





Kontrola i otpor na ulici

KONTEKST galerija, 15.maj - 1.jun 2008.

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Struktura moći na ulici i aspekti „samoodbrane“

Poznato je da javni prostor¹ predstavlja više od jednoznačnog pojma. Sadržaj tog pojma obuhvata sve od politike planiranja urbane sredine do održavanja kulturnih spomenika. Međutim, da li javni prostor kao diskurs predpostavlja i određenu moć koja potom konstituise naš habitus² na takav način da mi sami, kao pojedinci koji participiraju u njemu, postavljamo ograničenja svom delovanju. Ovde bismo, lako, mogli da damo potvrđan odgovor. Sam javni prostor zaista podrazumeva određena pravila koja percipiramo kao pravila interakcije u njemu, što nikako ne znači da je ovaj proces lišen svoje latentne funkcije subjektivizacije pojedinca – sam proces, dakle, zaista može da ispunjava ulogu kontrole istog. Ovde se sad nameće pitanje razlike između javnog prostora i ulice. Javni prostor je obuhvatniji diskurs koji u potpunosti određuje naše shvatanje ulice, međutim ulica predstavlja njegovu najrelevantniju konkretizaciju i njegov cilj; nema diskursa kontrole koji pre ili kasnije ne teži da se iskaže i na ulici, jer jedino tu i ima potpunog smisla za njegovo ispoljavanje. Mi ćemo kroz kritičko promatranje ulice pokušati da nešto više saznamo o samom pojmu jednog od najbitnijih aspekata javnog prostora.

Posmatrano iz fukoovske vizure moći, kontrola i otpor su društveni fenomeni koji se međuprolimaju. Drugim rečima, kapilarno raširenoj moći odgovara i kapilarno pozicionirani otpor. Akt otpora ovde ne treba shvatati kao neku vrstu marksističke ideje o nužnom sukobu, već kao delovanje koje samo sebe pokušava da izuzme iz relacija koje mu društvena struktura postavlja kao „legitimne“. Razmotrimo ovaj problem na jednom primeru: ukoliko postoji neka vrsta javne rasprave ili debate poput skorašnjih rasprava o nadgledanju građana CCTV (closed-circuit television) kamerama, tada princip političkog „razvrstavanja“ postaje glavna deteminanta borbe oko značenja (na ulici), jedan zaista nezavistan subjekt pri pokušaju da ostavi trag na samoj ulici, dakle, nužno mora da uđe u određene političke relacije, on mora da se svrsta da bi delovao, što upravo govori da je njegova autentičnost redukovana skoro do neprepoznavanja.

Ako, pak, razradimo Lefevrovu ideju po kojoj se opšti društveni odnosi u potpunosti reprodukuju u pojmu urbanog, onda ulica kao jedan od aspekata diskursa javnog prostora predstavlja više nego simbločan prikaz atrofije naše slobode da delamo. Naime, svakodnevice predstavlja nužnu osnovu naše ukupne slobode, a upravo je ona meta instrumentalizacije savremenih oblika kontrole. Javni aspekt svakodnevice, shodno predašnjem Lefevrovom stanovištu, se jedino može ispoljiti na ulici, te stoga, ovaj diskurs predstavlja jedan od najznačajnijih elemenata kontrole s kojim se mi kao pojedinci uopšte susrećemo.

Već je pomenuto da bi trebalo razviti jedan teoretski model koji bi ove probleme tretirao izvan političkog polja. Razvrstavanje po principu nekakvih političkih opozicija u startu predstavlja ulazak u igru moći u kojoj mi kao pojedinci bivamo zarobljeni tako što se opredeljujemo za odgovore i opcije

1 Javni prostor se u ovom tekstu shvata u jednom ograničenom značenju koje podrazumeva javne gradske prostore i institucije koje stoje u neposrednoj relaciji sa njima. Ovo razgraničenje služi da bi se korišćenje ovog pojma odvojilo od njegove šire upotrebe koja podrazumeva „virtuelni“ javni prostor poput medijskog javnog prostora, interneta itd.

2 Habitus predstavlja sociološko-filozofski pojam kojim se prevazilazi rigidno shvaćeni „sukob“ između delatnika i strukture, upravo unutar pojma habitusa dolazi do konvergencije nužnosti i pojedinačne slobode delovanja.

koji nisu bili predmet naše samostalne refleksije. Šta bi onda moglo da posluži kao sredstvo za ukidanje kontinuiteta moći tj, njenog kapilarnog sprovođenja na ulici? Tačke diskontinuiteta morale bi biti van svake klasifikacije od strane sistema - bila bi to mesta na kojima se zahvaljujući formalnoj bezvrednosti nekog akta uspostavlja slepo polje koje time što se nalazi van svakog razmatranja pruža otpor.

