention*. Here we claim, and this exhibition unambiguously confirms it, that today it is more possible to think of political and critical potentials of art from the periphery or the suburb than from the centre, where this very critical thinking has become institutionalised and accordingly predictable to the level of being completely integrated into the system.





potencijalima umetnosti pre moguće misliti iz periferije/predgrađa nego iz centra gde je i sama ova kritička misao postala institucionalna pa samim tim i predvidljiva do stepena pune integracije u sistem.

Danas je sasvim neupitno da globalna relaciona/participacijska umetnost može naći svoje mesto na tržištu s nalepljenom etiketom s cenom. Štaviše, ova umetnost je postala i praksa usaglašena sa novim merama kulturnih politika u ekonomski razvijenim zemljama. Direktni efekti ovakve situacije, posebno na njenog "periferijskog subjekta", kao nuspojavu mogu prouzrokovati razočaranu pasivnost, formalizovanu repetitivnost kritičke lamentacije, mit o gubitništvu, a često i samonametnuti utisak inferiornosti: nekakvo boravljenje na kraju smisla umetnosti, utučenog konzervativnom retorikom koja prizivajući ovaj kraj⁶ zapravo omogućava restauraciju pred-političke, ceremonijalne, nacionalne kulture. U krajnjoj liniji radi se o nemogućnosti da se prepozna gde se zapravo nalazi 'korupcija svesti', nemogućnosti da se ona prepozna upravo u beskonačnom žalu za nečim čega nije ni bilo, žalom koji sprečava umetnost da bude *politična* naročito tamo gde ona ima očekivanu potrebu da se bavi politikama koje joj rade o glavi. Ali, s druge strane, upravo na 'periferiji' i u 'predgrađu' ovo može inicirati i veoma relevantan kritički impuls u doba kada ovakav impuls doživljava svoju univerzalnu hibernaciju.

Kako je uopšte moguće misliti *procedure* one umetnosti koja svoje *nastajanje* ne vezuje za postojeću 'korupciju svesti' i koja je svesna upravo korupcije same umetnosti, i koja kroz svoju praksu, kroz činjenicu vlastite samo-invencije i samo-definicije

6. "Treba sa suprotstaviti svima onima koji samo hoće kraj, kohortama sagorelih i parazitirajućih poslednjih ljudi. Kraj umetnosti, metafizike, reprezentacije, imitacije, transcendencije, rada, duha: dosta! Proglasimo odmah kraj svih krajeva i mogućnost početka svega što jeste, svega što je bilo i što će biti." Alain Badiou, "Manifesto of Affirmationism", www.lacan.com/frameXXIV5.htm

Today it is beyond any question that global relational/participatory art can find a place on the shelves with a price tag stuck on it. Indeed, this art has become a practice harmonised with the new measures of cultural politics in economically more developed countries. The direct effects of this kind of situation, particularly on its 'peripheral subject', as by-product, can bring about a soured passivity, a formalised repetitiveness of critical lamentation, a myth of defeat, and often of a self-imposed impression of inferiority: of some kind of dwelling at the end of the meaningfulness of art, down-hearted with the conservative rhetoric that invoking this *end*⁶ – actually enables the restoration of a pre-political, ceremonial, national culture. Ultimately it is all about the impossibility of recognising where that 'corruption of consciousness' lies, the impossibility of recognising it in the endless grief for something that actually never was, a grief that prevents art from being *political* particularly where it has an expected need to deal with the same politics that is out to get



Stara tvornica Čajevec / Old Čajevec factory, Courtesy Bojana Baralić

6. "We should oppose all those who only want the end, those cohorts of the burned-out and parasitical last men. The end of art, of metaphysics, of representation, of imitation, of transcendence, of the oeuvre, of spirit: enough! Let us declare at once the End of all the ends and the possible beginning of all that is, of all that was and will be". Alain Badiou, "Manifesto of Affirmationism", www.lacan.com/frameXXIV5.htm

(koliko autonomno toliko i heteronomno), afirmiše pitanje nelagode sopstvenog htenja? U nedostatku neuhvatljive definicije poslužimo se trima karakteristikama koje na jednom mestu taktički izdvaja teoretičar savremene umetnosti Mika Hannula kada govori o odnosu umetnosti i javne sfere, a i uopšte o političnosti umetnosti. Bez obzira gde nastaje (a sve više nastaje ne u centru ili na periferiji već u okvirima mreža *periferija*, u pluralu) ovu umetnost karakteriše to da 1) “nije primarno produkt koji teži primarno profitu“, da 2) “ne žudi za konsenzusom“ i da 3) “povezuje suprotstavljena viđenja i vrednosti i stvara situaciju intelektualne i emotivne radosti“. Kada su “i javna sfera i politika definitivno prepuni svih vrsta komunikacije i materijala, od zvukova i slogana do pokretnih slika, nameće se pitanje šta je *extra-vrednost*, šta je razlika, koju savremena umetnost može da stvori i nešto time doprinese?“ Ako ova vrednost jeste u formama participacije, onda je reč o participaciji koja nije tek prazni gest poziva da se sudeluje u umetnikovoj orkestraciji, već “participacija u produkciji značenja unutar politizovane javne sfere *na način koji nam je najbliži*“⁷. Radi se dakle o radu ‘u lokalu’, postupku koji nije samo ‘alternativan’ u smislu svoje ‘kritičnosti’ u odnosu na neku hegemoniju, već ‘alternativan’ kao materijalizacija, kao forma kojom kritički otpor postaje stvarna propozicija. Da li o tome možemo govoriti? Da, možemo.⁸

7. Mika Hannula, “The Blind Leading the Naked: The Politics of Small Gestures”, *Art, City and Politics in an Expanding World – Writings from the 9th International Istanbul Biennial*, Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı, Istanbul, 2005, str. 192-193.

8. Možeš li govoriti o tome? – Da, mogu naziv je “prvog poglavlja” projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*.

it. But on the other hand, precisely on the periphery or in the suburb this can initiate a very relevant critical impulse at a time when any such impulse is going through a universal hibernation.

How is it at all possible to think up *procedures* of the kind of art that does not connect its *becoming* with the existing 'corruption of consciousness' and that is aware of the corruption of art itself, and that through its practice, through the face of its own self-invention and self-definition (just as much autonomous as heteronomous) endorses the issue of the awkwardness of its own desire? In the absence of this elusive definition we will make use of three characteristics that have been tactically picked out by contemporary art theorist Mika Hannula, speaking of the relation of art and the public sphere, and in general of the political nature of art, irrespective of where it is created (and increasingly it does not occur either in the centre or on the periphery but in the framework of the networks of *peripheries*, in the plural). This art is characterised by its 1) not being "a primary product that aspires primarily to profit", 2)



STEALTH.unlimited, *Uzeti zajedničku stvar u svoje ruke, s izložbe / Taking Common Matters Into One's Own Hands*, exhibition view. Photo: St



“it does not long for consensus“ and 3) “it links opposed views and values and creates a situation of intellectual and emotional joy“. When “both the public sphere and politics are definitely full of all kinds of communications and materials, from sounds and slogans to moving images, the question arises as to what is the *added value*, what is the difference that contemporary art can create and accordingly make its contribution?“ If this value lies in the forms of participation, then it is about a participation that is not just the empty gesture of an invitation to take part in the artist’s orchestration, but “participation in the production of meaning within the politicised public sphere in the *way that is closest to us.*“⁷ It is about the work ‘in the local’, about a procedure that is not just ‘alternative’ in the sense of its ‘critical’ attitude to some hegemony, but ‘alternative’ as materialisation, as form in which critical resistance becomes a real proposition. Can we speak of this? Yes, we can.⁸

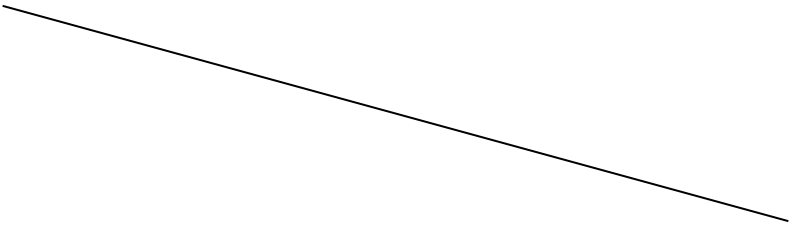
— translated to English by Graham McMaster

⁷ Mika Hannula, “The Blind Leading the Naked: The Politics of Small Gestures”, *Art, City and Politics in an Expanding World - Writings from the 9th International Istanbul Biennial*, Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı, Istanbul, 2005, pp. 192-193

⁸ “Can you speak of this? – Yes, I can” is the title of the first chapter of the project *Where Everything Is Yet To Happen*.

Photo: ST





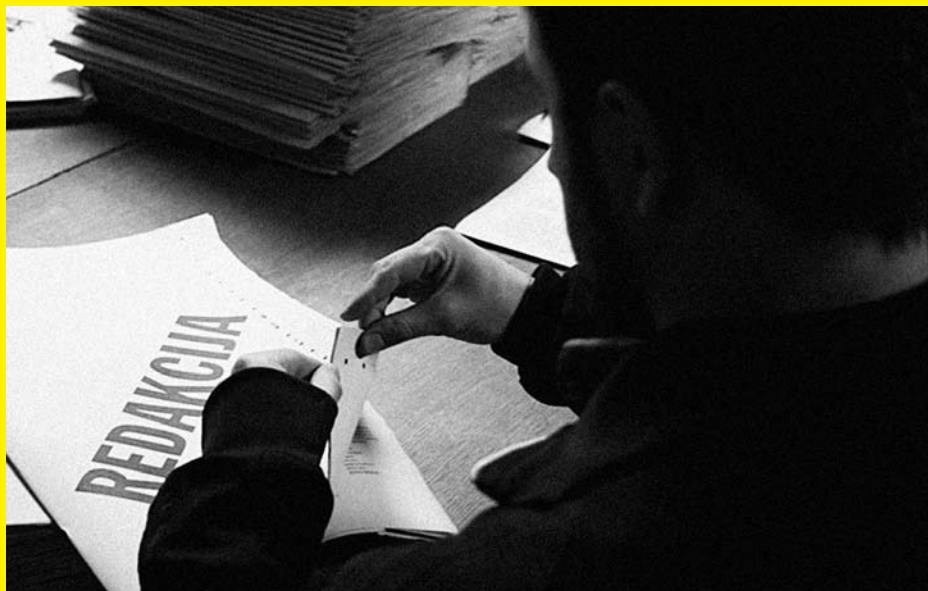


Photo: TJ

Grupa Spomenik / Monument Group
(Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović,
Branimir Stojanović & Milica Tomić)

MATEMI REASOCIJACIJE

Novine, distribuciona instalacija, serija intervencija
 2008.–2010.

Zajednička platforma Grupe Spomenik u projektu *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*, prije svega je objavljivanje novine *Matemi reasocijacije*. Produkcija novina otpočela je u okviru redakcije novina projekta "Matemi reasocijacije" na Oktobarskom Salonu u Beogradu 2008. godine. Tada je Grupa Spomenik izložbeni prostor tretirala kao mesto produkcije te na osnovu serije predavanja, radionica i diskusija nastavila sa produkcijom novina (2008.-2010.).

Novine *Matemi reasocijacije* se po prvi put pojavljuju na izložbi *Izloženosti* u formi distribucione instalacije (skulpture) dok pojedinačne intervencije/radionice članova Grupe Spomenik predstavljaju ekstenzije novina u odnosu na kontekst izlaganja.

MATHEMES OF REASSOCIATION

Newspaper, distributional installation, series of interventions
 2008–2010

The joint platform of Grupa Spomenik within the project *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen* consists primarily in publishing the newspaper *Mathems of Reassociation*. Its production began within the project of the same name, in the framework of the 2008 October Salon in Belgrade. On that occasion, Grupa Spomenik treated the exhibition space as a production site and launched its newspaper on the basis of a series of lectures, workshops, and discussions (2008–2010).

Mathems of Reassociation newspaper are presented for the first time at the *Exposures* exhibition, in the form of a distributional installation (sculpture), while individual interventions/workshops of the group's members are extensions of the newspaper, in relation to the context of the exhibition.

U oktobru 2008. godine u Beogradu na izložbi 49. Oktobarskog salona: "Umetnik-građanin/Umetnica-građanka – Kontekstualne umetničke prakse" (kustoscie Bojane Pejić) Grupa Spomenik je izlagački prostor definisala kao produkcionu i pokrenula novinsku redakciju *Matemi reasocijacije*.

Novinska redakcija je predstavila rad forenzičara/ki Međunarodne komisije za nestala lica (ICMP), kao i savremenu scenu kritičke teorije društva iz Bosne i Hercegovine u formi predavanja i diskusija. Na taj način redakcija je radila na prikupljanju materijala koji svedoči o mehanizmima produkcije diskurzivnog objekta "genocid u Srebrenici".

Analizom mehanizama administriranja genocida i ideoloških aparata ideologije pomirenja koji normalizuju i depolitizuju traumu genocida, Grupa Spomenik detektuje strategije kojima se kroz ove procese konstruiše post-ratna i post-genocidna etnička grupa. Čitav proces reasocijacije ubijenih u genocidu perpetuiru politiku terora nejednakosti i ponavlja ono što je politika terora imala kao rezultat: etničku podelu i stalnu proizvodnju konstrukta – etničke grupe.

Novinska redakcija *Matemi reasocijacije* predstavila je spisateljice, pisce i teoretičare kulture iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji kreiraju platforme demontiranja politike terora nejednakosti tako što svedoče o genocidu kroz kritiku depolitizirajućih mehanizama ideologije pomirenja i administriranja traume genocida.

Nakon završetka izložbe redakcija je nastavila sa radom pozivajući filozofe, književnice, psihoanalitičare, antropološkinje, teoretičare/ke politike i prava da svojim tekstualnim priložima odgovore na pitanje: "Kako misliti genocid?".

Dvije godine kasnije, 31. oktobra 2010. godine, u okviru izložbe *Izloženosti* kao drugog poglavlja projekta "Gde se sve tek treba dogoditi" Spaport bijenala u Banja Luci, objavljena je, predstavljena, izložena i distribuirana novina/publikacija *Matemi reasocijacije*.

During the 49th October Salon, which took place in October 2008, in Belgrade, under the title: "Artist-citizen – Contextual Art Practices" (curated by Bojana Pejić), Grupa Spomenik redefined the exhibition venue as a production site, initiating the *Mathemes of reassociation* newspaper office.

The project presented the work of the forensic team of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), as well as lectures and discussions presenting the protagonists of the contemporary critical theory scene from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The purpose of the project was to gather material that serves as testimony on the mechanisms of production of the discursive object – "the Srebrenica genocide".

Through an analysis of mechanisms of administering genocide and of ideological apparatuses shaping the ideology of reconciliation that normalize and depoliticise the trauma of genocide, Grupa Spomenik detects the strategies that these processes use to construct the post-war and post-genocide ethnic group. The entire process of reassociation of persons murdered in genocide perpetuates the politics of the terror of inequality and reasserts the results of the politics of terror: ethnic division and the constant production of the construct – ethnic group.

The newspaper office *Mathemes of reassociation* presented writers, critics and theoreticians from Bosnia-Herzegovina active in creating platforms for the deconstruction of the politics of terror of inequality, by witnessing on genocide through the critique of the depoliticising mechanisms of the ideology of reconciliation and administration of the trauma of genocide.

Following the exhibition, the office continued its work, by inviting philosophers, writers, psychoanalytic theorists, anthropologists, theorists of law and politics, to answer the question: "How to think genocide?"

Two years later, on October 31 2010, in the framework of the exhibition *Exposures*, the 2nd chapter of the *Where Everything is Yet to Happen* project, Spaport Biennial, Banja Luka, the Monument Group published, exhibited and distributed the newspaper/publication *Mathemes of Reassociation*.

· Novina je pred publikom u Banja Luci predstavljena predavanjem glavnog i odgovornog urednika novine Branimira Stojanovića.
 · Celokupni tiraž novine Matemi reasocijacije postavljen je u galerijskom prostoru u formi distributivnog objekta - participativne skulpture.

Usmene novine Matemi reasocijacije
 kao zajednička platforma Grupe Spomenik

U okviru ove platforme svaki član Grupe Spomenik (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović i Milica Tomić) po prvi put pojedinačno izlaže i interveniše, čime se produkuje mjesto i uslovi usmenih novina – ekstenzije novine u odnosu na kontekst izlaganja.

1. Damir Arsenijević – Radionica javnog čitanja i analize poezije *Vrijeme je da se upoznamo onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo*
2. Milica Tomić – Radna grupa “Četiri lica Omarske” (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic i Milica Tomić): Javni radni sastanak: *Kako misliti memorijal?*
3. Jasmina Husanović – *Protiv smrti političkog subjekta. O kulturnoj produkciji i emancipativnoj politici*, javna diskusija
4. Branimir Stojanović - Predstavljanje štampanog izdanja *Matemi reasocijacije*
5. Jelena Petrović i Stanislav Tomić - *Istorija sadašnjice*, javno čitanje i diskusija o knjizi Svetlane Đorđević *Svedočanstvo o Kosovu*.

· The public presentation of the newspaper in Banja Luka took place in the form of a lecture by the newspaper’s main editor Branimir Stojanović
 · The entire print-run of the *Mathemes of Reassociation* newspaper was presented in the exhibition venue in the form of a distributive object – a participatory sculpture.

Oral newspaper Mathemes of Reassociation
 as Grupa Spomenik’s collaborative platform

In the framework of the collaborative platform, each member of the Monument Group (Damir Arsenijević, Jasmina Husanović, Jelena Petrović, Branimir Stojanović and Milica Tomić) exhibit and intervene for the first time individually, producing the place and conditions of the oral newspaper – extensions of the newspaper, in relation to the context of the exhibition.

1. Damir Arsenijević: Workshop of public reading and analysis of poetry *It’s time that we got to know each other as we really are*
2. Milica Tomić: Workgroup “Four Faces of Omarska” (Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic and Milica Tomić): *How to think a memorial?* – public meeting of the workgroup
3. Jasmina Husanović: *Against the death of the political subject: On cultural production and emancipatory politics*, public discussion
4. Branimir Stojanović: Presentation of the printed edition of *Mathemes of Reassociation*
5. Jelena Petrović and Stanislav Tomić: *History of the Present*, public reading and discussion of the book *The Testimony on Kosovo*, by Svetlana Đorđević



KAKO MISLITI GENOCID?

Poslednje dve godine Grupa Spomenik* se bavi problemom žrtve ratova u SFRJ, posebno žrtvama genocida i pitanjem: Šta je ostalo nakon genocida u Srebrenici?

Odgovor na ovo pitanje je koliko složen toliko i jednostavan i mi ćemo u par koraka opisati dosadašnji rezultat istraživanja Grupe Spomenik koje vam nudimo kao početne korake u postavljanju okvira ovog pitanja.

Nakon genocida u Srebrenici ostao je grad Srebrenica koji je dokaz da je jedino strašnije od genocida u Srebrenici – aktualno stanje grada Srebrenice, dakle "realna Srebrenica", grad u kome u svojoj bizarnosti postoji postgenocidno društvo, društvo simbioze mrtvih i živih. Kad to kažemo, pre svega mislimo da je aktualna politika pomirenja ostavila za sobom totalnu pustoš. Tačnije, postgenocidno društvo, društvo ostvarene ideologije pomirenja, je društvo aparthejda, specifičnog srebreničkog aparthejda: aparthejda živih počinioca zločina nad živim žrtvama genocida, živih počinioca genocida nad mrtvim žrtvama genocida i živih žrtava genocida nad živim počiniocima genocida, dakle društva u kome niko nikog ne priznaje a koje ideologija pomirenja i dalje drži na okupu, nese-parirane, u istom svetu.

Međutim ko još, osim ideologije pomirenja, održava ovaj svet takvim? Nakon trinaest godina, srebrenički genocid je postao složen objekt koji konstruišu: savremena nauka, religija i administracija kriznog upravljanja genocidnom traumom. Paradoksalno, postoji koalicija savremene genetičko-forenzičke nauke, savremene administracije traume genocida i savremene religije, koalicija okupljena oko naučnih tehnika, tehnika upravljanja i religioznih rituala u postupanju sa telesnim ostacima ubijenog u genocidu.

Kroz naučne procedure i religiozni ritual konstruiše se novi identitet žrtve genocida kojim se radikalno briše istorijski događaj i politička konjunktura u kojoj je žrtva postala žrtva genocida. Naime, savremena nauka kroz proces reasocijacije telesnih ostataka žrtava genocida i administraciju postgenocidne traume žrtvu genocida kroz proces identifikacije i prebrojavanja preimenuje u "nestalu osobu". Štaviše, religiozni ritual sahranjivanja koji od savremene nauke preuzima telesni ostatak žrtve genocida nakon identifikacije, čini još jedan akt brisanja, naime, posthumno, sve žrtve genocida religioznim ritualom se islamizuju.

Savremena nauka i religija time kao da holofraziraju politiku terora koja je, da bi izvršila genocid u Srebrenici, najpre morala da konstruiše halucinantni objekt "Musliman-islamski fundamentalista", objekt nepostojeći u pregenocidnom društvu BiH. Politika terora koja je ovim aktom imenovanja konstruisala apstraktni entitet, koji je stavila van sveta i samim tim van zakona, ovim terorom apstrakcije je u relnosti pokušala da totalno uništi jugoslovenske Muslimane. Drugim rečima, savremena nauka, religija i administracija postgenocidne traume, ponavljaju i perpetuiraju drugim sredstvima politiku terora, politiku odgovornu za žrtve genocida u Srebrenici.

Otud treba objasniti: Kako su se jugoslovenski Muslimani našli na mestu nekog koga treba uništiti? Drugim rečima, ako je rezultat ratova u Jugoslaviji genocid nad jugoslovenskim muslimanima, odnosno ako i dan danas postoje strukture koje ponavljaju i perpetuiraju drugim sredstvima politiku genocida, onda treba postaviti pitanje jedinstva političke volje svih aktera rata, spoljnih

* Grupa Spomenik je umetničko-teorijska grupa koja se od 2002. godine bavi produkcijom autonomnog prostora za političku diskusiju o raspadu SFRJ i ratovima devedesetih na tlu Jugoslavije

For the past two years, Grupa Spomenik* (Monument Group) has been exploring the issue of victims of wars in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, paying special attention to the victims of genocide by posing a question: What still remains after the genocide in Srebrenica?

The answer to the above question is both simple and complex and what follows are the results reached thus far in the research by Grupa Spomenik, offered here as initial steps towards a framework for investigating the following question:

After the genocide in Srebrenica what remains is the town of Srebrenica – proof that the only thing more horrible than the genocide itself is the current state of the town, i.e. ‘the real town of Srebrenica’ in which a post-genocide society exists in all its bizarreness – a society of symbiosis between the dead and the living. When we claim this, we refer, above all, to the wasteland being created by the politics of reconciliation. More precisely, a post-genocide society, a society of the ideology of reconciliation, is a society of apartheid, a specific Srebrenica apartheid: of the living perpetrators of genocide against the living victims of genocide; of the living perpetrators of genocide against the dead victims of genocide; and the living victims of genocide against the living perpetrators of genocide. In this society, nobody is acknowledged by the other whilst all are held together in the same world by the ideology of reconciliation.

In addition to the ideology of reconciliation, who or what else, maintains this world as it is?

Thirteen years later, the genocide in Srebrenica has become a complex object constructed by science, religion, administration and management of the trauma. Paradoxically, there is a coalition of the three methods when handling the bodily remains of those executed. New identity is constructed for the victim of genocide, one which radically erases the historical and political event that is the genocide itself. By means of identification and statistics the victim of the genocide is re-named as a missing person. The religious ritual of burial commits another act of erasing – by Islamizing all the victims of genocide. Contemporary science and religion thus holophrase the politics of terror which, in order to carry out the genocide in Srebrenica, first had to construct the object of their collective hallucination, the ‘Muslim-Islamic fundamentalist’, an object non-existent in pre-genocide society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This politics of terror, a terror of abstraction over reality, attempted to destroy Yugoslav Muslims completely. In other words, contemporary science, religion and the administration of post-genocide trauma repeat and perpetuate the politics of terror by other means the very politics which was and is responsible for the victims of the genocide in Srebrenica.

Another question requiring explanation then arises: How did it come about that Yugoslav Muslims became the target instead of that which should have been destroyed? In other words, if the result of the wars in Yugoslavia is genocide against Yugoslav Muslims, and if there are still structures that repeat and perpetuate the politics of genocide by other means, then how stands now the unity of political will of all the actors in the war, both internal and external, which led to the resulting genocide. If, for a moment, we leave aside the fact that

* Grupa Spomenik is an art/theory group involved, since 2002, in the production of an autonomous space for political discussion on the dissolution of the SFRY and the wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

i unutrašnjih, koji su doveli do rezultata – genocida. Ako za trenutak stavimo u zagrade da je dominantna rasistička politika osamdesetih u Srbiji pripremila ideologiju genocida a da je vojno-tehnički genocid izvršila Vojska Republike Srbije, i dalje ostaje nerazjašnjeno kako je došlo do konsenzusa svih političkih aktera oko rezultata. Ovim hoćemo da kažemo da je istina delanja svih političkih aktera ipak upisana u rezultat njihovog delanja. Ili tačnije, možda su svi imali sasvim druge namere ali je "lukavstvo uma" svim akterima ostavilo da svoje političko delanje prepoznaju u rezultatu od koga se danas svi podjednako i na različite načine distanciraju.

Osim toga postoji nerazjašnjena veza između genocida, holokausta i emancipatorskog političkog subjekta tokom dvadesetog veka u Evropi. Kako misliti ovu vezu koja je apsolutno disjunktivna, kako misliti vezu disjunkcije između događaja: pojava emancipatorskog političkog subjekta i antidogađaja: genocida, holokausta? Postoji, i to je naša teza, kada je Evropa u pitanju, afinitet da se genocid ili holokaust organizuju kao neka vrsta teatra u kome se briše pojava emancipatorskog političkog subjekta, a da se na njegovo mesto, kroz složenu igru zamena i reprezentacije pojavljuje jedan nereprezentabilni objekt, himera – objekt genocida. Međutim, ako postoji apsolutna disjunkcija između pojave emancipatorskog političkog subjekta i genocida, šta je sa njihovom topičkom vezom, onom koju mi vidimo kada kažemo da: tamo gde je bio politički subjekt sada je genocid?

Postojala su dva emancipatorska politička subjekta u Evropi dvadesetog veka: Spartakus, revolucionarna politička organizacija (1916.–1918.) i Narodno oslobodilačka borba Jugoslovena (1941.–1943.), dva imena emancipatorskih političkih subjekta oko kojih je napravljen teatar ubijanja da bi se izbrisao učinak njihovog pojavljivanja. Drugim rečima: tamo gde je sada genocid bio je politički subjekt, odnosno – tamo gde je reakcija – genocid, bio je emancipatorski politički subjekt.

Tamo gde je bio genocid biće politički subjekt

Za razliku od holokausta koji je postao mesto transcendencije, metafizički objekt *par excellence* o kome nije moguće govoriti, misliti i sećati ga se, genocid u Srebrenici je konstruisan kao objekt nauke, čiste imanencije, koja tvrdi da je genocid, kao i svaki drugi objekt, dostupan savremenoj nauci.

Savremena nauka, skup forenzičkih doktrina, čiji je lider forenzička DNA analiza, može da prebroji i identifikuje žrtve genocida, tako što kroz proces reasocijacije telesnog ostatka ubijenog u masovnom zločinu konstruiše matem koji je opis mesta i načina ubijanja žrtve i kojim telesni ostatak nakon DNA analize, retroaktivno, dobija identitet.

Kroz proces administriranja dobijenog podatka o identitetu žrtve genocida, žrtva genocida menja status preimenovanjem i postaje "identifikovana nestala osoba". Drugim rečima, da bi postala objekt naučne konstrukcije identiteta, žrtva genocida mora da bude žrtvovana, odnosno čitav proces naučne konstrukcije identiteta briše istorijske i političke okolnosti u kojima je žrtva postala žrtva genocida.

Na ovom primeru se jasno vidi da savremena nauka kroz konstrukciju svog objekta konstitutivno briše politiku događaja, odnosno da proces prebrojavanja, identifikacije i matematizacije, briše svako sećanje.

Međutim, ova radikalna matematizacija objekta, ova konstrukcija naučnog objekta radikalno neutralnog i kvantifikovanog, proizvodi odsustvo bilo kakvog smisla konstruisanog objekta i kompenzuje anksioznim skokom u "pun smisao", tako što matematizovani telesni ostatak prosleđuje diskursu religije.

Naime, identifikovanje i prebrojavanje telesnog ostatka, nakon procesa

the dominant racist politics of the 1980s in Serbia prepared the ideology of genocide, and that the genocide was carried out technically by the army of the Republika Srpska, it still remains unclear how the consensus between all political actors – active or passive – that led to that outcome, was reached. By this, we want to say that the truth of the actions/inactions by all political actors is inscribed in the result of their actions/inaction – the genocide. Or, more precisely, despite the different intentions each may have had, the ‘tricks of the mind’ in which each may have engaged, it is left to each actor to recognize his/her individual political contribution to a result from which, equally, albeit in different ways, they all distance themselves.

Also, there exists an unexplained connection between the genocide in Srebrenica, the Holocaust, and the emancipatory political subject in the 20th century Europe. How does one think of such a disjunctive connection? Our thesis is that, in the case of Europe, there exists an affinity for the organization of genocide or holocaust as a form of theatre in which the emergence of the emancipatory political subject is erased. Installed in its place, through a complex game of replacements and representation, is a non-representable object, a chimera – the object of the genocide. However, if there exists an absolute disjuncture between an emergence of the emancipatory political subject and the genocide, what about its topical connection, the one we identify when we claim that: where there once was the political subject, now the genocide exists?

Two emancipatory subjects existed in Europe in the 20th century: Spartakus, Rosa Luxembourgh’s revolutionary political organization (1916–1918) and the People’s Liberation Army of the Yugoslavs (1941–1943), two important names of the emancipatory political subject around which, was constructed a similar theatre of killing in order for the effects of their emergence to be erased. In other words: where there was genocide, there shall be a political subject.

Where the Genocide Was, Shall the Political Subject Be

Grupa Spomenik believes that the genocide is fully speakable, but that politics and the critique of ideology are the only proper languages in which it can be spoken.

Contemporary forensic science, at the forefront of which is the forensic DNA analysis, is capable of counting and identifying the victims of genocide. By reassociating the corporeal remains of those who have been executed, it posits case numbers, which administer the following nexuses: place-identity; bone-identity; DNA-identity; skeletal quantification-identity; individual identity-identified missing person.

Beyond or beneath the realm of the personal, the process of administering the data that has been collected also affects the socio-political status of the victims of the genocide who are now renamed “identified missing persons.” Specifically, the dominant ideological framework within which the contemporary forensic science operates tends to downplay the properly political dimension that the victims of the genocide embody. The mechanisms of assigning various identities to the victims – their ideological interpellation – uncritically affirm the categories of contemporary particularist identity politics (ethnicity, religion) and thus sacrifice the victims of the genocide.

In the case of the Bosnian war atrocities, initial scientific processing of the victims’ corporeal remains is supplemented with their exclusive symbolization through the essentializing ethno-religious discourses. As the process of administering the trauma proceeds from identifying a victim’s remains to affirming their ethno-religious identity through the burying ritual, the socio-symbolic meaning lacking in the forensic analysis and enumeration of the corporeal

matematizacije telesnog ostatka ubijenog u genocidu, prema proceduri administriranja traume predaje se u ruke religijskom obredu sahranjivanja. Religija rekuperira radikalno odsustvo smisla procesa matematizacije, tako što telesni ostatak "islamizuje" i fiksira u njegovom posthumnom identitetu koji je naknadno prišiven ubijenom.

Drugim rečima, naučni proces i religijski diskurs produkuju identitet ubijenih na isti način na koji je to učinila i politika terora, koja je, da bi napravila genocid, pre svega izumela-konstruisala nepostojeći homogeni objekat, "islamizovani musliman-terorista", time ga kriminalizovala i stavila van zakona, a onda ga nakon toga i fizički uništila. Ovim je krug zatvoren pošto u svom postupku, savremena nauka i religija identifikuju svoj objekt holofrazirajući proceduru politike terora. Nakon Srebrenice nije ostao muk, naprotiv u ime njega govori nema koalicija nauke i religije; nauke koja konstruiše identitet i religije koja joj daje dostojanstvo-smisao, po cenu da drugim sredstvima ponovi proceduru politike terora.

Međutim, kroz čitav proces reasocijacije pojavljuje se jedan neprijatan višak: telesni ostatak koji je nemoguće identifikovati i koji savremena nauka ne može da identifikuje, drugim rečima – ostaju kosti bez identiteta, dakle nešto što nema identitet: niti je taj identitet moguće konstruisati, niti ga je moguće prebrojati, niti je dostojan religioznog rituala sahranjivanja.

Ovaj neprijatan ostatak otvara prostor politike, jednog tipa subjektivacije koji se ne temelji na identitetu i prebrojavanju i koji otvara proces sećanja, politike sećanja koja produkuje politiku neidentiteta i neprebrojavanja. Neidentifikovani telesni ostatak je korelativan jednoj političkoj subjektivaciji kojoj ne znamo ime ali na kojoj je da prekine "paralelnu konvergenciju" savremene konstrukcije identiteta i politike terora. Politika sećanja je politika koji podrazumeva politički subjekt u aktualnosti jer prema osnovnoj radnoj hipotezi Grupe spomenik: nema sećanja bez politike.

— Iz novina *Matemi reasocijacije*

remains is recuperated in the politically reductivist act of their posthumous "islamicization." The victims' identities are thereby homogenized, fixated, and, ultimately, deprived of agency; the thoroughly ruptured social fabric is sutured solely according to the essentializing, distributive, and divisive principles of identity politics.

In the final analysis, the logic which the scientific and ethno-religious discourses follow when they posthumously construct the identities of those who have been executed in Srebrenica, complements the logic applied by the politics of terror which, in order to commit genocide, first had to invent the non-existent, homogenized object of threat/hatred: the "militant Muslim fundamentalist". This ethno-religiously defined antagonist was thus criminalized and outlawed, in order to then be also physically destroyed. In the post-war context, contemporary scientific and religious institutions tend to holophrase the politics of terror – retroactively, sometimes explicitly and at other times implicitly, they give legitimacy to the ideological construct that are the "eternal and insurmountable" ethnic differences between peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and the former Yugoslavia at large).

Grupa Spomenik believes that the genocide is fully speakable, but that politics and the critique of ideology are the only proper languages in which it can be spoken. One has to begin in the ditch, so to speak, in an open grave, in the holes of the torn social fabric which scream for a radical political confrontation with the status quo maintained by the process of re-association. We intervene in the process of administering genocide by naming the identification case number of the 'missing person' as a *matheme* which disrupts the holophrasing of the science and the politics of terror thus keeping the constitutive gap of politics open. For throughout the entire process of forensic analysis, quantification, and identification, an unpleasant surplus remains: the corporeal surplus that cannot be identified, quantified, buried, or sacralized – the surplus of debased matter, of scattered, excess bones! This unpleasant, radically inassimilable, material remainder opens up the real space of politics. It offers itself as, literally, the ground for a process of subjectivization that would not be identity-bound, and that would demand a different sort of memory-politics. We do not know the proper name of this political subjectivization tied to the non-identifiable corporeal remainder, but we do know that its mandate is to interrupt the 'parallel convergence' of the contemporary constructions of identity and the politics of terror.

Grupa Spomenik is centered on a simple hypothesis: no remembrance without the political subject. Such is the first step towards a truly political construction correlative to the "unidentified remainder of the genocide".

— From the *Mathemes of Reassociation* newspaper



Photo: TJ

Damir Arsenijević
(Grupa Spomenik / Monument Group)

VRIJEME JE DA SE UPOZNAMO
ONAKVI KAKVI STVARNO
JESMO

Poetska seansa

21.10. 2010

14.00–14.45: otvaranje site-a produkcije i čitanje i diskusija sa Feridom Duraković

15.00–15.45: čitanje i diskusija sa Adisom Bašić

22. 10. 2010

15.00–17.00: čitanje pjesama Damira Avdića Graha, Marka Vešovića i Šejle Šehabović; diskusija

17.00: Čitanje i diskusija sa Tanjom Stupar

18.00: Završetak javnog čitanja i site-a produkcije

Produkcijski tim: Damir Arsenijević, Velid Beganović, Azra Čaušević i Elvis Kušljugić

IT'S TIME WE GOT TO KNOW
EACH OTHER AS WE REALLY
ARE

Poetic session

21st October 2010

2:00–2:45 p.m. Inauguration of the production site and discussion with Ferida Duraković

3:00–3:45 p.m. Reading and discussion with Adisa Bašić

22nd October 2010

3:00–5:00 p.m. Reading of poems by Damir Avdić Graha, Marko Vešović, and Šejla Šehabović; Discussion

5:00 p.m. Reading and discussion with Tanja Stupar

6:00 p.m. Close of the public reading and production site

Production team: Damir Arsenijević, Velid Beganović, Azra Čaušević, and Elvis Kušljugić

U naslovu stoji poziv određenom subjektu kolektivnog na odluku da se upozna sa samim sobom, odluku za uspostavljanje jedne nove subjektivnosti koja je u rascjepu sa svim do tada izvjesnim identitarnim pozicijama. Kroz rad na unaprijed zadatom korpusu savremene bosanskohercegovačke poezije koji ispituje prošlost i zajedništvo, grupa od 15 učesnika u formi čitajuće grupe poezije, radi pojedinačno, grupno i u zajedničkim čitanjima sa pjesnikinjama na analizi odabranih pjesama. Analiza pjesama obuhvata tekstualnu analizu i interpretaciju u kojoj se propituje pozicija lirskog subjekta, način na koji ovaj subjekt govori, sadržaj izgovorenog, i motivaciju ovakvog govora lirskog subjekta. Analiza također uključuje i propitivanje sopstvene motivacije članova grupe za rad na poeziji. U zajedničkom čitanju sa pojedinačnom pjesnikinjom, postavljenom u sholastički *setting*, grupa istražuje motivaciju pjesnikinje i postavlja je u odnos spram sopstvene identifikacije sa lirskim subjektom i sopstvene motivacije rada na poeziji. U procesu se formira arhiva bilješki, transkripta grupnih analiza, zajedničkih čitanja. Metoda rada preklop je poezije i znanja, svojevrsna "poetika znanja" (Rancière) koja "pjesmom protiv pjesme" prekida svu "legitimnu podjelu diskursa", pri čemu književnost, kao "zajednička snaga govorećeg bića", oslobađa od "patosa nemogućeg" i insistira na "umjetnosti nemogućeg" – politici koja uspostavlja novu subjektivnost i "zaboravljenu budućnost". Konačna forma ovoga rada je recital kao svjedočenje, ponavljanje - u svim javnim oblicima i na svim javnim mjestima na način na koji grupa odluči.

— da

The title invites the collective as a particular subject to make the decision to 'get to know itself, a decision to establish a new subjectivity – one that shapes itself through discontinuity with all previously legitimated indetitarian positions. By working with a pre-defined selection of contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian poetry, chosen to question the past and commonality, a group of 15 participants forms a poetry reading group to analyze the selected poems – individually, in groups, and in collaboration with the poets who have authored the work. This process includes textual analysis and interpretation, through which the participants investigate the position of the speaker of the poem, the manner in which this speaker speaks, the content of what is spoken, and the motivation of that speech. It also implies that participants' own motivation to work with poetry is called into question. By reading the poems together with the individual poets, in a scholastic setting, the group investigates the poet's motivation and juxtaposes it with their own identification with the speaker of the poem and individual motivations for working on poetry. This process results in an archive of notes, transcripts of group analyses, and collective readings. The working methodology combines poetry and knowledge, resulting in a sort of "poetics of knowledge" (Rancière) using the "poem against poem" approach, in order to disrupt all "legitimate divisions of discourse". Literature, as a "joint power of the speaking being", here becomes a mode of liberation from the "pathos of the impossible" by insisting on the "art of the impossible" – a politics that establishes a new subjectivity and a "forgotten future". The final form of this work is s recital as a testimony and repetition – in all public forms and in all public spaces, all of which will be decided by the group.

— da

PROTOKOL ZA ČITANJE I DISKUSIJU POEZIJE

‘Vrijeme je da se upoznamo onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo’

Ovo je naslov čitajuće grupe u kojem stoji poziv svakom od nas da zajedno 21. i 22. oktobra diskutujemo 2 osnovne teme: prošlost i zajedništvo. U ovako postavljenoj diskusiji o prošlosti i zajedništvu kroz poeziju mislimo o budućnosti koju želimo—o zaboravljenoj budućnosti o kojoj nam je zabranjeno da mislimo o trenutnom političkom okviru koji se postavlja kao jedini mogući.

Zašto poezija?

Upravo zbog toga što se smatra najmanje političnom, najmanje ‘uprljanom’ svakodnevnim—a ustvari najviše govori o boli koja traje zbog laži: o tome kako smo svi zajedno ubijeđeni da ne pravimo ni istoriju a ni budućnost, o tome kako smo robovi sadašnjosti i kako živimo u svojim odvojenim životima koji se nikada ne susreću sa drugima. Pjesme u ovoj kajdanci insistiraju da o ovoj boli pričamo ali u ime nade. Ove pjesme prokazuju i dokidaju laž i pozivaju nas da uspostavimo jedan novi način postojanja i djelovanja, pojedinačno i kolektivno, u ime zaboravljene budućnosti koja nije teror nejednakosti već politika jednakosti za sve.

Kako čitamo skupa?

- Svi slobodno asociramo o pročitanim pjesmama. To znači da govorimo ono što nam padne na pamet sa što manje cenzure sebe samih kad čujemo ili stihove pjesme ili što god drugi kažu u analizi i diskusiji pjesama. Govorimo istinu.
- U diskusiji sa pjesnikinjama istražujemo njihovu motivaciju za pisanje pjesme.
- U analizi pjesama pitamo se: Šta vidimo? Šta mislimo o tome? Ko govori i kako? Zašto baš na taj način?
- Šta da radimo sa ovom pjesmom?

Pjesma svjedoči da je književnost “zajednička snaga govorećeg bića” i oslobađa nas od emocije nemogućeg.

Ferida Duraković

A ČIJA SAM JA? LJUBAVNA ILI DRŽAVNA?

Moja mama je dugo godina pričala,
ne četrdeset koliko je provela
sa mnom, nego i
pedeset i šest koliko je bila s tatom, pa tata
odustao – uh, hoću reći, nije tata odustao
tek onako nego je umro, napokon – uh,
to jest nije napokon umro nego ga je
napokon strefilo da umre, jer jako se
trudio u tom smislu – uh, ma ne napokon
nego iznenada, a napokon jer je stalno govorio:
ma napokon, živio ovako ili onako, svakom dojde
smrtna vura, i tata je baš pretjerao
jer je smrtnu vuru dozivao životom svojim

ihih, a eto meni nikako ne polazi za rukom da mi
u glavu dođu izrazi za moga tatu i moju mamu;
kakvi su bili
kad su bili, jer ja znam ja sam ih gledala
kakvi su bili kad su bili ooo Bogo moj
kakvi su bili kad su bili, i znam
kako je nama bilo kad smo bili kad su oni bili – uh,
evo se petljam u kućine zbunjenih riječi, i ne
znam kako izaći odavde a ne povrijediti
ranu gdje spavaju
tata i mama,
dva cvijeta u bostanu rasla...

Nego, bi li mi neko, onako, pomogao
književno da se nekako izrazim, da
neku ljubavnu pjesmu o njima,
kao za nekakvo takmičenje sastavim, eto....
al' da mi ne barne ko slučajno, kao ni u oko,
u tu čistu vodu njihovu koju pijem,
u sjećanje na tu vodu bistru ljubavi njihove,
na one godine u onoj državi, kad je
mene bilo malo a svega
drugoga mnogo, kad su mama i tata
bili tu, i bili moji, i gledali se onako
ljubavno i udarnički
ispod srpa i čekića

zatim samo
ispod srpa

a onda samo
ispod čekića

što u mojim udara sljepoočnicama

teško i samrtno, kao snajper u Sarajevu 1993.

Sarajevo, februar 2009. godine

Adisa Bašić

OČEVI

Emiru

Otišli su...

Nisu stigli da se pokunje
kad razgoropađeni komšija
psuje zbog međe.
Niti da pijani pričaju gluposti
zbog kojih bi nas dugo poslije bilo stid.

Nisu stigli hiljadu i jedan put
zakasniti na roditeljski.
Ili propustiti porodično slavlje.
Zabraniti bicikl.
U bijesu izrezati peraja.
Kupiti dugotrajne umjesto lijepih cipela.

Otišli su tren prije nego je
majčina gornja usna pukla
u susretu sa rubom stepenika.

Naši očevi su bezgrešni.
Ukrasni kukci razapeti
u vitrinama od stakla.
I na nas, evo,
budno motre
svojim mrtvim mrežastim očima.

Damir Avdić - Graha

BRATSTVO I JEDINSTVO

Bratstvo – jedinstvo je završilo na dva flora,
u masovnim grobnicama i koncentracionim logorima
Na kojem od ta dva flora želiš da ti sviram?
Pičko jedna nostalgična!
Jebo ti Jugoslavija majku!
Jebo ti balkan beat majku!
Jebo ti regija majku!
Jebo ti Tito i oca i majku!
Bratstvo jedinstvo je završilo na dva flora,
pred streljačkim vodovima i masovnim koljačima!
Na kojem od ta dva flora ti igraš?
Pičko jedna nostalgična!
Jebo ti Bijelo dugme majku!
Jebo ti Lepa Brena majku!
Jebo ti Džoni Štulić majku!
Jebo ti Paket aranžman majku!
Jebo ti komunizam i svastiku i majku!
a-ha a-ha
Bratstvo jedinstvo je završilo!
Vrijeme je da se upoznamo
onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo

Napomena uz pjesmu:

Damire, nemam ti sta
reci o pjesmi, tamo
stoji sve sto sam htio
da kazem. To je
pruzena ruka da se
upoznamo onakvi
kakvi stvarno jesmo,
bez mitova i legendi o
vremenu "kad je bilo
bolje". Ako zelimo
saznati kako je
stvarno bilo moramo
se vratiti nazad ali ne
kroz pjesmice i
filmove, vec kroz
grobnice i logore jer je
tu zavrсило to "bolje
vrijeme" i samo od tu
moze poceti sjecanje
na njega. Sjecati ga se
kroz horsko pjevanje i
"i tata bi sine", znaci
drzati sebe, svoj um,
svoju svijest, u
grobnicama i logorima,
a nove generacije u
zabludi koja ce biti
njihov logor.

Šejla Šehabović

Srebrenica, Potočari, 9.2.2004

Ispod marama virile su im kose.
Jedna se zagrnula sa dvije marame;
drugu je držala preko ramena. Boje se
nisu slagale
Mirisala je na sapun
Šal je padao preko svilene bluze u
zlačanim odsjajima
Ruke je, držeći ga, preklopila na
stomaku.
Jedna je imala ruž.
Doveli smo grupu holandskih tinejdžera
Na dva jezika prevodili
Jeste dobro putovali?
rekle su nam
Kako ste?
pitale su,
na ulazu u groblje
Lijepa su vam djeca!
Zagledale su, svako
Kasnije su rekle:
Dođite!
Zaplakale, jedna za drugom;
redom pokazale albume sa fotografijama
mrtvih

Stali smo ukrug, kao na ugaonoj sećiji što
se sjedi
One u sredinu
s rukama na stomaku
Domaćinski.
Nudile su
da nas vode
Kod Hrasta
(Tamo staneš i vidiš sve gdje su doveli
narod na klanje!)
I u fabriku akumulatora
gdje su vezani probdjeli tri dana.
Sinove su odveli kasnije, gladne.
Nudile su
da pokažu
kako su umproforci četnicima davali
uniforme
kao jelom i pićem što se nudi, namjernika.
Jednu po jednu sam zagrlila na odlasku.
Tako se tetke grle
kad goste ispraćaju
Na vratima
Kućnim.

Napomena uz pjesmu:

9.5.2004., na moju gorku nesreću, zapalo me da vodim grupu holandskih tinejdžera u Potočare. Kamo sam i sama otišla prvi put. Kad sam išla u treći ili četvrti razred osnovne škole, ne sjećam se tačno, odveli su me u Jasenovac. Kojeja ja danas ne mogu da se sjetim, ničeg se ne sjećam, ljudi, ničega, kao da tamo nikad nisam bila. Jasenovac je za mene, i umjesto mene, neko već doživio na školskom času, u Jami Ivana Gorana Kovačića, u kazivanju nastavnika – od te, stvarne, posjete, u mom dječijem mozgu nije ostalo ništa, čak ni spomenici iz Jasenovca, monumentalne betonske skulpture koje sam poslije sretala po knjigama, ništa od toga meni nije govorilo da sam se ikad, u rođenom tijelu, ukazala na tom mjestu. Moglo bi se to pripisati djetinjstvu, ta činjenica da se iz Jasenovca sjećam samo i jedino sebe, svojih cipela, tačnije, u koje sam, tokom višesatne posjete stratištu, neprekidno zurila, u koje sam, pognute glave gledala čak i dok su nam prikazivali crno-bijeli film sa osušenim kosturima žrtava. Moglo bi se pripisati djetinjstvu, da mi se nije desilo ponovo. A desilo mi se, na seminaru u Poljskoj na kojem su nas vodili u Aušvic, u muzeju Holokhausta u Budimpešti, svugdje i uvijek, na svakom stratištu svijeta, ja zurim u svoje cipele i pitam se zašto su me doveli ovdje, ja ovo sve znam, sve mi je jasno, došli su jedni, ubili druge, zatim su krili, zatim su lagali, a zatim to nikom više nije bilo važno, jer su neki drugi, a možda baš oni prvi, ponovo ustali, pobili druge, prve, sve. Prvi i jedini put, te 2004., u Potočarima, ja nisam zurila u svoje cipele, mada opet, ponovo i uvijek, sve znam, nisam, jer nisam mogla. Naime, u Potočare mene niko nije doveo, nego su mi dali da vodim druge. Kojima, kao ni naša nastavnica u Jasenovcu nama, nisam imala šta da kažem. I sad ta djeca, koju sam, iz obaveze na koju me prisilio njihov neki program, dovela na jedno užasno mjesto, gledaju u mene. I žene, što sam ih u pjesmi opisala, one što nikog svog više nemaju, one koje toliko volimo zvati žrtvama, kao da smo ih već zakopali i ožalili, iako su one itekako žive i među nama, i one gledaju u mene. Ja prevodim, tako, stojeći između te djece koja, jadna plaču, jer valjda nisu nikad vidjela ni Jasenovac ni Aušvic, spotaknem se na iskrivljenu kašiku i vojnu čuturu, na neku cokulu što je ostala u fabrici akumulatora, sve je još bilo prljavo, svi tragovi na broju, i onda udemo na to bijelo groblje, prevodim, a ni sama ne znam šta prevodim, između te uplakane djece i tih žena koje nas dočekuju na ulazu u groblje. Eto, takve su one bile, i tako su govorile, kao da groblje to je njihova kuća, a mi da smo njihovi gosti što ih pohode. A to u mene što gledaju, to znači da sam ja kriva što je njihova kuća groblje, ja sam ih tamo smjestila, kao da su eksponati u muzeju, a ne moja vlastita nesreća. I vi koji ovo čitate, znajte, niko od nas više nema pravo da bude dijete koje su doveli na ugaslo stratište. Užasno je to što moramo podići glavu sa blatnjavih cipela u koje nas je neko drugi stavio i gledati u oči svaki dan i onima što su samo došli u posjetu i onima koji u grobu žive. Moje je da taj užas prevodim, red po red, svaki dan svog života. U tome neću naći ni sreću ni olakšanje. Jebem ja mater onima koji su na groblje došli po sreću i olakšanje. Nek sagnu glavu i nek gledaju u svoje cipele. Ja ću svakog u oči.

Marko Vešović

TRI CIGARE

U smiraj, iziđoh vani da se crnim na bijelome.
Sunce je novčić koji se stavlja
na kapke pokojnika. Svuda božija šutnja
od tenkovskoga oklopa neprobojnija.
Život je strašan kao jeka koraka
što muslimanima, noću, u srpskim logorima
najavljuje dolazak batinaša.

Stresoh se, ko da me smrt preskočila,
kako smo, u djetinjstvu, vjerovali.

Zapalih jednu da mi, za dimom duvanskim,
oči na koji tren odlutaju iz ovog logora.
Sjetih se sna sinočnjeg: u rukama mi konac,
privezan za glog, nikao iz groba mog oca
u sandžačkome neviđbogu. Konac po kom se
može iz pakla izići.

Zapalih još jednu. Da mi po dimu duša
odlebdí do utvara iz gluve i sijede davnine.
Koje joj šapću: jedan korak iz neviđenše
u nedođenšu – to ti je sav tvoj život.
A svijet je grozan kao grohotni smijeh
oslijepljenih iz Jame Goranove.

Zapalih i posljednju. Da mi, na tren, zaliči
na zvijezdu, među srednjim i kažiprstom.
Zvijezdu večernjaču. I da kroz plavičast velić
sagledam, što jasnije, Karadžićevu vasseljenu
u kojoj Logor je – Logos

Napomena uz pjesmu:

Ne bih, razumije se, tumačio ni jednu svoju pjesmu, pa ni ovu. Pol Valeri je govorio: "Ko sam ja da tumačim svoje pjesme?" Što može, sprva, da zazvuči kao prenemaganje, jer Valeri je imao snažniju i utančaniju svijest o vlastitom poslu nego li i jedan veliki pjesnik 20. vijeka. Ali to uopšte nije prenemaganje: pjesnik je dužan da učini sve što može za svoju pjesmu, ali kad je gotova, njegovo tumačenje njenog teksta vrijedi koliko bilo koje drugo. No ako je ne mogu tumačiti, mogu kazati kako je nastala.

Ništa u ovoj pjesmi nije izmišljeno. Ni grob mog oca iz kojeg bješe, kad smo mu prenosili kosti, iznikao veliki glog. (Moj otac je ubijen kao informbirovac 1949. godine, a vlast nam je 1985. godine dozvolila da ga prenesemo).

Imao sam tri cigarete, ja koji u mirnodopskim uslovima pušim tri kutije dnevno, i izašao sam, u pauzi, dok Srbi hlade topovske cijevi, kako smo za vrijeme opsade govorili, da se nadišem zraka. Često sam to radio, ali samo jednom je iz tog stajanja napolju ispala pjesma. Ne bi, vjerovatno, ni tada da mi nije, dok sam mislio o svemu i svačemu, kresnula u glavi rečenica: u Karadžićevu svijetu logor je logos. To je pravi početak pjesme koja je, dakle, napisana unatraske, od poente ka prvom stihu. To jest, cijela pjesma je napravljena kao okvir koji će tom stihu omogućiti da zrači.

Nije nastala odmah već koju godinu poslije rata. Ušao sam u kuću i napravio zabilješku o tom trenutku. Zapisao sam nekoliko stvari koje su mi prolazile kroz glavu dok sam stajao na snijegu. Znao sam da od tog materijala mogu napraviti pjesmu, ako preživim opsadu, znao čak da je moram napraviti, jer je taj trenutak plaćen skupo: zamislio sam se i gotovo u neznanju ispušio svu zalihu cigareta koju sam imao za taj dan. Inače, u ratu nisam mogao pisati pjesme. Što je temeljito nadoknađeno iza rata: napisao sam sedam obilatih knjiga.

Nevidenša i nedodača: prvo je ime za ovaj svijet, a druga za onaj svijet.

Mogu objasniti i otkud zvijezda večernjača među mojim prstima. Moj stric Luka bio je takođe strastan pušač. Umro je od raka na grlu, što i mene čeka. Kad bi, u mom djetinjstvu, došao iz Berana da obide siročad svog brata Velimira, pušio je i noću. Danas shvatam da je pušio i od sjekiracije, jer smo živjeli u groznoj bijedi, a on nam nije mogao mnogo pomoći. Majka mu namjesti slamaricu kraj šporeta, i tu bi Luka po svunoć pušio. Ako me probudi kakav grozan san, u potpunom mraku bih ugledao Lukinu cigaretu, nalik na zvijezdu koja je istodobno i tu, u kući, i negdje na nebesima. Potom bih se spokojno okrenuo na bok i brzo zaspao, jer sam znao: Lukina zvijezda bdije nad nama.

"Logos: u tekstovima od Homera pa do kršćanskog jevanđenja termin je imao ovakva značenja: riječ, govor, gramatički iskaz, svojstvo, istina, slava, red, volja, razum, ljudski pojam, um, učenje, istinito učenje, zakon (mjera), postupak, dokaz, matematski aksiom, božji um, klica postajanja i božja riječ (posrednik)"
Iz filozofskog rječnika.

Ja sam ponajprije mislio na početak Jovanovog jevanđelja: У почетку беше логос, и логос беше у Бога, и логос беше Бог... И логос постаде тело и настани се међу нама... Što je u jevanđelju Bog, i Hristos kao njegovo utjelovljenje, to je u Dabića Logor.



Damir Arsenijević (Grupa Spomenik /
The Monument Group): Vrijeme je da se
upoznamo onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo, sa
sesije čitanja poezije / It's Time We Got
to Know Each Other As We Really Are, from
the poetry reading session.

Photo: TJ





Humanizam – da, ali iz masovne grobnice

Moram da počnem sa ivice rova, sa samog ulaza u masovnu grobnicu, ako želim da svedočim o bilo čemu nalik ljudskom. Da bih govorio o ljudskom, moram se suprotstaviti njegovom graničnom iskustvu i pukotinama koje to granično iskustvo ostavlja u životima ljudi i krajolik. Da bih govorio i svedočio o bilo kakvoj vrsti humanizma, koja još uvek veruje u mogućnost pravedne budućnosti, moram da govorim i svedočim o genocidu.

Svestan sam, poput svakog pripovedača nakon Waltera Benjamina ¹, da smrt sankcioniše moju priču, ali u ovom slučaju, ta sankcija nije dovoljna. Ja želim da evociram i onaj neprijatni telesni ostatak koji, nakon genocida, zaostane u nama, koji se opire svim ideološkim mehanizmima pobrojavanja, identifikovanja, pokopavanja i sakralizacije – ostatke rasutih kostiju, mrtve-no-žive organske materije, čiji se miris postepeno povećava u tankim naslagama dok ne dosegne naša nepca. Taj ostatak je po sebi bezizrazan, ali ja uprkos tome želim da ga evociram i da o njemu svedočim.

A ako, da bih ispričao priču, pozajmljujem autoritet od smrti, želim da pozajmim autoritet i od života koji ostaje nakon genocida, jer je i taj život jedan bezizrazni ostatak – onaj koji se ne može integrisati u zajednicu, ali koji se suočava sa zahtevima zajednice za zatvaranjem kruga, što dosipa so na ranu banalnim nasiljem nad tim "ostatkom života" koji je ostao.

Život nakon genocida je, dakle, na fotografiji: žena drži uramljenu sliku. Na uramljenoj slici nalaze se tri figure: pomenuta žena, mlađi muškarac u uniformi i mlada devojka. Mlađi muškarac u uniformi je ubijeni muž žene koja drži sliku. Na toj slici – njenoj najdražoj njegovoj slici – on nosi uniformu Jugoslovenske narodne armije, one iste armije koja ga je odvela, ubila i zakopala u skrivenu masovnu grobnicu. Tinejdžerka koja stoji pored svog oca na slici je njihova kćerka, koja je imala samo godinu ili dve kad je on pobjegao u šumu, a ona i njena majka proterane iz Srebrenice od strane iste vojske koja je krenula za njim u šumu. Ova njegova slika, digitalno umetnuta u relativno skoriju sliku majke i kćerke, je način na koji ga se ova žena i mlada devojka sećaju – kao muža i oca – dok čekaju da ga pronađu, iskopaju, sastave, identifikuju i potom sahrane. Ovog puta njih dve da to učine, kako treba. Tek tada će ova porodica, kao porodica, biti ponovo fizički prisutna, kada se ove dve žene ponovo spoje sa kostima muškarca.

Žena, mlađi muškarac i tinejdžerka sa ove slike čine jednu frankenštajnsku porodicu – porodicu koja ne postoji, koja nikad nije postojala niti će – zakrpljenu u činu žalosti. Na ovom kolažu nepodudarnih elemenata, idealizovanom idiličnim okruženjem na pozadini slike, figure su digitalno iskombinovane kao neskladni delovi Frankenštajnovog čudovišta. To je rezultat želje ove žene – želje majke i supruge – da okupi i nanovo stvori porodicu, koje odavno nema, i čoveka, kog odavno nema. Ta fotografija je jedini spomen koji ona ima na njega i porodicu. Ta fotografija i ono preko čega se mlada devojka seća svog oca – preko toga i majčinih priča.

* Preuzeto iz *Towards a New Literary Humanism* ed. Andy Mousley, Palgrave Macmillan 2011, pp. 166-80

¹ Videti Benjaminov 'The Storyteller' u (Benjamin 1999).

Humanism—yes, but from a mass grave

I have to begin at the edge of a ditch, at the opening of the mass grave, if I want to bear witness to anything resembling a human. To speak of the human, I have to confront its limit-experience and the gaps such limit-experience leaves in the lives of people and in the landscape. To speak of, to bear witness to any kind of humanism that still invests in the possibility of a just future, I have to speak of, to bear witness to, genocide.

I am aware, just like any storyteller after Walter Benjamin¹, that death sanctions my story, but, in this case, such sanctioning is not enough. I also want to evoke the unpleasant corporeal remainder that, after genocide, stays with you, one which resists all the ideological mechanisms of quantification, identification, burial, and sacralising – the excess of scattered bones, the dead-but-alive organic matter, whose smell builds up like a thin residue and clings at the rooftop of your mouth. This remainder itself is expressionless and yet I want to evoke it and bear witness to it.

And if, to tell a story, I borrow authority from death, I also want to borrow authority from the life that is left after genocide, because such life is also an expressionless remainder – that which cannot be integrated in society, but is confronted by the demands of society for closure, which further prolongs injury through the mundane violence against this left-over life.

Life after genocide is thus: in a photo, a woman is holding a framed picture. In the framed picture there are three figures: the woman herself, a young man in uniform, and a young girl. The young man in uniform is the missing husband of the woman who holds the picture. The image of him – her most beloved image of him – is one of him wearing the JNA uniform, the uniform of the Yugoslav People's Army, the same army which took him away, killed him and buried him in a clandestine mass grave. The teenage girl, standing next to her father in the picture is their daughter, who was just one or two years old when he fled to the woods and she and her mother were expelled from the Srebrenica region by that same army who then went after him in the woods. This image of him, digitally inserted into the relatively recent image of mother and teenage daughter, is how the woman and the young girl remember him – the husband and the father – as they wait for him to be located, excavated, re-associated, identified, and then buried. This time properly buried by these two women. And this is when the family, as a family, will be physically present once again, when these two women are re-united with the bones of the man.

The woman, the young man, and the teenage girl in this picture are a Frankenstein family – the family that never was, never could be like this and never will be – patched together in the work of mourning. In this collage of disparate elements, idealised in the idyllic surroundings provided by the background setting, the figures are digitally combined, like the disparate parts of Frankenstein's monster. It is the result of the woman's desire – the desire of a mother and of a wife – to assemble and re-create the long-gone family and the long-gone man. The picture is the only monument the woman has, both to him and to the family. The picture is an image through which the teenage girl can remember her father – that and her mother's stories.

* In *Towards a New Literary Humanism* ed. Andy Mousley, Palgrave Macmillan 2011, pp. 166-80

¹ See Benjamin's 'The Storyteller' u (Benjamin 1999).

Svjedok 2

Kamione s leševima što su prošli kroz jutro u
maglu nisam vidio
zatvorio sam čvrsto oči čulo se samo brujanje
motora i sitna kiša
ništa nisam vidio
nisam tovario slab sam
tovario je onaj ljudi iz sela ja sam išao u šetnju
dalje iza kuća iza
puckale su grančice pod vojničkim čizmama
nisam vidio ništa
ne znam ko su
nisu dozivali nisu govorili
puckale su grančice pod nogama nisam čuo
ništa ja ne znam doktor je napisao da imam
psihičkih problema
otkud znam pod ceradama čija lica...
otišli su niz drum kamioni dolje prema selu
nisam vidio
čvrsto stisnute oči tuda je putovao zvuk
možda tri četiri kamiona ne više
koliko je bilo ljudi
ne znam
nekad ih sanjam ništa ne govore samo neće da
zatvore oči
ja svoje stisnem jače čvrsto čvrsto
da ništa ne vidim.

Poezija snažno i politički produktivno svedoči o onome što dominantna politika u društvu nakon genocida želi da potisne. Naše prisilno slepilo nestane, naše oči progledaju na prizor genocida, granično iskustvo ljudskog ne može biti potisnuto, a poezija je ta koja izražava odanost kolektivu bezizraznih. Bezizrazni, po Benjaminovom terminu *das Ausdruckslose*, jesu oni, kako piše Shoshana Felman, "koje je nasilje lišilo izraza; oni koji su, s jedne strane, kroz istoriju bivali utišani ... [koji] su kroz istoriju bivali obezličeni, lišeni svog ljudskog lica – lišeni, takoreći, ne samo jezika i glasa, već i nemog izraza uvek prisutnog na živom ljudskom licu" (Felman 2002, 13).

U svojoj nemoj nepopustljivosti, mrtvi iz pesme nalikuju Benjaminovom *Angelusu Novusu* koji na celokupnu istoriju gleda kao na katastrofu. Pogled mrtvih uperen je u zločin i nepravdu i zove nas da zauzmemo tu poziciju kako bismo razneli linearni kontinuum istorije. Prošlost, traumatična prošlost – jer ne postoji prošlost bez traume – postaje "slika koja zasvetli u trenutku kada može biti prepoznata i nikada se više ne pojavi... Jer svaka slika prošlosti koju sadašnjost ne prepoznava kao nešto što je se lično tiče preti da bespovratno nestane" (Benjamin 199a, 247). Svedočenje o prošlosti, kroz svedočenje o bezizraznima, čini da nepravde iz prošlosti vrše efikasniji pritisak na buduće borbe.

Poezija nakon genocida ne samo da je moguća, već i dokazuje, kroz

2. Stupar-Trifunović, Tanja (2008) "Svjedok" u Tanja Stupar-Trifunović, *O čemu misle varvari dok doručuju* (Sarajevo-Zagreb: Zoro), str. 29.

svedočenje o bezizraznima, da je genocid istovremeno izreciv i neizrecivo užasan, jer svedoči o onima kojima je uskraćen izraz i drži otvorenim konstitutivni jaz između traume i svih simbolizacija koje pokušavaju da je spreče.

Poezija nakon genocida suprotstavlja se političkom kontekstu multikulturalnog aparthejda koji, poput svoje ideološke potpore "tranzicije ka kapitalizmu", insistira na razlici kao na jedinom strukturnom principu. U ovom kontekstu, multikulturalnost predstavlja još jedan pokušaj izopštavanja društvene traume, jer svodi društveni konflikt na inherentno trenje između mnogih identiteta, preoblikujući kulturološke, religijske i etničke razlike kao "konfliktna mesta koja moraju biti oslabljena i kojima se treba baviti upošljavanjem tolerancije" (Brown 2006, 15). Politički relevantna poezija nakon genocida, nasuprot imperativa "tolerancije", na scenu postavlja susret pravde i istorije. U ovom teatru književnosti, istorija se dovodi pred lice pravde na način na koji zakon to ne može postići. To se dešava upravo zato što "istorijsko nesvesno" počiva na dvostrukoj tišini od koje je sačinjeno: tišini bezizraznog ostatka – Benjaminovoj "tradiciji potlačenih" (Benjamin 1999a, 248) i tišini dominantne, zvanične istorije (istorije pobednika) prema bezizraznom ostatku (Felman 2002, 34). Poezija pruža "opipljivo otelovljenje i jezik beskonačnog koji, za razliku od jezika zakona, sadrži ne završetak već upravo ono što u datom pravnom slučaju odbija da bude okončano i što ne može biti okončano" (8). Bezizrazni ostatak mora nositi i nosi značenje prkoseći višestrukim zahtevima ideološkog menadžmenta – medicinskog, političkog i mitološkog, predstavljajući "reč koja označava iako i upravo zato što nema mogućnost izjave" (13).

Samo taj svedok bezizraznog ostatka "imaće dar da pošalje varnicu nade u prošlost, čvrsto uveren da čak ni mrtvi neće biti sigurni od neprijatelja ako neprijatelj pobedi" (Benjamin 1999a, 247). Kroz poeziju koja konstituiše i koju konstituiše "jezik beskonačnog", takav svedok bezizraznog ostatka razneće linearni "kontinuum istorije" znajući više nego dobro da neprijatelj "nije prestao slaviti pobedu" (Benjamin 1999a, 247, 254). To je zato što je genocid genocid u perpetuiranosti – svaki dan u Bosni i Hercegovini, kroz stratešku saradnju forenzičke nauke, multikulturalističkog postkonfliktnog menadžmenta sa svojom politikom pomirenja i verskog rituala (ili banalnog saveza nauke, birokratije i sveštenstva), "neprijatelj" iskopava, prebrojava, sastavlja i osveštava telesne ostatke kao etničke ostatke. Nasuprot gomile laži, koja fetišizuje partikularistički, etnički identitet, zadatak svedočenja kroz poeziju, svedočenja bezizraznom ostatku, jeste da istoriju privede pravdi na takav način da kolektivno sećanje nakon genocida sagradi kao "konstitutivno razdvajanje istine i moći" (Felman 2002, 30). Ova bitka za kolektivno sećanje je po svojoj prirodi politička.

Čineći to, poezija nakon genocida pruža "jedinstveno iskustvo sa prošlošću" (Benjamin 1999a, 254). U ovom ključu, ona kolektivno sećanje odvaja od anestetizujuće mijazme konformizma, čita ga i konstruiše u buntu prema dominantnom, te tako osmišljava novu politiku. Ona poseduje, po rečima Adrienne Rich:

kapacitet da nas podseti na ono što nam je zabranjeno videti. Zaboravljenu budućnost: još uvek nepostojeće mesto čija moralna arhitektura nije zasnovana na vlasništvu i oduzimanju, tlačenju žena, izgnanih i plemena, već na neprekidnom redefinisaju slobode – pojmu koji je trenutno u kućnom pritvoru zahvaljujući retorici "slobodne" trgovine" (Rich 2006, 3).

Poezija nakon genocida ima moć ne samo da nam ukaže na to koliko smo "neslobodni", već i da promeni kriterijume mogućnosti naše slobode. Poezija koja svedoči o bezizraznom ostatku uvodi "pravo vanredno stanje" (Benjamin 1999a, 248-9), podsećajući nas da je borba za razdvajanje istine i moći u istoriji borba za

irretrievably' (Benjamin 1999a, 247). In bearing witness to the past by bearing witness to the expressionless, past injustices are made to bear productively on future struggles.

Poetry after genocide is not only possible but, through bearing witness to the expressionless, proves that genocide is at once speakable and unspeakable, for it testifies to those denied expression *and* holds open the constitutive gap between trauma and all symbolisations that attempt the foreclosure of trauma. Poetry after genocide confronts the political context of multicultural apartheid, which, like its ideological backbone 'transition into capitalism', insists on difference as the only structuring principle. In this context, multiculturalism is yet another attempt to foreclose social trauma, for it reduces social conflict to an inherent friction among many identities, recasting cultural, religious and ethnic difference as 'sites of conflict that need to be attenuated and managed through the practice of tolerance' (Brown 2006, 15). Against the imperative of 'tolerance', politically relevant poetry after genocide stages an encounter between justice and history. In this theatre of literature, history is brought to justice in a way that the law cannot achieve. This is precisely because the 'historical unconscious' rests on the double silence of which it is constituted: the silence of the expressionless remainder—Benjamin's 'tradition of the oppressed' (Benjamin 1999a, 248) and the silence of the dominant, official history (victor's history) in relation to the expressionless remainder (Felman 2002, 34). Poetry provides a 'concrete embodiment and a language of infinitude that, in contrast to the language of law, encapsulates not closure but precisely what in a given legal case refuses to be closed and cannot be closed' (8). The expressionless remainder must and does signify in the face of multiple demands of ideological management – medical, political, and mythological. It is 'an utterance that signifies although and because it has no possibility of statement' (13).

Only that witness to the expressionless remainder 'will have the gift of fanning the spark of hope in the past who is firmly convinced that *even the dead* will not be safe from the enemy if he wins' (Benjamin 1999a, 247). Through poetry that constitutes and is constituted of 'the language of infinitude', such a witness to the expressionless remainder will blast open the linear 'continuum of history' knowing all too well that the enemy 'has not ceased to be victorious' (Benjamin 1999a, 247, 254). This is because genocide is genocide in perpetuity – each day in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through strategic collaboration of forensic science, multiculturalist post-conflict management through the tools of its politics of reconciliation, and religious ritual (the uncouth alliance between the Scientist, the Bureaucrat, and the Priest), 'the enemy' exhumes, counts, re-associates, manages, and consecrates the bodily remains as ethnic remains. Against the build-up of lies which fetishise a particularist, ethnic identity, the task of witnessing through poetry, bearing witness to expressionless remainder, is to bring history to justice in such a way as to build a collective memory after genocide 'as a constitutive dissociation between truth and power' (Felman 2002, 30). This battle for the memory of the collective is inherently political.

In doing so, poetry after genocide provides 'a unique experience with the past' (Benjamin 1999a, 254). In this mode, it wrenches the memory of the collective away from the anaesthetic miasma of conformism, reads and constructs it 'against the grain' of the dominant, and so contemplates a new politics. It possesses, as Adrienne Rich puts it:

the capacity to remind us of something we are forbidden to see. A forgotten future: a still uncreated site whose moral architecture is founded not on ownership and dispossession, the subjection of women, outcast and tribe, but on the continuous redefining of freedom – that word now held under house arrest by the

dokazivanje "materijalne snage ideje": ne samo u odnosu na "produkcije i prakse mogućnosti" (Williams 2005, 273), nego i u vezi sa "mogućnošću mogućnosti" (Badiou 2009).

Uvođenje "pravog vanrednog stanja"

Neidentificirani³ –

...

Posebno je pitanje

Od čega ćemo se mi sastaviti

ako se ponovno

odlučimo voljeti

...

Prvi put sam počeo da pišem o ovoj temi pre godinu dana u pokušaju da skrenem pažnju na načine na koje izvjesna savremena poezija u Bosni i Hercegovini zamišlja alternativne modele pripadanja i identifikacije u solidarisanju sa isključenima, te se kroz to zalaže za pravedniju transformaciju društva. Uprkos vremenskom procepu, nastavljam sa započetim trudom uz napomenu da su se krucijalni događaji odigrali u tom međuvremenu od avgusta 2008. godine – krucijalni u smislu shvatanja *šta ta pravednija transformacija društva zapravo znači u svakodnevnom životu*. Ovi događaji su mi pojasnili kako poezija može uznemiriti i kako uznemirava udobni i dominantni konsenzus između onih koji podržavaju istorijski revizionizam i onih koji koriste zabranu govora mržnje u cilju propagiranja zaborava u Bosni i Hercegovini danas. Upravo ti događaji pomogli su mi da otkrijem i ono što ja smatram politički relevantnim i lepim u toj poeziji. Drugim rečima – kako i zašto ta poezija nastavlja da mi pruža nadu da se stvari mogu promeniti i da se menjaju na bolje.

Ovaj esej se, dakle, oslanja na situaciju iz svakodnevnog života, na konkretnu praksu gde poezija, kada je reč o svedočenju o ratu i post-ratnoj tranziciji, ima moć da uznemiri dominantni politički konsenzus. Međutim, snaga ove poezije ne leži samo u njenoj sposobnosti da uznemiri i provocira, već i u njenoj otvorenosti po pitanju *vrste univerzalne normativnosti* na koju polaže pravo i u čije ime govori. Ova poezija jasno i glasno govori o nepravdi, ali iz pozicije mobilisanja i jačanja života, čiji je minimum to da odbija biti uvučen u lepljivu mrežu tranzicione političke ekonomije u kojoj se, bez obzira na cenu, uvek radi o lovu na krvavi kapital. To je ta univerzalna normativnost onoga što nazivam nepotkupljivim životom, pod kojim podrazumevam život koji odbija da bude otkupljen uprkos politici koja za cilj ima da ga anestetizira u pogledu mehanizma i posledica terora neravnopravnosti. To je život koji svoje odbijanje da bude potkupljen određuje svojim zahtevanjem politike ravnopravnosti i insistiranjem na njoj.

Međunarodni dan nestalih osoba

30. avgust 2008. godine, kao Međunarodni dan nestalih osoba, označen je u Bosni i Hercegovini kao dan koji treba da učini vidljivom i podstrekne ideju da je problem nestalih osoba – u tom trenutku njih 13.500, još uvek zakopanih u skrivenim masovnim grobnicama – odgovornost svih nas. U to vreme sam koordinisao aktivnosti Oseka za inicijative civilnog društva pri Međunarodnoj komisiji za nestale osobe (ICMP) u Sarajevu. Zajedno sa ostalim kolegama i koleginicama iz Oseka, želeo sam da ohrabrim i podržim prakse u kojima je solidarnost sa po-

³ Dautbegović, Jozefina (2003) 'Neidentificirani', Sarajevske sveske, 4, 271.

Poetry after genocide has the capacity not only to tell us how 'un-free' we are, but also to shift the criteria of possibility of our freedom. Poetry that bears witness to the expressionless remainder brings about 'a real state of emergency' (Benjamin 1999a, 248-9), reminding us that the struggle for dissociation between truth and power in history is a fight for the assertion of the 'material force of the idea': not only in relation to the 'production and the practice of possibility' (Williams 2005, 273) but also in relation to the 'possibility of possibility' (Badiou 2009).

Bringing about 'a real state of emergency'

The unidentified

...
It is a particular question
From what will we reassemble ourselves
If again
we decide to love one another
...

Neidentificirani³

...
Posebno je pitanje
Od čega ćemo se mi sastaviti
ako se ponovno
odlučimo voljeti
..

I first started writing on this subject over a year ago in an effort to highlight the ways in which some contemporary poetry in Bosnia and Herzegovina imagines alternative modes of belonging and identification in solidarity with the excluded, and in doing so, argues for a more equitable societal transformation. Despite the time-gap, I continue my original effort, with some crucial events having taken place in the intervening time since August 2008 – crucial, that is, to understanding *what this equitable societal transformation actually means in everyday life*. These events have clarified for me how poetry can and does disturb the comfortable and dominant consensus between those who support historical revisionism and those who use the ban on hate-speech to propagate oblivion in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. It is these events that have also helped me discover what I consider to be politically relevant and enjoyable in such poetry. In other words – why and how it continues to give me hope that things can and do change for the better.

This essay, therefore, builds from a situation that is occurring in everyday life, from a concrete practice, wherein, when it comes to bearing witness to war and post-war transition, poetry has power to disturb a dominant political consensus. However, the strength of this poetry lies not only in its capacity to disturb and provoke, but also in its openness about the *type of universal normativity* it claims and on behalf of which it speaks. This poetry speaks loud and clear about injustices, but from the position of mobilising and fostering such life whose minimum is that it refuses to be drawn into the sticky web of the transitional political economy, in which, whatever the cost, the name of the game is the chase after bloodied capital. This is the universal normativity of what I entitle *unbribeable life*, by which I mean life that refuses to be bought off in the face of a politics that aims to desensitise it in relation to the workings and effects of the terror of inequality. It is a life that enacts its refusal to be bribed in its demand for and its insistence on the politics of equality for all.

