



Medijska arheologija: Devedesete

**Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju
Arhiv alternativnog filma i videa
Dom kulture "Studentski grad"**

Projekat podržalo Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Srbije

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Šta je medijska arheologija, a šta “Medijska arheologija”

Medijska arheologija je u slučaju našeg projekta *Medijska arheologija* “kreativno uzurpiran” termin. Ziegfried Zielinski¹ je ovaj termin koristio u svom pokušaju da opiše novo polje za ispitivanje istorije medija, i projekti poput *Dead Media Archive* Brusa Sterlinga (Bruce Sterling) bi mogli da sa puno više prava pretenduju na direktnu teorijsku i logičku vezu sa ovim terminom od našeg istraživačko-programskog projekta. U metodološkom pristupu mediologije koji je ustanovljen pod nazivom medijska arheologija u središtu istraživanja je tehnološki objekat – aparat, i zato je Eriku Klautenbergu² bilo indikativno da, i pored implicitnih referiranja na Fukoovu zaostavštinu, veza aktuelne medijske arheologije i fukoovskog „arheološkog“ ostaje nejasna. Fukoov arheološki pristup naglašava diskurzivnu dimenziju formativnih procesa, dok se u medijskoj arheologiji kao praksi, zanemarivanje formativnih uticaja šireg socijalnog i kulturnog konteksta u otkrivanju materijalnih linija razvoja medijskih aparata pojavljuje kao očigledan rizik. Zielinski je razvio i koncept „anaerheologije“,

potom „variantologije“, ali je možda od svih njegovih koncepata, „ekonomija prijateljstva“, kojim opisuje forme kolektivnog rada koje nastaju iz umrežavanja heterogenih polja i ideja, projektu *Medijska arheologija* koji vam predstavljamo najbliži.

Ipak, i proces našeg istraživanja, oslonjenog na video materijale, može dati doprinos „konvencionalnoj“ medijskoj arheologiji. Video je format koji decenijama evoluirao i prolazi cikluse zastarevanja i transformacije, tako da je potraga za stabilnim video formatom za arhivsku praksu jedna od prioritarnih tema. Video arhivi sa kojim smo se susretali raspolagali su različitim formatima, pri čemu je institucionalno arhiviranje (mahom na skupljim beta kasetama) impliciralo složen administrativno-tehnički proces koji je ograničavao i pristup i prevođenje materijala na DVD programske selekcije, dok je u privatnim VHS kasetama moguće sagledati sav potencijal video rekordera kao kućne laboratorije, saznati o individualnim odlukama, sklonostima i sudovima, o rejtingu medijskih formi, i svesti o „istorijskim momentima“ koji se biraju za čuvanje i ponovno gledanje. Gužvanje VHS kasete, TV sneg, neobeleženi fragmenti emisija kojima se starost procenjuje na osnovu prikazanih modnih detalja, i u toku samih programa kao i u pripremi objašnjavali su izbor „arheologije“ za opis ovog procesa, dok je sam projekat sebe u hodu definisao.

1 Siegfried Zielinski: *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, MIT, 2006,

2 Eric Kluitenberg: *Delusive Spaces*, Nai Publishers, Institute of Network Cultures, Rotterdam, 2008, str. 38-42

Kada je Naško Križnar na radionici u okviru ciklusa „Videografija regiona“ u proleće 2007. govorio o vizuelnoj antropologiji studentima okupljenim u Akademskom filmskom centru u Beogradu, izjavio je:

„Mislim da će jedan od važnijih resursa za vizuelnu antropologiju u skoroj budućnosti biti You Tube.“

Jedan od pažljivijih studenata, podigao je pogled sa svojih beleški i upitao:

„Kako ste rekli, JU...?“

U nekoliko godina koliko postoji, projekat „Medijska arheologija“ bio je svedok i u sopstvenom radu dramatične promene u tehnološkim mogućnostima razmene video materijala. Razvoj interneta, pojava web video portala, povećano interesovanje za medijske arhive, inspirisalo je ideju da se sakupljeni arhiv ovog projekta, njegova mreža publike i saradnika povežu sa institucionalnim potencijalom Arhiva alternativnog filma i videa u Domu kulture „Studentski grad“, gde je ovaj projekat i nastao. Jedan od inicijalnih projekata bio bi osnivanje video baze koja bi se oslonila na arhiv pokreta Low-Fi Video, koji je deponovan u ovom Arhivu, i na arhiv projekta *Medijska arheologija*, čime bi se omogućilo sagledavanje i jednog i drugog arhiva u međusobnoj interakciji, i stvaranje šireg konteksta za ove dve, u velikoj meri dopunjujuće, kolekcije. Ovaj projekat bi u samom procesu realizacije „na terenu“ ilustrovao mogućnosti za prevazilaženje problema i nerešenih pitanja u vezi sa statusom medijskih materijala, mogućnosti novih interfejsa arhiva u intenziviranju interakcije korisnika i arhiva (mogućnost intervencije na samim materijalima kao kreativni doprinos posetilaca baze, otvoreni forum). U međuvremenu, naš programski ciklus koji promoviše performativni potencijal medijskog arhiva biće praćen aktivnostima na sajtu projekta **www.mediarh.org**, koji je predviđen da bude dodatno polje komunikacije i razvoja ovog projekta.



Kratka istorija projekta „Medijska arheologija“ iz producerskog ugla

Ciklus je započet u oktobru 2006. godine, pilot programom „Ekonomsko-propagandni program“, koji je i ustanovio budući koncept ovog projekta. U Domu kulture „Studentski grad“, reditelj Jovan Bačkulja i politikolog Boško Prostran imali su prilike da se upoznaju sa raznovrsnim sadržajem Arhiva alternativnog filma i videa, kojeg je ustanovio i vodi Ivko Šešić. Pored „namerno“ sačuvanih materijala na VHS kasetama ostao je i „slučajni“ nanos medijskog materijala koji je korišćen za ovaj specifični presek: reklamni blokovi jugoslovenskih televizijskih stanica, „uhvaćeni“ zajedno sa filmovima i emisijama koji su ciljano snimani na kućnim video rekorderima. Snimci koncerata, muzički spotovi, emisije raznih profila iz 1980-ih godina u malom timu saradnika i autora u Akademskom filmskom centru predstavljali su zanimljiv materijal pre svega zbog arhaične estetike, specifične dramaturgije i ostalih formalnih razlika na osnovu kojih smo radili komparativne analize. Periodično prezentovanje novopronađenih materijala ovog raznovrsnog arhiva stvorilo je mali ritual arhivske samosvesti, podsećajući donekle na našu internu veziju emisije „TV Trezor“ Bojane Andrić (emisije koja je u mnogome doprinela i razumevanju nekih specifičnih medijskih fragmenata). Upravo

zbog toga, na ideju da se napravi jedna specijalna javna projekcija ovog raznovrsnog materijala, predložila sam, tada uređujući program Akademskog filmskog centra, Bošku i Jovanu da osmisle ciklus takvih programa, i da se posebna pažnja posveti svakoj od tema koje su u neobaveznim pregledima artikulisali. Naziv se ispostavio kao prost opis prakse „iskopavanja“ i analize medijskog materijala, iako je ovaj termin već bio korišćen da označi nešto drugo, tako da smo ga svesno „uzurpirali“ i kasnije razvijali ovu intertekstualnu igru.