Te slepe tačke mogu biti konstruisane od strane delatnika (mada je slučajnost pri njihovom formiranju češći slučaj). Međutim, ono što je za njih karakteristično je činjenica da kao svoju primarnu osobenost imaju prividnu marginalnost u odnosu na sistem koji ih ne smatra relevantnim, jer ove tačke funkcionišu kao zasebni skupovi pojava koje žive naporedo sa sistemom moći ali na njega ne referiraju, što stvara iluziju da nemaju nikakav subverzivni potencijal. Za naše habituse su ove slepe tačke i njihova „marginalnost“ od neobičnog značaja. Upravo se na tim obesmišljenim, ponekad čak i opasno ironičnim *locusima*, fomira autentičan diskurs otpora, tačnije, on u sebi ima jedan specifičan potencijal za pružanje otpora.

Naši habitusi kojima iščitavamo zanačenja ulice uslovljeni su različitim „interiorizovanim norma-ma“, stoga jedino pomenute tačke diskontinuiteta mogu da indukuju refleksiju o našem sopstvu. Fuko je u „Hermeneutici subjekta“ zagovarao slobodu subjekta upravo time što bi se određeni prelomni trenutci ili granične pojave promislili kako bi se formirala filozofska askeza koja će omogućiti stvaranje subjekta slobodnog od determinacije. „Mislim da filozofsku askezu treba pojmiti kao put da se subjekt saznanja izgradi kao subjekt ispravnog delovanja. Ako se istovremeno izgradimo kao subjekt saznanja i ispravnog delanja, smeštamo se u svet ili kao korelativ sebi dajemo svet koji se percipira, prepoznaje i praktikuje kao iskušenje.“³. Isti princip funkcioniše i na ulici ukoliko želimo da promislimo šta ulica zaista znači moramo se posvetiti upravo mestima na kojima ulica nema nikakvo značenje ono banalno, ono naizgled trivijalno, ono što nam stvara nešto nalik prirodnoj odbojnosti, su upravo tačke koje moraju postati predmet naše intezivne refleksije ukoliko želimo da sebe konstituišemo kao slobodne i delatne subjekte.

Iz jedne drugačije vizure, čiji je pobornik Lefevr, problem možemo definisati kao potragu za mestima i fenomenima koji ukidaju naš fokus na prostore izotopije (homologna mesta koja imaju analogne funkcije ili strukture) i pomeraju ga na prostore heterotropije (kontrastni prostori u kojima vlada igra odbojnih, nekad važnih i krajnjih sila napetosti), uz jednu ogradu: koja podrazumeva da sile koje vladaju unutar heterotropije svoje značenje toliko zgušnjavaju da nam se ono vrlo često čini kao neprimetno.

Sada kada imamo ovu optiku objašnjenu na jednom apstraktnom nivou, valjalo bi dati i par primera kako bi se stvari razjasnile. Recimo, odnos između prosjaka i luksuza nikako nije odnos potčinjavanja, već brutalnog nasilja. Radikalno ophođenje prema prosijaku od strane sistema proističe iz činjenice da moć, koju u ovom primeru oličava luksuz⁴, nema nijedan način da ovog pojedinca integriše u društvo — te stoga, on mora biti isključen; mora postati nevidljiv time što će biti sklonjen u prihva-

3 Mišel Fuko, „Hermeneutika subjekta“, Svetovi, Novi Sad, 2003.

4 Recimo neki kazino ispred kog prosi naš zamišljeni prosjak

tilište gde će njegov subverzivni potencijal biti lokalizovan. Tako diskurs moći potčinjava jedino nas „normalne građane“ time što „uvidamo“ nužnost nasilja. Prosjak je najboji primer slepe tačke u sitemu društvene moći. Vizura luksuza prelomljena kroz sočivo ove zamišljene situacije je idealni tip refleksije o problemima kontrole koji bi mogli drastično da promene našu recepciju pojma ulice. Pritom, ne treba zaboraviti da je redefinisanje diskursa odozdo ujedno i način njegovog razlaganja.

Pored ovakvog slučajnog i neposrednog potencijala za samorefleksiju mogu se prepoznati i neki drugi modeli koji podrazumevaju jedan znatno angažovaniji pristup. Ironizacija nekog fenomena predstavlja tu drugu igru, međutim, sama ironizacija je opasna ukoliko predstavlja puko sredstvo za oslobađanje neke nesvesne frustracije. Ipak svaka delatna, ili drugim rečima, svaka materijalizovana ironija, poseduje znatan potencijal za indukovanje pomenute fukoovske filozofske askeze. Način na koji se ovo postiže je izvrtanje značenja i logike moći zbog čega se ukidaju sve pređašnje relacije sa samim društvom. U ironizaciji neke pojave ili fenomena ne postoje više lefevrovski prostori izotopije i heterotopije, moć nestaje, samo mesto postaje prazno. Mesto koje je obeleženo ironijom stvara napetost u našim habitusima, te tako predmet naše refleksije treba da postane preispitivanje ove napetosti na čijem tragu se potom otkriva mogućnost ukidanja diskursa koji nam se čini tako prijemčiv, a samim tim otkriva mogućnost refleksije poput one koje indukuje slučajnost.

