

# **JUGONOSTALGIJA: JUGOSLAVIJA KAO METAPROSTOR U SUVREMENIM UMJETNIČKIM PRAKSAMA**

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## **YUGONOSTALGIA: YUGOSLAVIA AS A META-SPACE IN CONTEMPORARY ART PRACTICES**

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**SAŽETAK:** U postsocijalističkom metaprostoru nepostojeće Jugoslavije umjetničke prakse opstaju i komuniciraju u istom prostoru u kojemu su djelovale i prije raspada države, jednako kao i prije njenog nastanka. Istovjetni prostor, prožet službenim diskursima negacije socijalističke povijesti, jednako koliko i njezinom banalizacijom, prevodeći je u pop-kulturu, odnosom prema toj „nepostojećoj“ prošlosti u procesima identitetske formacije sudjeluje u umjetničkim praksama koje se bave „imaginarnim“ povijestima i prostorima SFRJ, otvarajući na taj način pitanje imaginarnosti/realnosti jugoslavenskog (kulturnog) prostora. U ovom radu, s fokusom na Srbiju i Hrvatsku, pokušavamo mapirati različite načine, oblike i medije na koje i u kojima se Jugoslavija pojavljuje u suvremenoj umjetničkoj proizvodnji, u teorijama sjećanja i otvaranja pitanja učinkovitosti nostalгије kao potencijalno subverzivnog elementa umjetničkog djela. Pregledom manjeg broja umjetničkih postjugoslavenskih praksi, mlađe generacije umjetnika, pokušavamo identificirati politički stav te generacije prema Jugoslaviji i revisionističkim državnim narativima. Drugim riječima, što nam suvremena umjetnička proizvodnja koja tematizira Jugoslaviju govori o suvremenom društvu i metaprostoru koji nastanjujemo (i obratno)?

**KLJUČNE RIJEĆI:** (yugo-)nostalgija, jugoslavenski kulturni prostor, postjugoslavenska umjetnost, teorije sjećanja

„Budućnosti nema. Ništa ne možemo više učiniti u sadašnjosti. Promenimo onda prošlost, tu jedino još preostalu dimenziju slobodne kreacije.“<sup>1</sup> – Boris Buden

U postsocijalističkom metaprostoru nepostojeće Jugoslavije umjetničke prakse opstaju i komuniciraju u istom prostoru u kojemu su djelovale i prije raspada države, jednako kao i prije njenog nastanka. Riječima Branislava Dimitrijevića, povjesničara umjetnosti iz Beograda: „Jugoslovenski kulturni prostor nikada nije prestao da postoji, zato jer je postojao i pre zajedničke države.“<sup>2</sup> Na ideju kontinuiteta jugoslavenskog kulturnog prostora naslanja se i ideja kontinuiteta jugoslavenskog umjetničkog prostora, koncepta jugoslavenskog i srpskog povjesničara i teoretičara umjetnosti Ješa Denegrija. Ideja jugoslavenskog umjetničkog prostora jest, Denegrijevim riječima, ideja „organizma vrlo složenog, prirodno decentralizovanog, a ipak unutar svojih segmenata tesno povezanog brojnim manifestacijama, radnim i ljudskim vezama, zajedničkim težnjama za uključenjem u još šire (evropske, svetske) umjetničke tokove“.<sup>3</sup> Istovjetni prostor, prožet službenim diskursima negacije socijalističke povijesti, podjednako koliko i njenom banalizacijom, prevodeći je u pop-kulturu, odnosom prema toj „nepostojećoj“ prošlosti u procesima identitetske formacije sudjeluje u

**SUMMARY:** In the postsocialist meta-space of now non-existing Yugoslavia, art practices persist and communicate in the same space in which they operated before the demise of the socialist state, just as they had done before its foundation. This same space, permeated by the official discourses that both deny the socialist past and banalize it by translating it into pop culture, uses the relationship with that “non-existing” past in the processes of identity formation, participating in art practices that focus on the “imaginary” pasts and spaces of socialist Yugoslavia, which raises the issue of the imaginary/real in Yugoslav cultural space. Focusing on the examples of Serbia and Croatia, this paper seeks to map the different ways, forms, and media in which Yugoslavia appears in the contemporary artistic production, viewing it the prism of the theories of remembrance and focusing on the efficiency of nostalgia as a potentially subversive element in an artwork. Offering a selection of post-Yugoslav art practices, specifically those of the younger generation of artists, the authors seek to identify the political stance of this generation towards Yugoslavia and the revisionist narratives of the states. In other words: what does the contemporary art production thematizing Yugoslavia tell us about the contemporary society and the meta-space that we inhabit (and vice versa)?

**KEY WORDS:** (Yugo-)nostalgia, Yugoslav cultural space, post-Yugoslav art, theories of remembrance

“There is no future. There is nothing we can do for the present. Let us then change the past, which is the only dimension of free creation left to us.”<sup>1</sup> – Boris Buden

In the postsocialist meta-space of now non-existing Yugoslavia, art practices persist and communicate in the same space in which they were active before the demise of the state, and in which they had operated before its establishment. According to the Belgrade art historian Branislav Dimitrijević, “Yugoslav cultural space has never ceased existing, because it had also existed before the common state was there.”<sup>2</sup> The idea of a continuity of Yugoslav cultural space goes hand in hand with the idea of the continuity of Yugoslav artistic space, which is a concept of Yugoslav and Serbian art historian and theoretician Ješa Denegri. The idea of a Yugoslav artistic space implies, according to Denegri, existence of an “organism that is very complex and naturally decentralized, and yet closely interrelated in its segments by various events, working networks, and human ties, as well as the common aspiration to become part of an even wider (European, global) artistic context.”<sup>3</sup> The same space, permeated by the official discourses of negating the socialist past and banalizing it by means of transposition into pop culture, and defined by its attitude

umjetničkim praksama koje se bave „imaginarnim“ povijestima i prostorima SFRJ, otvarajući na taj način pitanje imaginarnosti/realnosti jugoslavenskog (kulturnog) prostora.

U ovom radu, s fokusom na Srbiju i Hrvatsku, želimo dati prijedlog mapiranja načina i oblika na koje se i medija i u kojima se ideja Jugoslavije pojavljuje u suvremenoj umjetničkoj proizvodnji, pri čemu je pažnja usmjerena na mladu generaciju umjetnika.<sup>4</sup> U kratkom pregledu pojedinih umjetničkih postjugoslavenskih praksi na izložbenoj i izvedbenoj razini – budući da se upravo u načinima izlaganja/izvedbe razotkrivaju istine koje režimi nastoje prikriti<sup>5</sup> – želimo pritom otvoriti i pitanje postojanja razlika u tematiziranju Jugoslavije i suočavanju s jugoslavenskom prošlošću u Hrvatskoj i Srbiji.<sup>6</sup> Ako uopće možemo govoriti o postsocijalističkoj odnosno postjugoslavenskoj umjetnosti, otvara se pitanje značenja postsocijalističkog diskursa, a za njega smatramo da je ključni element upravo odnos prema prošlosti.<sup>7</sup> Zanima nas možemo li uopće govoriti o postjugoslavenskom prostoru, ili primjeri kojima ćemo se baviti predstavljaju pojedinačne slučajeve individualnog suočavanja s identitetskim traumama nestanka vlastite prošlosti kao reflektivne nostalгије, po konceptu Svetlane Boym?

Drugim riječima, što nam suvremena umjetnička proizvodnja najmlade generacije umjetnika koja tematizira Jugoslaviju govori o suvremenom društvu i metaprostoru koji nastanjujemo (i obratno)?

### Jugoslavija kao *lieu de mémoire*

Dugo zabranjene riječi, Jugoslavija i socijalizam, danas djeluju kao da su svuda oko nas. Dok tijekom ratnih devedesetih godina na prostoru „bivše“ Jugoslavije biva „ona čije se ime ne smije izgovoriti“ ili tumačena isključivo kao uzročnik svih naših nedaća, nakon dvijetusućih sramežljivo se počinje javljati u medijima, znanstvenim radovima, umjetničkim djelima. Iako revisionističke prakse možemo prepoznati u obje države kojima se ovaj rad bavi, određene razlike u općem političkom kontekstu svakako postoje. U procesu raspada Jugoslavije hrvatski državni narativi su, u ime formiranja nove države i ostvarene samostalnosti, mnogo oštire stvarali odstupnicu od bivše države, dok je u Srbiji tijekom devedesetih državno rukovodstvo deklarirano kao projugoslavenski opredijeljeno, s navodnom (donkihotovskom) namjerom očuvanja Jugoslavije. Ipak, svakako nakon 2000-ih, revisionistički narativ jake distance prema socijalističkoj prošlosti jača i u Srbiji.

Jednom kada je obilježena dvadesetgodišnjica raspada Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije postajemo svjedoci proliferacije što znanstvenih, što umjetničkih djela na temu jugoslavenske prošlosti. Govorimo li o sjećanju, o nostalgiji, ili o političkom stavu nove generacije umjetnika?

Državni narativi bivših jugoslavenskih republika, sa svrhom legitimizacije ratova devedesetih godina i načinā na koje su

towards that “non-existing” past in the processes of identity formation, participates in art practices that focus on “imaginary” histories and spaces within Yugoslavia, thus raising the issue of whether Yugoslav (cultural) space as imaginary or real.

This paper focuses on Serbia and Croatia, suggesting a mode of mapping the ways, forms, and media in which the idea of Yugoslavia appears in contemporary artistic production, whereby our attention is primarily directed at the younger generation of artists.<sup>4</sup> In a brief overview of individual post-Yugoslav art practices at the exhibition and performance level – since it is in the modes of exhibiting/performing that the truths are revealed which the regimes seek to conceal<sup>5</sup> – we would also like to raise the question of differences between Croatia and Serbia in thematizing Yugoslavia and in dealing with the Yugoslav past.<sup>6</sup> If one can speak of postsocialist or post-Yugoslav art at all, one should focus on the issue of meaning in postsocialist discourse, and in our opinion, its attitude towards the past is one of the crucial aspects.<sup>7</sup> We would like to find out whether it is possible at all to speak of a post-Yugoslav space, or are the examples we will be analyzing simply isolated cases and individual ways of facing the identity traumas related to the disappearance of one’s past, as a sort of reflexive nostalgia according to the concept of Svetlana Boym?

In other words, what is it that the contemporary artistic

production of the youngest generation of artists who focus on Yugoslavia tells us about the contemporary society and the meta-space that we inhabit (and vice-versa)?

### Yugoslavia as a *lieu de mémoire*

The long-forbidden words “Yugoslavia” and “socialism” today seem to be everywhere around us. Whereas during the wartime in the early 1990s, “ex-“ Yugoslavia was “the one whose name must remain unspoken,” condemned as the cause of all our troubles, after the 2000s it started to reappear rather shyly in the media, in scholarship, and in artworks. Even though revisionist practices are manifest in both countries this paper focuses upon, there are certain differences in their general political context. In the process of Yugoslavia’s demise, Croatian narratives of statehood were far sharper in detaching themselves from the former state, since it was the time of building up a new one and fighting for its independence. In Serbia during the 1990s, the government was declared to be pro-Yugoslav, with the alleged (quixotic) desire to preserve Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, after the 2000s, the revisionist position of strong detachment from the socialist past was gaining ground in Serbia as well.