International Day of Missing Persons

30 August 2008, as the International Day of Missing Persons, was marked in Bos-

³ Dautbegović, Jozefina (2003) 'Neidentificirani', *Sarajevske sveske*, 4, 271.

rodicama nestalih osoba u Bosni i Hercegovini zasnovana na takvoj odgovornosti. Moj cilj bio je da se istovremeno suprotstavim etno-nacionalnoj mitologizaciji nestalih osoba i političkom prikupljanju poena dominantnih političkih elita (od kojih neke znaju odredišta tih skrivenih masovnih grobnica). Isto tako, želeo sam da se suočim sa svima nama koji živimo u Bosni i Hercegovini, gde većina nas, iako progonjena i obuzeta većito neizvesnom budućnošću, nestale osobe doživljava samo kao jedan od mnogih problema. Nestale osobe, međutim, insistiraju da budu pronađene: kroz svoje preživjele članove porodice; kroz one koji su ih ubili, zakopali, a kasnije premestili i sakrili u skrivene masovne grobnice; i kroz one koji tvrde da se ono što određujemo kao put napred, koji će nas izvesti iz preovladavajućeg osećanja paralisnosti, neće dogoditi ukoliko ne počnemo otvoreno da tražimo da odgovorni za ubijanje, pokopavanje i skrivanje nestalih moraju biti imenovani.

Javna inicijativa tog 30. avgusta 2008. bila je naslovljena "Imam pravo da znam" i fokusirala se na porodicu nestalih osoba da znaju gde su njihovi voljeni pokopani. Inicijativu su zajednički podržali i izveli ICMP i Međunarodni komitet Crvenog krsta (ICRC) u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kao deo inicijative, državni parlament se obavezao da će napraviti posebno zasedanje da bi javno obznanio svoju posvećenost rešavanju sudbine i lokacija nestalih osoba, kao i pomaganju porodicama nestalih po pitanju njihovih osnovnih društveno-ekonomskih prava. Inicijativu su masovno podržali mediji i izvesni broj pesnika/inja. U znak solidarnosti, svaki/a pesnik/inja doprineo/la je po jednom pesmom, koje su pridružene radovima porodica nestalih, te tako zajedno trebalo da budu izložene na ulazu u parlament.

Samo nekoliko sati pre nego što su pripreme oko obeležavanja 30. avgusta bile gotove, predstavnici ICRC-a u Bosni i Hercegovini otkrili su svoje snažne nesimpatije prema nekim pesmama koje je trebalo izložiti – preciznije, prema dvema pesmama: "Tri cigare" Marka Vešovića i "Srebrenica, Potočari, 9.5.2004." Šejle Šehabović:

Tri cigare⁴

U smiraj, izidoh vani da se crnim na bijelome.
Sunce je novčić koji se stavlja
na kapke pokojnika. Svuda božija šutnja
od tenkovskoga oklopa neprobojnija.
Život je strašan kao jeka koraka
što muslimanima, noću, u srpskim logorima
najavljuje dolazak batinaša.

Stresoh se, ko da me smrt preskočila,
kako smo, u djetinjstvu, vjerovali.

Zapalih jednu da mi, za dimom duvanskim,
oči na koji tren odlutaju iz ovog logora.
Sjetih se sna sinočnjeg: u rukama mi konac,
privezan za glog, nikao iz groba mog oca
u sandžaćkome nevidbogu. Konac po kom se
može iz pakla izići.
Zapalih još jednu. Da mi po dimu duša
odlebdí do utvara iz gluve i sijede davnine.

⁴ Vešović, Marko (2004) 'Tri cigare' u Marko Vešović Poljska konjica (Sarajevo-Zagreb: Zoro), str. 82.

nia and Herzegovina as a day which was to make visible and encourage the idea that the problem of missing persons – at that point, 13,500 of them, still buried in clandestine mass graves – is the responsibility of us all. At the time, I coordinated the activities of the Department for Civil Society Initiatives at the International Commission of Missing Persons (ICMP) in Sarajevo. Together with other colleagues in the Department, I wanted to encourage and support practices in which solidarity with the families of missing persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina is based on such responsibility. My aim was to confront both the ethno-national mythologisation of missing persons and political point-scoring by the dominant political elites (some of whom know the whereabouts of these clandestine mass graves). I also wanted to confront all of us living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the majority of whom, although haunted and overwhelmed by an ever-shapeless future, see missing persons as just one of so many problems. Missing persons, however, insist on being found: through their surviving families; through those who executed, buried and subsequently relocated and hid them in clandestine mass graves; and through those who claim that what we term as the way ahead, out of the predominant feeling of paralysis, will not happen unless we start openly requesting that those responsible for the execution, burial, and hiding of those who are now missing must be named.

The 30 August 2008 public initiative was entitled 'I have the right to know' and it focused on the right of families of missing persons to know where their loved ones are buried. The initiative was jointly supported and carried out by the ICMP and the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As part of the initiative, the state Parliament was committed to convening a special session to declare publically its commitment to resolving the fate and whereabouts of missing persons as well as to assist families of missing persons with their basic socio-economic rights. The initiative was widely supported by the media and also by a number of poets. As an act of solidarity, each poet contributed a poem to accompany works by families of missing persons which, collected together, were to be displayed at the entrance of the Parliament.

Just hours before the preparations for the marking of 30 August were completed, ICRC representatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina made known their strongly antipathetic reaction to some of the poetry that was to be offered – to be more precise, to two poems: 'Three cigarettes' (*Tri cigare*) by Marko Vešović and 'Srebrenica, Potočari, 9.5.2004'. by Šejla Šehabović:

Three cigarettes⁴

At day's end, I went outside to right myself
 in black and white. The sun, a coin descending
 onto a dead man's eyelids. My God, the speechlessness
 all round me, harder to pierce than tank armour.
 Life's as brutal as the nightly sound of bootsteps
 in the logor, the Serbian camp, announcing to
 the Muslim captives that a squad of thugs is coming.
 I light a first cigarette, so my eyes can briefly wander,
 screened by its smoke, out of this logor.
 Last night's dream came back again: my hands held a thread,
 tied to the hawthorn growing from my father's grave
 in the Sandžak, in the gorge called God-Never-Seen.

⁴ Vešović, Marko (2004) 'Tri cigare' in Marko Vešović *Poljska konjica* (Sarajevo-Zagreb: Zoro), p. 82. Translation by Francis Jones. My enormous gratitude goes to Francis Jones for making this translation for this paper.

Koje joj šapću: jedan korak iz neviđenše
u nedodašću – to ti je sav tvoj život.
A svijet je grozan kao grohotni smijeh
oslijepljenih iz Jame Goranove.

Zapalili i posljednju. Da mi, na tren, zaliči
na zvijezdu, među srednjim i kažiiprstom.
Zvijezdu večernjaču. I da kroz plavičast velić
sagledam, što jasnije, Karadžićevu vasseljenu
u kojoj Logor je – Logos.

Srebrenica, Potočari, 9. 5. 2004. ⁵

Ispod marama virile su im kose.
Jedna se zagrnula sa dvije marame;
drugu je držala preko ramena. Boje se
nisu slagale
Mirisala je na sapun
Šal je padao preko svilene bluze u
zlačanim odsjajima
Ruke je, držeći ga, preklopila na
stomaku.
Jedna je imala ruž.
Doveli smo grupu holandskih tinejdžera
Na dva jezika prevodili
Jeste dobro putovali?
rekle sun am
Kako ste?
pitale su,
na ulazu u groblje
Lijepa su vam djeca!
Zagledale su, svako
Kasnije su rekle:
Dođite!
Zaplakale, jedna za drugom;
redom pokazale albume sa fotografijama
mrtvih
Stali smo u krug, kao na ugaonoj sećiji što
se sjedi
One u sredinu
s rukama na stomaku
Domaćinski.
Nudile su
da nas vode
Kod Hrasta
(Tamo staneš i vidiš sve gdje su doveli
narod na klanje!)
I u fabriku akumulatora
gdje su vezani probdijeli tri dana.

⁵ Šehabović, Šejla (2008) 'Srebrenica, Potočari, 9.5.2004.' u BH Dani, 29 Avgust 2008. str. 14. U ovom broju nedeljnika BH Dani objavljena je i pesma "Tri cigare" Marka Vešovića.

A thread which can guide you out of hell.
 I light my second. So my soul can float away on its smoke
 towards the ghosts from a deaf and grizzled past.
 Which whisper to my soul: a single stride between
 never-seen and nevermore, that's all there is to your life.
 And the world's as grim as the guffaws of laughter
 from the blinded in Canto 2 of Kovačić's Pit.
 And then I light the last. So I can hold, for a moment,
 a star between my middle and index finger. An evening
 star. And to give me, through its bluish veil,
 a clearer insight into Karadžić's universe
 whose Logos is the Logor.

Srebrenica, Potočari, 9. 5. 2004. ⁵—

From under the scarves their hair was sticking out.
 One of them had covered herself with two scarves;
 the second scarf lying over her shoulders. The colours did not match
 She smelled of soap
 The second scarf hung over her silk blouse with its gold sheen
 Holding scarf-ends, her hands were clasped over her stomach
 Another of them wore lipstick.
 We had brought a group of Dutch teenagers
 Translating into two languages
 Did you travel well?
 the women enquired
 How are you?
 they asked
 at the entrance to the cemetery
 These youth look so lovely!
 Their looks dwelt on each of them in turn
 Later, they said:
 Come over!
 They wept, one by one;
 they all showed albums with photos
 of their dead
 We stood in a semi-circle, as if sitting on a corner sofa
 They were in the middle
 with hands clasped over their stomachs
 Hospitable.
 They offered
 To take us
 To the Oak tree
 (Standing there you can see the places where people were led to the slaughter!)
 And to the battery factory
 where they were kept tied up for three days.
 The sons were taken later, all hungry.
 They offered
 to show us

⁵ Šehabović, Šejla (2008) 'Srebrenica, Potočari, 9.5.2004.' in *BH Dani*, 29 August 2008. p. 14. Both Marko Vešović's 'Tri cigare' and this poem were published in this issue of *BH Dani weekly*.

Sinove su odveli kasnije, gladne.
 Nudile su
 da pokažu
 kako su umproforci četnicima davali
 uniforme
 kao jelom i pićem što se nudi. Namjernika.
 Jednu po jednu sam zagrlila na odlasku.
 Tako se tetke grle
 kad goste ispraćaju
 Na vratima
 Kućnim.

Predstavnik ICRC-a me je telefonom obavestio da ove dve pesme ne mogu biti izložene u parlamentu. Dati su razlozi da to "nije dobra poezija" zato što se u Vešovićevoj pesmi spominju "koncentracioni logori" za Muslimane, a Šejla Šehabović u svojoj pesmi koristi reč "četnik". Na kraju razgovora mi je rečeno da ICRC delimično pokriva troškove inicijative, indirektno mi stavljaajući do znanja da imaju moć odlučivanja o tome šta će biti uključeno u događaj, a šta ne. Razgovor se potom pretvorio u prepirku, nakon koje sam sam pozvao Marka Vešovića i objasnio mu detalje situacije koja je, po mom mišljenju, bila čist slučaj cenzure i uskraćivanje prava na sećanje. Marku sam prosledio e-mail sa svim detaljima oko izbora poezije, uključujući i pesmu Šejle Šehabović. Vešović je reagovao javno, objavivši tekst u nedeljniku BH Dani u izdanju 29. avgusta 2008. Predstavnik ICMP-a se povinovao zahtevima ICRC-a, što je rezultiralo time da dve pomenute pesme ne budu izložene niti pročitane u parlamentu. Ubrzo zatim, pošto sam de facto bio suspendovan zbog omogućavanja javne reakcije na cenzuru relevantne savremene bosanske poezije, napustio sam ICMP.

Pokretačka sila slučaja "30. avgust" jeste politika onih predstavnika/ca međunarodne zajednice koji/e ne samo da diktiraju i postavljaju uslove o tome kako se u javnom diskursu treba sećati nestalih osoba, nego se, što je još podmuklije, uskraćuje pravo građana i građanki Bosne i Hercegovine da naprave univerzalnu analizu i izvuku univerzalne zaključke iz rata i genocida. Na kraju, ovo poriče i guši politiku nepotkupljivog života – života koji govori da *Logos* ne može biti *Logor*, kao što stoji u posljednjem stihu Vešovićeve pesme.

Šta je ulog kod takvih univerzalnih lekcija i analiza? Svedok, koji se oslanja na te lekcije, zarobljen je u složenoj dinamici između političke zajednice i traume u vezi sa preživelim i njihovom potrebom da govore i delaju. Tenzija između potrebe za svedočenjem i nemogućnosti da se trauma potisne, omogućava "radikalnu repolitizaciju nasilno isključujućih političkih i socijalnih bezizlazja oko nas" (Husanović 2009, 103). I sam naslov pesme Šejle Šehabović zadiru u kompleksnu dinamiku političke zajednice i traume srebreničkog genocida. Takva dinamika je okarakterisana ideološkom borbom da se potisne značenje označitelja "genocid u Srebrenici" koja se kreće od poricanja, preko etno-nacionalne mitologizacije i medikalizacije, do post-konfliktnog menadžmenta. Drugim rečima, samim svojim naslovom, pesma beleži i svedoči o: konkretnom zločinu (genocid u Srebrenici), posledicama genocida (groblje u Potočarima) i onome što smo "ja" i "mi" (subjekti u pesmi u prvom licu jednine i množine) uradili po pitanju tog zločina u godinama nakon njega (vremenska odrednica 9. maj 2004. takođe evocira datum pobeđe nad fašizmom).

Pesma počinje fokusom na preživjele žene uhvaćene u procepu između nečega što je, za osobu koja žali, postalo imitacija svakodnevnog života i čina primanja gostiju sa svojim karakterističnim navikama i pravilima. Tenzija tog procepa, koji započinje između njihove žalosti i dočekivanja gostiju, prizvana je u ekscesu s maramama, njihovim bojama koje se ne slažu, i nesklada između

how UNPROFOR soldiers gave their uniforms to Chetniks
 as if offering food and drink to a traveller.
 On departure, I hugged them, one by one.
 They hugged me back, like aunties hug
 their guests when they see them off
 from the doors of their homes.

I was informed by a representative of the ICRC, in a phone call, that these two poems could not be displayed in the Parliament. The reasons given were that this was 'not good poetry' because Vešović's poem mentions 'concentration camps' for Muslims and, in her poem, Šehabović uses the word 'četnik'. At the end of the call, I was told that the ICRC was covering part of the expenses of the initiative – therefore implying that it had the power to determine of what the event would or would not comprise. The phone call turned into an altercation, after which I rang Marko Vešović and explained to him the details of what was, for me, a clear case of censorship and a confiscation of the right to remember. I then forwarded Marko an email with all the details surrounding the poetry selection, including with it a copy of Šehabović's poem. Vešović reacted publically, publishing a piece in *BH Dani*, in the 29 August 2008 issue of that magazine. A representative from the ICMP acquiesced to the ICRC demands, with the result that the two poems were not displayed or spoken in the Parliament. Shortly after, as I was de facto suspended for having facilitated a public reaction against the censorship of pertinent, contemporary Bosnian poetry, I left ICMP.

The driving force in the '30 August' case is the politics of those representatives of the international community, who not only dictate and set conditions as to how missing persons ought to be remembered in the public discourse but, more insidiously, deny any right to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to make universal analyses and draw universal lessons from the war and the genocide. Ultimately, this is a denial of and a gag on the politics of *unbribable life* – life that claims that *Logos* cannot be *Logor* (camp), as in the final line of Vešović's poem.

What is at stake in such universal lessons and analyses? A witness who is drawing on such lessons is locked in the complex dynamics between political community and trauma with respect to survivors and their need to speak and act. The tension between the urge to bear witness and impossibility of representing trauma enables 'radical repoliticizations of the violent exclusionary political and social deadlocks around us' (Husanović 2009, 103). The very title of Šehabović's poem engages with and intervenes in the complex dynamics between political community and the trauma of the Srebrenica genocide. Such dynamics are characterised by the ideological struggle to foreclose the meaning of the signifier 'genocide in Srebrenica', ranging from denial, through ethno-nationalist mythologization and medicalization to post-conflict management. In other words, in its very title, what the poem records and bears witness to are: a concrete crime (genocide in Srebrenica), the effects of the genocide (the cemetery at Potočari) and testifies to what both 'I' and 'we' (speakers of the poem in first-person singular and plural) have done with such a crime in the years after it (the temporal reference to 9 May 2004 which also evokes the day of victory over fascism).

The poem opens up by focusing on women survivors who are caught in the gap between what, for the mourner, has become an enactment of everyday life and the act of receiving guests with its particular habits and norms. The tension of the gap that opens up between their mourning and their welcoming of guests is evoked in the excess of scarves, with their mismatched colours, and the discrepancy between the everydayness of the scent of the soap and the festiveness of the 'best' silk blouse with its gold sheen: 'The second scarf lying over her

Damir Arsenijević (Grupa Spomenik /Monument Group): Vrijeme je da se upoznamo onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo, sa sesije čitanja poezije / It's Time We Got to Know Each Other As We Really Are, from the poetry reading session.

Photo: TJ





svakodnevnosti mirisa sapuna i svečanosti "najbolje" svilene bluze i njenog zlatnog odsjaja: "Drugu je držala preko ramena. Boje se nisu slagale / Mirisala je na sapun / Šal je padoo preko svilene bluze u zlaćanim odsjajima". Tenzija se dalje pojaćava neskladom između sadržaja reći i mesta na kojem ih izgovaraju – toplo pitanje dobrodošlice odvija se na groblju: "Kako ste? / pitale su / na ulazu u groblje". Preživjele žene naseljavaju i strukturiraju svoje živote u procepu između društvene potrebe za eliminacijom trauma i istrajnosti sopstvenih sećanja, bivajući grobljanskim domaćicama. Intimnost tog gostoprimstva, koje se odvija na groblju, dirljivo je svedoćanstvo produćetka ratnih rana gde ove žene još uvek trpe nasilje rata i njegove posledice. U svojoj kolektivnoj potrebi da svedoće o zloćinu – genocidu u Srebrenici – i društvenoj potrebi za eliminacijom i normalizacijom traume, ove žene, samim tim što zahtevaju pravdu, postaju depersonalizovane i iskljućene.

Smena subjekata u pesmi između "mi" i "ja" korespondira sa jednom širom, lićnom i kolektivnom neugodnošću povodom patnji ovih žena. I "ja" i "mi" smo gosti u kući patnje ovih žena, ali smo "ja" i "mi" isto tako i ućesnici u produćavanju bola. Jer ovo je i zloćin u beskonaćnosti – "mi" i "ja" smo, kolektivno i pojedinaćno, odgovorni za fiksiranje ovih žena u jednu te istu ulogu, te ih time samo više zarobljavamo u polju njihove tragedije. Ipak, pesma insistira na izdvajanju i naglašavanju naših lićnih i kolektivnih, olako donetih pretpostavki o nekom klišeiranom stavu prema ovim ženama. U vezi sa tim, kroz navedenu podelu, i "ja" i "mi" ostaju lićšeni subjektiviteta u smislu da se ne moće zauzeti nijedna druga vrsta ideoloćke pozicije od one koju prepisuje dominantna ideologija. Kao moćni podsetnik, prema Shoshani Felman, pesmin "jezik beskonaćnog" jeste jezik neprekidnog kruga traume, koji se uvek opire svakom pokućšaju normalizacije. Da, ovaj jezik dislocira svakodnevni obićaj da bi skrenuo paćnju na nepravdu i ranu te, ćineći to, insistira na neophodnosti pravde.

Pesma Marka Vešovića daje direktnu potvrdu da pesnićki jezik svedoći o bezizraznima. Na samom poćetku pesme, subjekat stapa pisanje sa samim svojim postojanjem. ćineći to, on potvrćuje nedvosmislenu poziciju svedoka: "U smiraj, izidoh vani da se crnim na bijelome". Pisanje, prema tome, omogućava jezik kroz koji refleksija i potvrda nedvosmislene pozicije svedoka bivaju moguće. Ova refleksija se bavi granićnim iskustvom ćovećanstva, predstavljениm u ovoj pesmi u trenutku kad zanemi, i kad je "skamenjeno kao ćarolijom u jednom jedinom trenutku" (Benjamin i Felman 2002, 38). Subjekt o ljudskom govori kao mrtav i pred tom smrću vrši ćin svedoćenja kao ćin krajnje samoće. Na tragu Felmanove, moglo bi se ćak tvrditi da etićki motiv i neophodnost pisanja potiće od takve jedne samoće (Felman 2002, 39). Pisanje kao svedoćenje, takoće, pokreće rad sećanja, gde subjekat prepoznaje slike prošlosti i njihov znaćaj za sadašnjost. Za razliku od rezignirane mudrosti svedene na iskaz o utvarama "iz gluve i sijede davnine" za koje je život "jedan korak iz nevidenše / u nedoćenšu", subjekat-svedok insistira na odrećivanju i imenovanju izvora ove konkretne nepravde u kojoj "život je strašan kao jeka koraka / što muslimanima, noću, u srpskim logorima / najavljuje dolazak batinaša". Sadašnja nepravda srpskog logora spojena je sa nepravdama i zloćinima iz prošlosti, koje su poćinili fašistićki kolaboracionisti, kroz intertekstualnu referencu na poemu *Jama* Ivana Gorana Kovaćića u kojoj "svijet je grozan kao grohotni smijeh / oslijepljenih iz Jame Goranove". Subjekt oseća potrebu da skrene paćnju na i kritikuje užas nepravde i nejednakosti – kontinuirani i trajni fašizam - koji nameće svoja pravila i polaće pravo na samu definiciju onoga što znaći biti ćovek. Upravo je sam nepotkupljivi život – pisanje kao svedoćenje, kao bivstvovanje – afirmisan u pesmi. Intertekstualna referenca podseća na "tradiciju tlaćenih" kao na antifašistićku tradiciju, u ćije se ime nepotkupljivi život bori protiv fašizma i užasa nejednakosti u svim svojim oblicima. *Logor*, nasleće fašizma, ne moće biti pravilo ni strukturalni princip života, izjavljuje pesnik u

shoulders. The colours did not match / She smelled of soap / The second scarf hung over her silk blouse with its gold sheen'. The tension is further heightened in the discrepancy between the content and the location of the utterances of these women – the homely, welcoming inquiry taking place at the cemetery: 'How are you? / they asked / at the entrance to the cemetery'. The surviving women inhabit and structure their lives in the gap between societal demands for the foreclosure of trauma and the insistence of their memories, wherein domesticity is relocated to the cemetery. The intimacy of such identifiable hospitality taking place in a cemetery is a poignant testament to the prolongation of war injuries in which these women still suffer the violence of war and its effects. In their collective urge to bear witness to crime – genocide in Srebrenica – and the societal demand for the foreclosure and normalization of trauma, these women themselves, by their very request for justice, become defaced and excluded.

The shifting of the speakers in the poem between 'we' and 'I' relates to a broader uneasy personal and collective attitude towards the suffering of these women. Both 'we' and 'I' are guests in the suffering 'home' of these women, but both 'we' and 'I' are already also complicit in the prolongation of the injury. For this is also crime in perpetuity – how 'we' and 'I', collectively and personally, are responsible for allocating a fixed position to these women, thus further imprisoning them within the geography of their tragedy. However, the poem insists on singling out and emphasising our far-too-easy individual and collective assumption of a ready-made attitude towards these women. In relation to these women, through this splitting, both 'we' and 'I' are revealed to be deprived of subjectivity in the sense of having no other kind of ideological position to assume, other than the one proscribed by the dominant ideology. As a powerful reminder, after Felman, 'the language of infinitude' of the poem is the language of an infinite loop of trauma, which always bounces off any attempt at normalisation. Indeed this language dislocates everyday custom to draw attention to injustice and injury and, in doing so, insists on the need for justice.

Marko Vešović's poem makes direct claims on poetic language to bear witness to the expressionless. In the very opening of the poem, the speaker merges writing with his very existence and in doing so affirms the unequivocal stance of the witness: 'At day's end, I went outside to right myself / in black and white'. Writing thus enables a language through which reflection and affirmation of the unequivocal stance of the witness is possible. This reflection contemplates the limit-experience of humanity, portrayed, in this poem, at the moment of being silenced and "petrified as if spellbound in a single moment" (Benjamin in Felman 2002, 38). The speaker pronounces humanity as dead and in the face of that death creates the act of witnessing as an act of extreme solitude. Following Felman, it could be even be claimed that the ethical impetus and necessity of writing originates from such aloneness (Felman 2002, 39). Writing as witnessing also enables a work of memory, whereby the images of the past and their relevance to the present are recognised by the speaker. Unlike the wisdom of resignation, reduced to a proverb by the 'ghosts from a deaf and grizzled past' for whom life is 'a single stride between / never-seen and nevermore', the witnessing speaker insists on specifying and naming the source of this particular injustice, in which life is 'brutal as the nightly sound of bootsteps / in the logor, the Serbian camp, announcing to / the Muslim captives that a squad of thugs is coming'. The present injustice of the Serbian camp is connected with the past injustices and crimes carried out by fascist collaborators, through the intertextual reference to WWII-partisan poet Ivan Goran Kovačić's poem *Pit*, in which 'the world's as grim as the guffaws of laughter / from the blinded'. The speaker is driven to draw attention to and critique the terror of injustice and inequality – a continuous and lasting fascism – that imposes its norm and claim over the very definition of what it is

poslednjem stihu. I upravo tako ova pesma najavljuje svoju optimističnu politiku: posle Benjamina, naš zadatak je "da napravimo pravo vanredno stanje, a to će poboljšati našu poziciju u borbi protiv fašizma" (Benjamin 1992, 248-9).

Cenzura predstavnika međunarodne zajednice došla je pod maskom "zaštite" multikulturalističkog diskursa i zabrane uvredljivog jezika i govora mržnje. Ono što je zanimljivo u ovom slučaju jeste stanovište da je sadržaj pesme prepoznat kao problematičan. Marko Vešović je cenzurisana na osnovu toga što njegova pesma pominje koncentracione logore za Muslimane, a Šejla Šehabović zato što se u njenoj pesmi pominje reč *četnik*. Tokom pažljivog čitanja pesama, članovi međunarodne zajednice pretpostavili su perspektivu jednog zamišljenog člana, iz svake od tri etničke skupine, predviđajući šta bi jedan ili drugi mogao da prigovori i na taj način "čisteći" poeziju po etničkim linijama. Šta je ovo ako nije pravi primer za to kako funkcioniše birokratski teror međunarodne zajednice? Pesme se pregledaju u potrazi za šiboletima, a subjektu se dozvoljava da priča samo jezikom očišćenim od onog što se smatra neprimerenim sadržajem, iz neke zamišljene etničke perspektive.

Dalje, tvrdeći da zauzima neutralnu poziciju, međunarodna zajednica istodobno zadržava ciničnu distancu: ona vrlo dobro zna da problem sa pesmama nije to što se u njima pominje nešto što se percipira kao neprimereni sadržaj (a kad smo kod toga, još bolje zna da su i koncentracioni logori i četnici itekako postojali). Mnogo veći problem za međunarodnu zajednicu je to što subjekti obe pesme ne prihvataju ograničenja lažne distinkcije između privatnog i javnog jezika kada su u pitanju svi oni koji su bili ubijani i žrtvovani u lovu na kapital ukraden kroz krv rata i genocida i posleratnog nasleđa svakodnevnog nasilja. Drugim rečima, subjekti obe pesme ne prihvataju stanovište da je patnja privatna stvar. Oni zauzimaju stav da se jedan adekvatan, ekspresivan javan jezik, koji već postoji kroz patnju, može upotrebiti, te da poezija može pružati i pruža takav jezik.

Stoga, cenzura ove dve pesme na osnovu "uvredljivog sadržaja" jeste najobičnija laž. Ideološki posmatrano, takva cenzura postavlja multikulturalističke parametre za čitanje ove dve pesme, svodeći društveni konflikt na varnice među etničkim identitetima. U okviru ovih slabih, depolitizovanih parametara, kulturološke, verske i etničke razlike iznova se prave, setimo se Wendy Brown još jednom, kao mesta konflikta kojima se mora upravljati politikom tolerancije (Brown 2006). Ovakav scenario još dublje učvršćuje etnički element na poziciji dominantne reference političkog kolektiviteta, što onda dalje vodi ka retroaktivnoj ponovnoj inskripciji rata kao konflikta između tri etničke skupine. Takva raslojavajuća politika međunarodne zajednice više biva delom dominantnog konsenzusa nego njegovim rešenjem.

Najvažnija stvar je u tome što pravi razlog cenzure leži u potpunoj opoziciji od onih koji čine dominantni konsenzus u Bosni i Hercegovini danas spram pozicije na kojoj insistiraju oni koji su preživeli i koji su odlučni u tome da stvore nadu u budućnost, koja slama okvire svakodnevnog užasa tranzicije. Takva pozicija ima dve važne premise: prva je da patnja, koja je rezultat rata i genocida, čini posledicu društvene nepravde te, samim tim, javnu stvar par excellence; druga je da se, kad je reč o toj patnji, oslobađajući proces postajanja subjektom može dogoditi samo ukoliko se oslobodimo okova pozicije žrtve, ili bilo koje druge pozicije koja je iole fokusirana na interese bilo kog posebnog identiteta. Nepotkupljiv život mobilisan je upravo kao potpora zahtevima za pravednije društvo za sve.

to be human. It is unbribable life itself – writing as witnessing as being – that is affirmed in the poem. The intertextual reference evokes the ‘tradition of the oppressed’ as the anti-fascist tradition, on behalf of which unbribable life fights against fascism and the terror of inequality in all its forms. Logor, the legacy of fascism, cannot be the norm or structuring principle of life, the speaker asserts in the final line. And this is how this poem announces its hopeful politics: after Benjamin, our task is ‘to bring about a real state of emergency, and this will improve our position in the struggle against fascism’ (Benjamin 1999a, 248-9).

The censorship by the international community representatives came in the guise of the ‘protection’ of multiculturalist discourse and the ban on insulting language and hate-speech. Interesting in this case is the perspective from which the poems’ content was recognised as problematic. Marko Vešović was censored on grounds that his poem mentions concentration camps for Muslims and Šehabović because her poem mentions the word *četnik*. In their close reading of the poems, the international community members assumed the perspective of an imagined member of each of the three ethnic communities, predicting what one or other of them might object to, and on that basis, ‘cleansing’ the poetry along ethnic lines. What is this if not a prime example of how the bureaucratic terror of the international community operates? Poems are scanned for shibboleths and the speaking subject is given permission to speak only in a language cleansed of what is deemed to be inappropriate content from an imagined ethnic perspective.

Furthermore, in claiming that it occupies a neutral position, the international community simultaneously maintains a cynical distance from it: it knows very well that the problem of the poems is not because they mention what is deemed to be inappropriate content (and for that matter it knows really well that both the concentration camps and the *četniks* did exist). The far greater problem for the international community is that the speakers of both poems do not accept the bounds of a false distinction between private and public language in relation to all those who have been executed and sacrificed in the chase for the capital that was stolen through the blood of war and genocide, and the post-war legacy of everyday violence. In other words, the speakers in both poems do not accept the view that suffering is a private event. In doing so, they assume and uphold a position that an adequate, expressive public language already exists through which suffering can be communicated and that poetry can and does provide such a language.

Therefore, the censorship of these two poems on the grounds of ‘insulting content’ is a downright lie. Ideologically speaking, such censorship sets multiculturalist parameters for the reading of these two poems, reducing social conflict to a friction among ethnic identities. Within these weak, de-politicised parameters, cultural, religious and ethnic differences are recast, to recall Wendy Brown again, as sites of conflict, which has to be managed through the politics of tolerance (Brown 2006). This scenario further supports the ethnic element as the dominant reference of political collectivity, which then leads to a retroactive re-inscription of the war as a conflict between three ethnic groups. Such leveling politics by the international community is part of the dominant consensus rather than part of its solution.

Most importantly, the true reasons for censorship lie in the total opposition of those who comprise the dominant consensus in Bosnia and Herzegovina today to the position insisted on by those who have survived and who are striving to produce a hopeful future that breaks the bounds of the everyday horror of transition. Such a position maintains two important premises: the first is that suffering, which results from war and genocide, is the effect of societal injustice and, as such, a par excellence public matter; the second is that, in relation to this

Neidentificirani⁶

Kao u zajedničkoj grobnici
svatko je umro od svoje smrti
navodno
ljubav
za istu stvar

Što radi njegova ključna kost
uz ovu čeonu
I na što će dotični nalikovat
sastavljen od različitih dijelova
kad dođe dan
ustajanja

Posebno je pitanje
Od čega ćemo se mi sastaviti
ako se ponovno
odlučimo voljeti

...

...

Što se tiče mrtvih – "mrtvi su mrtvi, što im ne pruži ruku dok su živi bili?", kao što pita Damir Avdić.⁷ Danas se u Bosni i Hercegovini, uz podršku međunarodne zajednice, zamršeni ostaci mrtvih iz masovnih grobnica provlače kroz sudsko-naučno-verski process sastavljanja i identifikacije "nestalih osoba". Retroaktivno ispisujući rat kao rat među etničkim identitetima, žrtve se sastavljaju i identifikuju kao etničke žrtve. Paradoksalno, pozicija koja se zauzima u tom procesu sastavljanja jeste pozicija izvornog počinitelja zločina: poput izvornog pogleda koji posmatra ostatke ubijenih, ovaj pogled ih sastavlja i daje im imena, preuzimajući pogled izvršilaca ubistava, jer je u mašti počinitelja ubijena osoba etnički Drugi.

Ako "mrtvi su mrtvi" i ako se nikad nismo odlučili da im pružimo ruku, šta je sa živima? Parafrazirajući pesmu "Neidentificirani" Jozefine Dautbegović, možemo reći da i sama posleratna tranzicija nalikuje masovnoj grobnici, gde svi žive svoj zasebni život, kao da je svakom dodeljena njegova mala društvena parcela. Kolektivitet onih koji su preživeli sačinjen je od onih koji su "živi, ali mrtvi".⁸ Ovaj tekst ne treba čitati poput "živog mrtvaca", već, doslovno, kao najživlji deo mrtvih – kao nepotkupljiv život sam – kao ono što insistira na pravdi i jednakosti i traži sledstvene društvene promene, jer će time probiti sramnu izolaciju uzrokovanu dodeljivanjem izolovanog mesta u društvu. To je upravo ono na šta referira naslov pesme Jozefine Dautbegović – neidentifikovani nisu samo oni pokopani po skrivenim masovnim grobnicama, ili oni čiji su ostaci trenutno na stolovima u centru za ponovno sastavljanje tela, već i nešto mnogo važnije, oni su "mi" za koje još uvek nemamo ime. "Mi" ćemo morati da preuzmемо poziciju neidentifikovanog, "ako se ponovno / odlučimo voljeti" i u toku tog procesa odrediti univerzalno pravilo za ono što "mi" jesmo i za ono što jeste svet. Ako je ljubav stvar odluke, onda je i stvar priznanja voljene osobe koja odgovara na moje pitanje – "ko sam ja?" (Miller 2008). Ova zajednica nepotkupljivog života

⁶ Dautbegović, Jozefina (2003) 'Neidentificirani', Sarajevske sveske, 4, 271.

⁷ Ovde citiram pesnika-performera Damira Avdića i njegovu pesmu-performans Mrtvi su mrtvi.

⁸ Takođe referenca na pesmu-performans Damira Avdića Mrtvi su mrtvi.

suffering, the emancipated process of becoming a subject can only take place when freed from the shackles of a victimised position or any other position that is merely focused on the interests of any particular identity. It is in the espousal of claims for a more equitable sociality for all that unbribable life is mobilised.

Of love and of reassembling ourselves

The unidentified

'Like in a mass grave,
everyone has died of one's own death,
apparently,
love
of the same cause

What is his collar bone doing
being next to this frontal bone
And what will he look like
Reassembled from different parts
When the day of resurrection
comes

It is a particular question
From what will we reassemble ourselves
If again
we decide to love one another'
...

Neidentificirani⁶

Kao u zajedničkoj grobnici
svatko je umro od svoje smrti
navodno
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Što radi njegova ključna kost
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Posebno je pitanje
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ako se ponovno
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...

As for the dead – 'the dead are dead, why didn't you give them a hand when they were alive?', as Damir Avdić asks.⁷ Today in Bosnia and Herzegovina, supported by the international community, the comingled remains of the dead from mass graves are put through a juridico-scientific-religious process of re-association and identification of 'missing persons'. Retroactively re-inscribing the war as a war among ethnic identities, victims are re-associated and identified as ethnic victims. Paradoxically, the perspective taken in the process of this re-association is the perspective of the original perpetrator of the crime: like the original gaze that looked on the remains of those who were executed, this gaze puts them together and names them, assuming the gaze of the execution's perpetrators, for it is in the fantasy of the perpetrator that the executed person is the ethnic other.

If 'the dead are dead' and if we never decided to give them a hand, what about the living? Paraphrasing Jozefina Dautbegović's poem 'The unidentified', we might say that post-war transition itself resembles a mass grave, where everybody lives their own separate life as if allocated their own partible site in society. The collectivity of those who have survived is comprised of those who are 'alive but dead'.⁸ One should read this not as the 'living dead' but, literally, as the most alive bit of the dead – unbribable life itself – as that which insists on justice and equality and demands such societal transformation as will break through the mortifying isolation that is brought about by the allocation of a separate site. This is precisely what the title of Dautbegović's poem refers to – the unidentified

⁶ Dautbegović, Jozefina (2003) 'Neidentificirani', *Sarajevske sveske*, 4, 271.

⁷ I am quoting here a poet-performer Damir Avdić and his poem-performance *Mrtvi su mrtvi*.

⁸ Also with reference to Damir Avdić's poem-performance *Mrtvi su mrtvi*.

prepoznaće odgovor na to pitanje i neće, ni pod kojim okolnostima, preuzeti perspektivu ubica. Takođe će morati da ode izvan teritorijalnog, ali na takav način da ne odustane od prava da definiše teritorijalno. Ta nova definicija teritorije biće od ljubavi i zemlje, definicija koja ide dalje od masovne grobnice za žive, koja je res publica nepotkupljivog života.

— Preveo sa engleskog Jakov Čaušević

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are not just those who are buried in clandestine mass graves or those whose remains are currently on tables in the re-association centre, but more importantly, it is this 'we' for whom we still have no name. 'We' will have to assume the position of the unidentified, 'if again / we decide to love another' and, in doing so, claim a universal norm for who 'we' are and what the world is. If love is a matter of decision, it is also a matter of recognition of the loved one who answers my question – 'who am I?' (Miller 2008). This community of unbriable life will recognise the answer to this question and will not under any circumstances uphold the gaze of the perpetrator. It will also have to go beyond the territorial, but in such a way that it does not give up on the right to define the territorial. This new definition of territory will be one of love and soil, one that goes beyond the mass grave of the living, and is a *res publica* of unbriable life.

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PROTIV SMRTI POLITIČKOG SUBJEKTA: O KULTURNOJ PRODUKCIJI I EMANCIPA- TIVNOJ POLITICI

Javna učionica i politička radionica

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Šta je nama emancipativno djelovanje danas, ono koje se opire smrti političkog subjekta i proizvodnji ljudskog otpada kroz teror nejednakosti i suverene projekte etnopolitike/etnokapitalizma. Šta treba danas reći u lice pakla moći i kulture terora, naše materijalne svakodnevnice? Zadatak ove javne učionice i političke radionice jeste da se usprotivi smrti političkog subjekta i proizvodnji ljudskog otpada kroz politiku terora i nejednakosti

AGAINST THE DEATH OF THE POLITICAL SUBJECT: ON CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND EMANCIPATORY POLITICS

Public classroom and political workshop

Participants: Jasmina Husanović, Azra Čaušević, Elvis Kušljugić, Velid Beganović, Danijela Majstorović, student group "Language, Power, Ideology", members of Monument Group, audience and guests

What is emancipatory action for us today, action that defies the death of the political subject and the production of human waste through the terror of inequality and the dominant projects of ethno-politics/ethno-capitalism? What is it that we should say today as to the hellish powers and the terror of culture, which are our material everyday life? The task of this public classroom and political workshop is to defy the death of the political

danas, odnosno etnokapitalizam koji se materijalizira kao "krvava bajka t(ije)la" svakodnevno. Ovaj događaj poslužiće kao prostor javnog i kolektivnog promišljanja kroz uvodne diskusije nekoliko učesnika, koji će reflektirati pitanje emancipativnog djelovanja danas u ovom kontekstu uz upotrebu odabranih tekstova i intervencija. Tokom radionice će se konceptualno mapirati teren na interaktivnim tablama i dijagramima (flipcharts blokovi, zidne novine). Cilj je da se kroz susret odabranih teorijskih, umjetničkih i političkih intervencija, kao i aktera iz polja kulturne produkcije, proizvodnje znanja, te društvenog aktivizma i umjetnosti, učini kolektivni korak – od iskustva katastrofe društvenosti kojoj svjedočimo svakodnevno, a prema kritičkim uvidima i emancipativnim praksama.

Teme:

- ljudski otpad i kapital, politika terora, suvereniteta i nejednakosti danas;
- otpor krvavoj bajci tijela i tla, protiv smrti političkog subjekta;
- otpad i politika jednakosti: objekat-afekat-revolt-kolektivitet;
- zajedništva i solidarnosti, proizvodnja znanja, emancipativna politika.

— jh

subject and the production of human waste through the policy of terror of inequality today, i.e. ethno-capitalism materialized on a daily basis as a 'bloody fairy-tale of the land/body.' The event will serve as a site of public and collective reflection through introductory discussions with several participants, who will reflect on the issue of emancipatory action today, in the present context, with the help of selected texts and interventions. The workshop will conceptually map the terrain on interactive plates and diagrams (flipchart blocks, panels). The aim is to juxtapose a number of theoretical artistic and political interventions, as well as agents from the field of cultural production, production of knowledge, cultural activism, and art, making a collective step away from experiencing the disaster of the social body, which we are witnessing every day, towards critical insights and emancipating practices.

Topics:

- Human waste and capital; politics of terror, domination, and inequality today;
- Resisting the bloody fairy tale of the body and land, against the death of the political subject;
- Waste and politics of inequality: object-affect-revolt-collectivism;
- Community and solidarity, production of knowledge, emancipatory politics.

— jh

Jasmina Husanović
PROTIV SMRTI POLITIČKOG SUBJEKTA:
O KULTURNOJ PRODUKCIJI I EMANCIPATIVNOJ POLITICI

Cilj učionice je potraga za jednim novim vidom akcije, djelovanja koje proističe iz našeg života, rada i intelektu, gdje se naša iskustva pretaču u kritičke uvide i emancipativne prakse, odnosno u politiku koja se kroz abjekte i afekte, proistekle iz terora svakodnevice u BiH i univerzalno, probija ka jednom obećavajućem kolektivitetu: subjektima i činovima koji preko granica tog identitarnog terora nejednakosti i suvereniteta, interveniše u javni prostor i političku imaginaciju kao istina u lice moći, upućujući na neiskorjenjivi princip jednakosti i slobode, na zajedništva koja živimo i koja su pred svima nama.

Učionica će imati slijedeću formu – nakon mog uvoda u širi teorijsko-praktični konceptualni teren (dijagnoza stanja, ključne ideje, obećavajuće prakse), pri čemu možete intervenirati u svakom momentu (kroz nadoveze, asocijacije, pojašnjenja, itd.), otvorićemo prostor za osvrte svih prisutnih, a prvo onih koji su spremili i najavili vlastite refleksije na pitanje postavljeno u javnom pozivu na ovu radionicu: Šta je nama emancipativno djelovanje danas, ono koje se opire smrti političkog subjekta i proizvodnji ljudskog otpada kroz teror nejednakosti i suverene projekte etnopolitike/etnokapitalizma?

Time se želi da ostanemo dosljedni zadatku ove javne učionice i političke radionice – afirmaciji onoga što se protiv smrti političkog subjekta i proizvodnji ljudskog otpada kroz politiku terora i nejednakosti danas, odnosno etnokapitalizam u vidu etnopolitike koji se materijalizira kao "krvava bajka t(i)je la" svakodnevno. Intervencije Grupe Spomenik dosada su na raznim čvorištima otvorile prostor za susret odabranih teorijskih umjetničkih i političkih intervencija, kao i aktera iz polja kulturne produkcije, proizvodnje znanja, te društvenog aktivizma i umjetnosti. Pri tome, intervencije u temelju imaju etičko-politički zadatak da se učini kolektivni korak – od iskustva katastrofe društvenosti kojoj svjedočimo svakodnevno, a prema kritičkim uvidima i emancipativnim praksama. U ovom smislu, one su dio širih pobuna unutar prostora javnosti, kulturne i umjetničke produkcije, s kojima stojimo u zajedništvu govoreći NE pokušajima da nas se svede na horizont suverene identitarne politike u svrhu dominacije tijelom i tlom, kroz nove nomose državotvorenja i simboličko-materijalnih upisa i ispisa života.

Teme pred nama su:

- Ljudski otpad i kapital, politika terora, suvereniteta i nejednakosti danas;
- otpor krvavoj bajci tijela i tla, protiv smrti političkog subjekta;
- Ljudski otpad kao politički subjekt i politika jednakosti (abjekt-afekat-revolt-kolektivitet);
- abjekt kroz metafore ljudskog otpada proizvedenog političkim, ekonomskim, društvenim nasiljem, kao što su geto, masovna grobnica, itd.;
- zajedništva i solidarnosti, proizvodnja znanja, emancipativna politika.

Sasvim je izvjesno da su nam prijeko potrebni novi, radikalni društveni imaginariji kada je u pitanju politika svjedočenja koja navigira trijadu goli/prekarni život – suverena moć – biopolitički nomos novih carstava oko nas. Stoga je važno insistirati na otporima konfiskaciji iskustva i pamćenja, na otporu onome što porobljava kritičku misao i intelektualni život, gdje je jedan od najbrutalnijih mehanizama upravo politički i ideološki kompleks umnožavajućih i haotičnih prisutnosti 'sjećanja' i 'zaborava' u našoj svakodnevnici kojim se sasvim jasno depolitizira i 'prošlo' i 'sadašnje' i 'buduće'. Uzevši u obzir da je jezik materijalni uvjet našeg postojanja, jer je u svakom smislu instrument proizvodnje robe i otpada (onoga što se ne da komodificirati i/li aproprirati), pitanje pronalaženja optike,

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The objective of this classroom is the search for a new form of action stemming out of our life, work and intellect, in which our experience is transformed into critical insights and emancipatory practices, that is, into a politics that through the abject and the affect deriving from the everyday terror of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and indeed universally, makes its way towards a promising collectivity: to subjects and deeds that, beyond the borders of this identitarian terror of inequality and sovereignty, intervene in public space and political imagination as the truth in the face of power, referring to the ineradicable principle of equality and liberty, to the communalities we live in and those that are ahead of us.

The class will have the following form – after my introduction into the broader theoretical and practical conceptual field (a diagnosis of the state of affairs, key ideas and promising practices), during which you can intervene at any moment (follow-ups, associations, clarifications and so on), we shall open up a space for comments from all those present, but first of all from those who have prepared and announced their own reflections on the issue raised in the public invitation to this workshop: What is emancipatory action for us today, that which resists the death of the political subject and the production of human waste through the terror of inequality and the contemporary projects of ethnopoltics and ethnocapitalism?

The intention here is that we remain in keeping to the task of this public classroom and political workshop – the endorsement of whatever stands out against the death of the political subject and the production of human waste through the politics of terror and inequality today, i.e. ethnocapitalism in the form of ethnopoltics materialised as the “bloody fairy tale of soil and body” in the everyday. Interventions of Grupa Spomenik [Monument Group] to date have at various nodes opened up spaces for the encounter of selected theoretical, artistic and political interventions, as well as of the actors in the field of cultural production, the production of knowledge, and social activism and art. Here, interventions have at base an ethno-political task, that of making a collective step – from the experience of the catastrophe of sociality that we encounter every day, towards critical insights and emancipatory practices. From this perspective, they are a part of wider revolts within the spaces of the public, of cultural and artistic production, with which we stand together saying No to the attempts to reduce us to the horizon of sovereign identitarian politics aimed at the domination of body and soil, through new nomos of statecraft, and symbolic and material inscriptions and erasions of life.

The topics before us are:

- human waste and capital, politics of terror, sovereignty and inequality today;
- resistance to the bloody fairy tale of body and soil, against the death of the political subject;
- human waste as the political subject and politics of equality (abject-affect-revolt-collectivity);
- the abject through the metaphors of human waste produced by political, economic and social violence, such as ghettos and mass graves;
- communalities and solidarities, production of knowledge, emancipatory politics.

It is obvious that we urgently need new, radical social imaginaries when we are concerned with the politics of witnessing that navigates the triad of bare/precarious life – sovereign power – the biopolitical nomos of the new empires around us. Hence it is important to insist on resistances to the confiscation of experience and memory, on resistance to what enthrals critical thinking

riječi i saputnika kako bismo razmrsili sveprisutne zone nerazlučivosti u kojima "niti išta stvarno zaboravljamo, niti se išta stvarno sjećamo"¹, mora se suočiti sa slijedećom dimenzijom gubitka društvenosti/političnosti – bezglasnošću koja rezultira nevidljivošću političkog subjekta promjene. Kako se onda novi društveni imaginariji i političke geste bore sa "gubitkom mogućnosti govora, odnosno gubitkom kapaciteta za jezik, koji znače i gubitak pripadanja svijetu kao takvom"; u kojem smjeru preinačuju taj gubitak koji "komunificira" (dovodi u zajedništvo) mnoge članove određenih političkih zajednica u prošlom, sadašnjem i budućem vremenu?²

U ovom sam smislu u raznim prilikama i formatima razmatrala, kontekstualizirala i dijalogizirala sa određenim radovima i angažmanima umjetnica i kulturnih djelatnica u Bosni i Hercegovini čiji se rad nalazi u različitim oblicima kulturne produkcije i političke vidljivosti - upravo kroz potragu za takvim novim optikama i praksama u sferi umjetnosti i kulturne produkcije za koje bi se moglo ustvrditi da na autentičan i emancipativan način prevazilaze mrtvouzice današnje "globalne/lokalne stvarnosti". Naime, u pitanju je produkcija koja intervenira na emancipativan način u biopolitički interes spram kolonizacije povijesti i budućnosti, iskustva, ljudskosti i svakodnevnog života: "najunutarniji interes vladajućih režima suverenosti jeste onaj spram kontroliranja tijela, njegovog postavljanja na pravo/odgovarajuće mjesto".³ Ta intervencija u idealiziranu 'ispravnost mjesta' koje nam je proskribirano mora sadržati radikalnu apropijaciju, transgresiju i dislokaciju kroz polaganje prava na transformaciju polisa i poretka.

Međutim, problem emancipativne politike svjedočenja kroz jezik umjetnosti, nemoguće je sagledati bez da počnemo od paradoksalne (ne)mogućnosti pravde, i nošenja sa kritičkim traumatskim sadržajima političke realnosti, a "u-vijek se iz lica, iz odgovornosti za drugoga, pravda pojavljuje".⁴ Pored ranije navedenih, mnoge umjetničke prakse iz bosansko-hercegovačkog/međunarodnog polja kulturne produkcije koriste jezik umjetnosti da stvore ovakva lica koja na određenoj ravni funkcioniraju kao simptomatični subjekat oksimoronične političke zajednice u BiH i šire, traumatizirana i osiromašena, stalno u nekoj 'čekaonici', na nekom 'čekanju'. Jezik umjetnosti nudi radikalne vrste svjedočenja traumi koje istovremeno otkrivaju kontingentnost formi političke i društvene organizacije. Politika afekta kroz dinamiku ožiljak-lice političkog subjekta i zajednica ovdje udara direktno na samu političku suverenost nacije-države kao krinke za preustrojavanje novih društvenih snaga i elita. U ovom nestabilnom polju oscilacije kulturaliziranih političkih emocija, mora se djelovati skupa sa svim onim što nam daje sredstva za proizvodnju afirmativnih imaginarija za lice/tijelo, ožiljak/subjekt na dnu lanca višestrukih političkih dislokacija i marginalizacija, otjelovljeno sidrište paradoksalne političke i traumatizirajuće liminalnosti, ničijosti, odsutnosti.

Određena praksa ima emancipativni naboj ovdje samo ako odgovara na gubitak kapaciteta za jezik (odnosno pripadanja svijetu i načina života) tako što odbija jezik suverene biopolitičke moći, a gubitak preinačuje u nešto što nas 'komunificira', dovodi u zajedništvo kroz afirmativne političke imaginarije nasuprot perpetuiranju politike atrociteta (proizvodnje ljudskog otpada) u raznim krinka-

¹ Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies* (London: Phoenix, 1998, prev. Celia Hawkesworth), str. 235.

² Christian Marazzi, *Capital and Language: From the New Economy to the War Economy* (Semiotext(e), 2008), str. 131.

³ Athena Athanasiou, "Reflections on the Politics of Mourning: Feminist Ethics and Politics in the Age of Empire", *Historein* (vol. 5, 2008), str. 43.

⁴ Emmanuel Levinas, "Philosophy, Justice and Love", citirano u Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), str. 1.

and the intellectual life, where one of the most brutal of mechanisms is precisely that political and ideological complex of the multiplying and chaotic presences of 'remembering' and 'forgetting' in our everyday life, which clearly depoliticises the past and the present and the future. Taking into consideration language as the material condition of our existence, for it is in every sense an instrument of the production of commodity and of rejects (of what cannot be commodified and or appropriated), and to approach the question of finding the optics, words and companions for us to be able to disentangle the omnipresent zones of indistinction in which "we neither really forget anything, nor really remember anything",¹ it is necessary to confront the following dimension of loss of sociality/politicallity – the voicelessness that results in the invisibility of the political subject of change. How then do the new social imaginary and political gestures struggle with the "loss of the ability to speak, or the loss of the capacity for language, which means in turn the loss of belonging to the world as such"; in which direction do they modify this loss that "communifies" (brings together) many members of certain political communities in the past, present and future times?²

In this sense on various occasions and in different formats, I have considered, contextualised and entered into dialogue with certain works and engagements of women artists and cultural workers in the arts in Bosnia and Herzegovina whose works are situated in various forms of cultural production and political visibility – precisely through the search for such new optics and practices in the sphere of art and cultural production which can be affirmed as in an authentic and emancipatory way to traverse the deadlocks of today's "global/local reality". It is the question of production that intervenes in an emancipatory manner in the biopolitical, concerning the colonisation of history and the future, experience, humanness and everyday life: "the innermost interest of reigning regimes of sovereignty in controlling the body, in putting it in its proper place".³ This intervention into an idealised "properness of place" prescribed for us, must contain forms of radical appropriation, transgression and dislocation by claiming the right to the transformation of polis and order.

However, it is impossible to see the problem of emancipatory politics, of witnessing through the language of art without starting from the paradoxical im/possibility of justice, coping with the critical traumatic contents of political reality, since "it is always from the face, from responsibility for the other, that justice appears".⁴ In addition to those mentioned earlier, many artistic practices from the Bosnia and Herzegovina/international field of cultural production use the language of art to create such faces that at a certain level functioned as a symptomatic subject of the oxymoronic political community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and of a wider subject, traumatised and impoverished, constantly in some 'waiting room', doing some kind of 'waiting'. The language of art offers radical kinds of witnessing to trauma that at the same time reveals the contingent nature of the forms of political and social organisation. The politics of affect through the scar-face dynamics of the political subject and community here strikes directly at the very political sovereignty of the nation-state as a mask for the reorganisation of new social forces and elites. In this unstable field of oscilla-

¹ Dubravka Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies* (London: Phoenix, 1998, trans. Celia Hawkesworth), p. 235.

² Christian Marazzi, *Capital and Language: From the New Economy to the War Economy* (Semiotext(e), 2008), p. 131.

³ Athena Athanasiou, "Reflections on the Politics of Mourning: Feminist Ethics and Politics in the Age of Empire", *Historien* (vol. 5, 2008), p. 43.

⁴ Emmanuel Levinas, "Philosophy, Justice and Love", quoted in Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 1.

ma kulturalne čitljivosti, razumljivosti, 'ispravnih mjesta' i 'ispravnog jezika' za ono što je isključeno/uključeno kroz političko nasilje, korupciju, osiromašenje i banalnost. Ovo su oni koji naseljavaju frakturu narod-Narod, zajedništva kao biopolitičke samoorganizacije koje teže da preraspodjeljuju kapital, postavljajući pitanje imovine i javnog dobra, konstruišući nove vrijednosti kroz kooperaciju subjekata u opštem intelektu, javnom intelektualnom životu. Ne pripada li svakoj novoj generaciji njen vlastiti ustav, kako tvrdi Virno, na temelju principa konstitutivne neservilne republike koja se tvori kroz politiku egzodusa, politiku angažiranog povlačenja iz matrica etnokapitala i etnopolitike, u odnosu na dominantnu suverenu biomuć koja upravlja kroz lagere života i smrti, masovne grobnice i geta, politiku terora i nejednakosti.

Nije li vrijeme dovesti u pitanje samo svojstvo države da uopće ima stvari u svojim rukama? Nije li ta tehnoperformativnost moderne biopolitike na samim svojim granicama, kada uzmemo u obzir korporealnost prognanih, mučenih, silovanih, tlačanih, zatočenih, raščlanjenih, karantiziranih, istrijebljenih i preživjelih tijela? Kako odgovoriti na biopolitičku suverenost i njen zahtjev za ujedinjenom i uniformnom politikom tijela? Kroz totalizirajući nomos moći nad golim životom i življenom smrti, i biopolitika i tanatopolitika otkrivaju nam da je jedinstveni kapital tijela, naših tijela, upravo radna snaga. Dokaz virtuoznosti naše radne snage (recimo, kao kognitarijata, spoja naučnog radnika i proletera) jeste javni intelekt kao glavna produktivna snaga, spoj intelekta i rada, koji sve više i više pritišće statizacija ili etatizacija intelekta, gdje se događa autoritarni transfer potencijala intelekta na administraciju i njenu moć (hipertrofirani rast administrativnih aparata kao suprotnost kooperacije), kao što se dešava i to da naše virtuozne aktivnosti postaju univerzalni servilni rad gdje personaliziramo vlastite podređenosti.⁵ Subverzivno je ovdje djelovanje samo ono koje instituiru nedržavnu javnu sferu kao zajednicu koja počiva na slijedećem – masovnoj defekciji u odnosu na državotvorne aparate, alijansi općeg intelekta i političke akcije, kao pokret ka javnoj sferi intelekta. Pitanje javnog dobra i zajedničkih poslova treba biti ponovo imaginirano, od nule, kroz prakticiranje raznih vrлина – radikalnog neposluha i neumjerenosti koji dovodi u pitanje same koordinate političkog života onako kako je on danas uređen. U ovom neposluhu i neumjerenosti zahtjeva, kroz primjere zadruga otpora i čuda, vidi se društveni konflikt na slijedeći način – kroz izlaznu gestu (traverziranje) koja dezorijentira protivnika, kroz akt kolektivne imaginacije koja daje izraz obilju znanja, komunikacije i djelovanja skupa, ne pristajući na transfer ka moći državne imaginacije u njenim raznim presvlakama.⁶

Takve intervencije drugačije "misle" zajedništvo i solidarnost u kontekstu tehnologija ljudskosti, upravljanja ljudskim i proizvodnje ljudskog otpada kroz političko, ekonomsko i društveno nasilje unutar onoga što možemo nazvati kao 'post-SFRJ laboratorij upravljanja životom/smrću' gdje se ožiljak masovne grobnice/logora perpetuiru kroz politiku terora nejednakosti u svakodnevnom životu. Važne geste u polju kulturne produkcije i javnog djelovanja koje dolaze sa trajektorija i iz mreža politike jednakosti u dobu takozvane 'krize utopije' bave se najtežim pitanjima – politikom objekta, afekta, revolta i kolektiviteta danas, odnosno pitanjem emancipativne politike nakon katastrofe iskustva koja nas je zadesila zadnjih decenija.⁷

⁵ Paolo Virno, "Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus", i Antonio Negri "Constituent Republic" u zborniku *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, ur. Paolo Virno i Michael Hardt, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

⁶ Ibid., str. 189-209, 213-221.

⁷ Ovim temama se detaljnije bavim u svom dosadašnjem radu – vidi naročito, Jasmina Husanović, *Između traume, imaginacije i nade. Kritički ogledi o kulturnoj produkciji i emancipativnoj politici* (Beograd, Fabrika knjiga, 2009).

tion of culturalised political emotions, it is necessary to work together with everything that gives us the means for the production of an affirmative imaginary for the face/body, scar/subject at the bottom of the chain of multiple political dislocations and marginalisations, embodied kernel of paradoxical politics and traumatising liminality, of belonging to no one, of absence.

Here a certain practice has an emancipatory charge only if it replies to the loss of the capacity for language (i.e. of belonging to the world and a way of life) in such a way that it rejects the language of sovereign biopolitical power, and turns loss into something that 'communifies' us, bring us into communality through an affirmative political imaginary against the perpetuation of the politics of atrocity (the production of human waste) in its various guises of cultural readability, intelligibility, 'proper places' and 'proper language' for that which is excluded/included through political violence, corruption, impoverishment and banality. It is about those who inhabit the fracture people-People, about collectivities as biopolitical self-organisations that aim to redistribute capital, raising the issue of property and public good, constructing new values through the cooperation of subjects in the general intellect, in public intellectual life? Does not every new generation have the right to its own constitution, as Virno and Negri claim, based on the principle of the constitutive non-servile republic created through the politics of exodus, the politics of engaged withdrawal from the matrices of ethnocapital and ethnopolitics, in relation to the dominant sovereign biopower that governs through the Lagers of life and death, mass graves and ghettos, the politics of terror and inequality.

Isn't it time to call into question the very property of a state to have things in its own hands at all? Isn't this techno-performativity of modern biopolitics right at its very limits, when we take into consideration the corporeality of the expelled, tortured, raped, oppressed, incarcerated, dismembered, quarantined, exterminated and surviving bodies? How does one reply to the biopolitical sovereignty and its demands for a united and uniform politics of the body? Through the totalising nomos of power over bare life and lived death, both biopolitics and thanatopolitics reveal to us that the unique capital of the body, of our bodies, is actually labour. The evidence of the virtuosity of our labour force (let us say, as the cognitariat, a fusion of knowledge worker and proletarian) is the public intellect as the main productive power, a combination of intellect and work which is more and more pressed by the nationalisation or etatisation of the intellect, where one sees its authoritarian transfer of the potentials of intellect to the administration and its power (the hypertrophied growth of administrative apparatuses as the opposition of cooperation), where our virtuous conduct becomes universal servile work where we personalised our own subjections.⁵ The only subversive act is that which institutes the non-governmental public sphere as community that rests on the following – mass defection from the statecraft apparatus, alliance of the general intellect and political action, and movement to the public sphere of intellect. The issue of public good and common affairs should be reimagined, from a zero point, through the practice of various virtues – radical disobedience and intemperance that calls into question the very coordinates of political life as it is ordered today. In this disobedience and immoderation of demands, through the examples of cooperatives of resistance and miracles, social conflict can be perceived through the following – a gesture of exodus (traversal) that disorients the opponent, but also through the act of collective imagination that gives expression to the abundance of knowledge, com-

⁵ Paolo Virno, "Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus", and Antonio Negri "Constituent Republic" in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, ed. Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Naši razgovori moraju biti javna učionica kao zajednica jednakih, gdje ćemo skupa proizvoditi mape znanja i djelovanja, kroz analizu iskustava kada je u pitanju potraga za emancipativnom politikom: kao trojaka potraga za subjektom-agentom-kolektivitetom, prostorom intervencije (javnosti), i za vizijom-imaginacijom politike emancipacije. Dakle, pitanje svima je – koja naša materijalna iskustva vlastitih života kao sprege intelekta, rada i akcije afirmišu subjekt, prostor i imaginaciju emancipativne politike danas?



munication and acting together, whilst rejecting the transfer to the power of state imagination in its various cloaks. ⁶

Such interventions “think” commonality and solidarity differently in the context of the technologies of humanness, the management of the human and the production of human waste through political, economic and social violence within what we can call ‘the post-Yugoslav laboratory of managing life and death’ where the scar of the mass grave/camp is perpetuated through the politics of terror of inequality in everyday life. Important gestures in the field of cultural production and public action that arrive from the trajectories and networks of political equality at the time of what is called the “crisis of utopia” deal with the hardest questions – the politics of the abject, affect, revolt and collectivity today, or the question of emancipatory politics after the catastrophe of experience that overcame us in recent decades. ⁷

Our conversations have to be a public classroom as a community of equals, where together we produce maps of knowledge and action, through the analysis of experience when it comes to the search for emancipatory politics: as a triple search for the subject-agent-collectivity, for the space of intervention (in the public) and for the vision-imagination of such politics of emancipation. The question for all of us, then is – which of our own material experiences of life as the combination of intellect, work and action, affirms the subject, space and imagination of emancipatory politics today?

— translated to English by Graham McMaster



⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-209, 213-221.

⁷ I have dealt with these topics in more detail in previous works, see particularly Jasmina Husanović *Između traume, imaginacije i nade. Kritički ogledi o kulturnoj produkciji i emancipativnoj politici* (Belgrade, Fabrika knjiga, 2009).

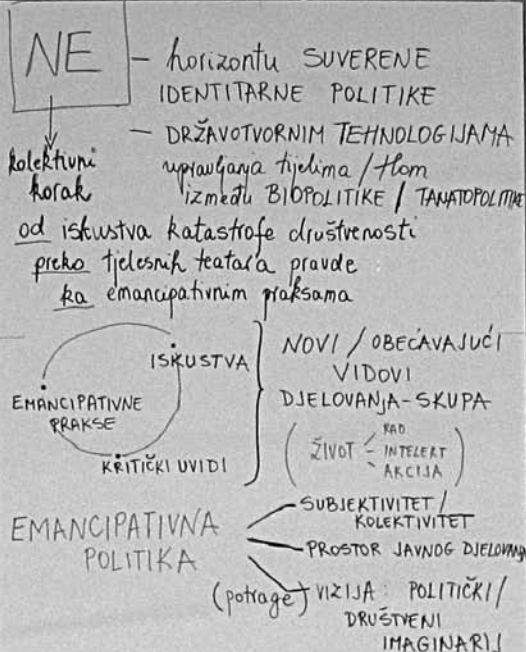
Photos: TJ

Photo: DeLve

PROTIV SMRTI
POLITIČKOG SUBJEKTA:
O KULTURNOJ PRODUKCIJI

EMANCIPATIVNOJ
POLITICI

Javna učionica i
politička radionica



JAVNA UČIONICA | Banjaluka, 31.10.2010.

KRVAVA BAJKA T(ije)LA

PROIZVODNJA Ljudskog otpada

SVJEDOČITI SMRTI POLITIČKOG SUBJEKTA kroz POLITIKU TERORA NEJEDNAKOSTI

ETNOKAPITALIZAM ≈ ETNOPOLITIKA

MATERIJALNA ISKUSTVA NASILJA — "UPIS / ISPIS ŽIVOTA"

↳ na koji ETIČKO-POLITIČKI ZADATAK upućuju?

INTERVENCIJA U JAVNI PROSTOR

POLITIČKA IMAGINACIJA kao ISTINA U LICE MOĆI

(svjedočenje traumi suverene biomoci / biokapitala, potraživanja odgovornosti i pravde)

ÉGALIBERTÉ

(jednakost/sloboda)

(univerzalna politika, princip SOLIDARNOSTI i zajedništva)

AFIRMATIVNE POLITIČKE GESTE:

KROZ ABJEKT/AFEKT ("teror kao i obično": svakodnevni život)

DO REVOLTA I KOLEKTIVITETA

IZVAN identitarnog terora nejednakosti

↳ otpori, solidarnosti, instance politike jednakosti...

ABJEKT ~~—~~ MASOVNA
AFEKT ~~—~~ GROBNICA
GETO

(metafore za ljudski otpad proizveden kroz političko/društveno/ekonomsko nasilje - ATROCITET/OSIROMAŠENJE)

Kao trauma suverenosti, odnosno uspostavljanje novih političkih autoriteta i načina upravljanja životom

REVOLT
KOLEKTIVITET

Kroz svjedočenja i intervencije u trijadu GOLI/PREKARNI ŽIVOT - SUVERENA MOĆ - BIOPOLITIČKI POREDAK oko nas

Afektivni obrat: repolitizacija subjekta
TO SMO MI
kroz preuzimanje pozicije ljudskog otpada

POLITIKA AFEKTA (NOVIH SOLIDARNOSTI):

- * PROTIV SVAKOG OBLIKA POLITIČKE SUVERENOSTI (DRŽAVE, ETNIJE, INSTITUCIJA MODERNOG "POSTPOLITIČKOG" I POSTIDEOLOŠKOG "DRUŠTVA") koji služi kao klinka za preustrojanje novih društvenih snaga i elita
- * nove koordinate političke inteligibilnosti koje odbijaju jezik suverene moći (iz pozicije frakture narod - Narod gdje je radna sposobnost, radna snaga - jedinstveni kapital naših tijela u biopolitičkom / tanatopolitičkom obitu)
- * postavljanje pitanja ravnog dobra, intelekta i života iz perspektive univerzalne politike jednakosti i slobode

Arkti / subjekti koji se OPIRU:

- * konfiskaciji iskustva i pamćenja
- * porobljavanju kritičke misli i intelektualnog života, kao i našeg rada
- * poricanju, brisanju, mitologizaciji, medikalizaciji, racionalizaciji, birokratizaciji i normalizaciji ponjesnih povreda i ožiljaka ljudskoga.

PREUZIMANJE POZICIJE RIZIKA:

- * svjedočenje iz pozicije isključenoga i nemogućega
↳ preispisivanje koordinata političke mogućnosti, nedljivosti, citljivosti učinka
- * dovodenje iskustava gubitka u zajedništvo (komuniciranje) tako što se polaze pravo na transformaciju polisa / poretka



Photo: DeLve

Jelena Petrović (Grupa Spomenik / Monument Group) & Stanislav Tomić

ISTORIJA SADAŠNJOSTI

Javno čitanje

Knjiga Svetlane Đorđević *Svedočanstvo o Kosovu* pokazuje kako sadržaj i forma autoreferencijalne književnosti zavise od društveno-politički kodiranog jezika koji posreduje *neposredni doživljaj* rascepa ne/rata između medijski konstruisane stvarnosti i ličnog iskustva.

Predloženi koncept je pokušaj transformacije literarnog teksta u istoriju sadašnjosti (Foucault), koji se služi radnom čitankom, zidnim novinama, javnim čitanjem, i u širem kontekstu predstavlja jednu od ekstenzija *Usmenih novina* Grupe Spomenik. Radna čitanka sadrži prvi deo knjige, koji započinje kratkim autobiografskim osvrtom, a završava se autorkinom potragom za bratom, komandantom jedne od paravojnih formacija u Bosni, Draganom Đorđevićem – Crnim, koji se u tom trenutku

HISTORY OF THE PRESENT

Public reading

Svetlana Đorđević's book *Testimony on Kosovo* shows that the content and form of auto-referential literature depend on the socially and politically encoded language, which mediates the *direct experience* of the rupture of non/war between the reality as constructed by the mass media and personal experience.

The suggested concept is an attempt at transforming a literary text into the history of the present (Foucault), which uses a working reader, wall newspapers, and public reading, as one of the extensions of the *Oral Newspaper* by Grupa Spomenik (Monument Group). The working reader contains the first part of the book, beginning with an autobiographic section and ending with the author's search for her brother, Dragan Đorđević – Crni, commander of one of the paramilitary formations in Bosnia who

nalazi u zatvoru u Banja Luci. Putanja ratne politike: Beograd, Novi Sad, Bosanski Šamac, Banja Luka kroz lično iskustvo autorke tako postaje vidljiva pisanjem, čitanjem i neposrednim intervencijama čitalačke grupe u poglavlje knjige koje otvara jednu od ekstenzija *Usmenih novina* Grupe Spomenik.

— jp

was at the moment of writing imprisoned in Banja Luka. The trajectory of wartime politics – Belgrade, Novi Sad, Bosanski Šamac, Banja Luka – through the author's personal experience thus becomes visible by being written and read, as well as through the direct interventions of the reading group in the chapter that opens one of the extensions of the *Oral Newspaper* by Grupa Spomenik.

— jp

Nova tekstualnost, nastala kao rezultat politički angažovane umetnosti, suočava nas sa brisanjem sećanja koje se sprovodi u ime današnjih revizionističkih politika i nostalgičnih surogat-istorija. Zapisuje, govori i poseže u raspršene postsocijalističke matrice kvazi-demokratizirajućih etnija koje su postideološki eufemizirale i amnezirale razaranje Jugoslavije, smrt njenog političkog naroda i pljačku javnog dobra – genocidnom politikom etno-nacionalizma i klasnim bogaćenjem tranzicijskog kapitalizma. Zataškana u državnim, i pervertirana kroz nevladine institucije, dehumanizovane i piramidalne strukture, naša otuđena stvarnost briše sve što se dogodilo.

U tom procesu nestajanja, nova tekstualnost podseća, opire se i poziva na neotuđivu i nepotkupljivu politiku svakodnevnog života ¹-. Pokušava da identitarno rasparčavanje politike jednakosti i solidarnosti u birokratskoj mašineriji preživelog/oživelog fašizma zaustavi, stvarajući novo zajedništvo/novu kolektivnost koje, u ono što će se tek dogoditi, interveniše politikom pod/sećanja i društvene emancipacije. Istovremeno, na pitanje: *zašto ta kolektivnost mora biti nova i u odnosu na šta je ona emergentna?* odgovara: *zato što insistira na društvenom antagonizmu i nastaje u borbi sa neokolonijalizmom, neoeksploatazmom, neofašizmom...* ²-. U tom kontekstu, političko delovanje postaje emergentna praksa naše svakidašnjice, palimpsest izbrisanih događaja i zajednica u ime kojih smo dužni da govorimo, jer su u našem vremenu brutalno izbrisane i jer su zapravo deo našeg rasparčanog i izmasakriranog "mi":

*Bratstvo-jedinstvo je završilo na dva flora
u masovnim grobnicama i koncentracionim logorima
Na kojem od ta dva flora želiš da ti sviram?*

...

*Bratstvo-jedinstvo je završilo na dva flora
pred streljačkim vodovima i masovnim koljačima!*

...

*Bratstvo i jedinstvo je završilo!
Vrijeme je da se upoznamo
onakvi kakvi stvarno jesmo.* ³-

Grupa Spomenik interveniše u proces brisanja sećanja, zadirući u pukotine amnezirane i ograđene stvarnosti, istovremeno u traumama da se misli Jugoslavija na mestu na kome je izvršen genocid nad njom. Da li je uopšte moguće misliti novo zajedništvo kroz politiku jednakopravnosti i solidarnosti na mestu na kome je nad predhodnim – jugoslovenskim – izvršen genocid? Ukoliko smo sposobni da to zajedništvo uspostavimo kroz proces društvene subjektivizacije ljubavi koja se temelji na politici nepotkupljivog života i sećanja, onda možda jeste moguće, i u tom možda, proces sastavljanja koje pokreće nada oblikovana kroz praksu nemogućeg je nužan.

¹ Damir Arsenijević: "Mobilizing Unbrivable Life: The Politics of Contemporary Poetry in Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Mobiliziranje nepodkupljivoga življenja", u: *Gender, Literature and Cultural Memory in post-Yugoslav Space/ Spol, literatura in kulturni spomin v pojuzugoslovenskem prostoru*, ur. Damir Arsenijević, Katja Kobolt, Jelena Petrović, Tanja Velagić, Mesto žensk : Publicistično društvo ZAK : Zavod Mina, Ljubljana, 2010.

² Jelena Petrović i Damir Arsenijević, "Feminizam – politika jednakosti za sve" u: *Feminizam – politika jednakosti za sve*, specijalni broj ProFemine, Beograd, 2011.

³ Damir Avdić, "Bratstvo i jedinstvo", album: *Život je raj*, Moonlee Records, Ljubljana, 2010.

The new textuality, shaped by politically engaging art, confronts us with the erasure of memory that is carried out in the name of the ongoing revisionist politics and nostalgic surrogate histories. This new textuality records, speaks, and intervenes into the dispersed post-socialist matrices of the quasi-democratizing ethnicities, which have applied a form of post-ideological euphemization and amnesia to: the destruction of Yugoslavia, the death of its political people and to the plundering of public good – through the genocidal politics of ethno-nationalism, and the class-based accumulation of capital during the post-Yugoslav transition. Suppressed in state institutions and perverted through non-governmental ones –through their dehumanized and pyramidal structures – our alienated reality continuously erases everything that has taken place.

Faced with this process of erasure, the new textuality reminds, resists, and calls for the unalienable and *unbriable politics of everyday life*¹. It endeavours to put a stop to the identity-based parcelling of equality and solidarity politics in the bureaucratizing apparatus of survived/revived fascism, by creating a new commonality/new collectivity that intervenes into what is yet to happen through the politics of re/membering and social emancipation. At the same time, to the question: *why does this collectivity need to be new and in relation to what is it emergent?* it replies thus: *because it insists on social antagonism and it emerges in a struggle with neo-colonialism, neo-exploitations, neo-fascism...*². In this context, the political engagement becomes an emergent practice in our everyday lives, a palimpsest of erased events and communities on behalf of which we are obliged to speak, because they have been brutally rubbed out in our time and are in fact a part of our dismembered and massacred "we":

*Brotherhood-unity has ended up on two floors
In mass graves and concentration camps
On which of these two floors should I play for you?
...
Brotherhood-unity has ended up on two floors
Facing execution squads and mass slaughterers!
...
Brotherhood-unity has ended!
It's time we got to know each other
As we really are.*³

Grupa Spomenik (Monument Group) intervenes in this process of erasing memory, penetrating the cracks of fenced off reality affected by amnesia, as well as in the trauma of thinking Yugoslavia at the site where genocide was committed against it. Is it at all possible to think a new collectivity – at the place where genocide was committed against the previous Yugoslav community – through a politics of equality and solidarity? If we are capable of materializing commonality through the social subjectivisation of love, anchored in the politics of unbriable life and

¹ Damir Arsenijević: Mobilizing Unbriable Life: The Politics of Contemporary Poetry in Bosnia and Herzegovina/Mobiliziranje nepodkupljivega življenja, in: *Gender, Literature and Cultural Memory in post-Yugoslav Space/ Spol, literatura in kulturni spomin v pobjugoslovanskem prostoru*, Eds. Damir Arsenijević, Katja Kobolt, Jelena Petrović, Tanja Velagić, Mesto žensk : Publicistično društvo ZAK : Zavod Mina, Ljubljana, 2010.

² Jelena Petrović and Damir Arsenijević, Feminizam – politika jednakosti za sve in: *Feminizam – politika jednakosti za sve*, special edition of Profemina, Belgrade, 2011.

³ Damir Avdić, Bratstvo i jedinstvo, album: *Život je raj*, MoonleeRecords, Ljubljana, 2010.

U korpusu nove tekstualnosti, u dijalogu sa pesnikinjom Jozefinom Dautbegović koja u svojoj pesmi *Neidentificirani* postavlja pitanje: *Od čega ćemo se mi sastaviti / ako se ponovno / odlučimo voljeti?* posle genocida, Damir Arsenijević odgovara:

*Neidentifikovani nisu samo oni pokopani po skrivenim masovnim grobnicama, ili oni čiji su ostaci trenutno na stolovima u centru za ponovno sastavljanje tela, već i nešto mnogo važnije, oni su "mi" za koje još uvek nemamo ime. "Mi" ćemo morati da preuzmemo poziciju neidentifikovanog, "ako se ponovno / odlučimo voljeti" i u toku tog procesa odrediti univerzalno pravilo za ono što "mi" jesmo i za ono što jeste svet. Ako je ljubav stvar odluke, onda je i stvar priznanja voljene osobe koja odgovara na moje pitanje - "ko sam ja?". Ova zajednica nepotkupljivog života prepoznaće odgovor na to pitanje i neće, ni pod kojim okolnostima, preuzeti perspektivu ubica. Takođe će morati da ode izvan teritorijalnog, ali na takav način da ne odustane od prava da definiše teritorijalno. Ta nova definicija teritorije biće od ljubavi i zemlje, definicija koja ide dalje od masovne grobnice za žive, i koja je res publica nepotkupljivog života.*⁴

Čin angažovanja umetnosti

U okviru bijenala SPAPORT u Banjaluci: *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi, 2. poglavlje: Izloženosti*, kroz zajedničku materijalnu praksu i pojedinačne intervencije – *Usmene ekstenzije novina 'Matemi reasocijacije'* Grupe Spomenik, moja namera je bila da kroz koncept nove tekstualnosti prikažem moguće transformacije literarnog teksta u čin angažovanja umetnosti i u prazno polje istorije sadašnjosti (ili njene dijagnoze kako nam to Foucault govori).