Izvađeni i poređani u hronološki niz, blokovi reklama iz Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije su publici u Studentskom gradu, mahom iz generacije koja se SFRJ ne seća, omogućili uvid u ovaj period na način koji je znatno drugačiji od konfuznih prikaza koje su sreli u obrazovnom sistemu. I već u ovom prvom suočavanju sa medijskom arhivom, i publika i mi koji smo program pripremali videli smo da je ovaj model izmeštanja medijskih kolaža na veliko platno postigao neočekivani *microcinema* doživljaj zahvaljujući upravo atmosferi intimne razmene koja se uspostavlja između priređivača i gledaoca. Zato smo od sledećeg programa umesto diskretne uvodne reči, „domaćine“ smestili na binu, tako oponašajući još jedan ciklus koji se sa velikim uspehom odvijao u Akademskom filmskom centru: *Black market*, koji su vodili Saša Marković i Mićun Ristić. Dok se *Black market* bavio muzičkim pravcima i fenomenima, prevodeći format nekadašnje radio emisije u živi nastup sa video ilustracijama, *Medijska arheologija* je nastavila da obrađuje medijski materijal strukturišući programe tako da se pojedine forme (muzički spot, omladinske emisije, itd.) posmatraju u žanrovskoj i dramaturškoj analizi, uz omogućavanje uvida u njihov socijalni kontekst. Time je ciklus *Medijska arheologija* tokom 2007. godine imao i specifičan odnos sa svojim programskim starijim i popularnim bratom, ciklusom *Black market*, i često ovu korelaciju naglašavao i izborom tema

koje su se susretale upravo u odrednici „SFRJ“ (npr. „Punk i new wave u SFRJ“ vs. „Muzički spot u SFRJ 1980-ih“).

Snažna veza ova dva programa bila je i u naglašenoj praksi razmene, čija tradicija seže do vremena gradskih „berzi ploča“, i koja je u formiranju malih zajednica ljubitelja i kolekcionara podsticala individualno arhiviranje, s tim što je *Medijska arheologija* pomerila fokus sa nosača zvuka i isključivo muzičkih materijala na raznovrsne (*banalne, marginalne, bizarne, opskurne, zaboravljene*) medijske sadržaje. Ono što je bilo sve evidentnije jeste izuzetan značaj vodiča kroz medijsku gradu i proces sticanja poverenja kod mlade publike u Studentskom gradu koja je želela da formira svoj osnovni kritički aparat za analizu medija, kao i da zaviri u istoriju zemlje koje se ne seća, ali i one iskusnije, koja je dolazila privučena neuobičajenim temama, značajnim za istraživanje lokalne istorije („TV Titograd“, „Sarajevo Pop“, „Margina proiv margine“, „Pesma koja traje – 25. maj“, „Evrovizija kroz vekove“, i sl.).

Regionalni značaj ovog programa utvrđen je jako brzo: već na festivalu Alternative film/video 2006 u Domu kulture „Studentski grad“, kada je u okviru specijalnog noćnog programa u klubu Alt06 inspirisao goste iz regiona bivše Jugoslavije da ponude organizaciju gostovanja i da i sami počnu da se bave ovakvom arheološkom praksom. Sama „arheologija“, odnosno iskopavanje i sakupljanje materijala, pokazala je da je proces pripreme jednako važan i javan element ovog projekta: participacija publike je intenzivirana i krug saradnika se širio, i ovaj projekat je prepoznao važnost principa otvorene diskusije i mogućnosti razmene na samom programu, priloga publike i poveravanja ličnih arhiva, ali i istraživanja javnih arhiva. Munjeviti razvoj internet razmene medijskih materijala, omogućen i pomenutom platformom You Tube, inspirisao je i jedan od najuspešnijih eksperimenata *Medijske arheologije*: specijalni program „Azija“, koji je obuhvatio raznovrsne medijske forme, pod ukupnom temom prevođenja zapadne pop kulture u Aziji,

sastavljen mahom od materijala koji je dostupan na internetu. Velika posećenost ovog izdanja *Medijske arheologije* potvrdila je da je upravo medijacija, odnosno poverenje u „kustose“ koji vode kroz izbor materijala iz preobilja široko dostupnih dvosmernih online arhiva ono što ovaj projekat ima za prednost, ali i kao odgovornost. Inicijativama kao što je *Illegalni bioskop* koji je grupa TkH pokrenula u Magacinu u Kraljevića Marka 4 stvara se u Beogradu širi kontekst problematizacije statusa medijskih materijala i kulturnih proizvoda, i u okviru svoje edukativne misije u Studentskom gradu *Medijska arheologija* postaje jedan od važnih potencijala za razvijanje ovih eksperimentalnih programskih oblika.

U prvim godinama postojanja, ovaj je ciklus uspostavio je u svom razvoju osnove za dalje istraživanje i profilisao sopstveni programski model, koji se oslanjao na polazne premise:

- Promovisanje prakse medijskog arhiviranja: institucionalnog i individualnog, uz stalno ispitivanje potencijala povezivanja ove dve prakse
- Uspostavljanje osnova za komparativnu analizu medijskih formi po liniji kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta u hronološkoj perspektivi, u lokalnom i globalnom medijskom kontekstu
- Podsticanje participacije šire publike i saradnika otvorenim javnim pozivom i ohrabivanjem živog susreta, zajedničkog kreiranja programa i diskusije.

Uspostavljanjem ovog programskog modela data je mogućnost da se kanališe i javno predstavi sve raširenija praksa, da se pokaže potreba sistematičnog arhiviranja i analize medijskih sadržaja, ali i da se otvore pitanja institucionalne odgovornosti u vremenu redefinisanja statusa medijskih sadržaja, javnog domena i procesa istorizacije kulturne i medijske produkcije SFRJ.



Devedesete

Početkom dvehiljaditih, Zoran Skopljak i ja smo u Beogradskoj otvorenoj školi priredili projekciju medijskog kolaža koji je nastao upravo nasumičnim snimanjem programa domaćih i stranih televizijskih stanica za vreme bombardovanja SR Jugoslavije 1999., pri čemu je moja uloga bila u smišljanju koncepta predstavljanja ovog materijala kojeg je Zoran snimao i za koji smo odlučili da treba da bude pušten u zatečenom stanju. Ponudila sam stvaranje imaginarne vremenske distance i u uvodu publici sugerisala da je ovaj materijal *pronađen* svedoči o ratnoj medijskoj produkciji *od pre nekoliko decenija*. Sama publika je u svojim individualnim vizijama budućnosti iz koje se ovaj materijal posmatra doprinela pojačavanju kontrasta: ili pojačavanju začudnosti i apsurdna, ili jasnijem uviđanju odstupanja od proklamovanih principa savremene medijske produkcije. Sagledavanje i prezentacija medijskih fenomena devedesetih u toku same decenije činilo mi se jako zahtevno i složeno, upravo zbog opasnosti da se u tome propusti neophodna šira kontekstualizacija, ali onovremeni projekti te vrste, poput filma *Dnevnik 2* Lazara Lalića, ili found footage vežbi i video radova prikazivanih na Low-Fi Video festivalima, ukazivali su da suočavanje sa ovim medijskim slikama na velikom platnu ima pre svega katartičku funkciju, i zato sam očekivala da se u predstojećim godinama velika pažnja posveti upravo kritičkoj analizi ovih sadržaja.³

3 U ovoj konstataciji izuzimam scenu savremene umetnosti kojom ćemo se baviti u posebnom segmentu projekta, jer je neosporno da se u ovom polju devedesetih pojavila relevantna umetnička i teorijska produkcija koja zahteva posebnu pažnju.



upozoravao na katastrofalne posledice medijske produkcije i njenu ulogu u devastirajućoj krizi iz koje dolazi.