Once the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the fall of socialist Yugoslavia was behind us, we suddenly witnessed the proliferation of both

rukodvodstva vodila raspad države, propagiraju revisionističke strategije koje nužno u sebi uključuju i zaborav. Zaborav na tu državu koja je postojala, brisanje svakog jugoslavenskog identiteta postaje preduvjet kreiranja (novih) nacionalnih identiteta. Osnovni elementi sjećanja upravo su „dva pojma koja čine kontrast“, a to „su brisanje (zaborav) i očuvanje“, kako nam govori Tzvetan Todorov.<sup>8</sup> Takav pristup zahtijeva je i brisanje jugoslavenskog kulturnog prostora. Tijekom čitavog dvadesetog stoljeća, od stvaranja prve Jugoslavije, kreiran je i zajednički kulturni prostor. I to uspješno, kako smatra Zoran Milutinović: „...Jugoslavija je uspela da kreira supra-nacionalni, zajednički kulturni sloj u kome su svi Jugosloveni imali učešća.“<sup>9</sup> Istovremeno govorimo o konceptu jugoslavenskog umjetničkog prostora Ješa Denegrija. Ješa Denegri, kao autor nove postave Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, taj koncept predstavlja kao geografski, kulturni i vremenski kompleks, koji obuhvaća razdoblje od početka dvadesetog stoljeća do 1991. godine. Danas taj prostor i dalje postoji. Zajedničko kulturno naslijeđe je ostalo kao „fil rouge“ jugoslavenskog identiteta i, možda, upravo ta jedna ili jedna od brojnih iskri koje su bile potrebne za njegovo održanje. U svjetlu državnih narativa Milutinović dalje govori: „To nasleđe ne može biti nacionalizovano: većina će morati da ostane zajednička baština.“<sup>10</sup> Prakse kreirane

JUGONOSTALGIJA:  
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U SAVREMENIM  
UMJETNIČKIM  
PRAKSAMAMA

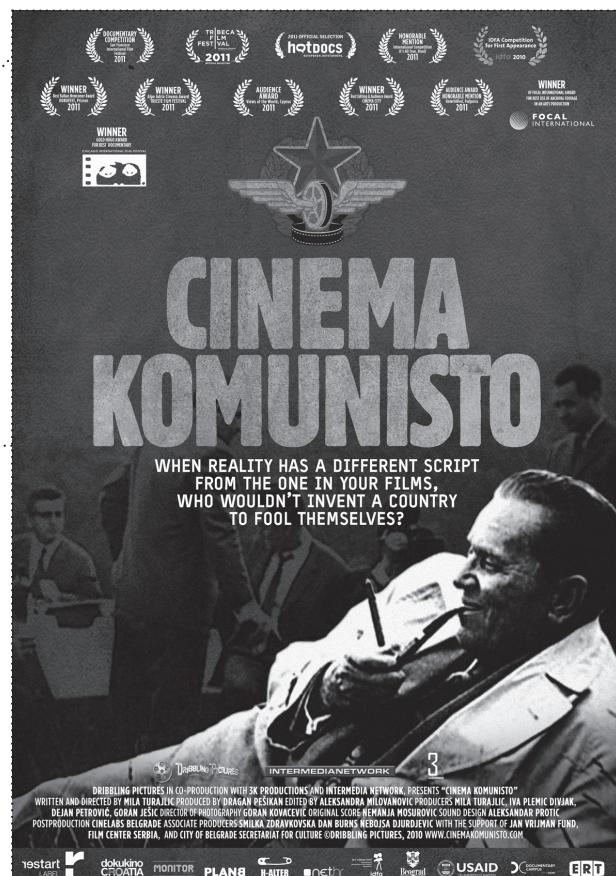
PLAKAT FILMA CINEMA KOMUNISTO,  
RED. MILA TURAJLIĆ, SR 2010.  
ELEKTRONIČKI PRESS KIT FILMA

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scholarly and artistic work on the topic of Yugoslav past. Is it to be considered a matter of remembrance, nostalgia, or the political stance adopted by the new generation of artists? The official narratives of the former Yugoslav republics, aimed at legitimizing the wars of the 1990s and the ways in which their governments dealt with the fall of the common state, endorsed various revisionist strategies, which necessarily implied oblivion. Forgetting the state that had once been there and erasing all forms of Yugoslav identity became a precondition for creating (new) national identities. The basic elements of memory are “two notions that are in contrast”: the “erasure (oblivion) and preservation,” as Tzvetan Todorov tells us.<sup>8</sup>

Such an approach demanded the erasure of Yugoslav common cultural space that had been created during the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century, ever since the foundation of the first Yugoslavia. And it was a successful one, according to Zoran Milutinović: “Yugoslavia managed to create a supranational, common cultural layer in which all Yugoslavs took part.”<sup>9</sup> At the same time, there is the concept of Yugoslav artistic space as endorsed by Ješa Denegri. As the author of the new display at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, he presented that space as a geographic, cultural, and temporal conglomeration, which encompassed the time from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century until 1991.

u jugoslavenskom, zajedničkom umjetničkom i/ili kulturnom prostoru ne mogu biti naknadno nacionalizirane i proglašene da pripadaju novokreiranim nacionalnim prostorima. Nedostatak sinergijskog efekta jugoslavenskog kulturnog prostora ostavio je nacionalne kulture, poput njihovih novonastalih država, malim, siromašnim resursima, provincijalnim i nesposobnim da izađu na međunarodnu arenu.<sup>11</sup> Danas, kada se suvremene (post) jugoslavenske umjetničke prakse sve više bave upravo tim (post) jugoslavenskim prostorom i identitetima, postavlja se pitanje nisu li one najčešće samo pojedinačni izrazi individualnog sjećanja ili upravo predstavljaju kontinuitet jugoslavenskog kulturnog prostora.



This space still exists today. Common cultural heritage has remained like a “fil rouge” of Yugoslav identity and, perhaps, as that single spark, or perhaps one of the sparks, that were necessary for its preservation. As for the official narratives, Milutinović adds: “That patrimony cannot be easily nationalized: most of it will have to remain a common patrimony.”<sup>10</sup> Practices created in common Yugoslav artistic and/or cultural space cannot be retroactively nationalized and considered as belonging to the newly created national spaces. The lack of the synergic effect of Yugoslav cultural space has left the national cultures, same as their newly created states, with small and poor

## Arhivska komemoracija prošlosti

Kada govorimo o pojavi Jugoslavije i jugonostalgije u suvremenoj umjetnosti, radove bismo mogli podijeliti na one koji spadaju u sferu „institucionalnog ili institucionaliziranog“ sjećanja, dakle skupnih izložbi na kojima uz povjesničare umjetnosti rade i povjesničari – kao što su, primjerice, izložbe *Socijalizam i modernost* (MSU, Zagreb, 2011./2012.), *Refleksije vremena* (Galerija Klovicévi dvori, Zagreb, 2012./2013.), *Jugoslavija: od početka do kraja* (MIJ, Beograd, 2012./2013.), *Živeo Život* (više lokacija, Beograd, 2013./2014.) – i na niz individualnih pogleda unazad, odnosno radova pojedinačnih autora čiji iskazi svjedoče o osobnom i intimnom odnosu s prošlošću – filmovi *Cinema Komunista* (SR, 2010.) i *Jugoslavija, kako je ideologija pokretala naše kolektivno tijelo* (SR/FR/DE, 2013.) te serija skulptura *NEO N.O.B* (HR, 2012.). U tu prvu skupinu spadaju i radovi koji

se postsocijalističkom umjetnošću bave u širem kontekstu, a upravo zbog prakse izbjegavanja izravne eksplikacije teme u naslovu izložbi dolazi do ideološke konfuzije koja unutar javnog diskurzivnog polja dodatno zamčuje pogled pri pokušajima artikulacije prošlosti. Tako je, primjerice, krajem siječnja ove godine u riječkom Muzeju moderne i suvremene umjetnosti otvorena izložba *Europa. Jugoistok – Zabilježena sjećanja*, koja ovakvom postavom, ali i nazivom, pitanje socijalizma svodi na jednu dimenziju<sup>12</sup>, što (javni) govor o prošlosti dodatno usložnjava, imajući na umu činjenicu da je sam socijalizam pritom još uvijek tabu tema.<sup>13</sup> Interpretativna otvorenost same postave, kao što to pokazuju tekstovi u katalogu *Refleksija vremena*,<sup>14</sup> sjećanju i/ili nostalgiji dodatno oduzima subverzivno-kritički potencijal, pa će tako kustosica Bavorjak reći: „Ljevica smatra da je izložba desna, desnica da je prelijeko.“ Imaju li

STILL FROM FILM  
CINEMA KOMUNISTO,  
RED. MILA TURAJLIĆ,  
SR 2010. ELECTRONIČKI  
PRESS KIT FILMA

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A STILL FROM THE FILM  
CINEMA KOMUNISTO,  
DIRECTED BY MILA  
TURAJLIĆ (SR, 2010),  
ELECTRONIC PRESS KIT



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resources, provincial and incapable of stepping out into the international arena.<sup>11</sup> Today, when the contemporary (post-) Yugoslav art practices are becoming increasingly involved in this (post-)Yugoslav space and identities, one cannot help but wonder whether they are just singular expressions of individual memory or they, in fact, represent the continuity of Yugoslav cultural space.

## Archival Commemoration of the Past

When speaking of the emergence of Yugoslavia and Jugonostalgia in contemporary art, one may classify the artworks into those that belong to the sphere of “institutional or institutionalized” memory, that is, group exhibitions that result from collaborations of art historians and historians – such as the exhibitions *Socialism and Modernity* (Museum of Contemporary

Art Zagreb, 2011/2012), *Reflections of the Time* (Klovicévi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 2012/2013), *Jugoslavia: From the Beginning until the End* (Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade, 2012/2013), *Long Live Life* (several locations in Belgrade, 2013/2014) – and those that represent a series of individual looks into the past, that is, works of individual authors whose expressions testify of their personal and intimate attitudes towards the past – such as the film *Cinema Komunista* (SR, 2010) and *Jugoslavia, or: How Ideology Moved Our Collective Body* (SR/FR/DE, 2013), or the series of sculptures *NEO N.O.B* (HR, 2012). The first group also includes those artworks that engage with postsocialist art in a wider context, and it is owing to the practice of avoiding the direct explication of the subject in the exhibitions’ titles that it comes to an ideological confusion, which within the public discursive field

u tom slučaju ova i ostale izložbe sličnog profila ikakvu drugu funkciju osim eventualne normalizacije govora o Jugoslaviji?<sup>15</sup> Sličan problem dijeli i izložba *Jugoslavija: od početka do kraja*, koja unatoč zajedničkim naporima hrvatskih i srpskih povjesničara i sociologa dobiva podijeljene reakcije stručnoga kadra,<sup>16</sup> pa se po tome s pravom možemo zapitati kakve su reakcije (nestručne) javnosti.<sup>17</sup> I dok je gotovo izlišno pritom iznova upućivati na već ranije spomenuti povijesni revisionizam i gotovo monstruoznu praksu brisanja prošlosti od strane državnih institucija (adaptacija udžbenika, izmjena imena ulica i trgova...), valja upozoriti na jedan zanimljiv razlikovni detalj u kontekstu umjetničke proizvodnje HR/SR koja tematizira Jugoslaviju. Dok će, primjerice, u Beogradu, uz postojanje samog Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije, izložbe, filmovi i ostala umjetnička produkcija često u naslovu djela sadržavati ne samo odrednicu koja izravno upućuje ili na bivšu državu ili na segment njezina političkog/kulturnog imaginarija, nego i glorificirati život u Jugoslaviji (*Živeo Život*), hrvatska će publika sadržaj sličnog profila češće dobiti „upakiran“ u neki neutralniji termin. Tako se ovde radi o *refleksijama, posljedicama, sjećanju, modernosti, naslovima* koji uokviruju djelo/izložbu, čime neminovno i gledatelju određuju (ublažavaju) njeno moguće značenje.