Radi se o knjizi Svetlane Đorđević, naknadno naslovljenoj: *Svedočanstvo o Kosovu*⁵, o kojoj sam u nekoliko navrata govorila, pisala i koju sam u okviru 'Izloženosti' postavila u javni prostor⁶ – kolektivnim čitanjem prvog dela knjige. Izbor naslova je određen u skladu s edicijom u kojoj je knjiga nastala (Dokumenti, Fond za humanitarno pravo, Beograd), pretvarajući mišljenu književnu formu u dokumentarističku građu. Ova knjiga je priređena i objavljena kao dokument-svedočanstvo o žrtvama torture, progona i ratnih zločina, te isto tako predstavljena kroz diskurs humanitarnog prava, koji zaboravlja da upravo književnost (umetnost) oblikuje politiku sećanja i njenu društvenu stvarnost: istoriju sadašnjosti.

Prvi deo knjige, koji govori o autorkinom iskustvu rata u Bosni, predstavljen je kao radna čitanka sa marginama za beleženje, na čijoj naslovnoj strani je svako, ko je učestvovao u javnom čitanju mogao da napiše svoje ime. Putanja ratne politike: Beograd, Novi Sad, Bosanski Šamac, Banja Luka kroz vlastito iskustvo autorke tako postaje zajednička čitanjem i neposrednim intervenisanjem čitalačke grupe u tekst kojim je zajednički artikulisana jedna od ekstenzija *Usmenih novina* Grupe Spomenik.

Insistirajući na tome, da je knjiga pre svega literarno delo (dodajem, čin angažovanja umetnosti), a ne dokument, Svetlana Đorđević je – neposrednom naracijom, koja je istovremeno postala i javno svedočenje – otvorila pukotine političke amnezije i usijanog velikosrpskog/kosovskog mita o zarobljenicima nedovršene istorije. Knjiga, nazvana *Svedočanstva o Kosovu*, međutim, je više i od jednog i od drugog, jer objedinjuje dokumentarističku građu, politički komentar, dnevnik, autobiografski zapis, dramu, esej, prevodeći vlastito iskustvo autorke u javnu politiku sećanja u

⁴ Damir Arsenijević, "Mobilizing Unbribeable Life...", *Ibid.* str. 308

⁵ Svetlana Đorđević, *Svedočanstvo o Kosovu*, Fond za humanitarno pravo, Edicija Dokumenta, 2003.

⁶ Soba koju je koristila Grupa Spomenik kao izložbenu laboratoriju za svoje umetničko-angažovane intervencije tokom bijenala.

memory, then the answer is that it may be possible; it is in this *may be*, that a process of coming together of a community, propelled by a hope formed through the practice of the impossible, is indispensable.

In this field of the new textuality, in dialogue with the poet Jozefina Dautbegović, who in her poem *The unidentified* poses the question: *From what will we reassemble ourselves / if again / we decide to love another?* after genocide, Damir Arsenijević answers:

*the unidentified are not just those who are buried in clandestine mass graves or those whose remains are currently on tables in the re-association centre, but more importantly, it is this "we" for whom we still have no name. "We" will have to assume the position of the unidentified, "if again / we decide to love another" and, in doing so, claim a universal norm for who "we" are and what the world is. If love is a matter of decision, it is also a matter of recognition of the loved one who answers my question - "who am I?" This community of unbribable life will recognise the answer to this question and will not under any circumstances uphold the gaze of the perpetrator. It will also have to go beyond the territorial, but in such a way that it does not give up on the right to define the territorial. This new definition of territory will be one of love and soil, one that goes beyond the mass grave of the living, and is a res publica of unbribable life.*⁴

The act of engaging art

In a collective material practice and individual interventions – Grupa Spomenik's *Oral extensions of the 'Mathemes of Reassociation'* newspaper at the SPAPORT Bien-nial, *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen*, 2. chapter: *Exposures* in Banja Luka, my intention was to use the concept of new textuality to show possible transformations of the literary text into an act of engaging art and into the empty field of the history of the present (or its diagnosis, according to Foucault).

The literary text in question is a book by Svetlana Đorđević, subsequently entitled *Testimony on Kosovo*⁵, which I had spoken and written about on several occasions, and which, in the context of the Biennial, I positioned in public space⁶ by way of a collective reading of the first part of the book. The title was chosen in accordance with the edition the book appeared in (Documents, Fund of Humanitarian Law, Belgrade), thus transforming its intended literary form into documentary material. This book was edited and published as a document-testimony on the victims of torture, persecution and war crimes, and accordingly presented through the discourse of humanitarian law, which forgets that it is precisely literature (art) that shapes the politics of memory and its social reality: the history of the present.

The first part of the book, which narrates the author's experience of the war in Bosnia, was presented in the form of a reader with margins for notes and an empty label on the front cover where everybody who participated in the public reading could write down their name. The trajectory of war politics: Belgrade, Novi Sad, Bosanski Šamac, Banjaluka, traced through the author's own experience, thus becomes common, in the act of reading and the direct interventions of the reading group into the text, resulting in a collective articulation of one of the extensions of the Monument Group's *Oral Newspaper*.

⁴ Damir Arsenijević, *Mobilizing Unbribable Life...*, *Ibid.* p. 308

⁵ Svetlana Đorđević, *Svedočanstvo o Kosovu*, Fond za humanitarno pravo, Dokumenta edition, 2003.

⁶ The room used by the MONUMENT Group as an exhibition-laboratory for its artistic-socially engaged interventions during the Biennial.

zatečenom vremenu i prostoru – Bosna i Kosovo devedesetih.

Knjiga započinje autobiografskim osvrtom, koji govori o kratkoj istoriji porodičnog nasilja nad ženom, od najranijeg detinjstva i preko različitih agresivnih i pasivno-agresivnih situacija u kojima su sa-učestvovali: otac, brat, muž, u svim onim društvenim okolnostima koje je patrijarhat tolerisanjem normalizovao i zatvorio u prostor privatnog. Agonija porodičnog nasilja se kroz iste obrasce patrijarhalnih odnosa preoblikovala kroz ratno nasilje. Ti ustaljeni obrasci obavezuju na epsku i bezuslovnu ljubav sestre prema bratu, u trenutku kada autorka saznaje, putem novog ‘demokratizujućeg’ medija, Studija B, da se njen brat, velikosrpski ratnik, nalazi u životnoj opasnosti, u zatvoru u Banjaluci. U potrazi za bratom Draganom Đorđevićem – Crnim, koji je u međuvremenu postao legendarni vođa jedne od srpskih paravojnih formacija u Bosni (*Sivi vukovi* odnosno *Crvene beretke*), Svetlana Đorđević se suočava sa izmeštanjem patrijarhalno kodiranog porodičnog nasilja u patrijarhalno kodirano ratno nasilje, koje se brutalno sprovodi u ime velikosrpske državotvorne politike.

Svetlana Đorđević porodični i ratni teror tako zapisuje u formi romana iskustva i svesti o ‘drugom’ u dodiru sa sopstvenom marginalnošću, ne pristajući da bude žrtva, već insistirajući na tome da je neko, ko je sve video i preživeo. Autobiografski čin, koji je istovremeno razotkrio represivne i brutalne mehanizme delovanja u ideološkim, političkim i ekonomskim procesima ratnog nacional-tranzicionalizma, društveno je angažovao autoreferencijalnu književnost, kao polje umetnosti u kome je moguće govoriti i kroz koje je moguće, mimo viktimizirajućeg diskursa, posredovati doživljaj izbrisane stvarnosti.

Citati – potisnute slike rata

Milošević je brzo, i praćen velikom euforijom, ušao u sve domove, u sve živote. Ispred sebe je gurao "veliku Srbiju". Sve je bilo veliko, ogromno. Od inflacije, nezaposlenosti, ugroženosti i pod pretnjom ponovnih klanja, nacionalizma, preko šovinizma i nacizma. Mnoge vojske, policije, dobrovoljci, mnogobrojni kovčezi sa izginulima koje su vraćali sa "fronta"... U manjku smo bili sa zdravim razumom! Gradovi puni izbeglica, oružja, bombi na pijacama. Televizija ne skida sa ekrana masakrirane i tim nesrećnim ljudima "podigne moral", "regrutuje" nove "dobrovoljce", baca u lice "dezerterima" nedostatak njihove žrtve za srpstvo. Možda zemlja i nije bila u ratu. Ali narod jeste! Neko na frontu, neki u pozadini, neki u frišopu, ili sa inflacijom, za opstanak – svako se tada borio sa nečim, nekim ili za nešto. Bila je to bespoštedna borba i svi su gubili, osim "ratnih profitera". Svi smo na neki način bili žrtve rata! Ubrzano, dobrovoljno i prisilno su mobilisali muškarce po Valjevu. Mislim da su u jednom danu vratili desetak kovčega sa poginulima samo u grad. Milana su već pokupili. Predložila sam mu da ne ide, imao je gde da se skloni, ali nije smeo. "Išli su na Tovarnik". On se priključio onima koji nisu želeli u rat i koji su iskoristili neke "loše vođene" akcije od vojske, pa se pobunili i "dezertirali". Nije snosio posledice, bilo ih je dosta i nisu smeli da ih "kazne".

Čega je ime rat? 7 – str. 7

I Milan je počeo slobodnije da gleda "Studio B". Jedne večeri smo zajedno sedeli i gledali Jankovića kako počinje emisiju otprilike ovim rečima: "Dobro veče, poštovani gledaoci. Večeras imam posebne goste, Lazu i Lakija iz Kragujevca, otišli kao dobrovoljci u Bosnu i borili se zajedno sa tamošnjim Srbima. Na početku želim da vas obavestim da su oni ovde zato što žele da skrenu pažnju javnosti na svog komandanta Dragana Đorđevića – Crnog iz

7 "Čega je ime rat?" je nova intervencija Grupe Spomenik, kojom se nastavlja zajednički rad i problematizuje nemogućnost da se rat misli i artikuliše kroz univerzalizirajući proces politike sećanja i znanja u okviru Studija Jugoslavije.

By insisting that the book is primarily a work of literature (an act of engaging art, I add), rather than a document, and by a contiguous narration which at the same time becomes a public testimony, Svetlana Đorđević opens up the cracks in the political amnesia and in the heated Greater-Serbia/Kosovo myth of being captives of an unfinished history. The book, entitled *Testimonies on Kosovo*, is however more than both literature and document, for it brings together documentary material, political commentary, diary, autobiographical writings, drama and essay, translating the author's own experience into a politics of memory in a given time and space – Bosnia and Kosovo in the nineties.

The book begins with an autobiographical retrospection, narrating the short history of family violence against women, from early childhood through various aggressive and passive-aggressive situations with participation of the father, the brother, the husband, in all those social circumstances tolerated and thus normalized and privatized by the patriarchal order. The agony of family violence, governed by the unchanged patterns of the patriarchal order, is now transformed through the violence of war. These internalized patterns impose an epic and unconditional love of sister for brother, at a moment when the author finds out, through a new 'democratizing' media outlet, Studio B, that her brother – a warrior fighting for Greater Serbia – is in mortal danger, in a Banjaluka prison. In the search for her brother Dragan Đorđević – Crni, who has in the meantime become the legendary leader of one of the Serbian paramilitary formations in Bosnia (the *Grey Wolves* or *Red Berets*), Svetlana Đorđević faces the dislocation of the patriarchally-coded family violence into the patriarchally-coded war violence, brutally carried out in the name of the ethno-nationalist politics of Greater Serbia.

Svetlana Đorđević records family and war terror in the form of a novel of experience and consciousness about the "other" in contact with her own marginality, not accepting the position of victim and insisting instead that she is a person who saw and survived it all. The autobiographical act, which actually uncovered the repressive and brutal mechanisms of the ideological, political and economic processes of wartime national-transitionism, has inserted the element of social engagement into auto-referential literature, a realm of art where one can speak and through which one can mediate, beyond a victimizing discourse, the experience of a rubbed out reality.

Quotes – repressed images of the war

Swiftly, and followed by a great euphoria, Milošević entered all homes, all lives. He was pushing "Greater Serbia" ahead of him. Everything was great, huge. From inflation, unemployment, peril and under the threat of more slaughters, nationalism, through chauvinism and Nazism. Numerous armies, police, volunteers, numerous coffins bearing the dead who were being returned from the "front line"... We were lacking in common sense! Cities full of refugees, weapons, bombs in marketplaces. On television, the massacred never leave the screen, "boosting the morale" of those unfortunate people, "recruiting" new "volunteers", shoving "deserters" in the face their lack of sacrifice for the Serbian cause. Maybe the country wasn't at war. But the people were! Some on the front line, some in the background, some at the duty-free shop or fighting inflation, for survival – everyone was fighting something, somebody or for something. It was a merciless fight and everybody was losing, except the "war profiteers". In one way or another, we were all victims of the war! With increasing speed they were recruiting men in Valjevo, both according to their free will and by force. I think that in one day only they brought back about ten coffins to the town. They had already picked Milan up. I had suggested that he didn't go, he had a place to hide, but he didn't dare. "They were going to attack Tovarnik." He joined a group of people who didn't want to go to war. They took advantage of some "poorly conducted" army manoeuvres to revolt and finally "desert". He didn't bear the consequences, there were many of them and

Vranja koji je uhapšen i u vojnom zatvoru u Banjaluci je, u samici. Tamo ga muče i preti mu likvidacija..."

Medijski spektakli i spekulacije, str. 8

Krenula sam ujutro, hrabro, ali sam u isto vreme i drhtala od straha i nepoznatog. Do Beograda a onda dalje, autobusom. Stigla sam u Novi Sad i klekajućim nogama polagano izašla vani, ne znajući kuda da krenem. Ali čim sam izašla prošao je pored mene nepoznati muškarac i kroz zube prošaputao: "Pođite za mnom".

Ponavljanje kafkijanskog procesa, str. 15

"Ti ne znaš ko je tvoj brat?! Takav se rađa jednom u sto godina, pravi Srbin. Da nije bilo njega, Samac bi ostao pod ustašama i Muslimanima. Srbi su ga molili da dođe da ih "spasi" od klanja, dočekali su ga na jednoj poljani sa popom kao predstavnikom Crkve, sa hlebom i solju, i samo što nisu pali na kolena ispred njega kada je izašao iz helikoptera. Dovezao ga pukovnik iz VJ (mislim da mi je rekao da je to bio Jeremić). Osloboodio je grad, proterao staru i postavio novu vlast. Proterivao je Muslimane i Hrvate, od nekih napravio "lojalne" i uključio ih u kopanje rovova, svima naredio radnu obavezu, očistio grad za Srbe, a oni ga sada hapse."

Saučesnici velikosrpskog mita, str. 17

"Znam ja Crnog. Strašan borac, jedan od najboljih, neustrašiv. Mi stojimo iza njega. Ja sam iz Amerike nekim svojim kanalima doneo za njega i njegove borce najsavremenije oružje i pancire. Jednu pancirnu košulju sam u Americi plaćao dve hiljade dolara. Vaš brat je učinio toliko velikih podviga da će u našem narodu ostati upisan kao heroj. Ništa vi ne brinite, biće njemu dobro dok je nas. Sve je to politika, borba za vlast. I u našim redovima ima "Amerikanaca", koji hoće Jugoslaviju. Dosta je naš narod krvario za Jugoslaviju. Hoćemo Srbiju i tačka."

Ratna ekonomija, str. 25

Krenuli smo uz nekoliko stepenica i vrisnula sam od straha kad sam čula krike koji su dopirali negde iz unutrašnjosti robne kuće, da li iz podruma, magacinskog prostora ili same robne kuće. Uхватila sam se nesvesno za Svetlanu i stavila sam ruku na usta, jer sam osetila iznenadnu mučninu. Krici su bili užasni, avetinjski, odjekivali su i odbijali se o zidove. Pogledala sam dole, prema suprotnom zidu i videla krvave tragove. Svetlana i Sajlo su me povukli prema gore, ali sam uspela da vidim muškarca sa prilično krvi na svojim rukama, koje je držao dalje od tela, trudeći se da ne isprlja uniformu.

Naturalistička stvarnost ratnog terora, str. 29-30

Došli smo do kraja hodnika i Svetlana me odvela u neki toalet da se umijem i osvestim malo, pa me odmah vratila u svoju kancelariju.

Sela sam.

"Ovo je moja kancelarija, ja sam Stivova sekretarica, a ova vrata vode u njegovu kancelariju" - prišla je tapaciranim vratima, otvorila ih i ušla unutra. Odmah se vratila noseći u ruci papir.

"Stiv je ostavio poruku da ga sačekamo ovde" - pokazala mi je poruku.

"Ko je Stiv?" - upitala sam glasom do koga sam jedva došla. Grlo mi je bilo suvo od straha, uvek mi se tako sušilo i ostavljalo me bez vazduha.

"On je načelnik SUP-a. Mnogo duguje tvom bratu. On ga je postavio na to mesto. Posle su došli Krajišnici i pohapsili svu vlast, a Crni je zatvorio koridor, izveo ljude i tehniku na njega i zapretio: "Ja sam probio koridor, ja ću ga i zatvoriti. Ko ste vi da hapsite moje ljude!" Bilo je strašno. Uspeo je da ih oslobodi i vrati na funkcije, ali su njega uhapsili. Zato ni u koga nemamo poverenja i plašimo se da ga pominjemo. Ti prati mene, ako uđe neko od "njih", daću ti znak očima da čutiš. Shvati ozbiljno, molim te, niko ne sme da te

they weren't allowed to "punish" them.
What is war a name for?⁷— p. 7

Milan too began watching "Studio B" more freely. One evening we were sitting together and watching Janković start the show with more or less these lines: "Good evening, dear viewers. This evening I have special guests, Laza and Laki from Kragujevac, who went to Bosnia and fought alongside the local Serbs. For the beginning I would like to inform you that they are here because they want to draw the attention of the public to their commander Dragan Đorđević - Crni from Vranje, who has been arrested and is being held in the military prison in Banja Luka, in solitary confinement. They torture him there and he is facing the threat of liquidation..."

Media spectacles and speculations, p.8

I left in the morning, bravely, but at the same time I was trembling with fear and the unknown. To Belgrade and then further along, by bus. I arrived in Novi Sad and stepped off the bus slowly, my legs trembling, not knowing where to go. But as soon as I stepped off, a stranger went by and whispered through his teeth: "Come with me."

Repeating the Kafkian process, p. 15

"You don't know who your brother is?! His kind are born once in a hundred years, a real Serb. If it weren't for him, Šamac would still be under the Ustashas and the Muslims. The Serbs begged him to come and "save" them from slaughter; they received him in a field with a priest as a representative of the Church, with bread and salt, and they practically fell to their knees in front of him when he stepped out of the helicopter. A Yugoslav Army colonel flew him over (I think he told me it was Jeremić). He liberated the town, chased out the old government and appointed a new one. He chased out the Muslims and the Croats, transformed some of them into "loyal" ones and had them dig trenches with the others, requisitioned everybody to work, cleaned the town for the Serbs and now they're arresting him."

Accomplices of the Greater Serbia myth, p. 17

"I know Crni. A hell of a fighter, one of the best, fearless. We are behind him. I brought the most modern weapons and flak jackets from America for him and his fighters through some channels of mine. One jacket cost me two thousand dollars in America. Your brother has done so many great deeds and he'll always be recorded as a hero with our people. Don't you worry; he'll be alright as long as we're around. It's all politics, a fight for power. There are "Americans" in our ranks, too, who want Yugoslavia. Our people have bled enough for Yugoslavia. We want Serbia, period."

War economics, p. 25

We started down a few stairs and I screamed in fear when I heard the cries coming from somewhere inside the department store, either from the basement, the warehouse or the store itself. Unconsciously I grabbed hold of Svetlana and put my hand over my mouth, because I suddenly felt nauseous. The cries were horrible, ghastly, reverberating and bouncing off the walls. I looked down, toward the opposite wall, and saw traces of blood. Svetlana and Sajlo pulled me upward, but I managed to see a man with a lot of blood on his hands, holding them away from his body, in an effort not to stain his uniform.

The naturalistic reality of war terror, p. 29-30

⁷ "What is war a name for?" is a new intervention by the Monument Group, continuing their collective work and dealing with the impossibility of thinking and articulating war through the universalizing process of the politics of memory and knowledge within Yugoslav Studies.

"provali". Crni je sinonim za slobodu. (...) U našoj vojsci ima dve struje. Ona koja upravlja iz Beograda, gde pripada tvoj brat. On je primao i priznavao komande samo iz Beograda, zato žele da ga smaknu, jer se zamerio onima u Banjaluci. On je bio u stalnoj vezi, dvadeset i četiri sati dnevno, sa Frenkijem i Beogradom. Iz Banjaluke su poslali ljude da ga hapse zajedno sa svima koji su uz njega. Pukovnik Jeremić i još neki ljudi organizovali su njihovo "izvlačenje", poslali su autobus za njih, ali je Crni poslao svoje ljude, sam nije hteo da beži, nego je otišao u Banjaluku. Nekoliko najvernijih boraca nije htelo da ga pusti samog, pa su i oni otišli sa njim tamo. Svi su pohapšeni. Neki su uspeli da prebegnu preko Drine u Srbiju."

Etno-nacionalna institucionalizacija ratnog zločina, str. 30-31.

"Ti dolaziš iz Srbije, pa ti se samo tako čini. Kad bi provela sa nama malo više vremena, i ti bi se plašila svoje senke. Ovde ljudi padaju kao klade, gube život u trenutku, neki ni krivi ni dužni. Dobri smo dok Beograd stoji iza nas. Imamo i pomoć u ljudima, oružju i hrani. Sad su izbori, mnogo se plašimo. Zavisimo od rezultata glasanja."

Strahom protiv istine, str. 33

Pokazale su mi bratove stvari među kojima sam pronašla crni kombinezon, crvenu beretku, notes sa brojevima telefona Raje Božovića, Jovice Stanišića, pukovnika Jeremića, Radmila Bogdanovića, Vojislava Šešelja i još neke sitnice. U međuvremenu je došao Milan iz radija i pitao me da li želim nešto da ponesem. Zatražila sam "crvenu beretku" za uspomenu, ali on me je zamolio da uzmem bilo šta drugo, samo beretku da ostavim njemu. Uzela sam kombinezon i još neke sitnice, i notes sa brojevima telefona.

Evidentiranje uspomena, str. 40

Iza mene je bio ratni haos koji nisam mogla, niti htela da shvatim. Nozdrve su mi još uvek bile pune mirisa smrti, rata i nesreća. Vratila sam se razočarana u stvarnost svog grada i svog doma. Milan gotovo i nije više izlazio, osim kada je trebalo zameniti praznu flašu alkohola punom. Uskoro je otišao na selo, iz kojeg je retko dolazio. Moj sin, Aca, pogoršavao je moje stanje: bekstva iz škole, traženje novca, dugovi, ucenjivanje. Bavila sam se švercom kada je svaka mogućnost rada nestala, a onda sam počela da vozim taksi. Brata sam videla još dva puta. I dva puta je neko pokušao da me ubije iz nepoznatih kola...

Rat koji se nastavlja drugim sredstvima, str.43

Svetlana Đorđević, Svedočanstvo o Kosovu, Fond za humanitarno pravo, edicija Dokumenti, Beograd, 2003.

Istorija sadašnjosti

Čega je ime rat?

Medijski spektakli i spekulacije

Ponavljanje kafkijanskog procesa

Saučesnici velikosrpskog mita

Ratna ekonomija

Naturalistička stvarnost ratnog terora

Etno-nacionalna institucionalizacija ratnog zločina

Strahom protiv istine

Evidentiranje uspomena

Rat koji se nastavlja drugim sredstvima

U vremenu pasivnog i nemog preživljavanja, kroz tekstualne, vizuelne, performativne i svakidašnje prakse, ovaj rad insistira na angažovanom odnosu prema životu i umetnosti i istovremeno, interveniše u polje estetizirajućih diskursa koji nastaju u procesu kulturalizacije i institucionalizacije ustaljenih umetničkih for-

We reached the end of the hall and Svetlana took me to a toilet to wash my face and come around a bit, then she took me back to her office right away.

I sat down.

"This is my office, I am Stiv's secretary and this is the door to his office" – she approached the upholstered door, opened it and went inside. She came back immediately with a piece of paper in her hand.

"Stiv left a message saying to wait for him here" – she showed me the message.

"Who is Stiv?" – I asked in a voice I could barely produce. My throat was all dried up from fear, it would always dry up that way and leave me without air.

"He is the head of the Secretary of Internal Affairs. He owes a lot to your brother. He appointed him to this position. Later the Krajina men came and arrested all of the authorities and Crni closed the corridor, took his men and equipment out there and threatened: "I opened the corridor and I will close it, too. Who are you to arrest my men!" It was horrible. He managed to free them and put them back in their positions, but he was arrested. That's why we don't put our trust in anyone and we're afraid of mentioning him. Watch me and if any of "them" come in, I'll give you a sign with my eyes to be quiet. Please take this seriously, you mustn't "blow your cover". Crni is a synonym for liberty. (...) There are two currents in our army. The one which is governed from Belgrade, where your brother belongs. He only took and recognized commands from Belgrade, that's why they want to execute him, because he ran afoul of the Banja Luka group. He was constantly on a radio-link with Frenki and Belgrade, twenty-four hours a day. They sent men from Banja Luka to arrest him and everybody who supported him. Colonel Jeremić and some other people organized for them to be "pulled out", they sent a bus for them, but Crni sent his men; he himself didn't want to run and went instead to Banja Luka. A couple of his most loyal fighters didn't want to leave him alone, so they went with him. They were all arrested. Some managed to escape across the Drina into Serbia."

The ethno-national institutionalization of war crimes, p. 30-31.

You have arrived from Serbia, so it just appears that way to you. If you spent some more time with us, you would be scared of your own shadow, too. People fall like logs here, lose their lives in a second, some of them completely innocent. We're good while Belgrade is behind us. We have aid in men, weapons and food. Now the elections are coming, we're very frightened. We depend on the results of the vote."

Fear against truth, p. 33

They showed me my brother's things, among which I found a pair of black overalls, a red beret, a notebook with the telephone numbers of Raja Božović, Jovica Stanišić, colonel Jeremić, Radmilo Bogdanović, Vojislav Šešelj and some other things. In the meantime Milan came from the radio station and asked if I wanted to take anything with me. I asked for the "red beret" as a souvenir, but he requested that I take anything else but leave the beret to him. I took the overalls and some other things, as well as the notebook with telephone numbers.

Registering memories, p. 40

Behind me was the chaos of war, which I neither could nor wanted to comprehend. My nostrils were still filled with the smell of death, war and disaster. I returned disappointed to the reality of my town and my home. Milan almost never went out anymore, except when an empty liquor bottle needed to be replaced with a full one. Soon he went to the country, which he would rarely leave. My son, Aca, aggravated my condition: running away from school, asking for money, debts, blackmail. I got into black-marketing, when any possibility of finding work was gone, then started driving a cab. I saw my brother two more times. And two times someone tried to kill me from an unidentifiable car..

The continuation of war by other means, p. 43

mi. U zajedničkom konceptu nove tekstualnosti određuje se naspram sledećeg: *Meni lično jedino angažovana umjetnost, umjetnost koja će služiti čoveku, koja će odražavati sve bogatstvo života i jednog vremena, izgleda shvatljiva i vrijedna, trajna i dostojna darovitog umjetnika. Teorije i priče o univerzalnosti umjetnosti, o misiji umjetnika kao natčovečanskog bića, koja stvara pojedinosti za neku daleku budućnost, neka mi se oprostite na izrazu, meni zvuče, pretenciozno, uobraženo, neurastenično traženje slobode i priznanja koja nisu potrebna istinskom umjetniku. Pravi, veliki istinski umjetnik jeste velik u svojoj ljubavi prema čovjeku, divan u svojoj zanosnoj privrženosti kretanjima koja vode bogaćenju čovjekovih osećanja i ljudskih odnosa. (Ismet Mujezinović, Međunarodna galerija portreta, Tuzla)*



The history of the present*What is war a name for?**Media spectacles and speculations**Repeating the Kafkaian process**Accomplices of the Greater Serbia myth**War economics**The naturalistic reality of war terror**The ethno-nationalist institutionalization of war crimes**Fear against truth**Registering memories**The continuation of war by other means*

In a time of passive and silent survival, through the textual, visual, performative and everyday practices, this work insists on an engaging relation towards life and art, and at the same time intervenes in the field of estheticising discourses produced through the process of culturalisation and institutionalisation of ossified art-forms. As such, through the common concept of the new textuality – it takes position in relation to the following:

I personally feel that only engaged art, art that serves the human being, that reflects all the plenitude of life and of time, makes sense and is valuable, permanent and worthy of a talented artist. Theories and stories of the universal nature of art, of the mission of the artist as a super-human being, creating particulars for some distant future, sound to me, if you'll forgive the expression, like a pretentious, conceited, neurasthenic demand for freedom and recognition which a true artist has no need for. A real, great and true artist is great in his love for the human being, splendid in his rapturous devotion to movements that lead towards the enrichment of feelings and relations. (Ismet Mujezinović, International Gallery of Portraits, Tuzla)

— translated to English by Anja Iveković-Martinis



Photos: TJ

Photo: TJ







Photo: RGČLO

RADNA GRUPA "ČETIRI LICA OMARSKÉ" / WORKING GROUP "FOUR FACES OF OMARSKA"

(Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovac & Milica Tomić)

KAKO MISLITI MEMORIJAL

Javni radni sastanak

Gosti/gošće i učesnici/e: Nusreta Sivac, Rezak Hukanović, Sudbin Musić, Mirsad Druatović, Aleksandar Trifunović, RGČLO, Grupa Spomenik, studentska grupa "Jezik, moć, ideologija", učesnici Izloženosti, publika

U okviru projekta *Izloženosti*, kroz zajedničku materijalnu praksu i pojedinačne intervencije – Usmene ekstenzije novina *Matemi reasocijacije* Grupe Spomenik, Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" održala je Javni radni sastanak pod nazivom "Kako misliti memorijal?". Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" (RGČLO) je kolektiv čije su teme i način rada generisani kroz umetničku i teorijsku praksu Grupe Spomenik. RGČLO učestvuje u radu na univerzalizirajućem procesu produkcije sećanja i znanja u okviru "Studija Jugoslavije".

HOW TO THINK A MEMORIAL

Public working meeting

Guests and participants: Nusreta Sivac, Rezak Hukanović, Sudbin Musić, Mirsad Druatović, Aleksandar Trifunović, RGČLO, Grupa Spomenik, student group "Jezik, moć, ideologija" [Language, Power, Ideology], Exposures participants, audience

In the framework of *Exposures*, through common material practice and individual interventions – Grupa Spomenik's oral extensions of the *Mathemes of Reassociation* newspaper, Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" held a public meeting – "How to Think a Memorial?" Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" (WGFFO) is a collective whose topics and methods of working have been generated through the artistic and theoretical practice of Grupa Spomenik. WGFFO participates in

Umetnički projekat *Četiri lica Omarske* je rad u nastajanju, u svojoj početnoj fazi. Usvajanjem principa neznačajnog pristupa, RGČLO je pet meseci prije izložbe započela istraživanje rudničkog kompleksa Omarska kroz četiri aspekta njegovog postojanja: rudnički kompleks iz vremena socijalizma; mesto masovnog ubijanja i zločina devedesetih; savremeni rudnički kompleks u vlasništvu multinacionalne kompanije; lokacija za snimanje istorijskih etno blok-baster filmova novije srpske produkcije.

Radna grupa je uspostavila odnose sa pojedincima čije su živote odredili ili izmenili događaji u Omarskoj, sa ciljem da to pretvori u zajedničko dobro i znanje koje neće biti zaboravljeno i na taj način pokušava da doprinese razumevanju vremena u kome živimo.

Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" polazi od stava Grupe Spomenik da je sistem reprezentacije umetnosti upleten u mehanizme produkcije rata, nasilja i terora, te tako umetnost i njen aparat postaju deo nastavka rata drugim sredstvima. Osnovna teza Javnog radnog sastanka je da proces predstavljanja rada u nastajanju defetishizuje reprezentaciju koja je neizbežan zahtev vizuelne umetnosti. Koristeći formu Javnog radnog sastanka kao medij izlaganja i produkcije rada, Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" dislocira umetničku produkciju i način izlaganja u polje događaja. U različitim fazama rada javni sastanak Radne grupe "Četiri lica Omarske" je interfejs za uključivanje postojećih arhiva, uključivanje novih učesnika u Radnu grupu, kao i učestvovanje publike u radu grupe. Mesto izlaganja projekta postaje tako mesto produkcije politike solidarnosti i jednakosti.

— RGČLO

the work on the universalizing process of production in the framework of the "Yugoslavia Studies".

The art project *Four Faces of Omarska* is a work in progress, in its initial phase. Five months before the exhibition opening, by adopting the principle of "not knowing", the Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" started research on the Omarska mining complex through the four phases of its existence: as a mining complex during the socialist period, a site of mass killings and atrocities in the 1990s, a modern mining complex owned by a multinational company, and the locality for shooting historical ethnoblockbusters of recent Serbian film production.

The Working Group has established a contact with individuals whose lives have been determined or changed by what happened at Omarska, with an aim of transforming this experience into a common good and knowledge that will not be forgotten. In this way, the Group seeks to contribute to our understanding of the time we live in.

WGFFO takes as its starting point the attitude of the Grupa Spomenik, according to which the system of representation of art is implicated in the mechanisms of production of war, violence, and terror, so that art and its apparatus become a way of continuing war with other means. The basic thesis of the *Public Working Meeting* was that the process of presenting a work in progress de-fetishizes representation as an inevitable demand of the visual arts. By using the form of a Public Working Meeting as a medium of presenting and producing their work, WGFFO has dislocated this artistic method of production and presentation into the field of an event. In its various working phases, the public meeting has become an interface for including the existing archives and involving new people in its work, as well as encouraging audience participation. The project's exhibition site has thus become the place of producing the politics of solidarity and equality.

— WGFFO

U martu 2009. godine Milica Tomić, potaknuta političkom pozicijom teksta "Kapo iz Omarske" Pavla Levija (Grupa Spomenik), koji otvara pitanje etike vizuelnog, koncipirala je projekat *Četiri lica Omarske*. U junu 2010. inicirala je osnivanje Radne grupe "Četiri lica Omarske", čiji učesnici dolaze iz različitih oblasti humanistike i koju čine stalni i povremeni članovi: Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Viktor Milanović, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučković, Milica Tomić. Dinamika i sastav Radne grupe određeni su fokusom i radnim zadacima tako da se istoj pridružuju u pojedinim fazama i Sudbin Musić, Mirjana Pajtler, Satko Mujagić, Heartefact Fond (Andrej Nosov, Milica Milić, Stanislav Tomić); DeLve (Ivana Bago, Antonia Majača) i drugi.

Filmski teoretičar i pisac Pavle Levi je 2009. godine objavio tekst "Kapo iz Omarske". Ovaj tekst je kritika srpske kulturne produkcije koja učestvuje u reviziji, negaciji-poricanju i brisanju istorijskih događaja iz 1990-ih, kao što su etničko čišćenje, teror, nasilje i logori, i genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini. Fokusrajući se na slučaj filma *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*, Pavle Levi donosi političku odluku koju izražava kroz aksiomatički stejtment: "Nisam gledao film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu* – niti ću ga gledati." Pavle Levi ovim iskazom otvara prostor za kritiku i političku borbu, prostor koji zahteva drugačiji vid umetničke prakse. U ovom tekstu on nudi model za mogući film takve vrste. Da bi razumeli ovo, važno je da znamo da je:

"Deo ovog filma sniman je u Omarskoj, u okviru rudničkog kompleksa u kome se u vreme rata u Bosni i Hercegovini nalazio koncentracioni logor za ne-srpski živalj (jedan od nekoliko na teritoriji opštine Prijedor). U periodu od maja do avgusta 1992. godine kroz logor u Omarskoj prošlo je na hiljade, a žvota je u njemu izgubilo više stotina ljudi. Tela velikog broja nastradalih još uvek nisu pronađena – pretpostavlja se da posmrtnih ostataka ima po rudarskim jamama i u neidentifikovanim primarnim i sekundarnim grobnicama diljem kompleksa. Reč je, dakle, o lokalitetu koji je služio kao jedan od instrumenata sistematskog terora kojim je uspostavljena Republika Srpska. A sada se RS pridružila državnim institucijama u Srbiji u finansiranju i pomoći pri realizaciji jednog od "najsкупljih srpskih filmova svih vremena." (Pavle Levi, "Kapo iz Omarske")

Mesto koje je služilo kao jedno od onih gde je teror sistematično činjen nad ne-srpskim stanovništvom, autor etno-spektakla koristi da predstavi stradanja Srba tokom Prvog svetskog rata. Politički čin Pavla Levija je iskaz: "Nisam video film, niti ću ga ikad videti!". Ovim činom Pavle Levi otvara prostor posmatraču i omogućava pogled van slike koju pruža film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*. Ovaj politički čin nam daje nam šansu za novu produkciju, koja može proizvesti novi politički stav i umetnički proces, i Pavle nam predlaže:

"Drugim rečima, nakon strateškog pražnjenja vidnog polja odlukom da se, u ime Filma, *Aždaha* ne gleda, morao bi uslediti *povratak gledanju*. Ali, gledanju čega? Jednostavno, gledanju drugačijih filmova. A ovaj tekst zapravo je apel za obnovu tradicije *cinéma vérité* (film-istina) u cilju neophodnog nam, otvorenog suočavanja sa dešavanjima tokom ratnih devedesetih."

Upravo ova politička odluka i ovaj predlog generisali su koncept *Četiri lica Omarske*, kao i Radnu grupu "Četiri lica Omarske".

Četiri lica Omarske je umetnički projekat u procesu koji ispituje strategije produkcije

In March 2009, inspired by the political position of Pavle Levi's text "Kapo iz Omarske" [Kapo from Omarska] that raised the question of the ethics of the visual, Milica Tomić conceptualized the project *Four Faces of Omarska*. In June 2010, she initiated the founding of Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" (Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska") with participants ranging from all walks of the humanities, involved either as its permanent or periodic members: Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srdjan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Viktor Milanović, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovac and Milica Tomić. The dynamics and structure of the Working Group are defined by its shifting focus and agenda, so that in different phases other participants join the group: Sudbin Musić, Mirjana Pajtler and Satko Mujagić, Heartefact Fond (Andrej Nosov, Milica Milić, Stanislav Tomić); DeLve (Ivana Bago, Antonia Majača) and others.

Film theorist and writer Pavle Levi published in 2009 the text "Kapo from Omarska". The text is a critique of Serbian cultural production participating in the revision, negation/denial and erasure of historical events of the 1990s, such as ethnic cleansing, terror, violence and concentration camps, and the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Focusing on the case of the film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu* [St. George kills the Dragon], Pavle Levi makes a political decision expressed in an axiomatic statement: "I didn't see the film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu* nor will I ever see it." With this statement, Pavle Levi opens up the space for critique and political struggle, a space requiring a new kind of artistic practice. In this text, he offers a model for a possible film of this new kind. In order to understand this, it is important to know that:

"Part of this film was shot in Omarska, within the mining complex where, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was a concentration camp for the non-Serbian population (one of several in the Prijedor municipality). In the period from May to August of 1992, thousands of people have passed through the Omarska camp, and several hundreds lost their lives there. The bodies of many who were killed haven't been found yet – it is supposed that bodily remains are dispersed in the mining ditches, as well as in unidentified primary and secondary graves within the complex. We are, therefore, dealing with a locality that served as one of the instruments of the systemic terror through which Republika Srpska was established. Now RS joins the state institutions of Serbia in financing and supporting the realization of one of the "most expensive Serbian films of all times." (Pavle Levi, "Kapo iz Omarske")

The place that was part of the systemic terror over the non-Serbian population is used by the author of the ethno-spectacle to present the victimhood of Serbs during the First World War. The political act of Pavle Levi is contained in the statement: "I didn't see the film, nor will I ever see it." With this act, Levi opens the space for the observer, and enables a perspective beyond the one offered by the film *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu*. This political act offers a chance for a new production, which can lead to a new political attitude and a new artistic process, as Pavle proposes:

"In other words, after the strategic emptying of the visible field through the decision to not see the *Aždaha* film, there should be a *return to seeing*. But, seeing what? Simply, seeing other films. And this text is actually an appeal to renew the tradition of *cinéma vérité*, in order to initiate a necessary, open confrontation

je memorijala u mediju socijalne skulpture. Sastavljen je od mreža odnosa ljudi, njihovog mišljenja i govora o tri epohe i četiri lica Rudnika Omarska:

1. Rudnički kompleks Omarska, površinski kop i nalazište metala u Bosni iz vremena socijalizma;
2. Logor Omarska, mesto masovnog ubijanja i torture u vreme ratova 1990-tih na tlu bivše Jugoslavije;
3. Rudnički kompleks Omarska u većinskom vlasništvu multinacionalne kompanije Arcelor Mittal;
4. Omarska kao lokacija za snimanje istorijskog etno blok-bastera aktuelne filmske produkcije u Srbiji *Sveti Georgije ubiva Azdahu*.

Tri epohe i četiri lica Omarske duboko su povezani međusobnim diskontinuitetima i kontinuitetima. Oni govore o raspadu Jugoslavije i sudbini njenih građanki i građana, odnosno urušavanju jugoslovenske zajednice. Socijalistička era je u svim novonastalim državama bivše SFRJ ideološkim nasiljem isključena i potisnuta. Većina počinjenih zločina u vreme uništenja SFRJ je zaboravljena, a bez institucija javnog i istorijskog sećanja prepuštena negaciji i relativizaciji. Period rata i razaranja bio je istovremeno početak tranzicije i okvir za prisvajanja i privatizaciju društvene svojine u ime tranzicione ideologije (veze neoliberalnog kapitala i lokalnih upravljačkih struktura), odnosno ekstremnog terora kao sredstva i medija pljačke i aproprijacije društvenog vlasništva. Danas, dvadeset godina posle zatvaranja logora Omarska, Arcelor Mittal kompanija, novi vlasnik rudnika Omarska od 2004., ne čini ništa da promeni diskriminatorne zakone nezapošljavanja nesrpskih radnika iz regiona Prijedora, i time ponavlja politiku etničkog čišćenja. Arcelor Mittal kompanija učestvuje u politici negiranja postojanja logora Omarska i počinjenih zločina, između ostalog i time što zajedno sa lokalnom administracijom odbija da se kao sećanje na stradale u logoru u Omarskoj izgradi memorijalni centar. ¹

Umetnički projekat *Četiri lica Omarske* postavlja pitanje: da li je moguće misliti memorijal iz pozicije onih čije je znanje i iskustvo isključeno i diskvalifikovano, i nije deo korpusa javnog sećanja?

Radna grupa kreće iz pozicije ljudi bez političke i ekonomske moći. Pri tome ne deluje izolovano u sferi umetnosti, već uspostavlja stvarne odnose s ljudima čiji su životi određeni stradanjem u logoru, kao i drugim epohama rudnika Omarska. Cilj kontakata i razgovora unutar te mreže ljudi jeste konstruisanje znanja koje neće odbaciti prošlost niti sadašnjost na način na koji to čini ekspertsko znanje i manipulativne ideološke akcije političkih struktura.

Već na početku rada Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" (RGČLO) se suočila sa pitanjem strategija arhiviranja nedokumentovanih događaja, iskustava i znanja. Neposrednim fizičkim prisustvom radne grupe na mestu terora, konstruiše se aktuelno sećanje kao iskustvo solidarnosti koje sprečava zaborav i sakralizaciju zločina, ali i perpetuiranje politike terora, što je osnovna funkcija nematerijalnog memorijala – socijalne skulpture. Usvajanjem neznačajnog pristupa i uključivanjem diskvalifikovanog znanja u javno sećanje, Radna grupa je započela izgradnju arhiva koji se sastoji od dokumenata, audio, video i foto materijala, kao i biblioteke relevantne literature. RGČLO je prikupila i obiman materijal kroz rad na terenu: Prijedor, Omarska, Kozarac, Banja Luka, Beograd.

Izlaganjem projekta "Četiri lica Omarske" u različitim fazama rada, uključivanjem postojećih arhiva, uključivanjem novih saradnika u radnu grupu, kao i uključivanjem publike, širi se znanje i nastaje novo, zajedničko dobro.

¹ Arcelor Mittal kompanija je, na inicijativu nekoliko nevladinih organizacija, 1. decembra 2005. u Banja Luci donijela odluku da u Omarskoj sama financira i izgradi Memorijalni centar, međutim, projekat je februara 2006. prekinut.

Four Faces of Omarska is an ongoing art project questioning the strategies of production of the memorial through the medium of social sculpture. It is constituted of networks of human relations, their opinions and discussions on the three eras and four faces of the Omarska mine:

1. The Omarska mining complex, surface mining site and the deposits of metal in Bosnia during socialism;
2. The Omarska camp, a place of mass killings and torture in the 1990s wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia;
3. The Omarska mining complex, owned by the multinational company Arcelor Mittal;
4. Omarska as the filming location for the historical ethno-blockbuster *Sveti Georgije ubiva aždahu* [St. George Shoots the Dragon], a recent Serbian film production.

The three eras and the four faces of Omarska are elaborately linked by mutual discontinuities and continuities. They speak of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the destiny of its citizens, or rather of the collapse of the Yugoslav community. Through ideological violence, the socialist era has been excluded and repressed in all the newly independent states of what was once SFRJ (The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). Most of the atrocities committed during the destruction of the SFRJ have been forgotten and the lack of institutions of public and historical remembering has led to their negation and relativization. The period of war and destruction was at the same time the beginning of transition and a backdrop for appropriation and privatization of public property in the name of transitional ideology (the link between neoliberal capital and the local management structures), i.e. extreme terror as the means and medium of plunder and appropriation of public property. Today, twenty years after the closing down of the Omarska camp, the company Arcelor Mittal, the new owner of the Omarska mine since 2004, does nothing to change the discriminating laws that prevent non-Serb workers from the region of Prijedor to be employed, thus repeating the politics of ethnic cleansing. Arcelor Mittal is participating in the politics of negating the existence of the Omarska camp and the crimes committed there also through refusing, together with the local administration, to construct a memorial center to acknowledge the victims of the camp. ¹

The art project *The Four Faces of Omarska* asks the question: Is it possible to think about a memorial from the perspective of those whose knowledge and experience has been excluded and disqualified and is not part of the public remembrance?

The Working Group starts from the position of individuals with zero political or economic power. At the same time, it does not isolate itself within the sphere of art, but is forming real relationships with people whose lives have been marked by the Omarska camp atrocities, but also by other epochs of the Omarska mine. The purpose of communication within this network is a construction of knowledge that will not discard the past nor the present, opposite to the way that expert knowledge and the manipulative ideological actions by political structures does exactly that.

At the very beginning of their work the Working Group faced the question of strategic archiving of undocumented events, experiences and infor-

¹ On December 1, 2005, thanks to the initiative of several NGOs, the company Arcelor Mittal reached the decision to finance and build the Memorial center in Omarska, but the project was cancelled in February 2006.

RGČLO koristi različite formate zajedničkog rada: javne radne sastanke, čitajuće grupe, radionice, javna čitanja, analogni i digitalni arhiv. Na mestu reprezentacije RGČLO uvodi događaj, koji otvara prostor za neizvesnost ishoda i slučaj. Rad se uvek razvija i nastaje u javnom prostoru, tvoreći mesto politike solidarnosti i jednakosti.

Javni radni sastanak je osnovna politička platforma grupe i prva dislokacija socijalne skulpture van mesta terora čime istovremeno postaje mesto izlaganja i produkcije zajedničkog dobra. RGČLO javnim radnim sastankom ispituje strategije i politike izlaganja koje vidi kao otvoreni proces i čini vidljivim mreže odnosa ljudi, mrtvih i živih, i stvari, koji svojim delovanjem produkuju zajedničko dobro. Javna čitanja, razgovori i javni sastanci se ne održavaju samo u mestima u kojima je govor o Omarskoj izreciv, već se događaju i u Beogradu, i u Banja Luci, u blizini središta ne samo nemogućnosti govora, nego i sistematskog potiskivanja prošlosti.

Na javnom radnom sastanku RGČLO održanom u okviru "Izloženosti", drugog poglavlja projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*, u oktobru 2010. u Banja Luci, akt dislociranja socijalne skulpture u kontekst dominantnog ideološkog obrasca etnički čiste sredine formirao je zajednicu koja ne podleže i koja se odupire etničkim podelama. Time je osvojen prostor za održavanje Javnog radnog sastanka, kao jednog vida akcije usmerene protiv represivnih efekata sistema. Javni radni sastanak je tako čin emancipatorskog delovanja unutar umetničke prakse, koja sve zainteresovane uključuje u proces produkovanja znanja o lokalitetu Omarska.



Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske", s terenskog istraživanja / Working group "Four Faces of Omarska", field research

mation. Direct physical presence at the scene of terror constructs the present memory as an experience of solidarity that prevents forgetting and sacralization of crime, but also the perpetuation of the politics of terror, which is the basic function of the immaterial memorial – social sculpture. By adopting a position of “not-knowing” and including disqualified and marginalized knowledge into public remembrance, the Working Group started assembling an archive that consists of documents, audio and video materials, together with a library with relevant literature. Working Group “Four Faces of Omarska” (WGFFO) has also collected extensive material through field work in Prijedor, Omarska, Kozarac, Banja Luka, Belgrade.

By exhibiting the project *Four Faces of Omarska* through all its different stages and by involving the existing archive and new members into the working group, as well as the audience, knowledge is being distributed and a new, common good is being created.

WGFFO uses various formats of group work: public working meetings, reading groups, workshops, public readings, analog and digital archives. At the place of representation, WGFFO introduces an event that leaves room for uncertainty of the outcome, and chance. The work is always developed and created in a public space, forming a space of politics of solidarity and equality.

A public working meeting is the basic political platform of the group and the first dislocation of the social sculpture outside of the place of terror and as such, it also becomes the place for displaying and producing a common good. For WGFFO, the public meeting is a test of the strategies and politics of representation which it views as an open process. It also reveals the networks of relations between people, either deceased or alive, and things, the interaction of which creates a public good. Public readings, debates and public meetings are not only held in places in which it is accepted to talk about Omarska, but also in places such as Belgrade, Banja Luka, and places marked by not only an impossibility of speech, but also of systematic denial of the past.

In the WGFFO public meeting held in October 2010 in Banja Luka as part of “Exposures”, the 2nd Chapter of the *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen* project, the act of dislocating the social sculpture in a context of a dominant ideological pattern of an ethnically pure environment, formed a community which does not succumb to, and which resists ethnic divisions. This created a space for the public working meeting to be held, as a form of action directed against the repressive effects of the system. The public working meeting is thus a form of emancipated action within the art practice and one that allows for all the interested citizens to get involved in the process of producing knowledge about the Omarska site.

— translated to English by Jelena Bajić



Mittal kompanija, Omarska / Mittal Company, Omarska. Photo: MT

Bijela kuća, ključno mjesto terora i mučenja zarobljenika logora Omarska / The White House, a key place of terror and torture of prisoners of the Omarska Camp. Photo: MT

Sastanak Radne grupe 'Četiri lica Omar-
ske' i suradnika tijekom istraživanja i
terenskog rada, Banja Luka, Juli, 2010. /
A meeting of the Working group 'Four
Faces of Omarska' during the field trip
and research, Banja Luka, July, 2010.

Photo: MT



Nedelja, 31. Oktobar, 2010, 19.00

Zgrada bivše tvornice "Rudi Čajavec", Banja Luka

Gošće/gosti: Nusreta Sivac, Rezak Hukanović, Sudbin Musić, Mirsad Duratović, Aleksandar Trifunović, Antonia Majača, Ivana Bago

RGČLO: Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić, Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic, Milica Tomić, Stanislav Tomić

Učesnici: Grupa Spomenik, studentska grupa "Jezik, moć, ideologija" [Language, Power, Ideology], učesnici SPAPORT-a, publika

Moderator: Branimir Stojanović

Nalazimo se u prostoru u kome izlaže Grupa Spomenik. RGČLO izlaže u okviru rada-nastupa Grupe Spomenik. Na zidu su table na kojima su naši iskazi i teze vezane za tri epohe, odnosno četiri lica Omarske, identične onima u studiju u kome se redovno sastajemo. Sedimo za stolovima u krug, zajedno sa publikom i gostima, i potpuno smo popunili prostor. Naš cilj je da svi zajedno učestvujemo u razgovoru.

Branimir Stojanović je otvorio razgovor pitanjem kakva je mogućnost obeležavanja logora unutar situacije jednog zamrznutog rata, kakav bi to spomenik trebalo da bude, i kakvu bi funkciju to obeležavanje trebalo da ima. Politike koje su dovele do formiranja logora i dalje su aktuelne, ne samo ovde, već u čitavoj Evropi. "Dok se u Srbiji ne sruše mehanizmi politike terora, nema rešenja." Nemogućnost izgradnje memorijala u Omarskoj potvrđuje tezu da se rat još uvek vodi, ali drugim sredstvima. Milica Tomić se nadovezala pitanjem: kako uopšte misliti o spomeniku iz perspektive nemoći (političke i ekonomske)? Branimir je istakao da gradimo spomenik u trenutku dok razgovaramo o njemu. Dok razgovaramo (o tome – sada).

Milica Tomić je nastavila razgovor tako što je opisala nastanak Radne Grupe i navela dosadašnja istraživanja, iskustva i teze RGČLO o memorijalu u Omarskoj, kao i da je koncept projekta *Četiri lica Omarske* iniciran tekstem "Kapo iz Omarske" Pavla Levija. Bitan deo, odnosno ishod ovog projekta je takođe pokušaj da se stvori arhiv, zajedničko dobro. Kada govorimo o neznalačkom pristupu u radu RGČLO, govorimo pre svega o tome da je naš fokus na diskvalifikovanom i odbačenom znanju, i da nam to otvara mogućnost da dovedemo u pitanje znanje koje je dominantno. Zakon uvek isključuje jedan veliki deo istine. Milica je govorila o članovima Radne grupe kao subjektima koji nemaju nikakvu političku i ekonomsku moć, nakon čega je postavila pitanje: "Šta sve može pojedinac bez političke i ekonomske moći da uradi?"

Mirjana Dragosavljević je citirala Fukoa koji je često predmet diskusija unutar RGČLO, i koji se nalazi na radnoj tabli koja se odnosi na logor: "Treba ponovo pronaći krv koja se osušila u kodeksima zakona".

Govorilo se o spomenicima kao proizvodima političke moći. Danijela Majstorović je iznela tezu o političkom subjektu koji je mrtav. Postavlja se pitanje iz kojeg pravca treba delovati. Ona smatra da se odluka mora dogoditi odozgo na dole.

Raspuštanje logora Omarska se obeležava svake godine, 6. Avgusta u trajanju od dva sata. Milica Tomić je opisala ta dva sata, kada žrtve i njihove porodice odaju počast i prisećaju se stradanja svojih bližnjih. Privremeni transparenti koje tada ljudi donose postaju jedino fizičko obeležje koje ukazuje na događanja u logoru, kao i na činjenicu da je na tom mestu jednom postojao logor. Nakon ta

Meeting Minutes of the Public working meeting of the Working Group
"Four Faces of Omarska"
HOW TO THINK A MEMORIAL?

Sunday, 31st October, 2010, 7 pm

The building of the former Factory "Rudi Čajavec", Banja Luka

Guests: Nusreta Sivac, Rezak Hukanović, Sudbin Musić, Mirsad Duratović,
Aleksandar Trifunović, Antonia Majača, Ivana Bago

Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" (WGFFO): Mirjana Dragosavljević, Srđan
Hercigonja, Sandro Hergić, Vladimir Miladinović, Marija Ratković, Dejan Vasić,
Jovanka Vojinović, Zoran Vučkovic, Milica Tomić, Stanislav Tomić

Participants: Grupa Spomenik (Monument Group), student group "Jezik, moć,
ideologija" [Language, Power, Ideology], SPAPORT participants, audience

Moderator: Branimir Stojanović

We are in the space where Grupa Spomenik is presented within the exhibition. Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska" participates in the exhibition as part of the work-presentation of Grupa Spomenik. Painted 'blackboards' with our written statements and theses about the three epochs, i.e. four faces, of Omarska, are on the wall, identical to those in the studio where we regularly meet. We sit in a circle around the tables, together with the audience and guests, completely filling the space. Our goal is to involve everyone in the discussion.

Branimir Stojanović initiates the conversation by asking what is the possibility of commemorating the camp in the context of a suspended warlike state and what sort of monument should it be, what purpose would it serve. The politics that led to the formation of the camp are still present, not only here, but all over Europe as well. "Until the mechanisms of the politics of terror are crushed, there is no solution." The impossibility to build a memorial in Omarska only serve as a confirmation that there is still a war going on, but one waged with different means. Milica Tomić raises the question of how one can even think about a memorial from a powerless (politically and economically) perspective. Branimir points out that we are building a monument in the moment of discussing it, in the precise moment of talking about it - now.

Milica Tomić continues the conversation by describing the history of the Working Group and the research, the experience and the theses that WGFFO have formed about the memorial in Omarska up to that point, also explaining that the concept of the *Four Faces of Omarska* project was initiated by the text "Kapo iz Omarske" [Kapo from Omarska] by Pavle Levi. An important part of the project is also the attempt to create an archive, a common good. When we speak of the position of 'not knowing' of WGFFO, we speak of our focus on the disqualified and disregarded knowledge more than anything else and how that opens up the possibility for us to question the dominating knowledge. The law always excludes a big part of the truth. Milica speaks of the members of the Working Group as subjects with no political and economic power and then raises the question: "What can an individual with no political and economic power do?"

Mirjana Dragosavljević quotes Foucault, who has been a frequent subject of discussion within the WGFFO and whose words are also on the board relating to the camp: "We need to find again the that blood dried in the codes of the law".

The discussion then focuses on the monuments as products of political power. Danijela Majstorović suggests a thesis about a dead political subject. She raises the question of the direction from which one should act. She feels that any decision must go from the top down.

dva sata multinacionalna kompanija Arcelor Mittal nastavlja sa radom, kao da se ništa nije dogodilo. Marija Ratković je skrenula pažnju na stanje u kojem se 'Bijela kuća' danas nalazi, koja je bila uloga ove kuće u logoru i da ona jedina nije u funkciji Mittal kompanije, već je sačuvana kao forenzički dokaz za postojanje logora i zaštićena od Haškog tribunala.

Rezak Hukanović je govorio o istorijatu pokušaja izgradnje memorijala i naveo podatak da je 1.12.2005. u Banja Luci promovisan predlog projekta "Memorijalnog centra Omarska" i da je to bio skoro završeni projekat, koji je potom stopiran. Na inicijativu žrtava logora i njihovih porodica da se izgradi memorijal, Arcelor Mittal kompanija je pozvala nevladinu organizaciju *Soul of Europe (Duša Evrope)* iz Velike Britanije. U taj projekat je bilo uključeno nekoliko grupa ljudi, a Rezak H. smatra da je bitan podatak da je među njima bilo dvanaest Srba. Takođe, učestvovala je grupa ljudi iz Britanije i Holandije, među kojima je bio i Satko Mujagić. Oni su se borili da se ceo Rudnik Omarska transformiše u memorijalni centar, a ne samo Bijela kuća. Tom prilikom je napravljena 3D-prezentacija memorijalnog centra. Deo te prezentacije bio je i audio zapis prozivanja zatvorenika. Direktor Mittal-a za Evropu je bio prisutan. Marko Pavić, današnji načelnik opštine Prijedor, se nije odazvao pozivu da prisustvuje prezentaciji memorijalnog centra. Rezak ističe da izgradnja memorijala u mnogo čemu zavisi od Marka Pavića koji je, po njegovim rečima, "gospodar" Prijedora. Iako on nije podržavao izgradnju memorijala, bilo je velike šanse da se projekat izvede. Izgledalo je kao da njegovo nepodržavanje inicijative nije bitno uticalo na realizaciju projekta, međutim, do ostvarenja inicijative na kraju ipak nije došlo. Iako su prezentaciji projekta u Banja Luci prisustvovali mediji iz cele Bosne i Hercegovine, i iako je izgradnja memorijala objavljena kao udarna vest, nakon prezentacije, memorijal se više nikada nije pomenjao.

Mirsad Duratović misli je da je Arcelor Mittal podržao inicijativu memorijala zato što su tada bili u toku parlamentarni izbori u Velikoj Britaniji. U Gardijanu je napisan članak u kojem se navodi da se kampanja Laburističke stranke finansira krvavim novcem i da je finansijer Mittal Steel, koji eksploatiše rudnik, nekadašnji logor. To je bio razlog zainteresovanosti Mittal-a za memorijal u tom trenutku. Nusreta Sivac je dodala da je projekat kočilo to što lokalna zajednica u Prijedoru nikada nije priznala šta se tamo dogodilo. Po njoj je *Duša Evrope* pronašla u tom projektu svoj interes.

Mirsad Duratović je izneo i podatak da je Marko Pavić izjavio da smatra da još nije vreme za razgovor o memorijalu u Omarskoj i da taj memorijal još uvek može da vredi lokalnu zajednicu, kao i da treba doneti zakon o izgradnji memorijala na nivou države. Međutim, takav zakon bi opet doneo probleme projektu memorijala u Omarskoj, jer ide u korist lokalne zajednice. Naglasio je da je neophodno da se poruka desi od strane političke elite. Potrebno je vršiti pritisak na lokalne vlasti, opštinske strukture. Elvis Kušljugić je dodao da bilo koji memorijal koji ispunjava svoju funkciju treba da boli i treba da vredi. On smatra da, iz perspektive Mittal-a, najviše bola izaziva prvo lice Omarske – rudnik u vreme socijalizma.

Dejan Vasić je rekao da je Mittal zamrznuo izgradnju memorijala i da, po zakonu, on ne mora da traži dozvolu za postavljanje memorijalne ploče. Stoga zaključuje da od kompanije zavisi projekat za memorijalni centar. Angažovanje nezavisnog tela (*Duša Evrope*), kao trećeg lica, je problematično. *Duša Evrope* funkcionisala je na osnovu iskustava Velike Britanije – u kojoj je zastupljeno anglosaksonsko pravo – u sredini u kojoj se praktikuje kontinentalno pravo; Velika Britanija nema zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, odnosno vlasnik je dužan da obezbedi objekte i kulturno-istorijske celine. Zato su oni direktno komunicirali sa kompanijom. Takođe, rudnik nije prošao proces upisivanja u centralni registar, za šta je prvi korak valorizacija objekta, a sledeći revitalizacija. Ukoliko Mit-

The disbandment of the Omarska camp is marked every year on August 6 and lasts for two hours. Milica Tomić describes the two hours when the former prisoners and their families pay tribute to the deaths of their loved ones and how the temporary signs people bring with them become the only markings of what went on in the camps, as well as the only indication that there was a camp at that location in the first place. After the two hours, the multinational company Arcelor Mittal carries on with their work as if nothing happened. Marija Ratković reminds us of the present condition the "White House", the role it had within the camp, stating also that this is the only part of the mining complex that is not used by the Mittal company, because it is preserved as forensic evidence to the existence of a camp, and is, as such, protected by the Hague Tribunal.

Rezak Hukanović speaks of the attempt to build the memorial, stating that on December 1st 2005 in Banja Luka, the proposal for the project "Memorial Center Omarska" was promoted and was nearly finished, but was then completely stopped. After the initiative of the former camp prisoners and their families for a memorial to be built, the company Arcelor Mittal invited *Soul of Europe*, an NGO from Great Britain. The project included several groups of people and Rezak H. thinks it's important to mention that there were 12 Serbs among those groups. People from Britain and Holland were also involved, among them Satko Mujagić as well. They advocated that the whole Omarska mine complex should be transformed into a memorial center, not just the White House. For that occasion a 3D presentation of the memorial center was made. Part of the presentation was also an audio recording of the prisoner roll call. The CEO of the Mittal Company for Europe was also present. Marko Pavić, the mayor of the municipality of Prijedor, did not wish to participate in the presentation of the memorial center. Rezak points out that the construction of the memorial depends in many ways from Marko Pavić who, according to him, is the "master" of Prijedor. Although he did not support the memorial construction, there was nonetheless a great chance for project to be realized. It appeared that the mayor's lack of support for the project did not affect it significantly; however, the project was not realized in the end. Media representatives from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina attended the presentation of the project in Banja Luka and even though the construction of the memorial was published as breaking news, it was never mentioned again, once the presentation was over.

Mirsad Duratović believes that the company Arcelor Mittal supported the initiative for the memorial only because of the Parliamentary Elections in the UK that were taking place at the time. The Guardian published an article which stated that the Labor Party campaign was being financed by blood money and that the main financier was Mittal Steel, a company exploiting the mine that used to be a prison camp. That was, therefore, the reason for the Mittal Company to be interested in the memorial at the time. Nusreta Sivac adds that the project was also hindered by the local community in Prijedor which has never acknowledged what happened there. According to her, *Soul of Europe* only saw their own interest in the project.

Mirsad Duratović states that Marko Pavić said that it was not yet the right time to discuss the memorial in Omarska, that the memorial could still offend the local community and that a law regarding the its construction should be passed on the state level. However, such law would only create problems to the memorial in Omarska because it would benefit the local community. Duratović emphasizes that it is necessary for the message to come from the political elites. It is necessary to effectively lobby the local authorities and government officials. Elvis Kušljagić adds that any memorial serving its purpose is supposed to hurt and insult. He feels that, from the perspective of the Mittal Company, most pain arises from the first face of Omarska – a mine during socialism.

tal Steel zaista ima nameru da podrži zahteve bivših logoraša, a da sve zavisi isključivo od lokalne zajednice koja to ne podržava, kompanija bi dozvolila da se makar malim pločama označe objekti i bude vidljiva njihova funkcija u periodu od maja do avgusta 1992.

“Mesta zločina mogu biti samo mesta stida, mesta plača, to im može biti jedina funkcija”, naveo je Aleksandar Trifunović.

Mirsad Duratović je govorio o nepostojanju želje kod lokalne zajednice da se suoči sa prošlošću. Postavio je pitanje kakva je društvena odgovornost Arcelor Mittal-a. “Ljudsko lice” Mittal-a, koje treba da vodi računa o ljudima, finansira lokalne obrazovne institucije i decu radnika te kompanije, međutim nikada nije pružilo pomoć bivšim logorašima.

Marija Ratković je govorila o strukturi lokalne zajednice pre i posle rata (sada većinsko srpsko stanovništvo) i kako Mittal odgovara potrebama strukture nastale nakon rata. Ona to vidi kao nastavak rata drugim sredstvima, a pri tom su i uslovi radnika koji sada tamo rade jako loši.

Aleksandar Trifunović je dodao da Pavić ima podršku vlasti bošnjačkih partija. U negiranju zločina od strane političkih partija jedini interes je ostanak na vlasti i finansijska korist. Izjavio je i da se plaši budućnosti BiH. Aleksandar je postavio pitanje srpskoj strani: “Kada ćemo se mi odlučiti da postanemo dio njihove traume?” Do napretka ne može da dođe dok o tome ne budu govorile kulturne i obrazovne institucije Republike Srpske. “Dok su ovakvi razgovori na periferiji nećemo se pomaknuti naprijed.” Smatra da treba naterati što veći broj ljudi da prihvati istinu. Smatra da treba sprečiti ciklično, dalje ubijanje. Po njemu su bosansko-hercegovački ljudi ključ rešenja, ali ne Srbi, Hrvati, Muslimani kao posebne etničke grupe. Naveo je da je *outreach* program haškog tribunala greška. Sa otvaranjem suda u Hagu, ljudi poput Ratka Mladića i Radovana Karadžića su postali popularni. Izneo je i tezu da međunarodni donatori ograničavaju proces suočavanja sa prošlošću, i govorio je o lobotomiji koju sprovodi NVO sektor.

U Omarskoj je, po mišljenju Sudbina Musića, ukopana poslednja trunka onoga na čemu je građeno jugoslovensko društvo. Ono je finansirano prvim licem Omarske (rudnik u vreme socijalizma), a pokopano drugim licem (logor). Njegov stav je da je svaki građanin Bosne i Hercegovine, bez obzira na nacionalnost i versku pripadnost, njegov sugrađanin. Svi objekti u kojima su ubijani građani Bosne i Hercegovine su “objekti u kojima su ubijani naši sugrađani.”

Elvis K. je dodao da je propaganda u bivšoj Jugoslaviji o ljubavi među narodima, oličena u sintagmi “bratstvo i jedinstvo”, u ratu iskorišćena i preinačena u tezu o mržnji među narodima bivše federativne republike.

Mirjana Peitler je rekla da je dijaspora previše očekivala od svojih ljudi koji su ostali u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ljudi u dijaspori nisu uspevali da shvate kakva je situacija u Bosni i Hercegovini bila nakon rata. Govorila je o pobedi desničarske partije u Austriji, za koju je glasala srpska dijaspora, a čija se kampanja zasnivala na obećanju Kosova Srbiji. Smatra da ljudi tamo, takođe, žive u jednoj vrsti logora, i izrazila svoj strah povodom pojave desnice u Evropi danas. Podsetila je na to da je britansko javno mnjenje imalo značajnu ulogu kada se radi o Omarskoj.

Martin Kern smatra da nije dobro očekivati rešenje od strane Evropske unije. Po njemu sami moramo da rešimo svoje probleme. Postoji odgovornost od strane Evropske unije, koju ona pokušava da potisne. Bivša Jugoslavija ima probleme koji, možda, očekuju Evropu.

Milica T. je postavila pitanje da li postoji mogućnost da se ovakav razgovor održi u Bijeloj kući i kakav je razgovor uopšte moguć unutar tog prostora. Sudbin M. smatra da se to može izvesti i govorio je o proceduri traženja dozvole za posetu rudnika. Međutim, izneo je svoju bojazan da se razgovor u Bijeloj kući, mestu najgorih mučenja, ne pretvori u peto lice Omarske i da bi se to moglo pogrešno interpretirati od strane nekih ljudi. Ne bi želeo da se desi sakaćenje

Dejan Vasić says that the Mittal Company froze the memorial project and that, according to law, the company is not required to seek permission to erect a memorial wall. He then concludes that the construction of the memorial center was in the hands of this company. Hiring an independent party such as the *Souls of Europe* was problematic. *Souls of Europe* operated based on their experiences in Great Britain – a country governed by the Anglo-Saxon law – which they tried to apply here, where continental laws apply. Great Britain doesn't have a law about the protection of cultural monuments; it is up to the landowners to ensure the safety of any objects of value of culturally and historically significant areas. That is why they communicated directly with the company. Also, the mine did not go through the process of being included into the Central Register, the first step for which is the valorization of the object, followed by revitalization. If the Mittal Company really had the intention to support the demands of former camp prisoners and if it all depended solely on the local community that does not support the issue, the company would allow for at least some small commemorative plaques to be put up, marking the function of individual objects within the complex between May and August of 1992.

"Places where atrocities were committed can only be places of shame, and of tears, that can be their only function", says Aleksandar Trifunović.

Mirsad Duratović speaks of the lack of desire in the local community to face the past. He raises the question of social responsibility that the company Arcelor Mittal has. The Mittal Company lacks a "human face" that is supposed to take care of people, finance local educational institutions and the children of its employees, and it has never helped former camp prisoners.

Marija Ratković talks about the structure of the local community before and after the war (now the Serbs are the majority), and how the Mittal Company is corresponding to the structure created after the war. She sees it as the continuation of war with other means, while the working conditions of the employees are generally very poor.

Aleksandar Trifunović adds how Pavić has the support of local Bosniak political parties. Negating the crime allows the political parties to sustain their two main interests: remaining in power and financial gain. He also says that he is afraid of Bosnia and Hercegovina's future. Aleksandar asks the question to the Serbian side: "When will we decide to become part of their trauma?". He thinks progress cannot be achieved until the cultural and educational institutions of Republika Srpska are discussing this issue. "While debates like these remain on the periphery, we will not move forward." Trifunović feels that as much people as possible should be forced to accept the truth, so that further, cyclic killings are prevented. According to him the people of BH are the key to the solution, but not Serbs, Croats or Muslims as separate ethnic groups. He says that the outreach program of the Hague Tribunal is a mistake. The opening up of The Hague Tribunal to the public only popularized people like Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić. He also states a hypothesis that the international donors are limiting the process of dealing with the past, referring to the lobotomy carried out by the NGO sector.

Sudbin Musić thinks that the last remaining shred of what the Yugoslav society was based on had died in Omarska. That society was financed with the first face of Omarska (a mine in time of socialism) and buried with the second face (the camp). In his view, anyone living in BH, regardless of their nationality or religion, is his fellow citizen. All objects in which people of Bosnia and Hercegovina were killed are "objects in which our fellow citizens were killed".

Elvis K. adds how the propaganda of the former Yugoslavia about the love between its nations, celebrated in the phrase "brotherhood and unity", was abused and altered during the war into the thesis of hatred among the nations of

onoga što u stvari jeste strašno i jezivo mesto. Ali je naglasio da javni radni sastanak RGČLO treba održati i u Prijedoru. Marija R. je dodala da se mora voditi računa o identitetu i nezamenjivosti prostora.

Milica T. se složila sa Sudbinom i Marijom, a potom je Sudbin izneo predlog da se predavanje održi u menzi. Mirjana D. je iznela stav da predavanje svakako treba održati u Prijedoru, ali da ga treba održati i u rudniku Omarska iz nekoliko razloga. Neophodno je govoriti o zločinima počinjenim u Omarskoj na samom lokalitetu, mestu na kojem su se ti zločini odigrali. Govorila je o svom doživljaju tog mesta i navela tezu RGČLO o *Ženama u crnom* kao živom spomeniku. Možda je menza pogodna, kao prostor koji je menjao funkcije kroz sve četiri faze rudnika, koji se potpuno transformisao, a koji se pritom, fizički nije uopšte menjao.

Razgovor su zaključile kustosice "Izloženosti" Ivana Bago i Antonia Majača. Antonia je govorila o živom spomeniku i pitanju dislokacije i vraćanja na lokaciju. Potrebno je generisati nove zajednice kroz ovu zajednicu. Ona smatra da ovu javnu raspravu treba kontinuirano širiti i izvan Bosne i Hercegovine. Referišući se na ovo i prethodna događanja u okviru projekta, Ivana podsjeća na pitanje: "Šta je emancipatorno djelovanje unutar umetničke prakse i teorije?" Navela je Badjuovu tezu da je umetnost proizvodnja istine. Ona smatra da "savremena umjetnost ima snagu biti poligon za emancipatornu politiku sjećanja i proizvodnju univerzalne istine". Treba govoriti o onome što nema mesto u javnom prostoru, što teror nejednakosti ne priznaje.



the former federal republic.

Mirjana Peitler says that the diaspora expected too much of the people who stayed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. People living outside of BH could not manage to understand the reality of the country after the war. Mirjana speaks of the triumph of the rightwing party in Austria, for which the Serbian diaspora has voted, because the party's campaign was based on the promise of Kosovo as part of Serbia. In her opinion, the people there also live in a sort of camp, and she expresses her fears regarding the emergence of rightwing politics in Europe. She reminds everyone that the British public opinion played a significant role in the case of Omarska.

Martin Kern thinks it is not good to wait for a solution from the European Union. According to him, we should work out our problems on our own. There is a responsibility on the side of the European Union, which it is trying to repress. Former Yugoslavia has problems that, maybe, are expected to surface in Europe as well.

Milica T. wonders if there is a possibility for a conversation like this to be held at the White House (Omarska) and if yes, what kind of conversation would even be possible inside that space. Sudbin M. thinks that it could be done and speaks of the procedure for obtaining the permit to visit the mine. On the other hand, he shares his concern that a lecture at the White House, a place of torture, might give Omarska its fifth face and could be misinterpreted by some people. He would not want to desecrate what is anyway a horrible and haunting place. He adds that the WGFFO public meeting should, however, take place in Prijedor as well. Marija R. says that one should also take into consideration the identity and the unalterable history of the space.

Milica T. agrees with Sudbin and Marija and then Sudbin proposes that the lecture be held in the Omarska mess hall. Mirjana D. says the lecture should definitely be held in Prijedor, but that it should be held at the Omarska mine for several reasons. It is necessary to speak of the crimes which occurred in Omarska on the exact location, at the very place where they occurred. She speaks of her own experience of the place and reminds of the WGFFO thesis about the *Women in Black* as a living monument. Perhaps the mess hall is suitable, as it was a space that completely transformed its purpose during the four phases of the mine, all the while physically staying the same.

The conversation is concluded by the curators of the exhibition "Exposures", Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača. Antonia spoke of the living monument and the question of dislocation and relocation. It is necessary to generate new communities through this particular community. She thinks this public debate should be continuously expanded, also outside Bosnia and Herzegovina. Referring to this event and ones that preceded it in the framework of the project, Ivana reminds of the question: "What is emancipatory action within the artistic practices and theory"? She cites Badiou's thesis that art is the production of truth and concludes that "contemporary art has the power to be a birth place of emancipatory politics of remembrance and the production of universal truth". One should speak of the things that are outcast from the public sphere, about that which the terror of inequality doesn't acknowledge.

— translated to English by Jelena Bajić





Radna grupa "Četiri lica Omarske" / Working Group "Four Faces of Omarska", Javni radni sastanak / Public working meeting.
Photos: TJ



Photo: TJ

DOKUMENTARNI PROJEKT FACTUM / FACTUM – DOCUMENTARY FILM PROJECT

OLUJA NAD KRAJINOM

52 min. 2001.

Scenariji režija: Božidar Knežević
Producent: Nenad Puhovski

Ratna operacija "Oluja" u ljeto 1995. rezultirala je konačnim oslobađanjem okupiranih hrvatskih teritorija. Nakon pet godina, dramatična istina procurila je u medije... Nije se sve odvijalo prema "ratnim pravilima". Ovo je prvi film hrvatske produkcije koji se bavi uznemirujućom stvarnošću hrvatskih ratnih zločina.

DEČKO KOJEM SE ŽURIO

52 min. 2001.

Scenariji režija: Biljana Čakić-Veselić
Producent: Nenad Puhovski

Film je intimna priča o traganju redateljice

OPERATION STORM

52 min. 2001

Written and directed by: Božidar Knežević
Producer: Nenad Puhovski

The "Storm" war operation in the summer of 1995 resulted in the final liberation of all occupied Croatian territories. Five years later, the dramatic truth leaked into the media... Not everything happened in accordance to the "rules of the war". This film is the first one produced in Croatia dealing with the disturbing realities of Croatian war crimes.

THE BOY WHO RUSHED

52 min. 2001

Written and directed by: Biljana Čakić-Veselić
Producer: Nenad Puhovski

This film is an intimate story about a filmmaker searching for her brother gone miss-

za bratrom koji je nestao tijekom rata u Hrvatskoj. Na određen način, riječ je o "nas-tavku" priče njene bake, čiji je muž ubijen u Drugom svjetskom ratu, a na čiji je povratak čekala čitav život.

GRAHAM I JA – ISTINITA PRIČA

52 min. 1998.

Režija i produkcija: Nenad Puhovski

Britanski građanin Graham Bamford samoza-palio se 29. travnja, 1993., ispred britanskog Parlamenta. Radilo se o pokušaju da utječe na stav britanske vlade prema ratu u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Ovo je film o Grahamu, njego-vim djelima, tišini koja ih je obavijala, ali i o samom autoru filma i procesu nastanka filma o ovom događaju.

ing in 1991 during the recent war in Croatia. In a way, it is a "sequel" to her grandmother's story: her husband was killed in WW II, but all her life long she waited for him to return.