U artikulaciji projekta „Medijska arheologija: Devedesete“ odlučili smo da nastavimo istraživanje procesa produkcije i (dis)kontinuiteta razvoja medijskih formi kao kompleksnog fluksa socijalnih, političkih, umetničkih i kulturnih odnosa. Procenili smo da bi serija od nekoliko programa, koristeći infrastrukturu jedne studentske kulturne institucije, bila dobra inicijativa za pokretanje javnog i institucionalnog učešća u osmišljavanju nekih ozbiljnijih strategija medijskog arhiviranja i kritičke analize. Pozvali smo u tim projekta istoričara umetnosti Stevana Vukovića i pokušali da definišemo osnovne „topose“, odnosno medijske fenomene koje smo po sopstvenom sećanju i u do tada sakupljenom materijalu prepoznali kao reprezentativne za ovu deceniju (TV Monolog, TV Metafizika, Pornotopia, itd.). Ispostavilo se da je posle prvog programa: „TV Monolog“, na kome je gostovao upravo Zoran Skopljak, i na kome smo pored njegove arhive imali i doprinos Arhiva Javnog servisa Srbije, kao i izuzetno posećenog programa „Spotovi“, na kojem je intenzivirano učešće publike i saradnika, u sakupljanju materijala naša polazna lista toposa samo doprinela dodatnoj kategorizaciji. Naime, imenovali smo *formacije* koje su omogućavale daleko bolji uvid u širi kontekst našeg predmeta istraživanja i postavile nove osnove uporedivosti sa savremenom situacijom. Zapravo, savremena situacija je i inspirisala „formacijski“ pristup, kao što je slučaj sa programima „Medijski eskapizam u vreme ekonomske krize (1990-ih)⁴⁵ i „Revolt(i) – medijska produkcija i prezentacija nezadovoljstva (1990-ih)“ koji su realizovani u proleće 2009.

5 U nedoumici oko naziva programa: Karnevalski eskapizam i Medijski eskapizam ostale su ravnopravne obe opcije: prva jer je bahtinovska interpretacija inverzije i suspenzije vrednosti inspirisala povezivanje ovih raznovrsnih materijala u jedan narativ, druga jer sugeriše postojanje raznih nivoa eskapizma koji su doprinosili kontekstu i stvaranju ovih materijala

Metodologija Medijske arheologije: Devedesete

U prikupljanju materijala i pripremi programa *Medijske arheologije* u 2007. godini, 1990-te su se pojavljivale u prilogima saradnika koje smo odvajali za buduće istraživanje, i na samim programima, u uspostavljanju linija kontinuiteta pojedinih formi, mada samo kroz verbalne naznake (*...što će perforirati... što će mutirati...što će nestati...što će se razviti devedesetih*). Direktno suočavanje sa ovim materijalom odlagali smo svesni njegovog velikog značaja i veoma složenog zadatka analize, za koji smo želeli da se detaljnije pripremimo i za tu priliku proširimo tim. Za razliku od ponovnog otkrivanja i „iskopavanja“ medijskih sadržaja iz SFRJ, kojima su iz savremene perspektive arhaičnost i patina nevinosti tek nastajućih medijskih formi omogućavali da i nestrpljivoj i probirljivoj mladoj publici postanu zanimljivi i opštiji prateći osvrti na socijalni kontekst iz koga dolaze, sakupljena⁴ medijska arhiva iz decenije ratova morala je biti tretirana na način koji bi zadržao kod te iste mlade publike kredibilitet i pažnju, ali

4 Može se reći često i ekshumirana iz potisnutih, skrajnutih, zaboravljenih arhiva

U procesu istraživanja imali smo prilike da se upoznamo sa nekoliko izuzetno inspirativnih primera individualne i retkim primerima institucionalne arhivske aktivnosti, i u okviru projekta tome smo posvetili posebnu pažnju u dva programa. U jednom je profesorka Fakulteta političkih nauka u Beogradu, Snježana Milivojević, kao gošća ovog ciklusa, iz svoje medijske arhive izdvojila segment koji se odnosio na predizborne kampanje, i na tom primeru omogućila da upoznamo oblik naučne analize iz ugla savremenih studija medija. U drugom gostovanju, koje je na neki način zaključilo ovaj ciklus, autor koji je svojim medijskim arhivom i specifičnom produkcijom u velikoj meri inspirisao aktuelne generacije medijskih arheologa, Lazar Lalić, podelio je sa nama izbor iz svojih radova i arhiva, kao i „pogled iznutra“ na produkciju kojom se bavimo. Među neplanirane specijalne programe u ovom projektu spada „Homage Sonji Savić“, kojeg je tim projekta priredio u okviru specijalnog programa festivala Alternative film/video 2008, u znak sećanja na nedavno preminulu umetnicu koja je 1990-ih na specifičan način tretirala medijske materijale u svojim radovima i dala svoj umetnički doprinos kritičkom bavljenju medijskim diskursom.

U planiranju projekta poverili smo Stevanu Vukoviću da osmisli adekvatan način da se ponovo osvrnemo i na produkciju iz polja savremene umetnosti koja je na svoj način tretirala ovaj problem devedesetih, pa ćemo imati priliku da u razgovorima sa umetnicima publiku podsetimo na neke od radova i obavestimo se više o pojedinim umetničkim strategijama koje su u kontekstu projekta relevantne za osvrt na ovu deceniju.

Podrška Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Srbije dobijena na javnom konkursu za projekat „Medijska arheologija: Devedesete“, omogućila mu je da se razvije i stekne kredibilitet i kod institucija i kod šireg kruga saradnika i proširila polje delovanja i ozbiljnost produkcije.



Nebojša Petrović, Jovan Bačkulja, Marijana Markoska, Aleksandra Sekulić, Ivica Đorđević, Stevan Vuković, Zoran Skopljak

Geografija Medijske arheologije: Devedesete

Dom kulture „Studentski grad“, izgrađen u centru jednog od najvećih studentskih kampusa u regionu, direktna je posledica studentskih protesta 1968. Izgrađen je 1976. godine sa zadatkom da omogući studentima pristup raznovrsnim kulturnim programima, i time spada u instituciju studentskog standarda. Akademski filmski centar – Akademski kino klub, osnovan 1958. godine preseljen je u ovaj Dom kulture iz centra Beograda, i njegovi programi, koji proizilaze iz specifične orijentacije ka alternativnom, eksperimentalnom i avangardnom pokušavaju da uspostave komunikaciju i sa publikom koja je sklona ovoj produkciji, ali i sa studentima koji stanuju u Studentskom gradu. Arhiv alternativnog filma i videa osnovan je u Domu kulture 2003. sa ciljem da postane jedan od važnih (u vreme osnivanja bio je i jedan od retkih) institucionalnih centara arhiviranja ove specifične umetničke produkcije u regionu, a otvarajući se u svojoj arhivskoj aktivnosti i ka medijskoj i programskoj produkciji ukazao je na još jedan potencijal u redefinisaju arhivske prakse.

Medijska arheologija je projekat koji je nastao u Arhivu alternativnog filma i videa, u Domu kulture „Studentski grad“, i pripremu i realizaciju programa izvodio u Akademskom filmskom centru DKSG. Autori projekta su direktno ili indirektno bili povezani sa aktivnošću AFC DKSG: Boško Prostran, koji je nekoliko godina u Akademskom filmskom centru radio kao autor i montažer, koordinator festivala Alternative film/video i produkcije AFC, čija se autorska poetika razvila i pod uticajem savremene medijske teorije, i Jovan Bačkulja, reditelj i saradnik AFC na mnogim projektima i programima, posvećeni istraživač lokalne filmske i medijske istorije; dok je ubrzo, sa razvojem projekta u tim pozvan Ivica Đorđević, montažer i autor, sa iskustvom Low-Fi Video pokreta u kome je učestvovao kao član grupe *Happy Individuals*, i tehnički koordinator festivala Alternative film/video i Evropskog festivala animiranog filma Balkanima, a zatim i Nebojša Petrović, animator, grafički dizajner, glavni organizator festivala Balkanima. Uređujući programe Akademskog filmskog centra i festivala Alternative film/video, produkcija programa *Medijska arheologija* meni je predstavljala jedan od najvažnijih projekata u kontekstu ovog centra, upravo zbog toga što je ova ideja iznikla iz najbolje tradicije samog AFC i od autora koji su je na najbolji način poznavali i artikulisali, ali i uspevala da mobilise i zainteresuje primarnu publiku ovog centra – stanovnike Studentskog grada.