Dakle, naš cilj bi trebalo da bude konstantno traganje za ovim mestima diskontinuiteta koja nas izvlače iz zamke opredeljivanja i naizgled nužnih opozicija; upravo na njih bi trebala da se fokusira naša pažnja kada u okviru naše svakodnevice boravimo na ulici i konzumiramo njena značenja. Odbrana autonomije naše svakodnevice u velikoj meri zavisi od odbrane ulice kao prostora koji ipak mi sami iznova, našim životima, stvaramo.

Specifičnosti lokalnog konteksta

Posle ovako opšteg pregleda strukture moći i određenih mogućnosti uspostavljanja otpora njenim kolonizatorskim intencijama, potrebno je dati neke ograde kada se ova situacija pokuša promisliti u lokalnom kontekstu. Kao što je opšte poznato, Srbija predstavlja društvo u kome proces postsocijalističke transformacije teče jako usporenim tokom, a ova makrostrukturna odlika ima svoje konsekvence po konstituisanje diskursa javnog prostora i njegovu recepciju kod onih koji ga konzumiraju.

Sama struktura moći je ovde u mnogo manjoj meri kapilarna, a njena sposobnost da subjektivizuje građane nije toliko suptilna i ne odvija se po nekoj vrsti automatizma kao što je to slučaj na Zapadu. Specifičnost se ogleda u činjenici da ovde ne postoji politički konsenzus oko opštih društvenih vrednosti, a ulica i javni prostor uopšte predstavljaju poprište otvorenih politikantskih borbi. Situacija u kojoj nema opšteg konsenzusa je situacija u kojoj nema ni opšte integracije kao osnovnog preduslova kapilarnog funkcionisanja moći. Ovakva politička sredina ide ruku pod ruku sa opštim strukturnim

haosom u kome se prepliću i raznorazni modeli upravljanja i političkih ideologija, koje se spram svih fenomena koje bi politika trebalo da tretira skoro u potpunosti razlikuju u pristupu i rešenjima. Ovakva vrsta nekonstruktivnog razmimoilaženja onemogućava bilo kakvu mogućnost kontinuiteta u društvenom razvoju, a posledice su svakako vidljive i na ulici.

Naime, pojedinaac koji živi na ovim prostorima nema mogućnost ni da bira između političkih opcija koje se obično na Zapadu nude kao alternative u okviru sistema. Tako se ovde nudi opredeljivanje u okviru «paradigmi» od kojih svaka pojedinačno podrazumeva prevazilaženje (tačnije: uništenje) one druge. Dakle, dok se na Zapadu politička borba vodi oko pozicije sa koje se formalno vrši upravljanje, gde postoji jedinstvena struktura o kojoj se ne pregovara već se samo raspravlja o njenom usmerenju, dotle se u Srbiji vodi isprazna borba različitih ideologija u kojima realni osnov društvenog uređenja igra efemernu ulogu — te čak i ulica postaje podvojena u toj borbi. Rezultat ovog sukoba je materijalno propadanje ulice i društvene strukture uopšte.

Oni koju konzumiraju javni prostor, oni koji ga u velikoj meri tvore tako se zatiču u dvostruko nepovoljnoj situaciji. S jedne strane, postoji neki krnji oblik kapilarne moći nalik onoj na Zapadu, koja opstaje paralelno sa centralizovanom strukturom političke moći. Međutim, za razliku od razvijenih zemalja, nosioci političke moći usled pomenutog preimущества ideologije nemaju obavezu da pruže materijalne rezultate kako bi obezbedili legitimnost svoje vlasti. Simbolička borba (na svakom nivou značajnosti) na ulici dobija svoje ogoljene oblike i dnevna politika se upravo iz tog razloga najčešće vodila na ulici, jer na ovim prostorima dnevno politikanstvo pokušava da sebe prikaže kao vrhunsku politiku upravo da bi sakrilo da to ustvari nije. Posledica ovakvog „rata svetova“ koji podrazumeva paralelno postojanje više ulica u okviru jedne iste, stvara u glavama onih koji participiraju na ulici opšti haos pojmova. Prolaznik i sugrađanin nekog od gradova s ovih prostora tako nema čak ni onu lažnu dilemu odobira pravih političkih alternativa. Naime, on mora da po nekom fatalističkom automatizmu odabira svet za koji se zalaže i da na taj način posredno učestvuje u potkopavanju materijalnog uslova svog delovanja tj, svoje svakodnevne uloge na ulici.