GRAHAM AND I – A TRUE STORY

52 min. 1998.

Directed and produced by: Nenad Puhovski

Graham Bamford, a British citizen, has set himself alight on 29 April, 1993 in front of the House of Commons. He did this in an attempt to change the attitude of the British govern-ment towards the war in former Yugoslavia. This is a film about Graham, his actions, the silence built up around them, but also about the filmmaker and his effort to produce a film about the event.

Slučaj filma "Oluja nad Krajinom" pa tako ni ova knjiga koja ga pokušava pratiti nije samo kronika zbivanja i reakcija na prikazivanje jednog dokumentarnog filma. On je, barem po našem mišljenju, paradigmatičan za razumijevanje suvremene hrvatske zbilje. U povijesti hrvatskog dokumentarizma nikada se nije desilo da jedan film izazove toliko burne reakcije kao što je to bio slučaj s filmom "Oluja nad Krajinom" Bože Kneževića. Javni protesti, saborska rasprava, traženje ministarske smjene, intenzivna aktivnost na web-forumima, anonimni pozivi i prijetnje, stvaranje "kontra-filma" – sve je to za promatrače sa strane predstavljalo posve neodgovarajuću reakciju na jedan dokumentarni film. No, za to su postojali snažni razlozi.

Sve je, naravno, započelo činjenicom da su se zločini o kojima govori film, doista zbili. O tome su, uostalom, svjedočili i sudionici tih zbivanja. Neposredno nakon vojne operacije "Oluja", nekoliko stotina civila je ubijeno, desetci tisuća kuća su spaljeni. I ne samo to. HDZ-ova vlast je te zločine skrivala, prešućivala pa i, više ili manje stidljivo, opravdavala poznatom "tezom" Milana Vukovića, bivšeg predsjednika Vrhovnog suda Hrvatske, kako "Hrvatska u obrambenom ratu nije mogla počinuti ratni zločin".

Nažalost, ubrzo se pokazalo da ni nova vlast, ustoličena pobjedom demokratske koalicije početkom 2000. godine, nije uspjela (željela, znala, mogla) inicirati bitne promjene u percepciji mnogih važnih pitanja, pa tako ni (za ovu priču bitnog) odnosa prema hrvatskim ratnim zločinima.

Da li zbog unutrašnje razjedinjenosti, povijesnog kompleksa nedovoljnog "hrvatstva", straha od reakcija ili jednostavno konformizma, vlada nije znala, mogla ili smjela objasniti hrvatskim građanima razliku između ogromne većine požrtvovnih, hrabrih i patriotskih branitelja i šačice ratnih profitera pa i zločinaca koji su, preko veza sa dijelom desničarske političke elite, uspjeli uzeti praktično čitavu zemlju za taoce svoje lukrativne ali i riskantne pozicije. Ne čudi stoga ni da Hrvatska televizija, ustanova koja nikada nije uspjela postati istinskom institucijom civilnog društva, u čitavom ratnom i poratnom periodu nije proizvela niti jedan cjeloviti film, program ili emisiju koji bi se bavili temom hrvatskih ratnih zločina. Ne čudi ni činjenica, vjerojatno nezapamćena u analima suvremene televizije, da su u slučaju "Oluje nad Krajinom" "određeni krugovi" sa HTV-a poticali pisanje protiv filma kojega će njihova kuća tek (i to pod pritiskom) prikazati. U takvom okruženju, u proljeće 2000. godine pojavio se film "Oluja nad Krajinom" o zločinima počinjenim s hrvatske strane nakon vojne operacije "Oluja", 1995. godine. I tada je sve počelo. Sve ono o čemu možete čitati na stranicama ove knjige. No, prije nego što vas prepustim tom, nadam se, nadasve zanimljivom štivu, dozvolite mi da s vama podijelim osjećaje koji me obuzimaju kada danas listam ove stranice:

- osjećaj ponosa zbog činjenice da smo napravili film "Oluja nad Krajinom", ne samo prvi hrvatski već u to vrijeme i jedini dokumentarac uopće u ovim krajevima koji je imao hrabrosti progovoriti o zločinima koje je počinila "naša strana". Iz današnje perspektive i političke atmosfere u kojoj je to još uvijek jedini takav film prikazan na državnoj televiziji, ta činjenica samo dobiva na važnosti.
- osjećaj zadovoljstva zbog činjenice da su "obični gledatelji" prepoznali važnost tog filma i procesa koji je njime započeo, te nakon emisije "Latinica" u kojoj je film prikazan, na pitanje da li treba procesuirati sve ratne zločine, odgovorili pozitivno sa ogromnom većinom od 75 posto. Slični su rezultati dobiveni i u anketi Jutarnjeg lista, dok je u istraživanju agencije Media metar 51 posto ispitanika Kneževićev film ocijenilo vjerodostojnim.
- osjećaj razočaranja zbog toga što vladajuća politička elita, izuzimajući predsjed-

The case of the film *Storm over Krajina*, as well as this book which will attempt to examine it, is not only a chronicle of reactions to the broadcast of a documentary film and the events following it. It is, at least in our opinion, a paradigm of the contemporary Croatian reality. In the whole history of Croatian documentary production, no film has ever caused such violent reactions as Božo Knežević's film *Storm over Krajina*. Public protests, parliamentary debate, calls for ministerial resignations, intense activity on web-forums, anonymous calls and threats, making of a "counterfilm" - to bystanders all these seemed like completely inappropriate reactions to a documentary feature. However, there were good reasons for them.

Naturally, it all began with the fact the crimes depicted in the film actually took place. This, after all, was witnessed by the participants in the events. Immediately following the "Storm" military operation several hundred civilians were killed, tens of thousands of houses burned down. And not only that. The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) government concealed these crimes, kept them secret and even justified them, more or less sheepishly, with the famous Croatian ex Chief Justice Milan Vuković "thesis" that "in the defensive war Croatia could not commit war crimes".

Unfortunately, it soon became apparent that not even the new government, elected after the victory of the democratic coalition at the beginning of 2000, could (would, knew how to, wanted to) introduce important changes in perception of many relevant issues, one of them being the (for this story essential) attitude towards the war crimes committed by the Croat side. Whether due to internal divisions, the historical complex of underpowered "Croathood", the fear of reactions or simply conformism, the government would not, could not or was not allowed to, explain to the Croat citizens the difference between the great majority of self-sacrificing, courageous and patriotic defenders and a handful of war profiteers, even criminals, who, from their advantageous yet tricky position, through connections with a part of the right wing political elite, managed to take virtually the whole country hostage of their position. Hence it doesn't surprise that in the whole war and post-war period, Croatian Television, an institution that never managed to become a true institution of civil society, did not produce a single coherent film, program or a show dealing with war crimes committed by the Croat side.

Little wonder then was the fact, probably unprecedented in the annals of modern television, that in the case of *Storm over Krajina* "certain circles" at the Croatian Television (HTV) encouraged writing against the film their network was only (and this, too, under pressure) yet to show. This was the state of affairs in the spring of 2001 when *Storm over Krajina* premiered, a film about the crimes committed by the Croat side in 1995, following the "Storm" military operation. Then it all began. All you can read about on the pages of this book. But before I leave you to this hopefully gripping reading matter, allow me to share with you the feelings overcoming me while I leaf through these pages today:

- a sense of pride because of the fact we made *Storm over Krajina* - not only the first Croatian, but for the time also the only documentary film in the region, which had enough courage to speak about the crimes committed by "our side". This fact only gains in importance in present political situation, where it is still the only such film ever aired on the national television.
- a sense of satisfaction because "average TV viewers" recognized this film's importance and the process started by the film - and following the *Latinica* talk show in which the film was shown, a great majority of 75 percent of the viewers

nika države, nije prihvatila taj “mali referendum“ tihe većine hrvatskih građana već je, služeći se poznatom tehnikom zamjene teze, umjesto događaja o kojima film govori, javno osudila film pa i njegove tvorce. Na taj način propuštena je još jedna šansa da se otvori ozbiljni dijalog i daju relevantni odgovori. Proces katarze, neophodan da se ovaj rat i stvarno završi, još je jednom zaustavljen i prije negoli je započeo.

- osjećaj stida zbog toga što je tako malo nezavisnih intelektualaca, umjetnika i udruga imalo hrabrosti braniti, ne naš stav, već pravo na njega. Sindrom “hrvatske šutnje“, toliko prisutan u tim krugovima, još je jednom uzeo svoj danak.
- osjećaj tuge i krivice zbog činjenice da Bože više nema i da je otišao u jeku najvećih napada na film, ogorčen ali ne i uplašen, zabrinut ali ne i razočaran.
- i napokon, osjećaj nade da sve to nije bilo uzalud.

— Prof. Nenad Puhovski

Direktor dokumentarnog projekta FACTUM i producent filma “Oluja nad Krajinom“, Zagreb, 2003

Sinopsis filma “Oluja nad Krajinom”

Nedavna izjava ministra Radimira Čačića u Saboru o spaljivanju srpskih kuća na području Krajine neposredno nakon akcije "Oluja", izazvala je burnu reakciju među članovima nekad vladajućeg a danas opozicionog HDZ. Toliku, da su zahtijevali njegovu smjenu. Kakva je zapravo bila situacija tih dana u Krajini? Koliko je istine u Čačićevim riječima, optužbama međunarodnih organizacija i hrvatskih nevladinih udruga o zločinima nakon Oluje? Da li je istina, kao što tvrde branitelji, da je sve to dio “scenarija“ kriminalizacije Domovinskog rata? I kakva je, napokon, situacija u Krajini danas?

Naš film se bavi događajima u dva krajiška sela – Gruboru i Potkonju. Događajima koji su se zbili tada – neposredno nakon Oluje, te njihovim odjecima i posljedicama danas. Kroz priče svjedoka koji su se nalazili u selu, kao i UN televizijske ekipe, pokušat ćemo rekonstruirati što se tih dana događalo u tim selima. Posjetit ćemo ih i danas kako bismo doznali kakva je situacija i što misle o događajima iz 1995.

Struktura filma:

1. Prolog. Hrvatski državni Sabor. Čačićeva intervencija. Reakcije.
2. Početak balvan revolucije u okolini Knina. Pobjunjenici na barikadama. Paljenje hrvatskih sela, hrvatske izbjeglice iz Krajine. Četnici.
3. Početak operacije Oluja. Zvaničina saopćenja o početku akcije i poziv predsjednika Tuđmana Srbima da ostanu. Pobjednička atmosfera, snimci ulaska hrvatske vojske. Dolazak predsjednika Tuđmana.
4. Knin početkom rujna 1995. Napola pust grad. Razbijeni izlozi, vojska, stvari izbačene iz stanova izbjeglih Srba. Sela gore u okolini Knina. Povratak prvih Hrvata u svoje kuće.
5. 1995. Ekipa UN televizije snimila je kadrove gorućeg sela Grubor te dvojicu ubijenih starca u tom selu. Zapovjednik Kninskog područja bio je general Čermak koji UN televiziji izjavljuje kako se paljenja kuća može smatrati incidentima a ne pojavom širih razmjera na području pod njegovom odgovornošću.
6. Od generala Čermaka s distance od pet godina, želimo saznati što se tih dana događalo na području Kninske Krajine. Pripadnici UN u to vrijeme šalju sasvim drugačije izvještaje o stanju pod kontrolom zapovjednika Čermaka. U filmu neki od UN oficira također rekonstruiraju događaje poslije operacije Oluja. Razgovor sa Srbima iz Knina pod zaštitom UN u izbjegličkom logoru.

answered affirmatively to the question whether all war crimes should be punished and proceedings against the perpetrators of these crimes instituted. Similar figures were obtained in the poll carried out by the daily Jutarnji list, whereas a poll taken by the Media Meter opinion agency showed that 51 percent of the persons polled found Knežević's film to be authentic.

- a sense of disappointment owing to the fact the ruling political elite, president excepted, did not recognize the "minor referendum" of the silent majority of Croat citizens, but rather used the familiar "swap thesis" maneuver and, instead of denouncing the events shown in the film, they publicly condemned the makers as well as the film. Thus yet another opportunity to open a serious dialogue and come up with adequate answers was lost. The catharsis process, essential for the actual ending of the war, was once again stopped before it even began.

- a sense of shame because so few independent intellectuals, artists and organizations had the courage to defend - not so much our position, but our right to it. The "Croatian silence" syndrome, ubiquitous in those circles, took its toll once again.

- a sense of sorrow and guilt because Božo is no longer with us, having left at the height of attacks on the film; bitter but not scared, worried but not disappointed.

- and, finally, a sense of hope that it was not all in vain.

— Professor Nenad Puhovski

Program director of the FACTUM documentary project and producer of the film *Storm over Krajina*, Zagreb, 2003.

Synopsis of the film *Storm over Krajina*

Recently in parliament, when minister Radimir Čačić spoke about torching of Serbian houses in Krajina immediately following the "Storm" military operation, his speech caused a violent reaction among the members of the once ruling and now opposing HDZ party. So severe it was that they called for his resignation. What was it really like in Krajina those days? How much truth was there in Čačić words, in the accusations made by international organizations and Croatian nongovernmental organizations, regarding the post-"Storm" crimes? Could it be true, as claimed by the Croat army, that it is all part of the "scenario" aiming to criminalize the Homeland War? And, finally, what is the situation in Krajina today?

The subject of our film are the events which took place in two Krajina villages - Grubor and Potkonje; the events which happened just then - immediately following the "Storm", their echoes and their consequences on the present. Using eyewitness reports of those who were in the villages, as well as the reports of the UN TV crew, we will try to reconstruct the events taking place in the villages at the time. We will also visit them today in order to find out what is the current situation there and how they look upon the events of 1995.

Film structure:

1. Prologue. Croatian parliament. Čačić speaking. Reactions.

2. Beginning of the "timber" revolution near Knin. Rebels at the barricades.

Torching of the Croatian villages, Croat refugees from Krajina. Chetniks (militant Serbian nationalists)

3. "Storm" military operation starting. Public announcements of the operation beginning, president Tuđman appealing to the Serbs not to leave. An atmosphere of victory, footage of Croat troops marching in.

7. Paralelno pratimo priče Hrvata iz sela Potkonje koji su pred terorom vlasti tzv. SAO Krajine nakon 1991. morali napustiti svoje kuće i otići u izbjeglištvo i koji su se vratili svojim kućama nakon oslobođenja područja Krajine. U scenama snimljenim 1995. oni govore o svojim patnjama i osjećajima nakon povratka u svoja mjesta.

8. Pet godina poslije razgovaramo s istim ljudima, obje etničke zajednice, koji su bili svjedoci i žrtve ratnih događanja o tom vremenu kao i perspektivama života njih i njihovih obitelji na području Knina.

Kakva može biti budućnost Krajine?



Arrival of president Tudman.

4. Knin at the beginning of September 1995. Half-deserted town. Broken shop windows, soldiers, things thrown out of the apartments of the exiled Serbs. Villages burning near Knin. First Croats returning to their homes.

5. 1995. UN TV crew filmed scenes of the burning Grubor village and the two old men murdered in the village. General Čermak, the commanding officer for the Knin area, says for the UN TV that torching of the houses should be regarded as individual incidents, not a large-scale occurrence in the area under his jurisdiction.

6. Five years later, we ask General Čermak about what went on in the area of Kninska Krajina during that time. At the time, members of the UN sent completely different reports on the conditions under Čermak's command.

In the film, some of the UN officers also reconstruct the events following the "Storm" military operation. In a refugee camp, we talk to the Serbs from Knin who are under UN protection.

7. We follow parallel stories of Croats from Potkonje village, who had to leave their homes and seek refuge after 1991, fleeing from the terror of the so-called SAO Krajina government, and the Croats who returned to their homes after the liberation of the Krajina area. In the footage filmed in 1995, they talk about their sufferings and their feelings upon returning to their villages.

8. Five years later, we ask the same people, from both ethnic communities who were witnesses and victims of the war, about the period and the prospects they and their families have living in the Knin area.

What could be the future of Krajina?

— translated to English by Mima Simić



Photos: TJ



Igor Bošnjak

ČAS ANATOMIJE

Video-animacija, print
2010.

Balkanication je ciklus radova (nastao u periodu 2009/10) i koncept koji povezuje književnost, recentnu produkciju umjetnosti, te istorijske događaje, koji su u bliskoj relaciji sa današnjim idejama čitanja i shvatanja bliske prošlosti BiH, kao i šireg prostora Balkana. Svi radovi problematizuju odnose "dirigovanja istorije", ponavljanja istorije (history repeating) te "korišćenja" istorije u svrhu manipulacije i kreiranja ideoloških matrica kako u kontekstu XX vijeka, tako i danas. Početna pozicija čitavog koncepta je pozicija čuvenog ex-YU pisca Danila Kiša. Kišovo shvatanje i razumijevanje istorije Balkana je bila neka vrsta "open source" ponavljanja istorije i svi njegovi strahovi bili su zasnovani na bazičnom ljudskom strahu, strahu od različitosti/različitog. Nacionalizam, kao glavni kolektivni strah, afektirao je svu njegovu književnost i mišljenje. *Balkanication* koncept pokušava da shvati, razumije i objasni nacionalizam kao

ANATOMY CLASS

Video-animation, print
2010

Balkanication is a series of artworks (made during the period of 2009/10) or rather a concept connecting literature, recent artistic production, and historical events, that are closely connected to the current ideas on reading and understanding the recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the broader region of the Balkans. All the artworks discuss the relations of "directing history," history repeating, and "using" history for manipulation purposes and in order to create ideological matrices, both in the 20th-century context and today. The starting position of the concept as a whole is the position of the famous ex-Yugoslav writer Danilo Kiš. Kiš's understanding of the history of the Balkans is a sort of "open-source" history repeating, since all his anxieties were based on the fundamental human fear – the fear of otherness/other. Nationalism as the basic collective fear affected all his writings and thought. The concept of *Balkanication* seeks to understand and explain nationalism as a

osnovni ljudski kolektivni i/ili individualni strah. Moj lični strah se manifestuje u formi prepoznavanja obrazaca, tj. uvida da je kod većine neobrazovanih ljudi njihova nacionalna osviještenost pervertirala u stanje šovinizma. *Balkanication* je takođe vrsta virtuelne heterotopije koja pokušava da komunicira sa individualnim, a ne kolektivnim entitetima.

— ib

basic human, both collective and/or individual fear. My personal fear is manifested in the form of recognizing the pattern, that is, when I realize that with most uneducated people, their national awareness has been perverted into a state of chauvinism. *Balkanication* is also a sort of virtual heterotopia that tries to communicate with individual rather than collective entities.

— ib

Na slici je dr. Nikolas Tulp koji objašnjava muskulaturu ruke prisutnim medicinskim stručnjacima. Leš na slici je zločinac Aris Kint koji je prethodno tog dana obješen zbog oružane pljačke. Neki od posmatrača su aristokrate koji su platili da budu uključeni u sliku. Događaj na slici se odvio 16. januara 1632. godine, u amsterdamskoj hirurškoj gildi, kojoj je Tulp pripadao i nosio titulu zvaničnog Gradskog anatora, kome je bilo dozvoljeno da vrši samo jedno javno seciranje godišnje, za koju bi se koristilo tijelo pogubljenog zločinca. Časovi anatomije su bili društveni događaj u 17 vijeku. Održavali su se u učionicama koje su zapravo bile pozorišta, prisustvovali su im studenti, kolege i svaki pojedniac koji bi platio ulaznicu. Posmatrači su prikladno odjeveni za ovu ozbiljnu društvenu priliku. Smatra se da su ovi ljudi (sa izuzetkom figura iz pozadine i sa leve strane) naknadno dodati slici. Na slici nedostaje jedna osoba – preparator, čiji je zadatak da pripremi tijelo za čas. U 17 vj. jedan tako ugledan naučnik poput dr. Tulpa nije morao da se bavi tako servilnim i krvavim poslom kao što je seciranje, pa su ti poslovi bili prepušteni drugima. Zbog toga na slici nema nikakvog instrumenta za sječenje. Umjesto njih se u donjem desnom uglu nalazi otvoren ogromni priručnik iz anatomije, verovatno *De humani corporis fabrica*, knjigu autora Andreasa Vesalijusa, objavljenu 1543. godine. Savremeni stručnjaci su komentarisali preciznost kojom je 26-godišnji Rembrandt naslikao mišiće i tetive. Nije poznato gde je stekao ta znanja, moguće je da je iskopirao detalje iz priručnika anatomije. Lice leša je djelimično osjenčeno, nagovještaj "sjenke smrti" (*umbra mortis*), tehniku koju će Rembrandt često koristiti. Slika je potpisana u gornjem desnom uglu sa *Rembrandt fecit*] 1632. To je, koliko je poznato, prvi put da je Rembrandt potpisao sliku svojim ličnim imenom, a ne inicijalima *RHL* (*Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Leiden*), što je znak porasta samouvjerenja umjetnika. Skorašnje ispitivanje holandskih naučnika otkrilo je nekoliko neslaganja između podlaktice lijeve ruke prikazane na slici i seciranog dijela iste.

Čas anatomije *in vivo*, slikan robusnim Rembrandt-ovskim bojama, koje se još i kreću, igrajući se okrvavljenim ljudskim organima kao s izdvanim loptama neke odigrane i po svojoj prilici izgubljene životne utakmice, ovaj savremeni čas anatomije, praćen melodioznim glasom kompetentnog predavača, jasnom, dakle, i preciznom artikulacijom drevnog nagona za finalnim saznanjima. Danilo Kiš u svom "Času anatomije" opisuje profesora Tulpa ovako: "Profesor Tulp je rastegnuo anatomskim nožicama mišićna vlakna odrane leve podlaktice i pokazuje učenicima to klupko mišića i žila, vene i arterije kroz koje više ne kola krv, pokazuje im s mirom i pribranošću čoveka KOJI ZNA DA JE LJUDSKO TELO, IZVAN DUHOVNIH FUNKCIJA, IZVAN DUŠE I MORALA, SAMO PROBAVNA MAŠINA, mešina, splet creva i živaca, hrpa žila i mesa, kao onaj odrani vol što ga je Rembrandt naslikao nekih pet godina kasnije: gomila mesa obešenog naglavce ...". Što se tiče Kišove deskripcije stručne radnje, ne bih imao primjedbe. Jedino što je on, za razliku od svog umetnički izobraženog prethodnika, U ISTINI ZNAO DA JE LJUDSKO TELO ZAJEDNO SA SVOJOM BESMRTNOM DUŠOM, SVOJIM KATEGORIČKIM MORALOM I SVIM SVOJIM DUHOVNIM FUNKCIJAMA – ipak, najzad, samo onaj odrani Rembrandtov vol iz Luvra. Ko je u naučnoj prednosti, ne može se znati. Naša humana priča još nije dovršena. A kad bude, nema te istine koja će ikome biti od stvarne koristi. Zasad, sa sigurnošću možemo reći jedino da je Tulpov anatomski objekt zločinac skinut s vješala i darovan nauci da posthumno vrati društvu što mu je za života uzeo. U protivnom bi se, posle poziranja, profesor Tulp, zajedno s učenicima i Rembrandtom, našao u zatvoru. Ovako se našao u istoriji umetnosti.

Treba reći i da je u odbranu *Grobnice za Borisa Davidoviča* i svog književnog

The painting shows doctor Nicolaes Tulp who is explaining the muscles of the arm to the present medical professionals. The cadaver in the painting is Aris Kindt who was hanged previously that day for armed robbery. Some of the observers are aristocrats who paid commissions to be included in the painting. The event in the painting took place on January 16th 1632 at the Guild of Surgeons in Amsterdam, where Tulp belonged and had the title of the Praelector Anatomiae (the official Anatomist of the City of Amsterdam). He was allowed to perform only one public dissection a year, the body to be dissected had to be that of an executed criminal. Anatomy lessons were a social event in the 17th century and they were held in lecture rooms which were actually theatres, with students, colleagues and the general public being permitted to attend on payment of an entrance fee. The observers are appropriately dressed for this solemn social occasion. It is believed that, with the exception of the figures to the rear and left, these people were added to the picture later. There is one person missing in the painting - the Preparator whose task was to prepare the body for the lesson. In the 17th century, such a renowned scientist, as doctor Tulp was, could not be expected to deal with menial and bloody work such as dissection, such tasks would be left to others. That is the reason why there are no cutting instruments visible in the painting. Instead, if we look in the bottom right corner we see a huge open tome of an anatomy treatise. It is probably the book called *De humani corporis fabrica*, written by Andreas Vesalius and published in 1543. Contemporary experts discussed the accuracy of the 26-year-old Rembrandt in terms of how he painted the muscles and the tendons. It is unknown how he obtained his knowledge, it is possible that he copied the details from the anatomy treatise. The face of the cadaver is partly shaded, a suggestion of the "shadow of death" (*umbra mortis*), a technique that Rembrandt is to use often later. The painting is signed in the upper right corner with Rembrandt f[ecit] 1632. As far as we know, it was the first time that he signed a painting with his own name instead of RHL (Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Leiden), which is a sign of a growing artistic confidence. Recent examination by Dutch scientists revealed that there were several inconsistencies between the left forearm in the painting and its dissected part.

Anatomy Lesson in vivo, painted in robust Rembrandt colours which are moving at the same time, playing with the bloody human organs as if they are deflated balls of a played and, most likely, lost game of life, this modern Anatomy Lesson accompanied by a melodious voice of a competent lecturer, with a clear and therefore, precise articulation of an ancient urge for final knowledge, Danilo Kiš in his "Anatomy Lesson" describes professor Tulp in the following way: "Professor Tulp used anatomical devices to stretch the tissues of the skinless left forearm in order to show the students the intricacy of muscles and fibers, and veins and arteries devoid of blood. He is demonstrating this with tranquility and composure of a man who is aware of the fact that the human body is simply a digestive machine once stripped of mental functions or the soul and ethics, it is nothing but a skin, a mixture of bowels and nerves, a bundle of fibers and flesh, same as the skinless ox that Rembrandt painted five years later: a bunch of flesh hanged upside down...." As far as Kiš and his description are concerned, there is nothing I would object to. The thing is, unlike his artistically trained predecessor, Kiš genuinely knew that, after all, the human body along with its immortal soul, its clear-cut morals and all its mental functions is nothing but Rembrandt's skinless ox of from Louvre. We are not able to say who is more scientifically advanced. Our human story is not completed yet. Once it is completed, no one would actually benefit from a/the truth thus obtained. For the time being, we can only be

postupka Danilo Kiš napisao *Čas anatomije*, u isto vrijeme najbolju poetičku knjigu koju je ikada objavio neki južnoslovenski pisac i jedno od najbriljantnijih i najefektnijih polemičkih štiva napisanih najjužnoslovenskim jezicima. U pravu je Mihajlo Pantić kada kaže: "Čitajući *Čas anatomije* govorim to bez straha od neopr ezne generalizacije oni koji su se, Kišovim rečima, spremali da, posle njega, krenu u veliku avanturu pisanja, učili su se osnovnom stavu svog poziva - dostojanstvu, sumnji, svetom pravu na odbranu i samo tumačenje vlastitog dela, intelektualnoj nepokolebljivosti, potrebi da se protivreči i sebi i drugima, angažmanu koji nikada ne sme da bude u službi bilo čega i bilo koga, jer u tom slučaju postaje sopstvena karikatura." Makar je Kiš govorio kako mu posthumna slava ništa ne znači i kako – po Heineovim riječima više voli zagrljaj jedne zahvalne čitateljke od svih mogućih *posmrtnih počasti*, on si je svojim djelom podigao spomenik od bronzne trajnici. Danas će Kiša pokatkad citirati i različiti manji i veći nacionalisti i kao pozivati se na njega, no ni to mu ne može štetiti. Kiš je onaj koji je u svojim knjigama ostavio nešto od dobrote, nešto od saznanja. U svom eseju o Danilu Kišu, a u kontekstu opsade Sarajeva, Susan Sontag kaže: "Djelo Danila Kiša čuva čast književnosti".

"Imao sam sreću (ili nesreću) da godine kada se stiču pojmovi o svetu, kada se u dušu utiskuju mitovi i predrasude, kada se formira čovekovo mitsko i društveno biće, da shvatim snagom empirijskog saznanja relativnost svih mitova (počev od onih, najranijih, da su, na primer, momci iz Bemove ulice najjači i najbolji pajtaši, da su njihovi ciljevi odbrambeni a njihovi napadi uvek samo odmazda za nanete uvrede, njihova teritorija sveta i neprikosnovena zemlja, terra nostriana, gde je pristup svakom drugom školcu zabranjen i kažnjiv kao svetogrđe – tema koja će me u svojoj književnoj verziji nešto malo kasnije duboko potresti u Decačima Pavloveulice Ferenc Molnara), jer sam igrom slučaja i sudbine još zarana dospao u situaciju da, kao kakva romaneskna ličnost kojom se poigrava moćni stvaralac, menjam tačke gledišta, taj sudbinski point of view, jer ne samo štosam sa užasom shvatao da se hitno selimo iz Bemove u Grčkoškolsku, ili, o, užasa! iz Luja Bartua u Telop, gde žive najokoreliji zločinci i ubice, nego sam uskoro shvatio da se u toj surovoj igri nedozrelog homo ludensa (igrikoja će u literaturi naći svoju "ideološku" i psihološku transpoziciju, svoju mitološku parabolu, u Goldingovom Gospodaru muva), u tom dečijem totalitarizmu, pojmovi lako relativizuju, i da se uverenja i predrasude, dignutina nivo apsolutnih moralnih kategorija i principa, naocigled ruše i raspadaju čim ste stvar sagledali i sa one strane medje i zida, sa one strane barikada tog večnog dečijeg surovog imperijalizma i šovinizma koji se začinje na periferijama gradova, u sirotinjskim predgradjima provincijskih naselja, kraj ciglana i udžerica, gde se teritorijalni integritet brani "do poslednje kapi krvi", gde se zajedništvo, omedeno ideološkom granicom ulice ili naselja, podstiče legendama koje se prenose s kolena na koleno, kao što se to zajedništvo čeliči i kali podvizima, mešanjem krvi iz nacetog prsta, patetičnom zakletvom a la David, šifrovanim jezikom, zviždukom koji je supstitut zavojnički trubni znak i na koji srce zatreperi sasvim pompijerski radosno, prolaženjem kroz ritualne kušnje snage i hrabrosti, dobijanjem tajnih imena i nadimaka (uticaj petparačke literature), sticanjem prvih saznanja o telesnimtajnama, o spolu, negovanjem legendi koje postaju u zreloom dobu nostalgicne uspomena na detinjstvo. Užas mojih detinjih dana bejaše upravo to mutno saznanje relativnosti svega, to rušenje iluzija o jednoj jedinjoj inepromenljivoj konstanti, užas koji je zamenio ono prvo moje strahovanje: da se, eto, iz nekih meni sasvim neshvatljivih i nepojmljivih razloga mora napustiti Bemova ulica i sav ustaljeni red te dečije imperije gde je suverenovladao neki Folksdojčer naoružan nožem i durbinom, surov i pravičan, i gde je svako imao, u lavirintima protivavionskih skloništa i sveže iskopanih rovova (namenjenih jednom drugom ritualu, surovijem i krvavijem zapravo samo po konsekvencama), gde je, dakle, svako imao svoje

certain to say that Tulp's anatomical object was a criminal taken off from the gallows and donated to science in order for him to give back posthumously to the society what was taken away from him in his lifetime. If that was not the case, professor Tulp, along with his students and Rembrandt himself, would have been imprisoned right after the sitting for the painting. However, he found his place in art history.

"I was fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to realize the relativity of every myth by the strength of empirical thought during the time when we first grasp the notions about the world, when the soul is imprinted with myths and prejudice, when a person's mythical and social being is formed. Even such myths as the earliest ones: the myth that boys from the Bem street are the strongest and the best kids on the block, that their goals are defensive and their attacks always a retribution for being offended, that their theory of the world is also a myth, their inviolable land, terra nostriana, where every other school boy is banned from entering, and the act of entering would be punishable as blasphemy – the topic that would deeply disturb me later on in its literary version in "Paul street boys" by Ferenc Molnar. Accidentally and by a twist of fate, I was early forced to change my point of view, that fateful point of view, just like a character from a novel who is being orchestrated with by the mighty creator. I was horrified to realize that we are going to move from Bem street to Grckoskolska or, oh, horror! from the street of Louis Barthou to Telop, where the most seasoned criminals and murders live. I also realized soon that in this cruel game of immature homo ludens (the game which will find its "ideological" and psychological transposition and its mythical parable in literature in "The Lord of the Flies" by Golding), in this childlike totalitarianism, the notions easily become relative, and all the beliefs and prejudice – lifted on the pedestal of absolute moral category or principle – crumble and decay so obviously as soon as you see the other side of the medal and the wall, the other side of the barricades of this eternal, childlike and cruel imperialism and chauvinism which stems from the outskirts, from the suburbs where the poor live, near brickyards, where territorial integrity is defended "until the last drop of blood", where togetherness has boundaries in the form of ideological borderline of a street or a block of flats, and it is incited with verbal legends in the same way as togetherness is strengthened by feats and adventures, or by mixing one's blood using a cut finger, by a pathetic oath a la David, by coded language, by a whistle which is used as a substitute for the military trumpet blow while your heart shivers joyfully, by undertaking a ritual of putting one's strength to the test, by getting secret names and nicknames (the influence of pulp fiction), by learning for the first time about bodily functions, about sex and gender, by nourishing these legends which become nostalgic memories of one's childhood once we reach maturity. The horror of my childhood days was exactly this blurry acknowledgment about the relativity of everything, this disillusionment about the one and only unalterable constant, the horror which replaced my initial fears: that we must leave Bem Street due to reasons of incomprehensible and unthinkable nature, as it seemed to me. This routine order of childlike imperia where a strict and just Folk-Deutscher armed with a knife and field-glass ruled as a sovereign. In the labyrinths of anti-aircraft shelters and freshly dug out trenches (aimed at a different ritual, more cruel and bloodier actually only in consequences) each and everyone of us had their clearly defined place, their duties and responsibilities, their belief that they live in the best of worlds. Once the initial fears were gone, I would soon realize that I would be recognized, discovered and punished cruelly. I would realize it in surprise and disbelief that even here, in this new block of flats, the exact same laws apply and the same myths of togetherness – the power of loyalty and the same hatred for the "enemy" whose territory is just right behind the third street inhabited with

jasno određeno mesto, svoje dužnosti i obaveze, svoju uverenost da živi u najboljem od svih svetova. Shvatio bih uskoro, čim bi me prošli prvi strahovi, da ću biti prepoznat, otkriven, da ću biti surovo kažnjen, shvatio bih sa čudjenjem i sa nevericom da i ovde, u ovom novom naselju, vladaju isti zakoni i isti mitovi zajedništva-snage-vernosti i ista mržnja prema "neprijatelju", čija seteritorija pruža iza treće ulice i gde žive sve sami razbojnici, dilkoši, psovači i lopovi, sinovi alkoholičara, ludaka i nasilnika, sve sami piromani i ubice, naoružani lancima od bicikla, noževima i bokserima, razbijači prozora, presretači devojčica, bludnici i hulje koje treba sve pobiti u ime naše ševalereskne tradicije i našeg uličnog fair playa."

Anatomska analiza socijalno društvenih dešavanja u BiH je veoma kompleksna. Teritorija je još uvijek etnički podijeljena, te je takodje samo društvo zarobljeno između prošlosti i budućnosti, društvo u tranzicijikoje kao da iščekuje poruku u boci koja će im otkriti da su postigli ono na čemu su radili, ali nažalost, izlaz na more je preuzak, a boca se ni ne nazire. "Stvari su i dalje u zatišju koje prethodi promjenama koje se tek trebajudogoditi. I nakon 17 godina od uspostavljanja nezavisnosti, "teritorija" se i dalje bori s činjenicom da joj nedostaju suštinski preduslovi za stvaranje suverene demokratske države: podjela države određena Daytonskimsporazumom, koči procese donošenja političkih odluka, međunarodna zajednica se ne odriče svog protektorata prema državi, a društvo se i dalje dijeli na osnovi etničke pripadnosti. Na nacionalne, etničke i vjerske razlikejoš uvijek se gleda kao na prepreke, a ne kao na prednosti". BiH se može posmatrati i kao samo središte ključnih pitanja kada se govori o vjerskoj i kulturološkoj diversifikaciji zapadnjačkog društva: upravo u ovoj zemljitreba se izgraditi multikulturalno društvo katolika, muslimana i pravoslavaca u kojem će se raspravljati o sponama između politike i religije, kao i oblicima kolektivnih identiteta izvan bilo kakvih etničkih okvira. Iz ovog ugloposmatranja BiH prera-asta u važno žarište razmatranja takvih pitanja u zapadnim zemljama.

izvori: Danilo Kiš, Wikipedia, YouTube arhiva

thugs, hooligans, muggers, thieves, sons of alcoholics and bullies, crazy people, arsonist and murderers armed with bicycle chains, knives and brass knuckles; window breakers, girls' stalkers, wantons and rascals that should all be killed in the name of our knightly tradition and our street fair play."

Anatomical analysis of the social situations in BiH is very complex. Territory is still ethnically divided, and the society itself is trapped between the past and the future, a society in transition seems to be waiting for a message in a bottle which would reveal that they achieved what they had been working on, but unfortunately, the way by sea is too narrow and the bottle is not even within sight. "Things are in a standstill which precedes changes that are about to happen. Even 17 years after establishing independence, "territory" is still fighting the fact that it is missing basic prerequisites for making a sovereign democratic state: the division of the country defined by the Dayton Accords is blocking the processes of making political decisions, the international community is not giving up on its protectorate over the country, and the society is still being divided according to ethnicity. National, ethnic and religious differences are being looked upon as obstacles instead of advantages." We can observe BH as the centre of key issues in terms of religious and cultural diversity of the western society: this is precisely the country where a multicultural society of Catholics, Muslims and the Orthodox should be built, where links between religion and politics should be discussed, as well as forms of collective identities outside any ethnic frames. From this point of view, BiH becomes the focus of careful deliberation in the western society.

sources: Danilo Kiš, Wikipedia, YouTube archive





Lana Čmajčanin & Igor Grubić

20.000 – TRAUMA JEDNOG ZLOČINA

Rad u nastajanju, instalacija, letak
2010.

Bosna i Hercegovina je jedna od zemalja potpisnica UN Konvencije protiv torture. Svaka zemlja potpisnica mora obezbijediti svim žrtvama pomoć i omogućiti im sveobuhvatnu reparaciju. Pored ostalog, države potpisnice su obavezne spriječiti torturu i osigurati kažnjavanje počinitelaca, te zaštitu svjedoka u procesima pred sudovima. Međutim, uslijed neujednačenosti zakona Federacije BiH i Republike Srpske radi jedinstvenog regulisanja prava osoba koje su preživjele ratnu torturu na državnom nivou, seksualno zlostavljane i silovane osobe gube mogućnost ostvarivanja zakonskih prava.

U Federaciji BiH usvojen je zakon na osnovu kojeg su žene koje su silovane u posebnoj kategoriji civilnih žrtava rata. Na žalost, to pravo ne mogu ostvariti u Republici Srpskoj, kao i obratno. U situaciji gdje Evropska unija insistira na povratku raseljenih i izbjeglih lica na prijeratna prebivališta (najčešće mjesto zločina) dolazi do problema

20,000 – TRAUMA OF A CRIME

Work in progress, installation, flyer
2010

Bosnia and Herzegovina is among the countries that have signed the UN Convention against torture. Each of these countries must secure aid to all victims and grant them comprehensive reparation. Among other things, these states are obliged to prevent torture and to ensure that its perpetrators will be punished, and they must protect witnesses at the court. However, owing to the discrepancies between the laws of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska with regard to the uniformity on the state level in regulating the rights of persons who suffered torture during the war, sexually abused and raped persons are deprived of an opportunity to claim their legal rights.

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a law has been passed according to which raped women belong to a special category of civilian victims of war. Unfortunately, they cannot claim their right in Republika Srpska, or vice versa. In a situation

u kojem žrtva uslijed razlike u zakonima RS i FBiH gubi prava koja je stekla na mjestu na kojem je bila prognana. Nizom simboličkih akcija u javnom prostoru kao i umjetničkim instalacijama želimo ukazati na postojeću problematiku s kojom se suočavaju žene žrtve rata na ovim prostorima.

U okviru *Izloženosti* projekt je bio predstavljen prostornom instalacijom i distribuiranim lecima. Predviđena je bila i akcija spaljivanja transparenta s natpisom "Zakon", u javnom prostoru, za koju, međutim, organizatori nisu dobili dozvolu od gradskih vlasti.

— lč & ig

where the European Union insists on the return of displaced persons and refugees to their original places of residence (which are mostly crime scenes), many victims lose their rights, previously granted in the area where they found refuge, upon returning to their own region, owing to the difference between the legal systems. With a series of symbolic actions in public space and installations in galleries, we seek to draw attention to this problem, which women victims of war must continuously struggle with in this region.

In the framework of *Exposures*, the project was presented as a spacial installation, along with distributed flyers. Also planned was an action, where a banner with the word "Law" would be burned in public space, for which, however, the organizers weren't granted the permit from city authorities.

— lč & ig





20.000 – Trauma jednog zločina

Vijeće sigurnosti UN-a obilježava 10. godišnjicu rezolucije koja je donesena 31.10. 2000., a tiče se uloge žena u miru i sigurnosti. Smatra se vrhuncem zajedničkih napora civilnog društva i ženskih organizacija da se učini zaokret u nečovječnom postupanju prema ženama i njihovoj isključenosti u donošenju odluka u ratnim situacijama. Ta rezolucija neće biti uspješno provedena sve dok ne prestane seksualno nasilje u ratnom sukobu.

Bosna i Hercegovina jedna je od zemalja potpisnica Konvencije protiv torture i drugih okrutnih, nečovjećnih ili ponižavajućih postupaka ili kažnjavanja, čime se obavezuju svim žrtvama osigurati pomoć te im omogućiti sveobuhvatnu reparaciju/odštetu. Međutim, problem civilnih žrtava rata jednako je prisutan u Federaciji BiH (FBiH) kao i u Republici Srpskoj (RS). Usljed neujednačenosti zakona FBiH i RS te nepostojanja jedinstvenog reguliranja prava osoba na državnoj razini koje su preživjele ratnu torturu i seksualno zlostavljanje, silovane osobe gube mogućnost ostvarivanja zakonskih prava. U situaciji u kojoj Europska unija inzistira na povratku raseljenih i izbjeglih osoba na njihova prijeratna prebivališta (najčešće mjesto zločina) postaje gotovo pravilo da žrtva, uslijed razlike u zakonima RS i FBiH, gubi prava stečena u mjestu iz kojega je prognana. Nizom zakonskih regulativa, neujednačenosti zakona i njihove implementacije na sveobuhvatnoj državnoj razini Bosne i Hercegovine, žene žrtve rata obespravljene su te onemogućene da se izbore za vlastita prava.

Osim zakonskih prepreka žrtve se svakodnevno nastoje nositi s dodatnim traumama koje ih pogađaju: socijalna otuđenost, nezaposlenost, neriješeno stambeno pitanje, neriješeni pravni statusi, nepriznavanje statusa, neadekvatna zdravstvena i psihološka podrška, nedostatak zaštite i pomoći. Amnesty

International objavio je podatak da 90% žrtava ratnih zločina seksualnog nasilja ne prima nikakvu psihološku pomoć.

Kako bi izbjegle stigmatizaciju okoline, ali i vlastite porodice, mnoge žene koje su ispunjavale uvjete bile su suviše istraumatizirane da istupe i podnesu svoj zahtjev, druge nisu niti znale za zakon ili krajnji rok, a neke nisu mogle pribaviti potrebnu medicinsku dokumentaciju. Samo rijetke žrtve smogle su snage zatražiti priznavanje statusa civilnih žrtava rata ostvarujući minimalnu novčanu naknadu koju im taj status osigurava, iako mnoge žrtve seksualnog nasilja nisu ni priznate kao žrtve pa im je stoga sam status kao i pravo na neki oblik reparacije uskraćen.

Tako su primjerice u Republici Srpskoj svi zahtjevi za naknadu štete, uključujući i one koje su podnijele žrtve silovanja, a koji su podneseni nakon roka određenog za 31. siječanj 2007. godine, automatski odbijeni. Problem je nastao zbog nedovoljne informiranosti korisnika o donošenju zakona i rokovima koje isti predviđa. Navedeni rok posebno pogađa kategoriju povratnika u RS koji tek po povratku u RS, nakon isteka roka, podnose zahtjeve za ostvarivanje prava na invalidninu, što dovodi do diskriminacije manjinskog stanovništva koje ova prava želi ostvariti nakon povratka u svoj prijeratni dom.

* * *

Svi navedeni razlozi naveli su nas da, u svrhu pomoći ženama žrtvama ratnog nasilja na ovim prostorima, nizom simboličkih akcija u javnom prostoru kao i galerijskim umjetničkim instalacijama ukažemo na postojeću problematiku i potaknemo sustav na djelovanje.

20.000 - Trauma of a Crime

The United Nation Security Council celebrates the 10th anniversary of the resolution adopted on October 31, 2000 that concerns the role of women in peace and security. It is considered as a landmark of mutual effort of women's organizations and civil society in their struggle to change inhuman treatment towards women and to stress their equal participation and full involvement in peace and security efforts. Unfortunately, the resolution will not be sufficiently implemented as long as sexual abuse/gender based violence is present in situations of armed conflict.

The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the numerous countries that has signed the Convention Against Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which binds the country to ensure help and enforceable right to compensation to all victims. However, the problem of care for the civil victims of war still exists in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Republika Srpska. Due to inconsistency of laws between the Federation and Republika Srpska and a non-existent regulation of rights at the state level for persons who survived war torture and sexual abuse, the violated persons lose the possibility to gain their legal rights. In the case when the EU insists on the return of the exiled persons and refugees to their pre-war dwellings (usually the place of crime) it becomes a rule that, as a result of discrepancies of laws of two political entities, victims lose their pertaining rights in the places they were banished from. As a consequence of multiple legal regulations, inconsistencies between laws and their implementation at the state level, women, victims of war, are deprived of their rights and are made impossible to struggle for it.

Besides legal impediments, victims are facing other traumatic experiences: social alienation, unemployment, housing problems,

unsolved legal status, unrecognized status, insufficient medical and psychological help, lacking protection and help. Amnesty International has published the fact that 30 % of war crime victims of sexual abuse do not receive any psychological help.

A large number of women, victims of sexual abuse/gender based violence, have not yet been recognized as such, being deprived of the status and this way the right to any form of reparation. In order to avoid the stigmatization of the surroundings and their own families, some of the traumatised women weren't able to come out and claim the right, although satisfying conditions, others weren't well informed about the law or the closing date for applications, and some of them couldn't gather all the necessary medical documentation. There were just a few who had the courage to claim the status of civil victims of war, thus acquiring a minimum compensation the law provides.

In support of that goes the fact that all the compensation demands submitted in Republika Srpska after the closing date of January 31, 2007, including the ones presented by the victims of sexual abuse, were automatically refused. The problem apparently appeared because of lack of information about law enactment and expected time limits given to users. The mentioned time limits affected the category of the refugees who returned to Republika Srpska past the date designated for submitting a demand for the disability allowance, which was a way of ethnic minority discrimination for those who could obtain the rights only after the return to pre-war domicile.

With a view of offering help to the women, victims of war, all the mentioned reasons led us to call attention to the present situation by way of symbolic interventions in public spaces and artistic installations in galleries and make the state structures actively engage.

Tu noć su ponovo došli. Postrojili su nas na jednu stranu i odvojili očeve i sinove. Izveli su nas na binu i naredili da se skinemo goli... Poslije ručka 23.07.1992. bila je nekakva mučna tišina. Bilo je jako mirno. Kad su ih odvodili, žene su morale ići sa njima. Vraćale su se polumrtve. Jedna drugu smo uvijek bodrile i zajedno nam je bilo lakše... Svaki dan je bio isti. Počinjao je sa prebrojavanjem mrtvih. Ljudi su masovno umirali. Bili su tako tihi. Nisu molili niti plakali. Išli su kao da idu na posao, na objed, a ne u smrt. Tada sam bila jako ponosna na njih... Naredio mi je grubo da se skinem. Zaključao je vrata i naredio mi da se skinem potpuno gola i to da ne žurim... Izmicala sam pa sam tako oborila i ugasila svijeću. U sobi je nastao potpuni mrak. Bila sam na granici svijesti, bespomoćna u mraku. Čula sam zatim kako se on skida. U međuvremenu se već bio skinuo i prišao mi da me otkopčava i skida. Plakala sam. Nisam imala snage da se branim, da vrištim... Ležala sam gola i nisam smjela ni da se pomjerim... Ne palivši svjetlo, brzo, bez riječi je izašao. Jedne noći u logor je došao oko 22 sata. Zapalio je svijeću, i mene izabrao... Prepoznala bih ga i za dvadeset godina. Nožem su mi razrezali haljinu. S njim sam provela 37 dana u odvojenoj kući i za to vrijeme niko me nije više ispitivao niti udarao. Noge su mi drhtale... I uspjela sam, odšutjela ne izustivši ni jednu jedinu riječ. Čim je sjeo, vozilo je krenulo pravcem kojim do tada nikada nisam prolazila. Bilo je hladno, decembar, a samo jednom su nam naložili vatru. Uveo me u kombi, okrenuo se prema meni... Tada sam shvatila da ću, ako se branim, još gore proći. Morala sam poslušati jer sam mislila na svog sina. T u mi se desilo nešto strašno. Uveo me u tu prostoriju, u kojoj nije bilo prozora, već komad lima na oknu koji je bio izbušen. Čula sam da neko dolazi pred vrata prostorije u kojoj sam bila i brzo sam stavila krpu na oči, skupivši se u čošku. Kada smo došli u kasarnu, uveo me je u hodnik gdje su stajala dva čovjeka i rekao mi da sačekam. Odveo me je u jednu učionicu bez školskih klupa. Počeo mi je tregati odjeću sa tijela. Kada su izašli, zaključao je vrata i počeo sa mene da skida suknju. Probudila sam se i pokušavala da se snađem u mraku, kada su se vrata otvorila. Jedan kraći period, nas su dvije same držali zatočene u toj kući. Niko nije dolazio osim njih dvojice. Zovnuo nas je da dođemo u jednu sobu i rekao šta nas očekuje. Nisam poslije osjećala strah, prije neku ravnodušnost. Naredili su mi da se spremim i pođem sa njima. Zamotala me zavojima i dala dvije tablete protiv bolova. Tu noć su ponovo došli. Postrojili su nas na jednu stranu i odvojili očeve...

That night they came back once again. They had us lined up on one side and they set apart fathers and sons. They took us onto the stage and ordered us to take off the clothes. On July 23, 1992 after lunch time, there was a troublesome silence. It was rather calm. While being evacuated, women had to follow them. They came back half dead. We were always encouraging each other, it was much easier together. Every day it was the same. It started with the counting of the dead. People were dying on a massive scale. They were so quiet. They didn't pray nor cry. They were moving as if they were going to work, for a meal, but not into death. I was really proud of them at the time... He forcefully ordered me to undress. He locked up the doors and ordered me to take off the clothes until naked, to take as much time as I needed and not to press myself... As I dodged, I knocked off the candle and extinguished it. The room went into a complete dark. I was hardly conscious and completely helpless in the dark. Then I heard his taking off the clothes. In the meanwhile, he had already got undressed and he came closer to me to unbutton my clothes and undress me. I was crying. I scarcely had any force to defend myself... I was lying there naked, not even allowed to move... He left quickly without saying a word, he didn't even turn on the light. One night he arrived to the camp around 10 p.m. He burnt the candle and picked me out... I would have recognized him in twenty years. They had my dress ripped by knife. I spent 37 days with him in a separate house and over that period nobody ever examined or hit me. My legs were shaking... I made it, I kept silent without saying a word. As he sat in the car we went in the direction I had never passed by. Although it was a cold December, they kindled a fire only once. He brought me into the van and turned towards me. It was then that I realized that it would be worse to defend myself. I had to obey because I thought about my son. There happened something horrible to me. He showed me the way into the room where there were no windows, and instead, there was a piece of steel plate on the holed window pane. I heard someone approaching the doors of the room where I was standing and I quickly put a piece of cloth onto my eyes, crouching in the corner. As we came to the caserne, he conveyed me to the hall where two men were standing and he told me to wait. He took me to a classroom that had no school benches. He started ripping off my clothes. When they left he locked the door and started to take the skirt off me. I woke up and tried to come to myself when the doors opened. They held us confined in the house for a short time. Nobody else came except the two of them. He called us to come into the room and said what he expected from us. Afterwards, I wasn't afraid, I was rather indifferent. They ordered me to get ready and to follow them. She wrapped me up with bandages and gave me two painkillers. That night they came back once again. They had us lined up on...



Photo: TJ

Nicole Hewit

SPISI / JASMINA

Crteži, print, performans
2010.

Spisi / Jasmina je rad smješten u neposrednu budućnosti iz čije perspektive pokušava problematizirati sjećanje na rat, odgovornost i traumu kroz esejističku kontemplaciju o Haškom tribunalu i njegovim aparatima djelovanja: iskaz, oprost, spise, 'outreach' programe, prevoditelje i probleme u prevođenju, video snimke, ispovijest i banalne detalje svjedočenja objavljenih na njihovoj stranici. Rad se manifestira u raznim formama, te funkcionira kao zaseban jed-nokanalni video/film, ali i kao dio različitih instalacija i performansa kojima se propituju mehanizmi iskaza i tehnologije njenog prevođenja.

— nh

DOCUMENTS / JASMINA

Drawings, prints, performance
2010

Documents / Jasmina is an artwork set into the immediate future, from the perspective of which the author seeks to analyze the memories of war, responsibility, and trauma, through an essayistic contemplation on the Hague Tribunal and its working apparatuses: statements, pardons, documents, outreach programmes, interpreters and translation problems, video footages, confessions, and banal details in the testimonies published on the tribunal's webpage. The artwork manifests itself in various forms, and functions as a separate, one-channel video/film, as well as a part of different installations and performances that investigate the mechanisms of statement and the technology of its translation.

— nh



OFF (slovkanje):

"C - O - U - R - T - E - S - Y -
 O - F - M - E - D - I - A - O -
 F - I - C - E - O - F - I - C - T
 - Y - U - N - I - T - E
 - D - N - A - T - I -
 O - N - S

Case No: IT-05-8812-PT

Date: 8 July 2009

Original: English

Gorn/ jire /d/ jetam /nosiv /plav

Don/ jire /d/ jesvi /jetl /oplav

/ siv

I /mape/ t / stu/ pov/ a

I / mašes/ t/ re /d/ova

O / voj /etabli/ ca

Upo / nedeljaku/ 1.4.0.0 ne /tkoć
egado / p/ ra/ ti/ ti
Usud/nic/uje/d/an
Netkoć /ere /ć í

"Please be seated, you may be
seated"

netkoć /epre /v/esti,
kak /oćer
/ećí,?

"Sjed /ite, izvol /ites /jesti,
zauz /m/ ite /s /vojem/ je/s/
to."

"Ovoj / em/ jest/ oza / v/ as
ovoj /eva/ šem/ jesto"

'this is a place for you', 'please take
your place'?

Pru-žit će /ruke, uzet
 će
 slu /š/ ali /c /e, sjesti,
 će
 slušati,
 će
 onć / e / će / kat / i
 Ićić/će napa /u/zu
 Korača /tć /ehod /ni/ kom.
 Netkoć/ eg /apra/ ti /ti. Ko /
 jimhod/ niokk /om ho -da
 Uhod /nik /uj /etep / is/ on
 Tep /ison/ je / plav/ osiv
 Zid/o / visu/ svi /jet/ lopla
 /vo/ siv

O /krenutć/ ese / uli/je
 Vozak /orač /atud /esn
 Ozak /orač/ atotvo / ritć evr/
 ata,
 Vra /tasu /bi /jela,
 Otić /ićeđ /okab /ine /p/ ustitć
 /evo /dupr/ ićić /etri
 K /oraka. Umivaonik je bijeli.

Oprat će
 ruke. Koračat
 će
 potepisonu, spustit se u stolicu,
 uzet
 će slušalice, slušat
 ce, čekat,
 će
 govorit,
 će čekat,
 govorit. Gledat će
 u f/ otogr /a /fiju. Reči
 ćena
 des /noj /str /anif / otogra /f/
 ije. Reči će
 nali/ je /vojstr/ anif /oto/gra
 /f/ ijeu
 1.9.0.0 reči će da

se sudnica prekida, ili sud
 /enjes /enas /tavl / ja, ili sud
 /enje se
 raspušta, ili

hodat će uz njega
na tepisonu pokraj
vrata, sjesti
će u auto, ili
u kombi ili u
Toyotu,
Ford, vozit
će se,
dobit će
hranu, Njegova hrana
će
biti što? Njegova
hrana će
biti gdje?
On ćele žati, spa vasutra
se rano diže.
Tako je bilo u ponedjeljak.

To je spekulativan tekst. To je
neispravan tekst. Tko će
ispraviti tekst. Da li će Jasmina
ispraviti tekst. Da li Jasmina

zna što je bilo u ponedelj

Moja tabela je kriva, moja je
uska, njihova tabela je
okruglija, naše tabele imaju
grešku.

Od 2.7. 0.7. sud ne radi.
Ljetni odmor

He will take headphones he will sit, he
will listen, he will wait. He will have a
break. He will walk down the corridor.
Someone will escort him, he is
walking down the corridor, the
corridor has a carpet, the carpet is blue
grey, the walls are lighter blue. He will
turn left, turn right, step forward, he
will open the door, the door is white,
he will go to a cubicle, he will pass
water, he will walk up to the sink,
three steps to the sink. The sink is

6

white, he will wash his hands. He will walk on the carpet, lower himself into the seat, take the headphones, listen, wait, speak, wait, speak. He will look at a photograph. He will say to the right of the photograph. He will say to the left of the photograph.

At 19.00 he will be told court is in recess or, court is adjourned, or court is over, he will walk with him on the carpet past the white door, he will sit in a car, a van, a Toyota, a Ford, he will be driven, he will have food. His food will be what? His food will be prepared where? He will lie, he will sleep. Tomorrow is an early start. That is how it was on Monday.

Does Jasmina know what happened on Monday?

Koliko je
kamera u sudnici, gdje je
režija, tko montira Režiseri?
Tko montira_ Montažeri?
U final
cut u? U adobepre/mijer /u?
Tko pi
še transkrip
te? Tko naruč
uje hranu? Tko su dobavl
jači?
Tko uređuje stranicu?
Tko piše transkript tko piše
narrativ? Pisci?
Tko bira font?
Tko bira izjave svjedoka?
Tko uploada? U kojem programu?
Tko pruža tehničku
podršku?
Tko je potpisao ugovor e?
Tko prevodi?
Koliko je prevoditelja?
Koji software koriste?

Tko ispravlja greške?
Gdje stoji prevoditelj?
Tko se ispovijeda?
Tko oprašta?
Tko recitira poeziju?
Tko se slika pred kamerama?
Tko se ka je?
Ko ji su bageri
kop ali?
Koja je firma
prevoz ila?
Na kojoj su tra
ci snimali?

TDK, JVC, BETA

Tko je pisao
transkripte?

Koji su to
mikrofoni?

Tko je
instalirao
klimu?

Tko je platio
kredit?

Kroz čije to usi
ulazi?

Kroz čija to
usta izlazi?

Tko daje glas?

Tko je stavio u
fascikl?

Tko je imao
brodski pod?

Kome su nestali
štekeri?

Tko ima tablice?

Tko ima porezne
olakšice?

Tko je mladi
istražitelj?

Tko je na slici?

Tko igra
prevoditelja?

Tko igra suca?

Indoš i Kićo.

Tko ima
slušalice.

Pavlica.

Tko ima DAT?

Pavlica.

Tko montira?

Vjeran.

Tko režira
glumce?

Nicky

On kaže: "Tuzla
Transport."

Dvojica su iza njega, na lijevoj strani fotografije imaju tamno sive hlače, svjetlo plave kočulje, on ima aktovku, jedan ga lagano dodiruje, lagano dodiruje leđa, on zakoračuje na stepenicu, na stepenice, zidovi su oker, žuti, krem

Zid je krem iza njega, do ramena, iznad je staklena stijenka, iza je žena koja ...

Sad je na
lijevoj
strani
fotografij
e, sad je
iza njega
staklena
stijenka
i žena
koja gleda
prema
dole,
lijevo do
žene još
jedna
žena,
desno iza
stijenke
kamera,
desno
štekери,
na dnu
oker zida
sivkasto
plava
bordura.
On je u
sredini s
jedne
strane
muškarac s
druge

strane
muškarac
prekriženi
h ruku
ispred. U
stijenci
su odrazi.

Muškarac koji ga je lagano
dodirivao stoji ispred njega, ili
je to treci muškarac.

sjedi sa slušalicama na glavi.

Sad ima plavu košulju, plavu
kravatu,

muškarac u svijetlo plavoj
košulji naginge

se da otvori aktovku.

Kad ide kući
ide s tepisona
na linoleum,

linoleum se
sjaji, lakše
se čisti,

tu je I
telefon, tu je
i kompjuter,
na hodniku se
sjaji, a tu je
i pegla. Tko
pegla. Tko
pegla košulju,
bijela,
košulja,
svijetlo
plava,
kravata. Tamno
plava, crvena.
Ocijelo tko
čisti odijelo,
na crtu. I
nogomet stolni
nogomet, I
Mikado, I mala
kuhinja,
zajednička
kuhinja. I
video .

00:06:00

šarene

keramike, žuta masna,
crveni cvijetovi, žuti
svijetovi, na žutoj masni
piše M - A - J - A

Nicole Hewitt: Spisi/Jasmina, performers, Banja Luka, 2010 / Documents/Jasmina, performance, Banja Luka, 2010.

Photo: ST





U članku naslovljenom "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm" Carlo Ginzburg je usporedio Morellijeve analitičke metode s onima detektiva, psihoanalitičara i povjesničara. Morelli, čija se metoda ispravne atribucije oslanja na brižljivo izučavanje detalja, ustvrdio je kako se upravo iz 'nevažnih' pojedinosti neke slike može zaključiti istinski identitet slikara. Slikar se ne razotkriva u karakterističnim obilježjima slike, nego u načinu na koji prikazuje trivijalne detalje – ušnu resicu, nokat na ruci ili oblik nožnoga prsta – jer to su elementi slike u kojima slikar zapada u bezbrižnost, gdje mu koncentracija odluta, a njegova svjesna nastojanja načas se obustave te više ne pazi toliko na konvencije, i upravo tu će se odati umjetnik ili pak njegov krivotvoritelj. Morellijeve bilježnice bile su pune ilustracija različitih tjelesnih detalja: noseva, ušnih resica, prstiju na rukama i nogama – pravi arhiv fizionomijskih pojedinosti koje će se upotrijebiti, baš kao elementi policijskog kompleta za identifikaciju, za detektiranje istinskog počinitelja djela. Ta metoda detektivskog ispitivanja, zasnovana na sasvim trivijalnim i naizgled nevažnim pojedinostima – kao nesvjesno ostavljenom tragu koji će naposljetku omogućiti ispravno prepoznavanje identiteta – nije svojstvena samo Sherlocku Holmesu, kako tvrdi Ginzburg, nego i Freudu, koji je i sam, kako dalje ističe, smatrao da su Morellijeve metode srodne psihoanalitičkim. A paradigma koja im je svima zajednička upravo je ono što Ginzburg naziva "dokaznom paradigmom" (*evidential paradigm*). Ona se sastoji u pronalaženju naizgled nevažnih i odbačenih tragova/simptoma/ostataka kao ključeva za dublju stvarnost i načina da se na osnovi tih tragova dođe do neke vjerodostojne pretpostavke.

Povjesničar/detektiv/psihoanalitičar ne smije se dati zavesti pretjeranom determinacijom, izvor se ne smije unaprijed 'kontaminirati' interpretacijom. U članku "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist" Ginzburg govori o povjesničaru koji brižljivo iščitava svoje izvore, poput glumca koji se nastoji uživjeti u ulogu, pokušavajući stupiti u dodir s optuženicima i inkvizitorima u potrazi za povijesnim dokazima. Izvori koje je Ginzburg izučavao bili su zapisnici s inkvizicijskih suđenja u Furlaniji, gdje je skupina seljaka optužena za čaranja. Ginzburg pokazuje kako su optuženici, benandanti koji su se borili protiv uroka kako bi zajamčili dobru ljetinu, tijekom razdoblja od 50 godina dospjeli do toga da su 'priznali' kako su se služili čarolijom, dok su se njihovi odgovori pretvorili u odjek pitanja koja su postavljali inkvizitori. Prikupljajući dokaze i čineći interpretabilnim ono što im je isprva bilo nepoznato – čime su postigli da se uklopi u unaprijed određene kategorije 'čaranja', inkvizitori su dokumentirali postupak do u najsitnije detalje, osiguravajući na taj način današnjim povjesničarima arhiv oblika ljudskog ponašanja u 16. stoljeću – uključujući rumenjenje, sitne geste i šutnje, koji su redom detaljno dokumentirani.

Ginzburg tvrdi kako su inkvizitori, izvještavajući o odgovorima koje su davali i oblicima ponašanja koje su iskazivali benandanti, propustili uočiti te stoga i kodirati iskaze i geste – budući da nisu znali što izostaviti, uključili su sve moguće pojedinosti. Christopher Pinney koristi tu ideju kao koristan način razmišljanja o fotografiji – nesposobnost isključivanja je ono što dopušta "curenje informacija". Ključ bi bio taj da je upravo ono što izmiče nadzoru autora/tvorca i ukazuje na istinu u pozadini – indeksni karakter fotografske slike – ono što potkopava poticaj na objektivizaciju, umjesto toga potvrđujući nestabilnost slike. Kao trag svojih referentnih točaka, indeks upućuje na neku fizičku vezu. Upravo ta tehnologija i aparat, koji koreografiraju stvarnost koju su uhvatili te istodobno za nju rezerviraju registar objektivnoga, neizbježno hvataju i ono slučajno.

Čini se da Ginzburg, usredotočujući se na ključeve koje je pronašao u dokumentima sa suđenja benandantima, aktivno preuzima ulogu redatelja/de-

In "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm", Carlo Ginzburg compares Morelli's analytical methods with those of the detective, the psychoanalyst, and the historian. Morelli, whose method of correct attribution relied on his careful study of detail, claimed that it was in the 'insignificant' minutiae of painting that the true identity of the painter was to be found. It was not in the most characteristic features of the painting that the painter would be revealed, but in the rendering of trivial detail – in the earlobe, the fingernail or the shape of the toe, the elements of the painting where the painter falls into carelessness, where his concentration wavers, where his conscious effort is suspended, where the conventions are relaxed, here the artist or his forger will give himself away. Morelli's notebooks were full of illustrations of various bodily details: noses, earlobes, fingers, toes – an archive of physiognomic details to be used, as in police identikit elements, in detecting the true perpetrator of an artwork. This method of investigative inquiry based on the most trivial and seemingly unimportant of detail – it is the trace left behind unconsciously that will lead to the correct attribution of identity in the end – is common not only to Sherlock Holmes, claims Ginzburg, but also to Freud, who, himself, as Ginzburg points out, found Morelli's methods to be related to those of psychoanalysis. And the paradigm common to them all is what Ginzburg calls the "evidential paradigm". To find in the seemingly insignificant and discarded trace/symptom/remain, the clue to a deeper reality and to make a probable conjecture on the basis of these clues.

The historian/detective/psychoanalyst must not be misled by over determination, the source should not be already 'contaminated' by interpretation. In "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist", Ginzburg talks of the historian pouring over his sources, like an actor trying to get into character, trying to make contact with the defendants and the inquisitors in search of historical evidence. The sources he is studying are the transcripts of the inquisitorial records of the Friuli trials of a group of peasants accused of witchcraft. Ginzburg shows how the defendants, the *benandanti* battling against witchcraft to guarantee a good crop, came over the course of 50 years to 'confess' to being witches, as their answers increasingly echoed the questions of the inquisitors. In compiling their evidence, and making what was at first unfamiliar to them, interpretable – by making it fit the predetermined categories of 'witch', the inquisitors recorded the proceedings in minute detail providing historians now with an archive of 16th century human behaviours – even blushings, small gestures, and silences were recorded in detail. In reporting the answers and behaviours of the *benandanti*, Ginzburg maintains, the Inquisitors failed to recognise and therefore failed to encode the utterances and gestures – not knowing what to exclude, they included all possible detail. Christopher Pinney uses this notion as a useful way of thinking about photography – the failure to exclude is what allows a "leaking through" to occur. The clue would be that which escapes the control of the author/producer and points to an underlying truth – the indexicality of the photographic image is precisely that which undermines the objectifying impulse, instead affirming the instability of the image. The index being a trace of its referent points to a physical connection. Precisely that technology and apparatus that choreographs the reality it captures, while claiming for it the register of the objective, cannot help but capture the incidental.

In concentrating on the clues he found in the documents of the *benandanti* trials, Ginzburg seems to be actively taking on the role of the director/detective. A role in which he is deeply engaged with what in dramaturgy would be called the 'characters' – he seeks their motivations, their thoughts, like a method

tektiva. To je uloga u kojoj se intenzivno bavi onime što bi dramaturgija nazvala 'likovima' – istražujući njihove motive i njihove misli poput metodičkog glumca koji izgrađuje neki lik te izučava detalje gesti zatvorenika, političara ili seljaka. Kakva god bila zadaća njegove infiltracije, on koristi dokumente kao točku ulaska u svijet koji su nekada tvorili živi pojedinci i stvara naraciju, temeljeći se na ključevima kako bi sastavio priču. On koristi ono što je izbjeglo inkvizicijskom zarobljavanju u 16. stoljeću kako bi to zarobio u narativnoj rekonfiguraciji povijesnog istraživanja u 20. stoljeću. Iako povjesničar nikada neće biti u prisutnosti svojih predmeta izučavanja, on će nastojati stupiti s njima u dodir ili odnos putem "osmoze" i tu metaforu Ginzburg koristi kako bi opisao međusobnu vezu povjesničara i njegovih izvora, to curenje informacija kroz polupropusnu membranu koje rezultira difuzijom, načinom prenošenja različitosti.

A što je s neslužbenom poviješću? Organizira li gramatika prošlost putem sjećanja ili se pak sjećanje povezuje kroz gramatiku u nešto nalik na jedinstvo? Deleuze smatra da upamćena povijest, gramatizirana povijest, također djeluje na sadašnjost. Upravo putem aproksimacije, reprezentacije i pripovijedanja prošlosti mi konstruiramo sadašnjost. 'Imati' prošlost nije moguće. Deleuze govori o sjećanju kao erotskom, i iako se to tumačilo kao da znači da je prisjećanje jedan oblik želje, ono se također može smatrati općenitim stanjem bivanja-u ili bivanja-sa – nekom vrstom uranjanja, prepuštanja, a ne naprosto željom usmjerenom na određeni predmet; susretom, otvaranjem, zanesenim gubitkom sebe. I dok se Deleuzeova opaska da psihoanaliza i lingvistika nisu od pomoći filmu protivi mojoj osobnoj fascinaciji gramatikom, postavlja se pitanje je li doista nemoguće uskladiti različite oblike mišljenja: semiotičko s fluidnim i rizomatskim, političko s poetskim?

Fascinira me gramatika, zbunjuju me njezine mogućnosti i ograničenja, nijanse i propusti, postoji nešto tajnovito u definiciji prijelaznog glagola, u razlici između akuzativa i genitiva; kako je prekrasna ideja uključivanja odnosa u objekt, i kako je očajna činjenica da je taj odnos tako skriven, tako automatiziran u našoj recepciji bavljenja jezikom, koja uključuje ono što se ne može mapirati, što pruža otpor, u nepopustljive i 'anarhične jedinstvenosti' živog jezika. Umjesto rigidnosti i uniformnosti, željela bih istaknuti poetičku, materijalističku, relacijsku, utjelovljenu, subverzivnu snagu gramatike. Jezik upravo s pomoću gramatike organizira svoje subjekte, radnje i objekte u vremenu. Upravo je s pomoću istančanosti glagolskih vremena, kako kaže Steiner, Proust opisao različite udaljenosti vremena i sjećanja. Rimbaud je s pomoću gramatike mogao reći: "Ja, to je netko drugi". S pomoću gramatike mogu govoriti tebi umjesto o 'tebi'. Derrida kaže: "Ne bih nikako mogao govoriti o drugome, učiniti drugoga temom, proglasiti drugoga objektom u akuzativu. Ja jedino mogu i jedino moram govoriti drugome, odnosno zazivati ga u vokativu". Tu je vokativ padež razgovora, a ipak, on može biti i padež interpelacije. Upravo se kroz gramatiku pripovijedaju misteriji vremena koje je proživljeno, zapamćeno i anticipirano. Kako Clément piše o pjesnikovoj sinkopi – uzbuđenju u vremenu, zastajanju ritma – "praksa proždiranja vremena jedno je od njihovih [pjesničkih] profesionalnih oruđa". Ona je oruđe i kao takva može povrijediti, kao instrument ona može biti instrumentalizirana, ali na njoj se može i svirati. Na isti je način moja ljubav prema gramatici anarhična, jer ne shvaćam gramatiku kao skupove i podskupove, klasifikacije i organizacije. Svaki element koji zaokuplja moju maštu – prezent perfekt, pomak zamjenice, prijelazni glagol – smatram pojedinačnim čarolijama, koje obećaju jednako toliko koliko ne uspijevaju ispuniti.

U gramatici ne vidim strukture, nego odnose i trajanja. Ono između. U hrvatskim deklinacijama, koje smo učili napamet kao školarci, to je možda očitije nego u jezicima koji su izgubili padeže, budući da imenica mijenja nastavke u svakom pojedinom odnosu, kao što ih mijenja i s obzirom na to je li muškog,

actor building a character and studying the detail of the gestures of a prisoner, a politician, a peasant. Whatever the task of inhabitation may be, he uses the records as an entry point to the world of what were living individuals and creates a narrative, working from the clues to configure a story. He is using that which escaped containment by the inquisitors in the 16th century, to contain within a narrative reconfiguration of an historical enquiry in the 20th century. Although the historian will never be in the presence of his or her subjects she will endeavour to form a bond, a relationship by way of 'osmosis', a metaphor Ginzburg uses to describe the interconnection between the historian and her sources, a leaking through across a semi-permeable membrane resulting in a diffusion, a way of translating difference.

And what of the unofficial past? It is through memory that grammar organizes the past, or is it through grammar that the memory becomes bounded into a semblance of a unity? Deleuze claims that the memorised past, the grammaticised past also acts on the present. It is through the approximation, the representation, the story, of the past that we construct the present. To 'have' the past is not possible. Deleuze speaks of memory as erotic. While this has been interpreted to mean that reminiscence is a form of desire, it can also be seen as a general condition of being in, being with – a form of immersion, of yielding, not simply a desire that is directed at its object, but a coming together, an opening, a rapturous loss of self. And while Deleuze's remark that psychoanalysis and linguistics are not of much help to cinema jars with my own fascination with grammar, is it really impossible to put to work different forms of thought, the semiotic with the fluid and rhizomatic and the political with the poetic?

I am fascinated by grammar, I am confounded by its possibilities and its limits, its nuances and failures, there is something mysterious in the definition of a transitive verb, in the difference between the accusative and the genitive, how beautiful the idea of including a relation to an object, and how desperate the fact that this relation is so hidden, so automated in our reception of language, engagement, one embracing the unmappable, the resistant, the unwieldy and 'anarchic singularities' of language lived. Far more than rigidity and uniformity, I would argue for the poetic, materialist, relational, embodied, the subversive forces of grammar. It is through grammar that language organizes subjects, actions and objects in time. Through the intricacies of verb tenses that as Steiner says, Proust described the varying distances of time and memory. It is through grammar that Rimbaud can say "I is another". It is through grammar that I can speak to you, rather than of 'you'. Derrida says: "I could not possibly speak of the other, make of the other a theme, pronounce the other as object in the accusative. I can only, I must only speak to the other, that is, I must call him in the Vocative". Here the Vocative is a case of interlocution, and yet it can also be the case of interpellation. It is through grammar that the mysteries of time lived, remembered and anticipated are narrated. As Clément writes of the poet's syncope – a thrill in time, a suspense of rhythm – "the practice of devouring time is one of their [the poets'] professional tools". A tool, and as such it can have injurious effect, as an instrument, it can be instrumentalised, but also played. And in the same way my love of grammar is anarchic, I do not apprehend grammar as sets and subsets, classifications and organisations. I see each element that captures my imagination – the present perfect, the shifting pronoun, the transitive verb as singular charms, promising as much as they fail to deliver.

I do not see structures in grammar, I see relations and durations. The in between.

In the Croatian declensions we learnt by heart as school children these may be more apparent than in languages that have lost their cases, as in each relation the noun changes its inflection, and changes again if it is feminine, mas-

ženskog ili srednjeg roda, u množini ili u jednini.

Nominativ	Tko? Što?
Genitiv	Koga? Čega?
Dativ	Komu? Čemu?
Akuzativ	Koga? Što?
Vokativ	O!
Lokativ	U komu? U čemu?
Instrumental	S kime? Čime?

Dok smo to učili napamet i recitali po potrebi, cijeli zadatak činio se sasvim besmislenim. Kako to da se sada čini kako posjeduje zasljepljujuću ljepotu? A opet, je li to sve? Je li to sveukupnost odnosa koje možemo izraziti, kao što glagolska vremena ograničavaju našu verbalizaciju vremena?

"Ja, to je netko drugi". Nekoliko riječi. Subjekt, predikat, objekt. Stanka, kako kaže Benveniste, prije i nakon iskaza.

Stanka.
Ali i dah,

jezik, nešto

pluća, neko lice,

mjesto,
vrijeme, netko,
netko drugi.

Moje zanimanje za naraciju je političko. Moje zanimanje za gramatiku povijesne naracije je političko. Moje zanimanje za politiku je povijesno. To nije nešto sa čime sam odrasla, budući da sam s ostatkom urbane mladeži u Jugoslaviji 80-ih godina dijelila ciničnu apolitičnost. Umjesto toga, političko se uvuklo u moj život, ono nije eksplodiralo zajedno s izbijanjem rata, nego se razvijalo tijekom godina, dok je rat trajao i dok se rušilo sve što se činilo stabilnim – zakon, jezik, nacionalnost, teritorij, ceste, domovi. Događalo se ono neizrecivo, dogodilo se ono nezamislivo. Kada su se pojavili prvi simptomi rata, kada je rat još bio nezamisliv, u zagušljivim barovima gdje smo provodili vrijeme izmjenjivali smo komadiće tajnih informacija o prevratu koji se sprema, pokušavajući zamisliti kako bi taj prevrat mogao izgledati (naposljetku, bili smo totalitaristička zemlja). Čak i kada su postavljene prve barikade, moja majka nije mogla pojmiti njihovu stvarnost te je planirala odvesti se do Istambula kroz ono što je još uvijek bila Jugoslavija. Baš kao što smo to učinili, moja majka, moj brat i ja, toliko godina ranije u Mini Cooperu. Tog ljeta jedan vojni avion probio je zvučni zid. Bilo je to u kolovozu 1991. Prije devetnaest godina.

Naracije koje su uslijedile, cenzuriranje jezika koje je uslijedilo, povijesti koje su se pisale uvijek iznova, retorika nacionalističkog govora, medijske čistke, preimenovanje ulica, uklanjanje partizanskih spomenika, zataškavanje, suđenja, brisanje nedavne prošlosti u prilog nekoj zamišljenoj povijesti i podrijetlu – sve to potaknulo je moje zanimanje za naraciju. Moje zanimanje za naraciju proizlazi iz povijesti.

— S engleskog prevela Marina Miladinov

culine, neutral, plural or singular.

Nominative	who? what?
Genitive	of whom? of what?
Dative	to whom? to what?
Accusative	whom, what?
Vocative	Hail, you!
Locative	in whom? in what?
Instrumental	with whom? with what?