U svakom slučaju, čini se da ovakvo komemorativno-taksativno nabranjanje artefakata iz svakodnevnog jugoslavenskog života –

od Divka kave preko Iskra televizora pa do Mikijevih Almanaha i pionirskih kapica – doista ostaje lebdjeti u zrakopraznom prostoru osadašnjene prošlosti, odnosno, budenovski rečeno, „kulturne dimenzije vremena“. Ti artefakti, izvučeni iz kolektivnog nacionalnog sjećanja, pritom su potpuno paradoksalni: možemo ih promatrati kao barthesovske mitološke označitelje koji se, podržavajući (ne)službene ili pojedinačne unaprijed definirane prekoncepte i narative koje je moguće povratno podjednako/ravnopravno dvojako upisati, istovremeno ponašaju i prazno. Radi se dakle naprosto o (ne)selektivnom otvaranju arhiva sa svim njegovim postojećim ideoološkim/ diskurzivnim formacijama. Drugim riječima, takva Jugoslavija kakvu nam ove skupne izložbe nude nosi dimenziju političkoga, nabijenu jednakim interpretativnim potencijalom kakav je nosila i dok je postojala, a način na koji ćemo je doživljavati danas s lakoćom će perpetuirati medijski konstruirane stereotipe i obrasce uskladene s pripadajućim (osobno odabranim) ideoološkim spektrom.

### Kritička umjetnost – nostalgija ili subverzija?

„Prošlost koje se sjećaju amateri nije ništa manje autentična od one koju su ‘spoznali’ povjesničari.“ – Boris Buden

Jugoslavenski (meta)prostor dakle nesumnjivo i bez posustajanja postoji, a izložbi i djela koja tematiziraju bivšu državu sve je više.<sup>18</sup>

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additionally blurs the view when it attempts to articulating the past. Thus, late in January the exhibition *Europe. Southeast – Recorded Memories* was opened at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Rijeka, reducing the issue of socialism to a single dimension with such a concept and such a title.<sup>12</sup> This, again, makes (public) speech about the past even more complex, since one must keep in mind that socialism thereby remains a taboo.<sup>13</sup> The interpretational openness of the concept, as shown by the text in the exhibition catalogue of *Reflection of the Time*,<sup>14</sup> additionally deprives the memory and/or nostalgia of its subversive/critical potential, as curator Bavuljak has observed: “The left considers the exhibition as positioned too much on the right, whereas the right thinks it is too left.” If that is so, do this and other similar exhibitions have any other function except for perhaps helping to normalize the discourse on Yugoslavia?<sup>15</sup> The exhibition *Jugoslavia: From the Beginning until the End* had a similar problem, since despite of the joint efforts of Croatian and Serbian historians and sociologists the professional opinions were split,<sup>16</sup> which certainly raises the question of the reactions of the (non-expert) general public.<sup>17</sup> And while it is almost superfluous to remind of the abovementioned historical revisionism and the almost monstrous attempts of state institutions to erase the past (by altering the schoolbooks, changing the names of

streets and squares, etc.), one should nevertheless indicate an interesting difference between Croatia and Serbia when it comes to art production focusing on Yugoslavia. Whereas in Belgrade, for example, besides the Museum of Yugoslav History, there have been many exhibitions, films, and other forms of artistic production that have some determinant in their titles that directly indicates the former state or some segment of its political/cultural imagery, or even glorify life in former Yugoslavia (*Long Live Life*), the Croatian audience has mostly received similar content “packaged” into rather neutral terminology. Such terms may include *reflections, consequences, remembrance, modernity* in titles of artworks or exhibitions, which inevitably delineate (mitigate) its possible significance for the spectator.

In any case, it seems that this commemorative/nominal listing of artefacts from Yugoslav everyday life – from Divka coffee to Iskra TV-sets, from Mickey’s Almanac to pioneer caps – is indeed left to float in the vacuum of the past-turned-present, or to borrow an expression from Boris Buden, “the cultural dimension of time.” These artefacts, isolated from the collective national memory, are therefore completely paradoxical: they may be considered as Barthes’ mythological signifiers that, while supporting the (in-)official or individual predefined conceptions and narratives that may be

Ma koliko ih se nastojalo istisnuti iz službenih državnih narativa, izbjegavalo nedvosmisleno imenovati stvari i brisati tragove bivše savezne republike, Jugoslavija je pronalazila i pronalazi načine da bude prisutna. No koliki, marketinškim rječnikom rečeno, *reach* mogu imati konkretnе umjetničke prakse o kojima ovdje nastojimo govoriti, i – uzmemu li u obzir da čak i uspijevaju komunicirati s velikim brojem ljudi – nude li u svojoj pokaznosti sadržaj dovoljan i nuždan za kritičko promišljanje te u skladu s njim i relevantno (političko, društveno) djelovanje? Ili ostaci Jugoslavije u ovom slučaju postaju *trademark*, i na razini umjetničkih praksi govorimo o onome što Marina Gržinić naziva



retroactively inscribed equally/equivalently ambiguously, seem empty at the same time. Thus, it is simply a (non-)selective opening of the archive, with all its existing ideological/discursive formations.

In other words, the Yugoslavia that is presented to us by such group exhibitions contains a dimension of the political that is charged with equal interpretational potential that it had while it existed, and the way in which we experience it today will easily perpetuate media-construed stereotypes and patterns, fitted to an adequate (specially selected) ideological spectrum.

disocijacijom otpora od kreativnosti? O kakvoj je dakle (post) Jugoslaviji tu riječ, i ima li njezino pojавljivanje u umjetnosti doista relevantan kritičko-politički potencijal?

U ovom radu osvrćemo se prije svega na dijalog individualnog sjećanja prema kolektivnom sjećanju i na njegove reprodukcije u nostalgiji. Kako shvaćamo sjećanje? Maurice Halbwachs nam potvrđuje nemogućnost postojanja jednog striktno individualnog sjećanja.<sup>19</sup> Mi konstruiramo i rekonstruiramo naša sjećanja u odnosu na društvene koncepte koje živimo i u odnosu na druge s kojima ta sjećanja dijelimo. „Svako individualno sjećanje je jedan pogled na kolektivno sjećanje“, govori nam Halbwachs.<sup>20</sup> Upravo iz Halbwachsova koncepta izvodimo zaključak da su individualna sjećanja odgovori na narative kolektivnog sjećanja i državnih politika. U kontekstu negacionističkih državnih narativa individualno sjećanje je reakcija na državne revizionizme. Onoga trenutka kada svako pozitivno sjećanje na Jugoslaviju biva etiketirano kao (jugo)nostalgija, pokušava se banalizirati i oduzeti mu svaku emancipatorsku ili subverzivnu širu društvenu snagu. No, kako nam Dominic Boyer govorи, „optužbe i prihvatanja nostalgije nikada nisu neutralna“<sup>21</sup> i služe za legitimizaciju odabranih narativa.

T&TO, DETALJ IZLOŽBE IVANA FIJOLIĆA NEO N.O.B.  
(NE)POPULARNA KULTURA SJEĆANJA, LAUBA,  
ZAGREB, 2012. FOTOGRAFIJA: DAMIR ŽIŽIĆ

MILICA POPOVIĆ

T&TO, A DETAIL FROM THE EXHIBITION NEO N.O.B.  
THE (UN-)POPULAR CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE BY  
IVAN FIJOLIĆ, LAUBA, ZAGREB, 2012.  
PHOTO BY DAMIR ŽIŽIĆ

PETRA BELC

### Critical Art – Nostalgia or Subversion?

“The past remembered by amateurs is not a bit less authentic than the one ‘reconstructed’ by the historians.” – Boris Buden

Thus, the Yugoslav (meta-)space undoubtedly and relentlessly persists, and there is an increasing number of exhibitions and artworks focusing on the former state.<sup>18</sup> Regardless of the efforts to exclude it from official state narratives, to avoid the clear naming of things, and to erase the traces of the former federal republic, Yugoslavia has found its ways to remain present. But what sort of “reach”, to use a term from the marketing vocabulary, can the actual art practices have, and – even if presumed that they manage to address a large number of people – do they offer in their form a content that is sufficient and necessary for critical reflection, and a corresponding relevant (political, social) action? Or do the remnants of Yugoslavia in this case become a trademark, and then, on the level of art practices, we may speak of what Marina Gržinić has called a dissociation of resistance from creativity? So what sort of (post-)Yugoslavia is this all about, and does its emergence in art have a truly relevant critical/political potential?

Nostalgiju danas promatramo kao produktivnu i analitičku kategoriju.<sup>22</sup> Nostalgiju kao pojam trebamo shvatiti kao fluidnu, policentričnu i polimorfnu kategoriju. Mitja Velikonja razlikuje kulturu nostalgijsku koja pripada industriji nostalgijske i nostalgičnu kulturu koja pripada osjećajima.<sup>23</sup> Ako je promatramo kroz prizmu emotivnog iskaza, kako objašnjava Velikonja, „nostalgija nam govori o tome što bismo voljeli da je jednom bilo... i o nezadovoljstvu sadašnjicom“.<sup>24</sup> Upravo se u tom nezadovoljstvu sadašnjošću krije potencijal nostalgijskog političkog iskaza. Podemo li od fundamentalnog djela Svetlane Boym o nostalgijskoj, nostalgijskoj koja se danas javlja u suvremenim umjetničkim praksama možemo identificirati kao refleksivnu nostalgijsku,<sup>25</sup> kao onu koja se kreira upravo u intimnom prostoru, individualnim osjećajima koji se izražavaju i u umjetnosti.

### Generacija posljednjih pionira

U ovom članku fokusiramo se upravo na tu nostalgičnu kulturu, na osjećaje koji utječu na suvremene umjetničke prakse kao i društvenopolitički stav koji, takve, sa sobom nose.