Sve to upućuje da jedan aktivni pristup problemu moći unutar javnog prostora, barem u slučaju nedovršene transformacije kakva je ovde, paralelnu borbu. Jednu koja je hazardna- ali ipak nužna, a to je borba za stvarne političke alternative i stabilizaciju putem integracije; i druga, koja bi prevazišla probleme koji su imanentni Moderni, a to je borba protiv subjektivizacije/podređivanja kao nuspojave rasta društvene racionalnosti.

Srđan Prodanović

Control and Resistance on the Street

Structure of power in the street and aspects of «self-defence»

It is well known that the concept of public space¹ has more than one meaning. This concept comprises everything from city planning policies to the preservation of cultural heritage (its material manifestations). However, the question imposes whether public space as a discourse implies certain power which constitutes our habitat² in a way that we ourselves, as individuals participating in it, impose certain limitations on our actions. The answer could easily be yes. Public space indeed implies certain regulations which are perceived as rules of interaction within it; however, in a way this process has a latent tendency towards the subjection of the individual – the process itself, that is, may truly fulfil the role of controlling the individual. The question of distinction between public space and the street imposes at this point. Public space is a broader discourse which totally determines our understanding of the street. However, the street is its most relevant manifestation and its purpose, there is no discourse of control which, sooner or later, does not manifest itself on the street, because only there its true meaning is gained. Our intention is to learn more about the actual meaning of the one of the most important aspects of public space, through critical examination of the street.

Perceived through Foucault's vision of power, control and resistance are social phenomena which intersect each other. In other words, capillary dispersed power is accompanied with capillary positioned resistance. The act of resistance is not to be understood here as a sort of Marxist idea of inevitable conflict but as an action that tends to exclude itself from relations that are imposed by social structure as "legitimate". Let us consider this problem on an example: if there is a sort of public discussion or a debate like recent debates on citizens' surveillance by means of CCTV (closed-circuit television) cameras, then the principle of political "classification" becomes major determining factor in the struggle for the meaning (on the street). One truly independent subject, trying to leave a mark on the street, hence, inevitably has to be a part of certain political relations; he has to classify himself in order to act, which implies that his authenticity is reduced practically below recognition.

If, on the other hand, we try to expand Lefebvre's thought according to which general social relations are totally reproductive within the concept of urban regime, then the street as one aspect in the discourse on public space represents more than a symbol of atrophy of our freedom of action. Namely, everyday-life represents necessary foundation for our total freedom, and it is precisely the target of instrumentation of contemporary forms of control. Public aspects of everyday-life, according to Lefebvre's position, are visible only on the street; therefore, this discourse represents one of the most important elements of control which we as individuals encounter.

It was already said that a theoretical model should be developed in order to treat these problems outside of the political ground. Classification based on the principle of political oppositions at the very start enrolls us as players in the power game in which we as individuals are captured by solutions and

1 Public space as seen in this text is understood in a limited sense meaning city public places and institutions related to them. This demarcation is necessary in order to distinguish specific meaning of this term from its broader meaning that includes "virtual" public spaces as media, internet, etc.

2 Habitat is a sociological and philosophical term which overcomes the rigid "conflict" between actor and structure; exactly within habitat there is a convergence of necessity and individual freedom of action

options that were not subjects of our own contemplation. What may then serve as means for abandoning continuity of power i.e. its capillary dispersion on the street? Points of discontinuity would have to be outside any classification by the system; those would be places in which, thanks to formal insignificance of certain act, a blind spot is constituted and this blind spot, by not being considered anywhere, puts up the resistance.

These blind spots may be construed by actors (although they are more often detached thanks to their inherent features). However, what characterises them is a fact that their primary feature is supposed marginality in a reference to the system which considers them irrelevant, because these spots function as separate groups of phenomena that live parallel to power system but have no reference to it, thus creating the illusion that they have no subversive potential whatsoever. For our habitats these blind spots and their supposed "marginality" are unusually important. These senseless, sometimes dangerously ironical foci are exactly where authentic discourse of resistance is formed, to be more precise they comprise a specific kind of potential for resistance.

Our habitats by means of which we read meanings of the street are conditioned by various "internalised norms", so only aforementioned spots of discontinuity can induce reflection on our selfness. In his "Hermeneutics of the subject" Foucault speaks of the freedom of a subject by contemplating on certain breaking points or marginal phenomena in order to form a philosophical asceticism which will enable creation of the subject free from determination. «I think that philosophical asceticism should be understood as a road to build the subject of epistemology as the subject of proper action. If we build ourselves up simultaneously as subjects of epistemology and subjects of proper action, we place ourselves into the world or, as a correlative, we provide ourselves with a world that is perceived, recognised and practised as temptation.»³. The same principle functions on the street and if we wish to think of what the street really means we have to turn our attention to places where the street has no meaning - that banal, apparently trivial, naturally repulsive meaning - those are exactly the spots that have to become topics of our intensified reflection if we wish to constitute ourselves as free and active subjects.