Learning these by rote, reciting them on demand, how pointless this exercise was. How now does it seem a thing of dizzying beauty? And still, is this it? Is this the totality of the relations we can articulate, as the tenses are the limit of our verbalization of time?

"I is another". Three words. Subject, verb, object. A pause, says Benveniste, before and after the utterance.

A break.

But also a breath, a

tongue, some

lungs, a face, a

place,

a time, someone,

someone else.

My interest in narrative is political. My interest in the grammar of historical narrative is political. My interest in politics is historical. It was not something I grew up with, as I shared with other urban youth in Yugoslavia in the 80s a cynical apoliticism. Instead, the political crept into my life, not exploding with the breakout of war, but developing in the years of its duration and the breakdown of everything that had seemed solid – law, language, nationality, territory, roads, homes. The unspeakable was happening, the unimaginable had happened. In the first symptoms of the war, when it was still unthinkable, in the dingy bars we frequented, we exchanged snippets of clandestine information about an impending coup, we tried to envisage what a coup would be like (after all we were a totalitarian country). Even as the first road blocks went up my mother could not apprehend the reality of it and was planning to drive to Istanbul through, what was still, Yugoslavia. As we had done, my mother, my brother and I, so many years earlier in a Mini Cooper. That summer a military plane breached the sound barrier. It was August 1991. Nineteen years ago.

The narratives that ensued, the policing of language that followed, the histories written and rewritten, the rhetoric of nationalist speech, the media purges, the renaming of streets, the pulling down of partisan monuments, the cover-ups, the trials, the erasure of the recent past in favour of an imagined history, an origin – these fueled my concerns with narrative. My concern for narrative comes from history.



Andrea Geyer

KAZNENI SLUČAJ 40/61: ODJEK

6-kanalna video instalacija; filmska projekcija
2009.

Na temelju preuđenih transkripata sa Suđenja Adolfu Eichmannu u Jeruzalemu 1961. godine, koncipiran je apstraktni prizor suđenja: Optuženik, Branitelj, Sudac, Tužitelj, Izvjestitelj, Publika. Jedan izvođač utjelovljuje sve navedene likove. Rekonstruirana, apstrahirana scena istražuje zamršena pitanja istine i pravde, njihovu putanju kroz vrijeme koja se manifestira unutar pojedinca i postaje povijest. Instalacija se sastoji od šest monitora – po jedan za svakog lika – postavljenih oko promatrača, koji se tako zatiču usred scene. Na ovoj izložbi, rad je predstavljen u verziji jednokanalne filmske projekcije.

izvođač: Wu Ingrid Tsang
direktor fotografije: Ashley Hunt
asistent direktora fotografije: Harold Batista
asistenti produkcije: Feliz Solomon and Harold Batista
asistent montaže: Michael De Angelis
montažer zvuka: Lidia Tamplenizza
ton majstor: Alexa Zimmerman
asistent izvedbe: Justin Perkins
ekipa: Jane Anderson, Lily Benson, Cynthia Chris, Cassandra Xin Guan
lokacija: Industry City, Sunset Park, Brooklyn
istraživanje: The Jewish Museum, New York, www.nizkor.org

CRIMINAL CASE 40/61: REVERB

6-channel video installation; film screening
2009

Based on edited transcripts of the 1961 Trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem and the writings of Hannah Arendt, an abstracted trial scene stages six characters: Accused, Defense, Judge, Prosecution, Reporter, Audience. Each character within the scene is embodied by the same performer. The reconstructed, abstracted scene examines complicated questions of truth and justice as they travel across time within an individual and become history. The installation places 6 monitors – one for each character – around the viewers, situating them within the scene. In this exhibition, the work was presented in the one-channel screening version.

performer: Wu Ingrid Tsang
director of photography: Ashley Hunt
assistant director of photography: Harold Batista
production assistants: Feliz Solomon and Harold Batista
assistant editor: Michael De Angelis
sound editor: Lidia Tamplenizza
sound mixer: Alexa Zimmerman
performance support: Justin Perkins
crew: Jane Anderson, Lily Benson, Cynthia Chris, Cassandra Xin Guan
location: Industry City, Sunset Park, Brooklyn
research: The Jewish Museum, New York, www.nizkor.org

A TRIAL



UVODNI TITL: 11. april, 1961.

TITL: 11. august 2009.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni]

IZVJESTITELJ: [glas u off-u] Ništa i nitko na ovom svijetu ne postoji bez promatrača. [pali se ekran Publika] Ono što zovemo sviješću, to da sam svjestan sebe i da se mogu ukazati samome sebi bilo kad i bilo gdje, nikad nije dovoljno da stvarnost postane izvjesna.

TITL: KAKVE KORISTI OD TOGA?

TITL: OSIGURAT ĆE SE PRAVDA

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni]

PUBLIKA: [na ekranu] Danas sam ponosna. Ponosna sam na svoju zemlju i svoj narod. Da se dogodio linč, da su se mase ustale da uzmu zakon u vlastite ruke zbog potrebe za osvetom, čovječanstvo bi razumijelo. Ali to se nije dogodilo. Optuženiku će se suditi i to će suđenje biti pravedno.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni]

[svi likovi se pojavljuju na svojim ekranima]

SUDAC: Proglašavam devedesetpetu sesiju otvorenom. Molim nastavite.

OPTUŽENIK: [ustaje, čita ulomke iz intervjua kojega je dao Willemu Sassenu u časopisu Life 1960.] No što se tu ima "priznati"? Izvršavao sam naredbe. Gdje bismo bili kada bi svatko kovao vlastite planove u to vrijeme? Danas, u "novoj" zemlji, to je moguće. Ali za nas, u to vrijeme, naredba je bila naredba. Da sam sabotirao naredbu, bio bih ne samo nitkov već i prijezira vrijedna svinja! Tek danas, s ovim novim interpretacijama pravde, potčinjeni funkcioneri poput mene odjednom su odgovorni za ono što čine. [pauza] Sve što smo mi učinili je da smo oduzeli ljudima državljanstvo i zaplijenili njihovu imovinu. Naprosto smo ih označili kao državne neprijatelje. To je bio moj posao, locirati unutarnje neprijatelje. Tijekom čitavog razdoblja, htio sam stvari rješavati politički i u skladu s pravilima. Nikad nije bilo mjesta emocijama. [pauza] Kada sam već bio preuzeo dužnost, rekli su mi da su poslali mene, "majstora" osobno, kako bi bili sigurni. Ljudi su me opisivali tom riječju. Nisam je ja prvi upotrijebio. No kad su me već okarakterizirali kao "majstora", htio sam se tako i ponašati. Odlučio sam im pokazati kako se dobro posao može obaviti kada netko poput mene stoji 100% iza njega. Htio sam postaviti primjer. Ali nikad nisam bio nasilan čovjek. U srcu sam vrlo osjetljiv čovjek. Jednostavno ne mogu promatrati nikakvu patnju a da i sam ne zadržim.

PUBLIKA: [uzvikuje] Hej! Hej!

SUDAC: Tišina! Zadržite vaše reakcije za sebe ili napustite dvoranu!

OPTUŽENIK: Da zaključim, moram reći da ne osjećam žaljenje ni zbog čega.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni, osim Izvjestitelja]

IZVJESTITELJ: Što se tiče temeljnih motiva, Optuženik je savršeno siguran da on nije ono što je nazvao innerer Schweinehund, prljavi gad u dubini srca; a što se njegove savjesti tiče, savršeno precizno rekonstruirao da bi imao griznju savjesti samo kada ne bi bio učinio što mu je bilo naloženo. Ovo zaista nije bilo lako shvatiti.

OPENING TITLE: april 11, 1961

TITLE: august 11, 2009

[all screens black]

REPORTER: *[off screen voice] Nothing and nobody exists in this world without a spectator. [Audience screen on] That what we call consciousness, that I am aware of myself and therefore can appear to myself anytime anywhere, is never enough to guarantee reality.*

TITLE: WHAT GOOD WILL IT DO?

TITLE: IT WILL DO JUSTICE

[all screens black]

AUDIENCE: *[on screen] Today I am proud. I am proud of my country and of my people. Had a lynching taken place, had the masses risen to take the law into their own hands in their need for revenge, humanity would have understood. But it did not happen. The Accused will stand trial and it will be a just one.*

[all screens black]

[all characters appear on their respective screens]

JUDGE: *The ninety-fifth session is now open. Please proceed.*

ACCUSED: *[gets up, reads from a 1960 Life magazine excerpt of an interview he gave to Willem Sassen] Yet what is there to "admit"? I carried out my orders. Where would we have been if everyone had thought things out by themselves in those days? You can do that today in the "new" country. But for us at the time an order was an order. If I had sabotaged the order, I would have been not only a scoundrel but a despicable pig! Only now with these new interpretations of justice, subordinates like me are suddenly responsible for what they do. [pause] All we did is deprive people of their citizenship and confiscate their property. We merely marked them an enemy of the state. That was my job, to allocate the internal enemy. Through this entire period, I wanted to solve things politically and according to the rules. It was never a matter of emotion. [pause] Once on a mission, I was told that they had sent me, the "master" himself, to make sure. People used this word to describe me. I did not use it first. Yet, since they had designated me the "master," however, I wanted to act as such. I resolved to show them how well a job could be done when someone like myself stands 100% behind it. I wanted to set an example. Yet I was never a man of violence. At heart I am a very sensitive man. I simply can't look at any suffering without trembling myself.*

AUDIENCE: *[moans] Hey! Hey!*

JUDGE: *Silence! Keep it to yourself or you will need to leave!*

ACCUSED: *To sum it all up, I must say that I regret nothing.*

[all screens, except Reporter, black]

REPORTER: *As for the base motives, the Accused was perfectly sure that he was not what he called an innerer Schweinehund, a dirty bastard in the depths of his heart; and as for his conscience, he remembered perfectly well that he would have had a bad conscience only if he had not done what he had been ordered to. This, admittedly, was hard to take.*

TUŽITELJ: Čovječanstvo je subjekt protiv kojega je učinjena povreda a ovaj je sud sazvan kako bi odredio zašto je to tako. Nije riječ o novom konceptu u području morala, ali jest o inovaciji u Carstvu Zakona.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni]

[na svim ekranima široki kadar, prazan stol ispred arhiva, hrpe papira uokviruju prizor]

IZVJESTITELJ: [glas u off-u] Mjesto radnje: Beit Haam, Dom naroda. Na sav glas, redar nam nalaže da ustanemo. Sudac [pojavljuje se na svom ekranu] gologlav, u crnoj halji, ulazi u sudnicu iz sporednog ulaza i sjeda u najviši red podignute platforme. Njegov stol, kojega će uskoro prekriti brojne knjige i preko tisuću i pol dokumenata, okružuju s obje strane sudski zapisničari. Neposredno ispod sudaca su prevoditelji. U redu ispod, jedan preko puta drugog, profilima okrenute Publici, vidimo Optuženika [pojavljuje se na ekranu] i katedru za svjedoke. Konačno, u najnižem redu, leđima okrenuti Publici [pojavljuje se na svom ekranu] su Tužitelj [pojavljuje se na svom ekranu] i Branitelj [pojavljuje se na svom ekranu]

TITLOVI: OPTUŽENIK, BRANITELJ, SUDAC, PUBLIKA, TUŽITELJ, IZVJESTITELJ

[svi se likovi pojavljuju na svom ekranu]

SUDAC: Nastavimo. Optuženi, jeste li vi Optuženik u ovom slučaju?

OPTUŽENIK: Jawohl.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni, osim Izvjestitelja]

IZVJESTITELJ: Ono što mi vidimo kao "historijsku pravdu" drugima izgleda kao semipatološko naslijeđe traumatskog iskustva.

BRANITELJ: Htio bih se pozabaviti Stanjem Izuzeća koje se navodilo kao argument u ovom suđenju, ako smijem. Razumijem da postoji mogućnost za izvanredne zakone pod posebnim, izvanrednim uvjetima. Takav, izvanredan zakon može biti i pravedan zakon, ako mu je svrha pravedna. Svrha izvanrednog zakona, o kojem je ovdje riječ, je kažnjavanje [pogledava Suca] i, ako smijem reći, osveta. Njena je svrha obrana Države koju predstavlja sud, kao i njenih građana, a ne univerzalna pravda.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni]

[svi se likovi pojavljuju na svom ekranu]

SUDAC: Izvolite, G. Tužitelju.

TUŽITELJ: Kako Sud nalaže. Što se tiče pravednosti suđenja, duboko žalim nad onim što je Obrana imala za reći. Iako je bilo suptilno i ljubazno upakirano: "Optuženi se boji da neće imati pravedno suđenje u ovoj zemlji". Naši se suci vode principom da treba postojati "isti zakon za osobu rođenu u zemlji kao i za stranca među vama". Vjerni su principu pravednosti. Nadalje, mora se kazati da pitanje "Državnog djela" ne predstavlja obranu. Jasna je artifičijelnost ovakvog argumenta jer, kada bi on bio prihvaćen, pod uvjetima diktature, onda bi mogao biti samo jedan optuženi - državni poglavar.

SUDAC: Čak ni on. Kao državni poglavar on je također imun!

TUŽITELJ: Časni sude, kada bismo prihvatili teoriju "Državnog djela" kao obranu, onda bi

[all screens, except Prosecution, black]

PROSECUTION: *Humanity is the sovereign which has been offended and this tribunal is convoked to determine why. This is not a new concept in the realm of morals, but it is an innovation in the Empire of Law.*

[all screens black]

[all screens wide shoot set up, empty table in front of archive, stacks of papers frame the scene]

REPORTER: *[off screen voice] The site is Beit Haam, the House of the people. At the top of his voice, the usher lets us jump to our feet. The judge [appears on his screen] bareheaded, in black robe, walks into the courtroom from a side entrance to take his seat on the highest tier of the raised platform. His table, soon to be covered with innumerable books and more often fifteen hundred documents, is flanked at each end by the court stenographers. Directly below the judges are the translators. One tier below, facing each other and hence with their profiles turned to the Audience, we see the Accused [appears on his screen] and the witness box. Finally, on the bottom tier, with their backs to the Audience [appears on his screen], are the Prosecutor [appears on his screen], and the Counsel for the Defense [appears on his screen].*

TITLES: ACCUSED, DEFENSE, JUDGE, AUDIENCE, PROSECUTION, REPORTER
[all characters appear on their respective screens]

JUDGE: *Let's proceed. Accused, are you the Accused in this case?*

ACCUSED: *Jawohl.*

[all screens, except Reporter, black]

REPORTER: *What appears to us to be "historic justice" looks to others like a semi-pathological legacy of a traumatic experience.*

DEFENSE: *I want proceed to the State of Exception that has been argued in this case, if I may. I understand that there is room for exceptional laws under special emergency conditions. And such exceptional law can be a just law if it has a just purpose. The purpose of the exceptional law, which is used here before us, is punishment [glances to the Judge] and if I may suggest revenge. Its purpose is the defense of the State the court represents and of its citizens, not justice at large.*

[all screens black]

[all characters appear on their respective screens]

JUDGE: *Please, Mr. Attorney General.*

PROSECUTION: *May it please the Court. As to the fairness of the trial, I deeply regret what the Defense Counsel has had to say. Although it was clothed in delicate and polite manner "the Accused is afraid that he will not have a fair trial in this country". Our judges are bound by the principle that there should be "one law for the person born in the land and for the stranger in your midst." They are faithful to the principle of doing justice. Furthermore it must be laid down that the question of an "Act of State" is not a defense. It is clear that there is an artificiality in this argument, since, if such a defense were accepted, under the conditions of a dictatorship, there could only have been one accused, and that would be the head of state.*

svatko tko je izvršavao državne naredbe mogao opravdati najstrašnije zločine bez ikakvog preuzimanja odgovornosti. Savjest svijeta grozi se i same takve pomisli!

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni, osim Izvjestitelja]

IZVJESTITELJ: Kada diktator kaže da će doći dan kada će biti pravnik predstavljati "sramotu", on govori krajnje razvidno o snu o savršenoj birokraciji. Srž totalitarnih vladavina, kao možda i priroda svake birokracije, je pretvoriti ljude u funkcionere i puke kotačiće. Riječ je o preuzimanju forme administrativne mašinerije koja ih dehumanizira: Vladavina Nikoga. [pauza] Unatoč tome, moramo jasno razlučiti da se istinska pravda ovakve vrste društvenih i političkih faktora može razmatrati samo u mjeri u kojoj oni predstavljaju okolnosti zločina, okolnosti pojedinca. Na jednak način kao što u slučaju krađe u obzir uzimamo ekonomske nedaće lopova, ali ne opravdavamo krađu, a kamoli opraštamo zločin.

TITLOVI: UVODNO IZLAGANJE

[svi se likovi pojavljuju na svom ekranu]

TUŽITELJ: Dok stojim ovdje pred Vama, nisam sam. Uz mene su mnogi. No oni ne mogu ustati i pokazati prstom na onoga koji sjedi na klupi i ne mogu uskliknuti: "J'accuse!", jer ih više nema. Zato ću ja biti njihov glasnogovornik i u njihovo ću ime izložiti optužbu. [pauza] Nema presedana koji bi me vodio. Ovo je prvi put u povijesti da je ovakav zločin počinjen, i prvi put da je tribunal uspostavljen kako bi mu se sudilo. Osvetu ovdje nije moguće sprovesti. [pauza] Ljudi se još uvijek pitaju, a zasigurno će se i u budućnosti pitati: Kako je to bilo moguće? Sumnjam da ćemo u sklopu ovog suđenja uspjeti razotkriti same korijene Zla koji su ih vodili. To je zadatak za brojne povjesničare, sociologe, autore i psihologe u budućnosti. [pauza] Dozvolite da zločinu dam povijesni okvir.

Dozvolite da Optuženog odredim unutar izbora koje je načinio. Dozvolite da čovječanstvu dam okvir zločina. Ubojstvo je prisutno u ljudskoj rasi od vremena kad je Kain ubio Abela. To nije novi fenomen. Međutim, na ovom suđenju susrest ćemo drukčiju vrstu zločinca: onoga koji svoj zanat vježba iza stola, na sigurnoj udaljenosti. [pauza] Ali njegova je riječ pokrenula stroj smrti; podigao je telefonsku slušalicu i naručio smrt: njegov je potpis zapečatio sudbinu tisuća i desetina tisuća. [pauza] Čut ćemo Optuženog kako se opisuje kao preciznu i posvećenu osobu, radnika s "bijelim ovratnikom". Moje je mišljenje, stoga, da treba snositi odgovornost, baš kao da je vlastitim rukama svezao omču za vješanje. [pauza] Ovaj zločin nije bio slučajnost, nije bio prolazni fenomen. Uпитno je može li uopće biti slučajnost u ljudskoj povijesti. Potoci koji teku svaki u svom koritu dok se ne ujedine u moćnu rijeku, stapaju se samo ako je njihov tijek usmjeren u istom pravcu. [pauza] Optuženik je znao da će, za uspjeh svoga rada, morati koristiti stoljećima staro oružje mržnje. Koristio je propagandu kako bi izložio ljudima objekt kojemu je bilo moguće pripisati sve što je prijezira vrijedno i zazorno, objekt pred kojim se treba zgražati i koji predstavlja apsolutnu antitezu njih samih. Zbunjen i zasljepljen svijet nije prezao pred ovom kampanjom mržnje i negiranjem ljudskih prava. Nije razumio da je progon ovih žrtvi tek početak napada na čitav svijet.

IZVJESTITELJ: Ono što me najviše smetalo bilo je ponašanje ne samo naših neprijatelja nego i naših prijatelja. Nisu bili odgovorni za ono što se desilo, ali su bili impresionirani i najednom nesposobni da načine svoj sud naspram presude povijesti. Da bismo razumjeli što se zapravo desilo, trebamo uzeti u obzir taj gotovo univerzalni slom, ne toliko osobne odgovornosti, već osobne prosudbe.

[svi ekrani zatamnjeni, osim Izvjestitelja i Tužitelja; Tužitelj priprema magnetofon dok Izvjestitelj govori]

IZVJESTITELJ: Otjelotvorenje vihora misli nije samo po sebi znanje; to je sposobnost

JUDGE: *Not even he. As Head of State he, too, is immune!*

PROSECUTION: *Your honor, if we were to accept the theory of "Act of State" as a defense, then anyone who carried out state orders could justify himself for the most terrible crimes without ever taking responsibility. The conscience of the world shrinks from this!*

[all screens, except Reporter, black]

REPORTER: *When a dictator says that a day would come when it would be considered a "disgrace" to be a jurist, he is speaking with utter consistency of a dream of a perfect bureaucracy. The essence of totalitarian governments, and perhaps the nature of every bureaucracy, is to turn men into functionaries and mere cogs. It takes the form of an administrative machinery that dehumanize them: A rule of Nobodies. [pause] Yet having said that, one must realize clearly that any true justice can consider these kinds of social and political factors only to the extent that they are circumstances of a crime, circumstance of an individual. In the same way that in a case of the theft, the economic plight of the thief is taken into account yet without excusing the theft, let alone wiping his crime off the slate.*

TITLES: THE OPENING SPEECH

[all characters appear on their respective screens]

PROSECUTION: *When I stand before you here today, I am not standing alone. With me are many. But they cannot rise to their feet and point an accusing finger towards him who sits in the dock and cry: "J'accuse!" for they are gone. Therefore I will be their spokesman and in their name I will unfold the indictment. [pause] There is no precedence to guide me. It is the first time in history that such crime has been perpetuated, and the first time that a tribunal has been established to try it. Revenge can not be implemented here. [pause] Men still ask themselves, and they will certainly continue to ask in days to come: How was it possible? I doubt whether in this trial we on our part will succeed in laying bare the roots of the Evil that drove them. That is a task to concern the many historians, sociologists, authors and psychologists to come. [pause] Let me frame the crime with a history. Let me frame the Accused with the choices he made. Let me frame humanity with a crime. Murder has been with the human race since the days when Cain killed Abel. It is no novel phenomenon. Yet in this trial, we shall encounter a different kind of criminal: the kind that exercises his craft behind a desk, at safe distance. [pause] But it was his word that put the killing machine into action; he lifted the telephone, and ordered death; his signature it was his signature that sealed the doom of thousands and tens of thousands. [pause] We shall find the Accused describing himself as a fastidious person, a "white-collar" worker. I say he must bear responsibility therefore, as if it was he who with his own hands knotted the hangman's noose. [pause] This crime was no accident, no transient phenomenon. It may be doubted whether there can be accidents in human history. Like streams flowing each in its own channel until they unite into a mighty river, they come together only if their flow is in the same general direction. [pause] The Accused knew that for the success of his work he would have to use the age-old weapon of hate. Through propaganda he needed to place before the people an object to which could be attributed everything loathsome and contemptible, an object worthy of abhorrence which would be the absolute antithesis of themselves. A confused and blinded world was not alarmed by this campaign of hatred and the denial of human rights. It did not understand that the persecution of these victims was only the beginning of an onslaught on the entire world.*

REPORTER: *What disturbed me most was the behavior not of our enemies but of our friends. They were not responsible for what happened, yet they were impressed and suddenly unable to pit their own judgment against the verdict of history. To understand what actually happened, we need to take into account this almost universal breakdown, not so*

razlučivanja dobrog od lošeg. Ono zaista može spriječiti katastrofe, barem što se mene tiče, u rijetkim trenucima kada se čini da su svi brodovi potonuli. In omnia paratus – budi spreman na sve. Fiat justitia – neka pravda bude izvršena. Razumijevanje ne negira postojanje strahota. Razumijevanje svjesno snosi teret, kojega nam je nametnulo naše stoljeće. Razumijevanje je nepristrano suočavanje sa stvarnošću. Razumijevanje je otpor stvarnosti – što god ona jest ili je bila.

TUŽITELJ: Sada ćemo poslušati izjave Optuženika koje je dao tijekom policijskog ispitivanja.

[svi ekrani su zatamnjeni]

[svi likovi se pojavljuju na svojim ekranima]

SUDAC: Naredni svjedok. Stavite Kipu na glavu i ponavljajte za mnom.

[Publika pali radio: čuje se zvuk svjedočenja svjedoka sa izvornog suđenja]

IZVJESTITELJ: Od ukupno 121, 63 sesije ovog suđenja su potrošene na stotinu svjedoka tužiteljstva koji su pričali svoje strahotne priče, iz različitih zemalja. Njihova su svjedočanstva trajala od 24. aprila do 12. juna. Zatim je tjedan dana trajalo usvajanje dokumenata tužiteljstva, među kojima je mnoge tužitelj čitao tijekom svakodnevnog sudskog protokola za internacionalne medije.

PUBLIKA: Ne mogu ne primijetiti da Optuženik i ne trepće. On naprosto sudjeluje u procesu, potpuno miran. Gdje je sada njegova slabost? [pausa, zatim se nasloni na stolicu, pa više] Ubojstvo! Ubojstvo!



much of personal responsibility, but of personal judgment.

[all screens, except Reporter and Prosecution, black; Prosecution sets up a reel-to-reel audio player while Reporter is speaking]

REPORTER: *The manifestation of the wind of thought is no knowledge itself; it is the ability to tell right from wrong. This indeed may prevent catastrophes, at least for myself, in the rare moments when the chips are down. In omnia paratus – prepare for all things. Fiat justitia – let justice be done. Comprehension does not deny the outrageous. Comprehension bears consciously the burden, which our century has placed upon us. Comprehension is an impartial facing-up to reality. Comprehension is the resisting of reality—whatever it may be or was.*

PROSECUTION: *We will now play the statements of the Accused during police interrogation.*

[all screens black]

[all characters appear on their respective screens]

JUDGE: *Next witness. Put the Yarmulke on your head and speak after me.*

[Audience turns radio on: sound of witness testimony from the original trial]

REPORTER: *63 of 121 sessions of this trial were spent on a hundred prosecution witnesses who country after country told their tales of horror. Their testimony lasted from April 24th to June 12th. Then another week was spent handing in documents for the prosecution's case, most of them read into the court's protocol by the attorney general, which would be given to the international press each following morning.*

AUDIENCE: *I cannot help but notice that the Accused does not even blink. He just participates in the proceedings, unfazed. Where is his weakness now? [pause, leans back into his chair, then yells] Murder! Murder!*



Abba Kovner: Izjavio sam da ću govoriti istinu, isključivo istinu i potpunu istinu. Siguran sam u činjenicu da sam govorio istinu, isključivo istinu... "potpunu" istinu...

Sudac: ...Ovo je dobra prilika da Vas podsjetim, i Vas i glavnog tužitelja, da "Sveukupna istina" znači cijela istina u odnosu na pitanje koje Vam je postavljeno. Očito je da to nije isto što i potpuna istina. I nama je to jasno. ¹

Godine 2011. obilježit će se 50. godišnjica suđenja Adolfu Eichmannu za zločine protiv čovječnosti pred izraelskim Vrhovnim Sudom. Nazivan "arhitektom Holokausta", Eichmann je bio zadužen od strane generala SS-a Reinharda Heydricha da provodi i organizira logistiku masovne deportacije Židova u geta i logore smrti u istočnoj Europi, pod njemačkom okupacijom. Eichmann je nakon rata pobjegao u Argentinu, gdje je živio pod lažnim identitetom do 1960., kada su ga oteli izraelski operativci Mossada, nakon čega je doveden u Jeruzalem gdje mu se sudilo prema *Kaznenom zakonu o nacistima i kolaboracionistima*. Nakon jednogodišnjeg suđenja, koje je na izraelskom sudu označeno kao Kazneni slučaj 40/61 i snimljeno kako bi se emitiralo širom svijeta, u produkciji američke tvrtke Capital Cities Broadcast Corporation, Eichmann je proglašen krivim a pogubljen je vješanjem 1962. Pedesetak godina kasnije, jednako je teško artikulirati *potpunu istinu* oko događanja koja su prethodila suđenju Eichmannu. Od samog početka, zadatak izraelskog Vrhovnog suda da reprezentira i procesuirati zločine počinjene od strane Eichmanna – djela koja je počinio u zločinačkoj državi, legalizirana Führerovom proklamacijom da je Njemačka u "stanju izuzeća" – mogao se okarakterizirati veličanstvenim.

Andrea Geyer – čiji se rad bavi pitanjima povijesnog sjećanja i načinima na koje ta sjećanja određuju naša djela u sadašnjosti – vraća se Eichmannovom slučaju u šestokanalnoj video-instalaciji *Kazneni slučaj 40/61: Odjek*. Međutim, njen je zadatak zastrašujući. Kako re-prezentirati historijsku reprezentaciju onoga što je oduvijek već unaprijed tako *nereprezentabilno*? Znajući da povjesničari ne kroče dvaput u istu rijeku, Geyer pristupa svojoj temi usredotočujući se na njen odjek u suvremenom globalnom geopolitičkom krajoliku. To podrazumijeva rastvaranje meta-diskursa koji su odredili izvorne subjekte suđenja, kako bi se ispitalo njihovo nasljeđe. Ipak, postoji namjerna apsurdnost u umjetničinom povratku u prošlost jer izvorne osobe i događaji nisu poimenice navedeni. Predstavljeni su kao apstrakcija, prepoznavanje snage povijesti kao ponavljanja. Ono što, međutim, nije apstraktno, je pitanje odgovornosti za tu povijest *danas*. Na scenu stupaju Branitelj, Sudac, Tužitelj, Izvjestitelj, Optuženik i Publika.

Pozornica je postavljena

Može li se *Kazneni slučaj 40/61* smatrati predstavom? U knjizi *Eichmann u Jeruzalemu*, Hannah Arendt razlučuje Eichmannovu "sudsku predstavu" od tradicionalne dramske igre. Ako je dramska igra poput suđenja, objašnjava Arendt, to je zbog toga što je optuženi, ili "činitelj" – jedini protagonist. Drama/suđenje tako uvijek počinje i prestaje s njegovim djelima. No, u Eichmannovu slučaju "dramski aspekt suđenja...urušava se pod težinom zapanjujućih zločina", koje predstavljaju iskazi svjedoka i koji sačinjavaju 50% suđenja. Zato nikakva doza tužilačkog prozivanja čovjeka u staklenoj kutiji ne može optuženom povratiti njegov singularni

¹ Svjedočenje bivšeg židovskog partizanskog vođe Abbe Kovnera na suđenju Eichmannu, 4. svibnja, 1961., (Jeruzalem: The Stephen Spielberg Archive of Jewish Film), VT E1125, #125. Vidi također: The Nizkor Project, <http://adolfweichmanntrial.com>, Sesija 27, 6. dio.

Abba Kovner: I said I would tell the truth, nothing but the truth and the whole truth. I am certain of the fact that I have told the truth, nothing but the truth...the "whole" truth...

Presiding Judge: ...This provides me with an opportunity to say to you and, through you, to the Attorney General as well: "All the truth" means all the truth in answer to the question that you have been asked. It is obvious this is not the whole truth. We, too, understand this. ¹

The year 2011 marks the 50th anniversary of Adolf Eichmann's trial before the Israeli Supreme Court for crimes against humanity. Coined "the architect of the Holocaust," Eichmann was tasked by SS General Reinhard Heydrich to facilitate and manage the logistics of mass deportation of Jews to ghettos and extermination camps in German-occupied Eastern Europe. Eichmann fled to Argentina after the war. He lived there under an assumed alias until 1960, when he was abducted by Israeli Mossad operatives, transported to Jerusalem and tried under the *Nazi and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law*. After a year-long trial, designated by the Israeli court as Criminal Case 40/61 and recorded for broadcast by the US-based firm Capital Cities Broadcast Corporation for a worldwide audience, Eichmann was found guilty and executed by hanging in 1962. Some fifty years later, the *whole truth* behind the events leading to the Eichmann trial is as difficult to articulate as ever. From the start, the Israeli Supreme Court's task of representing and prosecuting the atrocities committed by Eichmann – acts waged in a criminal nation legally validated by the Führer's proclamation that Germany was in a "state of exception" – could only be considered sublime.

Andrea Geyer – whose work deals with questions of historical memory and the way in which such memory conditions our actions in the present – returns to the Eichmann case in her six channel video installation *Criminal Case 40/61: Reverb*. But her task is daunting. Just how does one re-present the historical representation of what was always already so *unrepresentable*? Mindful that historians can't step in the same river twice, Geyer approaches her subject by focusing on what reverberates in the contemporary global geo-political landscape. This involves unpacking the meta-discourses that defined the trial's original subjects in order to evaluate each of their legacies. And yet, there's an intentional absurdity in Geyer's return because the original persons and events are not specifically named. They are instead presented as an abstraction, an acknowledgment of history's force as repetition. What's not absurd, however, is the question of responsibility for this history *today*. Enter the Defense, Judge, Prosecutor, Reporter, Accused and Audience.

A stage is set

Could *Criminal Case 40/61: Reverb* be considered a play? In Eichmann in Jerusalem, Hannah Arendt distinguishes Eichmann's "show trial" from a traditional play. If a play is like a trial, she argues, it is because the accused, or the "doer," is the sole protagonist. A play/trial thus begins and ends with his actions. However, in Eichmann's case, "the play aspect of the trial... collapsed under the weight of the hair-raising atrocities," presented by witness testimony that constituted 50% of the trial. Consequently, no amount of prosecutorial finger-wagging at the man in

¹ Former Jewish partisan leader Abba Kovner's testimony at the Eichmann Trials, May 4, 1961, (Jerusalem: The Stephen Spielberg Archive of Jewish Film), VT E1125, #125. See also: The Nizkor Project, <http://adolfreichmantrial.com/>, Session 27, Part 6.

anti-herojski status u slučaju predstavljenom na sudu.² U ovom slučaju, Eichmannovo suđenje definitivno *nije* bilo predstava. Ipak, ako redefiniramo i dekonstruiramo predstavu kao operaciju ponavljanja, onda možda povratak Geyer Eichmannovom slučaju pokazuje ključne aspekte predstave. Lacanovska filmska teoretičarka Alenka Zupančič poistovjećuje strukturu drame s onim što psihoanaliza naziva *Vorstellungs-Repräsentanz*. Ovo je Lacanov termin za "reprezentaciju nečega što izvorno (i strukturalno) nedostaje; s nečim što se može ukazati tek kao udvostručeno i već se po prvi put pojavljuje kao vlastito ponavljanje: njegov jedini original je to ponavljanje".³ Ako se osvrćemo na Eichmannov slučaj danas, ono što nedostaje je središnja perspektiva koja bi postvarila univerzalnu istinu mizanscene ovog suđenja. U skladu s tim, Geyer reinscenira događaj tako što predstavlja izvođača koji doslovno utjelovljuje sve kontradiktorne pozicije uključenih u suđenje, kako bi nas naglala da mislimo kroz prizmu izvorne kompleksnosti događaja i njegove suvremene repeticije.

Kako bismo pristupili događaju iz ovog, *zakrivljenog* kuta, naziremo "istinu" suđenja u obliku rebusa koji se sastoji od fragmentarnih, diskurzivnih poriva svakog igrača. Slijedeći primjer izvođača, i mi se trebamo postaviti u različite subjektivne pozicije, koje oblikuje upakirani pravni ili filozofski diskurs.

Događaj: 1961.

S obzirom da je Eichmann, u intervjuu kojega je za časopis *Life* napravio Willem Sassen 1960., već unaprijed priznao svoju ulogu u "transportaciji [Židova] koljaču", pitanje koje je zaokupilo suđenje bilo je: *Gdje je smisao?* Zanimljivo je da je Eichmann priznao svoja djela ali je odbacio svaku odgovornost za njih. Eichmannov branitelj, Dr. Robert Servatius iz Kölna, podržavao je Eichmanna, navodeći kako su za vrijeme rata, pod postojećim nacističkim zakonom, Eichmannova djela bila u skladu sa slovom zakona. Njegovoga klijenta tako sude za "Državna djela". Ovo je bilo problematično jer, u skladu s internacionalnim zakonom, nijedna država nema ovlasti nad djelima druge države, a pogotovo ne Izrael, koji nije ni postojao u vrijeme kada je Eichmann ta djela počinio. Izraelski tužilac Arnold Hausner na to je odgovorio ostrašćenom obranom legitimnosti suda. "Nema ničega lošeg u tome da židovski sudac, Izraelac, sudi ugnjetavaču svog naroda", glasio je Hausnerov argument. "Baš suprotno, trebamo biti zahvalni što postoji mjesto na svijetu, gdje Židovi posjeduju suverenitet, sudove, tužiteljske mehanizme i mogućnosti da sude čovjeku koji je počinio zlodjela protiv ovog naroda."⁴

Za tužilaštvo je suđenje protiv Eichmanna imalo dvostruku svrhu: javno osuditi izvršitelja Holokausta kojega su držali u šaci, i na taj način retroaktivno dati legitimitet stvaranju Izraela kao autonomne židovske države 1948. godine. Hausnerovo uvodno izlaganje bilo je zato namjerno dramatično: "Dok stojim ovdje pred Vama, Suci izraelski, kako bih vodio Tužbu protiv Adolfa Eichmanna, ne stojim sam. Uz mene je šest milijuna tužitelja. No oni ne mogu ustati i pokazati prstom na onoga koji sjedi na klupi i ne mogu uskliknuti: *Optužujem.*"⁵

Tijekom čitavog suđenja, Eichmann se držao teze o nevinosti temeljene na činjenici da je bio nacistički funkcioner koji je samo izvršavao naredbe. Čak se pozivao (na perverznan način) na Kantovu ideju "kategoričkog imperativa" subjekta da djeluje u skladu s idealima – iako, u Eichmannovom slučaju, taj "ideal"

² Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006), str. 9

³ Alenka Zupančič, "A Perfect Place to Die," u *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lacan But Were Afraid to Ask* Hitchcock, Slavoj Žižek, ed. (New York: Verso, 1992.), str. 87.

⁴ The Nizkor Project, *ibid.* Sesija 001-04

⁵ The Nizkor Project, *ibid.* Sesija 006-007-008-01

the glass booth could restore to the accused his singular anti-hero status in the case presented before the court.² In this case, the Eichmann trial was definitely *not* a play. That said, should we redefine a play deconstructively as an operation of repetition, then perhaps Geyer's return to the Eichmann case exhibits key aspects of a play. Lacanian film theorist Alenka Zupancic equates a play's structure to what psychoanalysis conceptualized as *Vorstellungs-Reprasetanz*. This was Lacan's word for dealing with "the representation of something which is originally (and structurally) missing; with something that can appear only as duplicated and appears already the first time as its own repetition: its only original is this repetition."³ Looking back on the Eichmann case today, what's missing is a central focal point that would reify a universal truth of the trial's *mise-en-scène*. Accordingly, Geyer restages the event by presenting a performer who literally embodies *all* the contradictory positions of those involved in the trial in order for us to think through the event's original complexity and its contemporary repetition.

To approach the event from this *oblique* angle, we thus glean the "truth" of the trial in the form of a rebus constructed of the partial, discursive drives of each player. Following the example of the performer, we too must put ourselves in the different subject positions, defined as they are by a readymade legal or philosophical discourse.

Event: 1961

Given that Eichmann had already acknowledged his role in "transporting [the Jews] to the butcher" in an interview conducted by Willem Sassen for *Life* in 1960, the question that belabored the trial was: *What is the point?* Remarkably, Eichmann admitted his acts but denied any responsibility for them. Eichmann's council, Dr. Robert Servatius of Cologne, supported Eichmann, arguing that during the war, under the existing Nazi legal system, Eichmann's acts fell squarely within the letter of the law. His client, therefore, was actually being tried for "acts of states." This was problematic because according to international law, no state has jurisdiction over the acts of another state, especially not Israel, since it didn't exist at the time of Eichmann's actions. In response, Arnold Hausner, Israel's Attorney General, led the prosecution with an impassioned defense of the court's legitimacy. "There is nothing wrong in the fact that a Jewish judge, an Israeli, should judge the oppressor of his people," Hausner argued. "On the contrary, we can be thankful for the fact that there is some place in the world, where Jews possess sovereignty, courts, prosecuting machinery and the ability to place on trial a man who committed crimes against this people."⁴ For the prosecution, the trial against Eichmann had a double purpose: to publically accuse the perpetrator of the Holocaust that they held in their hands, and, by doing so, retroactively legitimize the foundation of Israel in 1948 as an autonomous Jewish state. Hausner's opening remarks were thus intentionally dramatic: "When I stand before you here, Judges of Israel, to lead the Prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I am not standing alone. With me are six million accusers. But they cannot rise to their feet and point an accusing finger towards him who sits in the dock and cry: *I accuse*."⁵

² Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006), p. 9

³ Alenka Zupancic, "A Perfect Place to Die," in *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lacan But Were Afraid to Ask* Hitchcock, Slavoj Žižek, ed. (New York: Verso, 1992), p. 87.

⁴ The Nizkor Project, *ibid.* Session-001-04

⁵ The Nizkor Project, *ibid.* Session-006-007-008-01

nije bio univerzalni princip već volja totalitarnog diktatora, verbalna zapovijed Führera. Ili, kako je to Eichmann formulirao: "No što se tu ima priznati? Izvršavao sam naredbe. Gdje bismo bili kada bi svatko samostalno kovao vlastite planove u to vrijeme? Danas, u 'novoj' zemlji, to je moguće." ⁶— Ova krajnja depersonalizacija njegovih djela, koja je predstavljala srž Eichmannove obrane, navela je Arendt da rekompilira svakodnevno zlo kao banalno stanje *ne*-mišljenja naspram radikalnijeg oblika zla temeljenog na zločinačkom predumišljaju. Kako je napisala nakon objavljivanja svog izvješća za *The New Yorker*: "Nije li zloba, kako god je definirali, ta 'odlučnost osobe da se dokaže kao negativac', nužni preduvjet zlodjela? Ovisi li naša sposobnost da sudimo, da razlučujemo dobro od lošeg, lijepo od ružnog, o našoj sposobnosti mišljenja?" ⁷—

Arendtina konceptualizacija banalnosti zla naišla je i na javni otpor (osobito među židovskim cionistima), pri čemu su je pogrešno okarakterizirali kao apologiju Eichmanna i nacista. Ova reakcija nije iznenađujuća s obzirom da se 1962. godine mnogi u Izraelu (i izvan njega) po prvi put susreću sa zastrašujućim narativom Holokausta, što ostavlja malo prostora za Arendtin nijansirani, filozofski prikaz zla ili njeno pozivanje na odgovornost Židovskog vijeća u Njemačkoj koje je vlastima odavalo informacije tijekom rata.

Odjek: 2009.

Vraćajući se na *Kazneni slučaj 40/61*, Geyer se opire jednostavnoj naraciji o Eichmannovoj ulozi u Holokaustu. Ne iskazuje ni mišljenje o pravu Izraela da postoji kao država. Namjesto toga, Geyerin performativni pristup otvara kontemplativni prostor za ponovno promišljanje nekih od Arendtinih najupečatljivijih gledišta vezano uz osobnu odgovornost građana pod pravnim i političkim režimima – bilo da su oni povijesni ili suvremeni, bilo da dolaze s Istoka ili Zapada.

Šest video projekcija sačinjavaju scenu – po jedna za Branitelja, Suca, Tužitelja, Izvjestitelja, Optuženika i Publiku – postavljeni kružno i orijentirani prema središtu kruga. Jedan izvođač, koji sjedi za stolom, igra sve likove. Scenarij što ga izgovara izvođač sastoji se od stvarnih transkripata sa suđenja, kao i tekstova što su o njemu napisani. Zvučnici prenose izvedbu na engleskom, a prijevodi na njemačkom, hebrejskom i portugalskom dostupni su na slušalicama. Promatrač/ica, koji/a sjedi u središtu ove kružne kompozicije, mora se okretati i premještati kako bi uspostavio/la interakciju s obraćanjima koja se izmjenjuju među šest projekcija. On/a je tako postavljen/a usred sukobljenih diskurza aktera suđenja, baš kao i čitatelj/ica djela *Eichmann u Jeruzalemu* Hannah-e Arendt. Na ovaj način, Geyer se suprotstavlja tradicionalnom teatarskom obraćanju, gdje različiti glumci na sceni govore pred pasivnom publikom koja mizanscenu obuhvaća jedinstvenim, sveobuhvatnim pogledom. Nasuprot tome, u ovoj instalaciji, pozornica okružuje gledatelja, koji se aktivira, doslovno postaje dio scene, kao nestabilni sudionik koji pregovara s različitim istinosnim tvrdnjama sudskog slučaja.

Optuženik: Bilo je to vrijeme kada je ono što je predstavljalo zločin unutar države postalo zakonitim djelom. Zbog toga je riječ o odgovornosti same države.

Tužitelj: Kako bismo osigurali osuđujuću presudu, dovoljno bi bilo tek konzultirati arhive i dokumente. Međutim, potrebno nam je više od osude u ovom suđenju; potreban nam je živi zapis prošlosti.

⁶ Adolf Eichmann, "I Transported Them to the Butcher," Eichmann's Own Story: Part I," *Life* (November 28, 1960).

⁷ Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment*, (New York: Schocken Books, 2003), pp. 159-160.

Throughout the trial, Eichmann maintained his innocence on the basis of being a Nazi functionary who just followed orders. He even evoked (albeit perversely) Kant's notion of a subject's "categorical imperative" to act on principle in accordance to an ideal – even though, in Eichmann's case, this "ideal" was not a universal principle but the will of a totalitarian dictator, the verbal command of the Führer. As Eichmann put it: "Yet what is there to admit? I carried out my orders. Where would we have been if everyone had thought things out by themselves in those days? You can do that today in the 'new' country."⁶—This utter depersonalization of his actions, the core of Eichmann's defense, lead Arendt to re-conceive everyday evil as a banal state of *non-thinking* versus a more radical form of evil based upon malice aforethought. As she reflected after publishing her report on the trial for *The New Yorker*: "Is wickedness, however we may define it, this being 'determined to prove a villain,' *not a necessary condition* for evil-doing? Is our ability to judge, to tell right from wrong, beautiful from ugly, dependent upon our faculty of thought?"⁷— Subsequently, Arendt's conceptualization of a banal evil was met with some public outcry (particularly among Jewish Zionists), whereby she was at times mischaracterized as being an apologist for Eichmann and the Nazis. This reaction isn't surprising given that, in 1962, many in Israel (and abroad) were first encountering the atrocious narrative of the Holocaust, leaving little patience for Arendt's nuanced, philosophical account of evil nor her calling the Jewish Councils in Germany into responsibility for handing over information to the authorities during the war.

Reverb: 2009

Returning to *Criminal Case 40/61*, Geyer resists a simple narration of Eichmann's role in the Holocaust. Nor does she opine on Israel's right to exist as a state. Instead, Geyer's performative approach provides a contemplative space to reconsider Arendt's most salient points regarding a citizen's personal responsibility under legal and political regimes – be they historic or contemporary, Eastern or Western.

The scene is set by six video projections – one each for the Defense, Judge, Prosecutor, Reporter, Accused and Audience – configured in an inward facing circle. A single performer, sitting behind a desk, is a stand-in for each character. The script spoken by the performer is comprised of actual transcripts from *Criminal Case 40/61* as well as secondary texts written about it. The soundtrack is projected in English through speakers, and translated in German, Hebrew and Portuguese on headphones. The viewer, sitting in the middle of this circular configuration, must turn and move about to interact with the spoken address that alternates among the six projections. S/he is thus positioned amongst the conflicting discourse of the trial's players, much the way reader is positioned in Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. In this way, Geyer defies the traditional theatrical mode of address, where various actors on stage speak to a passive audience, which, in turn, masters the *mise-en-scène* with one all-encompassing gaze. In Geyer's installation, to the contrary, the scene *surrounds* the viewer, and the viewer is activated, literally put into the scene, as a shifting participant negotiating the various truth claims of the case.

The Accused: It was a time in which what had been a crime within the state became a legal action. And this is why it was the responsibility of the state itself.

⁶ Adolf Eichmann, "I Transported Them to the Butcher,' Eichmann's Own Story: Part I," *Life*, (November 28, 1960).

⁷ Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment*, (New York: Schocken Books, 2003), pp. 159-160.

Brechtijanskim rječnikom, ne postoji zaštitni "četvrti zid" ovdje – nema granice koja omogućava da suzbijemo sumnju i prihvatimo umjetničinu fikcionalnu reprezentaciju suđenja kao stvarni događaj. Sve je previše inscenirano. Jedan izvođač igra sve uloge. Scenarij je preuzeti tekst. Ali diskurs kojega glumac izgovara jest stvaran, onoliko koliko je stvarnost nas kao pravnih subjekata svakodnevno oblikovana takvim diskursom. Pedeset godina kasnije, ključna pravna i etička pitanja koja postavlja Kazneni slučaj 40/61 još uvijek su otvorena.

Epilog: Arendt u Jeruzalemu

Objavlivanje knjige *Eichmann u Jeruzalemu* Hannah-e Arendt 1963. godine, godinu dana nakon suđenja, pobudilo je dotada neviđen građanski rat među židovskim krugovima Amerike i Europe.⁸ Sam Izrael je odbacio Arendtinu knjigu jer se usudila dovesti u pitanje "teatralni" karakter suđenja Eichmannu, kojega je Arendt protumačila kao vrstu ideološke konstrukcije u službi izraelskog ekspanzionizma.⁹ Premda je Arendt priznavala legitimitet Suda i odobravalala Eichmannovu smrtnu presudu, njenu su analizu političke svrhe suđenja njezini protivnici prenatlaženo karakterizirali dokazom za internalizirani antisemitizam. Od tada, a u kontekstu izraelske okupacije palestinskih teritorija i stalnog, od strane Amerike, orkestriranog prisustva u Iraku i Afganistanu, mlađa se generacija intelektualaca u Izraelu, Europi i SAD-u vraća Hannah-i Arendt, tražeći inspiraciju u njenom pisanju. Njezini im tekstovi osvjetljaju etički potencijal iza Sučevog naloga Abbi Kovneru da, iako u njegovom svjedočenju "sva istina" znači *svu istinu u odgovaranju na pitanje koje je postavljeno*, ipak zapravo nije riječ o "potpunoj istini". Arendt nam nalaže preispitivanje pitanja koja nam se postavljaju. Ne samo da preispituje legitimnost postojećeg pravnog sustava nego i načine na koje mi sami postupamo unutar tih sustava. Kada pristajemo poštivati zakon? Kada se kao etički imperativ ukazuje upravo neposlušnost? Kako bi nam se ukazala "potpuna istina" događaja, moramo postavljati takva pitanja. Andrea Geyer je upravo takva intelektualka koja ih postavlja, a *Kazneni slučaj 40/61: Odjek* je jedno takvo propitivanje.

— S engleskog prevela Ivana Bago

⁸ Tek je 1999. godine knjiga konačno prevedena na hebrejski jezik.

⁹ Vidi Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, (London: Cambridge University, 2005.

The Prosecutor: In order to secure a conviction, it would have been enough to let the archives and documents speak. But we need more than a conviction in this trial; we need a living record of the past.

The Reporter: What appears to us to be "historic justice" looks to others like a semi-pathological legacy of a traumatic experience.

In Brechtian terms, there is no protective "fourth wall" here – no boundary that allows us to suspend our disbelief and take Geyer's fictional representation of the trial as a real event. It's too staged. One performer plays all the parts. The script is appropriated text. But the discourse that the actor speaks is real, in that our reality as legal subjects is shaped by such discourse every day. Fifty years later, the key legal and ethical questions raised by Criminal Case 40/61 still insist.

Afterword: Arendt in Jerusalem

Upon its publication in 1963, a year after the trial, Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* sparked an unprecedented civil war amongst the Jewish establishment in America and Europe.⁸ The Israeli establishment, in turn, dismissed Arendt's book because it dared to question the "show trial" nature of the Eichmann case, which, for Arendt, served as a type of ideological scaffolding for Israeli expansionism.⁹ Although Arendt did agree with the Court's legitimacy and Eichmann's death sentence, her analysis of the trial's political purpose was over-determined by her detractors as evidence of internalized anti-Semitism. Since then, in the context of the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and the ongoing American-led presence in Iraq and Afghanistan, a younger generation of intellectuals in Israel, Europe and the U.S. are returning to Arendt's writings for inspiration. For them, her texts illuminate the ethical potential behind the Judge's instruction to Abba Kovner that, while in his testimony "all the truth" meant *all the truth in answer to the question that he had been asked*, it wasn't in actual fact "the whole truth." Arendt asks us to *question* the questions that we are asked. To not only question the legitimacy of a given legal system but also the manner in which we operate *within* those systems. When do we consent to obey the law? When is it an ethical imperative not to obey? To glimpse the "whole truth" of an event, we must ask such questions. Andrea Geyer is one such intellectual, and *Criminal Case 40/61: Reverb* is one such inquiry.

⁸ It wasn't until 1999 that *Eichmann in Jerusalem* would finally be translated into Hebrew.

⁹ See: Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, (London: Cambridge University, 2005).



Radenko Milak

A ŠTA STE JOŠ VIDJELI? - NISAM MOGAO VIDJETI SVE.

Serija ulja na platnu
2010.

Povod za nova seriju slika koje će po prvi put biti prikazane na izložbi *Izloženosti* je događaj koji se desio na samom početku rata, u Bijeljini, kada su paravojne jedinice Tigrovi koje je predvodio Željko Ražnatović Arkan ušli u Bijeljino. Taj dan zajedno sa paravojsnim formacijama u Bijeljino je stigao američki fotograf Ron Haviv, koji je uspio da fotografiše jednu od nabrutalnijih scena koje su se mogle vidjeti u medijima tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Fotografija nam pokazuje uniformisano lice sa sunčanim naočalama navrh glave, koji između drugog i trećeg prsta podignute lijeve ruke drži cigaretu, a u desnoj mu se klata puška; desnom je nogom zamahnuo da udari ženu koja leži potrbuške na pločniku između još dva tijela.

U jednom svom tekstu Susan Sontag tu scenu opisuje na ovaj način: "zapravo nam ta fotografija govori vrlo malo – osim da je rat pakao i da su naoružani zgodni mladići kadri nogom u glavu udariti debele starije žene koje leže bespomoćne ili mrtve." Da li nam ta fotografije govori dovoljno o svemu onome što se dešavalo tog dana. U jednom svom intervju Haviv na pitanje novinara "A šta ste još vidjeli?", odgovara "nisam

AND WHAT ELSE DID YOU SEE? - I COULDN'T SEE EVERY- THING.

Series of oil paintings on canvas
2010

The new series of paintings, shown for the first time at the exhibition *Exposures*, was inspired by an event that occurred early during the war at Bijeljina, when a paramilitary group called Tigers, led by Željko Ražnatović Arkan, entered the town. On that day, the paramilitary unit was accompanied by American photographer Ron Haviv, who photographed one of the most brutal scenes that could be seen in the media during the wars in former Yugoslavia. The photo shows a young man in uniform, with sunglasses resting on top of his head, holding a cigarette between the second and third fingers of his raised left hand while waving a shotgun in the right one; he is just about to kick a woman lying on her belly on the pavement, between two other human bodies.

In one of her articles, Susan Sontag described the scene as follows: "In fact, the photograph tells us very little – except that war is hell, and that graceful young men with guns are capable of kicking in the head overweight older women lying helpless, or already killed". Does that photo tell us enough about all that happened that day?

mogao vidjeti sve!”, a u daljem tekstu navodi “...izgledalo je da može otići dalje. Ali, kako izlaza nije bilo na drugoj strani, on se vratio. Tada su ga ubili. Nekoliko trenutaka poslije iz neke druge kuće izveli su jednu ženu. I nju su ubili. Shvatio sam da gledam zločin“. Upravo ova izjava fotoreportera govori o mogućnosti ili nemogućnosti prikazivanja onoga što se događalo u posljednjem ratu.

Fotografija, televizija i ostali mediji postaju referentni okviri i služe kao model našeg upoznavanja sa ratom, odnosno ne-upoznavanja. Upravo činjenice zločina služe da bi sa njime manipuliralo ili da bi se to ignorisalo. Na toj relaciji je zasnovan suživot u Bosni i Hercegovini, na međusobnom ignorisanju i poništavanju, te proizvodnji frustrirajuće sadašnjosti zasnovane na prevlasti jedne strane nad drugom ili trećom.

Fotografija Rona Haviva po kojoj je nastala serija slika ulja na platnu, istog formata, istog motiva i kolorita može se posmatrati kao ekran, činjenica i sastavni dio jednog geopolitičkog prostora, onoga što će neko društvo odabrati za svoj prioritet sjećanja ili ignorisanja, odnosno dalje proizvodnje politike sjećanja ili zaborava.

Rad (kao serija slika) u sebi sadrži dvostruko kodiranje, multipliciranje jednog te istog motiva, kroz manuelni intimistički proces slikanja, pandan je medijskoj stvarnosti u čijoj nekontrolisanoj proizvodnji raste inflacija slika i informacija. Svaka nova slika je original za sebe, kroz proces rada ona poprima drugi kod u odnosu na medijsku sferu, proces slikanja je proces ličnog preispitivanja i suočavanja sa prizorom, dok je medijski prostor kolektivno voajerisanje, onaj ko drži daljinski upravljač u ruci, odlučuje koji će se program gledati na televiziji....

Šta ste još vidjeli? - Nisam mogao vidjeti sve. Samo sam shvatio da gledam zločin.

— rm

In one of his interviews, Haviv answered the journalist's question "And what else did you see?" by saying: "I couldn't see everything!" and continuing somewhat later: "... it seemed like he could go on. But as there was no way out on the other side, he came back. Then they killed him. Some moments later, they brought a woman from one of the other houses. They killed her too. I realized that I was witnessing a crime". It is precisely this statement that tells us a lot about the possibility or impossibility of showing what was happening in this last war.

Photography, television, and other media have become our frames of reference, serving as models with the help of which we have become familiar, or perhaps unfamiliar, with the war. It is precisely the facts of the crime that serve the purpose of manipulating or ignoring it. That is the relationship on which coexistence in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been based: on ignoring one another, on mutual obliteration, on the production of a frustrating present based on the dominance of one side over another, or a third one.

Ron Haviv's photograph that served as an inspiration for this series of paintings, which all have the same format, same motif, and same colours, can be viewed as a screen, a fact and part of a geopolitical space, of that which a particular society will choose as its priority in remembering or ignoring its past, in perpetuating the policy of remembrance or oblivion.

This artwork (a series of paintings) contains double encoding, a multiplication of one and the same motif, through a manual, intimist process of painting; it is a counterpart of the reality as defined by the media, where images and information are subject to an increasing inflation due to uncontrolled production. Each new painting is an original in itself, since during the working process it acquires a different code with regard to the sphere of the media; the process of painting is a process of intimate interrogation and facing what we see, while the media space is collective voyeurism, since the one who holds the remote in his or her hand defines which channel will be on...

What else did you see? - I couldn't see everything. I only realized that I was witnessing a crime.

— rm

Radenko Milak: A što ste još vidjeli? -
Nisam mogao vidjeti sve, s izložbe / And
what else did you see? - I could not see
everything, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ







Photo: TJ

Bojana Tamindžija

TU. OVDJE. TAMO. preispitivanje prisutnosti u nužnosti i izolaciji

/rad u autističnom kontekstu/trodijelna instalacija koja preispituje bazična pitanja identiteta, punktirajući ih kao traumatična mjesta/

Traumatično mjesto 1: nacionalni identitet od germanofobije ka...

Naziv segmenta: "Igra onoga što se ne smije pomenuti" referira na istoimenu instalaciju Džozefa Košuta iz 1988., koja je odražavala njegovo protivljenje cenzuri u umjetnosti. Instalacija se sastojala od djela iz stalne kolekcije muzeja, koja su u različita vremena bila smatrana politički ili seksualno nepodobnim. Paralelno tome, izjava Responsibility (eng.) Verantwortung (njem.) Odgovornost (srp.) ovdje je igra sa nečim čija se prisutnost izjednačava sa predstavom, dok se cenzura upisuje u pojedinačnu svijest. U pluralnosti odgovornosti, na koje se pozivamo i koje "preuzimamo" na sebe, samo značenje riječi nam izmiče i umjesto činjenja, mentalne ili fizičke aktivnosti koja proizilazi iz shvatanja da smo za nešto odgovorni, naš odnos čini sve ambivalentnijim. Ključna riječ – odgovornost – postaje parola iza koje stoje uspavani akteri – odgovorni.

HERE. THERE. ELSEWHERE. Re-examination of Presence in Need and Isolation

/work in an autistic context / three-part installation questioning the basic questions of identity, by punctuating them as traumatic spots/

Traumatic spot no. 1: National identity from Germanophobia to...

The title of the segment: "The Play of the Unmentionable" refers to a 1988 installation by Joseph Kosuth, which reflected his opposition to censorship in art. The installation consisted of works from the museum's permanent collection that, at various times, were considered politically or sexually inappropriate. In parallel with this, the statement Responsibility (Eng.) Verantwortung (Ger.) Odgovornost (Serb.) is here a play with something whose presence equals a performance, while censorship is inscribed into the individual consciousness. In the plurality of responsibilities that we invoke and that we have "taken upon" ourselves, the very meaning of the word becomes evasive and instead of doing something, instead of initiating some mental or physical activity that would originate in our understanding of what we are responsible for, it makes our relation-

Bosna i Hercegovina, koja sada funkcioniše kao multietnička država, podijeljena na bošnjačke, srpske i hrvatske gradove/teritorije, i petnaest godina posle potpisivanja mira živi u magnovenju nacionalnih previranja i prebacivanja krivice na druge i treće. Ono što iz daljine jeste akumulacija prizora u svojoj suštini, na licu mesta je pojedinačna nesreća individua pogođenih tragedijom. Ono sa čime se danas naše, izolovane od sebe i od svijeta, državnice/ili u BiH entiteta/ suočavaju, su odgovornosti za ratne zločine. Oni padaju na teret lidera i mi im ih prepuštamo.

Ipak, nelagodnost koju osjećamo svaki put kad gledamo scene zločina počinjenih od strane pripadnika "naših" armija nad onim "neprijateljskim" je onaj eho koji poziva sve nas pojedinačno na preispitivanje udjela prisutnosti i naše lične odgovornosti u "histerijama" koje su zavodile i koje zavode na ovim prostorima. Na zidu parola, natpis DIE VERANTWORTUNG, a na podu fotografije, dokumentacija o činjenicama. Suočavanje s tim činjenicama – slikama, na nivou nacije i na nivou društva, pa čak i grada – uvijek predstavlja problem; čitajući "parolu" na zidu posmatrač stoji na fotodokumentima. To je pozicija autorefleksije i pojedinca i društva, na poligonu sterilnom, pročišćenom, izolovanom, zapušenom, tampioniranom. Zagledani u intrigantne "parole" gazimo po stvarnosti na koju one upućuju.

Koncept ovog rada je zamišljen tako da bude prezentovan u jednom 'srpskom', jednom 'hrvatskom' i jednom 'bošnjačkom' gradu u BiH, gdje bi fotografije i dokumentacije na podu svjedočile o zločinima 'tog naroda'.*

U isto vrijeme spojene su dvije traumatične tačke srpskog naroda, jedna iz perioda socijalizma i još dalje iz drugog svjetskog rata (germanofobija) i druga iz perioda "nacionalnog osvješćivanja".

— bt

*Rad se po treći put postavlja u 'srpskom' gradu, u nadi da će u budućnosti završiti ciklus i u svoje ostale dvije varijante.

ship ever more ambivalent. The key word – responsibility – becomes a slogan that hides the sleeping agents – the responsible.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which today operates as a multi-ethnic state divided into Bosniak, Serbian, and Croatian towns/territories, fifteen years after the signing of the peace treaty still lives in a haze of national conflicts and shifting responsibilities on others and then further on. That which from a distance seems like as an accumulation of a scene in its essence, turns on the spot into individual tragedies. What our small states/ or entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina/ must face today, isolated from each other and the world, is their responsibility for the war crimes. These crimes are blamed on the leaders and we let it be that way gladly.

Still, the uneasiness we feel every time we watch the scenes of crimes committed by soldiers from "our" armies over the "enemies" is the echo that invites us to question our individual share of presence and our personal responsibility in the "hysterias" that have seduced people in this region. The slogan, DIE VERANTWORTUNG, on the wall, while the floor is covered with photographs stating the facts. Facing those facts/images – on the level of the nation, the society and even the city – has always been a problem; while reading the "slogan" on the wall, the observer must step on the photographs. This is the position of self-reflection, both of the individual and of the society, on the polygon of sterility, purity, isolation, suffocation, buffering. While staring at the intriguing "slogans", we step on the reality they are pointing to.

The concept of this work is to present it in one 'Serbian', one 'Croatian', and one 'Bosniak' town in BH, with the photographs and documents on the floor testifying on the crimes of 'that particular nation'.*

At the same time, it connects two points of trauma for the Serbian people: one from the socialist period and even further, from World War II (Germanophobia) and another from the period of "national awakening."

— bt

*This is the third time the installation has been presented in a 'Serbian' town, and hopefully in the future it will complete the cycle in its two remaining variants.

Bojana Tamindžija, TU. OVDJE. TAMO.
preispitivanje prisutnosti u nužnosti i izolaciji,
s izložbe / HERE. THERE. ELSEWHERE.
Re-examination of Presence in Need and
Isolation, exhibition view.

Photo: TJ







Photo: St

STEALTH.unlimited (Ana Džokić & Marc Neelen)

UZETI ZAJEDNIČKU STVAR U SVOJE RUKE

Otvoreni razgovori, istraživački arhiv
2010.

Poticaj za ovo istraživanje je životna priča mojih djeda i bake – Rajke i Vukašina Borojević koji su živjeli u mnogim mjestima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i aktivno doprinosili svojim okruženjima, kao što su – Kačanik na Kosovu, Banja Luka i selo Donji Dubac u Srbiji. Dijelovi njihove priče rezoniraju s danas aktuelnim vokabularom – pitanjima samo-organizacije, radikalne edukacije, socijalističkog projekta kao emancipacijske prilike, pitanja osnaživanja žena... *Uzeti zajedničku stvar u svoje ruke* nema primarno cilj istaknuti osobna postignuća tih dvoje ljudi, već navesti na razmišljanje o različitim aspektima koji su motivirali njihove aktivnosti i koristiti ga kao inspiracija danas – prije svega u kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine. Riječ preduzetništvo, a glagol preduzeti na engleskom jeziku, prevodi se kao: poduzeti, pokušati, započeti, pokrenuti... Preduzetništvo se obično odnosi na određeni tip ekonomije, nerijetko one "kapitalističke". Ali kako i kada

TAKING COMMON MATTERS INTO ONE'S OWN HANDS

Open conversations, research archive
2010

I was motivated to do this research by the life story of my grandparents – Rajka and Vukašin Borojević – who lived in various places in former Yugoslavia, such as Kačanik (Kosovo), Banja Luka, and the village of Donji Dubac in Serbia, actively contributing to their living environment. Parts of their story resonate with the currently popular jargon – the issues of self-organization, radical education, socialist project as an opportunity for emancipation, empowerment of women... *Taking Common Matters into One's Hands* does not seek primarily to praise the personal achievements of these two people, but rather to encourage reflection on various aspects that motivated their actions and to use it as an inspiration for the present – in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The word "entrepreneurship", which implies undertaking, initiating, trying, and starting something new, mostly refers to a certain type of economy, often the "capitalist" one. But how and

preduzetništvo može biti društveno relevantno ili čak prvenstveno temeljeno na svojoj aktivnoj participaciji i društvenom angažmanu? Upravo takav pristup preduzetništvu leži u pokretanju i izgradnji tvornice *Vitaminka* (Banja Luka, 1946-1951), i *Orlujka*, zadruge za proizvodnju i preradu lekovitog Bilja (*Orlujak, biljna proizvodnja i preradna suradnja*) te *Dragačevske zadruge Žena* (obe inicijative u Donjem Dubcu, od ranih 1950-ih) u kojima Rajka i Vukašin kreću da sudeluju kao poduzetnici ovog novog doba. U duhu tog vremena, oni očito nisu bili jedini...

Što bi društveno angažirana ekonomija u Bosni i Hercegovini danas mogla biti, mimo humanitarne krize, strane podršku i financiranja? Polazeći od fragmenata iz Rajkine i Vukašinove privatne arhive, uzoraka iz arhiva tvornice *Vitaminka* i *Dragačevske zadruge Žena*, projekt *Uzeti zajedničku stvar u vlastite ruke* konstruira osobnu i subjektivnu interpretaciju mogućnosti i motiva preduzetništva iz života tih dvoje ljudi koji se putem niza otvorenih razgovora/radionica u okviru projekta *Izloženosti* situiraju u situaciju u Banjaluci i Bosni i Hercegovini danas. Arhiv tako postaje polazište za promišljanje modela društveno orijentiranih i održivih ekonomija danas, dajući uvide u moguće budućnosti, stvaranje zajedničkog razumijevanja za ono što bi preduzetništvo moglo biti danas i sutra na ovim prostorima.

Hvala Branki Borojević-Džokić.

— ad & mn

when can entrepreneurship become socially relevant or even primarily based on one's active participation and social engagement? It is precisely that approach that lay behind the concept and construction of *Vitaminka* factory (Banja Luka, 1946-1951) and *Orlujak*, an association for the production and processing of medical herbs, or *Dragačevska Women's Association* (both of the latter located in Donji Dubac since the early 1950s), in which Rajka and Vukašin started their career as the entrepreneurs of modern times. And they were obviously not alone...

What could socially engaged economy bring to the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, if we leave aside the entire issue of humanitarian crisis, foreign support and finances? Starting from the fragments from Rajka's and Vukašin's private archive and samples from the archive of *Vitaminka* factory or *Dragačevska Women's Association*, the project of *Taking a Common Thing into One's Own Hands* constructs a personal and subjective interpretation of the possibilities and motives behind the entrepreneurship of these two people, transplanted to Banja Luka and today's Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of informal talks/workshops in the framework of the *Exposures* project. Thus, the archive becomes a starting point for reflection on the models of communally oriented and sustainable economies today, offering some insights into possible futures and reaching a common understanding of what entrepreneurship might become today and tomorrow in this region.

Thanks to Branka Borojević-Džokić.

— ad & mn

OTVORENI RAZGOVOR 1: KOLEKTIV, OBRAZOVANJE KROZ RAD, TAKMIČENJE
O počecima tvornice "Vitaminka" u Banja Luci (1946-1950.), nastale na temeljima male
privatne cedionice voćnih sokova.

OPEN CONVERSATION 1: WORK COLLECTIVE, EDUCATION THROUGH WORK,
COMPETITION

About the beginnings of the "Vitaminka" factory in Banja Luka (1946-1950), initiated as
a small private production of squeezed juices.



1928. godine Vukašin Borojević (rodом iz Prijedora, Bosna) prelazi iz Beograda u Kosovsku Mitrovicu kao šef filijale "Auto-Omnie", tada najvećeg zastupnika automobila u Jugoslaviji. 1931. u Kačaniku, osniva krečarsku radnju, koja radi za rudnik Trepča. Upoznaje hercegovku Rajku Šotru i 1932. se venčavaju. Živeće na Kosovu do pred početak Drugog svetskog rata. Kačanik, 1935.

In 1928, Vukašin Borojević (born in Prijedor, Bosnia) moves from Belgrade to Kosovska Mitrovica as the branch office manager for the "Auto-Omnia", the biggest car dealer in Yugoslavia at the time. In 1931, he establishes a lime shop in Kačanik, which services the Trepča mine. He meets Rajka Šotra (born in Herzegovina) and in 1932 they get married. They will live in Kosovo until the beginning of the World War II. Kačanik, 1935.

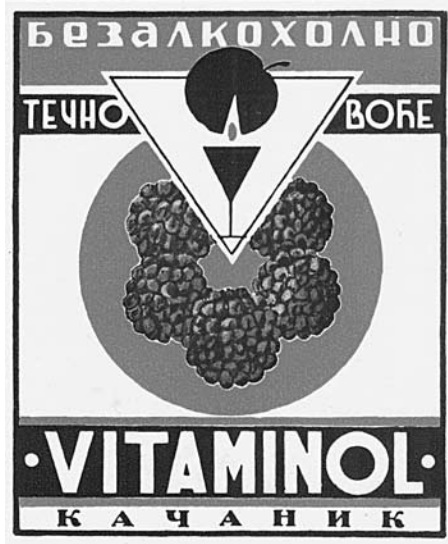


1934. u Kačaniku počinju eksperimente sa ceđenjem voća, a 1938. registruju "Cedionicu voćnih sokova 'Vitaminol' tečno voće".

In 1934 in Kačanik, they start experiments with fruit squeezing and in 1938, they register the "Production of Squeezed Juices 'Vitaminol' - Liquid Fruit".

Etiketa za sok "Vitaminol".

The label for the "Vitaminol" juice.





Put u Nemačku radi usavršavanja proizvodnje, 1937.
/ A trip to Germany in order to learn how to advance the production, 1937.



Prospekt za sušionicu povrća i voća, Schilde, Kassel, 1940.
/ Leaflet for the fruits and vegetables dryers, Schilde, Kassel, 1940.



Pred rat, selidba u Banja Luku. Kuća u izgradnji u tadašnjoj Frankopanskoj ulici (danas Kralja Alfonsa XIII - "Ekonomski institut Banja Luka"), oktobar 1940. "Suteran je bio prostran, sa četiri odeljenja, građen za našu novu fabriku voćnih sokova."

/ Right before the start of the war, they move to Banja Luka. The house they construct is on what used to be the Frankopanska street (at present, Kralja Alfonsa XIII st. - "Economy Institute Banja Luka"), October 1940. "The basement was spacious, with four compartments built for our new fruit juice factory."

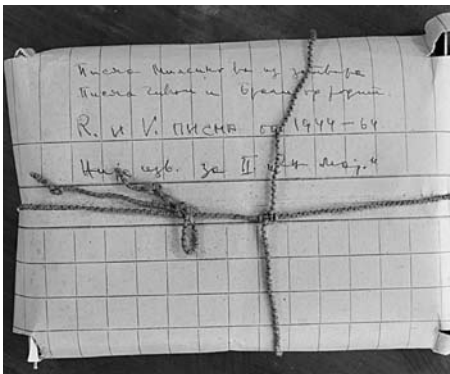


Na početku Drugog svetskog rata, u junu 1941. Vukašin se priključuje partizanima. Posle ranjavanja biće ekonom štaba II Proleterske brigade.

"Ja sam na položaju neumorno tumačio borcima zašto mi vodimo ovu borbu i kakvu slobodu hoćemo. Najviše sam im pričao o posleratnoj izgradnji i Rusiji, o traktorima, kombajnima, Mičurinu, višegodišnjoj pšenici, o ruskoj nauci, industriji, kolhozima..." , iz lične biografije.

At the start of the World War II, in June 1941, Vukašin joins the partisans. After being wounded, he becomes the quartermaster for the 2nd Proletarian brigade.

"I tirelessly explained to the soldiers why we were fighting this battle and the kind of freedom that we want. Mostly, I talked to them about the postwar construction and Russia, about tractors, harvesters, Michurin, perennial wheat, Russian science, industry, kolkhozy..." , from personal biography.



Rajka i Vukašin, pisma od 1944-1964.

"Spoljnjeg neprijatelja likvidiraćemo za kratko vreme, a onda ćemo uređivati našu zajedničku kuću kako valja. Zatim nastaje rad i rad na svim poljima. Ja vidim takve mogućnosti da te vrtoglavica uhvati. (...) Imali smo sreću da dočekamo naše vreme kada se pruža svakome prilika da pokaže koliko vredi i koliko je voljan za narod učiniti, stvarno, na delu, a ne samo pričati." , iz pisma Rajki, položaj, 31. mart 1945.

Rajka and Vukašin, letters 1944-1964.

"In a short time, we shall destroy our foreign enemy, and then we will form our community the way we want. Then comes the work on all the fields. I see such possibilities that it makes my head spin. (...) We've been lucky to live up to a time when everyone is given an opportunity to show how much they are worth and how much they are willing to do for their people, and to truly show it, by deed, and not just by talking", an abstract from Vukašin's letter to Rajka, garrison, March 31, 1945.



Ratom je prekinut rad cedionice voća. Polovinom 1946. rad se nastavlja. "Tvornica" je u podrumu naše privatne kuće, "kancelarije" na tavanu iste. Kolektiv broji 7 članova."

War stopped the production of squeezed fruit. By mid 1946, the manufacturing continues.

"The "factory" is in our private home's basement and the "offices" are at the attic. There are 7 members in our collective."

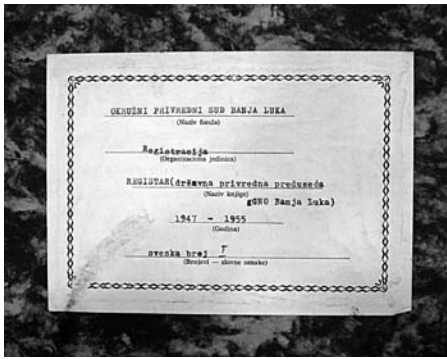


Vukašin i Rajka ravnopravno vode preduzeće.

"Tvornica" je stekla i pisaću mašinu. Valjalo je slikati.", 1946.

Vukašin and Rajka are equally in charge of running the business.

"The "factory" acquired the first typewriter, it was worth taking a picture", 1946.



Registar državnih privrednih preduzeća, GNO Banja Luka (1947-1955.)

"Ukazom Prezidijuma narodne skupštine NRBiH broj 70 od 19. jula 1947. godine / "Službeni list NRBiH" broj 33 od 23. jula 1947./ proglašena je među ostalima i Cjedionica voćnih sokova "Vitaminka" u Banja Luci preduzećem od republičkog značaja.", Ministarstvo industrije i rudarstva Narodne republike Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 31. juli 1947.

/ Register of State-owned Companies, GNO Banja Luka (1947-1955).

"By the decree of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the NRBiH No. 70, July 19, 1947/ "The Official Gazette of the NRBiH" No. 33, July 23, 1947/ the Production of Squeezed Juices "Vitaminka" from Banja Luka is one of the companies declared to be of great importance for the Republic.", Ministry of Industry and Mining of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, July 31, 1947.



Akvarel slikara Bože Nikolića.

"Nova zgrada 'Vitaminka' još je bez krova, prozora i vrata - a rad cjedionice već je u toku. Na građevini prvi put radi ženska zidarska brigada."

/ Watercolour by Božo Nikolić.

"The new 'Vitaminka' building still doesn't have a roof, windows or doors, while the production of squeezed fruit is well under way. For the first time a female builders brigade is working on the construction."



"Sa izgradnjom tvornice izgrađivao se i izrastao kolektiv. Sindikalna podružnica proglašena je najboljom u gradu."

/ "As the factory expanded, so did the collective. The syndicate branch office was judged the best in town."



"Šuhra, majka petoro djece, ostavila je službu u ustanovi i došla u Vitaminku sa željom da se stručno osposobi."

/ "Šuhra, a mother of five, left her work in the administration and came to Vitaminka wishing to learn the trade."



"Vakuum kazani za proizvodnju marmelade. Ruža, najstarija radnica rukovodi brigadom na vakumima. Od četrnaest brigada žene rukovode sa jedanaest. Brigada za skivanje sanduka bila je čisto ženska kao i mnoge druge. Nepismenih žena nema."

/ "Vacuum containers for the production of marmalade. Ruža, the oldest worker is in charge of the workers handling the vacuum machines. Out of fourteen work brigades, women supervise eleven. The brigade in charge of making crates was all female, as were many others. There are no more illiterate women workers."



Povodom 8. marta, žene radnog kolektiva "Vitaminska" objavljuju takmičenje tvornicama u Banja Luci i tvornicama prehrambene industrije BiH. "Iz ovog takmičenja žene "Vitaminske" izašle su kao pobjednici. Tri četvrtine cjelokupnog kolektiva sačinjavaju žene."

On March 8, the international Women's Day, the women workers from "Vitaminska" challenge other food factories in Banja Luka and in BH to a competition. "The women workers of "Vitaminska" won. Three quarters of the whole collective are made up of women."



"Na paradi Prvog maja kolektiv se pojavio sa maketom "Vitaminske", na kamionu gdje su demonstrirani pojedini odlomci iz proizvodnje.", 1948.