Programski model izbrušen je iskustvom rada za tu publiku, a u toku projekta i sa tom publikom. U tome je tim projekta svojim promišljanjem načina komunikacije i predstavljanja selekcija medijskog materijala uz dinamične razgovore i komentare primenio interpretativnu strategiju blisku studijama filma i medija koje su bile imanentne misiji AFC, dopunjenu i oživljenu specifičnim „viškom“ – stalnim isticanjem individualnog čitanja, čime se izbegavala pompeznost i didaktičnost koja bi ugrozila kredibilitet autora kod publike. A ko je bila ta publika za čiju se naklonost borio naš tim?

Generacije studenata rođenih krajem 1980-ih i početkom 1990-ih koje su aktuelna publika u periodu 2006-2008 o SFRJ, njenom raspadu i recentnoj istoriji Srbije dobijali su kontradiktorne informacije i u porodici, i u obrazovnom sistemu, u medijima, naposljetku, i u samoj instituciji Doma kulture „Studentski grad“ koja se sastoji od međusobno nezavisnih redakcija, i u punom smislu je reprezent obrazovne i kulturne politike na snazi u Srbiji u pomenutom periodu. Nekonzistentnost obrazovnog sistema koji je kredibilitet kod ove generacije postepeno gubio ilustruje se obično primerom izbacivanja pa vraćanja Čarlsa Darvina u udžbenike, dok se bavljenje savremenom istorijom u školskom sistemu u celom regionu odavno i uobičajeno podvrgava konstantnim medijskim i dnevno-političkim raspravama i diskvalifikacijama i time se relativizuje njen značaj. Ova generacija o SFRJ i devedesetim obaveštava se sklapajući kompilacije sa interneta, i tu se ispostavlja da u sve obimnijem korpusu fragmenata medijskih materijala, formiranje programa koji na duhovit ili faktografijom bogat način rasvetljavaju mehanizme produkcije i daju osnovne informacije o socijalnom i kulturnom kontekstu pruža mogućnost za dalje samostalno istraživanje i čitanje.

Nastavljajući ovaj programski model, prihvatili smo se devedesetih sa nadom da će ovaj projekat zadržati reputaciju koju je stekao, i tako zainteresovati publiku da se suoči sa medijskim fragmentima devedesetih uz dodatne „alate“ poznate profesionalcima, za analizu i čitanje, u celinama koje mogu jasnije pokazati poražavajuće efekte i neospornu moć i aktivnu ulogu medija u oblikovanju i praćenju ratne, socijalne i ekonomske krize u ovoj mračnoj deceniji, ali i latentni manipulacijski potencijal koji je medijima imanentan.

Preseljenjem ovog programskog ciklusa u Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju (CZKD), programi dobijaju novi kontekst i raznovrsniju publiku. CZKD, kao jedan od retkih kulturnih centara

u Beogradu koji ima kontinuiranu i ozbiljnu programsku politiku usmerenu na kritičku analizu savremenih društvenih i kulturnih fenomena, pružio nam je odličan pretekst i mogućnost da ovu inicijativu šire objavimo, sa zahtevnom, iskusnom i obaveštenom

publikom ponovo promišljamo i uđemo u novu i dinamičnu fazu razvoja ove aktivnosti. Veliki je izazov pred nama u osmišljavanju novih mogućnosti i linija istraživanja, ali u tome nećemo biti usamljeni, što je i najveći rezultat ovog projekta.

MEDIJSKA ARHEOLOGIJA: DEVEDESETE

je projekat koji ispituje linije kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta u razvoju medijskih formi, kao i način na koji su se mediji odnosili prema stanju u društvu i razornoj krizi 1990-ih i u ovom procesu učestvovali. Grupišući medijske fragmente u tematske selekcije, uočavamo topose specifične za ovu deceniju (TV Monolog, TV Metafizika, Pornotopija, itd.). Projekat se realizuje u saradnji sa Arhivom alternativnog filma i videa Doma kulture "Studentski grad", i u saradnji sa Arhivom Javnog servisa, kao i sa brojnim umetnicima i kulturnim radnicima i njihovim arhivima. Svi zainteresovani imaju mogućnost da se uključe i doprinesu istraživanju i sakupljanju materijala, kao i samim programima.

Tim projekta

Boško Prostran, Jovan Bačkulja, Aleksandra Sekulić, Stevan Vuković, Nebojša Petrović, Ivica Đorđević.

Širi tim i saradnici

Ivko Šešić, Zoran Skopljak, Lazar Lalić, Snježana Milivojević, Vukan i Mirko Perović, Nenad Jeremić, Irena Šentevska, Borivoje Grbić, Milena Dragičević-Šešić, Dragomir Zupanc, Dušan Grlja, Izabel Herling, "legat Zoran Stamenković" (Svetlana i Vladan Stamenković).

Projekat je podržan od strane Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Srbije.



Sreda, 17. 09.

Mala sala DKSG, 20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete

TV Monolog - Gost: Zoran Skopljak



Sreda, 26. novembar

Mala sala DKSG, 20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete

Spotovi



Subota, 13. decembar

Festival novog filma i videa

Alternative film/video 2008

Klub Alt08

Medijska arheologija „Devedesete“:

Hommage Sonji Savić

Jovan Bačkulja i Boško Prostran



Petak, 24. april 2009.

Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju,
20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete
**Karnevalski eskapizam u vreme
ekonomske krize (1990-te)**

*TV Monolog – TV Metafizika – Sto
maraka – Pornotopija ...*



Sreda, 13. maj 2009.

Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju,
20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete
**Revolt(i) – medijska produkcija i
prezentacija nezadovoljstva 1990-ih**



Nedelja, 24. maj

Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju,
20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete
Gost: Snježana Milivojević