From a different point of view, Lefebvre's, the problem may be defined as a search for places and phenomena which turn our focus from isotopic places (homologous places that have analogous functions or structures) to heterotopic places (contrast places governed by a play of repulsive, never important and extreme forces of tension), by one condition: that forces governing within heterotopy condense their meaning in a way that it seems almost unnoticeable.

Now that we have these optics explained on an abstract level, few examples should be given in order to clarify things. For one, let us consider a relation between the beggar and the luxury⁴ as a relation not of submission but of brutal violence. Radical treatment of the beggar by the system is caused by the fact that the power embodied in the luxury does not know a way of integrating this particular individual in the society - therefore, he has to be excluded, to become invisible, to be put away in a

3 Mišel Fuko, "Hermeneutika subjekta", Svetovi, Novi Sad, 2003.

4 let us imagine a casino in front of which our beggar sits

shelter house where his subversive potential is localised. In that way the discourse of power suppresses only us, “normal citizens”, because we “understand” the necessity of violence. The beggar is the best example for a blind spot in the structure of social power. Vision of the luxury seen through a lens of this imaginary situation is an ideal type of reflection on problems of control that may drastically change our perception of the street. Still, it should not be forgotten that redefinition of the discourse from below is at the same time a way of its disintegration.

Besides this arbitrary and direct potential for self-reflection, some other models may be recognised, which imply more active approach. Ironic approach to a phenomenon represents this other approach; however, irony itself is dangerous if used as a means of ventilation of some unconscious frustration. Still, every active or, in other words, every materialised irony possesses a potential for induction of aforementioned Foucault’s philosophical asceticism. The way to accomplish this is by distortion of meaning and logic of power and termination of all previous relations with the society. In ironic approach to a certain phenomenon, Lefebvre’s isotopic and heterotopic places seize to exist, power is gone and the place itself becomes vacant. The place marked with irony creates tension in our habitats; therefore, the subject of our reflection should be the analysis of this tension, on the path of which the possibility of terminating the discourse is so accessible, as well as the possibility of a reflection induced by chance.

So, our goal should be constant pursuit for these places of discontinuity that save us from the trap of seemingly unavoidable decisions and oppositions. Our attention should be focused on these places when in our everyday lives we spend time on the street consuming its meanings. Protection of the autonomy of our everyday lives mostly depends on the protection of the street as a place we recreate by our own living.

Specifics of the local context

After this general overview of the structure of power and possibilities of resistance, it is necessary to put some restraints to its colonial intentions in order to understand the local context of it. It is well known that Serbian society is a type of society in transition where the process of post-socialist transformation is very slow, and this macrostructure feature influences the creation of the discourse of public space and its perception by its consumers.

The power structure in this case is less capillary and its ability to subject citizens is not that subtle and sort of automatic as this is the case in the West. Its specificity is obvious in the fact that in this country there is no political consensus concerning general social values, and the street and public space in general are battle sites for political struggles. The situation where there is no general consensus is a situation where there is no general integration as a basic precondition for capillary arranged structure of

power. This kind of political environment goes hand in hand with general structural chaos, interweaving various models of government and political ideologies that have completely different approaches and solutions concerning all phenomena treated by politics. These kind of non-constructive disagreements disable any continuous social development, consequences of which are visible on the street.

Namely, an individual living here has no opportunity to choose between political options present in the West as alternatives within the system. Here, choice is being made between paradigms that are directly opposed to each other (choosing one means discarding or even destructing the other). So, whereas in the West the political struggle is fought over the formal position of governing, and the unique structure is not negotiable but only its direction may be discussed, in Serbia a useless struggle between different ideologies is fought and the real foundation of social structure is ephemeral, so that even the street becomes ambiguous in this struggle. The result of this struggle is material deterioration of the street and the social structure in general.

Consumers of public space, its creators are therefore found in doubly unfavourable position. On the one hand there are traces of capillary dispersed power as in the West, which survive parallel to centralised structure of political power. On the other hand, unlike in developed countries, bearers of political power, thanks to aforementioned privilege of ideology, are not obliged to provide material founding in order to legitimise their power. Symbolical struggle (every level of its meaning) is materialised on the street and daily politics are from this reason alone, manifested mainly on the street, because here daily politics try to pass as serious politics in order to hide that that is exactly what they are not. Consequences of this “war of the worlds” which implies simultaneous existence of several streets within a street, creates a major chaos of concepts in the minds of those participating in the street life. A visitor and a citizen in any city in this country do not have even that false dilemma on how to decide which the right political alternative is. Hence, he has to choose the world he stands for based on some fatalistic automatism, indirectly engaging himself in subversion of material conditions for his actions i.e. his everyday role on the street.