On the parade celebrating May 1, the collective appeared with a model of the "Vitaminska" factory driven by a truck, while demonstrating certain phases of production.", 1948.



"Zaštitni znak tvornice uveličan na 2 x 1 m i nošen u Sarajevu, na proslavi Prvog maja."

The factory's trademark was enlarged to 2 by 1 meters and carried in Sarajevo during the parade celebrating May 1."



Kolektiv „Vitaminke“ ostvario je plan proizvodnje za takmičarski period po količini za 159^o, a po vrijednosti za 112^o.

I ovaj put radni kolektiv Vitaminke služi za ugled i premašuje date obaveze u čast osnivačkog kongresa KP Bosne i Hercegovine.

Treba istaći da su svi radnici u preduzeću pisмени i da je čitav radni kolektiv učlanen u sindikate. Održan je stručni kurs za prerađu voća, a za ispit se prijavilo 50 polaznika. Od toga ispit je položio njih 49. Prema tome, 49 radnika osposobljeno je na stručnom radu i obaveza ispunjena sa 700%.

U preduzeću saraduje jedan broj inovatora i racionalizatora. Primjenom racionalizatorskih mjera u preduzeću, znatno su sniženi troškovi proizvodnje. Postignuta je ušteda u materijalu. Na jednom radnom mjestu ušteda u lomu

stakla iznosi 100% a na drugom radnom mjestu 40%.

Izvršenje plana što bolje organizacijom otpada voća, izvršeno je na 10 otokupnih stanica do maksimuma, te su se suviše količine voća ustupale tvorcima u Doboju i drugima.

16 oktobra ove godine kulturpo-prosvjetni aktiv „Vitaminke“ održao je uspješnu kulturno umjetničku priredbu.

“Najmodernija presa. Za rukovodioca brigade na presi proglašen je Mujo, najstariji radnik u tvornici i prvi član kolektiva.”

“The latest press. The supervisor Mujo is the oldest worker in the factory and the first member of the collective.”

Premašena kvota. Novine Glas, 25. oktobar 1948.

Annual production quote exceeded. “Collective “Vitaminka” Achieved Production Plan for the Competition Period – 159% by the Amount and 112% in Value”, daily newspaper Glas, October 25, 1948.



“Konferencija: rezultati – nedostaci – problemi...”, 1948.

“Na kraju još samo ovo da Ti kažem, ne sekiram se više kao do nedavno. Vidim da je ljude obuzeo strah od odgovornosti jer usled svoje nesposobnosti zapetljavaju poslove i razume se da rezultat ne može biti pozitivan. Zato se drže formalizma, glavno je da su pokriveni da ne bi odgovarali a posao neka ide dodavola. Iako i kod nas ide ovako trajlavo, mi ćemo ipak biti među prvima, iznalazićemo nove puteve i stvarati mogućnosti za nove poslove.” Vukašin u pismu Rajci (u bolnici), Banja Luka, 20. juli 1947.

“Conference: results – drawbacks – problems...”, 1948.

“I have to also tell you this at the end - I do not worry as much as I used to. I can see that people are scared of responsibilities, because they complicate things due to their incompetence. Understandably, the results cannot be positive. Therefore they stick to formalism, in order to be covered and not held accountable, while the work can go to hell. Even though our factory moves on sloppy as well, we will still be among the first, finding new ways and creating possibilities for new jobs.”, Vukašin in his letter to Rajka (hospitalized), Banja Luka, July 27, 1947.



Vukašin i Rajka, direktor i tehnički rukovodilac ispred “Vitaminke”, 1950. Sledeće godine napustiće i fabriku u Banja Luku.

“Iako umoran i neispavan, ipak sam posle ručka otišao da gledam ruski film “Daleka nevesta” koji se odigrava u Turkmeniji na plantažama pamuka i paradajza. Ruski filmovi mi se naročito sviđaju zato što su realni, obični i svakidašnji život prikazuju, rad i ljubav i sve se odigrava kroz borbu i takmičenje. I baš zato je i kod nas tako, zato mi se i sviđaju, i još i zato što vidim da smo i mi ovarisali dobrim putem... Sve će dobro biti.”, Vukašin u pismu Rajci, Beograd, 16. mart 1949.

Vukašin and Rajka, managing director and technical manager, in front of “Vitaminka” in 1950. The following year they will leave the factory and Banja Luka.

“Although tired and exhausted, I still went to see “The Distant Bride”, a Russian film taking place in Turkmenistan on the plantations of cotton and tomato. I particularly like Russian films because they show work and love and everything that is achieved through struggle and competition. That is precisely how it is also here, and why I like them so much, as I can see that we are also on a good path... Everything will be alright.”, Vukašin’s letter to Rajka, Belgrade, March 16, 1949.



Od 2002. godine, privatizacijom državnog kapitala, "Vitaminka" je organizovana kao akcionarsko društvo čiji je većinski vlasnik Kreis Industriehandel AG Basel.

/ Since 2002, through privatization of public assets, "Vitaminka" becomes a joint stock company, with Kreis Industriehandel AG Basel as the majority shareholder.

Citati Rajke Borojević iz albuma "Vitaminke", ako nije drugačije navedeno.

/

All the quotes by Rajka Borojević from the "Vitaminka" photo-album, unless otherwise stated.



STEALTH.unlimited, Otvoreni razgovor
1: kolektiv, obrazovanje kroz rad,
takmičenje / Open conversation 1: Work
collective, Education through work,
competition.

Photo: TJ



OTVORENI RAZGOVOR 2: INOVACIJA, PRONALAZAŠTVO, PIONIRSKI RAD

Na temelju početaka lokalno 'još neviđene' proizvodnje koju je tokom 1950-ih Vukašin Borojević pokrenuo kroz "Orlujak - destileriju eteričnih ulja", zadrugu za proizvodnju i preradu lekovitog, začinskog i aromatičnog bilja.

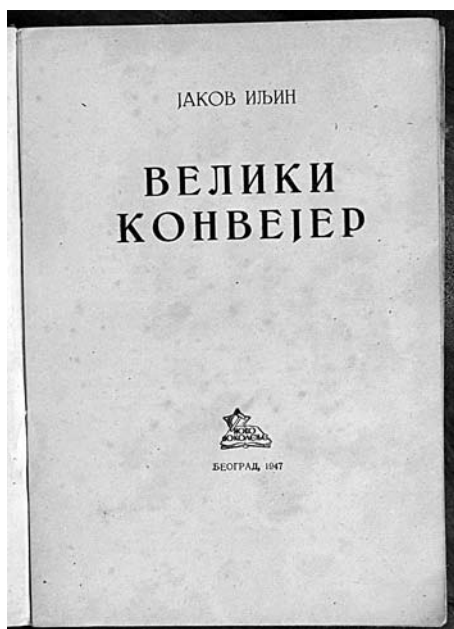
OPEN CONVERSATION 2: INNOVATION, INVENTION, PIONEERING WORK

Based on previously locally unknown type of production introduced by Vukašin Borojević during the 1950's through "Orlujak - Essential Oils Distillery", a cooperative for production and processing of medical, aromatic and spice plants.



Na poziv Instituta za farmakologiju i Instituta za ispitivanje lekovitog bilja, Vukašin Borojević 1951. prelazi u Beograd i radi na destilaciji eteričnih ulja i konstrukciji aparata, do 1954.

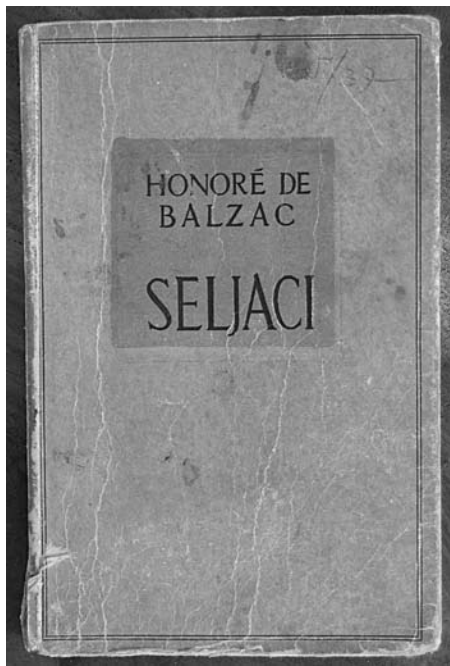
At the request of the Institute of Pharmacology and the Institute for Research of Medical Herbs, Vukašin Borojević moves to Belgrade in 1951 and starts working on distillation of essential oils and the construction of the distilling machines, until 1954.



Iz uvoda: "Veliki konvejer je knjiga u kojoj čitalac vidi sukob između napredne tehnike i navika i običaja koje je stvorila sitnoburžoaska rascjepkanost u radu, i koje su, kao pečat prošlosti nasledili ljudi koji su prvi put videli složenu mašinu.", iz biblioteke Borojevića.

Yakov Ilyin, "The Great Conveyor".

From the introduction: "The Great Conveyor is a book in which the reader can see the conflict between the modern techniques and habits and customs created by the petite bourgeoisie's division of labor, and which the people, who for the first time see a more complex machine, have inherited as a burden from the past.", from the private library of the Borojević family.



Honore de Balzac, "Seljaci", iz biblioteke Borojevića.

/
Honore de Balzac, "The Peasants", from the private library of the Borojević family.



U leto 1951. Rajka i Vukašin Borojević, sa decom, dolaze u Donji Dubac, selo u kome su proveli ratne godine (Rajka sa decom, jesen 1941-1943., Vukašin kraće, kao ranjeni partizan) i sa kojim su ostvariali neraskidivo prijateljstvo. Kupuju komad zemlje i grade kuću. Od tada, oboje će svesrdno raditi na razvoju ovoga kraja.

/
In the summer of 1951, Rajka and Vukašin Borojević go with their children to Donji Dubac, a village in which they spent the war years (Rajka with their children, autumn 1941-1943, Vukašin for a shorter amount of time, as a wounded partisan), a village with which they formed an everlasting friendship. They buy a piece of land and build a house. From then on, they will wholeheartedly work on the development of that area.

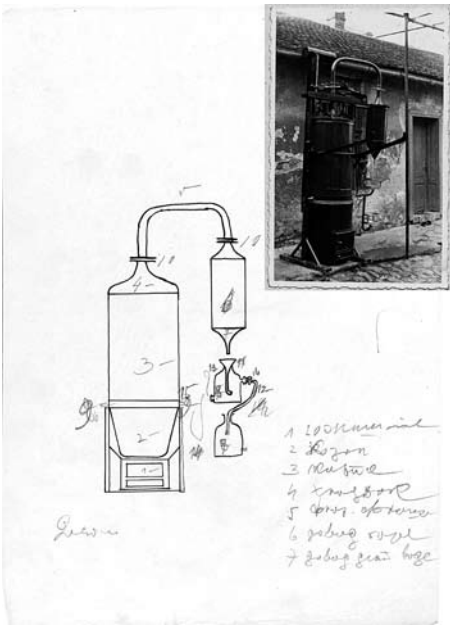


"Jedne ovakve večeri sedelo se u ovoj kuhinji. Ljudi iz nekoliko kuća ispunili su malu odaju i slušali njegovu priču o nekoj travi koja je toliko podsećala na konjski bosiljak. Sa sobom je doneo pun putnički kofer sadnica i razdelio ih ljudima. Tražio je od njih samo da je zasade negde u vrtu. "Učinićemo to kad kažeš. Nemoj da brineš..." Ljudi su otišli. On je već maštao o tome kako će ih iznenaditi posle nekoliko meseci, kada im za tu "travu" preda pare. Izašao je sutradan pred kapiju i zastao iznenađen: tu pred njim ležale su pobacane sadnice mente...", iz članka "Nestaju pasivni krajevi" u časopisu Zadruga, 28. novembar 1957.

/
"On a night just like this one, they were sitting in this kitchen. People from several different houses filled the little room and listened to his story about some herb that reminded a lot of a local species of grass. He brought with him a whole suitcase of seedlings and gave it to everyone. He only asked them to plant them somewhere in their gardens. "We will do as you ask. Do not worry..." The people left. He already saw himself surprising them few months later, with the money he will give them for this "grass". When he went out tomorrow, however, he was stunned: there, in front of him, the seedlings of mint laid scattered..." from the article "Passive Areas are Disappearing" in the magazine Zadruga (Cooperative), November 28, 1957.

Destilator za eterična ulja, po Vukašinovom nacrtu proizveden za Zadrugu "Orlujak", 1954.

Essential oil distillatory, created for the cooperative "Orlujak" according to Vukašin's design, 1954.

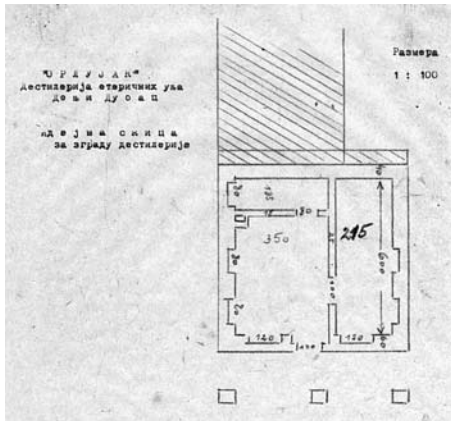


Crtež, skica za zgradu destilerije.

"Kako je ovako povoljno vreme, toplo i suvo, ta zgradica se mogla napraviti. Nekako mi sporo sve radite i ne možete da izdržite ni moj tempo a kamo li opšti u svetu. Zato treba brzo raditi. To je moj savet a osim toga još i jedino to – sadite mentu.", Vukašin u pismu zadrugi, Beograd, 7. decembar 1954.

The sketch for the distillery building.

"The weather is right, it's warm and dry, and the building could have been built. You seem to be doing everything too slow; you cannot keep up with me, not to mention the world. You should work faster. That is my advice and I have one more – plant mint.", from Vukašin's letter to the cooperative, Belgrade, December 7, 1954.



Како су сељаци Доњег Дубца пронашли »златан мајдан«

СТВОРЕНА ПРВА ЗАДРУГА ПРОИЗВОЂАЧА ЛЕКОВИТОГ БИЉА •
СЕЉАНИ САМИ ВРШЕ ПРИРАДУ ЕТЕРИЧНОГ УЉА – МЕНТОЛА •
МЕНОВНИ ПРИБОЈИ ОД НОВЕ ПРОИЗВОДЊЕ

"Kada se ima u vidu da je suva nana plaćena 70 do 75 dinara po kilogramu, ili kim 500 do 700 dinara, onda je je potpuno jasna velika korist koju može da donese nova proizvodnja. Usto treba imati u vidu da je za ovim proizvodima velika potražnja kako u zemlji tako i u inostranstvu.", časopis Zadruga, 10. mart 1955.

"How Peasants of Donji Dubac Have Found a 'Gold Mine'".
"When you keep in mind the fact that dry mint sells for 70 to 75 Dinars per kilogram or that cumin sells for 500 to 700 Dinars per kilogram, the benefits a new production can have are crystal clear. One should also take into account that there is a great demand for both these products, not only here, but abroad as well.", excerpt from the magazine Zadruga (Cooperative), March 10, 1955.



Knjiga "Gajenje i prerada nane", Vukašin Borojević, Narodna knjiga, Beograd, 1956.

The book "Cultivating and Processing Mint", Vukašin Borojević, published by Narodna knjiga (Peoples Books), Belgrade, 1956.

„ГАЛЕНИКА“
ФАБРИКА ФАРМАЦЕУТИЧКИХ ПРОИЗВОДА
З Е М У Н

Данас сам примио од Вас суму од

Динара 107.100.- Динара *сто седам хиљада*

на име *Задруга „Бригажак“*

рек. бр. 299869

5-11 1956 год. Примо,
у Београду *Бравојевић*
на рач. бр. 2/55

Priznanica od prodaje mente fabrici lekova "Galenika" u Beogradu, 5. novembar 1955.

"Naša zadruga je sada jedan od četiri glavna proizvođača, sa najzdravijom sirovinomskom bazom i najboljim destilatorom. Važno je ovo znati radi dalje orijentacije.", Vukašin u pismu zadruzi, 11. april 1957.

The receipt from selling mint to the pharmaceutical factory "Galenika" in Belgrade, November 5, 1955.

"Our cooperative is now one of four main manufacturers, with the healthiest raw base and the best distillery. It is important to know this for further steps.", Vukašin in his letter to the cooperative, April 11, 1957.

Ментолна уља

Број	Име	Сума	Датум	Потпис
1	Београд	107.100.-	05.11.55	Бравојевић
2	Београд	...	...	...
3	Београд	...	...	...
4	Београд	...	...	...
5	Београд	...	...	...
6	Београд	...	...	...
7	Београд	...	...	...
8	Београд	...	...	...
9	Београд	...	...	...
10	Београд	...	...	...

6-10-57

Pregled proizvodnje i prodaje mentol ulja iz 1955/56.

Kritično je vreme za destilerije i sadioce mente. Članak u Politici "Zanemarene milijarde. Domaća eterična ulja leže u magacinima, dok ih pojedina preduzeća uvoze po visokim cenama.", 27. januar 1957.

An overview of manufacture and sale of menthol oil from 1955/56.

It is a crucial time for distilleries and menthol producers. A title from the magazine Politika states: "Millions Undermined. Local Essential Oils Sit in Storage While Certain Companies Import at High Prices", January 27, 1957.



"Treba odabrati ono za šta postoje prirodno dobri uslovi i što se isplati a bez novih investicija. Sada je na redu Odoljem (Valerijana) jer i njega uvozimo pošto smo samonikli utamanili. Prinos po hektaru je oko 2.000 kg a cena oko Din. 300. (...) Dakle pored mente kada bi se masovno proizvodilo još i kim, valerijana, malina i dunja to bi ipak bila jedna znatna proizvodnja koja bi donela blagostanje ovom narodu. Zadruga već postoje i sada treba sve to samo spretno organizovati i povezati pa da uspeh bude potpun.", Vukašin u pismu zadruci, 25. januara 1957, Donji Dubac.

"One should choose to grow things for which there are good climatic conditions and those that are profitable without new investments. The next to produce is Valerian, because we import this too, as we have exterminated the entire wild one. Yield per hectare is around 2000 kilograms, and the price is about 300 Dinars. (...) So, besides mint, if we were to mass-produce cumin, valerian, raspberries and quince it would be a significant production which would greatly benefit this people. We already have the cooperatives and all we need to do is organize and network everything smartly for the success to be

Telegram, april 1957.

Telegram sent by the cooperative, April 1957.
"Vukašin, come immediately, it is about the Cooperative - Radisav."

5

Generalna direkcija PTT

Broj prijema: KAGRA 5 P 14 8 1210

Broj prijema: VUKASIN BOROJEVIC VELJKA

Broj prijema: MILICEVICA 20 BEOGRAD

Ukusine se odjui odmah radi se o zadruci - radisav

ЛЕСТИЛЕРИЈА: МЕНТА
АНГЕЛИКА

КИМ = ЗАЧУМ
НЕВЕН = ДРОГА

ДАБРИЋИ - ФАРМА: КОЖИЦЕ
МЕСО
ЦИГЕРИЦА
ЦРЕВА
ЗУБИ
БУРАД-КРАЧЕ
НАКИТ
НИТИ
БУБРЕ

РИБЊАК - ШАРАНИ
РАКЦИ
ЈАФНИЈЕ
ПИСАВИЦЕ
ТРСКА

ПУЏИВЕИ - ЗИМСКИ
ИЗВОД
КОНЗЕРВЕ

ХИАРОТЧИКА

АЛГЕ

БЕНФ БОЖЕ, ДУГОБЕ
ЦРНА РИБИЦА

Vukašinov pregled moguće proizvodnje - "ono što niko ne ume i ne radi u celoj zemlji."

An overview of possible production written by Vukašin - "what no one can do or doesn't do yet in the whole country".

STEALTH.unlimited, Otvoreni
razgovor 2: inovacija, pronalazaštvo,
pionirski rad / Open conversation 2:
innovation, inventions, pioneer work.

Photo: TJ



OTVORENI RAZGOVOR 3: SAMO-OSNAŽIVANJE, EMANCIPACIJA, NA PUTU
Na temelju više od 50 godina "Dragačevske zadruge žena" u Donjem Dubcu, Srbija

OPEN CONVERSATION 3: SELF-EMPOWERMENT, EMANCIPATION,
(ON THE) ROAD

Based on over 50 years of the "Dragačevo Women's Cooperative" in Donji Dubac, Serbia



One započinju "Dragačevsku zadrugu žena". Rajka Borojević i prve tkalje. Donji Dubac, 1951.

They who start the "Dragačevo Women's Cooperative". Rajka Borojević and the first women weavers. Donji Dubac, 1951.

U Donjem Dupcu održan još je jedan uspio domaćinski tečaj

U Donjem Dupcu održan još je jedan uspio domaćinski tečaj. Učesnice su se bavile raznim zanatima, a posebno su se bavile tkanjem. Tečaj je održan u kući Spasoje Tadića, drugi u osnovnoj školi. Bilo je dvostruko više žena ali nisu mogle stati na fotografiju. 1955.

Prvi samoinicijativni tečaj održan je 1954. u kući Spasoje Tadića, drugi u osnovnoj školi. Bilo je dvostruko više žena ali nisu mogle stati na fotografiju. 1955.

The first self-initiated training course is held in 1954 in the house of Spasoje Tadić, the second one in an elementary school. The number of women doubles so they do not all fit on the photo. 1955.



PRVI PUT U BEOGRADU...



"Od prihoda prvih priredbi – prva ekscurzija. Četiri dana u Beogradu za Prvi maj. Mnogo su žene videle. Čak i kako se štampa list Politika." Politika, 8. maj 1954.

"For the First Time in Belgrade", article in the daily Politika, May 8, 1954.

"From the income of the first shows - the first excursion. Four days in Belgrade, for May 1. The women saw a lot. Even how the daily Politika is printed."

Žene iz Donjeg Dubca u poseti "Politiци"

ЗАДРУГА 1963

Домаћа радноси у селу Дујцу

Или о једној прихваћеној иницијативи



ДРАГАЧЕВСКЕ ЗАДРУГАРКЕ ЗИДАЈУ СВОЈ ДОМ



Система се због тога називаје иста ведрим небом



"Četvrti tečaj je bio usmeren na obučavanje žena za jednu vrstu proizvodnje koja je bila nepoznata u ovom kraju. Došao je u selo Dubac stručnjak za primenjenu umetnost Joško Onič i obučio žene tkanju modernih tkanina. (...) Tako je jedna inicijativa da se žene okupljene na tečaju obuče za brže i lakše poslovanje u kući, našla na svoj završetak u pripremanju žena za domaću radinost, koja će na tržište izneti mnogo novih predmeta primenjene umetnosti. A prilike ovoga sela, oskudnog i pasivnog, gde u ovo vreme seljak nema proizvoda za koje bi mogao novac uzeti, ovim će se naći rešenje za bar jedan deo slobodne radne snage." Časopis Zadruga, 1958.

"Home Manufacture in the Village of Dubac. Or About an Accepted Initiative."

"The fourth training seminar was directed at teaching women a kind of production they were unfamiliar with in this area. Joško Onič, an expert on applied arts, came to Dubac and trained the women to weave modern fabrics. (...) This initiative to teach the women how to work quicker and easier at home, ended by preparing them for home manufacture which can introduce to the market many new items of applied arts. And in the prospects, for this poor and passive village where farmers produce very little they can earn off, this can provide solutions for at least some of the unemployed work force.", the magazine Zadruga (Cooperative), 1958.

Četvrta godišnja izložba u Savremenom domu, Beograd, 1964. Izložbu prate novinski naslovi "Seoske tkalje za gradske potrošače", "Sa seoskog razboja u moderan stan".

The 4th Annual Exhibition in Savremeni dom (Contemporary Home), Belgrade, 1964. The press covers the exhibition with titles such as "Country Women Weavers for City Consumers" or "From the Country Loom to Modern Apartments".

"Posle dvanaest godina od osnivanja zadruga, dragačevske tkalje najzad će steći krov nad glavom. I više neće morati da održavaju sastanke i skupštine pod vedrim nebom!", Politika, 20. jul 1963.

"Dragačevo Women Cooperants Building Their House" "Twelve years after the cooperative has been established, Dragačevo women weavers will finally have a roof over their heads. They will no longer have to hold meetings and assemblies under the sky!", the daily Politika, July 20, 1963.

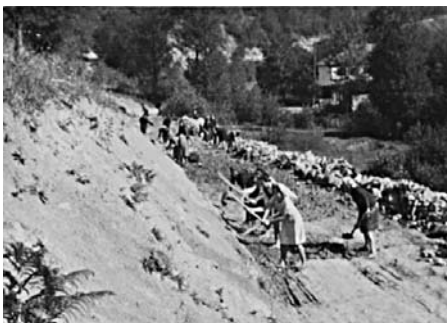
"Drage drugarice i drugovi, u ime 420 zadrugarki pozdravljam mile nam goste. (...) Mi vama ne umijemo reći koliko je ovo velika svečanost za nas - otvaranje našeg doma. (...) Dvanaest godina nismo imali ni jedno plaćeno lice. Od ove godine imamo dva stalna i dva honorarna službenika. Asortiman i kvalitetet robe, organizaciju unutar zadruga - postigli smo do savršenstva. Do ovih rezultata došli smo postepenim razvijanjem, ispitivanjem i osvajanjem tržišta, domaćeg i stranog." Rajka Borojević na otvaranju skromnog Doma zadrugarki, prvog doma žena-seljanki u Jugoslaviji, 7. septembar 1963.

"Dear comrades, in the name of 420 members of our cooperative I would like to greet our dear guests. (...) We cannot express what this day means to us - the opening of our new house (...) For twelve years we have not had a single paid employee. This year we have two full time and two part time employees. The production range and the quality of the goods, the organizations within the cooperative - we have achieved near perfection. These results are the product of gradual development, testing and conquering of the market, the domestic as well as the foreign one." Rajka Borojević at the opening of the humble House of Cooperative Members, the first official seat of the countrywomen in Yugoslavia, September 7, 1963.

Златиборке „препочињу“ од Драгачевки

Драгачевке
на јесењем
Сајму моде
у Београду

ПОСЛЕ ИЗЛОЖБЕ ДРАГАЧЕВСКИХ ТКАЉА У ТИТОГРАДУ
ПРОЦЕНА 1963
ОЖИВЉАВАЊЕ ДОМАЋЕ РАДИНОСТИ У ЦРНОЈ ГОРИ



У СЛИЦИ И РЕЧИ »... МИ ОДОСМО НА ДАЛЕНЕ ПУТЕ«



Пошто су уознале многе крајеве Југославије, жене из планинских села Драгачева, чланке познате Драгачевске задруге жена, одлучиле су да крену мало даље — у свет! Прошле године су посетиле Бугарску, а ове године планинске екскурзије предвиђа посету Мађарској, Чехословачкој и Аустрији. Поред туристичког упознавања ових земаља, задругарке ће обићи и разне центре за кућну радност, фабрике и пољопривредна добра. Са драгачевским ткаљама на пут је пошто и неколико уметника примењених уметности, пошварца и друге сполњике сарајевске Задруге. На сликци на пролазу кроз Београд аутобус са драгачевским ткаљама зауставио се Јуче на Тргу Маркса и Енгелса.

Domaća radinost otpočinje i na Zlatiboru. Novosti, 1. novembar 1962.

Inspired by Dragačevo cooperative home manufacture starts also on Mount Zlatibor. The daily Novosti, November 1, 1962.

"Dragačevske tkalje, sasvim nenametljivo, sa ukusom, pa čak i rafiniranošću postignutom kroz desetogodišnji rad, pokazale su do kog stepena može da se uzdigne seoska žena i potvrdile da ona i sa proizvodima kućne radinosti može da zakorači u svet. (...) Na sastanku u republičkoj Privrednoj komori, kome su prisustvovalale i predstavnice Zadruga žena iz Dragačeva, razmatrane su mogućnosti organizovanijeg pokretanja domaće radinosti u Crnoj Gori." Politika, 1963.

"After an Exhibition of Dragačevo Weavers in Titograd. Reviving Home Manufacture in Montenegro."

"During their 10 years in the industry, women weavers from Dragačevo have demonstrated, quite unobtrusively, tastefully, even artistically and in a refined manner, to what degree a women from the countryside can rise and confirmed that they can step into the world with homemade products. (...) The meeting at the Chamber of Commerce, also attended by the representatives of the Dragačevo Women's Cooperative, considered the possibilities of starting a homemade production in Montenegro.", the daily Politika, 1963.

"Ženski put", Viča - Donji Dubac, 6 km. Izgradnja puta do Doma zadrugarki, 1965.

"Women's Road", Viča - Donji Dubac, 6 km. The construction of the road to the House of the Cooperative, 1965.

Drugi put u inostranstvo. Autobusom, Mađarska, Čehoslovačka, Austrija. 1967.


Second time abroad, by bus. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria. 1967.



Prvo izdanje knjige "Iz Dubca u svet", bazirano na sistematskim beleškama-dnevniku Rajke Borojević o seoskim ženama i radu sa njima. Zadrusna knjiga, 1964.

The first issue of the book "From Dubac to the World", based on the systematic diary notes of Rajka Borojević about countrywomen and her experiences while working with them. Published by Zadrusna knjiga (Cooperative Book), 1964.

**DRAGAČEVSKA
ZADRUGA
ŽENA**



Art.: 4.127

Naziv: *Knjiga Borojević*

Velič.: *10x15*

Težina: *8.000*

Sirov.: %

Skuplj. duž.: %

Skuplj. šir.: %

Ne podleže JUS-u

Etiketa

/
Cooperation's label

PRIVREDNICI GOVORE ПРИВРЕДНИЦИ ГОВОРЯТ
Domaća radinost je ozbiljan izvor prihoda

Privredni pregled

/
"Home Manufacture is a Serious Source of Income", the magazine Privredni pregled (Economy Review).

Časopisa Zadruga, 4. mart 1965.

ПИСМО ЗА ПРВУ СТРАНУ
»ВИШЕ НЕ МОЛИМО, НИТИ СЕ ПЛАШИМО«

/
"Letter for the Cover Page: We are Not Any More Pleaing, Neither we are Affraid", magazine Zadruga (Cooperative), March 4, 1965.

— Мишле су ми крајем фебруара у привредном часопису, који је изашао пре неких дана, да се у земљи налази велика количина готовог новца. То је било нешто што ме је изненађивало. Овај новац, који је у земљи, неће бити коришћен за куповину robe, него ће бити коришћен за куповину robe, која је у земљи. То је, наравно, нешто што ме је изненађивало. Овај новац, који је у земљи, неће бити коришћен за куповину robe, него ће бити коришћен за куповину robe, која је у земљи.



"Sada je na redu izgradnja doma kulture. U korist izgradnje ovoga doma zadrugarke počinju, od januara 1967., da priređuju zabave u okolnim selima sa biranjem najboljeg muža. Narod je i ovo prihvatio. I ozbiljno i kao dobru zabavu."

"Now it's time to build a House of Culture. In order to raise funds, from January 1967, cooperative members started organizing parties in the neighboring villages to select the best husbands. The people have also embraced this, as good fun as well as a serious activity."



Sabor tkalja, finale izbora "najboljeg muža", 1967. Biranje najboljeg muža izazvalo je senzaciju ne samo u selima Dragačeva već širom Jugoslavije. Dunav film uputio je svoju ekipu da o tome snimi dokumentarni film. Rediteljki Veri Jocić emancipacija žena osnovni je motiv za film "Najbolji muž".

A weaver's yearly assembly, the finals of the "best husband" selection, 1967. Choosing the best husband has stirred quite a sensation, not only in the villages around Dragačevo but across Yugoslavia. Dunav film sent their crew to shoot a documentary about it. For the female director Vera Jocić the emancipation of women is the main motive for the movie "The Best Husband".



"Dragačevke su izatkale tanku asuricu-zidnjak, a kreatorke, saradnice Nacionalnog salona napravile od njega – suknju. Prsluk je od lanenog platna a pojas od kanapa.", podtekst iz novinskog članka.

"Women of Dragačevo weaved a thin matting material, and the fashion designers, the associates of the National salon made a skirt from it. The vest is made of flax and the belt from rope.", footnote from a newspaper article.

СУКНО НА МОДНОЈ РЕВИЈИ

ДРАГАЧЕВСКА МЛАДА МОДА

Жене из Драгачева освајају свећ

ТКАЉЕ РАДЕ ЗА КОКО ШАНЕЛ

▲ Поред дванаест руко рађених притофа, страни се интересују и за моделе од ових ткаљина ▲ Иглице да ће рукотворнице наших селских пристојних у кућне „Шанел-вистике“

"Dragačevo Young Fashion"
Oslobodjenje, 1968.

"Women Weavers Work for Coco Chanel", the newspaper
Oslobodjenje, 1968.

Svijet pita za Dragačevo

DIVNA TKANJA DRAGAČEVSKIH TKALJA NA NAJPOZNATIJIM
MEĐUNARODNIM IZLOŽBAMA I SAJMOVIMA



"Sve ono što izlazi iz razboja žena Dragačevo rađeno je po nacrtima mlade Branke Borojević koja je završila Primenjenu akademiju i već sedam godina saraduje sa tkaljama." Borba, 2. mart 1968.

/ "The World Asks For Dragačevo"

"All the patterns the women of Dragačevo weave are done from the designs of the young Branka Borojević, who graduated from the Academy of Applied Arts and who has been working with the weavers for the past seven years.", the daily Borba, March 2, 1968.

Bondekvinne fra Hebridene har fått en ny livrett – brun geitost



"Upoznaj svog suseda", međunarodni skup u Oslu. Predstavnica Jugoslavije: zadrugarka Ljubina iz Donjeg Dubca, 1968.

/ "Meet Your Neighbor", an international gathering in Oslo. Representative for Yugoslavia: Ljubina, member of the cooperative from Donji Dubac, 1968.



"I još jedna ekskurzija: Skandinavske zemlje, autobusom. Hiljade kilometara, utisaka, posjeta, pjesama, šala. Sve sretno, veselo." Leto 1969.

/ "And another excursion: Scandinavian counties, by bus. Thousands of miles, impressions, visits, songs, jokes. Everything jolly and cheerful.", summer of 1969



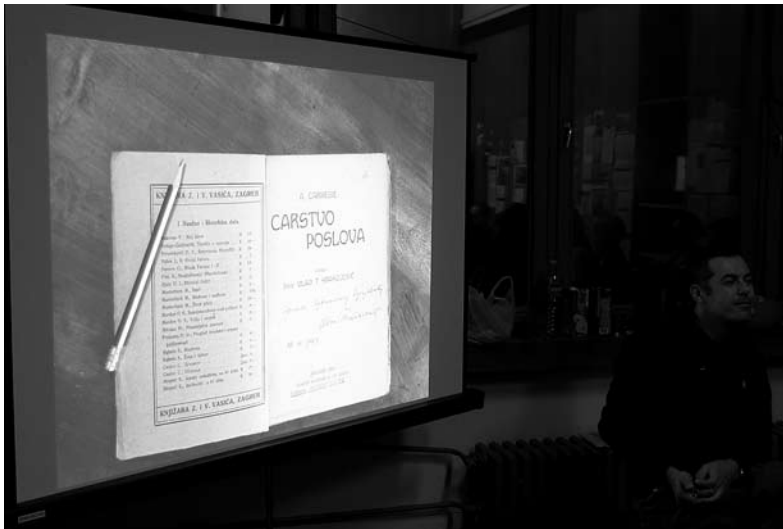
Posle gotovo 60 godina rada "Dragačevska zadruga žena" pod stečajem. Dom tkalja (otvoren 1978.), u leto 2010.

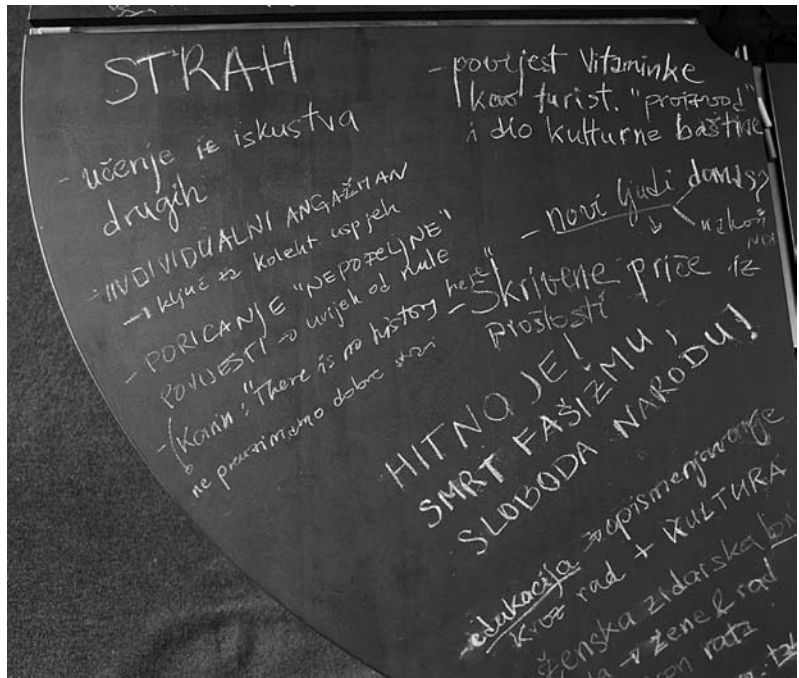
/ After almost 60 years of continuous activity, "Dragačevo Women's Cooperative" is now under bankruptcy. House of Women Weavers (opened in 1978), summer of 2010.

Citati Rajke Borojević, iz foto-albuma "Dragačevske zadruge žena" i navedenih novina.

/

Quotes from Rajka Borojević, from the photo album of the "Dragačevo Women's Cooperative" and from the stated papers.





Photos: St



STRAH

- učenje je izkustva drugih
- INDIVIDUALNI ANGAŽMAN
- KINE 2 kolekt uspjeh
- PORICANJE "NEPOZELJNE" POVIJESTI u svijet od nule
- (Karin): "Tako je to bilo" - prošlost
- povijest vitaminke kao fetiš. "prošlost i do kulturne baštine"
- nove ljudi danas
- "Skrivene priče iz prošlosti"
- HITNO JE! FAŠIZMU, DU! NA NALBU!

KUMINIST

ZLOŽENOSTI



OPZITIVNO
IZ PROTESTI
NADGRADNJA K
VIT
HIMBO



Photo: TJ

Margareta Kern

GOSTI

Multimedijalna instalacija
2010.

Rad je fokusiran na istraživanje iskustava žena bivše Jugoslavije, emigrantica u Berlin 1960-tih, kao 'gostujućih radnica' (*Gastarbeiterinnen*) ili "radnika/ca na privremenom radu u inostranstvu", koji još uvijek žive i rade tamo. Godine 1968., vlada socijalističke Jugoslavije promijenila je zakon o emigraciji i dopustila nezaposlenim radnicima da potraže privremeni rad u inostranstvu.

Instalacija i performans/predavanje *Gosti* predstavlja stalno razvijajuću 'arhivu' tih marginaliziranih trenutaka u povijesti poslijeratne europske radničke migracije, koji se sastoji od albuma fotografija 'gostujućih radnika', osobnih pisama i dokumenata, te transkripata razgovora između umjetnice i radnica. Rad uključuje i privatni album

GUESTS

Multimedia installation
2010

The project investigates the experiences of women from the territory of former Yugoslavia who left for Berlin in the 1960s as "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiterinnen*) or "workers temporarily employed abroad", and who still live and work there. In 1968, the government of socialist Yugoslavia changed the emigration law, which now allowed unemployed workers to search for temporary employment abroad.

Installation and performance/lecture *Guests* presents a continuously growing 'archive' of these marginalized moments in the history of post-war European migration of workers, which consists of an album of photographs showing the 'guest workers', their personal letters and documents, as well as transcripts of conversations between them

fotografija umjetničkih djeda i bake, koji su emigrirali u Njemačku u kasnim 1960-ih i radili tamo 22 godine.

Instalacija na izložbi podsjeća na radnu sobu, pozivajući posjetitelja na angažman i rad blizak tradicionalnim arhivskim istraživanjima: posjetitelji (gosti) obrađuju folije i dijapozitive, kako bi se postojeći materijali aktivirali. Na taj način instalacija i njezina tumačenja neprestano se mijenjaju, destabilizirajući autorske, estetske i povijesne ekonomije u radu.

— mk

and the artist. The installation also includes the private photo-album of her grandparents, who immigrated to Germany in the late 1960s and worked there for 22 years.

The set-up at the exhibition recalls a study room, inviting the visitor to get involved and to engage in something like traditional archival research: the visitors (guests) must process the foils and slides in order to activate the existing materials. In this way, the installation and its interpretations constantly change, destabilizing the artistic, aesthetic, and historical economies in the process.

— mk

Prijatelj me posjetio u snu. Iz daleka. I ja sam ga pitao u snu: Da li si došao sa fotografijom ili vozom? Sve fotografije su sredstvo putovanja i izraz nepostojanosti.

— John Berger 'A Seventh Man' 1975



Prije par godina, a nakon šestnaest godina življenja u Velikoj Britaniji, sam sebe uhvatila u mislima da ću uskoro otići negdje, ne u mjesto iz kojeg sam došla, niti unutar ovog u kojem sam se našla. Ne znam tačno gdje, ali znam da ovdje gdje jesam nije trajno. U stvari to nisu (bile) misli, to je (bilo) 'stanje' – stanje svijesti, neko unutrašnje vremensko međustanje.

Prepoznavši moje stanje 'trenutačnosti' i konstantnog planiranja odlaska (ne povratka) prepoznala sam i slično stanje u kojem su moji baka i djeda proveli 22 godine života i rada u zapadnoj Njemačkoj, otišavši kao 'pozvani gosti' na privremeni rad krajem 1960-tih "na dvije godine dok izgradimo kuću, pa tvoju mamu dok opremimo (za udaju), pa stalno nešto trebalo, kupi kola, pa vuci vamo, vuci tamo, i od dvije godine nastale dvadestdvije".

Jugoslovenska vlada je 1968 godine potpisala ugovor sa Njemačkom vladom u kojem je emigracija iz Jugoslavije legalizovana, a radnički emigranti su dobili službeni naziv 'radnik na privremenom radu u inostranstvu', razlikujući ih od

*A friend came to see me in a dream. From far away. And I asked in the dream:
Did you come by photograph or train?
All photographs are a form of transport and an expression of absence.*
— John Berger 'A Seventh Man' 1975

I tasted pollen in my mouth. Its stickiness crept into all corners, behind my tongue, between my teeth and especially at the back of my throat, where it whizzed and purred like a bee. I couldn't swallow properly for days. It was as if that part of me was ticking on a different clockwork, another time zone. It naturally affected my speech so that the few German words I learned could not be spoken p-r-o-p-e-r-l-y - pronouncing each syllable as if it stood on its own and yet formed a word. I had to strain myself and concentrate so that another person could understand the strange jamboree produced by my mouth.
— Berlin. April. 2009.

A few years ago, and (at that point) after sixteen years of living in the United Kingdom, I caught myself thinking that I will soon be moving to another country. It was clear to me that I would be moving, and not returning, but it was not quite clear where that place would be. In fact, those were not thoughts, but more a state of mind, some form of internal state, which is in-between time and place. Recognising my state of temporality and continuous planning (even if only sub-consciously) of departure, I also recognised a similar state in which my grandparents spent twenty-two years of living and working in the West Germany. They left Yugoslavia, in the late sixties as temporary 'guest workers' for "two years until we build a house, and then until we help your mother with the wedding, and then constantly there was a need for something else, new car, carry things to-and-fro, and two years turned into twenty-two."

In 1968 the government of Yugoslavia had signed an agreement with the West German government, legalising labour migration. The labour migrants were called 'Gastarbeiter' or 'guest workers', framing linguistically the temporary nature of their status in Germany, whilst also avoiding the connotations to 'alien worker', which Nazis used for 'forced labour'. The Yugoslav officials called them 'radnik na privremenom radu u inostranstvu'/'a worker temporarily employed abroad' in order to distinguish them from political emigrants. However, this odd combination of words never took roots in our languages and so these temporary workers, guests in Germany, became and stayed 'gastarbajteri'.

My grandparents (grandmother Marija is in the middle, arms crossed, grandfather Vinko next to her) are roasting a pig on a muddy field, flattened for something that will come after the photograph is taken. In the background a strange house with a tall tower, is piercing the image, making it seem as if two photographs are superimposed on top of each other, like two worlds, which are sawn together but we cannot see its seams. Muddy land is a space in-between, an emptiness which has placed itself between the celebrants and the tower -building.

političkih emigranata. Pokušavajući da izbjegnju tamnu sjenu prošlosti Njemci su privremenim radnicima dali novi naziv 'gastarbeiter' – 'gostradnik', a ne 'fremdarbeiter' – 'straniradnik' koji su Nacisti koristili za prisilne radnike u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Čudan sklop riječi se ipak nije mogao prevesti, a službeni naziv se nije mogao ukorijeniti u naš jezik, te je postao, i ostao 'gastarbajter'.

Na ovoj slici Marija i Vinko (baka je četvrta s lijeva, a djed je do nje) s prijateljima peku prase na blatnjavoj ravnici, sravnjenoj za nešto što će doći poslije njih. U pozadini je visoka i neobična zgrada sa tornjem, koja čini cijeli prizor pomalo nestvarnim, kao da su dvije fotografije složene jedna preko druge, dva svijeta spojena, a ne vidimo mu šavove.

Svi na slici djeluju sretno, zadovoljni samima sobom, čak i pomalo odvažni što na tom izpražnjenom prostoru mogu da slave. Osoba koja ih fotografiše je kleknula na zemlju, i ostavila trag, otisak svojeg tijela. Blatnjava zemlja je međuprostor, praznina koja se postavila između njih i zgrade s tornjem. Zašto oni peku prase na toj ravnici, a ne u svom dvorištu ili na nekoj zelenoj livadi? I kakva je to čudna kuća koja kao da lebdi nad njima, i poletjela bi da nije okovana čelikom?

Moj djed je došao 1969-te da radi kao kovač u fabrici Georg Grube, u kojoj su se proizvodili automobilski dijelovi - u malom mjestu Willroth u pokrajini West-erwald. Samo četiri godine prije njegovog dolaska, posljednji rudnik tog dijela Njemačke je zatvoren i pretvoren u fabriku koja ga je zaposlila. Rudnik se pretvorio i u mali muzej, sa tablom na kojoj piše da se zbog depresije šezdesetih morao zatvoriti, i da u dubini blatnjave zemlje još uvijek stoji 3 miliona tona rude. Četiri stotine godina rudarstva je završeno u isto vrijeme kada je zapadna Njemačka prolazila kroz period ekonomskog čuda ili 'Wirtschaftswunder' zbog kojeg je 14 miliona radnika gostovalo na njenim prostorima. A tko je onda bio u depresiji u to vrijeme i zbog čega? I kako su ti rudari gledali na mlade goste koji nisu pričali Njemački, i koju su pekli prase na zemlji iza fabrike?



Tito i Willy Brandt, Bonn, 1970. Fotografija Ludwig Wegmann, Commons: Bundesarchiv.

/

Tito and Willy Brandt, in Bonn, 1970. Photograph Ludwig Wegmann, Commons: Bundesarchiv.



My grandparents and their friends in the photograph look happy, pleased with themselves even, as if they are showing off that they can celebrate on this emptied land. A photographer has kneeled on the ground, and left an imprint of that moment.

Why are they roasting a pig on this flat land, and not in their own garden or in a green field some place else?

Does anyone live in the house that is levitating high above their heads and would fly away if the iron rods didn't hold it down, rooting it into the earth? In the earth, deep inside the muddy land there are three million tons of ore, left there to wait for another moment, another time, when we will need to dig up the land again and seek its roots. But for now, the land is sealed, its scars visible only by the odd building piercing the skyline. The mine has been sealed for over forty years. It was due to the depression of the Sixties. We are informed by the local notice board, that this mine, the last one in Western part of West Germany, was closed. Soon after, a factory manufacturing parts for the booming car industry was built on its ground.

My grandfather arrived in 1969 to work as a silversmith, at the factory Georg Grube, in Willroth, Westerwald, West Germany.

It was four years prior to his arrival that four hundred years of mining was closed, while West Germany went through a period of economic miracle (Wirtschaftswunder). I wonder who was depressed at the time, and why? What happened to the miners? What did they make of young and eager migrants, who spoke no German, and had an unusual habit of roasting pigs in muddy fields?

I arrived in Berlin at the tale end of winter of 2009, with the whole city covered in snow. I landed at Shonefeld airport and as soon as I left the plane the sharpness of the air enveloped me. I was its hostage until the end of two-month stay as an artist-in-residence. My studio was in the street which twenty years ago would have been sliced by the Wall. Now, at the end of the street there is a long temporary board announcing a more permanent memorial for the Berlin Wall. Next to the temporary board there was also a temporary 'showroom' advertising new

Svi na slici djeluju sretno, zadovoljni samima sobom, čak i pomalo odvažni što na tom izpražnjenom prostoru mogu da slave. Osoba koja ih fotografiše je kleknula na zemlju, i ostavila trag, otisak svojeg tijela. Blatnjava zemlja je međuprostor, praznina koja se postavila između njih i zgrade s tornjem. Zašto oni peku prase na toj ravnici, a ne u svom dvorištu ili na nekoj zelenoj livadi? I kakva je to čudna kuća koja kao da lebdi nad njima, i poletjela bi da nije okovana čelikom?

Moj djed je došao 1969-te da radi kao kovač u fabrici Georg Grube, u kojoj su se proizvodili automobilski dijelovi - u malom mjestu Willroth u pokrajini West-erwald. Samo četiri godine prije njegovog dolaska, posljednji rudnik tog dijela Njemačke je zatvoren i pretvoren u fabriku koja ga je zaposlila. Rudnik se pretvorio i u mali muzej, sa tablom na kojoj piše da se zbog depresije šezdesetih morao zatvoriti, i da u dubini blatnjave zemlje još uvijek stoji 3 miliona tona rude. Četiri stotine godina rudarstva je završeno u isto vrijeme kada je zapadna Njemačka prolazila kroz period ekonomskog čuda ili 'Wirtschaftswunder' zbog kojeg je 14 miliona radnika gostovalo na njenim prostorima. A tko je onda bio u depresiji u to vrijeme i zbog čega? I kako su ti rudari gledali na mlade goste koji nisu pričali Njemački, i koju su pekli prase na zemlji iza fabrike?



flats being built in Neue Bauhaus style further down the same street.

It seemed appropriate to start my (re)search in the city which is constructing its memory with the same intensity as its many construction sites are building new stylish flats.

—

From my conversation with the historian, Monika Mattes, I found out that in the large electro-technical companies of West Berlin, in the 1970's, the majority of workers were women - for example in Siemens' factory 67% of the workers were women. I was intrigued by this, as it was not a common knowledge that many women migrated; their stories and their visibility in the existing archives (both in Germany and the former Yugoslavia) were minimal or did not exist at all. This 'discovery' also clashed with the stereotypical image of the migrant worker - a man, who leaves his village to go and fend for the family, returning in white Mercedes with Deutschmarks. I decided to try and find the women who came through the official routes - the Bureau for Employment in Yugoslavia, to work for the large factories of West Berlin.



At the beginning of research: images from the catalogue 'Der Weg: Jugoslawische Frauen in Berlin'/'Journey of the Yugoslav Women in Berlin', which was published by Bosiljka Schedlich, to coincide with the celebrations of 750 years of Berlin, in 1987. The photographs above were taken in the workers dorm in Flotten Strasse, where Bosiljka stayed when she arrived as a 'guest worker' to Berlin "The beds we slept on were hospital beds. When the factory production (towards the end of the second world war) stopped, this became a hospital. We kept seeing in the basement small old people with wispy white hair, who were afraid of us, and would lock their doors when they saw us. They were German, refugees, who fled the Russians, and probably our language sounded similar."

—

fluorescent lights, burning stripes into the image
 rubbing it, erasing it
 rows of women, working
 one spliced by the camera frame
 her movement frozen
 un-enviably
 the other one, the only one looking at the camera
 alarmed
 by the orange colour which
 has seeped in

U Berlin sam stigla usred zime, cijeli je bio zavejan i bijel. Sletjela sam na aerodrom Shonefeld, i čim sam izašla iz aviona, svježina zraka me zaplijenila. Bila sam njen taoc do kraja mog privremenog umjetničkog rada. Moj atelje se nalazio u ulici koja bi prije dvadeset godina bila presiječena zidom. Sada se na kraju te ulice nalazi dugačka tabla koja najavljuje stalni postav za sjećanje na Berlinski Zid. Do privremene table se nalazi isto tako privremeni 'showroom' za nove stanove koji se grade u 'Bauhaus' stilu pri dnu ulice.

Djelovalo mi je prikladno početi moje iztraživanje o privremenim radnicima u gradu u kojem se sjećanje konstruiše istim intenzitetom kao i brojni novi stanovi.

—

Iz razgovora sa istoričarkom Monikom Mattes, saznala sam da su u velikim elektrotehničkim fabrikama u zapadnom Berlinu, početkom 1970-tih, većinom radile žene, na dugačkim trakama ili na mikroskopima. U Siemensovoj tvornici na primjer, 67% radnika su bile žene. Od svih 'gastarbajterica', žene iz Jugoslavije su bile u većini. Zaintrigirale su me ove činjenice jer nisam znala da su žene odlazile na 'privremeni rad' u tako velikim brojevima. Njihove priče i njihova vidljivost u postojećim arhivima pri državnim institucijama su bile minimalne ili nepostojeće. Takođe, ova se spoznaja nasla u raskoraku sa stereotipnom slikom 'gastarbajtera' – muško odlazi sa sela, vraća se sa puno Dojčmarks u bijelom Mercedesu. Sve me to navelo da stupim u kontakt sa ženama koje su došle u to vrijeme preko Biroa za zapošljavanje u Jugoslaviji, da rade za velike elektrotehničke fabrike u zapadnom Berlinu.

—

Na početku iztraživanja: slika iz kataloga 'Der Weg: Jugoslawische Frauen in Berlin'/'Put Jugoslovenskih žena u Berlinu', koji je objavila Bosiljka Schedlich povodom obilježavanja 750 godina Berlina. Fotografija je iz radničkog doma u Flotten Strasse, gdje je Bosiljka živjela kada je došla prvi put kao 'gastarbeiter' u Berlin. "Kreveti su bili bolnički, kad je prestala proizvodnja, kad je prestala biti tvornica tu, na ove krevete su došle Njemačke izbjeglice, iz istočnih Njemačkih dijelova, sadašnje Poljske. Mi smo u suterenu susreli male stare ljude, bijele kosice, koji su se nas bojali, zaključavali kad bi vidjeli da mi prolazimo, oni su bili Njemci, prognani, iz istočnih dijelova, oni su biježali pred Rusima, i sigurno im se naš jezik učinio sličnim."

fluorescentna svijetla, stvaraju goreće linije u slici
kao da ih gumicama brišu
linije žena, radnica
jedna odsiječena fotografskim ramom
njen pokret zamrznut
u ne-zavidnom položaju
druga, jedina koja gleda u fotografski aparat
iznenađena
narandžastom bojom koja se
ulila u prostor slike
kutije između njih izgledaju vojnički
složene jedna na drugu stvaraju granične linije
cijela tvornica gori
vruće narandžasto i crveno

boxes between them look militaristic
 stacked, creating dividing lines
 the whole factory is burning
 hot orange and red

—

In the beginning in AEG Telefunken they didn't have 'akkord' until later, then we had to work to 'akkord' but I wouldn't be able to tell you exactly what the 'akkord' time was. For example, in my current job, for 100 pieces I have 238 minutes, that is 3 and a half hours, and you have to rush so hard to make it. You see, I've been doing this for quite a long time, and I am used to it, normally when you work somewhere for a long time you get used to it. But when you've just started, of course, it is difficult, because you don't know how fast you can make it, and when you do the same thing every day it's normal that what you make in 20 minutes one day, the next day you will make in 15 minutes. But all in all, time limits are quite tight, it's a private company, our women used to achieve 150 - 160% but the company wont allow that anymore, they want you to work for a smaller salary, that's what it is.

— Gordana U.

* Target (Akkord in German) is a number of units that a worker must produce in a given period.

—

The situation has become so complicated because the simple 'reproduction of reality' says less than ever about that reality. A photograph of the Krupp works or AEG reveals almost nothing about these institutions. Reality as such has slipped into the domain of the functional. The reification of human relations, the factory, for example, no longer discloses those relations. So there is indeed

'something to construct', something 'artificial', 'invented'.

— Bertolt Brecht in Walter Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', 1931



U početku u AEG Telefunkenu nisi imao akorda dok se nisi naučio, poslije su oni isto tako radili s akordom, samo ne bih vam tačno znala reći koliki je bio, jer sam to zaboravila, ali inače sad ovdje u ovoj firmi je knap, minuti su ti tačno knap, npr rećemo za 100 komada montaže ja imam 238 minuta, a vi morate toliko toga žuriti da bi vi to napravili, i to baš vam kažu u minutama.

Mislim, znate šta, ja radim to već dugo, i kad ti dugo radiš normalno da se navikneš, međutim kad počneš nešto drugo raditi normalno da je teško kad ne znate, ne možete tako brzo napraviti, kad ti radiš svaki dan jedno te isto, normalno da ono što napraviš za 20 minuta ti ćeš napraviti za 15 min zato što se naučilo već dugo raditi. Ali sve u svemu minuti su jako jako mali. Prije su naše zene radile 150 - 160% ali to nama firme više nedovoljavaju, oni bi htjeli da ti radiš za manju platu, eto to je to.

*Akord - Norma (Akkord na Njemačkom) je broj jedinica proizvodnje koju radnik mora postići u određenom vremenskom periodu.

— Gordana U.

Situacija je postala toliko komplikovana jer jednostavna 'reprodukcija stvarnosti' govori manje nego ikad o toj stvarnosti. Fotografija unutar Krupp ili AEG tvornice ne otkriva ništa o tim institucijama. Stvarnost kao takva je skliznula u domen funkcionalnog. Repr-ezentirati ljudske odnose, i tvornicu, na primjer, ne razotkriva te odnose. Što znači da postoji nešto što treba konstruisati, nešto artifičijalno, postavljeno.

— Bertolt Brecht u Walter Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', 1931

Kroz proces traženja i istraživanja naišla sam na višeslojni teren. Kroz razgovore sa radnicama, postavljajući pitanja o iskustvima, dolasku i radu u Zapadnom Berlinu, aktivirao se proces prisjećanja i oblikovanja prošlosti u sadašnjem momentu; proces koji je pod uticajem prolaska vremena, fragmentiranja sjećanja, kao i pod rodnim i društveno-kulturološkim normama i vrijednostima.

Mnoge priče su upućivale na kontradiktornosti situacije privremenih radnika. Na primjer, dok su odlasci u Njemačku bili prilično bolni, u isto vrijeme su bili emancipatorni, i za većinu predstavljali oslobađanje od sprega patrijarhalnog odgoja, i početak novog života (mnoge su otišle kao osamnaestogodišnjakinje). Dok su uslovi rada u fabrikama bili eksploatacijski, u isto vrijeme su omogućavali nezavisnost, i pomak u društvenom statusu.

8. The economic reform, which was introduced in Yugoslavia in summer 1965, led to increased labour emigration (Table II). One of the objectives of the reform was to open the way for Yugoslav products into the international market. This was to be achieved primarily through the modernization of industries and through more economic methods of production. As a result, the first few years of the reform brought a drop in the number of employed (Table IV, Fig. 1), and it was not until 1969 that the number of employed in Yugoslavia exceeded the employment figures for 1965. From 1966-1970 the country's employment

Ivo Baučić, 'Working Party on Migration: The effects of emigration from Yugoslavia and the problems of returning emigrant workers'. Tekst izdan samo na engleskom jeziku. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 3rd August, 1971.

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Ivo Baučić, 'Working Party on Migration: The effects of emigration from Yugoslavia and the problems of returning emigrant workers'. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 3rd August, 1971.

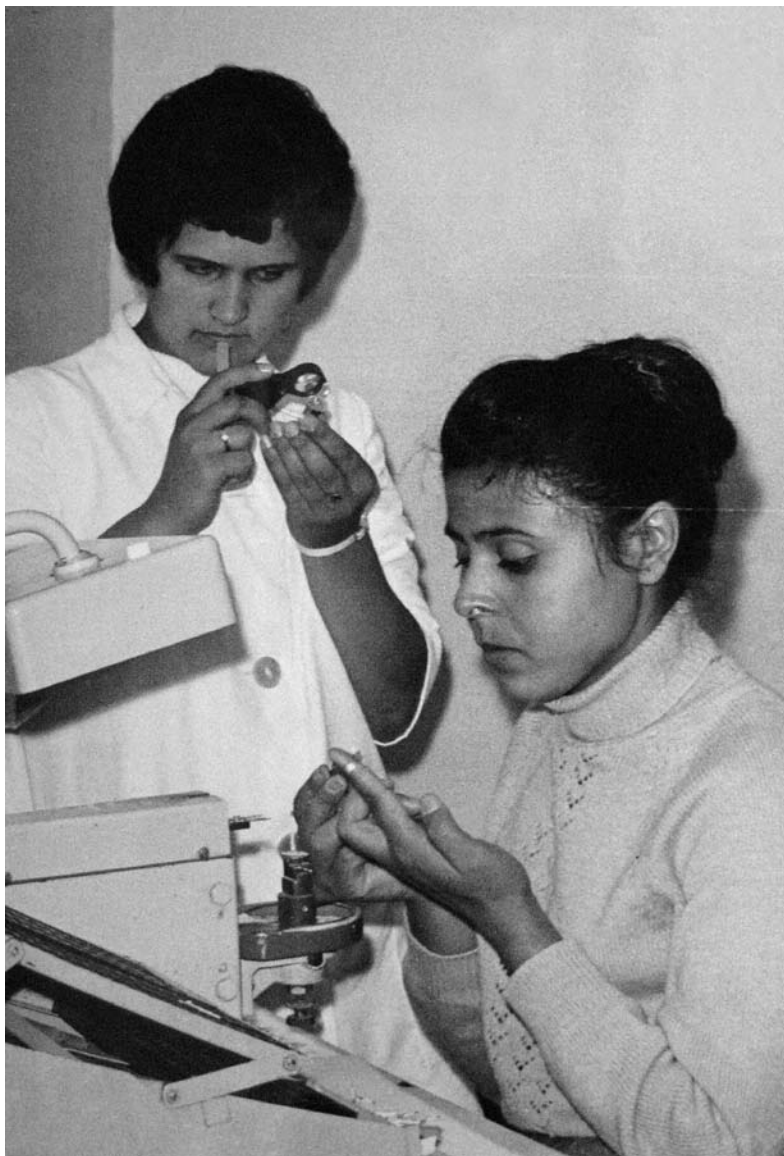


Through this investigative process, I came across a multi-faceted terrain – while I was talking to women about their experience of migrating and working in West Berlin, I was activating a mnemonic recall, a kind of reshaping of the past in the present moment, whose narratives were influenced as much by the passing of time, fragmentation of memory, as by gendered and socio-cultural norms and values of both past and present.

Their stories revealed many contradictions. For example, while their medical check-ups and journeys to Germany have been quite difficult, some even traumatic, the new life in turn was emancipatory, presenting a possibility of freedom from the constraints of patriarchal upbringing (many women were barely eighteen when they left home). While the conditions of work in the factories were exploitative, at the same time they enabled a degree of financial independence and a shift in a social status.

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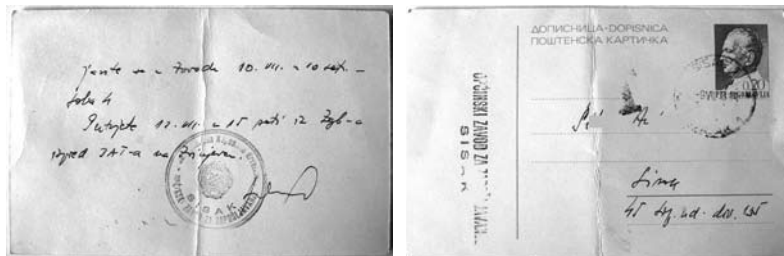
‘The use of foreign labour, whether slaves or immigrants, has been a basic tendency in the development of the world capitalist system. ...The enforcement of national borders contributes to the peripheralization of a part of the world and the designation of its workers as a labor reserve. Border enforcement emerges as a mechanism facilitating the extraction of surplus value by assigning a status of formal or informal powerlessness to foreign workers generally and criminality to illegal immigrants. Foreign workers undermine a nation’s working class when the state renders foreigners socially and politically powerless. At the same time, border enforcement meets the demands of organized labour in the immigration



"... Korištenje stane radne snage, bilo to robovi ili imigranti, osnovna je tendencija u razvijanju svijetskog kapitalističkog sistema. ...Učvršćivanje nacionalnih granica doprinosi marginalizaciji dijela svijeta i određivanju njihovih radnika kao rezervne radne snage. Učvršćivanje granica postaje mehanizam stvaranja viška kapitala kroz davanje formalnog ili neformalnog statusa nemoći stranim radnicima, a kriminaliziranju ilegalnih imigranata. ...Strani radnici narušavaju radničku klasu te zemlje kad im država oduzme društvenu i političku moć. U isto vrijeme, učvršćivanje granica odgovara potrebama organizacije radne snage u imigracionim državama dok zaštićuje domaću radnu snagu od nepravdnog takmičenja. Međutim, selektivno provođenje zakona može zaobići granične zakone i zaštititi interese kapitala koji ovise o stranoj snazi. Ovo upućuje na kontradiktornu ulogu države u procesu akumulacije."

— Saskia Sassen, in 'Women, Men and International Division of Labour', 1984.

country insofar as it presumes to protect native workers from unfair competition. Yet selective enforcement of policies can circumvent general border policies and protect the interests of capital sectors relying on immigrant labor. This points to the contradictory role of the state in the accumulation process.' Saskia Sassen, in 'Women, Men and International Division of Labour', 1984.



I came by train to Zagreb, and that journey I don't remember, they put us up in a hotel in Zagreb. The next day we flew out and I remember that in the airplane I suddenly looked out of the window and saw 'cirrus' clouds, white, they were so beautiful, like snowflakes and I thought God how I wish to lay down into that cotton, nothing would hurt me, I had a feeling that I had no skin on me. It was so hard, saying goodbye.

— Bosiljka S.

...

As well as interviewing the women, I collected scans of the photographs from their family albums. Each of these photographs for me is an unfinished sentence, a scene from a film not yet made, a moment that is as documentary as it is imaginary. Through their stillness they enliven spaces, places and possibilities of imagining the past. Enlivening emancipatory potential of memory, as a resistance to the essentialist and singular production of history, is an important component without which memory runs a danger of becoming just one of many methods in the production of art, stripped of its political agency.



Ja sam vlakom otišla do Zagreba i te vožnje se ne sjećam, u Zagrebu su nas smjestili u neki hotel. Slijedeći dan u avion, i znam da sam u avionu odjednom kroz prozor ugledala ciruse, oblačiće odozdo bijele, bili su tako prekrasni, kao pahuljice, ja sam pomislila Bože da mi je leći u taj pamuk, ništa me više ne bi bolilo. Ja sam imala osjećaj da nigdje više nema kože na meni, bilo mi je teško radi tog oproštaja.

— Bosiljka S.

...

Uz intervjuje sa radnicama, skenirala sam i fotografije iz njihovih albuma, iz perioda kasnih 1960-tih. Svaka od ovih fotografija za mene je nedovršena rečenica, scena iz nesnimljenog filma, prizor koji koliko god da je dokumentaran u isto vrijeme je i imaginaran. Njihova zamrznutost je njihova moć – one oživljavaju prostore, prizore, i mogućnosti zamišljanja prošlosti. Oživljavanje ove mogućnosti, i emancipatornog potencijala sjećanja kao otpora esencijalističkoj proizvodnji linearne i singularne istorije, su bitne komponente ovog rada – bez njih sjećanje postaje samo jedna od brojnih metoda u proizvodnji umjetnosti, rastavljeno od svoje političke moći.

—

SISAK 18.7.1968

Draga Marijana,

Primili smo tvoje željno i očekivano pismo u kojem nam pišeš da si sretno doputovala u Njemačkoj. Mi smo svi dobri. U pismu pišeš da je tamo hladno, kada dobiješ pare kupi si kaput jesenski ili kostim ali nemoj spužvasti. Marijana ti si otišla u petak a Viktor odma iza tebe u Subotu. Marijana ti dobro znaješ koliko nam je žao što si otišla ali šta možemo kada je moralo tako biti. Milena te uvijek spominje i kaže kada ćeš poslati tranzistor i bebu a mi je uvijek lažemo da ćeš doći za novu godinu. Marijana slušaj što ti stric piše, Budi dobra i poštena djevojka kao što si bila kod nas a sada si u tuđini i tu moraš biti dobra i to ćete cijeliti svaki poštenu čovjek. Marijana ti kod nas uvijek možeš doći i za tebe su vrata uvijek otvorena jer ti si Milenu odgojila. Pišem ti ovo pismo kao moje djete a moje oči su ovom trenutku pune suza. Marijana gledaj sada svoj poso i uči jezik mislim da ćeš dobro proći jer ti si dobra ono što ne znaš pitaj jer stara poslovice kaže ko pita taj ne skita a sada primi puno pozdrava od tvog strica i Milene, Viktora i svi ostali pitaju za tebe.

Šaljemo ti sliku od Tvoje Milene

(dječiji rukopis) Marijana kupi bebu i transistor voli te Milena

—

“Uvjereni smo da je svaki od vas, svjestan toga da odlazi u stranu zemlju, da je tamo i kao jedinka predstavnik naše zemlje i da po ponašanju svakog pojedinca od vas se ocjenjuje jedna nacija, jedna zemlja.”

— Iz dokumentarnog filma ‘Specijalni vlakovi’, Krsto Papić, 1972.



SISAK 18.7.1968

Dear Marijana,

We've received your long awaited and longed for letter in which you tell us that you have arrived safely to Germany. We're all well. In your letter you say that it's cold over there so when you receive money buy a coat or two-piece suit but not a spongy one.

Marijana you left on Friday and Viktor followed straight after you on Saturday. Marijana you know very well how sorry we're that you're gone but what can we do when it's got to be this way. Milena always speaks about you and asks when you'll send a transistor and a baby doll and we always lie to her that you'll come for the New Year.

Marijana pay attention to what your uncle's writing and be a good and respectable girl as you were here with us, for now that you're in a foreign land you should also be good, as that'll be respected by any decent man. Marijana you can always come back to stay with us and our door is always open to you as it's you who have brought Mileva up. I'm writing to you as if you were my child and my eyes are now filling up with tears. Marijana look after yourself now and learn the language I think that you will adjust well as you are good what you don't know ask about because the old proverb says 'the one who asks does not lose her way' and now receive lots of warm regards from your uncle and Milena and all others who're asking about you.

We're sending you a picture of Your Milena
(Child's handwriting) Marijana buy a baby and transistor. Love Milena.

13 godina sam radila u Telefunkenju, i dobili smo otkaze. Možda ne bi ni dobili otkaze '81. godine, nego kad je Tito umro 1980., mi masovno iz firme izašli zato što je bio direktni prenos na televiziji, pogreba Tita u Beogradu. Mi smo taj dan znali za to jer je iz konzulata došlo ispred Telefunkena, i nama su rekli da bi to bilo lijepo kad bi se moglo izaći vani, i pogledati to na Televiziju. Međutim nama firma Telefunken nije to dozvolila, zato što smo mi, kažem vam, zato što smo mi radili između, nismo radili svi kompletno ono bandt (traka) da bi bio same naše žene, nego je to bilo lančano, ja radim, sada vi, Njemica onda dalje. Išlo je tako sve lančano, sada ja radim sama, prije ne, mi smo imali sve lančano, na bandtu, zato nama nisu to htjeli dozvoliti, međjutim mi smo pored svega toga otišli, neki su otišli, neki nisu, neki nisu imali hrabrost da odu, ja sam otišla, ne samo ja, jako puno nas je otišlo, nego sutradan kad smo došli na posal nismo mogli doći na svoje mjesto, nego su nas odveli gore kod šefa i dali pismenu opomenu.

— Gordana U.



Kad smo došli, nas su čekali na aerodromu, i odma odveli u Flotten str. gdje su nas smjestili u radnički dom. Ujutro bi išli na posao, svi zajedno u koloni, jer nisi znao kud, nas je jedanput odvelo i pokazalo, sutradan smo mi morali sve sami. Pošto smo trebali najprije ići u kantinu, jer smo najprije imali doručak, poslije doručka smo krenili na posao, i onaj ko je malo bolje znao kasnije išao je na bus, a onaj koji nije piješke, pa neću vas lagati pa ja mislim više od po godine da smo mi pješačili i pješačili i to, da vam kažem mi smo imali jako malo i para, sad sam to sve zaboravila, samo sjećam se dobro da je bila jedna zemička/brochen, 5 feninga, a kad smo tek došli ja sam htjela svaki dinar da kupim nešto mojim sestrama.

I da vam kažem ono jezik, ono sve, u početku je bilo jako teško, jer nas je stavilo na bandu (traku) gdje smo radili, nas je stavilo, bili smo mi pa onda Njemica, pa onda mi, a ono nisi znao, čujes govor njen a onda ništa ne razumiješ, to je bilo tako tako teško, mislim ono u početku, neke su bile jako dobre i prijatne, pa onda bi rekle da idu s nama pa bi kupile riječnik pa onda bi kad bi nešto htjela kazati, ili bilo šta, onda bi ona pogledala. Bilo je tumača, al' dok ti dobiješ tumača, dok ti nešto hoćeš, ...u početku je bilo strašno, meni, ja sam bila, dobro ja sam kao cura uvijek bila mršava, ali mene je to toliko pogodilo, ja sam mislila da ću ja nakon godine dana, ma kako godine dana, ja sam htjela ići i prije ća, zato što je bilo tako teško, teško, i prvi put sam otišla od roditelja, drugo jednu stvar, mlada sam došla, ali sve u svemu, poslije sam se nekako navikla, onda imali smo društvo ono između sebe, po soboma, i vamo i tamo, sve u svemu bilo je jako dobro.

— Gordana U.

“I would like to greet you on the behalf of the Institute for Employment before you leave to work abroad. We are convinced that you all know that you are leaving for a foreign country and that, over there, each of you represent our country and that, by the behaviour of each of you, people will judge our country and nation.” From the documentary film “Special Trains” by Krsto Papić, Yugoslavia, Zagreb Film, 1971

—

I worked for 13 years in Telefunken, and we were sacked in 1981. Maybe we would not have been sacked, but in 1980 when Tito died, we massively walked out of the factory because there was a live relay of his funeral in Belgrade, and we knew about it that day, because they came from the Yugoslav consulate in front of the factory and told us that it would be nice if we could go and watch the funeral on television, but our company Telefunken wouldn't allow that, because we were working, there was always a German person on the conveyer belt with us. Now I work on my own, but before I always had somebody next to me on the conveyer belt, that's why they wouldn't let us go. But we went anyway, some went some didn't have courage to leave, I left, not only me, many of us went, but the next day we came to work and they wouldn't let us go straight to our work place, instead they called on us to see the boss and gave us a verbal warning.

— Gordana U.

When we arrived, they waited for us at the airport and immediately we went to Flottenstrasse where they housed us in a worker dorm. In the morning we went to work, all together in a line, because we didn't know where we were going, they only took us there once and showed us the way, the next day we had to go on our own. As we had to go to the canteen first to have breakfast, we would go to work after breakfast; those who knew how, later used the bus, but most of us walked, to be honest, I think we walked to work for more than half a year. We also had little money, I forgot most of it but I remember that one bread roll cost 5 phenings, and when I came to Germany I wanted to save every dinar to buy something for my sisters.

In the beginning the new language was so difficult, because they've put us to work on the conveyer belt between German women, but some were really nice and friendly, and bought a dictionary, and helped us. We did have interpreters, but by the time they would come... The beginning was really difficult for me, I was always quite skinny as a young girl, all of that had a huge impact on me, I thought I would leave in one year, I wanted to leave sooner, it was the first time I was away from my parents and I came so young, but later I got used to it, and made friends, and then we hung out in the dorm, and here and there, in the end it was all quite good.

— Gordana U.

—

My whole life here, 40 years of it, and if tomorrow the Germans tell us to go home, I would go and say Thank you! I can't complain that they did anything bad to me. In the companies I worked, they respected me. And who am I? A foreigner. I always felt like a foreigner, and I feel like a foreigner now, even though I am here for 40 years. And I respect that they still keep me here. They pay me well, how can I not work well. I treated them with respect, and the respect always came back.

— Vinka B.



Za cijeli ovaj život, ovih 40 godina, i da sutra kažu Njemci da idemo kući, ja bih otišla i rekla bih im hvala. Ne mogu se potužiti, da su mi nešto učinili, gdje god sam bila, u firmama npr. cijenili su me, ko sam ja? Stranac. Uvijek sam se osjećala, i sad se osjećam stranac iako sam tu 40 godina. I poštivam ih što me drže, on mene plati, ne mogu ja onda da ne radim, a plati me dobro, tako sam se ja odnosila prema njima, a to mi se vraćalo uvijek nazad.

— Vinka B.

Djed mi je nedavno rekao da se 'sjeća par tih rudara, oni su već bili stariji od nas i nismo sa njima pričali. Vrlo brzo su oni otišli u penziju. Ali bilo je onih koji su nam prigovarali, obično kad bi se napili, da smo mi stranci ugrozili njima radno mjesto. Bio je jedan, i kad mi je to rekao, odmah je šef njega opomenuo, i od tad mi ništa nije spomenuo. Većinom, Njemci su bili uvijek korektni prema nama.

Putujući iz Dusseldorf-a za Berlin, 2007 sam svratila do Willroth-a. Toranj bivšeg rudnika, i sada već pomalo utihnute tvornice, se nazirao s autoputa. Zgrade do tvornice, u kojima su baka i djeda živjeli, namjenski izgrađene za gostujuće radnike, i danas su nastanjene sa radnicima iz Turske, Albanije i svih dijelova bivše Jugoslavije. Tvornica i dalje proizvodi autodjelove, ali kažu - proizvodnja je smanjena. Muzej djeluje još stariji, nije bio otvoren za posjetioce, mislim da je bio vikend kada smo svratili, a tabla sa informacijama zahrđala. Na mjestu motela koji se zvao 'Gasthaus', u kojem je baka radila, se nalazila nova, blistava Shell benzinska pumpa, i šareni McDonalds.



My grandfather told me recently that he remembers the miners who were working with him: 'they were older than us, and we did not talk much with them. Very soon they all went into pension. But there were those who would complain about us, usually when they were drunk, saying that we foreigners have ruined their work places. When one of them said this, my boss told him off, and he never said anything like that since. Overall, the majority of Germans were very fair with us.

While travelling from Dusseldorf to Berlin, in 2007, I dropped by the village where they lived and worked. The tall tower of the former mine could be seen from the motorway. The Georg Grube factory is still producing parts for the car industry, but they say, the production is reduced. The Museum looks even older, it was not open to the visitors, it must have been Sunday when I came by. Blocks of flats, purposely built for the factory workers, were still inhabited by the workers from Turkey, Albania and the former Yugoslavia. In the place of the Motel where my grandmother worked, which was aptly named 'Guesthouse', a shiny new Shell petrol station stood, and a colourful McDonald's.

—

The classic questions which every migrant faces are twofold: 'Why are you here?' and 'When are you going back home?' No migrant ever knows the answer to the second question until asked. Only then does she or he know that really, in the deep sense, she/he's never going back. Migration is a one way trip. There is no home to go back to. There never was.

— Stuart Hall, *Identity the Real Me, Postmodernisms and the question of identity*, 1987.