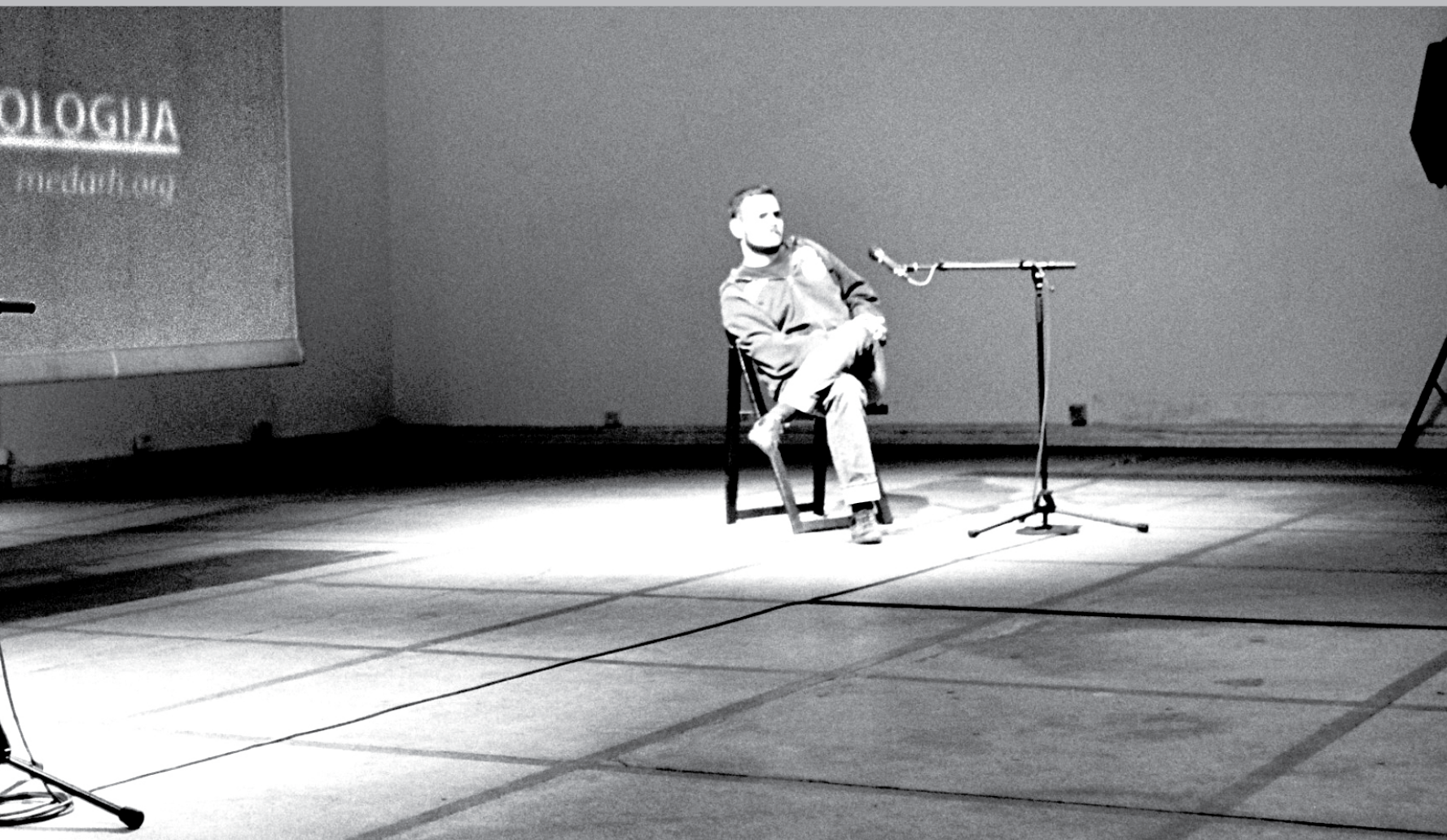


Utorak, 16. jun 2009.

Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju,
20h

Medijska arheologija: Devedesete
Gost Lazar Lalić





MEDARSI

razgovor



BP Slučajno smo u arhivi Akademskog filmskog centra (AFC) pronašli VHS kasetu od tri sata sa reklamama iz 1985. Pogledali smo je u neformalnoj atmosferi, sami za sebe, pitajući se o tome ko je uopšte mogao nešto takvo da snima i sakuplja. Zatim nam je sinula ideja o mogućnosti javnog prikazivanja. Mala sala Doma kulture „Studentski grad” (DKSG) je bila logično mesto, program AFC-a je imao dovoljno prostora za jednu vrstu eksperimenta. Projektovali smo izbor od sat i po reklamnog programa iz 1985, nazvali ga „EPP” i naišli na sjajan odziv publike. Kasnije smo u sličnom i dalje spontanom maniru osmišljavali programe koji tretiraju medijske prakse ex-yu, najviše iz perioda osamdesetih jer je do materijala iz tog perioda bilo najlakše doći. Počeli smo 2006. u jesen kada je koncept i program AFC-a je bio otvoren za eksperimentisanje i improvizaciju.

JB U AFC-u je oduvek postojala tradicija arhiviranja, a mi smo nastavili taj kontinuitet na jedan drugačiji način. Počeli smo vedrim (pop) programom kao što je „retro ex-yu advertajzing” iz 1985., dok se u isto vreme u gradu događale slične stvari poput *Noći reklamoždera*. Ti su događaji oslikavali jednu opštu klimu nakon 5. oktobra - „okretanje ka zapadu”, okretanje medija, pa i televizije, ka modernijem izrazu. Našli smo kasetu zaboravljenu

u prašini AFC-a, te smo javnim prezentovanjem izbora EPP materijala sa nje napravili jedan od najpopularnijih programa medijske arheologije, i to nam je bila osnova za ubuduće. AFC je sa Arhivom alternativnog filma i videa u Domu kulture „Studentski grad” (DKSG) bio dobro mesto za sistematizovanje, koncipiranje i projekciju. Jedina razlika je bila u tome što je praksa arhiviranja u ovom Arhivu i AFC-u više tretirala određene estetske pravce ili autorske poetike (posebno eksperimentalne) na filmu i televiziji, nego jedan efemeran i uslovno rečeno banalan materijal.

BP Da, mi smo u stvari počeli da sakupljamo i na neki način sistematizujemo manje bitne materijale ex-yu televizije, što nije svakako bila praksa u AFC-u, ali takav pristup i naše namere nisu imale nikakav naučno-istraživački karakter. Sada iz ove perspektive čini se, a da ne zazvuči pretenciozno, da smo praktično izvodili kurseve studija medija na primerima ex-Yu televizije, a to smo radili bez precizne metode, jer je ono što smo prikazivali bivalo pronalazeno na „ostacima” VHS kasete – praznom prostoru posle snimljenih filmova. To su uglavnom bili ostaci TV emisija, info programa, sportskih događaja, muzičkih spotova, reklama... Sav taj suvišan materijal je za nas imao višestruki značaj.



JB Uopšte uzetv, u poslednjih nekoliko godina je započeta kontekstualizacija sveukupne jugoslovenske stvarnosti. Uglavnom su bile obrađivane umetničke, muzičke i filmske prakse. Državna televizija je povodom obeležavanja pedesetogodišnjice „nacionalnog servisa“ prikazala od zaborava sačuvane tv dokumente RTS-a, odnosno RTB - poznata je, a i nama veoma bitna, emisija „Trezor“. Postojala je i emisija „TV Manijak“ na staroj B92 koja se jednom nedeljno bavila preispitivanjem medijskih novosti tekuće sedmice kroz neku vrstu treš prizme. Treba pomenuti još i značaj Youtube-a kao internet video platforme-svaštare. Nama se TV medij činio kao važan reflektor stvarnosti i događanja kroz decenije, ali i značajan agens pop kulture, moćno sredstvo u stvaranju kultova i mitova u ex-yu. Neki materijali, poput nekih eksperimentalnih dokumentaraca, koje smo mi prikupljali i puštali nisu uvek potpadao pod „tipičan televizijski materijal“, iako je bilo emitovano na JRT osamdesetih. Kombinovali smo programe i sadržaje: muzika, reklama, film, umetnost, nauka i obrazovni program. Baš ono što i TV čini.