All of this, points to an active approach to the problem of power within the public space; in the case of unfinished transformation such as we have here – to two parallel struggles. One that is hazardous but inevitable and that would be the struggle for real political alternatives and stabilisation by integration, and the other that would overcome problems immanent to Modernism, and that would be the struggle against subjection/submission as a side effect of increased social rationalism.

Srdan Prodanović

Građanska inicijativa Peti park Civic Initiative Peti park

Šezdesetih godina izgrađeno je naselje: 11 stambenih i 6 poslovnih zgrada, a oko njih parkinzi, dečija i sportska igrališta, parkovi. Trideset godina kasnije, umesto parka i košarkaškog terena „ucrtana“ je zgrada od 6500m², umesto tri dečija igrališta-podzemne garaže, umesto parka i školskog dvorišta-ulica. Građani već tri godine vode borbu: prikupljanje dokumentacije, protesti, dežurstva, odbrana prostora, pravna borba, proboj u medije, uređenje parka, umetničke i sportske manifestacije.

Sve to sa (još uvek) neizvesnim ishodom.

An entire neighbourhood was built in the sixties: 11 apartment buildings, 6 office buildings, parking lots, children's and sport's playgrounds, parks. Thirty years later, instead of the parking area and the basketball field a 6500m² building was "drawn", instead of three playgrounds - underground garages, instead of the park and the school yard - a street. Residents are fighting for their cause for three years now: gathering documentation, protesting, watching, defending the spaces, legally fighting, involving media, arranging the park, organising artistic and sport's events.

All of that and the outcome is (still) unknown.



Danilo Prnjat

Red, performans, 2006

Crveni Trg u Moskvi je prostor koji je u globalnoj percepciji uvek bio vezan za vojničke parade, marševe... prostor na kome se i danas nalaze vojnici koji provode po nekoliko sati statično stojeći ispred Lenjinovog muzeja bez znaka umora na sebi.

Tradicionalno vezan za svojevrsnu oficijelnu i vojničku predstavu muškarca...muškarca snažnog, preciznog, krute odeće i stava...on je i danas ostao neki vid simbola definisano stroge, nedodirive i 'jasno određene' predstave masculinum-a kakvu je vekovima njegovala balkanska (pa i istočna) tradicija forsirajući svrsishodni 'military look', kako u izgledu tako i u ponašanju; dok je rusko podneblje, nekad centralno mesto komunističkih i postkomunističkih režima, danas centralno mesto sukoba novih i starih vrednosti.

U performansu RED provodim sat vremena mirno stojeći na sredini trga, odobučen u belo i usana naglašenih crvenim karminom.

Ova seksualna igra sa muško/ženskom pojavnošću, rodnom pripadnošću, erotičnošću i strastvenošću, postavlja pitanja čovekove intimne i javne prirode i njene uslovljenosti društvenim, tradicionalnim i geografskim normama.

Red Square in Moscow is an area which, in global perception, has always been connected to military parades, marches...a space where even today soldiers are spending several hours standing still in front of Lenin's museum without showing any signs of tiredness.

Traditionally connected to typically official and military perception of a man... a strong, precise man in stiffed clothes with rigid attitude...even today he has remained a sort of a symbol of strongly defined, intangible and 'clearly determined' idea of masculine that has been cherished for centuries by both, Balkan and Oriental tradition forcing appropriate "military look" in appearance as well as in behavior; while Russian climate, previously central place of communistic and post communistic regimes, today represents a central frontier of modern and traditional values.

In performance RED I spend one hour standing still in the middle of square dressed in white, lips stressed with red lipstick.

This sexual game with male/ female appearance, native origin, erotic and passion put an issue on individual's intimate and public nature and its conditionality by social, traditional and geographical standards.



Darinka Pop-Mitić

28 godina kasnije ili Istorija javnih radova

28 Years Later or The History of Public Affairs

Gle!

Čitajte kako je tekao kratak istorijat
javnih radova
na spoljnom zidu bašte,
Studentskoga kulturnog centra.

Prva intervencija nastala je leta
Hiljadu devetsto sedamdeset sedmog.
Od jednog ponedeljka do sledećeg,
Svi su proleteri obeležavali
Nedelju latinske Amerike,
I jedna je grupa
Čileanskih umetnika,
Svi iz brigade Salvador Aljende,
naslikala mural pod nazivom

SOLIDARNOST JUGOSLOVENSКИH NARODA
SA NARODIMA LATINSKE AMERIKE.

U ovom im pomagali
S verom u solidarnost
Studenti beogradske
Škole slikarstva.

Nakon tri godine,
Čovek bez imena
Ispisao je reči
Posred murala

Koje pozivaju:

SVI NA IZBORE.

Prošlo je još dvadeset i osam leta,
Tada su umetnici,
svi iz Beograda,
Obnovili deo zidne slike,

I na koncu postavili tablu sa sloganom
Koji je nekada stajao na vrhu

Pozivajući na večito bratstvo i slogu
Sa potlačenima južno od Čijapasa.