—

*In this text are included fragments of the material that makes up an installation *Guests*, which is set up as a working room, inviting an engagement and labour akin to the traditional archive research: visitors (guests) are asked to handle transparencies and files, in order to activate the content within. The material can be viewed in any order, freeing the image and text from the constraints of the linear form, and opening possibilities of multiple interpretations, with the hope of unsettling the authorial and historical economy within the work.*



Klasično pitanje s' kojim se svaki migrant mora suočiti je: 'Zašto si ovdje?' i 'Kada ćeš se vratiti?' Niti jedan migrant ne zna odgovor na drugo pitanje dok ga netko ne pita. Samo tad ona ili on zna da se neće nikada vratiti. Migracija je put u jednom pravcu. Nema više doma kojem se može vratiti. Nije nikada postojao.

— Stuart Hall, *Identity the Real Me, Postmodernisms and the question of identity*, 1987.

—

U ovom tekstu su fragmenti materijala koji čine arhiv-instalaciju 'Gosti', postavljenu kao radni/istraživačka soba u prostoru nekadašnje fabrike Čajevec u Banja Luci. Ohrabrujući aktivno angažiranje slično tradicionalnom arhivskom istraživanju, posjetioci (gosti) su pozvani da biraju materijal koji će gledati i čitati, da bi aktivirali sadržaj u tekstovima i slikama. Materijal se može gledati u bilo kojem redosljedu, oslobađajući sliku i tekst od sprega linearne forme, otvarajući mogućnost različitih interpretacija, i uznemiravajući autorsku i istorijsku ekonomiju u radu.

—

Voljela bih se zahvaliti slijedećim osobama koje su podijelile svoja lična iskustva i sjećanja i na taj način omogućile stvaranje ovog rada, i produbljivanje razumijevanja migracijskog stanja 'trenutačnosti'.

Bosiljka Schedlich, Mira Renka, Monika Mattes, Gordana U., Jana K., Marija C., Ana H., Vinka i Djuro B., Ljiljana R., Mileva S., Smilja S., Jela B., Milojka N., Dragica F., Danica P., Zlata R., Jula P., Zorka M., Gospodja Rustić, baka Marija i djed Vinko.

www.guestworkerberlin.blogspot.com



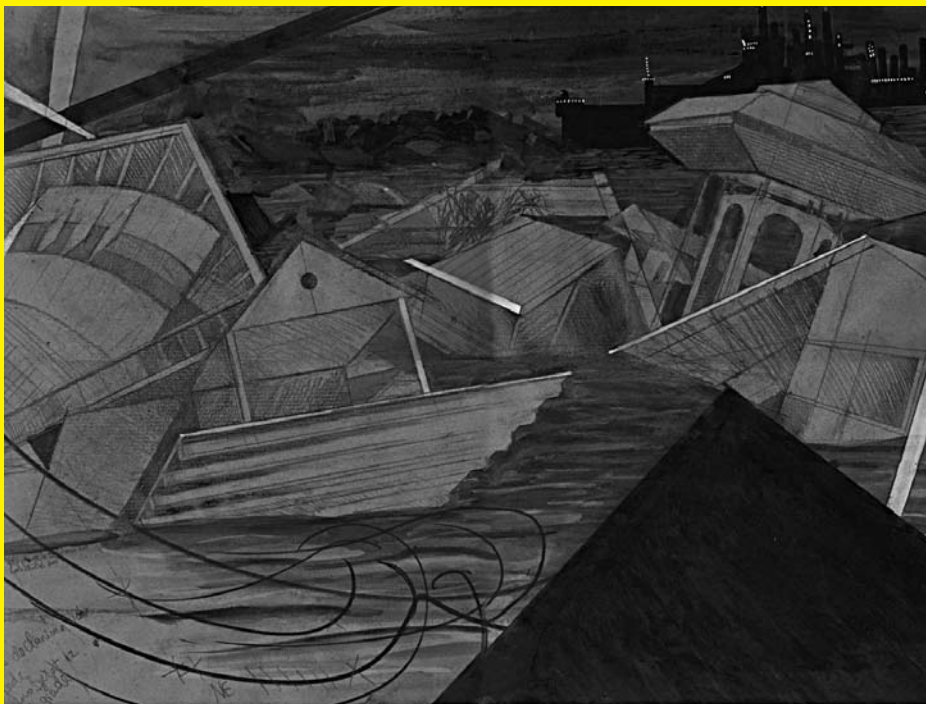
I would like to thank the following individuals who have shared their personal and professional experience, memories, documents and photographs, enabling me to make this work, and deepening my understanding of migratory temporality. Bosiljka Schedlich, Mira Renka, Monika Mattes, Gordana U., Jana K., Marija C., Ana H., Vinka i Djuro B., Ljiljana R., Mileva S., Smilja S., Jela B., Milojka N., Dragica F., Danica P., Zlata R., Jula P., Zorka M., Gospodja Rustić, grandmother Marija and grandfather Vinko.

www.guestworkerberlin.blogspot.com

Photo: TJ







Lala Raščić

PROKLETA BRANA

Video instalacija, crteži, video dokumentacija razgovora
2010.

Prokleta brana polazi od stvarnog događaja emitiranja radio drame *Katastrofa* koja je u bosanskom mjestu Lukavcu izazvala efekt *Rata svjetova* Orsona Wellesa. U svojoj izvedbi, Lala Raščić smješta radnju u 2027. godinu. Priča se gradi oko Tarika, mladog inženjera i Merime, njegove ljube, te nadolazeće poplave. Stanovnici Lukavca će biti spašeni od poplave jedino ako emitiraju radio dramu *Katastrofa* iz 2000. godine. Motiv poplave nastao je na temelju Lalinih istraživanja stvarnih lokacija i događaja u regiji, objedinjenih u umjetničke objekte, video instalacije, zvučne zapise, blog i performanse kao dio ovog modularnog projekta. S obzirom na narativne strategije koje umjetnica koristi u svom radu, *Prokleta brana* se oslanja na

DAMNED DAM

Video installation, drawings, video documentation of discussions
2010

Damned Dam was inspired by a true story, namely the broadcasting of a radio drama *Catastrophe*, which, in the Bosnian village of Lukavac, had an effect comparable to Orson Welles's *War of the Worlds*. In her version, Lala Raščić sets the plot to 2027. The story evolves around a young engineer named Tarik and his beloved Merima, as well as the oncoming flood. The inhabitants of Lukavac will be saved only if they broadcast the radio drama *Catastrophe* from 2000. The motif of flood resulted from Lala's research on the actual localities and events in the region, assembled into art object, video installations, sound recordings, a blog, and performances, which all form part of this modular project. Regarding the narrative strategies that the artist has

bosanskohercegovačku tradiciju usmene književnosti. Na temelju izučavanja tradicionalnih formi, Raščić pripovijeda fantastičnu ljubavnu priču s društveno-političkim konotacijama. Performans i dokumentarna struktura rada *Prokleta brana* otvara teme: ikonografije katastrofe, komunikacije sa tradicijom, romantizacije i kultivacije katastrofe, odnosa kapitalizma i korupcije, uzroka i posljedice, nade u bolju budućnost, posljedičnog odnosa sadašnjosti i budućnosti, emancipacije, socijalne pravde, eskapizma u fikciji, regije na margini, brane - granice, brane kao metafore.

— Ir & Asja Hafner

used in her work, *Damned Dam* relies on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian tradition of oral literature. Based on her research of traditional forms, Raščić narrates a fantastic love story with social and political connotations. The performance, and documentary structure of this artwork, open up numerous issues, such as the iconography of disaster, communication with the tradition, romanticizing and cultivating the topos of catastrophe, the relationship between capitalism and corruption, between cause and effect, hope for a brighter future and the consequential relationship between the past and the future, emancipation and justice, social justice, escapism into fiction, the region on its margins, dam - border, Bosnian epic poetry - epic of the border and the dam as a metaphor.

— Ir & Asja Hafner

RADIO DRAMA *KATASTROFA*

2008. sam od svog brata Arslana čula interesantnu priču. Ekipe progresivnih radio emitera je napisala, producirala i na frekvenciji Radio Lukavca emitirala uznemirujuću radio dramu *Katastrofa*, u kojoj je inscenirano pucanje lokalne brane. Emitiranje ove radio drame natjeralo je brojne stanovnike Lukavca na bijeg u brda. Istražujem taj događaj i počinjem graditi umjetnički projekt na temelju priče za koju sam ranije vjerovala da je samo urbana legenda.

Razmišljala sam o prošlosti. Istraživala sam odnose u jačini reakcija na radio drame *Rat svijetova* Orsona Wellesa iz 1938. i *Katastrofa* iz 2000. Zaključila sam da je lukavačka radio drama ipak imala silniji odjek i prouzročila pravu paniku među ljudima, dok je Wellesova senzacija bila više napuhana kroz medije nego što je prouzročila iskrenu zabrinutost građanstva. Wellesova radio drama, na početku ere razvoja masovnih medija manje je uznemirila ljude nego jedna radio drama emitirana u doba baroka mass medija i tehnološkog napretka u polju razmjene informacija i komunikacije.

Razmišljala sam o izolaciji, neznanju, naivnosti. Orwellijanskom konstantnom stanju rata... I o narodu – masi koju se održava neinformiranom, antagoniziranom...

RADIO DRAMA *CATASTROPHE*

In 2008 my brother Arslan told me an interesting story. A team of progressive radio producers at Radio Lukavac wrote and broadcast a disturbing radio drama, entitled *Catastrophe*, about the breaking of the local dam. The broadcast caused numerous inhabitants of the town to start running for the hills.

I began exploring this event and soon started working on an art project, based on the story for which, up to that point, I believed was merely an urban legend. I thought about the past. I researched the relations between the intensity of reactions to the radio drama *War of the Worlds* from 1938 and *Catastrophe* from 2000. I concluded that the Lukavac radio drama actually caused a stronger reaction and real panic among the people, while Welles' sensation was more overblown in the media, rather than causing real worries among the citizens. Welles' radio drama, dating from the beginning of the era of the development of mass media, caused less panic than a radio drama broadcast in the 'baroque' of the mass media and technological development in the field of exchange of information and communication.

I thought isolation, ignorance, naivete. The Orwellian constant state of war... And the people – the masses, who are kept uninformed, antagonized, ...

Panika zbog radio-drame!

SARAJEVO, 8. ožujka – Radioteleviziji iz gradića Lukavac pored Tuzle uspjelo je ponoviti nešto slično onome što je George Orwell učinio s radio-dramom »Rat svjetova« prije više od pola stoljeća. Doduše, ovoga puta nije bilo riječi o iskrcavanju vanzemaljaca na Zemlju, već o pucanju vodene brane Modrac, no strah i panika koji su osjetili Lukavčani bio je sličan onome što su ga tijekom emitiranja Orwellove drame osjetili brojni Amerikanci.

Naime, zbog emitiranja radio-drame »Katastrofa« u programu RTV Lukavac, u kojoj je izrežirano spomenuto pucanje brane, obustavljena je nastava u lokalnoj Osnovnoj školi i Srednjoškolskom centru, a radnici u više poduzeća su prije isteka radnog vremena poslani kućama.

»Nitko nije očekivao da će emitiranje drame 'Katastrofa' izazvati takvu paniku među građanima«, izjavio je direktor RTV Lukavac Zijad Sejdinović, koji se ispričao slušateljima. Inače, kako piše sarajevski tisak, Sejdinović i urednik postaje Šemsudin Smajlović imali su informativne razgovore s policijom oko ovog slučaja. (Alenko Zornija)



EP

Moje zanimanje za ep proizilazi iz fascinacije epskim pjevačem. Usmeno komponiranje epa dešava se u trenutku izvedbe, performansa. Pjevač barata sa fondom tema, likova i jezičnih formula koje koristi u trenu izvedbe. Pjevajući u desetercu pjevač niže formule koje čupa iz bogatog fundusa pounutrene tradicije koja se uči od malena. Ritam deseterca omogućuje pjevaču da niže stihove, da "kiti" pjesmu, ponekad je kiteći po nekoliko dana. *Storytelling par excellence*. Obrađujući teme koje su od životne važnosti za zajednicu, ep govori u ime svih njezinih članova koji kroz epsko pjesništvo čuvaju svijest o vlastitom identitetu. Obično prati sudbinu jednog junaka, bavi se njegovim junačkim djelima i javno ih pokazuje.

THE EPIC

My interest in the epic stems from the fascination with the epic singer. The oral composition of an epic happens in the moment of performance. The singer has at his disposal a body of topics, characters and language patterns that he uses at the moment of performance. Singing in the decasyllable, the singer lines up formulae that he retrieves from a rich body of internalized tradition that he has been taught since childhood. The rhythm of the decasyllable enables the singer to compose verses, to □decorate□ the song, which sometimes lasts for several days. *Storytelling par excellence*. Dealing with the topics that are of crucial importance for the community, the epic speaks in the name of all its members who, through epic poetry, nurture the consciousness of their identity. It usually follows the destiny of one hero, publicly presenting his heroic deeds.



EPSKI PJEVAČ

Epski pjevač mora imati na umu publiku. Zato se pjesme moraju ograničiti, prilagoditi za usmenu izvedbu i auditivno praćenje. Usmeni stvaralac pamti samo fabulu, tekst improvizira uz pomoć epskih tehnika – formula, obrazaca. Pjesma nastaje svaki put kada se izvodi i zato je svaka verzija autentična. Tekst postoji tek apstraktno, virtualno, kao potencijal koji se prenosi u budućnost.

THE EPIC SINGER

The epic singer has to keep in mind his audience. The songs need to be limited, adapted for a vocal performance and listening. The oral performer memorizes only the plot, while the text is improvised through the use of epic techniques – formulae and patterns. The song is born anew by each performance, which makes each version an authentic one. The text exists only in an abstract sense, as a potential that is relegated to the future.



Fig. 29 Awdio Medjedovitch, peasant farmer, is the finest singer the expedition encountered. His poems reached as many as fifteen thousand lines. A veritable Yugoslav Homer!

POZITIVNA CENZURA

Publika je bitan akter u održavanju i formiranju epske tradicije, a može funkcionirati i kao potencijalni pripovjedač. Teme, junaci, pjesme koje nailaze na podršku tadašnje publike opstaju. Loši pjevači, nevjerodostojene ili dosadne pjesme se dočekuju s negodovanjem. To organsko pročišćavanje usmene predaje od strane publike se naziva *pozitivna cenzura*.

POSITIVE CENSORSHIP

The audience is an important factor in maintaining and forming an epic tradition, and it can also function as a potential narrator. Topics, heroes and songs that meet the approval of the audience are those that remain. Bad singers, unreliable or boring songs are met with disapproval. The term for such organic cleansing of the oral tradition with the audience being the filter is called *positive censorship*.



PITANJE ŽANRA

Ep je fokusiran na junaka i njegovo junaštvo koje se dešava u javnom prostoru. Moja priča o Tariku i Merimi više sličí na tranzitornu epsko–lirsku formu, na baladu ili romansu, premda uviđam da me upravo ta sjecišta zanimaju.

THE QUESTION OF GENRE

The epic is focused on the hero and the heroic deeds happening in public space. My story about Tarik and Merima is more like a transitory epic–lyrical form, a ballad or romance, although I realize that what I'm actually interested in are these intersections.

–

MOJ STORYTELLING

Napustila sam ideje o desetercu. Napustila sam ideju o epskom žanru. Moj *storytelling* nije direktni nastavak bosansko–hercegovačke usmene tradicije; njome je inspiriran, posuđuje od nje i igra se s njom. Moja izvedba komunicira s tom tradicijom na osnovu sestrinske empatije univerzalnog iskustva usmene naracije, preko granica i generacija. Moja izvedba je pak nešto drugo, u drugom vremenu, drugom prostoru i s drugom svrhom.

Komuniciram sa tradicijom, preko vizije bućnosti – utemeljene na osobnoj percepciji: sadašnjosti.

MY STORYTELLING

I abandoned the idea of the decasyllable. I abandoned the idea of the epic genre. My storytelling is not the direct continuation of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian oral tradition; it is inspired by it, it borrows from it, and plays with it. My performance communicates with this tradition on the basis of a sisterlike empathy for the universal experience of oral tradition, across borders and generations. My performance is something else, in another time, another space, and with a different purpose.

I communicate with tradition, through a vision of the future – based on a personal perception of: reality.



ZAGREB

Prokleta brana se prelila preko granica BiH. Tarik i Merima putuju u Zagreb na poziv Urbanfestivala 2009. Tema festivala je Granica. Mjesto održavanja: obale Save.

Sa Sonjom, jednom od organizatorica festivala, zaputih se prema slapovima na Savi, o kojima mi je ranije pričala. Prije toplane počinje nešto što bi najbolje mogla karakterizirati kao odlagalište građevinskog otpada. Voda teče preko gromada betona. U blizini velike cijevi iz koje suklja otpadna voda iz toplane srećemo ribara. To je samo rekreacija, govori nam. "Može li se što uloviti?" - "Kako da ne!" odgovara. "Govori se da gradonačelnik Bandić hoće ovdje na slapovima napraviti sportsko–rekreacijski centar. Rafting i sve!"

Slapovi Save su zapravo brzaci Save. Bili bi idealni za rafting da nema te opasne armature i grubog betona. Tradicija epske geografije mi nalaže da ih i dalje zovem slapovima, dok potencijal za izgradnju sportsko-rekreativnog centra budućnosti nalaže da zagrebačku epizodu romanse o Tariku i Merimi nazovem "Rekreativni potop".

Tijekom istraživanja za tkanje "narativa u nastajanju" projekta *Prokleta brana* u sklopu Urbanfestivala 09 odvijao se i projekt *Sava Svima*. Koristim dio njihovog istraživanja, a osobito me inspiriraju stare fotografije koje svjedoče o tradiciji rekreacije na obalama Save, članak o drvenoj modernističkoj zgradi veslačkog kluba "Uskok" arhitekta A. Ulricha iz 1932. i priče o čestim poplavama Save prije izgradnje nasipa.

Razmišljam o budućnosti Save u kojoj se pojavljuju moji likovi Tarik i Merima. Nakon poplave u Lukavcu oni dolaze u Zagreb i zapošljavaju se u sportsko–rekreativnom centru koji je izgrađen na lokalitetu "Slapova Save".

ZAGREB

Damned Dam crosses the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tarik and Merima are travelling to Zagreb, on the invitation of the Urbanfestival 2009. The topic of the festival: Border. Place: banks of the Sava river.

Sonja, one of the organizers of the festival, takes me for a walk to the Sava waterfalls, which she told me about earlier. Before we reach the heating plant, we encounter what could best be described as the building material waste disposal site. Water runs across huge chunks of concrete. Next to a large outlet pipe, discharging the waste water from the plant, we meet a fisherman. It's just recreation, he says.

□ Can you actually catch something here? □ - □ Yes, of course! □, he replies. □ There's word that the mayor Bandić wants to build a sports-recreational center here. With rafting and all! □

The Sava waterfalls are actually rapids. They would be ideal for rafting if it there weren't for the dangerous iron construction and the rough concrete. The tradition of epic geography requires that I still call them waterfalls, while the potential to build the sports-recreational center of the future gives me the idea to call the Zagreb episode of the Tarik and Merima romance "Recreational flood".

During my research for weaving the "ongoing narrative" for the project *Damned Dam*, another project in the framework of Urbanfestival 09 was presented – *The Sava to Everyone*. I used part of their research and was especially inspired by the old photographs witnessing the tradition of recreation on the Sava banks, an article about the 1932 wooden modernist building of the "Uskok" rowing club by architect A. Ulrich, and the stories about the frequent flooding of the Sava, before the construction of the dam.

I'm thinking about the future of the Sava in which my characters Tarik and Merima appear. After the flood in Lukavac, they will come to Zagreb and get a job at the sports and recreation center, built at the "Sava waterfalls".



PRVA IZVEDBA

Performans *Rekreativni potop* izveden je na obalama Save u Zagrebu 1.10.2009. u sklopu *Urbanfestivala*. U tradiciji epskog pjevanja odlučujem se okušati u usmenom komponiranju – postati u istom času i spisateljica i performerica. Izvorno sam ga zamislila kao neku vrstu javnog čitanja scenarija, međutim, prerastao je usmeno pripovijedanje priče publici. Bez čitanja. Morala sam ipak organizirati svoje misli i tijekom narativa, te sam sebi pripremila natuknice koje sam držala u ruci tijekom preformansa u svitku. Iako ih nisam konzultirala, bile su tu kao neka vrsta oslonca, sigurnosti. Kao i čašica rakije koju sam držala u istoj ruci.

THE FIRST PERFORMANCE

Recreational Flood was performed on the Sava banks in Zagreb on October 1 2009, in the framework of the Urbanfestival. Following the tradition of epic singing, I decide to try the technique of oral composition – to become simultaneously a writer and performer. I originally imagined it as a form of public script reading, but it grew into an oral storytelling. Without reading. I still had to organize my thoughts and the sequence of the narrative, so I prepared a series of notes that I held in a scroll during the performance. Although I didn't consult them, they were there as a sort of crutch, security. As well as the glass of grapa that I held in the same hand.



BEOGRAD

Dio narativa o Tariku i Merimi odvija se u Beogradu. Tarik i Merima stižu u grad i nalaze poslove vezane za rijeku – Savu i Dunav. Faza istraživanja u Beogradu otpočinje 7.04. Stižem u Beograd i nalazim se sa Markom iz Kontekst Galerije. Krećemo sa šetnjom od Zemuna, Marko me brzinski upućuje u povijesti Zemuna i Beograda, dok šetamo niz Kej Oslobođenja. Nailazimo i na prve splavove. Veći su uglavnom ugostiteljski objekti, tu i tamo na kojem manjem splavu je nečija vikendica. Zadivljena sam raznolikošću oblika i veličina splavova, zadivljena sam stilskim ekperimentima, ni jedan splav ne liči na drugi. Očigledno je da su se vlasnici potrudili dati svojim splavovima vrišteće identitete.

BELGRADE

A part of the narrative on Tarik and Merima happens in Belgrade. Tarik and Merima arrive in the city and find jobs related to the Sava and Danube rivers. The Belgrade research phase begins on April 7, when I arrive in the city and meet Marko from the Context Gallery. We start the walk from Zemun; Marko gives me a quick introduction to the history of Zemun and Belgrade, as we walk down the Liberation Quay. We reach the first rafts. The bigger ones are mostly bars and restaurants, and the rare smaller ones are private weekend houses. I'm impressed by the variety of the shapes and sizes of the rafts, by the experiments in style – not a single raft resembles another. It's obvious that the owners tried to give their rafts blatant identities.



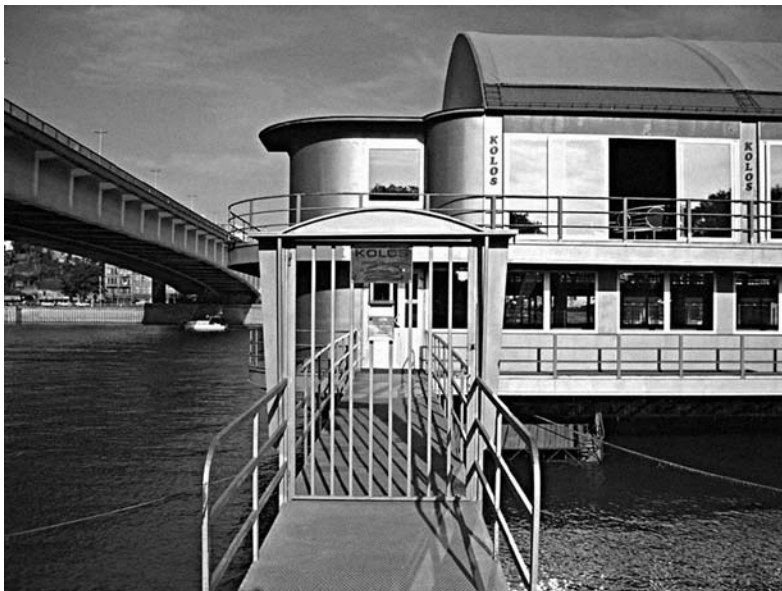
Ada Međica je od 60-ih godina regulirana kao Udruženje građana koji su se samo-organizirali i na ovom otoku počeli dizati svoje sojenice. S vremenom, kako obale rijeke postaju sve popularnije, regulacije za gradnju se sve manje i manje poštuju. To je dovelo do gužvanja splavova kao i dizanju *nouveau-riche* vikendica-splavova koje narušavaju skladni ambijent skromnih plovnih objekata.

Međica Ait has since the sixties been organized as an association of citizens who self-organized and started building their houses on stilts. With time, as the banks of the river have become more and more popular, construction regulations are less and less respected. This has led to crowding of the rafts and the rise of the *nouveau-riche* raft-cottages that disturb the harmonious environment of the humble floating objects.



Cijela obala Save i Dunava izgleda kao potencijalni rudnik zlata u nekretninama, centar grada, na rijeci. Pitam se kako to da taj dio grada nije odavno izgrađen, preuređen, iskorišten? Moji su mi sugovornici spomenuli nekoliko zanimljivih tema po tom pitanju: Europolis ("Treći Beograd") – plan proširenja grada na lijevu obalu Dunava; Kolos – najveći splav na Balkanu, čiji je vlasnik, nakon niza mafijaških spletki, počinio samoubojstvo; Delta Holding – firma koja drži monopol nad raznim interesantnim nekretninama i projektima.

The whole length of the Sava and Danube banks look like potential real-estate goldmines, the center of the city on a river. I wonder why this part of the city hasn't long since been built, renovated and exploited? My interlocutors have mentioned a couple of interesting subjects regarding my question: Europolis (□the Third Belgrade□) – the plan of expanding the city on the left Danube bank; Kolos – the biggest raft on the Balkans, whose owner, after a series of mafia deals, committed suicide; Delta Holding – the company that has monopoly over numerous interesting real-estate ventures and projects.



DRUGA IZVEDBA

Izvedba *Proklete brane* u Beogradu je održana 19.10.2010. u 19h u Malom klubu Akademija u organizaciji Kontekst Galerije.

Izdvojena na podiju od svoje malobrojne publike, ostvarila sam komunikaciju koja je kulminirala kada se nakon ispriповijedane priče, meni na pozornici pridružio kolega Ivan Grubanov. On je spontano osjetio potrebu da moderira i potakne diskusiju na koju sam apelirala. Kako su moja pitanja nailazila na tišinu, smatrao je da umjetnička gesta "neposrednosti" na koju sam se odvažila zaslužuje svojevrstni reciprocitet od publike. Hvala mu. Hvala svima koji su njegove komentare prihvatili kao povod da mi postave pitanja, da se angažiraju.

Kroz kratkotrajno iskustvo izvođenja ovog rada postaje očito da moj narativ, metoda i proces otvaraju višestruke rukavce za diskusiju. Kako je rad još uvijek u momentu razvoja i aktualizacije, prihvatam prijedlog Antonije Majača da diskusija nakon izvedbe ili povodom izvedbe postane sastavni dio ovog projekta.

SECOND PERFORMANCE

The performance of *Damned Dam* took place in Belgrade, October 19, 2010 at 7 pm at the Academy's Small Club, organized by the Context Gallery.

Separated from my audience by the stage, I managed to create a communication that reached its peak when, after I told the story, my colleague Ivan Grubanov joined me on the stage. He spontaneously felt the need to moderate and encourage discussion that I wished to happen. When my questions reached a wall of silence, he felt that the artistic gesture of □directness□ that I dared to expose myself to deserved the reciprocal response from the audience. Thank you Ivan! And thanks to everyone who accepted his comments as an invitation to ask me questions and become engaged.

Throughout the short experience of performing this piece, it becomes obvious that my narrative, methodology and process, open up multiple streams for discussion. As the work is still in the moment of development and actualization, I accept the proposal of Antonia Majača to keep the discussion after the performance an integral part of the project.



LUKAVAC

Koliko god se tvrdi da je brana faktički neuništiva, svejedno su generacije Lukavčana živjele sa znanjem da ona možda može jednog dana da pukne. Nakon rata te svijesti je nestalo, osim u mašti autora radio drame *Katastofa*. U doba kada je drama emitirana, 2000. godine, bilo je poznato da je sanacija brane preko potrebna, no radovi još nisu bili ni otpočeli. Kad sam u svibnju posjetila branu, sreća sam timove radnika koji su neumorno radili na učvršćivanju brane. Možda je radio drama zapravo bila uspješan apel nadležnim organima da se prihvati posla i ubrza proces sanacije.

LUKAVAC

As much as it was claimed that the dam was actually indestructible, generations of Lukavac inhabitants have nonetheless lived with the knowledge that one day it might break. After the war, this awareness has been reduced, except in the imaginations of the authors of the *Catastrophe* radio drama. At the time when the radio drama was broadcast, in 2000, people knew that the renovation of the dam was more than necessary, although the works hadn't even begun yet. When I visited the dam in May, I met teams of workers who worked diligently on strengthening the dam. Maybe the radio drama was, in the end, an actually successful appeal to the authorities to finally get down to work and speed up the process of renovation.

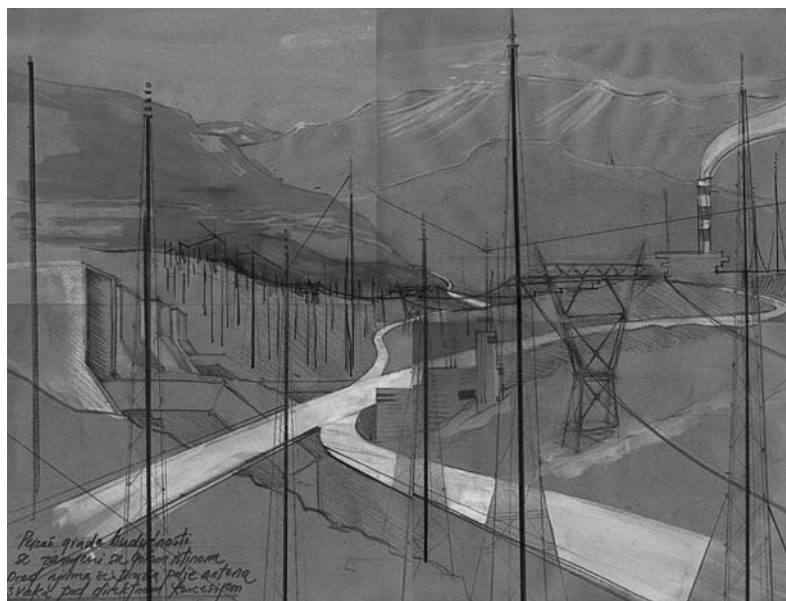


ŽIVOT KAO KONSTANTNA ANTICIPACIJA KATASTROFE

Interesantno mi je razmišljati o životu sa konstantnom anticipacijom katastrofe. Svi bi se trebali složiti da nam katastrofa visi nad glavom. Naša katastrofa je pak apstraktna, može bit elementarna, može biti nukleana, može biti ratna. Kod Lukavčana je potpuno vidljiva, brana je nadomak mjesta. Njihova potencijalna katastrofa je čak i izučena i grafički reprezentirana markerima. Svejedno ona postaje zaboravljena, potisnuta, zanemarena do te mjere da prelazi u apstrakciju. Potencijalna katastrofa kojoj je kao i betonu prošao rok trajanja.

LIFE AS A CONSTANT ANTICIPATION OF DISASTER

I find it interesting to think of life with constant anticipation of disaster. Everyone should agree that disaster is looming above our heads. It is abstract, it can be an elementary disaster, a nuclear one, or war. To the inhabitants of Lukavac, it is fully visible, since the dam is just next to the town. Their potential disaster is even studied in detail and graphically represented my markers. Nevertheless, it becomes forgotten, repressed, neglected, so that finally it transforms into abstraction. A potential disaster whose lifetime expectancy has passed, just like that of the concrete.



PREMIJERA - SARAJEVO

Došao je i taj dan da objavim premijernu izvedbu "finalnog" oblika *Proklete brane u sklopu 3 proklete utopije: 3 narativna performansa Lale Raščić*. Od 26 – 28. 09. 2010. sam tri dana za redom izvodila performanse *Prokleta brana, Put u kutiji i Individualne utopije*. Mjesto održavanja: Zvono, Hamdije Kreševljakovića 17, Sarajevo.

THE PREMIERE - SARAJEVO

It is finally time for me to announce the premiere performance of the □final□ version of *Damned Dam, in the framework of 3 damned utopias: 3 narrative performances of Lala Raščić*. From 26 to 29 September 2010, I performed three performances in three days in a row: *Damned Dam, Travel in a Box and Individual Utopias*. Place: Zvono cafe, Hamdije Kreševljakovića 17, Sarajevo.



Povodom projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* izvela sam u Sarajevu još jednom performans *Prokleta brana*, 14.10.2010, u SCCA, nakon čega je uslijedio i razgovor o projektu. Sretna sam da imam priliku pokazati ovaj rad u kontekstu ovog projekta. Sve su to neki radovi u nastanku, svi smo negdje na pola procesa i ranjivi kako i naziv ovog projekta govori. Možda moje tapkanje u mraku, i stalni proces istraživanja u radu *Proklete brane*, neće izgledati tako brutalno kao dosad.

In the framework of the project *Where Everything is Yet to Happen* I performed *Damned Dam* once more in Sarajevo, on 14 October 2010, at SCCA, followed by a discussion on the project. I'm happy to have the opportunity to show this work in the context of this project. It includes many other works in process, we are all somewhere only half-way there, vulnerable, as the title of the exhibition indicates. Maybe my own searching in the dark, and the constant process of research within *Damned Dam*, won't seem as brutal as it has so far.

—

BANJA LUKA

Performans sam, u okviru istog projekta, izvela i na otvaranju izložbe *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi: Izloženosti*, u Banja Luci, 31. oktobra, 2010, gdje je rad prikazan i u formi instalacije na izložbi. Malo je reći da mi je suradnja sa kustosicama Ivanom Bago i Antoniom Majačom na mojoj banjalučkoj, fragmentarnoj prezentaciji projekta *Prokleta brana* bila jako korisna u smislu razvoja cijelog projekta. Diskusije koje se odvijaju poslije storytellinga su mi podarile neka iskustva i saznanja koje sam uspjela da asimiliram u svoj rad u nastajanju. Organski razvoj umjetničkog projekta.

BANJA LUKA

I did another performance of *Damned Dam* in the framework of the same project, at the opening of *Where Everything is Yet to Happen* in Banja Luka, on 31 October 2010, where the work was also shown in the form of installation at the exhibition. It is an understatement to say that the collaboration with the curators Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača on my Banja Luka, fragmentary presentation of the *Damned Dam* project, was very useful for the development of the entire project. The discussions happening after the storytelling gave me experiences and insights that I managed to incorporate in my work in progress. An organic development of an art project.



Performans uživo je jedna forma, pretvaranje istog u video rad ga transportira u potpuno drugi svijet. Moram priznati, a neki će se složiti sa mnom, da mogu izvući više iz svoje izvedbe u kontroliranoj situaciji repeticija pred kamerom. Video *Prokleta brana* dokumentira izvođenje pripovijetke na brani Modrac. Fiksiranjem narativa zaokružuje se priča o Tariku i Merimi, branama, poplavama, Savi, Dunavu, Spreči, regiji, budućnosti i proklesoj utopiji.

Live performance is one form, while transforming it into a video work transports it to a completely new world. I must admit, and some will surely agree, that I can get more from my performance in a controlled situation of repetitions in front of a camera. The video *Damned Dam* documents the storytelling performance at the Modrac dam. By fixing the narrative of Tarik and Merima, of the dams, floods, the rivers Sava, Danube and Spreča, of the region, the future and the damned utopia.

—

Lala Raščić, isječci postova na blogu <http://prokletabrana.net/> koji predstavlja javni radni arhiv umjetnice i dokumentaciju svih faza nastanka projekta *Prokleta brana*.

Lala Raščić, excerpts from the posts on the blog <http://prokletabrana.net/> which presents a public working archive of the artist and a documentation of all phases of the development of the project *Damned Dam*.

The year is 2



6. Merima wakes up as they are washed up on shore. She recognizes the Sava Rapids Recreational Center. She has done business with them. Hiding Tarik, she convinces the director of the Center to hire her as a manager. In turn she gets Tarik hired as a rafting instructor. The layout of the sports center is described. The arrival of Slovenian extreme sportsmen is narrated and the story seems to be going fine until the dam guarding the Center starts to crumble.

A dialog between the mayor and his assistant follows.

They manage to save the Slovenian sportsmen from death by assembling them all on a barge. The barge washes up on top of the hill used by the center as a paragliding polygon.

Tired of the constant flooding Tarik and Merima mount a parachute and set off, over the tower blocks of New Zagreb, into the sunset, towards a brighter future.

He falls
impeding
Merima
The two
negligent
In order



5. Tarik and Merima resurface in Belgrade, now called Europolis, as a couple in love.

Remembering the fairy's advice Tarik seeks out his cousin Janja.

Janja works on a raft on the river Sava and gets them jobs. The three of them conceal their relationship from the boss and work out a successful system of stealing from the bars and the cash registers on the disco raft.

By accident they meet the generous Mr. Ilko who helps them get settled in his hut on a flood island surrounded by a floating shantytown on the rivers in between the Old Town, New Belgrade and Third Belgrade.

Description of the history of the shantytown and its structures follow.

Realizing a big flood wave is coming, Tarik and Merima hurry home to warn Mr. Ilko. They get home in time by running through a secret underground corridor connecting Zemun and Kalemegdan.

They manage to warn their neighbors but they find themselves again on their raft, the flood wave washing them downstream.

4. The river Spreča runs their raft into a huge highway. It is Corridor 5c, the fifth pan-European corridor.

Tarik and Merima converse about their future plans.

She is impressed at how Tarik lost his stutter and warms to him. She now trusts him fully and loves him as a close friend. He is satisfied.

After they climb up on the highway, the narrative loses track of them for the next two years. Their whereabouts during that time are unknown.

Speculations are that they made their way up to Russia following Corridor 5c.

4

This map gives the outline of an orally interpreted story, a part of a project entitled:

The Damned Dam

The project is supported by:

Ministry of Culture of Croatia; Kontekst Gallery; Belgrade;

SCCA, Surajevo; BLOK, Zagreb.

<http://prokletabrana.net>

Lala Rašić, 2010.

LAJA RAŠIĆ

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Merima still rejects
While she is asleep
Tarik and advises h
Tarik asks the fairy
sink Merima to the
"She was proud, bu
powers," the fairy sa
Angered, Tarik yells
the lake.
As dawn breaks the
stutters no more.

ZLOŽENOSTI

2027...

2. Tarik sees Merima on the streets of Lukavac and remembers his first love as they met as children in 2000. Tarik recalls the events of that day when a spoof audio drama about The Dam breaking was broadcast on the radio.

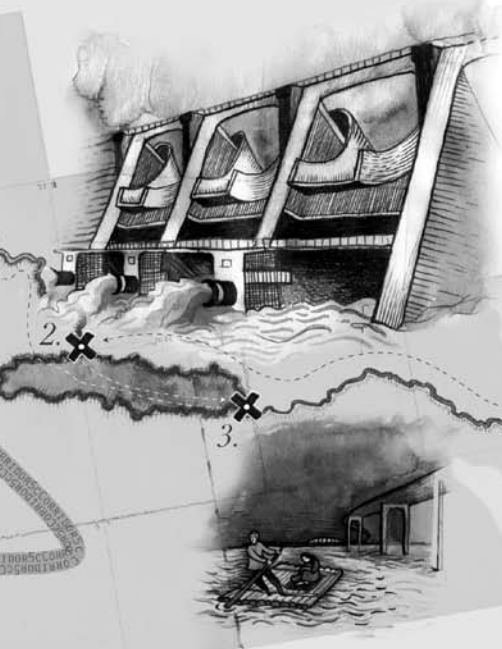
in love again but is unsuccessful in wooing her as he has a speech impediment and is just a worker at The Dam.

meanwhile, gets a new job, again with a U.S. company;

of them are brought together by a work-related issue, when, due to ice, The Dam starts crumbling.

to save the citizens of Lukavac from death by flood, they join forces and broadcast the audio drama of 2000. All are saved except Merima's grandmother.

Merima is grief stricken.



3. Without anything left in the world Tarik and Merima set off on a raft over the lake hoping to start over somewhere else.

Tarik's stuttering expressions of love.

the lake fairy, known as the White Woman, appears to him to seek out his cousin Janja in Belgrade.

to cure his speech problem. The fairy suggests that they bottom of the lake and that she take Merima's place.

it is now without anything, while I have my magic days.

out a curse, banishing the fairy to the dark bottom of

y float into a river and he finds that he

Tarik's efforts of winning Merima's affection have just been interrupted by a catastrophe...

The land is transversed by Corridor 5c. Power lines and fast highways criss-cross the country.

The administration's sole concern is the exploitation of hydro-energetic sources.

Many segments of life have fallen into oblivion, including the monitoring of The Dam.

Constructed in the past to supply now-obsolete industries with water, and neglected for years, The Dam breaks during heavy rains.

Follow our heroes over the geography through which the epic romance of Tarik and Merima takes place.

1. Merima loses her job in Sarajevo. Lamenting her fate, she calls her grandmother in Lukavac and cries. Her grandmother tells Merima to return home and describes the beauty of the nature, since all the industry Merima remembers from childhood has died away:

As Merima travels to Lukavac the landscape she sees out of the window is described: the buildings, protruding antennas and power lines, the deserted landscape.

Merima remembers her father, a professor of literature at the University of Tuzla, and the day in 2000 when he decided to move his family out of Lukavac, after a spoof broadcast of an audio drama about The Dam breaking.

She again laments her fate, dreading small town life and the isolation of its inhabitants.



Sandra Dukić & Boris Glamočanin

LJUBIJA UBIJA

Multimedijalna instalacija i intervencija
u javnom prostoru
2010.

Ubija! (lokalni sleng): izraz koji ima pozitivnu konotaciju, a ima značenje "rastura, razbija ili u bukvalnom smislu - ubija", npr. "Dodik ubija!", "Država ubija!", "LJUBIJA UBIJA!"

Osnova života Ljubije danas je rudnik. Rudnik je glavna tema svih priča u Ljubiji i u pokretanju ponovne proizvodnje stanovnici vide potencijalni spas za ovu sredinu. Ljubijska livnica kroz proizvodnju šahtova ušla je u sve gradove regiona i tako nas zaštitila od svih "sranja" koja se nalaze ispod nas i za koja ne želimo znati. Intervencijom u javnom prostoru, markiranjem i obilježavanjem šahtova po glavnom gradu RS Banja Luci, koji su napravljeni u livnici Ljubija, skreće se pažnja na zaboravljene sredine naseljene marginaliziranim ljudima na rubu egzistencije, na periferiji RS. Šaht, predmet koji služi kao zaštita za kanalizacijske rupe, poslužio nam je kao simbol Ljubije danas.

LJUBIJA UBIJA (LJUBIJA KILLS)

Multimedia installation and installation
in public space
2010

That kills! (local slang): an expression with positive connotations, meaning "rad, kicks ass, or literally - kills", e.g. "Dodik kills!", "The state kills", "LJUBIJA KILLS!"

Life in Ljubija today depends on its mine. It is the main topic of all stories in Ljubija and its reopening is considered by the inhabitants of the region as a possible way out of the crisis. Manhole covers produced in its foundry are present in all towns of the region, protecting us from all the "shit" that sits down there below us and that we don't want to know anything about. The intervention in public space by marking and mapping all manhole covers in Banja Luka, the capital of Republika Srpska, draws attention to the forgotten regions, inhabited by marginalized people that barely make it from one day to another, living at the periphery of RS.

Ovdje govorimo o "društvenoj kanalizaciji" za koju neko danas mora biti odgovoran.

Šaht mat je intervencija u javnom prostoru, postavljena na više mjesta u gradu, na mjestima gdje se obično nalaze šahtovi.

Ljubija ubija je zvučna instalacija u prostoru, izmješten šaht iz javnog prostora u galerijski prostor, zamišljen kao stol za četiri osobe.

Ne čujem i ne vidim je akcija koja je zamišljena kao pomoć ženama iz Ljubije - dizajnirani upotrebnii predmeti - pokrivala za oči i uši koji se na otvaranju izložbe kao i svakog dana do zatvaranja mogu kupiti i time se donira pomoć ženama u Ljubiji. Ručno štrikani predmeti rukama žena iz Ljubije su simboličan prikaz stanja društva zaboravljenih sredina. Na predmetima se nalazi zaštitni grb grada, ujedno i logo rudnika.

— sd & bg

The manhole cover, an object that serves to protect the entry into the sewage, is here a symbol of Ljubija today. We refer to the "social sewage", for which someone must be called to account.

Checkmate (a pun on the similarity between *šaht* = manhole cover and *šah* = chess, translator's note) is an intervention in public space, placed on several localities in the city, in places where manhole covers are commonly found.

Ljubija Kills is a sound installation in space, a manhole cover dislocated from public space into the space of the gallery and transformed into a dining table for four.

I Don't Hear, I Don't See is an action intended to help the women of Ljubija. It consists of designer covers for eyes and ears that can be bought at the exhibition from its opening until the end, whereby the profit will be donated to the women of Ljubija. These hand-knitted objects, produced by the women themselves, are symbols of the state of the society in these forgotten regions. All of them contain the town's emblem, which is also the logo of the mine.

— sd & bg



Sandra Dukić, Boris Glamočanin:
Ljubija ubija, s prezentacije projekta /
Ljubija kills, from the presentation of the
project.

Photo: TI





Renata Poljak

VELIKA OČEKIVANJA

Video, transfer s 16mm filma
17 min
2005.

Film simptomatičnog naslova *Velika očekivanja*, prati transformacije urbanog krajolika – rezultate masovne izgradnje i građevinskog nasilja na hrvatskoj obali tijekom zadnja dva desetljeća. Istovremeno, umjetnica rekonstruira razvoj i transformaciju tog nasilja u vlastitoj sredini, od ratnog nasilja do nasilja divljeg kapitalizma kroz osobnu, rodno svjesnu perspektivu. Renata to čini istražujući tri generacije iste patrijarhalne obitelji u tradicionalnoj dalmatinskoj sredini. Često groteskna arhitektura koju umjetnica promatra zapravo je prefiguracija erektivnog, šovinističkog hrvatskog društva u kojemu se dominacija patrijarhalne nuklearne strukture ogleda u akumulaciji nasilne intruzije u prirodni i urbani okoliš.

Ovo dvostruko kodiranje usmjerava narativ ispunjen ikonografijom tranzicijske arogancije, pohlepe i post ratnih društvenih trauma. Jednako tako film se dotiče novo uspostavljene 'moralnosti' nove nacionalne države i nerijetko pervertiranih načina koji-

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Video, transfer from a 16mm film
17 min
2005

This film with a telling title *Great Expectations* tracks the transformations of an urban landscape, which have resulted from mass construction and architectural violence on the Croatian coast during the past two decades. At the same time, the artist has reconstructed the evolution and transformation of that violence in her own midst, from wartime violence to that of wild capitalism, in her personal, gender-conscious perspective. Renata does that by investigating three generations of the same patriarchal family living in a traditional Dalmatian setting. The often grotesque architecture that the artist observes is actually a prefiguration of the erective, chauvinist Croatian society, in which the dominance of patriarchal nuclear structure is mirrored in the accumulation of violent intrusion into natural and urban environment.

This double encoding directs the narration, filled with the iconography of transitional arrogance, greed, and post-war

ma se u magli ratnog i post-ratnog bogaćenja ostvaruje projekt 'normalizacije' i pripajanja kapitalističkom 'progresivnom' zapadu. Implementacija nekritički usvojenih modela 'napretka' u ovim zemljama, dvadesetak godina od uspostave nacija država ne stvara uvijete za istinsku društvenu transformaciju, društvo suočeno sa vlastitom prošlosti već zastaje na velikim očekivanjima koja i dalje definiraju društveni i individualni imaginarij.

- DeLve

Ko-produkcija: Camera Lucida (Paris) Hrvatski filmski savez (Zagreb)
 podržali: Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC) La Procirep
 L'ANGO - AGICOA, Ministarstvo kulture RH, uz sudjelovanje TV
 France 2.
 Direktor fotografije: Jean-Louis Vialard A.F.C.

social traumas. In a similar way, the film tackles the newly established "morality" of the new national state and often perverted ways in which the project of "normalization" and adhesion to the capitalist, "progressive" West is realized in the haze of profit hunt during and after the war. Implementation of uncritically adopted models of "progress" in these countries, twenty years after the establishing of nation states, does not create conditions for a genuine social transformation, while the society, facing its own past, is already stuck with its great expectations, which continue to define its societal and individual imagery.

- DeLve

Co-production: Camera Lucida (Paris) and Croatian Cinema Association (Zagreb)
 Sponsored by: Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC) La Procirep L'ANGO - AGICOA, Croatian Ministry of Culture, with participation of TV France 2.
 Director of photography: Jean-Louis Vialard A.F.C.

Nakon što sam deset godina promatrala arhitektonsko nasilje, po otocima i kopnu u 'novoj Hrvatskoj', sa novim bogatašima i novom generacijom "pravih" ljudi proizašlih iz rata, ideju za 'Velika očekivanja' uspjela sam na poslijetku artikulirati krajem 2004., u Amsterdamu, nakon četiri mjeseca provedena u Bolu na Braču.

U Bolu, za kojeg sam emotivno i geografski oduvijek vezana, uglavnom sam provodila ljeta, a te sam se godine nekako zadržala te ostala tamo čitav rujan, listopad i studeni.

Sudjelovala sam u jematvama, u prazninama otočkog mjesta i činilo se da ništa nisam radila. Vrijeme je prolazilo, kako valjda prolazi na otocima, čineći nas svjesnima svake minute koja bi mogla biti dosadna. Međutim, stapanje sa prirodom i ritam te mirne praznine dovode do stanja uma u kojem vrijeme više nije urbana kategorija, ne mjeri se sastancima, gužvom, ponedjeljkom, utorkom... Iako me ništa "konkretno" tamo nije zadržavalo ja te godine nisam mogla otići s otoka. Zlatni Rat – kilometar i pol duga plaža na kojoj sam čitala Virginiju Wolf, u malom mjestu, na malom otoku, u maloj zemlji, stopljena sa prirodom, sama u beskrajnom pejzažu. Obožavala sam te kontradikcije i senzacije kroz koje sam prolazila na otoku. Sve više me boljela nova izgradnja u tom pejzažu.

Nakon što mi je partner gotovo pod ultimatumom kupio avionsku kartu, otišla sam u Amsterdam i nakon 3 dana napisala scenariji za 'Velika očekivanja'. Dislokacija i drugi kontekst; okruženje prijateljima umjetnicima/umjetnicama, muzejima i drugim radovima, a s iskustvom promatranja u Bolu, pomogli su artikulaciji ideje za film; jedna familija, muška loza. Kroz osobno iskustvo, kao i često u mojim radovima, pokušati oslikati širi društveni kontekst. Jer politika, rat, geografija, familija - sve je u meni, oko mene pa onda i u mom radu. Najkraći sinopsis u jednoj rečenici bi mogao izgledati ovako: 'Velika očekivanja' će se baviti temom različitih vrsta nasilja koja iz jedne generacije u drugu, u istoj muškoj lozi, mijenja svoju formu pod utjecajem socijalno-političkog konteksta.

I) Otac od Kroja

Prošlo svršeno vrijeme – Socijalistička Jugoslavija (do moje 17-te godine). U filmu "priča" o didi tj. njegovoj socijalističkoj generaciji, o njemu kao direktoru tvornice. Njemu osobno "dodjeljujem" prvo nasilje – ono emotivno, pričajući o vremenu od 1950-tih do 1970-tih u Jugoslaviji, o njegovom *macho* svijetu u kojem dvije "pišulje", od kojih je jedna moja mama, prethode rađanju dugo čekanoj sina – nasljednika – Kroja (Kralja na hrvatskom).

Rodi se, ljudi! Rodi se, Rodi se kroi!

The King Is Born! - objavljuje moja nona kad se rađa moj barba u malom selu u dalmatinskoj zagori. U selu gdje se zna što rade muškarci a što rade žene.

II) Kroj

Barba, rođen pod tim pritiskom velikih očekivanja u promjeni sistema iz socijalizma u divlji kapitalizam postaje jako uspješan (u financijskom smislu) za vrijeme i odmah nakon rata.

To je vrijeme druge generacije, druga polovina 1990-tih, odmah nakon rata; drugi politički sistem, drugi sistem vrijednosti, novi mentalitet koji se u filmu oslikava u novo izgrađenim kućama koje kao odijela odaju ukuse i socijalni status vlasnika.

Filmska vožnja kuća u izgradnji, neurbaniziranih novo nastalih naselja,

After having observed the architectural violence on both the islands and the coast of “the new Croatia” for ten years, with new rich people and a new generation of the “right” people, all byproducts of the war, I could finally articulate my idea for “Great Expectations”. It happened in Amsterdam in 2004, following my four-month stay in Bol, a small town located on the Island of Brač.

It was in Bol, a town I have always had emotional and geographical connection to, where I spent my summers and that year in particular I had stayed for the whole of September, October and November.

I took part in handpicking grapes during the harvest and was caught in the monotony you can always find in small places, so it seemed as though I was not doing anything.

Time was passing slowly, as it always does on islands I suppose, making you aware of every minute of potential boredom. However, becoming one with nature and the rhythm of the island and its steady calm, brings your mind to a state in which measuring time through urban categories such as meetings, the rush, Mondays and Tuesdays doesn't exist. Although I had no “real” reasons to stay there for so long, I just couldn't force myself to leave the island that year. *Zlatni rat* (Golden Horn) is a kilometer and a half long beach on which I read Virginia Wolf. It is located in a small place on a small island of a small country. There, I became closer to being one with nature, standing alone in the endless scenery. I adored the contradictions and sensations I was able to find on the island. The development of new buildings irritated me more and more.

When my partner bought me a plane ticket and sent it with sort of an ultimatum, I flew to Amsterdam and three days after that, I wrote the script for *Great Expectations*. The dislocation and being in a different context, being surrounded by artists, friends, museums and artworks, together with my experience of observing from Bol, all helped me to articulate the initial idea for the film: “one family, one male blood line”. Through my own experience, as is often the case in my work, I tried to portray a wider social context. Politics, war, geography, and family - it is all in me and around me, so it finds its way to my work as well. The shortest one-sentence summary would look something like this: *Great Expectations* deals with the subject of violence inherited through the male line in one family, but the kind of violence that changes its form from one generation to the next due to different socio-political contexts.

1) Kroj's (King's) Father

The Past Simple Tense – Socialist Yugoslavia (till the time I was 17). The film talks about my grandfather, that is, about the socialist generation and him as the CEO of a factory at that time. I assign to him the emotional violence – referring to the 1950's and the 1970's in Yugoslavia and the macho world he lived in, in which these two ‘pisulje’ (a derogatory term for girls in the Dalmatian dialect) (one of whom was my mother) precede the birth of his long awaited son: Kroj (meaning “king” in this Croatian dialect).

He's is born! He's is born! Kroj is born!

The King Is Born! – My nana announced when my *barba* (master of the house, my mother's brother) was born in a small village in Dalmatian Zagora, a village in which men and women know their places well.

kaosa koji me u tom pejzažu Dalmacije (kopna i otoka) podsjeća konstantno na karijes koji nikad neće proći već će boljeti, biti sve tamniji i s vremenom se sve više širiti.

Kroj između ostalog, i između ostalih, gradi i kuću u Bolu na Braču, ispred kuće svoje sestre (moje mame). Malu vikend kuću koja onda malo naraste i zakloni našu, potpuno. Gotovo! Sa našeg balkona do njihovog krova ima cca 10-15 cm. Mama mi kaže: Ne brini dušo i ne pretjeruj, ovako će nam barem biti hlad! To podržava i njena sestra, obje starije sestre od Kroja. Količina ženske namjerne gluposti u pravdanju muške agresije je također nešto što se provlači cijelim filmom. Arhitektonsko nasilje je nasilje druge generaciju ove iste muške loze, u drugom političkom sistemu (sad kapitalizmu), u zemlji koja se sad drugačije zove (Hrvatska). Arhitektonsko nasilje predstavlja centralni dio filma i ogleda se sada u mom novom pogledu; umjesto na nebo, more i daleke otoke, sada je to pogled na crveni krov, odmah tu, 10 cm ispred, zid od kupa.

Da se ne brinem kažu, nema veze, to je i onako samo za par mjeseci ljeti... A onda akumulirajućih godina, ali o tome nitko ne govori. To nije bitno, sačuvajmo mir u familiji, ne reci ništa, nasmiješi se i zaboravit ćeš, naviknut ćeš se. Ne znam kako kad ta kuća daje konstantnu sjenu i hladno je i zimi se više ne može doći. Eto pa i ne dolazimo, a i onako nismo baš često ni išli, nego samo ljeti a ti (ja) ono malo zimi. Šta će ti to? Bolje ti je Splitu, kaže mama i tako vrijeme ide. Poslijeratno vrijeme prolazi, divlji tranzicijski kapitalizam postaje okrutni neoliberalni kapitalizam, generalna atmosfera u zemlji, novih generacija je više na strani novih materijalnih vrijednosti, obrazovanje više nije u modi; biznis i zarađivanje što više novca šta brže, bez obzira na posljedice je "in". Jer intelektualci su siromašni i nitko ih ne razumije i ovako i onako.

III) Krojev sin

Treća generacija iste muške loze. Prvo rođeni sin (ima ih tri – dok se nije rodila djevojčica – kraljica) postaje *skinhead* i borbeni navijač *Torcide* (splitskoga kluba Hajduk). Svida mu se to, osjeća se jak i moćan, pametan, Hrvat, bijeli nacionalista ćelave glave. Mamina sestra mi kaže: Ma nije ti on *skinhead*, ne zna on šta to znači, on misli da je to kao *Snikers* (čokolada). Svi se smiju – osim mene. Negacija problema je fantastična. U filmu, trećoj generaciji iste muške loze pripada "fizičko" nasilje; acident u Dugopolju – grupa navijača iz Splita protiv grupe navijača iz Zagreba - sukobljavaju se kod Dugopolja, zapalili su živog čovjeka u autu.

I onda....

Godine prolaze, na sve se navikavamo. Gotovinina slika stoji na Dioklecijanovu zidu, ratni zločinci u Haagu se proglašavaju zaštitnicima i herojima u Hrvatskoj, njihove slike su svagdje, nasmiješeni, u uniformi, stoje i štite Hrvate i novu Hrvatsku i novi joj pripadajući mentalitet.

Moj rođak više nije *skinhead*, sada ima 25 godina i lijepo je zaposlen u tatinom poduzeću u Zagrebu i najdraže mu je kada zna da je u pravu (nakon što sve dobro provjeri) da ide i da viče na zaposlenike koji su po hijerarhiji ispod njega ali koji imaju 40 ili 50 godina. Provjeri, još jednom provjeri i onda ide, viče i uživa...

o o o

Zvuk za film koji sam radila u suradnji s Ramuntchom Mattaom jedan je od meni najdražih aspekata filma 'Velika očekivanja'. Želja mi je od početka bila da cijeli film ima i zvuk kao poveznicu koji bi povezao tri generacije muške loze i dodao još jedno čitanje. Činilo mi se nepotrebno da zvuk govori isto što i slika i glas u

Barba, born in the time of great expectations and the change from socialism to wild capitalism, becomes very successful (financially) during and right after the war. It was the time of the second generation, in the second half of the 90's, right after the war, in a different political system and a changed system of values. This new mentality is reflected in the movie with newly built houses which match the tastes and social statuses of their owners. All the new houses being constructed, new neighborhoods and the chaos of this newly arisen landscape in Dalmatia (on the islands and the land) reminded me of a dental cavity that will only become more painful, darker and will spread in time. My uncle, the Kroj, among other things and among other people, builds a house on Bol, in front of his sister's (my mother's) house. A small lodge that little by little become so big it cuts off the view from our house completely. Done! There was approximately 10 to 15 centimeters from our balcony to their roof. My mother said to me: "Don't worry honey and don't exaggerate, this way we at least get some shade!" Her sister, older than her, also supports this, even though they are both Kroj's seniors. The amount of intentional absurdity that women will embrace in order to justify male aggression is present throughout the movie. Architectural violence is the violence of the second generation of the same male line in a new political system (now capitalism) in a country with a new name (Croatia). Architectural violence represents the central part of the film and is reflected in my modified 'view': from looking at the sky, the sea and the islands to looking into a red tile roof, right there, 10 centimeters away... They tell me not to worry, *it doesn't matter, it is just for those couple of summer months per year...* But then years accumulate without anyone ever saying anything. *It's not important, we should keep the peace in the family, do not say anything, you will forget about it, you'll get used to it.* I just don't know how to get used to it, when the house creates a constant shadow and it is cold inside because of it and you cannot visit during winter anymore. *So we don't go during winter months, it's not like we used to visit a lot anyway, it was just over the summer, and only you (meaning me) visited for short periods over the winter. Why do you even visit then? You are better off in Split in winter anyway* says my mother and repeats the same story for a while...

Then the postwar time comes and the wild transitional capitalism transforms itself into a neoliberal one. The overall atmosphere in the country, especially among the new generations, is one of new material values; the education is no longer 'in', doing business and making as much money as possible, as quickly as possible, not caring about the consequences is "in", because - intellectuals are poor and no one gets them anyway...

III) Kroj's son

The third generation of the same male line. The firstborn son (there are three sons, until a girl is born the queen) becomes a Skinhead and a fierce supporter of Torcida (fans of Hajduk Split, a Croatian football club). He likes it; it makes him feel strong, powerful and smart. A Croat, a white bald headed nationalist. My mother's sister tells me: "He's not really a Skinhead he doesn't know what that means. He thinks its like Snickers (the candy bar)." Everyone laughs at this, but me. Their absolute negation of the problem is fascinating. In the movie, this third generation incorporates the "physical" violence; during an incident in Dugopolje they lit a man in a car on fire (a group of football supporters from Split fought against the supporters from Zagreb).

And then....

off-u, trebao mi je još jedan aspekt. Ramuntcho je odmah shvatio film i aspekt koji mi je nedostajao. U četrnaestoj minuti filma pojavljuje se scena u kojoj se spaljuje automobil (u trećoj generaciji – fizičko nasilje). Zvuk koji čujemo tokom cijelog filma se u toj sceni otkriva. Naime zvuk laganog pucketanje vatre nas prati, uz moj glas u *off-u* i ambijentalni zvuk, od samog početka filma. Uz to nejednako pucketanje, scene filmske vožnje po novo izgrađenim kućama postaju scene arhitektonskog nasilja. Vatra se koristi i kao konceptualni okvir za film – kao simbol okupljanja porodice oko vatre u prvotnoj zajednici pa do vatre kao simbola destrukcije.

Jean Luis Vilard (snimatelj) inzistira na nošenju svog rasklopnog kрана iz Pariza jer je lagan i uvijek može zatrebati. Tako nastaje meni jedna od najdražih scena filma, kada s kranom snimamo iz očiju naratorice (mojih očiju) sadašnji pogled sa balkona, na sada jedino moguće - crveni krov ispred. Zahvaljujući tehnici kрана kamera tj. pogled, polako se diže, kamera nadilazi krov, otvara pogleda na ono što je tu prije bilo: plavo more s nasuprotnim otocima. Kran se zatim ponovo spušta, vraća u moju realnost – nasilje pred našim očima.



Years go by and we get used to everything. There is a picture of general Gotovina on the Diocletian's Wall; war criminals in Haag are considered protectors and heroes in Croatia. Their pictures are everywhere, smiling and in uniform, standing there, protecting Croatia and the new Croatia and the new mentality that goes with it.

My cousin is no longer a Skinhead. He's 25 years old now and has a nice job in his dad's firm in Zagreb and likes to be right more than anything (after he double-checks everything), so he can go and yell at the employees who are under him and at least twice his age. He checks everything and then checks it once more and then goes on to yell and enjoy himself.

• • •

The sound for the movie was done in collaboration with Ramuntcho Matt and represents one of my favorite aspects of the movie. My wish from the beginning was to have a sound that can link the three generations of the same male line together and add another dimension to it. It seemed redundant to me for the sound to just convey the same message as the images and the narration, so I wanted to add an additional aspect. Ramuntcho understood the movie from the start as well as its missing aspect. In the fourteenth minute of the movie there is a scene in which a car is being put on fire (in the third generation i.e. the physical violence). The sound one can hear throughout the movie reveals itself in that one scene. From the first minute of the film, aside from my voice and the ambient sound, there is a fire crackling sound in the background. The scenes of driving around the newly built houses (the architectural violence) are also accompanied by this uneven fire crackling sound. Fire is used as a conceptual framework for the movie; from being a symbol of family gatherings in prehistoric times it here it symbolizes destruction.

Jean Luis Vilard (cameraman) insisted on carrying his crane from Paris with him, because *it is light and one never knows when they might need it*. We used it to shoot one of my favorite scenes in *Great Expectations* – the view from the narrator's eyes level (my eyes level) from the balcony to the only thing that can still be seen from it, the red roof. Thanks to the camera on the crane the view reappeared above the roof, showing what used to be seen from the balcony before, the blue sea and the islands on the other side. The crane then descends again, back to my reality- to the violence before my eyes.

— translated to English by Jelena Bajić



Abart, Mostar (Anja Bogojević & Amila Puzić)
u suradnji s / in collaboration with DeLve

ISTRAŽIVAČKI ARHIV
"NOGOMET METAFORA
ŽIVOTA?"

Radionica, seminar, multimedijalna instalacija

Nogomet metafora života? predstavlja istraživački projekt u okviru kojeg se dogodilo nekoliko različitih aktivnosti: istraživački proces i radionica sa studentima/ icama sa Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Mostaru i Nastavničkog fakulteta Univerziteta "Džemal Bijedić", jednodnevni seminar i dokumentarna izložba na kojoj su prikazani materijali sakupljeni kroz istraživački proces/radionicu. Seminar je zamišljen kao završna aktivnost projekta, i njegov cilj je bio da se kroz predavanja, prezentaciju dokumentarnog materijala i javnu diskusiju na jednom mjestu objedine i prikažu rezultati istraživanja, te da se pokuša

RESEARCH ARCHIVE
"FOOTBALL - A METAPHOR
FOR LIFE?"

Workshop, seminar, multimedia installation

Football - A Metaphor for Life? is a research project encompassing a number of different activities. The first was a research carried out by the students of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Mostar, and the Faculty of Pedagogy at "Džemal Bijedić" University. It was envisioned as a workshop including a one-day seminar and a documentary exhibition where all the materials gathered during the research process/workshop could be presented. The seminar was intended as the final activity of the project, with an aim of unifying and presenting the results of research in one place through lectures, presentation of the documentary materials, and a public discussion. The purpose was to help develop

razviti nova perspektiva u promišljanju na temu konstituiranja kolektivnih identiteta navijačke subkulture mladih koji se, prije svega, prepoznaju i ogledaju u ritualnim navijačkim izvedbama i manifestacijama simboličkog, a nerijetko i zbiljskog nasilja. Format projekta *Nogomet metafora života?*, kao i svih pojedinačnih aktivnosti unutar njega edukativno je koncipiran, s intencijom da se kroz seminar analizira i interpretira subkultura mladih navijačkih skupina u kontekstu bosanskohercegovačke socio-političke situacije, te da se uz komparativnu analizu primjera iz Hrvatske pokuša detektirati koliko često i pod kojim okolnostima manifestacije simboličkog nasilja eskaliraju u zbiljsko.

S obzirom da je relacija sporta, navijačke subkulture i nasilja ekstremnih navijačkih skupina neodvojiva od društvenog i političkog konteksta, ovaj istraživački projekt, zamišljen je kao platforma za kritičku refleksiju sadašnjosti i imaginaciju budućnosti u kojoj se ... *sve tek treba dogoditi*, te tek ukazuje na potrebu da se ove fenomene počne sustavno preispitivati, promišljati i diskutirati s aspekta različitih društvenih znanosti i disciplina.

— ab & ap

a new perspective in reflecting upon the subject of constructing collective identities in the youth subculture of soccer fans, which are primarily identified in and reflected as ritual performances and manifestations of the symbolic and often actual violence. The format of the project and of all individual activities that it consisted of were envisioned in didactic terms, with an intention of analyzing and interpreting the subculture of young fan clubs in the context of Bosnian and Herzegovinian socio-political situation, as well as using the comparative analysis of relevant examples from Croatia in order to detect how often and in what circumstances these manifestations of symbolic violence escalate in an actual one.

Considering the fact that the relationship between sport, fan subculture, and violence of extremist fan clubs is inseparable from their social and political context, this research project was conceived as a platform for critical reflection on the present and for imagining the future in which ... *everything is yet to happen*. It also indicates the need of conducting a systematic research on these phenomena, as well as their analysis and discussion from the angle of various social sciences and disciplines.

— ab & ap

1) Polazišta

Nogomet metafora života? istraživački je projekt realiziran kroz različite aktivnosti: jednomjesečnu radionicu sa studentima/icama Univerziteta "Džemal Bijedić" i Sveučilišta u Mostaru ¹–, jednodnevni seminar i dokumentarnu izložbu na kojoj su prikazani materijali nastali tokom istraživačkog procesa. Format projekta, kao i svih pojedinačnih aktivnosti unutar njega, edukativno je koncipiran s primarnom namjerom da se kroz njega analiziraju i interpretiraju subkulture mladih navijačkih skupina u kontekstu bosanskohercegovačke socio-političke situacije, te razvije nova perspektiva na konstituiranje kolektivnih identiteta kroz navijačke rituale i manifestacije simboličkog, a nerijetko i zbiljskog nasilja. Neke od polazišnih točaka u koncipiranju projekta bile su sljedeće:

- Navijači sebe smatraju "dvanaestim igračem" koji direktno sudjeluje u igri, utječe na njen tok i bez koga, na koncu, ta igra ne bi bila moguća. Emocionalno se identificiraju s klubom za koji navijaju, izjednačavajući ga s regijom, gradom, vjerskom i nacionalnom pripadnosti. Stoga navijačku subkulturu mladih promatramo kao Subjekt koji navijanje za određeni klub koristi kao Objekt za formiranje kolektivnog identiteta.

- Navijačka skupina ne predstavlja koherentu i homogenu tvorevinu - unutar nje se izdvajaju najaktivniji navijači koji kolektivno i manje-više organizirano iniciraju bodrenje i druge navijačke aktivnosti, pokušavajući na taj način utjecati na ostale navijače i publiku da prihvati njihove modele ponašanja. ²–

- Do devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, a u velikoj mjeri i danas, rock, pop i druga glazba, uz navijanje na sportskim stadionima, tvorili su one dominirajuće, najučestalije podloge i posredovanja mladim ljudima za stvaranje subkulturnih stilova života. ³– Reprezent ovakve subkulture jeste *navijač iz trenda* ⁴– na čijem smo stilu i modelu ponašanja zasnovali ovo istraživanje. ⁵–

Modeli ponašanja savremenih nogometnih navijača, u okviru kojih promatramo *navijače iz trenda*, ukazuju na činjenicu da ove navijačke skupine u prvi plan ne stavljaju pružanje podrške momčadi, već su prije svega usredotočeni na ritualno izražavanje grupne identifikacije.

Promatramo li i definiramo spomenutu navijačku skupinu kao masu, u onom smislu u kojem je o masi pisao Elias Canetti u knjizi *Masa i moć* (Canetti 2008), onda navijački ritual koji je od strane jedne skupine navijača usmjeren prema van, možemo smatrati jednom vrstom želje ili težnje da se izade iz zat-

¹ Univerzitet "Džemal Bijedić" je pod bošnjačkom, dok je 'Sveučilište' u Mostaru pod hrvatskom ingerencijom.

² Već samim pogledom na dijelove tribina gdje se te skupine nalaze, moguće je uočiti kako izrazitu većinu njihovih članova čine mladi, stoga možemo primijetiti da one predstavljaju tipični omladinski fenomeni koji funkcionira kao zasebna subkultura.

³ Perasović, Benjamin. 2001. *Urbana plemena - sociologija subkultura u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, str.11.

⁴ Lalić (1993.) u studiji *Torcida - pogled iznutra* pronalazi četiri tipa navijača; "navijač-navijač", "navijač iz trenda", "navijač-nasilnik" i "navijač-politički aktivist".

⁵ U Mostaru su aktivne dvije navijačke subkulture - Ultras i Red Army. Navijača iz trenda u kontekstu dvaju lokalnih navijačkih skupina možemo prepoznati na osnovu vizualnog identiteta koji proizlazi iz nacionalne pripadnosti kao primarnog sredstva deklariranja i postajanja navijačem. Analizom lokalnih navijačkih subkultura detaljnije ćemo se baviti u nastavku teksta.

1) Points of departure

Football a metaphor for life? is a research project conducted through various activities: a one-month workshop for students of Džemal Bijedić University and Mostar University ¹ and a one-day seminar and a documentary exhibition at which materials created during the research process were shown. The format of the project and all the individual activities within it are educationally conceived, the primary intention being to use the project to analyse and interpret the subcultures of young supporters' clubs in the context of the Bosnia and Herzegovina socio-political situation and to develop a new perspective on the constitution of collective identities through supporter rituals and events of symbolic and also quite frequently actual violence. Some of the premises for the conception of the project are as follows.

- Supporters consider themselves a twelfth man that directly takes part in the game, has an effect on its course and without whom in the end the game would be impossible. They identify emotionally with the club they support, identify it with region, city and religious and ethnic affiliation. Thus we look at the supporters' subculture of the young as Subject that uses its support for a given club as Object for the formation of the collective identity.
- A supporters' group does not comprise a coherent and homogenous construct – within one the most active supporters stand out, those who collectively and in a more or less organised manner initiate the cheering and other supporters' activities, endeavouring by so doing to affect the other supporters (fans) and the public to accept their model of behaviour. ²
- Up to the 1990s, and to a large extent today, rock, pop and other music, along with supporters' activities at sports stadiums created the dominant and most frequent bases for and mediators of the creation of subculture styles of life for the young. ³ A representative of this kind of subculture is the supporter who follows the trend, ⁴ on whose style and behaviour-model we based this research. ⁵

Models of behaviour of contemporary soccer supporters, within the frame of which we watch trend-following supporters, show that these supporters' groups do not primarily focus on providing support for the team, rather are focused primarily on the ritual expression of group identification.

If we look at and define the said group as a crowd, in the sense used by

¹ Džemal Bijedić University is under the authority of the Bosniak part, while Mostar University is controlled by the Croatian entity.

² Lalić (1993) in the study *Torcida – pogled iznutra* [Torcida – view from inside], finds four types of supporter: the pure supporter, the trendy supporter, the hooligan supporter and the political activist supporter.

³ In Mostar there are two active supporters' subcultures – the Ultras and the Red Army. In the context of the two local supporters' groups can be recognised pursuant to the visual identity that stems from belonging to an ethnic group as primary means of declaring oneself and becoming a supporter. The sequel of the text will deal with a more detailed analysis of the local supporters' subcultures.

⁴ A mere glance at the part of the stands where these groups are located will reveal that a marked majority of their members consists of the young, which means we can consider them a typical youth phenomenon that functions as a separate subculture.

⁵ Perasović, Benjamin. 2001. *Urbana plemena – sociologija subkultura u Hrvatskoj* [Urban Tribes – sociology of subcultures in Croatia]. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, p.11.

vorenog okvira, tj. da se probiju zadate granice. "Izlaženjem iz okvira", zatvorena navijačka skupina počinje da se ogleda u drugoj, što predstavlja njen osnovni cilj, jer je njena održivost uvjetovana postojanjem druge skupine - one se međusobno održavaju i komentiraju. Stoga se može pretpostaviti kako je navijački ritual usmjeren prema van - prema javnosti i on se ne može održati bez specifičnih oblika komunikacije s igračima na terenu, drugim dijelovima publike, a osobito bez suparničke navijačke skupine.

Navijačkim skupinama, dakle, treba određeni ritualni model ponašanja, jer se on može iščitavati kao san o obnovi kolektivnog identiteta i kolektivnog pripadanja. Ne radi se o ritualu i njegovoj manifestaciji u izvornom - metafizičkom obliku i smislu, nego o simboličkom ponavljanju ritualnih radnji koje se sada smiještaju u kontekst savremenog, neoliberalnog društva zadobivajući nova značenja.

Nasilje čini jedan od osnovnih konstitutivnih elemenata fenomena ekstremnog navijanja i pripadajućeg subkulturnog stila. Ono je višestruko uvjetovano i raspršeno na različitim nivoima suparništva i rivalstva, a od presudnog su značaja specifične društvene okolnosti koje diktiraju prirodu tog nasilja. Od njih, dakle, zavisi da li će biti riječ o simboličkom ili stvarnom nasilju.

II) Lokalni kontekst

U nogometu se stvari kompliciraju zbog prisustva drugog kluba.
(Jean Paul Sartre)

Nasilje simboličnog karaktera prevladava kada dominiraju klupska ili grupna rivalstva, tj. rivalstva karakteristična za sport, dok stvarna nasilja prevladavaju u situacijama kada se ističu nacionalna i politička rivalstva, odnosno rivalstva koja se referiraju na širi društveni okvir, što je u Bosni i Hercegovini najčešći slučaj. Perasović (2001) smatra kako je u skladu sa subkulturnom teorijom simboličke agresije moguće ustvrditi da navijačko nasilje, gledano u cjelini, u većoj mjeri ima simbolički nego stvarni/realni karakter, premda u kontekstu istraživanja i analiziranja bosanskohercegovačkih navijačkih skupina ne možemo isključiti primjere u kojima je simboličko navijačko nasilje poprimilo zbiljski karakter.

Bosna i Hercegovina je specifična i nekoherentna socio-politička zajednica, podijeljena na tri naroda/nacionalnosti. U Mostaru je ta specifičnost, zbog transparentne podijeljenosti grada osobito izražena. Ovakva situacija pogoduje i osnažuje agresivnost navijačkog ponašanja. Postoji ipak i nepisani kodeks ponašanja na tribinama i izvan njih, premda najaktivniji pripadnici lokalnih navijačkih skupina *Ultras* i *Red Army* napominju da ih se većina navijača ne pridržava.

Od navijača smo saznali da će uvijek stati na stranu svojih rivala kada su u sukobu s policijom, a kada se radi o međusobnim sukobima nepisano je pravilo da se ne upotrebljava vatreno oružje ili noževi, dok se palice i baklje toleriraju. No, stvarni događaji i zabilježeni primjeri zbiljskog nasilja među lokalnim navijačkim skupinama pokazatelji su kako se u praksi ova nepisana pravila ne poštuju.

Jedan od najpoznatijih incidenata dogodio se u Mostaru za vrijeme održavanja utakmice između Brazila i Hrvatske u lipnju 2006., u kojem je jedna osoba teško ozlijeđena metkom iz vatrenog oružja. Ozlijeđeno je i šest policajaca, dok je 26 izgređenika privedeno. Neredi su izbili nakon što se skupina navijača, noseći obilježja hrvatske reprezentacije i deklarirajući se kao navijači hrvatske nogometne reprezentacije, okupila na Španjolskom trgu (mjestu nekadašnjih ratnih sukoba mostarskih Hrvata i Bošnjaka), te demolirala klupe na trgu, razbijajući reklame na okolnim objektima i napadajući vozila koja su prometovala tim di-

Elias Canetti in the book *Crowds and Power* (Canetti, 2008), then we can consider the supporters' ritual that, on the part of some supporters, is outwards-directed, just one kind of wish and aspiration to get out of an enclosed framework, to push through the given borders. By getting out of the framework, an enclosed supporters' group starts to take its cue from another, which is its basic object, for its sustainability is conditional on the existence of another group – they reflect and comment on each other. Thus it can be assumed that the supporters' ritual is directed outwards – towards the general public and cannot be maintained without specific forms of communication with the players on the field and with other parts of the public and particularly cannot subsist without the rival supporters' group.

Supporters' groups, then, need a certain ritual model of behaviour, for it can be read as a dream of a revival of a collective identity and collective sense of belonging. It does not concern ritual and its manifestation in the original metaphysical form and sense, rather of a symbolic reiteration of ritual actions that are now placed in the context of contemporary neoliberal society and thus take on new meanings.