Suvremene (post)jugoslavenske umjetničke prakse koje ovim člankom analiziramo polje su djelovanja mlade umjetničke

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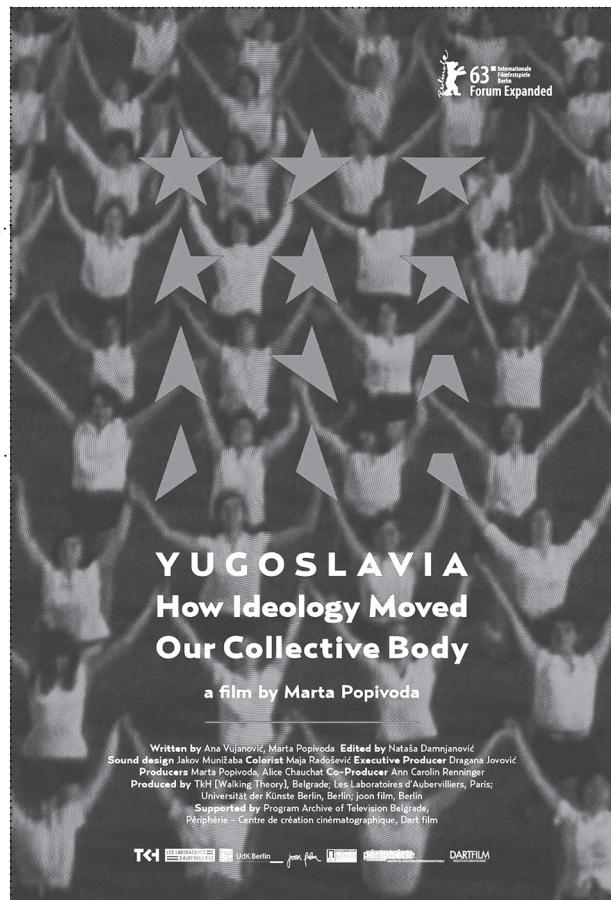
PLAKAT EKSPERIMENTALNOG DOKUMENTARNOG FILMA  
JUGOSLAVIJA, KAKO JE IDEOLOGIJA POKREJALA NAŠE  
KOLEKTIVNO TIJELO, RED. MARTA POPIVODA, SR/FR/DE, 2013.  
PREUZETO S: [HTTP://WWW.MARTAPOPIVODA.INFO/](http://WWW.MARTAPOPIVODA.INFO/)

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POSTER FOR THE EXPERIMENTAL DOCUMENTARY  
YUGOSLAVIA, HOW IDEOLOGY MOVED OUR COLLECTIVE BODY,  
DIRECTED BY MARTA POPIVODA (SR/FR/DE, 2013).  
SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.MARTAPOPIVODA.INFO/](http://WWW.MARTAPOPIVODA.INFO/)

This paper deals primarily with the dialogue between individual and collective memory, and its reproductions in nostalgia. How do we understand memory? Maurice Halbwachs has confirmed the impossibility of existence of a strictly individual memory.<sup>19</sup> We construct and reconstruct our memories in regard to the social concepts that we live, and in regard to the others, with whom we share these memories. "Each individual memory is a point of view on the collective memory," Halbwachs claims.<sup>20</sup> It is on the basis of his concept that we infer that individual memories are reactions to the narrative of collective memory and state politics. In the context of negationist state narratives, individual memory is a reaction to state revisionisms. At the time when all positive memory of Yugoslavia is labelled as (Yugo-)nostalgia, there are attempts at banalizing it and depriving it of all broader emancipatory or subversive social power. But as Dominic Boyer has said, "accusations and embraces of nostalgia are never value neutral,"<sup>21</sup> and they serve to legitimize selected narratives. Today nostalgia is seen as a productive and analytical category.<sup>22</sup> As a notion, it is to be understood as a fluid, polycentric, and polymorphous category. Mitja Velikonja differentiates between

generacije, generacije rođene tijekom kasnih sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća u bivšoj državi. Kako označavamo generaciju? U ovom radu razumjet ćemo je u okvirima koje ocrtava Todor Kuljić u svom djelu *Sociologija generacije*: „pripadati jednoj generaciji znači pripadati istim dogadajima, realnim i izmišljenim“.<sup>26</sup> Karl Mannheim je doživljavao generaciju u sociokulturalnom smislu, kao oblik kolektivnog identiteta i kao zajednicu koju povezuju vrijednosti i ciljevi, iskustva i vjerovanja.<sup>27</sup> Generacije koje su proživjele djetinjstvo, o kome nam Mila Turajlić govori, u zajedničkoj državi, u zajedničkom (kulturnom) prostoru, danas ponovo i dalje



the culture of nostalgia that belongs to the industry of nostalgia and a nostalgic culture that belongs to the realm of emotions.<sup>23</sup> Seen from the prism of emotional statement, Velikonja explains, "nostalgia tells us what we would like to have once existed... and speaks of our dissatisfaction with the present."<sup>24</sup> It is that dissatisfaction that hides the potential of nostalgia as a political statement. If we start from the seminal work of Svetlana Boym on nostalgia, the nostalgia that emerges in the contemporary art practices may be identified as a reflective nostalgia,<sup>25</sup> one that is created precisely in an intimate space and individual feelings, which are also expressed through art.

grade taj prostor. Razumijevanje te izgradnje kao pukog ličnog čina, podjednako kao i nerazumijevanje nostalгије kao jasnog određenja emocije prema datom društvenopolitičkom kontekstu, akt je oduzimanja političkog subjektiviteta danoj suvremenoj umjetničkoj praksi.

Prihvaćajući Gramscijev koncept nemogućnosti neutralnosti, u ovom slučaju umjetnika, analizom umjetničkih djela želimo upravo osvijestiti njihovu političnost. (Post)jugoslavenski kulturni prostor u ovim umjetničkim reprezentacijama opstaje, i samim svojim postojanjem upravo kao subverzivni odgovor nametnutim državnim granicama. Daljinom izgradnjom tog prostora jugoslavenska kultura i dalje postoji.

Možemo reći da se u ovim radovima „prošlost javlja kao kulturni artefakt“.<sup>28</sup> Nostalgična kultura upravo i nastaje, kako nam to Boris Buden i grupa autora u djelu *Uvod u prošlost* govore, kao „diskurzivna vjetrometina na kojoj se ukrštava čitav niz velikih i malih naracija: enigma kreacije, eros i thanatos u njihovu vječitom klinču, sud estetskog ukusa na stalnoj kušnji, autonomija kulturne sfere odnosno njena društveno-ekonomska uzrokovanaost, politička istina kulture, njena univerzalnost odnosno partikularnost, njena dekadentnost, njen afirmativni odnosno kritički karakter, kultura kao poprište emancipacije, utopije, hegemonije, hegelovske borbe za priznanje, kultura kao aura, kao industrija, kao zabava, idolatrija...“<sup>29</sup>

Nije li onda određenje te umjetnosti kao „postjugoslavenske“ upravo dio tog službenog narativa, koji je pokušava smjestiti u zapadni obrazac „postsocijalističkih umjetničkih scena“<sup>30</sup> unatoč njezinu jasnom opiranju tim narativima? Mogli bismo reći da je kontinuirana izgradnja, koja nikada nije ni prestala,<sup>31</sup> postjugoslavenskom kulturnom prostoru oduzela upravo njegovu nametnutu posteriornost, njegovu nostalgičnost i metafizičnost. Tim oduzimanjem ona ga je načinila sadašnjim. Ulaskom u suvremenost i trenutačnost njegovog postovanja možemo li onda govoriti o nostalgiji odnosno nije li onda ispravnije govoriti o njegovoj aktualnoj političko- društvenoj angažiranosti?

### **Yugoslavia = Yutopia?**

„(...) označeni kao Istočna Europa, stigmatizirani kao Balkan, i traumatisirani kao bivša Jugoslavija“. – Marina Gržinić

Okrenemo li se pak drugoj skupini radova, onoj pojedinačnih izraza nostalgije mlađih generacija, pronašlimo nostalgičnu kulturu čije su gradivno tkivo emocije. Uzmemo li u obzir da se radi o aktivnoj nostalgiji, ona; po Velikonji, nema za cilj ponovnu uspostavu Jugoslavije, nego se radi o snu s utopijskom dimenzijom, i upravo u taj utopijski horizont Velikonja smješta subverzivni potencijal nostalgije (u umjetnosti). No postoje li

DETALJ IZLOŽBE JUGOSLAVIJA: OD POČETKA DO  
KRAJA, MUZEJ ISTORIJE JUGOSLAVIJE, BEOGRAD, 2013.  
FOTOGRAFIJA: PETRA BELC

A DETAIL FROM THE EXHIBITION YUGOSLAVIA: FROM THE  
BEGINNING UNTIL THE END, MUSEUM OF YUGOSLAV  
HISTORY, BELGRADE, 2013. PHOTO BY PETRA BELC

MILICA POPOVIĆ  
PETRA BELC

### **Generation of the Last Pioneers**

This paper focuses on this type of nostalgic culture, on emotions that influence the contemporary art practices, and also the socio-political position that they thereby imply.

The contemporary (post-)Yugoslav art practices analyzed here are the domain of a young generation of artists, who were born in the former state during the late 1970s and the 1980s.

How do we define a generation? For our purpose, we will define it within the framework outlined by Todor Kuljić in his book *Sociology of the Generation*: “Belonging to the same generation means belonging to the same events, either real or invented.”<sup>26</sup>

Karl Mannheim considered the generation as a socio-cultural notion, a form of collective identity and a community that is kept together by similar values and goals, experiences and beliefs.<sup>27</sup>

Generations that lived their childhood, to which Mila Turajlić refers, in a common state and common (cultural) space continue building it up even afterwards. Understanding this building process as purely personal, or failing to understand nostalgia as a clear definition of emotions felt for a given socio-political context, deprive the contemporary art practice of political subjectivity.

Acknowledging Gramsci's concept of the impossibility of neutrality, in this case referring to the artists, we seek to draw attention to the political aspect of their art through an analysis of

artworks. In these artistic representations, the (post-)Yugoslav cultural space persists, and acts in its very persistence, as a subversive response to the imposed state borders. By continuing to build up that space, Yugoslav culture will continue to exist.

One may say that, in these artworks “the past emerges as a cultural artefact.”<sup>28</sup> Nostalgic culture, in fact, emerges – as Boris Buden and other authors of the book *Introduction to the Past* tell us – as a “discursive arena where a whole series of large and small narratives intersect: the enigma of creation, Eros and Thanatos in their eternal clinch, the judgment of aesthetic taste that is permanently tested, the autonomy of cultural sphere, or its socio-political determination, the political truth of culture, its universality or particularity, its decadence, its affirmative or critical character, culture as a site of emancipation, utopia, hegemony, Hegelian struggle for recognition, culture as aura, as industry, as entertainment, idolatry...”<sup>29</sup>

In that case, is defining that art as “post-Yugoslav” nothing else but a part of that official narrative, which seeks to fit it into the western pattern of “postsocialist art scenes”<sup>30</sup> despite the fact that it manifestly resists that sort of narratives? One may say that its continued construction, which has actually never stopped,<sup>31</sup> deprived the post-Yugoslav cultural space of its imposed posteriority, its nostalgia, and its metaphysical character.

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takvi nedvosmisleno simplificirani izrazi nostalгије у сувременим уметничким праксама,<sup>32</sup> и, ако се она и појављује – колики је нjezin udio te ima li način njezine implementacije у критичку cjelinu djela istu djelatnu snagu као и svakodnevna jugonostalgija o kojoj piše Velikonja?

Najблиže se тому вјеројатно приблиžila Mira Turajlić u свом филму *Cinema Komunisto*, у којему некритичким и sentimentalnim prikazom jugoslavenske односно београдске filmske производње i Avala filma (pandan zagrebačkom Jadran filmu) gradi утопијску митологију бивше државе. Taj film у неком широм контексту у којему се обраћа широј публици свакако носи одређен критички/subverzivni потенцијал, будући да можемо закључити како нуди простор за misaonu komparaciju negdašnjeg i

današnjeg Jadran filma, upropastištenog privatizацијом односно озаконjenom krađom. No он је у осови заробљен у властите идеолошке оквире који му/нама пријеће да се активно, смислено и продуктивно креће(mo) naprijed.<sup>33</sup> Mila Turajlić, redateljica, говори нам: "Kao што, kad odrastete, imate потребу вратити се у прву кућу у којој сте живјели или место где сте први пут били на лjetovanju, тако сам у филму htjela вратити слике svog djetinjstva iz nepostojeće земље. Našla sam tu земљу i zadovoljila потребу да се sjetim djetinjstva."<sup>34</sup> Znači ли то да нам *Cinema Comunisto* говори само о једном intimnom sjećanju na djetinjstvo?