I nije prošlo ni tri godine,
A nepoznata ruka opet je na delu.
Ovoga puta, u želji da podrži
Svoga partijskoga kandidata,

I teško uvredi tuđega,
Čovek u noći
Ispisao je reči
ĐILAS TAJKUN.
Nije mi jasno
Ne znam
Ne mogu da dokučim
na kog Đilasa se misli.

U Beogradu 09. maja. 2008. godine.



Look!

Read about
the short history
of public affairs
on the outer wall of the garden
of the Student Cultural Centre.

The first intervention was made in the summer of
nineteen hundred seventy seven.
From one Monday to the next
all working men have celebrated
the week of Latin America,
and a group of
Chilean artists,
all from Salvador Allende's brigade,
draw a mural named

SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA
AND THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERIKA

They were assisted,
with firm belief in solidarity,
by students from Belgrade
school of painting.

Three years after
a man without a name
wrote the words
all across the mural

Calling:

ALL TO ELECTIONS.

Twenty eight more summers have passed
When artists,
all from Belgrade,
restored the part of the mural.

And at the very end placed the board with a
slogan
which once stood at the top

Calling for eternal brotherhood and unity with
suppressed southern of Chiapas.

Less than three years have passed since,
And the nameless hand is again in action.
This time wishing to endorse
its parties candidate.

And heavily offend the opposition.
The night man
wrote the words
ĐILAS TAYKOON.
I don't understand
I don't know
I can't figure out
which of the Đilas he meant.

In Belgrade 9th May 2008

Dušan Rajić

Mesto je pod prismotrom, 2004.

The Place is Under Surveillance, 2004

U Beogradu postoje kamere postavljane na javnim mestima koje su na internetu dostupne ljudima da njima u nekoj meri rukuju i posmatraju određene tačke u gradu. Sem tih, postoji jako veliki broj tajnih kamera na javnim mestima navodno postavljenih radi javnog reda i mira. Ono što sam se zapitao, igrajući se dostupnim internet kamerama, jeste da li i one koje su postavljene na raznim mestima a bez znanja građana zaista služe sigurnosti i bezbednosti ili je sem toga reč i o svojevrsnom obliku kontrole.

In Belgrade there are surveillance cameras set up in public places, the contents of which are available via internet and for people to activate them and watch certain urban spots. Apart from public ones there are a large number of hidden cameras in public places, for the alleged reason of maintaining public peace and order. Playing with the public ones I asked myself whether those hidden cameras, set up on various places unknown to the public, are really there for public safety or is the case in question a certain form of control.



Ilegalni Poslastičari

Ćošak Salvadora Dalija

Salvador Dali's Corner

Ćošak Salvadora Dalija se nalazi na uglu Simine i Kapetan Mišine ulice. Ugaonu tablu postavili su Ilegalni poslastičari, umetničko-propagandna korporacija proslavljena po plasiranju lažnih vesti koje su imale, jos neistražen, uticaj na savremenu geo-kultur-političku scenu. Postoje razna tumačenja, namere da se imenuje ćošak (posveta španskom slikaru napravljena u njegovom maniru, sabotaza usmerena protiv preimenovanja ulica, grafit u obliku table, dadaistički čin, simpatična dekoracija komšiluka...). U svakom slučaju, ćošak predstavlja svojevrsnu turističku atrakciju, a svi taksisti Beograda znaju kako da vas dovezu do njega.

www.kornet.co.yu

www.illegalni.mojblog.co.yu

www.myspace.com/illegalni

Salvador Dali's corner is on the corner of Simina and Kapetan Misina Street. The post sign on the corner was set by illegal pastry chefs, a corporation of artists-propagators known for launching false news, the influence of which on the contemporary geo-cultural-political scene is yet unexplored. There are various interpretations of what was the intention behind the act of naming the corner (a dedication to the Spanish painter made in his manner, a sabotage against renaming the streets, a graffiti shaped as a post sign, a Dadaist act, a likable decoration of the neighbourhood, etc). In any case, the corner became a sort of tourist attraction, and all city taxi drivers are familiar with the destination.

www.kornet.co.yu

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www.myspace.com/illegalni



Leteća galerija Šu Šu, Zvezda Flying gallery Szu Szu, Star



“Leteća galerija «Szu Szu» je umetnički projekat iz 2001. godine koji su realizovali mladi Varšavski umetnici: Piotr Kopik, Ivo Nikić i Karol Radziszewski. Njihov cilj je da kroz organizaciju izložbe i akcije na gradskoj teritoriji predstave savremenu umetnost na najmanje očekivanim mestima . Pomenuti umetnici su u okviru projekta “Binarni grad Lodz-Warszawa” odlučili da «ugrade» «Zvezdu Szu Szu» u trotoar ulice koja se ukršta sa glavnom Piotrkowskom ulicom. Prenošnjem ideje o aktivaciji gradskog prostora iz Varšave u Lođ postiže se umetnička integracija dva gradska organizma; na taj način Varšava Lođu nudi element koji lako može da pronikne u samu specifikumu grada.