Violence is one of the constitutive elements of the phenomenon of extreme supporters' activity and of the pertaining subculture style. It is conditioned in many ways and diffused at various levels of rivalry and competition; of crucial importance are the specific social circumstances that dictate the nature of this violence. For they determine whether there will be symbolic or actual violence.

II) Local context

In football, things get complicated because of the presence of the other club.
(Sartre)

Symbolic violence prevails when club or group rivalries are dominant, i.e. this is the rivalry that characterises sport itself, while real violence is uppermost in situations when it is ethnic [national] and political rivalries that are highlighted, that is, rivalries that draw upon the broader social setting, which is most often the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Perasović (2001) thinks that in accordance with the subculture theory of symbolic aggression it is possible to say that supporter violence, looked upon as a whole, has a greater symbolic than actual character, although in the context of research into and analysis of the Bosnia and Herzegovina supporters' groups we cannot exclude examples in which symbolic supporter group violence takes on an actual character.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a particular and incoherent socio-political community divided into three ethnicities. In Mostar, this specific aspect, because of the patent division of the city, is particularly well expressed. Such a situation underpins and strengthens the aggressiveness of supporters' conduct. Still, there is an unwritten code of conduct on the stands and outside, although the most active members of the local clubs, the Ultras and the Red Army, say that most of the supporters do not adhere to them.

We found out from the supporters that they will always help out their rivals in the event of a clash with the police, and when it is to do with inter-club conflicts, it is an unwritten rule that firearms and blades are not to be used, while clubs [i.e. cudgels] and torches are tolerated. But real events and recorded examples of actual violence among local groups of supporters indicate that in practice these unwritten rules are not honoured.

One of the best known incidents happened in Mostar during the time of the Brazil versus Croatia match in June 2006, in which one person was gravely wounded

jelom grada. Na to okupljanje odgovorila je skupina mladića iz istočnog (većinski bošnjačkog) dijela grada koji su se deklarirali kao navijači reprezentacije Brazila. Dvije skupine su se sukobile masovnim bacanjem kamenja i drugih predmeta pri čemu je načinjena fizička i materijalna šteta na okolnim objektima.

Drugi incident u kojem je došlo do eskalacije simboličkog nasilja u ono zbiljskog karaktera dogodio se u lipnju 2008. godine, po završetku utakmice između reprezentacija Turske i Hrvatske. Povremenim reakcijama više od 600 policajaca i pripadnika specijalne policije spriječena je eskalacija sukoba i kontakt između suprotstavljenih navijačkih skupina. U tučnjavi je povrijeđeno šesnaest policajaca i privedeno šesnaest maloljetnika.

Osim pasioniranih navijačkih skupina koje brane boje reprezentacija Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Brazila i Turske, za očekivati je da će se u Mostaru uskoro pojaviti i žestoki navijači Mongolije, Kenije, Mozambika i Kazahstana, kako šetaju gradom i nose svoja, ili pak njihova nacionalna obilježja. Stoga možemo zaključiti kako Sartreova izjava da se u *nogometu stvari kompliciraju zbog prisustva drugog kluba*, predstavlja sinegdohu situacije u redovima lokalnih navijačkih skupina.

III) Sa radionice

Navijački ritual kao zaseban, neovisan svijet igre i simboličkih suprotstavljanja

Navijački ritual kao zaseban, neovisan svijet igre i simboličkih suprotstavljanja naziv je radionice i dokumentarne izložbe, kroz koju su se studenti/ice bavili istraživanjem, sakupljanjem i arhiviranjem materijala koji su se odnosili na propitivanje različitih aspekata lokalnih navijačkih skupina - *Ultras*⁶ i *Red Army*⁷, nastojeći na taj način doći do relevantnih podataka o genezi ovih navijačkih skupina, zatim do arhivske građe koju njeni članovi posjeduju, i pokušavajući, na koncu, doći do vlastitih interpretacija ovog fenomena kroz različite umjetničke koncepte. Izložba je predstavila materijale generirane radionicom, prezentirane u formi audio, vizualnih i tekstualnih zapisa, čije fragmente navodimo umjesto zaključka, a s obzirom da je ovaj istraživački projekt zamišljen kao otvorena platforma za kritičku refleksiju sadašnjosti i imaginaciju budućnosti, te tek ukazuje na potrebu da se ove fenomene počne sustavno preispitivati, promišljati i diskutirati s aspekta različitih društvenih znanosti i disciplina.

Vladimir Čorić: Nogomet metafora života!, tekst

Iz pozicije bivšeg pasioniranog navijača *Ultras*-a autor se u tekstu bavio fenomenom nogometa kao 'najvažnije sporedne stvari na svijetu'. Paradigma, koja po njemu predstavlja objašnjenje ovog fenomena, krije se u navijačkim skupinama. Autor potkrijepljuje tu tvrdnju činjenicom da bez navijača i njihovih rivaliteta nogomet gubi na svojoj energičnosti i utjecaju. Čorić smatra kako navijači i navijanje sami po sebi ne predstavljaju nešto loše, ali da u odnosu na specifični sociopolitički kontekst Mostara, poprimaju ekstremne oblike rušilačkog djelovanja. Činjenica da su se ovdje tijekom rata devedestih odvijali brutalni međunacionalni sukobi uveliko je utjecala na ponašanje lokalnih navijačkih skupina, koje su pak podložne političkim i medijskim manipulacijama. "Grad koji bi sebe u svijetu mogao

⁶ Navijačka skupina *Ultras* postoji od 1994. godine, a formalno-pravno *Klub navijača Ultras-Zrinjski Mostar* (najprije *Zrinjevc*) utemeljen je u ožujku 1998. godine. Prve prave prostorije, *caffe bar* i *fan shop* Kluba navijača *Ultras - Zrinjski Mostar* otvorene su početkom ožujka 2006. godine. Do tada su se navijači *Zrinjskog* okupljali i redovite sastanke održavali ili na stadionu, ili u nekim od gradskih *caffe barova*.

⁷ *Red Army* je naziv za navijačku skupinu FK *Velež*. Fudbalski klub *Velež* je od svog nastanka 1922. godine, imao svoje navijače. Prva organizovana navijačka skupina nastala je 1981.godine pod imenom *Crveni Šejtani*, a povod za njeno osnivanje bilo je učestvovanje i pobjeda *Veleža* u 'Kupu Maršala Tita' protiv sarajevskog *Željezničara*. Do preimenovanja navijačke skupine u *Red Army* dolazi 1986. godine, poslije finala Kupa koji je *Velež* odigrao protiv *Dinama*.

with a bullet. Six policemen were injured, and 26 hooligans were remanded. The disorder broke out after a group of supporters wearing emblems of the Croatian team and declaring themselves to be supporters of the Croatian national team gathered in Španjolski trg (site of the war conflicts between the Croats and Bosniaks of Mostar in the 1990s) and demolished benches on the square, smashing adverts on surrounding structures and attacking vehicles moving in that part of the city. A group of youngsters from the eastern (i.e. mainly Bosniak) part of the city, who had pronounced themselves "for" the Brazil team, responded to this assembly. The two groups clashed, and many stones and other objects were thrown, physical and financial damage being caused to the surrounding structures.

A second occasion on which there was an escalation of symbolic into actual violence occurred in June 2008 after the end of a match between Croatia and Turkey. With occasional reactions from more than 600 police officers and police special forces any escalation of the conflicts and contact between the opposed groups was forestalled. In the punch-up, sixteen policemen were injured and sixteen juveniles were remanded.

Apart from impassioned supporters' groups that support the colours of the teams of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Brazil and Turkey, it is expected that quite soon in Mostar there will be ferocious supporters of Mongolia, Kenya, Mozambique and Kazakhstan, who will stroll around their city and carry these teams' or their national emblems. For this reason we can conclude that Sartre's statement that in football things are complicated by the presence of the other club is a synecdoche for the situation that unfolds in the ranks of the local supporters' clubs.

III) From the Workshop

The supporters' ritual as a separate, independent world of play and symbolic oppositions
The supporters' ritual as a separate, independent world of play and symbolic oppositions is the title of a workshop and a documentary exhibition through which the students dealt with research, collection and archiving of material that relates to the testing out of various aspects of the local supporters' groups – the Ultras ⁶ and the Red Army ⁷, trying in this manner to arrive at relevant information about the genesis of these clubs, then to come by archival records that their members possess and finally trying to arrive at their own interpretations of this phenomenon through diverse artistic concepts. The exhibition presented materials generated in the workshop, presented in the form of audio, visual and textual records, excerpts from which we cite instead of a conclusion, since this research project was imagined as an open platform for critical reflection on the present and imagination of the future, and only just indicates the need for these phenomena to be systematically tested out, thought through and discussed from aspects of various social sciences and disciplines.

Vladimir Ćorić: *Football a Metaphor for Life, text.*

From the position of a former impassioned member of the Ultras supporters the

⁶ The Ultras have existed since 1994. In formal terms, the supporters' club called Ultras-Zrinjski Mostar (earlier, the Zrinjevci) was founded in March 1998. The first real premises, the cafe bar and fan shop Supporters' Club Ultras-Zrinjski Mostar was opened in early March 2006. Up to that time the Zrinjski supporters met and had their regular meetings at the stadium or in some of the city's cafes.

⁷ The Red Army is the name for the supporters' group of the Velež FC [or Velež FK]. Velež has had its supporters since its foundation in 1922. The first organised group came into being in 1981 and was known as the Red Satans; it was founded to mark the participation of Velež, and its victory in, the Marshal Tito Cup against Sarajevo's Railwaymen. The name of the supporters' group was changed to the Red Army in 1986 after the final of the Cup in which Velež played against Dinamo [Zagreb].

promovirati pod sloganom: "Huliganizam-turizam", trpi veoma teške posljedice. Hoće li se desiti da se Mostarci zatvore u kuće kada se odigrava utakmica između Ghane i Obale Slonovače? S obzirom na dosadašnje iskustvo, te inertnost i zatupljenost mladih, ni taj scenarij nije isključen. Nogomet i religija bore se za prvaka oblikovanja svijesti i mišljenja rezigniranih građana, a do sada su rezultati izjednačeni. (iz teksta Nogomet metafora života!, Ćorić, 2010).

Jasenko Delić: Jedanaesterac sa tribina, tekst

& Almir Halilčević: Jedanaesterac sa tribina, ilustracija za tekst

Jasenko Delić tijekom radionice piše o navijačkim skupinama u Mostaru, u kojoj na ironičan način mijenja stvarne i fiktivne podatke lokal-patriotskih navijačkih skupina *Ultras* i *Red Army*. HŠK Zrinjskom autor atribuirao epitet najstarijeg nogometnog klubana prostoru cijele BiH, te piše o njegovoj temperamentnoj navijačkoj skupini čiji zanos često izlazi iz okvira sportskog ponašanja, kao i samog stadiona. Kako bi izbjegao pristranost autor nam piše i o nogometnom klubu rođenom na mostarskoj poljani i nazvanom po planini Velež. Kao glavne protagoniste i izvore problema u gradu navodi navijačke skupine, koje zajedno s drugim nevoljama postaju teško breme za sve slabija "klupska leđa".

Marina Đapić: Biti Red Army (audio zapis, 7')

Marina Đapić razgovarala je s jednim od navijača navijačke skupine *Red Army*. On odgovara na pitanja o razlogu i načinu na koji se pripada ovoj navijačkoj skupini, te o njihovom odnosu prema navijačkoj skupini *Ultras*. Sugovornik naglašava kako istinski navijači *Red Army*-a, *Ultras* ne smatraju pravim rivalima, nego kvazi- navijačima kvazi-kluba koji je formiran radi širenja fašizma, te da su pjesme koje im upućuju za vrijeme utakmice jedan od rijetkih načina kroz koji iskazuju odnos (rivalitet) prema njima. Također navodi kako strateški ne nastoje povrijediti protivničku navijačku skupinu, jer se smatraju antifašistima koji se bore za jednakost svih građana u gradu.

Kathryn Hampton i Robert Jandrić Gradski derbi Velež - Zrinjski 2009

(dokumentarni film, 23')

20.10.2009. na Stadionu pod Bijelim brijegom održan je gradski derbi između HŠK Zrinjski i FK Velež. Prije derbija tim *AbrašMEDIA*, Omladinskog kulturnog centra Abrašević iz Mostara, posjetio je navijače oba kluba i zabilježio *pogled iznutra* - intervjuom s vođom navijača *Veleža*, dokumentiranjem njihove navijačke skupine prije i za vrijeme trajanja derbija, te kroz posjetu i intervju s jednim navijačem *Zrinjskog*, koji je zahtijevao da ostane anonimn.

Mostarski derbi je prošao bez problema, međutim istoga dana u Širokom Brijegu smrtno je stradao navijač *Fudbalskog kluba Sarajevo* Vedran Puljić.

Marija Kolobarić i Josip Visković: Jebo vas vaš fudbal i nogomet

(video dokumentacija javne akcije, 2'11")

Javna akcija *Jebo vas vaš fudbal i nogomet* s jedne strane predstavlja direktnu kritiku masovnih medija koji ovom sportu pridaju enorman značaj, i koji su zaslužni za njegovu globalnu ekspanziju; s druge pak strane predstavlja osobnu reakciju na lokalni kontekst u kojem se nogomet koristi kao alat za potpirivanje etnonacionalnih tenzija.

Željka Kutle i Sabina Maslo: Vizualni identiteti lokalnih navijačkih skupina

(dvije slike, dim. 120X90)

Autorice primjećuju kako lokalne navijačke skupine *Ultras* i *Red Army* svoje identitete najčešće ispoljavaju kroz street art. Prilikom istraživanja grafita, dolaze do zaključka kako su oni u velikoj mjeri nacionalno obojeni i kontaminirani različitim

author dealt in this piece of writing with the phenomenon of football as the most important irrelevant thing in the world. The paradigm explaining the phenomenon is hidden in the supporters' groups. The author backs up this claim with the fact that without the supporters and their rivalries soccer would lose its energy and impact. Ćorić thinks that the fans and their supporting activities do not represent something bad per se but that in connection with the specific socio-political context of Mostar they take on extreme forms of destructive activity. The fact that here, during the war of the nineties, brutal inter-ethnic conflicts went on has had a great influence on the behaviour of local supporters' clubs, which are furthermore subject to political and media manipulations. "The city that might be able to sell itself in the world through the motto of "Hooligan tourism" suffers very severe consequences. Will Mostar people have to shut themselves up in their houses when a match between Ghana and the Ivory Coast takes place? Considering experience to date, and the inertia and desensitisation of the young, this scenario cannot be ruled out. Football and religion are fighting to be champions of the public's awareness and thinking, while the citizens themselves have more or less given up, and so far the result is a tie.

Jasenko Delić: *Penalty from the Stands*, text

& Amir Halilčević: *Penalty from the Stands*, illustration for text

Jasenko Delić during the workshop wrote about the supporters' clubs in Mostar, in an article in which in an ironical way he exchanges the real and fictitious data of the local patriotic supporters' groups the Ultras and the Red Army. The author gives HSK Zrinski the label of the oldest soccer club in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina and writes of its high-strung supporters' club the ardour of which often escapes the framework of both sporting behaviour and the physical actual stadium. In order to avoid taking sides the author writes about a soccer club born on the Mostar poljana and named after Mt Velež. He gives the fans as the main protagonists and sources of problems in the city. Together with other troubles, they are an ever heavier burden on the increasingly feeble club's back.

Marina Đapić: *To be the Red Army* (audio recording 7')

Marina Đapić talked with one of the supporters of the Red Army. He replied to questions about the reason for and the manner of belonging to this supporters' group, and their attitude towards the Ultras supporters' group. He says that real Red Army members do not consider the Ultras real rivals, rather quasi-supporters of a quasi-club that was set up for the sake of disseminating fascism, and that the songs that they direct at them during a match are one of the few ways in which they show their attitude (their rivalry) to them. He also says that strategically they do not try to hurt the opposing supporters' group, for they consider themselves anti-fascists who fight for the equality of all in the city.

Kathryn Hampton and Robert Jandrić: *City Derby - Velež - Zrinjski 2009* (documentary film, 23')

On October 20, 2008, at the Bijeli brijeg stadium the local derby between Zrinjski FC and Velež SC was held. Before the derby the team of AbrasMEDIA, Abrašević Youth Culture Centre of Mostar, visited the supporters of each club and recorded inside views – an interview with a leader Velež supporter, documentation of this supporters' group before and after the derby, and through a visit to and interview with one Zrinjski supporter who preferred to be anonymous. In fact, the Mostar derby passed off without any problems; on the same day, in Široki Brijeg a supporter of Sarajevo FC, Vedran Puljić, was killed.

političkim porukama i sadržajima. Kako bi dokazale da se politika i političke manipulacije reflektiraju na odabir i sadržaj vizualnog identiteta ovih navijačkih skupina, poigrale su se s njihovim ikonografijama tako što su na slikama zamijenile njihova formalna mjesta, postavljajući pitanje da li grb jedne navijačke skupine, koji je istrgnut iz vlastitog konteksta i apliciran u drugi – protivnički, gubi svoje značenje, prvotnu poruku i smisao?

Stefan Marinović: *Virtualni identitet/i lokalnih navijačkih skupina*

(3 foto printa, dim. 50X35)

Ovo istraživanje fokusiralo se na korištenje interneta kao sredstva samopropagande navijačkih skupina. Internet je danas forum za više od 300 milijuna korisnika u cijelom svijetu, i samim tim platforma za različite nacionalne, rasističke, nasilne i druge ekstremne skupine. Marinović je istražio internet stranice i forum lokalnih navijačkih skupina, kako bi ispitao da li, i u kojoj mjeri opseg i sadržaj početnih stranica poziva na zlo/upotrebu nogometa kao platforme za propagiranje mržnje, etno-nacionalističke propagande i nasilnih aktivnosti. Analiza i rad na ovoj temi još uvijek traje.

Anđela Prnjak *Šta znači biti Ultras – pogled iznutra*, tekst

Esej *Šta znači biti Ultras – pogled iznutra*, Anđela je napisala na osnovu intervjua koje je vodila s najaktivnijim *Ultrasima* kako bi, parafrazirajući i citirajući odgovore, pokušala što vjerodostojnije prikazati njihovo gledanje na njihovu navijačku skupinu. Autorica se bavi konstitutivnim elementima neophodnima za postojanje jedne navijačke skupine kao što su: vođa navijača, udarni transparent, navijačke podgrupe, *dress code* i navijački uzori. Nasilje predstavlja tamnu stranu navijanja u kojoj sudjeluju sve podgrupe Ultrasa, a za najžešće neprijatelje smatraju gradske rivale *Red Army*, tuzlanske *Fukare*, te sarajevske *Manijake* i *Horde zla*. Pasionirani navijač *Ultrasa*, koji je zahtijevao da ostane anoniman navodi: "Iskusili smo i ono najbolnije, a to je zabrana praćenja našeg kluba na gostovanjima od strane policije."

Nikola Rončević: *Ne/mogućnost navijanja bez mržnje i nasilja*, tekst

Rončević propituje porijeklo navijačkih skupina kao proizvoda urbanih sredina, te navodi kako su iste zapravo imitacija gesti koje su izvodila prvotna plemena. "Ugoda koja se osjeća kroz pripadnost je privlačna i iskonska, i predstavlja odraz želje za primitivnom i "opipljivom" moći i proživljenim iskustvom zajedništva. A huliganizam? To je stanje trenutka, stanje ludila i pretjerane emocionalnosti. Stanje nasilja."

Marko Tomaš: *Nogomet je rat drugim sredstvima*, tekst

Tomaš piše o utjecajima, pozitivnim i negativnim efektima nogometa, komparirajući recentne primjere iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske. Smatra kako je hrvatski klupski nogomet u dugogodišnjoj agoniji, ali kako su najbitniji akteri, koji su zaslužni za plasman dva najveća hrvatska kluba u *Euro ligu* bili jedan Bosanac, Senijad Ibričić te jedan Hercegovac, Vahid Halilhodžić. "U zagrebačkom *Jutarnjem listu* osvanuo je naslov iz pera Tomislava Židaka, koji je glasio: "Nema stranca do Bosanca". Svi hrvatski mediji u svojim sportskim rubrikama bavili su se, skoro isključivo, likom i djelom ova dva bosanskohercegovačka sportaša. Isti se proces u istom trenutku odvijao u bosanskohercegovačkim medijima. Svi počinjju pratiti pomalo zaboravljene jugoslavenske sportske gigante, a razlog njihovog zanimanja upravo su uspjesi "naših zemljaka" Vahida i Senijada." U mostarskim i sarajevskim kafanama, ponovno se priča o Hajduku i Dinamu. Bosanskohercegovačke televizije se bore za preuzimanje prijenosa njihovih eu-

Maria Kolobarić and Josip Visković: *Screw your football and soccer* (video documentation of a public action, 2' 11')

The public action *Screw your football and soccer*⁸ is on the one hand a direct criticism of the mass media who impart such enormous importance to this sport, and that are responsible for its global expansion; on the other hand it is a personal reaction to the local context in which the game is used as a tool for stoking-up ethnic/national tensions.

Željka Kutle and Sabina Maslo: *Visual identities of local supporters' groups* (two paintings, dim. 120 x 90 cm)

The authors observe that the local supporters' groups the Ultras and the Red Army most often express their identities through street art. While doing research into the graffiti they came to the conclusion that they are to a great extent ethnically tinged and contaminated with various political messages and contents. In order to show that politics and political manipulations are reflected in the choice and contents of visual identities of these groups, they played with their iconographies, by switching their formal places on the paintings, asking whether the coat of arms of one supporters' group, ripped out of its own context and applied onto another, the adversary's, loses its meaning, its original message and purpose.

Stefan Marinović: *Virtual identity/ies of local supporters' groups* (3 photographic prints, dim. 50 x 35 cm)

This research focused on the use of the Internet as a means for the self-advertising of the supporters' groups. The Internet is today a forum for more than 300 million users worldwide, and *ipso facto* a platform for various nationalist, racists, violent and other extreme groups. Marinović explored Internet sites and forums of local supporters' groups, in order to test out whether, and if so how much, the range and content of the home pages invited the ab/use of football as platform for propagating hatred, ethnic-nationalist propaganda and violent activities. Work on and analysis of this topic is ongoing.

Andjela Prnjak: *What it means to be an Ultras - a view from inside*, text

Andjela wrote the essay *What it means to be an Ultras - a view from inside* on the basis of an interview she had with the most active Ultras so as, rephrasing and quoting their answers, to try to present as faithfully as possible their own viewpoint of their group. She deals with the constitutive elements essential for the existing of a supporters' group: leader of the supporters, banners, subgroups of supporters, dress code and supporters' models. Violence represents the dark side of supporters' activity, in which all the subgroups of Ultras take part, who take the city rivals the Red Army, the Fukaras from Tuzla, and the Manijaks and Horde of Evil from Sarajevo as their main enemies. An impassioned Ultras member, who wanted to be anonymous, says: "We have tried out what hurts most, and that is being forbidden to go to away matches by the police".

Nikola Rončević: *The Im/possibility of cheering without hatred and violence*, text

Rončević tests out the origin of supporters' groups as product of urban milieus and says that they are an imitation of gestures carried out by the original tribes. "The pleasure that is felt by belonging is attractive and primordial, and it is a reflection of the desire for primitive and tangible power and experienced feeling of community. Hooliganism? This is a matter of a moment, a state of madness and

⁸ In fact, these two words for the same game represent the different terms used in Bosnian/Serbian and in Croatian language respectively - t.n.

ropskih utakmica, a sve kako bi društvo moglo pratiti "naše". Kroz njihove uspjehe navijači žive vlastite snove, potvrđuju svoju superiornost u odnosu na druge, te se izdižu iznad svoje, obično turobne, svakodnevice. Ovo su tek crtice, osnov za platformu u okviru koje Tomaš raspravlja o uskoj povezanosti nogometa i lokal patriotizma, na našim prostorima, neodvojivog od nacionalizma.

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Nogomet metafora života?, iz arhiva radionice. / Football - A Metaphor for life?, from the workshop archive.

exaggerated emotion. A state of violence”.

Marko Tomaš: Football is war with other means, text

Tomaš writes about the influences, the positive and negative effects of football, comparing recent examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. He thinks that the Croatian club game is in a long-term decline, and that the most essential actors responsible for putting the two biggest Croatian clubs in the Euro League were a Bosnian, Senijad Ibričić and Herzegovinian, Vahid Halihodžić. “In Zagreb’s *Jutarnji list* a headline once appeared written by Tomislav Židak that said *Nema stranca do bosanca* (No alien like a Bosnian). All the Croatian media in their sports columns were soon dealing only with the personalities and activities of these two Bosnia and Herzegovina sportsmen. The same process at the same moment went on in the Bosnia and Herzegovina media. All started to follow the somewhat forgotten Yugoslav sporting giants, and the reason for their interest was in fact the success of “our guys”, Vahid and Senijad. In the Mostar and Sarajevo cafes there was once again discussion of Hajduk and Dinamo. Bosnia and Herzegovina televisions were fighting for the right to transmit their European games, and all just so that the society could watch “our guys”. Through their successes, the fans live their own dreams, act out their own superiority over others, and rise up above their usually dire everyday life. This is just a sketch, a basis for a platform within the framework of which Tomaš discusses the close connection of football and local patriotism, which, in this country, are too inseparable from nationalism.

— translated to English by Graham McMaster

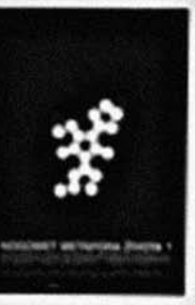
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Photo: TJ







Amel Ibrahimović

SAN MARINO 2005

Video
2008.

U junu 2005 godine, putovao sam u San Marino (Italija) zajedno sa grupom bosanskih fudbalskih navijaca, koji sebe nazivaju BHFanaticos. Oni su izbjeglice iz BiH i žive u Skandinaviji, kao i ja. Redovito putuju na sve internacionalne utakmice bosanske reprezentacije.

— ai

SAN MARINO 2005

Video
2008

In June 2005, I travelled to San Marino together with a group of Bosnian soccer fans, who call themselves BHFanaticos. They are refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina living in Scandinavia – just like me – and they regularly travel to see all international matches played by the Bosnian representation.

— ai



Ivan Šušnjar

OVO JE ZEMLJA ZA NAS – PRIJEDLOG ZA HIMNU BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Ovo je zemlja za nas
Ovo je zemlja za sve naše ljude
Ovo je kuća za nas
Ovo je kuća za svu našu decu
Pogledaj me, o pogledaj me
Očima deteta.

U zemlji vidim spas
Iz sna me budi glas koji prepoznajem
Dok grane miluju naša tela
Dok senke prave pokrov za nas
Pogledaj me, o pogledaj me
Očima deteta.

Čujem: vrati se, čujem: ostani
Čujem: vrati se – dozvoli mi!
Čujem: vrati se, čujem: ostani
Čujem: vrati se – oprosti mi!

U svakom porazu
ja sam video deo slobode
I kad je gotovo
Za mene, znaj, tek je počelo
Pogledaj me, o pogledaj me
Očima deteta.

Čujem: vrati se, čujem: ostani
Čujem: vrati se – dozvoli mi!
Čujem: vrati se, čujem: ostani
Čujem: vrati se – oprosti mi!
Ne idi, ne idi, ne!

THIS IS THE LAND FOR US – PROPOSITION FOR THE ANTHEM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

This is the land for us
This is the land for all our people
This is home for us
This is home for all our children
Look at me, oh look at me
With the eyes of a child

In the land I see salvation
A voice I recognize is waking me up from a dream
While branches are caressing our bodies
While shadows are making a shroud for us
Look at me, oh look at me
With the eyes of a child.

I hear: return, I hear: stay
I hear: return – allow me!
I hear: return, I hear: stay
I hear: return – forgive me!

In each defeat
I have seen fragments of freedom
And when it's all over
You should know that for me it is only beginning
Look at me, oh look at me
With the eyes of a child.

I hear: return, I hear: stay
I hear: return – allow me!
I hear: return, I hear: stay
I hear: return – forgive me!
Don't go, don't go, no!

Ekaterina Velika: "Zemlja" [The Land], stihovi/lyrics: Milan Mladenović, Margita Stefanović, album: *Ljubav* [Love], 1987.

Ideja za javno promoviranje prijedloga da se za himnu Bosne i Hercegovine usvoji pjesma "Zemlja" grupe Ekaterina Velika (EKV) nastala je 2009. godine, u vrijeme kada je kulminirala javna rasprava o odabiru i usvajanju novog teksta državne himne. Od 1992. do 1998. himna BiH bila je "Jedna si jedina", čija je glazba temeljila na staroj bosanskoj narodnoj pjesmi, a stihove je napisao Edin Dervišhalidović (Dino Merlin):

*Zemljo tisućljetna
Na vjernost ti se kunem
Od mora do Save
Od Drine do Une*

*Jedna si jedina
moja domovina
Jedna si jedina
Bosna i Hercegovina*

*Bog nek' te sačuva
Za pokoljenja nova
Zemljo mojih snova
Mojih pradjedova*

Međutim, hrvatska i srpska zajednica glazbenu podlogu himne poistovjećivali su s isključivo bošnjačkom tradicijom. Ured Visokog predstavnika međunarodne zajednice u BiH, Carlosa Westendorpa, raspisao je 1998. natječaj za novu himnu, a predstavnički dom parlamenta odabrao je 1999. skladbu "Intermezzo" Dušana Šestića. Međutim, Dom naroda nije usvojio prijedlog Zakona o himni, nakon čega su uslijedile dugotrajne rasprave o stihovima – činilo se, naime, da stihovi koji bi istovremeno odgovarali predstavnicima sva tri konstitutivna naroda, jednostavno ne postoje. Izravnom odlukom Visokog predstavnika, Zakon o himni ipak je nametnut i usvojen – "Intermezzo" službeno postaje državna himna, a BiH, uz primjerice Španjolsku, postaje jedna od rijetkih zemalja čija državna himna nema teksta, odražavajući tako i nepostojanje konsenzusa o temeljima državnosti i ustavno-pravnog poretka. Riječima Snježane Mulić (Dani, br. 399, 2005.), ona tako postaje "himna za fućkanje", "instrumentala uz koju Bošnjaci pjevaju *Jedna si jedina*, Srbi *Bože pravde*, Hrvati *Lijepa naša*, navijači *Hajmo Bosno, Bosno...*"

Nakon gotovo deset godina, novoosnovana 'Komisija za izbor teksta himne Bosne i Hercegovine' raspisala je 2008. natječaj za izbor teksta himne, otvoren svim građanima BiH, uz novčanu naknadu od 30.000 KM za pobjedničke stihove. Jedan od osnovnih kriterija bio je da se svi građani BiH mogu identificirati s pjesmom. Odluka je donesena 2009. godine, a odabrani tekst zapravo je spoj dva prijedloga prispjela na natječaj – Dušana Šestića i Benjamina Isovića. Naknadnim prilagodbama izbačeno je samostalno spominjanje geografskih odrednica i prirodnih ljepota Bosne odnosno Hercegovine, pridodat je službeni naziv Bosna i Hercegovina; rijekama i planinama pridodato je i more, a riječ "krajina" zamijenjena "zemljom". Konačni tekst, još uvijek službeno neusvojenog prijedloga, glasi:

*Ti si svjetlost duše
Vječne vatre plam
Majko naša zemljo
Tebi pripadam
U srcu su tvoje*

The idea for public promotion of the proposition that the song "Land" by the band Ekaterina Velika (EKV) should be accepted as Bosnia-Herzegovina's national anthem dates back to 2009, at the peak of the public debate on the selection and official confirmation of the new lyrics to the national anthem. From 1992 to 1998 the song "Jedna si jedina" [You are One and Only] was used as the national anthem. Its musical component was based on an old Bosnian folk song, while the text was written by Edin Dervišhalidović (Dino Merlin):

*Oh, thousand-year old land
I pledge my loyalty to you
From the Sava to the sea
From the Drina to the Una*

*You are one and only
My homeland
The one and only
Bosnia and Herzegovina*

*May God preserve you
for generations to come
the land of my dreams
the land of my forefathers*

However, the Croatian and Serbian community considered that the anthem's music identified it primarily with the Bosniak tradition. The Office of the High Representative of the International Community, who was Carlos Westendorp at the time, launched a public competition for the new anthem in 1998, and in 1999, Parliament's House of Representatives selected the composition "Intermezzo" by Dušan Šestić. However, The House of Peoples rejected the draft of the Law on the National Anthem, which launched a longlasting discussion on the lyrics – it seemed that there were simply no lyrics that would simultaneously suit representatives of all three constituent peoples. By direct decision of the High Representative the Law was finally imposed and passed – "Intermezzo" thus became the official national anthem and Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with, for example, Spain, became one of the rare countries whose anthem has no text, which reflects also the non-existent consensus on the basis of statehood, as well as constitutional and legal order. In the words of Snježana Mulić (magazine *Dani*, no. 399, 2005), the anthem thus became a "whistling anthem", "an instrumental to which the Bosniaks sing *You Are One and Only*, the Serbs *God of Justice*, the Croats *Our Beautiful Homeland*, and the football supporters *Go Bosnia, go...*"

After almost ten years, the newly-founded "Commission for selection of the text of the national anthem of Bosnia-Herzegovina" launched in 2008 a competition for the text, open to all BH citizens, with the reward of 30.000 KM to the winner. One of the basic criteria was that all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina can identify themselves with the lyrics. The decision was made in 2009 and the selected text is actually an amalgam of two accepted propositions – by Dušan Šestić and by Benjamin Išović. Additional adaptations removed the individual mention of the geographical areas and natural beauties of Bosnia, and of Herzegovina, and added the official name Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mention of rivers and mountains was enriched by inclusion of the sea, and the word "krajina" [a word for region, but also bearing too specific connotations, t.n.] was replaced by "land". The final text of the still not officially accepted proposal is the following:

Rijeke, planine
Plavo more
Bosne i Hercegovine

Ponosna i slavna
Zemljo predaka
Živjećeš u srcu našem
Dovjeka

Pokoljenja tvoja
Kazuju jedno:
Mi idemo u budućnost
Zajedno!

Neformalni prijedlog da se za himnu BiH razmotri "Zemlja" Ekaterine Velike, predstavljen na ovoj izložbi, motiviran je upravo preispitivanjem potencijala zajedničke vizije budućnosti, koja se optimistično najavljuje zadnjim stihovima novoizabranog prijeloga himne. Pozivajući se na zajedničko naslijeđe prošlosti, u formi popularne i alternativne kulture, preispituje mogućnost konsenzusa oko ključnih odrednica "zemlja" i "mi" ("Ovo je zemlja za nas"), u današnjoj klimavoj postdejstonskoj konstrukciji i društveno-političkoj stvarnosti BiH. Iz praktičnih razloga neostvarena, jedna od ideja bila je i da se u odabranim gradovima BiH organizira poziv građanima na javno izvođenje pjesme prilagođene u "himničku" varijantu. Prijedlog je na izložbi predstavljen u obliku tekstualnog obrazloženja i video-snimke izvedbe pjesme EKV-a na Yutelovom koncertu za mir u Sarajevu 1991. godine. Stihovi pjesme "Ovo je zemlja za nas" preinačeni su u pitanje: "Da li je ovo zemlja za tebe?", koje je pozivalo sve posjetitelje izložbe da, na *post-it* naljepnicama koje okružuju video-ekran, ispišu vlastiti odgovor, odnosno daju vlastite komentare na ovo pitanje i njegove šire reperkusije.

— iš & delve

DA LI JE OVO ZEMLJA ZA TEBE?

*You're the light of the soul
Eternal fire's flame
Our mother-land,
I belong to you*

*We hold in our hearts
Your rivers and mountains
The blue sea
Of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

*Proud and full of glory
Land of ancestors
You shall live in our hearts
Forever*

*All your generations
Say a single thing:
We go into the future
Together!*

The informal proposal to consider Ekaterina Velika's song "Land" for the national anthem of BH, presented at this exhibition, is motivated precisely by questioning the potential of a common vision of the future, optimistically announced in the ending lines of the newly elected proposal for the anthem. By invoking the common heritage of the past, in the form of popular and alternative culture, it questions the possibility of consensus on the key notions of "land" and "us" ("This is the land for us") in today's fragile, postdayton construction and social and political reality of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the ideas, unrealized due to practical obstacles, was to organize a call to citizens for public performance of the song, adapted to an "anthem" version, in various cities of BH. In the exhibition, the proposal was presented in the form of textual explanation and the video recording of EKV's performance of the song at Yutel's piece concert in Sarajevo in 1991. The line of the song "This is the land for us" was transformed into the question: "Is this the land for your?", inviting all visitors of the exhibition to use the post-it stickers around the video screen, to give their own answer and their own comments on this question and its wider repercussions.

— iš & delve



IS THIS THE LAND FOR YOU?

Photo: DeLve

WTF ?!?

TO JE ZEMLJA
ZAVAS,
ALI NE ZA NEKE

Ne
Za
svoje
zaj

ma "Zemlje"
mene i
no političke
združenje i Lige

Pjesma
10 vijek
... zemlja SF!

Da



Vahida Ramujkić

BIBLIOTEKA ISTORIJE U RASPRAVI*

Radionica, zbirka udžbenika, skripta
s radionice
2006. - 2010.

Danas učenici osnovnih i srednjih škola bivše Jugoslavije izučavaju štiva istorije drastično različita od onih koja su se učila prije samo dvadesetak godina. Ne samo što se te istorije razlikuju od prethodnih, kada je bila u optičaju samo jedna verzija istorije koja je svima bila referentna, jedna 'istina' koja nije bila podvrgavana preispitivanju ni poređenju, već sada istorije aktuelnih država nude nepristrasnom posmatraču jedan varijetet 'istina' o načinu na koji su se istorijski događaji u regionu odvijali, često ulazeći u kontradikcije. Svaka od novonastalih država, re-konsticijom nacionalne politike resituiru svoju posebnu tačku gledišta i stvara 'verodostojnu' verziju toga što se i kako u prošlosti događalo. Iz tih perspektiva, na primer, Jugoslovenski period često je smatran prekidom u pravolinijskom razvoju nacionalnih država. Za to vreme u Europi se odvija proces usmeren u

DISPUTED HISTORIES LIBRARY*

Workshop, collection of textbooks, workshop
reader
2006 - 2010

Nowadays, students of primary and secondary schools on the territory of former Yugoslavia learn history from textbooks that are radically different from those that were used only twenty years ago. These histories not only differ from the previous one, which was uniform and represented a single point of reference for everyone as *the 'truth'*, subject to no questioning or comparison. Today, histories of the individual states offer a variety of 'truths' to the impartial observer about the way in which the historical events in the region actually happened, truths that are often in contradiction to one another. The aim of these newly created states has been to reconstruct their national policies and to re-establish their specific points of view, creating 'authentic' versions of what occurred in the past and how. From these perspectives, for example, the Yugoslav period is often

drugom pravcu. U političkom smislu širenje i konstituisanje Evropske Unije ka "federalnom" modelu dolazi sa zahtevima za normalizacijom i utvrđenjem fundamentalnih principa među zemljama članicama, čime se nameće i potraga za novim trans-nacionalnim, pan-evropskim identitetom koji se sada bazira na građanstvu. Opšte je prihvaćena ideja da su u školskom sistemu gradiva društvenih materija velikim delom indoktrinirana, obojena aktuelnim političkim ambicijama dotične države, u kojoj čine i temeljni deo institucionalne arhitekture, a nastavni programi koriste se kao moćna alatka za rekonstrukciju nacionalne svesti "izmučene neuspelim pokušajem bratstva i jedinstva". Možemo postaviti čitavu seriju pitanja: Kako i sa kojim parametrima se pišu istorije jednog naroda i vezuju za određenu teritoriju? U kojoj meri istorija predstavlja nepristrasni opis minulih događaja a koliko je uslovljena svojom funkcijom u aktuelnom političkom kontekstu? Kojim delom programa učenja se generiše i kojim inženjerira jedan kolektivni identitet (narod/nacija)? Da li je zaista neophodno uspostavljanje konsenzusa oko jedne, jedine istine? Ili upravo obrnuto, može li se smatrati da ne postoji samo jedna istina, već da se ona komponuje od različitih verzija ustanovljenih sa različitih tačaka gledišta?

— vr

* Prezentacija na izložbi predstavlja zbirku udžbenika i skriptu nastalu na radionici koju je umjetnica održala u Banja Luci

considered as a rupture in the straight line of development of national states. In the meantime, Europe is taking an entirely different course. In terms of politics, the spread and constitution of the European Union according to a "federal" model goes hand in hand with the demands for normalization and with establishing some fundamental principles among the member states, which implies searching for a new, transnational and pan-European identity, now based on citizenship. It is a generally accepted idea that the teaching materials in social subjects as prescribed by the curriculum are largely indoctrinating and tainted with the actual political ambitions of the state, since they are also a basic element of its institutional architecture. Thus, the curricula are used as a powerful tool for reconstructing social consciousness, "tortured by the failed attempts at achieving brotherhood and unity." We may raise a whole series of issues: How and according to what parameters are the histories of nations written and linked to a particular territory? To what extent is history an unbiased description of past events and to what extent is it determined by its function in the actual political context? Which part of the curriculum generates a collective identity (a people/nation) and which is the part that engineers it? Is it really necessary to establish a consensus about a single truth? Or is it precisely the opposite, namely that there is no single truth and that the truth is actually composed out of various versions, which have been reached from various viewpoints?

— vr

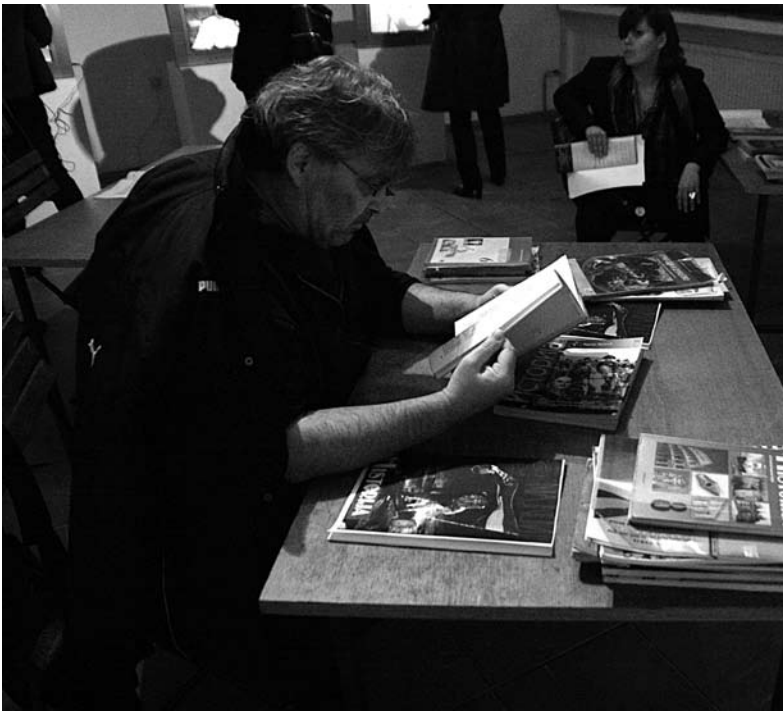
* Presentation at the exhibition showed a collection of textbooks and a reader resulting from the workshop that the artist coordinated in Banja Luka

U udžbenicima se nalazi upravo ona slika prošlosti koja je potrebna sadašnjem establišmentu, koji stvara sopstvenu verziju istorije da bi napravio svoju “novu” tradiciju, da bi sebi pribavio podobne pretke, da bi se pozvao na svoje “vekovne ideale”. Takve “radnje” sa istorijom naročito su česte u vremenima velikih lomova, promena sistema, ratova. Sve se to dogodilo u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Bilo je neophodno hitno proizvesti “novu prošlost”, “stariju i lepšu” od one prethodne. Bilo je potrebno preokrojiti istoriju, mnogo toga u nju dodati i još više toga iz nje izbaciti. Sadašnjost je trebalo smestiti u “podobnu” prošlost kao njen logičan nastavak, kao kontinuitet. Kada je počeo rat u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, trebalo je, na primer izbaciti sve podatke o zajedništvu naroda bivše Jugoslavije, da bi se iz prošlosti izvukao kontinuitet konflikta, da bi rat koji je bio u toku izgledao kao jedini mogući ishod.

Masovno preokrojanje istorije dogodilo se u nastavi svih novostvorenih država; bio je to jedan od najspektakularnijih eksperimenata u kome su istoričari dobili zadatak “laboratorijskih radnika”, koji, menjajući odnos unetih elemenata, mogu izmeniti rezultat. Prošlost se menjala u hodu i bila je to jedinstvena prilika za istraživače sadašnjosti da značajnu promenu uhvate odmah, dok je još “vruća”. Nastava istorije pokazala se kao “predvojnička obuka”, kao riznica “nacionalnog identiteta”, način da se pošalje poruka, kako se govorilo, “ko smo i odakle smo”. Istoričar sadašnjosti iz tog istorijskog izvora može da vidi dominantnu ideologiju, vladajući sistem vrednosti, kulturni obrazac koji nameće establišment. Čitav taj eksperiment ponovio se posle promene režima u Srbiji 2000. godine, kada se nova elita posvetila potrazi za svojim “idealnim pretkom”, za novoskrojenom tradicijom kao najboljim načinom samodefinisanja. Zbog toga sam udžbenike istorije uvek razumevala kao izvrstan istorijski izvor koji otkriva mnogo više od većine drugih, pa i onih koji će biti na raspolaganju za 30 godina. Arhivski dokumenti nikada tako koncizno, tako sintetički i tako suštinski ne mogu otkriti idejnu osnovu jednog vremena. Zato za mene nije bilo presudno pitanje šta će dati zapamtiti i naučiti, šta će im od toga znanja ostati. Udžbenici istorije su, za mene, bili istorijski izvor koji najrečitije govori o strategijama vladajuće elite. Dokle god postoji samo jedan udžbenik istorije, onaj koji objavljuje Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika kao paradržavna institucija na čijem se čelu nalaze ljudi od najvećeg političkoj poverenja vlasti, mi imamo stanje u kome postoji “monopol nad istinom”. I onda se zaključak sam nameće: “istina o sadašnjoj ‘istini’ je tu, na dohvata ruke – u školskim klupama.

The textbooks hold exactly that view of the past that is necessary for the current establishment to produce its own version of history, in order to create its own “new” tradition, to appropriate suitable ancestors, to refer to its “century-old ideals”. Such “work” with history is especially frequent at the times of great breaks, system changes, wars. All this happened in former Yugoslavia. It was necessary to urgently create a “new past”, “more ancient and more beautiful” than the one preceding it. It was necessary to situate the present in a “suitable” past, so that it appears as its logical follow-up, a continuity. When the war in ex-Yugoslavia started, it was necessary, for example, to eliminate all information on the solidarity of the peoples of former Yugoslavia, so that a continuity of conflict could be extracted from the past, so that the war that was taking place would look as the only possible outcome.

The mass modifications of history occurred in school curriculums of the newly founded states; it was one of the most spectacular experiments in which the historians were given the assignment of “lab workers”, who, by changing the relation of inserted elements, could also change the result. The past was altered on the way and it was a unique opportunity for explorers of the present to hold on to this significant change, while it was still “hot”. History class turned out to be a kind of “premilitary training”, a treasure trove of “national identity”, a way to send the message, as it was proclaimed, about “who we are and where we come from”. By examining this historical source, the historian of the present can grasp the dominant ideology, the ruling value system, the cultural pattern imposed by the establishment. The whole experiment was once again repeated after the regime change in Serbia in 2000, when the new elite dedicated itself to searching for its own “ideal ancestor”, the newly-tailored tradition as the best way of selfdetermination. This is why, for me, history textbooks always represented an exquisite historical source revealing much more than most others, even those that will be available in thirty years. Archival documents can never reveal the ideological basis of a time so concisely, synthetically and in its essence. To me, the question was not what the students will learn, what will remain from that knowledge. I regarded history textbooks as a historical source that most eloquently spoke of the strategies of the ruling elite. As long as there is only one history textbook – the one published by the Institute for textbook publishing acting as a para-state institution led by people in whom the government has utmost confidence – we deal with a state of the “monopole over truth”. The conclusion is then logical: “the truth” about the present “truth” is here, within reach – on school desks.



Vahida Ramujkić: *Istorije u raspravi,*
s izložbe/ *Disputed Histories, exhibition*
view.

Photos: TJ



ISTORIJE U RASPRAVI
1954. DRUGA IZLOŽBA

Kraj 1941. Austrijski i italijanski vojnici

24. Aprilski pobitici / Istorijski pozadina

26. Ustav 1954. 1967. Vojvodina i Kosovo

29. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941.

31. Ustav 1945. i 1974.

32. Spisak sudaca

33. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

34. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

35. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

36. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

37. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

38. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

39. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

40. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

41. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

42. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

43. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

44. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina

45. Istorijski dokumenti iz 1941. / Istorijski pozadina



Photo: Mara Bratoš, courtesy of ZKM, Zagreb

Goran Ferčec / Borut Šeparović

GENERACIJA 91.-95. SAT HRVATSKE POVIJESTI

Multimedijalna prezentacija projekta 2010.

Predstava Zagrebačkog kazališta mladih *Generacija 91-95* nastala je po motivima romana *Jebo sad hiljadu dinara* poznatoga splitskog novinara i pisca Borisa Dežulovića. U predstavi glume i polaznici dramskog Učilišta Zagrebačkog kazališta mladih, a redatelj je Borut Šeparović. Predstava je hommage skupini *Montažstroj* koja je s radom počela prije 20 godina upravo u Zagrebačkom kazalištu mladih. Okosnica priče je apsurdna situacija koja nastaje susretom dviju skupina prerušenih vojnika na tajnom zadatku, pripadnika HVO-a i Armije BiH, u ljeto 1993. negdje u bosanskoj zabit. Tragedija zabune neizbježna je. Dežulovićeva je priča izmišljena, dok je povijesna činjenica u koju je smještena, realna.

Dvanaest mladića (izabranih na audiciji organiziranoj u prosincu 2008.) u dobi od četrnaest do osamnaest godina preuzima na sebe biografije dvanaest Dežulovićevih

GENERATION '91-'95: CROATIAN HISTORY CLASS

Multimedia project presentation 2010

Generation '91-'95, a performance by Zagreb Youth Theatre, has been inspired by the novel "Fuck Those Thousand Dinars Now" by a famous journalist and literary author from Split, Boris Dežulović. The play is directed by Borut Šeparović and the cast includes students from Center for Education of the Zagreb Youth Theatre. It is a homage to *Montažstroj*, a group that started its activity 20 years ago at the same theatre. The plot is based on an absurd situation that resulted from the meeting of two masked soldiers on a secret mission, one from the Croatian Army and the other from Bosniak one, in the summer of 1993, in a godforsaken place in Bosnia. The tragedy of confusion is inevitable. Dežulović's story is fictional, but the historical situation in which it has been placed is real.

Twelve young men between 14 and 18 years of age (chosen at an audition

fikcionalnih likova i preko njih ulazi u ratnu kronologiju devedesetih i vrijeme koje je prethodilo devedesetima. U prostoru između fikcije romana s jedne i fikcije kazališta s druge strane, jedini realni element su upravo dječaci i mladići rođeni u vrijeme Domovinskog rata, odnosno, generacija čije je iskustvo Domovinskog rata moguće tek posredstvom nekoga (obitelj, škola, mediji...) tko im je o ratu govorio. Rad dvanaestorice mladića na ulogama fikcionalnih likova s vremenom se transponirao u izvedbeni (javni) i intimni (osobni) oblik bavljenja odabranom povijesnom temom, u ovom slučaju izmišljenim događajem u povijesnoj činjenici rata. Već u početnoj fazi proces rada na predstavi organizirao se istraživačko-radionički model u kojem su aktivirani osobni stav, mišljenje i iskustvo svakog od dvanaest mladića.

Konačni izvedbeni oblik predstave *Generacija 91-95* oformio se u širokom prostoru kazališne morfologije; od fizičkog teatra pokreta, preko kazališne fikcije, da bi završio u obliku dokumentarnog kazališta, propitujući poziciju i sposobnosti kako fikcije tako i kazališta uopće da iznese barem neke razine odnosa i posljedica sadašnjosti prema prošlosti i prošlosti prema sadašnjosti. Predstava *Generacija 91-95* je hommage *Montažstroju*, performerskoj, plesnoj i dramskoj skupini, utemeljenoj potkraj 1989. godine, koja je s radom je počela prije 20 godina upravo u Zagrebačkom kazalištu mladih.

— ZeKaEm

Redatelj: Borut Šeparović, dramaturg i asistent redatelja: Goran Ferčec
Glume: Aldin Kasumović, Andrej Kopčok, Andrej Vesel, Bernard Tomić, Dario Stajčić, Filip Jurković, Ivan Fedor, Ivan Pašalić, Luka Pulje, Matija Čigir, Matija Šakoronja, Nikola Nedić, Svebor Kamenski Bačun

organized in December 2008) have appropriated the life stories of the twelve Dežulović's fictional characters, thus entering the war timeline of the 1990s and the time that preceded it. In the space between the novel's fiction on the one hand and the theatre fiction on the other, the only realistic element are the boys and young men, who were born at the time of the Croatian Liberation War – a generation whose only knowledge of the war comes from others (their family, school, the mass media...), who have told them about it. With time, the efforts of the twelve young men playing the fictional characters has been transposed into a performative (public) and intimate (personal) form of dealing with the chosen historical subject, in this case an invented event framed by the historical fact of war. As early as its initial phase, the working process was organized according to a research and workshop model, in which personal attitudes, opinions, and experiences of each of the twelve young men could be activated.

The final performative form of *Generation 91-95* has acquired its form within the broad space of theatre morphology; from the physical theatre of movement to theatrical fiction, eventually ending as documentary theatre that questions the position and the possibilities of both fiction and theatre as such in order to establish at least some levels of relations and consequences of the present with regard to the past and vice versa. *Generation 91-95* is a homage to *Montažstroj*, a group of performers, dancers, and actors that was founded in late 1989 and started its activity twenty years ago at Zagreb Youth Theatre.

— ZeKaEm

Director: Borut Šeparović, dramaturge and director's assistant: Goran Ferčec
Cast: Aldin Kasumović, Andrej Kopčok, Andrej Vesel, Bernard Tomić, Dario Stajčić, Filip Jurković, Ivan Fedor, Ivan Pašalić, Luka Pulje, Matija Čigir, Matija Šakoronja, Nikola Nedić, Svebor Kamenski Bačun

Dodamo li vojsci, crkvi, stadionu i školu, dobivamo standardni Molotovljev koktel kojim politika priprema čovjeka za život u društvu, i na tržištu dakako. Borut Šeparović je te mehanizme oduvijek reflektirao u svojem radu, pa tako i u najnovijoj predstavi *Generacija 91.-95.*, nastaloj u suradnji s *Dramskim učilištem Zagrebačkog kazališta mladih*. Kao što je često činio i u projektima izvedbene skupine *Montažstroj* koja je prošli mjesec obilježila dvadeset godina djelovanja, za ovu predstavu izvođače je okupio preko audicije, zalazeći tako i izvan takozvane profesionalne kazališne zajednice. Dva uvjeta koji su kandidati morali ispuniti jest da su dječaci rođeni između 1991. i 1995. godine. U konačnom odabiru učinjeno je ipak nekoliko iznimaka. Tako je najstariji izvođač rođen 30. siječnja 1990.

Iz razgovora s glumcima:

Ivan Pašalić: Ova predstava sastoji se iz više dijelova. Jedan dio je fikcija koju je napisao Boris Dežulović u romanu "Jebo sad hiljadu dinara". U tom se djelu prikazuje situacija u jednom danu u kojem ratuju dvije strane, znači HVO (Hrvatsko vijeće obrane) i Armija Bosne i Hercegovine. Nas dvanaestorica utjelovljujemo te likove u koje smo dali dio sebe. Prikazujemo situaciju koju proživljavamo i jedni i drugi. Šest na jednoj i šest na drugoj strani - kao što je već napisano, *Ogledalo* u kojem se dešavaju slične situacije. Drugi dio je dokumentarni dio u kojem svi govorimo nešto o osobnom životu, o nacionalnosti, govorimo koje smo vjeroispovijesti i tu se može vidjeti da svi nismo isti. I upravo to pokazuje kakva bi Hrvatska po nama trebala biti. Ne moramo svi biti isti, ali da se svi međusobno poštujemo... treba prelaziti preko razlika jer mi smo u to vrijeme tek rođeni i konkretno nemamo veze sa onim što su radili ljudi kada smo se mi radali.

Ivan Fedor: Ja mislim da je ova predstava zapravo o tome kako mi vidimo ovaj rat i o tome koliko mi zapravo znamo o tom ratu i što smo mi naučili o njemu. Govori o tome kako smo mi jedna generacija koja je obilježena time. Ili su nas naučili o tome u školi, ili roditelji ili okolina... i mi se uvijek moramo na neki način deklarirati u odnosu na taj rat. Predstava prikazuje kako mi to vidimo i kako smo naučeni misliti o tom ratu.

Andrej Vesel: Zanimljiva su naša razmišljanja, kako se mi odnosimo prema tome. Na primjer, s jedne strane slušano Thompsona, a s druge strane slušamo srpske cajke. I to nas uopće ne dira. Jer mi ne razmišljamo "to su sada Srbi koji su nas ubijali pa ih mi ne trebamo slušati". Ne, to je nama dobar ritam i mi ćemo to slušati i baš nas boli briga, uživat ćemo.

Ivan Fedor: Mi zapravo nemamo veze s tim ratom. Niti smo tamo sudjelovali, niti pucali. Trebali bi nam dati priliku da se deklariramo bez obzira na to. Ako ću ja voljeti Srbiju - voljeti ću ju, a to nema nikakve veze s ratom i onim što su oni radili. Ja znam da smo se mi branili u ratu, da su oni nas napali, poštujem rat i poštujem sve te žrtve i sve to što se dogodilo. Ali trebaju nas jednostavno pustiti da mi imamo svoj život, da živimo onako kako mi to želimo. Ako želimo živjeti u Beogradu, na primjer, to ne znači da smo izdajice. Taj pritisak nije toliko očit, ali ako bilo kome kažeš 'srbin', imam osjećaj da se svatko na to 'štrećne'. Možda ne mi u tolikoj mjeri, ali pitaj nekoga starijeg i imat će tu reakciju. To se generacijski prenosi na nas, a ne bi trebalo. Ova predstava je o tome, kako mi to vidimo.

Filip Jurković: Mislim da mi s tom predstavom zapravo želimo poka-

If we add schools in the mix with the army, the church and the stadiums, we get the standard Molotov cocktail that the politics uses to prepare one for life in the society and on the market as well. Borut Šeparović has always reflected these mechanisms in his work and that is also the case with his latest production *Generation 91-95*, made in a collaboration with the Center for Education of the Zagreb Youth Theater. As has often been the case in the projects of the *Montažstroj* theater group, which celebrated its 20th anniversary last month, here also the performers were selected through an audition process, in order to reach beyond the so-called professional theater community. The only two conditions the candidates had to meet were that they had to be boys, and born between 1991 and 1995. In the final selection however, a few exceptions were made, so that the oldest performer was born on January 30, 1990.

[From the interview with the actors:]

Ivan Pašalić: This show consists of several parts. One part is fiction and it was written by Boris Dežulović. His novel is called *Jebo sad hiljadu dinara* [Fuck a Thousand Dinars Now] and it is about one day of war between the HVO (Hrvatsko vijeće obrane – Croatian Defense Council) and Armija Bosne i Hercegovine (Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina). The twelve of us gave a small part of ourselves to portray these characters. We show a situation the both sides were going through. Six people on one side, six on the other – as it was already written, it is a "mirror", with similar situations happening on both sides. The other part is the documentary part in which we all talk about something from our private lives – our nationality, religion and here one can see the differences between us. It is precisely that which shows what we think Croatia should be like. We don't all have to be the same, but we should respect each other... one needs to see past the differences because, at the time of war we were only being born and have nothing to do with what other people did at the time we were only staring our lives.

Ivan Fedor: I think what this show is really about is our perspectives on the war, our knowledge of it and what we have learned about it. It's about the fact that we are a generation marked by it. We have learned about it either in schools or from our parents or our surroundings... and we sort of always have to declare our opinions regarding that war. The play shows how we see it and what the others taught us about the war.

Andrej Vesel: It is interesting to see our way of thinking and dealing with it. For example, on one side we listen to Thompson, while on the other we also listen to Serbian turbo folk. And this doesn't bother us in the least, because when we listen to this music we do not automatically think "those are Serbs who killed our people and we should not listen to them". No, if the music has a good rhythm to it, we will play it and enjoy it and will not care whose it is.

Ivan Fedor: We do not really have anything to do with the war. We were not in it, we didn't do the shooting. They should give us a chance to have our say regardless. If I am to love Serbia, I will love it, it has nothing to do with the war and what the Serbs did in it. I know we were the ones defending our state and they were the ones who attacked and I respect the war and all the casualties and all that went on. However, they still should let us live our own lives the way we want to live them. If we wish to live in Belgrade, for example, it doesn't make us

zati neke stvari kojih jednostavno nismo svjesni, niti smo ih proživjeli. Znači, pričamo o nečem što se događalo dok smo se mi tek rađali, ili se još ni nismo rodili. Mi smo o tome slušali doma, i u školi, ali nismo proživjeli. Želimo dokazati da su stereotipi u našem društvu toliko veliki i jaki, i da imaju toliko utjecaj da smo jednostavno - iako nismo bili dio toga, i ne znamo iz prve ruke što se zapravo događalo - morali podleći pod njih. Svi. I kao grupa i kao cijela generacija.

Bernard Tomić: Meni je ovih godinu dana rada na predstavi pomoglo da neke stvari bolje shvatim, da se odmaknem od nekih stereotipa vezanih za društvo koje utječe na nas. Pogotovo preko medija... sad u novije vrijeme su sve liberalniji, ali prije su bili veoma, hajmo reći, antisrpski nastrojeni zbog tog rata. Mi, mlađe generacije, smo na neki način patili zbog toga. Svašta smo umišljali, a ništa zapravo nismo znali o tome. Kroz ovu predstavu stvarno puno toga naučiš. Gotovo nijedne činjenice od onih koje se spominju u drugom dijelu predstave, na tzv. 'Presici', nema u udžbenicima koji se nama nude u školi. Tu su zapravo neki detalji, neke sitnice koje stvarno puno znače, kroz koje se može puno naučiti... što je dobro i za publiku da ih shvati.

Matija Čigir: Ja mislim da se ova predstava ne tiče samo naše generacije, da mi bolje saznamo o tom ratu, ona je u stvari za cijeli narod. Ne samo nas Hrvate, već i za ove spomenute Srbe i za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. To je rat koji ne treba biti zaboravljen, ali vrijeme je da se krene dalje i da neka pitanja ostanu iza nas. Jednom nam je redatelj rekao jako dobru stvar, a to je: "prvo treba počistiti ispred svog praga, a onda krenuti dalje". Mislim da se ova predstava najviše bazira na tome da treba krenuti dalje.

Filip Jurković: Prije svega želimo pokazati da nismo svi isti, ali da se na žalost moramo deklarirati kao da jesmo. Neki među nama izvođačima nisu Hrvati. Godinu dana smo radili zajedno, a neke osobe su tek nakon par mjeseci skupile hrabrost i rekle da oni stvarno nisu Hrvati. Jer da su oni to rekli na početku, odmah bi se to drugačije gledalo... "on nije Hrvat, on je ovakav, on je onakav"... i on bi bio manje vrijedan. Ali, zašto? Svi smo mi ljudi, koje god vjeroispovijesti i narodnosti da jesmo. Želimo pokazati koliko je to loše i jadno što se mi petnaest godina nakon završetka rata još uvijek ne smijemo deklarirati onakvima kakvi zaista jesmo, nego onakvima kakvima nas društvo prihvaća.

Andrej Vesel: Meni su zanimljiva naša stajališta prije audicije, prije godinu dana, i sada nakon predstave. Trebalo nam je godinu dana rada da bismo uopće shvatili što glumimo, da bismo uopće bili svjesni toga što mi na sceni govorimo. Učili smo, informirali se sa raznih strana. Kao što je rekao kolega, ne možemo sve naučiti iz knjiga, udžbenika i iz škola... što nam oni zapravo ne žele reći, jer ima dosta zataškanih stvari koje ljudi u stvari ne bi smjeli znati.

Luka Šulje: Puno toga smo sami istražili, ali smo dobili isto tako od dramaturga neke skripte u kojima je bilo dosta toga napisano, što je uglavnom izvučeno iz udžbenika. Iskreno, uopće nisam znao da se to sve nalazi u udžbenicima. Uglavnom, svaki od nas je prenio nešto što je čuo kod kuće ili od okoline, što s vremenom naučiš i preneseš nekome drugome. Kroz ovih godinu dana saznali smo, mislim, puno više nego što svi saznaju kroz dvanaest godina škole i kroz povijest i zemljopis.

Andrej Kopčok: Zanimljiva je stvar što mi u predstavi svi kažemo da imamo odličan iz povijesti. Jer mnogi i imaju odličan iz povijesti, a zapravo je ne znaju, bar što se tiče Domovinskog rata i ove naše bliže povijesti. Tu je taj apsurd kako se društvo zapravo odnosi prema cijeloj priči i što društvo želi, kako da se stvari odvijaju dalje.

Ivan Fedor: Što se tiče rata i toga svega, u tih godinu dana rada puno sam naučio iz razgovora s drugima. Svatko od nas ovdje je donio neko svoje viđenje rata i neku svoju ideju koju su nam dali kod kuće, ili netko drugi. I kada su se sve te ideje spojile u jedno, to je bilo zanimljivo i baš iz toga sam puno naučio o

traitors. The pressure is not so tangible, but if you say "Serb" to anyone, I have a feeling that they will 'flinch' at hearing it. Maybe not to that extent, but ask an older person and you'll get this reaction. This is being transmitted to us through generations. This play is about how we view this matter.

Filip Jurković: I think that with this play we are aiming to show things we are not fully aware of and have not lived through exactly. So we are talking about something that took place at the moment we were being brought to this world or hadn't even been born yet. We only listened about this at home or in schools, but we haven't actually experienced it. Our goal is to demonstrate that the stereotypes in our society are so big, strong and influential that even though we were not part of it and have no firsthand knowledge, we had to succumb to this influence, as a group and as a whole generation of people.

Bernard Tomić: Working on this play for the past year has helped me understand some things better and to move away from certain stereotypes that affect us...especially through the media, which have become more liberal nowadays, but were once very, we could say "anti-Serbian" when it came to the war. We, the younger generations, suffered for it in a way. We had all these misconceptions, when in fact we knew nothing about it. You really learn a lot with this play. Almost none of the facts mentioned in the second part of the play, the so called 'Press-release' are not in books we read at school. It is more about some detail which means a lot, through which you learn a lot...which is also good for the audience to realize.

Matija Čigir: I think this play doesn't only concern our generation, it is not only teaching my peers more about the war, but it is for everyone. It is not only for us Croats, but also the above mentioned Serbs and people from Bosnia and Herzegovina. This war is something which should not be forgotten, but it is time to move on and leave some questions behind. The director told us once a very smart thing: "first you have to sweep up in front of your own doorstep, then you continue walking". I think this play is mostly about the fact that we should move on.

Filip Jurković: Above all, we wish to show how we are not all the same, but unfortunately we have to declare as though we were. Some of the performers are not Croats. We had been working together for a year and it took some people a few months to muster the courage to admit that they were not really Croats. Had they said it at the beginning, they would not have been treated the same... "He's not a Croat, he's this and that" ...and they would have been considered less worthy. Why? We are all people, no matter what religion one worshipped or what their nationality was. We wish to demonstrate how bad and pathetic it is that 15 years after the war we still cannot speak freely about who we really are, but pretend to be what the society accepts.

Andrej Vesel: For me what is interesting are our opinions a year ago, before the audition, and now, after the show. It took us a year to even realize what it was we were acting, to become fully aware of what we were saying on stage. We have been learning and getting information from everywhere. Like my colleague has previously stated, you cannot learn everything from books or in school. You cannot learn what they won't tell you, because there are many things that are covered up, that some people don't want you to know about.

Luka Šulje: We did a lot of research ourselves, but we also got a script from the playwright in which there was a lot of information, mostly from schoolbooks. Honestly, I didn't even know the schoolbooks contained all that. Mainly, we got our information at home or from our surroundings, this becomes your knowledge and and over time you transmit it. In my opinion, we learned a lot more during this year than people learn through 12 years of going to school and learning about history and geography.

ratu. Jest da nam je i Borut pričao, ali to je njegovo viđenje rata, što isto nije objektivno. Puno toga bilo mi je jasnije kad se sve to na kraju na neki način spojilo. Na neke stvari drugačije gledam i zbog toga mi je drago. A što se tiče školovanja, stvarno je istina da nemamo svi pet iz povijesti. I to što se uči o ratu u školi je stvarno sramotno. Ja bih to sada rekao javno. U osmom razredu učimo mjesec dana o tome, a u srednjoj školi mislim da uopće ne učimo, do toga se ne stigne. To nije u redu, ljudi bi trebali znati o tom ratu istinu. Ali ne neku subjektivnu, već objektivnu istinu. Mi smo to ovdje naučili i zbog toga mi je drago.

Agata Juniku: Ima li objektivne istine?

Ivan Fedor: Mora je biti. Jer ako nema objektivne istine, čega onda ima? Ima neka objektivna istina, ali sve se to... Sada sam se zapetljao, ali ono što sam htio reći je da sam neke stvari počeo objektivnije gledati i da mi je zbog toga drago.

Filip Jurković: Dotaknuli smo se objektivne istine i ovog što smo naučili u godinu dana. Mi svi zapravo učimo u školi, učimo o nekom ratu, učimo kroz definitivno subjektivnu istinu koja je takva da su nas Srbi napali i da smo se mi samo branili i da nismo napravili nikome ništa nažao. A svi smo svjesni da to nije tako. Zatim smo govorili svoje neke doživljaje kako smo mi to doživjeli preko naših roditelja koji su nam pričali i koji su to proživljavali. Naravno da svi roditelji nemaju isto mišljenje i svi smo došli sa drugačijim gledištem prema tom ratu. Bilo je jako zanimljivo slušati kolege, Boruta i Gorana koji su to proživjeli i sve kolege koji su od kuće donijeli mišljenje koje je drugačije od mog. Čuti što oni misle, što je njima ispričano. Tada smo zajedno to sagledali, skupili mišljenja i mislim da smo tu najbliže došli nekoj objektivnoj istini, nikako ne do kraja. Puno smo više došli do nje i puno smo više naučili nego što znaju naši vršnjaci.

Matija Čigir: Slušajući Boruta, koji je zbilja svestran čovjek, puno smo naučili i on nas je zapravo motivirao da počnemo i sami istraživati o tome ratu. Shvatili smo da jako malo znamo o našem Domovinskom ratu.

Andrej Kopčok: Ova predstava koliko govori o Vukovaru toliko govori i o logoru u Lori kod Splita. I baš zato će se nekima svidjeti, a mnogima i neće.

Nikola Nedić: Ova tema, Domovinski rat... to je jako potresno razdoblje za Hrvatsku i to je tema o kojoj nisam puno znao prije nego što sam se pridružio ovoj predstavi. Moram priznati da me toliko nije ni zanimala. Nekako sam uvijek živio u društvu i okolini gdje su svi govorili protiv Srba, mrzili ih. Drago mi je što sam puno naučio o Domovinskom ratu, što će mi trebati kroz cijeli život.

Aldin Kasumović: Ta tema, ta predstava, govori o stvarima koje se u Hrvatskoj dosta kriju. Krije se neka istina koja je stvarno bila. Poanta je da se nikoga ne treba mrziti, već poštivati sve vjere i nacije. Isti ne možemo svi biti. Svaki je čovjek različit.

Bernard Tomić: Način na koji stječemo ovo znanje se uvelike razlikuje od škole gdje nam se prezentira znanje koje se uči već godinama... U ovom projektu mi smo sami stvarali veliki dio predstave, sami smo istraživali i na taj način stvarali svoje školske sate.

Andrej Kopčok: U današnje vrijeme masovnih medija čovjeku su dostupne sve moguće informacije. Moderna škola više se ne bi trebala baviti učenjem informacija, već time na koji način ih koristiti, a to smo mi kroz ovaj projekt naučili. Škola nas tome nikako ne uči.

Filip Jurković: U školi nama netko nameće to znanje koje je godinama prije određeno. I to je točno takvo znanje koje 'moraš' imati. A ovdje smo došli svatko sa nekim svojim znanjem, odnosno predznanjem, skupili ga kao cjelinu i sami izvlačili ono što mislimo da je bitno.

Matija Čigir: Škola zapravo predstavlja neku teoriju, a ovo ovdje je praksa. Nama tj. meni više znači ova praksa, a to su stvarno dvije različite stvari.

Andrej Kopčok: I find it interesting how we all say in the play that we have an A in history. A lot of people have an A in history but don't really know about history, at least not when it comes to the war and the more recent history. There is this absurdity about the way the society deals with the whole story and what it wants from it, in what direction it wants to keep going.

Ivan Fedor: When it comes to the war and everything related, I have learned a lot during that year from talking to others. Each of us had their own version of the war they had brought with them, together with the ideas we got from home or someplace else. When all of these merged into one it became interesting and from that I learned a lot about the war. Borut also told us about it from his own perspective, which likewise lacks objectivity, so a lot of it made more sense to me when it was all combined in a way into one version in the end. Now I see certain things differently and I am glad for it. As for the schools, it really is true that we do not all have an A in history. What they teach about the war in schools is really a disgrace. I wish to declare this publicly now. In the eighth grade we dedicate a whole month to it, in high-school we do not even cover it I think, because there is too much curriculum so it doesn't get covered. That's wrong; people should know the truth about that war. Not a subjective truth, but an objective one. We have learned it here and I am really glad because of it.

Agata Juniku: Is there such a thing as objective truth?

Ivan Fedor: There has to be. Because if there is no objective truth, what is there? There is some sort of objective truth, but it is all....Now I lost my train of thought, but what I meant to say is that I started thinking about some things with a lot more objectivity and I am really happy about it.

Filip Jurković: We mention now the question of objective truth and everything we have learned during one year. We all learn about this war at school, but what we learn is definitely a subjective version of the truth, which states that Serbs were the aggressors and we only defended ourselves and never did anything to hurt anyone else. And we all realize that that is not the case. Then we spoke about some of our own experiences which were mediated by the experience of our parents, who told us about it and who witnessed this period. Of course, not all parents share the same opinion and we all came with different opinions about the same war. It was very interesting to listen to the colleagues, Borut and Goran, who had lived through this time, and all the other colleagues who only had opinions they had brought from home, opinions different from mine... to hear what they thought, what they had been told. When we listened to all of this and tried to see the bigger picture, I think that in that moment we came closer to some sort of objective truth, but certainly not the ultimate one. We did reach it to some extent however and learned more about it our peers have.

Matija Čigir: Listening to Borut, who is a very versatile man indeed, we have learned a lot and he was the one who actually motivated us to start finding out for ourselves about the war. We realized how little we knew about it.

Andrej Kopčok: This play talks about Vukovar as much as it does about the Lora camp near Split. And that is precisely why some will like it and a lot of people won't.

Bernard Tomić: The way in which we learned here is a lot different from the way you learn at schools, because there they only teach the same things they have been teaching for years, apart from some new school subjects. And in this project we were able to create a great deal of the play ourselves, we did our own research and created school classes for ourselves.

Andrej Kopčok: In today's world of mass media, information is omnipresent and available. Modern day schools should not be teaching people information but they should be teaching us the way to use them and that is precisely

Andrej Vesel: To u školama je na određen način manipulacija nama. A kada smo došli ovdje, mogli smo na neki način manipulirati sami sa sobom. Zato što smo saznali da imamo mnoge mogućnosti kojima se možemo koristiti, dok smo u školama bili ograničeni.

Nikola Nedić: Shvaćam školu kao ustanovu za kontrolu; uvijek se zna gdje smo u koliko sati i što radimo.



what we have learned through working on this project. The school doesn't teach you that.

Filip Jurković: In schools they impose on you the knowledge that had been determined as finite, years before. And they present it as the exact knowledge you "have to have", while here we all came with our preconceived notions, gathered them together and independently selected what we thought was important.

Matija Čigir: Schools represent a sort of theory and this right here is practice. To us, that is to me, the practice is much more significant, and theory and practice are two very different things.

Andrej Vesel: Schools are a form of manipulation. When we came here, we could manipulate ourselves in a way; because we found out we had the opportunities we could utilize while in schools we are restricted.

Nikola Nedić: I think of schools as institutions of control; so that it is always clear where we are, at what time and what we are doing.

— translated to English by Jelena Bajić

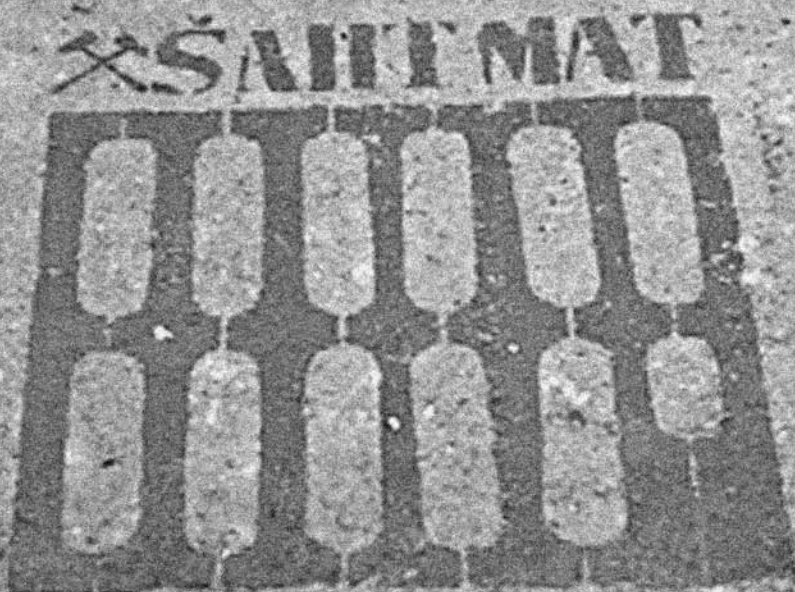
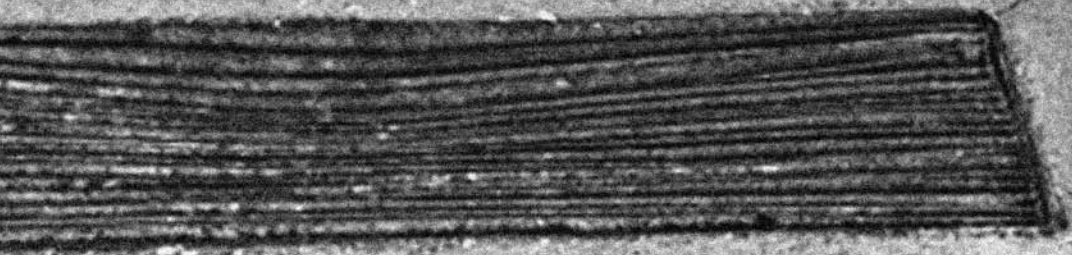


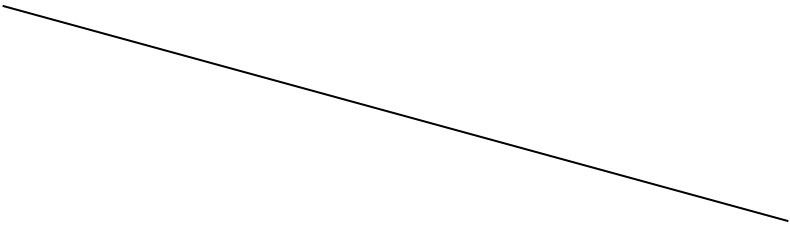
Borut Šeparović, Goran Ferčec, *Generacija 91-95, s predstave / Generation 91-95*, documentation of the theatre play.
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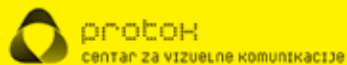
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