Ipak, valja istaknuti да та sentimentalna nostalгија<sup>35</sup> u ovim individualnim уметничким изразима (*Cinema Komunisto*, *Jugoslavija*, *kako je ideologija pokretala naše kolektivno tijelo*, *NEO N.O.B...*) upućuje на нешто што бисмо могли читати прије svega као критику постојећег система, односно neoliberalnog kapitalizma.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, ta poveznica između (nesvjesne) кritike primata капитала/neoliberalnog kapitalizma u trenutno dominantnom ekonomsko-političkom систему метапростора бивше Jugoslavije u (jugo)nostalгији uobličenoj u уметничке праксе генерације задњих пionira<sup>37</sup> upućuje на парадокс значајан за kontekstualizaciju источноевропске, ili postsocijalističke, уметности – постојеће домаће tržište umjetnosti (*art market*) i otvorenost našega tržištu Zapada. Mi dakle данас говоримо о postsocijalističkoj уметности која



And in that deprivation it has made it contemporary. And if one acknowledges the contemporaneous and current character of its existence, is it possible at all then to speak of nostalgia? Is it not far more accurate to speak of its actual political and social engagement?

#### **Yugoslavia = Yutopia?**

"(...) labelled as Eastern Europe, stigmatized as the Balkans, and traumatized as ex-Yugoslavia."  
– Marina Gržinić

If one turns to another group of artworks, that consisting of individual expressions of nostalgia in the younger generations, one finds a nostalgic culture whose building

blocks are emotions. Taking into account that it is an active sort of nostalgia, according to Velikonja it does not aim at re-establishing Yugoslavia, but is a dream with an utopian dimension; and it is in that utopian framework that Velikonja has placed the subversive potential of nostalgia (in art). But are there such unambiguously simplified expressions of nostalgia in contemporary art practices,<sup>32</sup> and if yes, then what is its share, and does its implementation in the critical artwork as a whole have the same active power as the everyday Yugo-nostalgia that Velikonja is referring to?

The artwork that has probably come closest to that is Mira Turajlić's film *Cinema Komunisto*, in which the author has uncritically and sentimentally presented Yugoslav or Belgrade film production and Avala-film (a counterpart of the Croatian Jadran-film) in order to construct an utopian mythology of the former state. In a wider context, as speaking to a wider public, this film certainly contains a sort of critical/subversive potential, since one may conclude that it creates room for a reflexive comparison between Jadran-film then and now, when it has been destroyed through privatization or rather legalized theft. However, it is in effect caught within its own ideological boundaries, which prevent it/us from actively, meaningfully, and productively move forward.<sup>33</sup> Mila Turajlić, the director, tells us: "Just like we feel the need as adults to go back to the first house

se nalazi na – tržištu. Jugonostalgični govor o bivšoj državi i njenim artefaktima u takvom umjetničkom kontekstu dolazi u opasnost da Jugoslaviju pretvori u *trademark*, da u najboljoj maniri neoliberalnog kapitalizma komodificira i revoluciju i njezina lica, ostavljujući ih tako u potpunosti nemoćnim za bilo kakvu ozbiljniju kritiku kojom bi ugrozili postojeći poredak. U tom smislu zanimljiva je teza Marine Gržinić u kojoj se zalaže za repolitizaciju umjetnosti u njezinu povezivanju kreativnosti s otporom, prakse koja, kako kaže Gržinić, užasava kapitalizam.<sup>38</sup> Jer sve dok umjetnost ostane zatvorena u svoj vlastiti umjetnički geto ona i dalje opslužuje „svodnika“, kapitalizam, koji ju eksplorira i na njoj zarađuje. Utoliko umjetnost, smatra Gržinić, mora biti radikalna, ona mora imati snagu da pruži „radikalno umjetničko iskustvo koje bi djelovalo kao *open source* i bilo u mogućnosti da se preokrene u radikalno političko iskustvo koje bi dijelila i šira zajednica“.<sup>39</sup> I dok jugonostalgija na svakodnevnoj, neinstitucionaliziranoj razini može imati emancipacijski potencijal, na koji se način on ostvaruje u suvremenoj umjetnosti?

Dobar primjer kojim je moguće ukazati na paralizu djelatnosti nostalgije u suvremenoj umjetnosti koja sudjeluje u *art marketu* serija je skulptura Ivana Fijolića, *NEO N.O.B. – (Ne)popularna kultura sjećanja* u kojoj Fijolić preuzima spomeničku plastiku socrealizma (iz razdoblja između 1945. i 1949. godine) i pop-kulturnom intervencijom mijenja njezin označiteljski poredak.

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where we lived or the place where we spent our first holiday, in this film I wanted to bring back the images of my childhood from a non-existing country. I have found that country and satisfied my need to remember my childhood.“<sup>44</sup> Does that mean that *Cinema Komunista* tells us merely of intimate childhood memories?

It must be emphasized, however, that the sentimental nostalgia<sup>35</sup> in these individual artistic expressions (*Cinema Komunista*, *Yugoslavia, How Ideology Moved Our Collective Body*, *NEO N.O.B.*, etc.) indicates something that might be interpreted first and foremost as a critique of the present system, that is, of neoliberal capitalism.<sup>36</sup> However, that link between an (unconscious) critique of the primacy of capital/neoliberal capitalism in the currently prevailing economic and political system in the meta-space of former Yugoslavia indicates, in the (Yugo-)nostalgia formulated as an art practice of the generation of the last pioneers,<sup>37</sup> indicates a paradox that is crucial for contextualizing Eastern-European or postsocialist art – and that is the present-day local art market and the openness of our market towards the West. In other words, we speak today of postsocialist art that is – on the market. In such an artistic context, the Yugo-nostalgic discourse of the former state and its artefacts creates the danger of transforming Yugoslavia into a trademark and that, in the best manner of neoliberal capitalism,

Radi se o školskom primjeru onoga što Velikonja definira kao *neonostalgiju*<sup>40</sup>, nostalgiju praksu mlađe generacije koja uporabom postmodernističkih tropa izražava bunt spram hegemonije i postojećeg poretku. Jedna od najupečatljivijih skulptura iz spomenute serije svakako je „Augustinčićev spomenik Titu koji je eksplozivnom napravom srušen s postolja 2004. godine, a s torza raznesene skulpture, kako to navodi policijski očevi, bila je otkinuta Maršalova glava“.<sup>41</sup> Na mjesto Titove glave autor je postavio Jovankinu, zanimljiv potez kojim je otvorio čitav niz (proturječnih) pitanja. Od problematizacije pozicije žene u socijalizmu u odnosu na njezin status danas do znatno šireg odnosno dubljeg pitanja odnosa Tita i Jovanke, no koji za sobom jednako tako povlači niz potencijalno proturječnih interpretacija koje će – zbog nepostojanja jednoznačno interpretabilnih činjenica – svoje krajnje utemeljenje pronaći u ideologiji. Međutim, znantno je bitnije pitanje što u konačnici znači sama ta serija i kakve ona subverzivne implikacije nosi, imajući na umu da je smještena u privatnoj kolekcionarskoj kući Lauba čija se logika temelji na onoj protiv koje se (barem nominalno) jugonostalgija u suvremenoj umjetnosti bori. Ako nas Fijolićeva serija svojim iskazima reaproprijacije odnosno *remixa* prošlosti želi trgnuti na promišljanje devastacije antifašističke spomeničke plastike koja se događala pod egidom borbe za demokraciju i neoliberalizam, propitkujući pritom same njezine

commodifies both the revolution and its protagonists, leaving them completely powerless to offer any serious critique that would threaten the current order. In that context, the hypothesis of Marina Gržinić in which she argues for the re-politicization of art by joining creativity with resistance, as a practice that, as she says, capitalism abhors, is extremely intriguing.<sup>38</sup> For as long as art remains enclosed in its own artistic ghetto, it will keep accusing its “pimp”, namely capitalism, which exploits it and gains profit from it. Insofar, Gržinić continues, art must be radical; it must have the power to offer a “radical artistic experience that would function as an open source and would be capable of switching into a radical political experience shared by the wider community.”<sup>39</sup> And while on the everyday, non-institutional level Yugo-nostalgia can have an emancipatory potential, how is that accomplished in contemporary art? A good example that might serve to indicate the paralysis of nostalgia in the contemporary art that participates in the art market is the series of sculptures *NEO N.O.B. – The (Un-)popular Culture of Remembrance* by Ivan Fijolić, in which the artist has borrowed from the monumental sculpture of social realism (from the period of 1945-1949) and changed its order of signifiers by means of interventions in the style of pop culture. It is a typical example of that which Velikonja has termed *neonostalgija*,<sup>40</sup> a nostalgic practice of the younger generation which

postulate, ne možemo ostati slijepi na činjenicu da je kritika toj praksi upućena iz okrila samog tog ideološkog spektra. Pojava Jugoslavije i njezinih artefakata, kao što je slučaj s eksperimentalnim dokumentarnim filmom Marte Popivode, u kojem autorica koristi arhivske snimke vlastitog primanja u pionire, zatim kolektivnog tijela u sletovskom zanosu, suprotstavljajući ih tom istom tijelu u izvedbi (anti)nacionalizma, u ovom slučaju nešto ozbiljnije potresaju zgradu ideologije u kojoj danas prebivamo. S jedne strane, on poziva – ili čak, ispravnije rečeno, prisiljava – gledatelja da se ponavljanjem i jukstaponiranjem vizualnog materijala suoči sa setom vrijednosti koji su Jugoslaveni zdušno živjeli, a koji je na simboličkoj razini u trenu bio zamijenjen svojom dijometralnom suprotnošću. Ova „istost“ potpuno suprotnih svjetonazora u koje gledamo osim na besmisao rata istovremeno upućuje i na postojanje kolektivne ideološke hipnoze čiji su taoci bili kako nekadašnji Jugoslaveni tako i današnji stanovnici njenih šest republika odnosno danas nezavisnih država. Jugonostalgija koja nam se ovdje prezentira otvara prostor konstruktivnog kritičkog promišljanja, i postavlja pitanje zašto je nekoć ideologiju vodila ideja socijalne pravde, a danas nas pokreće (odnosno paralizira/umrtvљује) konzumerizam.

### Lice demokracije

Generacija suvremenih umjetnika, nostalgičara, *neonostalgičara* i posljednjih pionira svojim praksama nesumnjivo iskazuje politički stav i aktualnu političko-društvenu angažiranost, koji se, manje u Zagrebu a više u Beogradu, izražavaju u obliku Jugoslavije/jugonostalgije kao narativa prisutnog u suvremenoj umjetnosti. No oni su „protiv“, ali ne ekspliciraju alternativu. Oni postojeći poredak dovode u pitanje, ali jedino što nude je nostalgična slika prošloga, bez jasnijih smjernica. Potencijal postoji, ali kuda i kamo nas vodi?