BP Pre tri godine *Medijska arheologija* (u daljem tekstu MA) je bila „off“ program. Šalili smo se kako smo predstavljali rivale programu „Black market“ Mićuna Ristića i Saše Markovića koji se istovremeno održavao u AFC-u. Oni su svoj autentični koncept sa radija Studentskog kulturnog centra preneli u javni prostor i transponovali ga u performans. Sfera interesovanja „Black marketa“ se uglavnom nije mnogo menjala (rok/pop istorija, sub-kultura i kontrakultura u globalnom smislu). Verujem da smo veoma brzo uspeali da izgradimo originalnost u nastupu i ideji. Pošto se Jovan i ja bavimo filmom i pokretnom slikom, fokus nam je bio na televiziji kao mediju koji donekle počiva na elementima filma (televizija je više radio sa slikom). Predstavljali smo kratke prikaze razvoja TV žanrova kod nas, analizirali potencijalne rediteljske, snimateljske, montažne metode i konačno, bavili se analizom i

„čitanjem slike“ kroz različite ideološke paradigme. Tako da, iako smo kasnije uvodili i druge medije koji su nam se zbog specifičnosti tretiranja određenog sadržaja činili važnim, fokus je bio na televiziji. Mislim da je važno istaći simptomatičnu dekontekstualizaciju televizije kako ju je postavila američka teoretičarka medija Meri En Doejn (Mary Ann Doane). Struktura i suština televizije jeste da ona u tzv. „direktnom prenosu“ poništava kontekst u kome se nešto emituje. Ako se u TV programu jedan za drugim emituju informativni program, reklame, zabavne emisije, sportski program i razne najave, odjednom se stvara osećaj fluksa u kome ni jedna od emitovanih stvari nije značajna te se sve prepušta momentalnom zaboravu. Ako se samo jedan takav „dekontekstualizovani lanac“ iščupa iz vremena i emituje deset ili dvadeset godina kasnije, odjednom se otvaraju neverovatne asocijacije i stvaraju konteksti, koji su neosporno dokumenti svakidašnjice, ali i dokumenti manipulativnih i propagadnih tehnologija. Kasnije se, dok smo obrađivali „devedesete“, „kontekstualizacija dekontekstualizacije“ naročito nametala kao proces koji je pratio iskopavanje i proživljavanje medijske realnosti.



JB Još dok smo radili „naivne osamdesete“, demistifikacija ličnosti, pojava i događaja bili su neizbežni upravo zbog tog procesa. Medijska stvarnost danas je i dalje prepuna ličnosti koje su još osamdesetih (a i ranije) bile prisutne u medijima na jedan drugačiji način. Naš „zadatak“ je bio da publici u DKSG-u omogućimo da uvidi vezu između ličnosti/događaja/pojaava onda i ličnosti/događaja/pojaava danas i načina na koji su oni bili medijski prezentovani. Veze su bile ponekad logične, a ponekad apsurdne i paradoksalne, što je za publiku predstavljalo otkrovenje i demistifikaciju činjenice da se većina vrednosti u društvu kanališe putem televizije koja obrađuje stvarnost i emituje informacije. Kroz politiku, umetnost, rokenrol, ali i manje obavezne programe, poput EPP-a, svi akteri imaju svojih vorholovskih 5 minuta na televiziji i

time javno promovišu sebe, ali i poredak u kome deluju i stvaraju. Kada se napravi presek kroz televizijske programe u toku dve, tri decenije, i analizom sadržaja mapiraju pojedinci i događaji, vrlo brzo se stiče utisak izvesnih socio-psiholoških i političkih kretanja, uspona, padova... Ta metoda nije nova u studijama medija, ali je bilo interesantno primenjivati je javno i sa publikom u interakciji.

BP Ciljna grupa nam je bila studentska, i ta činjenica je u velikoj meri određivala i način naše prezentacije. Nismo imali konkretnu hipotezu u pristupu, već smo pokušali da, već pri samom izboru i obradi materijala, učinimo program „zabavnijim“. Identifikacija publike sa sadržajem je bila naš „manipulativni cilj“ kako bismo između tzv. „priloga“ provocirali i sugerisali publici naša tumačenja prikazanog. Performativni momenat izvođenja i interakcije sa publikom je bio najvažniji elemenat projekta. Eksperiment je bio i u tome što smo, da upotrebim mekluanovsku analogiju, hladan TV medij prebacili u toplu bioskopsku salu. Prvo smo programe koncipirali tako da izgledaju kao alternativni televizijski program. Edukativni momenat su omogućavale i formalne karakteristike: mogućnost velikog platna - posmatranje detalja i čitanja svih delova slike. Prelazima sa priloga na prilog stvarao se utisak montažnog skoka - šoka pri menjanju tv kanala i zavedena publika je netremice gledala bujicu šarenih slika i zvukova. Stvarao se osećaj zajednice u kojoj smo i publika i mi uz smeh ili suze, sa nostalgijom, doživljavali neku vrstu katarze. Formalne prednosti su bile od velikog značaja.

JB Samo prikupljanje građe je išlo spontano. Lično sam u početku bio sumnjičav u vezi sa odzivom, jer je sam sadržaj iz percepcije većine delovao prilično zastareo. Pitao sam se kako će ljudi reagovati, jer je posle 2000. postojala klima nepreispitivanja i „bezuslovnog okretanja ka budućnosti“. I odziv i interesovanje su me iznenadili, što nas je dodatno motivisalo.

Nikada nismo znali mnogo unapred šta bismo prezentovali. Gledali smo, tražili. Prijatelji i kolege su nam izlazili u susret i polako se stvarao određeni krug ljudi koji je sakupljao i uživao u procesu arheološkog istraživanja po ex-Yu medijima. Može se reći da smo vremenom „izgubili“ tzv. autorstvo i MA je postala prirodna praksa preispitivanja kolektivnog medijskog nasleđa. Krenuli smo sa osamdesetim, pa smo se onda osvrnuli i na šezdesete i sedamdesete, da bismo u ovom trenutku istraživali devedesete. Usput smo sticali iskustva, kao što rekoh, veliki broj prijatelja, kolega i poznanika nam se pridružio, a program je uvek bio složen po različitim temama. Zanimljivo je da smo još od početka verovali da je program prilično eksperimentalan (pre svega zbog načina prikupljanja, obrade i prezentacije) i da ćemo onog trenutka kada više ne budemo imali materijala ili inspiracije prestati ili napraviti neku dužu pauzu. Ipak, kasete i snimci su stizali, ljudi su sve više bili zainteresovani, i programska prezentacija je održala kontinuitet mesečnih predavanja u okvirima AFC DKSG. *Medijska arheologija*, je tri godine bila prateći program Alternative film/video festivala. Tamo su uglavnom prikazani *best of* programi onoga što je rađeno u toku te sezone. Interesantan je i sam kontekst festivala u kome smo delovali kao prateći program, „alternativa alternativni..“



Dok je glavni program predstavljao savremenu međunarodnu i domaću video-art i alternativno-filmsku produkciju, mi bi u klubu posle ponoći, u *lounge* atmosferi, vrteli kolaže sa JRT iz različitih perioda (mahom osamdesete). To je pomalo delovalo začudno u odnosu na glavne programe, s obzirom da je komunikacijski kod bio drugačiji, ali je sam sadržaj je uvek ostavljao osvežavajući utisak. Struktura publike je ovoga puta bila nešto drugačija (umetnici, strani gosti, itd.), ali i dalje veoma zainteresovana. Stvarala se neka vrsta debate između umetničkog programa Alternativa i naizgled kičastog programa MA. U prvom periodu značajnu pomoć smo dobili od reditelja Dragomira Zupanca i Draška Đurovića, dok je neka bitnija institucionalna podrška u tom periodu izostala. Prelaženje granica između klasičnog poimanja institucije kulturno-umetničke tribine, neke vrste performansa i interne televizije uživo, ispostavilo se kao zgodan pristup za predstavljanje ideja, ali i za olakšanu recepciju publike.