“Flying gallery «Szu Szu» is artistic project from 2001, realized by young artists from Warsaw: Piotr Kopik, Ivo Nikic i Karol Radziszewski. Their intention was to represent contemporary art in urban, least expected, places through a series of exhibitions and events. As the part of the project “Binary city of Lodz-Warsaw”, these artists decided to “build” «Star Szu Szu» in the sidewalk of the street inter-crossing the main Piotrkowska Street. By transferring the idea on revitalisation of urban space from Warsaw to Lodz, the artistic integration of the organisms of two towns was achieved; in this way what Warsaw is offering to Lodz is the element that can easily penetrate in town’s own specific.

Rad Bulevar AVNOJA-a ispituje politiku imena i imenovanja, preciznije, subjekta imenovanja. Šta je ime i ko odlučuje o imenu? Da li je imenovanje privilegija vladajućih ili je moguća demokratija imena, demokratija imenovanja? Da li je imenovanje čin konstitucije političke subjektivnosti i da li, u ovom činu, može da se pojavi nov politički subjekt, s one strane partijskih politika? Bulevar AVNOJ-a, takođe, ispituje konsekvence tautološke konceptualne umetnosti. U ponovnom ispisivanju imena ulice pojavljuje se problem imena, problem ideniteta, ali i problematično mesto samog subjekta imenovanja, koji štrči iz performativnog gesta - tautologije. Izgleda da je strategiju tautološke konceptualne umetnosti najbolje razumeo respresivni državni aparat, naime, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije, koji je na rad Bulevar AVNOJ-a reagovao zahtevom za pokretanje prekršajnog postupka protiv autora. M. Ristic

Work AVNOJ Boulevard analyses the politics behind names and naming, to be more precise, the subject of naming. What is a name and who decides on a name? Is naming the privilege of rulers or is the democracy of name and naming possible? Is naming the constituting act of political subjectivity and does this act provides a possibility for emergence of new political subject, beyond the politics of political parties? AVNOJ Boulevard also examines the consequences of tautological conceptual art. In rewriting the name of the street the problem of name emerges, the problem of identity, but also the problematic place of the very subject that is being named, that stands out the theatrical gesture - tautology. It seems that the strategy of tautological conceptual art was best understood by the State, i.e. by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, which started the criminal procedure against the author, as their response to the work AVNOJ Boulevard. M. Ristic

Miloš Čvorović

Bulevar AVNOJa,

akcija u gradskom prostoru, 2007.



Alban Muja

Grad za turiste,

akcija u gradskom prostoru,

Tourist City,

art action in public space,

Tokom mog dvomesečnog boravka u Novom Sadu, lepom Vojvođanskom gradu, gde sam bio pozvan povodom umetničke rezidencije, često sam imao problema da prijateljima koji su me zvali na mobilni, kažem gde se nalazim, jer nisam mogao pročitati nazive ulica na ćirilici. Isti ovakav problem imao je i jedan moj prijatelj, Nemač, takođe u rezidenciji, sa kojim sam se često družio. Ipak, ja sam se nekako i mogao snaći, ali on, kao i mnogi ostali međunarodnici koji žive ili zbog turističke pa i zvanične posete su se nalazili u Novom Sadu, nikako.

Umetničku intervenciju u javnim prostorima, koju sam realizovao po ulicama Novog Sada, dodavajući i latiničke nazive, može se podrazumeti reagovanje vezano za ove političke dominacije. U svakom slučaju, ja ne dajem intervenciji direktno političko značenje, zbog toga što ovu akciju označava 'Tourist City' navodeći posebnu potrebu modernih gradova da postanu otvoreniji i transparentniji za turiste, biznismene i građane koji ne pripadaju etničkoj grupi koja dominira.

During my two-month stay in Novi Sad, a nice Vojvodian city, where I was invited because of the art residency programme, I often had problems telling my friends, when they called me on the mobile, where I was because I was unable to read the names of the streets that were written in Cyrillic script. My German friend, who I spent a lot of time with and who was also a resident, had the same problem. Still, I could manage somehow, but he, as many others who live in Novi Sad or are there as tourists or in an official visit could not find his way at all.

The artistic intervention in the public spaces that I realized in Novi Sad streets by adding the Latin script names can be seen as a reaction to this political dominance. In any case, I do not want to give this intervention a direct political importance, because there is the "Tourist City" behind this action, but I at the same time I want to emphasize a special need of modern cities to become more open and transparent for the tourists, businessmen and people who do not belong to the dominant ethnic group.