Iako se ne radi izravno o jugonostalgiji, film beogradskog redatelja Vladimira Milovanovića *Lice revolucije* bavi se posljedicama koje je raspad Jugoslavije ostavio na srpsko društvo, i, poigravanjem s raznim ideološkim označiteljima – od revolucije, Otpora, Badioua, Marks-a i Engelsa, neoskojevaca, do suvremenih marketingaša i bankara – dobro sumira spomenutu problematiku. Velikodušno pružajući prostor za kritičko promišljanje, *Lice revolucije* naime u suštini ne nudi nikakav utopijski horizont, nego gledatelju kao da govori: *there is no alternative*. Odnosno, kako Buden dijagnosticira stanje u današnjem društvu: „Riječ je o potpunoj nemoći, nekoj vrsti epohalne apatije, fatalizma koji je paralizirao ne samo kritičko mišljenje odnosno volju za promjenom nego i sam osjećaj za stvarnost. Riječ je o apatiji i nemoći koji premda

rebels against the hegemony and the present-day order by using postmodernist tropes. One of the most striking sculptures from this series is by all means “Augustinčić’s monumental sculpture of Tito, which was capsized by explosive in 2004, on which occasion, according to the police report, the Marshall’s head was torn off the torso.”<sup>41</sup> In place of Tito’s head, the artist placed that of Tito’s wife Jovanka, raising a whole series of (controversial) questions with that intriguing move: from thematizing the position of woman in socialism with regard to her present-day status to the far broader, or rather deeper question of the relationship between Tito and Jovanka, which is also subject of potentially contradictory interpretations that find its final rationale in ideology owing to the lack of unambiguously interpretable facts. However, a far more important question is what this series eventually means and what subversive implications it bears, keeping in mind that it is located in the private collector’s *house Lauba*, whose logic is based on something that Yugo-nostalgia in contemporary art is struggling against (at least nominally). If Fijolić’s series wants to shake us up by means of its re-appropriation or remix of the past in order to reflect on the devastation of our antifascist monumental sculpture, which took place under the guise of struggle for democracy and neoliberalism, questioning thereby the very basics of that struggle, then we cannot keep a blind eye on the

fact that the critique of that practice comes from the very heart of that ideological spectrum.

The appearance of Yugoslavia and its artefacts, as in the case of an experimental documentary by Marta Popivoda in which the author has used the archival footage of her own admission to the pioneers, and then of the collective body in the ecstasy of the annual mass festival (*s/et*), which she juxtaposes to the same body in the performance of (anti-)nationalism, may serve to shake up somewhat more seriously the structure of ideology in which we live. On the one hand, the film invites, or even forces the spectator, by means of repetitions and juxtapositions, to face the set of values that the Yugoslav people embraced with enthusiasm, which was on the symbolic level substituted by its diametrical opposition almost within a moment. This “sameness” of completely opposite worldviews points to absurdity of war, and at the same time to the existence of a collective ideological hypnosis, whose hostages include both the Yugoslav people of the bygone times and the today’s inhabitants of its six republics or independent states. Yugo-nostalgia as it is presented here opens up room for constructive and critical reflection, raising the question of why ideology was once guided by the idea of social justice, whereas today we are moved (or rather paralyzed/debilitated) by consumerism.

performativno strukturiraju samu realnost, sami su duboko nerealni, a to znači u osnovi ideološki.<sup>42</sup> Kako bi bila djelatna, nostalgija u suvremenoj umjetnosti trebala bi biti pomno artikulirana, trebala bi nuditi radikalno umjetničko iskustvo (Gržinić) i biti „na ulici“, u prostoru koji nije vezan za institucije ili muzeje, odnosno, kako to sumira Mitja Velikonja: „Općenito govoreći, što je prošlost manje ograničena na muzeje i što manju institucionalnu zaštitu i konzervaciju uživa, to je življva i više prisutna u ljudskim umovima.“<sup>43</sup> Ukoliko se pak inzistira na djelatnoj nostalgiji sa subverzivnim i kritičkim potencijalom u galerijskom odnosno institucionalnom kontekstu, ona bi taj potencijal mogla ostvariti uključi li se kao gradivno tkivo u radove poput onih kustoskih kolektiva kao što su WHW, Prelom kolektiv ili u istraživačke prakse novosadskog Centra za nove medije\_kuda.org. Njihovi projekti – poput, primjerice, izložbe *Slučaj SKC-a* (Galerija Nova, Zagreb, 2008.), koja “bilješkama u prostoru” prikazuje pomno prikupljen i promišljeno kritički artikuliran istraživački materijal – na misaonoj razini doista uspijevaju jasno predočiti odnosno strukturirati suvremeno postjugoslavensko društveno problemsko polje. Ono što se međutim ovdje dovodi u pitanje jest to na koji način spojiti emocionalni angažman, reprezentacijsku umjetnost i društvenu kritiku.

JUGONOSTALGIJA:  
JUGOSLAVIJA KAO  
METAPROSTOR  
U SAVREMENIM  
UMJETNIČKIM  
PRAKSAMA

YUGONOSTALGIJA:  
YUGOSLAVIA AS  
A META-SPACE IN  
CONTEMPORARY  
ART PRACTICES

### **Face of Democracy**

The generation of contemporary artists, nostalgicians, *neonostalgicians*, and the last pioneers undoubtedly expresses its political position and its current political and social engagement with their practices, which are, less in Zagreb and more in Belgrade, expressed in the form of Yugoslavia or Yugo-nostalgia as a narrative that is positively present in contemporary art. However, although they are “against”, they do not explicitly propose an alternative. Although questioning the existing order, the only thing they offer is a nostalgic image of the past, without any clear guidelines. There is a potential, but where does it lead us, and in what ways?

Even though it is not directly Yugo-nostalgic, the film *Face of the Revolution* by Belgrade director Vladimir Milovanović focuses on the consequences of the disintegration of Yugoslavia for the Serbian society. Playing with various ideological signifiers – from the revolution, the Resistance, Badiou, Marx and Engels, and the young neo-communists to the present-day marketing sharks and bankers – it very sharply summarizes the topical issues. By offering ample room for critical reflection, *Face of the Revolution* does not essentially offer a utopian horizon; instead, it seems to tell the spectator that *there is no alternative*. In other words, as Buden has diagnosed the state of the present-day society: “It is utter helplessness, a sort of epochal apathy, fatalism that

Zadržimo li se međutim samo na površinskim čitanjima, djela poput ovih kojima smo se bavile u tekstu doista otvaraju prostor kritike, ali ona je kratkovidna i u osnovi nas ne uči ničemu. „Nije potrebno uopće reći da je nemoguće išta naučiti o prošlosti od nostalgičnih bajki“, kaže Velikonja.<sup>44</sup> Odnosno, da se poslužimo argumentom Slavenke Drakulić iz eseja „Jugonostalgija kao novi cool“: „bilo bi ipak dobro i korisno da ova generacija – pred čijim začudenim i nezainteresiranim očima iskrasa prošlost o kojoj nema pojma – stekne stručno, a ne ideološko znanje o toj crnoj rupi naše povijesti“.<sup>45</sup> Uzmemo li u obzir da je kritika postojećeg sistema, izražena optikom jugonostalgije, upućena društvu u cijelini i obraća se podjednako svim njegovim članovima i generacijama, za borbu protiv postojeće hegemonije/ideologije danas nam treba nešto znatno jače od nje. Kako je još početkom 2000-ih godina Boris Buden u eseju „Prepoznavanje fašizma“ primijetio, takav fašizam kakav se razbuktava u Hrvatskoj nije nešto „zbog čega bi se evropski fašizam trebao uzbuditi“.<sup>46</sup> Uključeni u suvremene svjetske tokove, trenutno osim metaprostora bivše Jugoslavije živimo i u metaprostoru današnje (demokratske) Europe. Deset godina kasnije, Buden upozorava na činjenicu da se suvremeni fašizam krije u ruhu same demokracije.<sup>47</sup> Slijedom te logike, u današnjem metaprostoru Jugoslavije i kritičke postsocijalističke suvremene

has paralyzed not only critical thinking, or will for change, but also the very feeling of the reality. It is the sort of apathy and impotence that, although performatively structuring the reality as such, is deeply unrealistic in itself, which makes it fundamentally ideological.<sup>42</sup>

In order to be efficient, nostalgia in contemporary art should be carefully articulated, it should offer radical artistic experience (Gržinić), and to be “in the street” as a space that is not linked to institutions or museums, as succinctly put by Mitja Velikonja: “Generally speaking, the less the past is limited to the museum, and less institutional protection or conservation it enjoys, the more lively it is and more present in human minds.”<sup>43</sup> However, if one insists on effective nostalgia with a subversive and critical potential in the context of galleries or other institutions, that potential can be activated if incorporated as a building block into artworks such as those by the curatorial collectives WHW or Prelom Collective, or in research practices such as those by the Centre for the New Media\_kuda.org in Novi Sad. Their projects – such as the exhibition *The Case of SKC* (Nova Gallery, Zagreb, 2008), which used “notes in space” in order to present meticulously collected and consciously critically articulated research material – indeed manage on the reflective level to present and structure quite clearly the problem field of the post-Yugoslav society. What is here

umjetnosti, ono što bi nam trebalo jest pomno osmišljena i kritički jasno artikulirana borba protiv – demokracije. A budući da povjerenje autorica u polje umjetnosti kao polje društvenog djelovanja u tom smislu apsolutno postoji, u skladu s duhom usmjerenim prema utopijskom horizontu praćenom potrebnim preinakama, možda bi se doista moglo otici i korak dalje, i zahtijevati od umjetnosti preosmišljavanje svoje biti u pokušaju prevladavanja same sebe.

<sup>1</sup> Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org et al, *Uvod u prošlost*, kuda.org, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Intervju s Branislavom Dimitrijevićem: [http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav\\_category=1084&nav\\_id=499087](http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav_category=1084&nav_id=499087) (zadnji pregled: 14. 3. 2011.).

<sup>3</sup> Ješa Denegri, „Strategije devedesetih: jedna kritička pozicija“. Izvor: [http://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx\\_vek/jesa\\_denegri.html](http://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx_vek/jesa_denegri.html) (zadnji pregled: 8. 4. 2014.).

<sup>4</sup> Primjerice kazališne predstave poput *Proklet bio izdajica svoje domovine*, red. Oliver Frlić, SMG, Ljubljana, 2010.; *Rođeni u YU*, red. Dino Mustafić, JDP, Beograd, 2010.; filmovi *Cinema Komunista*, red. Mila Turajlić, SR, 2010.; *Yugo, kratka autobiografija*, red. Mina

Đukić, SR, 2010.; *Jugoslavija, kako je ideologija pokretala naše kolektivno tijelo*, red. Marta Popivoda, SR/FR/DE, 2013.; fotografski projekti kao što su *Posljedice. Mijenjanje kulturnog pejzaža – tendencije angažirane post-jugoslavenske suvremene fotografije*, SLO/HR/SR/BiH, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Marina Gržinić-Mauhler, „The Retro-Avant Garde Movement In The Ex-Yugoslav Territory Or Mapping Post-Socialism“. Izvor: <http://www.ljudmila.org/~vuk/nettime/zkp4/53.htm> (zadnji pregled: 20. 10. 2013.).