Posle dve sezone programa MA u DKSG-u napravili smo malu pauzu. U to vreme se nakupila značajna količina materijala iz perioda devedesetih. Dosta dugo smo „produžavali” „osamdesete” jer smo znali da je interesovanje za devedesete bilo prestalo, tj, da je u poslednjih nekoliko godina uglavnom bilo potisnuto. Prvi serijal smo završili na temu „Evrovizija kroz vekove” sa bogatim programom i retrospektivom prenosa ove popularne manifestacije kroz vizuru JRT-a. Simbolički smo završili sa emitovanjem iz Zagreba 90-e i pobedom Toto Kutunja sa pesmom „Insieme” (koja se odnosila na ujedinjenje Evrope). Već na tim snimcima „devedesete” su bile u najavi kroz prisustvo nekih od „glavnih junaka” u jednom glamuroznom događaju. Tada smo pozvali publiku da nam se pridruži u projektu *Medijska arheologija: devedesete*. U međuvremenu se tim proširio i činili su ga, pored nas dvojice, još i Aleksandra Sekulić, Stevan Vuković, Ivica Đorđević i Nebojša Petrović. Mi smo već imali nesebičnu pomoć

šefa Arhiva alternativnih medija DKSG-a, Ivka Šešića. Održan je i jedan specijalni program, koji je koncipirao Ivica Đorđević, „Azija i kulturološko prevođenje”. Tu su napravljene paralele i analogije medijskih obrazaca Bliskog i Dalekog istoka sa „balkanskim” obrascima, što je bila jedna vrsta odmaka od lokalnih tema, ali i predah pred ono što će uslediti. U međuvremenu, ideju i projekat „Medijska arheologija: Devedesete” priložili smo na javni konkurs Ministarstva kulture RS i bez nekih prevelikih očekivanja nastavili sa sakupljanjem materijala. Projekat je prošao, određen nam je budžet i mi smo „napali” devedesete. Nije bio lak zadatak, dugo smo većali i mozgali na koji način da pridemo (ne)zahvalnoj temi. Niko zaista nije želeo da se priseća tih godina. Kategorizacije i dijagnoze sulude medijske decenije zaustavljale su se na zaključcima tipa: „distanca je mala i traume su neizlečene” ili „devedesete nisu za nama”. Važno i nezaobilazno mesto je bilo i pitanje odgovornosti medija za sve što se događalo. Sve je to samo još više otežavalo okolnosti u kojima smo se pripremali za predstojeći zadatak.



Imali smo dobar decenijski prelaz, sa produkcijski bogatih i „veselih” osamdesetih na hororične devedesete, što je i hronološki logično. U sadržajima, temama i podtemama prvog serijala, koji su vezani kalendarski za kraj osme decenije, devedesete su bile doslovno anticipirane. Naime, republička rukovodstva su već oko 1988. preuzela kompletnu kontrolu nad republičkim medijima i naznake ludila su se mogle apsolutno prepoznati još tada. „Pesma Evrovizije” kao fenomen je bila čak prilično svetao primer, a sve drugo, od informativnog i političkog pa do pop kulture, odnosno zabavnog programa je počelo ozbiljno da truli. Prelazak na devedesete je bio neumitan. Osamdesete su se na ovim prostorima uvek smatrale kao godine pop kulture, dok su devedesete bile godine ratne ne-kulture. Ali u stvari, pop-kultura je bila prisutna i u toku devedesetih na

jedan pervertiran način i te devijacije smo prikazivali kroz primere i pravili analogije. Naravno, u tekstualnim naučno-istraživačkim radovima se slična metoda i ranije primenjivala (radovi Žarane Papić i Milene Dragičević Šešić).

BP Ceo tim je načelno osmislio nekoliko programskih celina kroz koje je trebalo dosledno reprezentovati situaciju u ex-yu, pa zatim samo u srbijanskim medijima. Te celine su bile uslovno formirane po medijskim formama koje su po našoj pretpostavci bile novoiznikle na TV ekranima (TV monolog, TV metafizika, pornotopija i sl.). Kroz detaljnije proučavanje shvatili smo da je kriterijum takve podele iako inovativan, ipak bio suviše uslovan, jer su mnoge od tih medijskih pojava postojale na neki način i ranije; a drugo - bilo je gotovo nemoguće razlučiti forme jedne od drugih (npr. TV monolog ili pornotopiju od TV metafizike). Medijska stvarnost je bila isprepletana i komplikovana da je bilo nemoguće primeniti ovu heurističku metodu, pa smo pribegli klasičnom pregledavanju po vrstama programa. Zapravo smo rekoncipirali teme, a sadržaj je ostao isti. Naravno, naš pristup i stav je ostao isti kao u osamdesetim. Dva programa su bila uvod. U prvom programu, uspeali smo da izdvojimo i definišemo poseban fenomen na temu „TV monolog“, dok je drugi: „Muzički video spot“ napravio most između dve decenije putem analize muzičkih spotova novokomponovane narodne, turbo-folk i dens muzike kao simptomom uvećanja video i tv produkcije, privatizacije i gomilanja šunda.

JB Pored tema, tretirali smo još jedan proces: žanrovsko menjanje televizija koje se događalo prvo po republičkom, a kasnije po državnom ključu. Padom Berlinskog zida i raspadom istočnog bloka, televizije inače dobijaju drugi karakter. U Jugoslaviji takođe. Konstituišu se na drugim principima. Uvećavao se broj državnih i privatnih tv kanala, tako da se programski izbor se



širio. Akcenat je bio na povećanju populističkih sadržaja i došlo je do hiperprodukcije u okvirima „pop“ žanrova. Kulminiralo je ratom. Probali smo da skiciramo transformacije televizija: od TV Beograda, i TV Zagreba, do TV Sarajeva, TV Ljubljane i TV Skoplja. Njihove koncepcije imale su međusobne sličnosti i razlike. Kroz primere pop kulture recimo, ukazivali smo na zajedničku



karakteristiku: vladajuće strukture su u republikama počele ozbiljnije da vode računa o svim vrstama tv programa. Do tada su mediji bili usmereni na informativnu i edukativnu komponentu, a onda se sve više uvode elementi zabave. Ti elementi su, naravno već postojali od pedesetih i institucije „zlatne mladeži“, posebno filmom *Ljubav i moda*, svojevrsnim prekretničkim fenomenom.

Ali pre četrdeset, pedeset godina „TV zabava“ je ipak morala biti uklopljena u konzervativnu koncepciju državne televizije, tako da bi svaki „šareniji eksces“ ostao primećen i zapamćen. Setimo se šezdesetih i poplave rokenrola, pop ikona i kultova sedamdesetih – Bjelog dugmeta i Zdravka Čolića, novog talasa osamdesetih i novih vizija video spotova... Početkom devedesetih, institucija „zabavnog programa“ se transformiše. Uvećanjem državnih medija, osnivanjem paradržavnih i gomile privatnih stvari se institut „viška televizija“. Osnovan je Treći kanal državne televizije (prvobitno nazvan OK – omladinski kanal), zatim Studio B, TV Politika i dosta kasnije Yu Info npr. (svaka na svoj način nastaje i koncipira se). Sa druge strane tu su i privatni mediji: TV Palma; BK TV ili TV Pink, čiji deo koncepcije podrazumevao i upliv u „osamdesete“ (do neke mere). One televizije koje su opstale, odmakle su u produkcijskom smislu, ali ne mnogo i u programskom. Dirigovani državni TV medij je dobio konkurenciju u šumi novih televizija. Televizije su bile profilisane u odnosu na žanrove, ukuse i programsku ponudu, ali većina je bila prilično kontrolisana. Mi smo pokušali da kroz komparacije različitih profila uređivačkih koncepcija damo presek situacije devedesetih, kroz stalno podsećanje na ranije dekade kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta.