<sup>6</sup> Film *Koko i duhovi* (red. Danijel Kušan, HR, 2011.), iako smješten u doba Jugoslavije, bivšu državu niti u jednom trenu ne eksplisira; skupne izložbe u Hrvatskoj koje tematiziraju Jugoslaviju uglavnom se održavaju pod neodređenim egidama (socijalizma) – „Socijalizam i modernost 1950.–1974“, MSU, Zagreb, 2011., „Refleksije vremena 1945.–1955.“, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2013.; dok se drugdje na području bivše države Jugoslavija ipak eksplisitno spominje, kao što svjedoče izložba *Jugoslavija: od početka do kraja* u Muzeju istorije Jugoslavije, 2012., ili već navedeni primjeri u bilješci br. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org et al, *Uvod u prošlost*, kuda.org, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Tzvetan Todorov, *Les abus de la mémoire*, Arléa, Paris, 1998., p.14.

<sup>9</sup> Zoran Milutinović, „What Common Yugoslav Culture Was and How Everybody Benefited From It“, u: Gorup, R. (ed.), *After*

PLESNI PERFORMANS POLET  
MLADOSTI, MONTAŽSTROJ I  
UMJETNIČKA ORGANIZACIJA  
PROTUNAPAD, POGON JEDINSTVO,  
ZAGREB, 2014., DETALJ IZVEDBE.  
FOTOGRAFIJA: PETRA BELC

DETAIL FROM THE DANCE  
PERFORMANCE ENERGY  
OF YOUTH, MONTAŽSTROJ  
AND PROTUNAPAD, POGON  
JEDINSTVO, ZAGREB, 2014. PHOTO  
BY PETRA BELC



explored, however, is how to merge emotional engagement, representational art, and social criticism.

If one stops at superficial readings, artworks such as these analyzed in this text indeed open up room for a critique, but that critique is short-sighted and basically teaches us nothing. “Needless to say, it is impossible to learn anything about the past from nostalgic fairytales,” as Velikonja writes.<sup>44</sup> Or, to quote Slavenka Drakulić from her essay on “Yugo-nostalgia as the New Cool”: “It would nevertheless be good and useful if this generation – with its amazement and indifference in regard to the past that it knows nothing about – could gain some expert, rather than ideological knowledge on that black hole in our history.”<sup>45</sup> If one takes into account that the critique of the present order, expressed through the optics of Yugo-nostalgia, is directed at the society at large, addressing equally all its members and generations, today we need something far more powerful in order to fight the dominant hegemony/ideology. As Boris Buden observed as early as the 2000s in his essay “How to Recognize

Fascism,” the kind of fascism that was on the rise in Croatia was not something “that the European fascism should get agitated about.”<sup>46</sup> Involved in the present-day global trends, besides the meta-space of former Yugoslavia we also live in the meta-space of today’s (democratic) Europe. Ten years later, Buden warned about the fact that contemporary fascism was hiding under the mask of democracy itself.<sup>47</sup> Following that logic, in today’s meta-space of Yugoslavia and the critical, postsocialist contemporary art, what we need is a carefully constructed and critically clearly articulated struggle against – democracy. And since the authors’ trust into the field of art as a field of social action is absolutely there, in accordance with the spirit directed at the utopian horizon accompanied by adequate alterations, one might also take a step further and demand of art to reinvent its own essence in order to try to overcome itself.

<sup>1</sup> Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org, et al., *Uvod u prošlost* [Introduction to the past] (kuda.org, 2013).

*Yugoslavia. The Cultural Space of a Vanished Land*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2013., p.75-87.

<sup>10</sup> Zoran Milutinović, „What Common Yugoslav Culture Was and How Everybody Benefited From It“, u: Gorup, R. (ed.), *After Yugoslavia. The Cultural Space of a Vanished Land*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2013., p.5.

<sup>11</sup> Zoran Milutinović, „What Common Yugoslav Culture Was and How Everybody Benefited From It“, u: Gorup, R. (ed.), *After Yugoslavia. The Cultural Space of a Vanished Land*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2013., p.9.

<sup>12</sup> Na izložbi tako ravnopravno sudjeluju autori iz Hrvatske, Srbije i Makedonije, kao i oni iz Bugarske, Rumunjske, Turske, Moldavije, Cipra i Grčke.

<sup>13</sup> Takvog je mišljenja i kustosica izložbe *Refleksije vremena*, Jasmina Bavorjak, a navedeno je izjavila u intervjuu „Socijalizam je još uvijek tabu tema u Hrvatskoj“ objavljenom na tportalu. Izvor: <http://www.tportal.hr/kultura/kulturmiks/242382/Socijalizam-je-jos-uvijek-tabu-tema-u-Hrvatskoj.html> (zadnji pregled 20. 1. 2014.).

<sup>14</sup> Tekstovi tendiraju svojevrsnoj neutralnosti i demitolizaciji, međutim istovremeno dopuštaju određena ideološka upisivanja.

<sup>15</sup> Pri čemu ni na ovom polju ne uspijevaju „zahvaljujući“ činjenici da, osim državne sabotaže, nailaze i na ignoriranje od strane medija i stručne kritike, barem kada je riječ o spomenutoj izložbi. *Refleksije*

vremena tek su tjedan dana uoči zatvaranja uspjele dobiti preporuku Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta koja bi omogućila nastavnicima i profesorima da djecu povedu na ovu izložbu u okviru obrazovnog procesa.

<sup>16</sup> „Dva povjesničara, na primjer, misle različito, jedan je napisao da smo možda previše naglasili crnu stranu, dok drugi misli da smo previše naglasili pozitivnu stranu. Povjesničari, koji se znanstveno bave time, nemaju izgrađen konsenzus oko vrijednosnog sustava, a kamoli običan posjetitelj koji svoju priču unosi u taj Muzej“, izjavio je povjesničar Hrvoje Klasić, jedan od autora izložbe *Jugoslavija: od početka do kraja*, koja se održala početkom 2013. godine u beogradskom Muzeju istorije Jugoslavije. Izvor: <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/jugoslavija-od-pocetka-do-kraja-u-beogradskom-muzeju/24784908.html> (zadnji pregled 20. 11. 2013.).

<sup>17</sup> Koje će gotovo uvijek biti obojene državnim narativima revizionizma.

<sup>18</sup> Primjerice: *Partizani kakve do sada niste vidjeli*, Savez antifašističkih boraca i antifašista RH, Pavla Hatzia 16, Zagreb (I kat), Zagreb, 2014., *Jugoslavenski omladinski tisak kao underground press*, Rijeka, 2013., Plesni performans *Polet mladosti*, Montažtroj i Umjetnička organizacija Protunapad, Zagreb, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1968.



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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Branislav Dimitrijević, [http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav\\_category=1084&nav\\_id=499087](http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav_category=1084&nav_id=499087) (last accessed on March 14, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Jesa Denegri, “Strategije deve desetih: jedna kritička pozicija” [Strategies of the 1990s: A critical position], [http://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx\\_vek/jesa\\_denegri.html](http://www.rastko.rs/likovne/xx_vek/jesa_denegri.html) (last accessed on April 8, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Such as the theatre performances *Proklet bio izdajica svoje domovine* [Damned Be the Traitor of His Homeland], directed by Oliver Frlić (SMG, Ljubljana, 2010); *Roden i YU* [Born in YU], directed by Dino Mustafić (JDP, Belgrade, 2010); the films *Cinema Komunista*, directed by Mila Turajlić (SR, 2010); *Yugo, kratka autobiografija* [Yugo: A short autobiography], directed by Mina Đukić (SR, 2010); *Jugoslavija, kako je ideologija pokretala naše kolektivno tijelo* [Yugoslavia, or: How ideology moved our collective body], directed by Marta Popivoda (SR/FR/DE, 2013); photographic projects such as *Posljedice. Mijenjanje kulturnog pejzaža – tendencije angažirane post-jugoslavenske suvremene fotografije* [Consequences: Changing the cultural landscape – Tendencies in engaged post-Yugoslav contemporary photography] (SLO/HR/SR/BiH, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Marina Gržinić-Mauhler, “The Retro-Avant Garde Movement in the Ex-Yugoslav Territory, or: Mapping Post-Socialism,” <http://www.ljudmila.org/~vuk/nettime/zkp4/53.htm> (last accessed on October 20, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> The film *Koko i duhovi* [Koko and the Ghosts], directed by Danijel Kušan (HR, 2011), although situated in the times of Yugoslavia, never explicitly

mentions it; the group exhibitions in Croatia that focused on Yugoslavia mostly took place under undefined premises (of socialism): “Socijalizam i modernost 1950.-1974.” [Socialism and modernity, 1950-1974] (Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb, 2011); “Refleksije vremena 1945.-1955.” [Reflections of the time: 1945-1955] (Klovicévi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 2013); while elsewhere in the territory of former Yugoslavia the state was explicitly mentioned: e.g. in the exhibition title *Jugoslavija: od početka do kraja* [Yugoslavia: From the beginning until the end] (Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade, 2012), or in the examples mentioned in n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Buden, Žilnik, kuda.org, et al. (as in n. 1).

<sup>8</sup> Tsvetan Todorov, *Les abus de la mémoire* (Paris: Arléa, 1998), 14.

<sup>9</sup> Zoran Milutinović, “What Common Yugoslav Culture Was and How Everybody Benefited From It,” in: *After Yugoslavia. The Cultural Space of a Vanished Land*, ed. R. Gorup (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 75-87.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, authors from Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia participated in the exhibition same as those from Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, Moldova, Cyprus, and Greece.

<sup>13</sup> That was also the opinion of the curator of *Reflections of the Time*, Jasmina Bavorjak, as she has recently stated in the interview “Socijalizam je još uvijek tabu tema u Hrvatskoj” [Socialism is still a taboo in Croatia],

- <sup>20</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1968., p.33.
- <sup>21</sup> Dominic Boyer, „From Algos to Autonomous: Nostalgic Eastern Europe as Postimperial Mania“, u: Maria Todorova et Gille Zsusza (ed.), *Postcommunist nostalgia*, Berghahn Publishers, New York, 2010., p.21.
- <sup>22</sup> Tanja Petrović, *Yugoslavia – jugoslovensko nasleđe i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društвima*, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2012.
- <sup>23</sup> Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgija*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2010., p. 44.
- <sup>24</sup> Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgija*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2010., p.157.
- <sup>25</sup> Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Basic Books, New York, 2001., p.49.
- <sup>26</sup> Todor Kuljić, *Sociologija generacije*, Čigoja štampa, Beograd, 2009., p.5.
- <sup>27</sup> Todor Kuljić, *Sociologija generacije*, Čigoja štampa, Beograd, 2009.
- <sup>28</sup> Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org et al, *Uvod u prošlost*, kuda.org, 2013., p.8
- <sup>29</sup> Boris Buden, Želimir Žilnik, kuda.org et al, *Uvod u prošlost*, kuda.org, 2013., p.8
- <sup>30</sup> Srećko Pulig, „Istok i Zapad u suvremenoj umjetnosti“, u: *Časopis aktiv - Jugoslavenski studiji 2: Jugoslavija nije ime za prošlo već za ono što dolazi*, Godina III, br. 5-6, Zagreb, 2012, p.24
- <sup>31</sup> Intervju s Branislavom Dimitrijevićem: [http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav\\_category=1084&nav\\_id=499087](http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav_category=1084&nav_id=499087) (zadnji pregled : 14. 3. 2011.).
- <sup>32</sup> Velikonja upozorava da se iza njih uglavnom ne nalaze pomno razrađene političke strategije ili programi. Vidi: Mitja Velikonja, „Prošlost s budućnošću: emancipacijski potencijal Jugonostalgije“ u:

Lana Zdravković i Iva Zenzerović Šloser, *Imaginacija – Građanski identiteti i prava u nacionalnim državama u Europi: Ostvarenje prava ekonomskih migranata kao doprinos izgradnji održivog mira*, Centar za mirovne studije, Zagreb, i Mirovni institut, Ljubljana, 2011., 164.

<sup>33</sup> „To je stoga što je nostalgija ideološka predaja uvelike poput svih drugih i kao takva, podliježe svim fundamentalnim ideološkim metodama koje se koriste u sastavljanju predanja, uključujući i selekciju, binarizam, polariziranje i antagoniziranje“, kako kaže Mitja Velikonja (isto, 156.).

<sup>34</sup> Vidi <http://www.tportal.hr/showtime/film/140388/Cinema-Komunista-Jugoslavija-kao-zemlja-snova-u-filmu.html> (zadnji pregled: 28. 9. 2013.).

<sup>35</sup> Velikonja razlikuje tri nostalgije – morbidnu, melankoličnu, tj. sentimentalnu, i parodijsku.

<sup>36</sup> Jer, kako pišu Michael Lowy i Robert Sayre u knjizi *Romantizam usuprot plimi modernosti*, „Nostalgija za prošlim je – da se poslužimo terminom Marks-a i Engels-a, koji su prvi uočili ovu osobinu kod engleskih kapitalista – ‘usko vezana’ uz kritiku kapitalističkog svijeta“. Michale Löwy i Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, Duke UP, Durham, 2001., 27.

<sup>37</sup> Sintagma preuzeta iz teksta Milice Popović „Bivša Jugoslavija u očima posljednjih pionira“. Izvor: <http://www.zarez.hr/clanci/bivsa-jugoslavija-u-ocima-posljednjih-pionira> (zadnji pregled 20. 1. 2014.).

<sup>38</sup> Marina Gržinić, „On the Re-Politicisation of Art through Contamination“, u: *East Art Map – Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe*, Afterall Book, Central St. Martins College of Art and Design, London, 2006., 477.

<sup>39</sup> Isto, 479.

<sup>40</sup> Velikonja (bilj. 34.), 164.

<sup>41</sup> Ivana Hanaček, „Ivan Fijolić: (NE)POPULARNA KULTURA SJEĆANJA, 29.11.2013. — 12.01.2014.“ Izvor: <http://www.lauba.com>.

<http://www.tportal.hr/kultura/kulturmiks/242382/Socijalizam-je-jos-uvijek-tabu-tema-u-Hrvatskoj.html> (last accessed on January 20, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> These texts tend to a sort of neutrality and de-mythologization, at the same time allowing for certain ideological inscriptions.

<sup>15</sup> Whereby they do not even succeed in this field, “owing” to the fact that, besides being sabotaged by the state, they also meet with indifference of the media and expert critics, at least in the case of the aforementioned exhibition. It was only a week before its closing that *Reflections of the Time* managed to obtain the recommendation of the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports that made it possible for teachers and professors to take their students to see it as a part of the curriculum.

<sup>16</sup> “Thus two different historians would say two different things: one wrote that we may have exaggerated in emphasizing the dark side, whereas others thought we have emphasized the positive side too much. The historians, who are dealing with this in a scholarly way, are incapable of reaching a consensus about the system of values, let alone a common visitor who brings his or her own story into the Museum,” according to historian Hrvoje Klasić, one of the authors of the exhibition *Yugoslavia: From the Beginning until the End*, which took place early in 2013 at the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade: <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/jugoslavija-od-pocetka-do-kraja-u-beogradskom-muzeju/24784908.html> (last accessed on November 20, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> Which are almost regularly coloured by the revisionist narratives of the state.

<sup>18</sup> Such as *Partizani kakve do sada niste vidjeli* [The partisans as you have never seen them before], Association of Antifascist Fighters and Antifascists of Croatia, Pavla Hatza 16, Zagreb (1<sup>st</sup> floor), Zagreb, 2014; *Jugoslavenski omladinski tisk* kao underground press [Yugoslav youth press as underground press], Rijeka, 2013; the dance performance *Polet mladosti*

[The energy of youth], Montažtroj and Protunapad, Zagreb, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>21</sup> Dominic Boyer, “From Algos to Autonomous: Nostalgic Eastern Europe as Postimperial Mania,” in: *Postcommunist Nostalgia*, ed. Maria Todorova and Gille Zsusza Berghahn (New York: Publishers, 2010), 21.

<sup>22</sup> Tanja Petrović, *Yugoslavia – jugoslovensko nasleđe i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društвima* [Yugoslav legacy and the politics of future in post-Yugoslav societies] (Belgrade: Fabrika knjiga, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgija* [Titostalgija] (Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek, 2010), 44.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>25</sup> Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 49.

<sup>26</sup> Todor Kuljić, *Sociologija generacije* [Sociology of the Generation] (Belgrade: Čigoja štampa, 2009), 5.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> Buden, Žilnik, kuda.org, et al. (as in n. 1), 8.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>30</sup> Srećko Pulig, „Istok i Zapad u suvremenoj umjetnosti“ [East and West in contemporary art], *Časopis aktiv - Jugoslavenski studiji 2: Jugoslavija nije ime za prošlo već za ono što dolazi III/5-6* (Zagreb, 2012), 24.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Branislav Dimitrijević, [http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav\\_category=1084&nav\\_id=499087](http://www.b92.net/kultura/intervjui.php?nav_category=1084&nav_id=499087) (last accessed on March 14, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Velikonja has observed that there are mostly no carefully elaborated political strategies or programmes behind them. Cf. Mitja Velikonja, “Prošlost s budućnošću: emancipacijski potencijal Jugonostalgije” [The Past with the Present: The emancipator potential of Yugo-nostalgia], in: *Imaginacija – Građanski identiteti i prava u nacionalnim državama*

hr/hr/kalendar-9/ivan-fijolic-nepopularna-kultura-sjecanja-29112013-12012014-1312/ (zadnji pregled: 11. 1. 2014.).

<sup>42</sup> Boris Buden, „Kultura je najvažniji ideologem stvarnosti“.

Izvor: <http://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/kultura-je-najvazniji-ideologem-stvarnosti> (zadnji pregled 5. 2. 2014.).

<sup>43</sup> Velikonja (bilj. 34.), 158.

<sup>44</sup> Isto, 156.

<sup>45</sup> Izvor: <http://protest.ba/v2/kulturna-jugonostalgija-kao-novi-cool/> (zadnji pregled 22. 1. 2014).

<sup>46</sup> Boris Buden, „Prepoznavanje fašizma“, u: Boris Buden, *Kaptolski kolodvor*, Centar za savremenu umetnost, Beograd, 2001., 101.

<sup>47</sup> „Pogledajte na što smo sve u međuvremenu šutke pristali, štoviše, smatramo to sastavnim dijelom demokratske normalnosti – najrazvijenije zemlje zapada (...). Hrvatska je postala članica Evropske unije na čijim krvavim granicama ginu tisuće ljudi. (...) Pa ipak, to što drže svojim pravom uskraćuju drugima. I ponovo, nitko se ne uzbuduje. Sve je to normalno i samorazumljivo. I zove se ne fašizam nego demokracija“, kako to pojašnjava Buden. (bilj. 44).

JUGONOSTALGIJA:  
JUGOSLAVIJA KAO  
METAPROSTOR  
U SAVREMENIM  
UMETNICKIM  
PRAKSAMAMA

YUGONOSTALGIA:  
YUGOSLAVIA AS  
A META-SPACE IN  
CONTEMPORARY  
ART PRACTICES

*u Europi: Ostvarenje prava ekonomskih migranata kao doprinos izgradnji održivog mira* [Imagination – Civic identities and rights in European national states: Enforcing the rights of economic migrants as a contribution to the construction of sustainable peace], ed. Lana Zdravković and Iva Zenzerović Šloser (Zagreb and Ljubljana: Centre for Peace Studies and Peace Institute, 2011), 164.

<sup>33</sup> According to Mitja Velikonja (ibid., 156), “it is because nostalgia is an ideological tradition like any other, and as such is subjected to all the fundamental ideological methods that are used in constructing traditions, including selection, binarism, polarization, and antagonization.”

<sup>34</sup> See <http://www.tportal.hr/showtime/film/140388/Cinema-Komunista-Jugoslavija-kao-zemlja-snova-u-filmu.html> (last accessed on September 28, 2013).

<sup>35</sup> Velikonja differentiates between three types of nostalgia: morbid, melancholic or sentimental, and parody-like.

<sup>36</sup> As Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre have observed, “Thus, nostalgia for the past is – to borrow a term from Marx and Engels, who noted this feature among the English capitalists – ‘closely linked’ to the critique of the capitalist world.” Michale Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity* (Durham: Duke UP, 2001), 22.

<sup>37</sup> The phrase has been borrowed from Milica Popović “Biča Jugoslavija u očima posljednjih pionira” [Ex-Yugoslavia in the eyes of the last pioneers], <http://www.zarez.hr/clanci/bicca-jugoslavija-u-ocima-posljednjih-pionira> (last accessed on January 20, 2014).

<sup>38</sup> Marina Gržinić, “On the Re-Politicisation of Art through Contamination,” in: *East Art Map – Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe* (London: Afterall Book and Central St. Martin’s College of Art and Design, 2006), 477.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 479.

<sup>40</sup> Velikonja (as in n. 34), 164.

<sup>41</sup> Ivana Hanaček, “Ivan Fijolić: (NE)POPULARNA KULTURA SJEĆANJA, 29.11.2013. – 12.01.2014” [Ivan Fijolić: The (un-)popular culture of remembrance, November 29, 2013 – January 12, 2014], <http://www.lauba.hr/hr/kalendar-9/ivan-fijolic-nepopularna-kultura-sjecanja-29112013-12012014-1312/> (last accessed on January 11, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Boris Buden, “Kultura je najvažniji ideologem stvarnosti” [Culture is the most important ideologeme of the reality], <http://www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/kultura-je-najvazniji-ideologem-stvarnosti> (last accessed on February 5, 2014).

<sup>43</sup> Velikonja (as in n. 34), 158.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>45</sup> Source: <http://protest.ba/v2/kulturna-jugonostalgija-kao-novi-cool/> (last accessed on January 22, 2014).

<sup>46</sup> Boris Buden, “Prepoznavanje fašizma” [How to recognize fascism], in: idem, *Kaptolski kolodvor* (Belgrade: Centre for Contemporary Art, 2001), 101.

<sup>47</sup> “Look at all that we have tacitly agreed to in the meantime, and we even consider it as an ingredient of democratic normality – the most developed countries of the West (...). Croatia has become a member of the European Union, at whose bloodied borders thousands of people have lost their lives. (...) And nevertheless, what they consider to be their own right, they deny to the others. And then again, nobody gets too nervous about that. All that is considered normal and self-understandable. And they do not call it fascism, but democracy,” as Buden has observed (as in n. 44).