BP Pojavom velikog broja novih televizija, kao što smo rekli „nikle“ su i neke autohtone medijske forme. Jedna od njih je i TV monolog, uz muzički spot jedna od prvih obrađenih tema u okviru „devedesetih“. U pomoć nam je pritekao Zoran Skopljak, pravnik iz Beograda, koji se inače iz hobija bavio ovim fenomenom. TV monolog smo pretpostavili kao specifični autistični oblik medijske komunikacije, oduvek prisutan na našim televizijama, ukorenjen u epskoj tradiciji. Do krajnosti je doveden tokom i krajem devedesetih. Forma u kojoj jedna osoba vodi dugačke i besmislene razgovore „sama sa sobom“, i obraća se čitavom auditorijumu sa druge strane ekrana, imala

je svoju prethodnicu, u dosadnim skupštinskim prenosima SKJ ili predsedništva SFRJ ili nekim tzv. političko-debatnim emisijama. Skopljak nam je upriličio program sa velikim izborom snimaka sa TV Palme i to posebno u toku bombardovanja '99 godine. Miki Vujović, tzv. Tata Brada, inače bivši direktor ove bivše televizije, tih dana je svakodnevno i po nekoliko sati u više termina sam iz svoje kožne fotelje širio ksenopatske ideje i bacao kletve na Zapad, Ameriku, NATO, itd... Opis ovih „tv performansa“, koji su redovno bili dovodeni do apsurd, izlišan je jer su još tada većini gledalaca delovali suludo i groteskno. Njihovo pregledavanje posle deset godina nam je omogućilo da na samo jednom primeru sagledamo totalnu dekadenciju medija i autističnost javnog mnjenja u Srbiji. Davali smo i druge primere: kilometarske audio izjave izvesnih funkcionera JUL-a povodom studenskih demonstracija '96-97, pokrivene sa dve statične slike koje se naizmenično smenjuju ili čuveni telefonski razgovor tadašnjeg ministra spoljih poslova Vuka Draškovića za CNN, takođe tokom bombardovanja'99. U njemu on sa slušalicom u ruci i na očajnom engleskom jeziku priča nebuloze o srpskoj tradiciji, igri, ljubavi i veselju braneći nas tako pred zapadnim auditorijumom. Na RTB-u je tokom rata '91-92 u tzv. „Dnevnikovom dodatku“ uvek bilo po nekoliko dežurnih novinara koji bi preuzimali ulogu parapsihologa, proroka, državnih filozofa, kvazi-naučnika i pričali bajke ili basne, duboko zalazeći u noć. Na kraju krajeva i sam državni vođa je na kraju svih „tužnih balada“ davao duge izjave pomirenja na državnoj televiziji... Mislim, ipak, da ova forma nikad ne umire, samo se modifikuje i prilagođava...



Hronološki gledano, prelazak iz 1980-ih u 1990-e je prelazak na različito poimanje TV medija u suštinskom smislu. Sa glamura i zabave, prešlo se na produkcionu minimalizam po principu: jedan čovak jedna kamera. Još nešto o tom kontroverznom prelazu. Ljubljanska i beogradska televizija

su išle na propagandni program (informativa), a zagrebačka i sarajevska više na zabavni program (popularni noćni programi „Program plus“ ili „Noć i dan“). Naravno bio je tu i YUTEL kao jedna svesjugoslovenska opcija koja je bila neka kombinacija prethodne dve tendencije. Beogradska televizija je u sklopu informativnog programa već uveliko razvila instituciju „živog prenosa“, naročito u prenošenju mitinga „antibirokratske revolucije“ čiji je vrhunac bio grandiozni prenos „događanja naroda“ na Gazimestanu. Devedesetih je RTB zbog ulaska u ratove i ekonomsku krizu tehnički oslabila, a osnivanje malih privatnih TV stanica postaje jeftin i unosan biznis. Dešavaju se poplave privatnih televizija, naročito lokalnih, koje počinju svoje programe kroz pomenutu formu TV monologa ili eventualno intervju. Primer bizarnosti jedne takve televizije koju smo često analizirali je TV Palma. Studio B kao isključivo beogradska televizija je informativni program i iskustva „živih prenosa“ uperila prema opozicionom delovanjima pojedinih stranaka i pojedinaca, i ona je bila dugo, ali diskontinuirano zbog proganjanja, jedina koja je bila drugačija. Dolazilo je do gušenja pojedinih nezavisnih medija (B92), dok je veći broj bio podržavan od strane sistema. Ipak „žanrovska džungla“ je bila sveprisutna. I institucija „viška televizija“ se može posmatrati i ovako: u osamdesetim taj višak kanalan je kroz konvencionalne televizije, i programsko bogatstvo, a devedesetih kroz veliki broj malih televizija i njihovu žanrovsku profilaciju.



Proces je išao paralelno sa političkim. Uvedeno je višestranačje... Nastaje prividna anarhija. Državna televizija biva potpuno kontrolisana, ali i veći broj ostalih TV stanica pada pod sistemsko vođenje. TV kao medij je igrao (i još uvek igra) veoma važnu ulogu pri konstituisanju javnog mnjenja. S obzirom na turbulentne društvene i političke promene i novi „parlamentarni sistem“, većina je građana u SFRJ u tom periodu konfuzna, neopredeljena, izgubljena i podložna svakoj



vrsti manipulacije. Pošto su nekoliko godina ranije republička rukovodstva preuzela državne medije sistematski su pripremali javno mnjenje za nadolazeći rat. Tako su bile u velikoj prednosti. Cela decenija je počela na republičkim televizijama zvaničnim i „umerenim“ ratnim huškanjem, da bi ostale kontrolisane paradržavne i male privatne televizije „izvodile“ svakojako ludilo: opskurni nacionalizam, astrologiju, mitologiju, mistiku, naučnu fantastiku, pornotopiju, kockanje, mržnju, itd. Zato RTB, kasnije RTS u tom haosu, postaje jedino racionalno gledalačko i biračko opredeljenje većeg dela auditorijuma u zemlji. Kako je uticaj opozicionih medija zbog gušenja bio slab, nadolazeća ekonomska kriza i inflacija bivale sve jače, velika većina građana sedela je u hladnim domovima i gledala jedino RTS. Fabrikovanje stvarnosti je bilo potpuno.



JB U stvari, u Srbiji je politička pornografija ušla sa realnom pornografijom. Treći kanal je, na primer, uveo neke novine koje su do tada bile nezamislive. Naravno, pornografija je u posleponoćnom programu bila emitovana, ali i razne druge populističke inovacije u redovnom programu. To je, čini se, bila „misija ulaska u narod“. Kasnije su žanrovske hibridnosti koristile i druge novoosnovane televizije.



BP Posle tri predavanja u Studentskom gradu desila se promena prostora, ali delimično i publike. Prvo je usledila pauza koja je bila neophodna zbog prikupljanja reprezentativnog materijala iz uglavnom raznih privatnih arhiva, a zatim smo prešli u Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju (CZKD) i nastavili dalje. Tada smo shvatili da moramo da rekonceptualizujemo serijal. Zadatake poput: „tv metafizike“, „pornotopije“, „100 maraka“ itd., postaju glavni toposi unutar širih celina. Odlučili smo da u svakom sledećem predavanju munjevito i kolažno prelazimo deceniju, sprovodeći „šok terapiju“ nad gledaocima. Uzimali smo uvek po

jedan kontekst kroz koji smo montirali i prezentovali priloge, ali akcenat je pre svega bio na samom procesu recepcije istorijskog preseka medijske stvarnosti devedesetih. Promenjen „domaćin” uslovio je i drugačiju publiku. CZKD je mesto gde se na daleko ozbiljniji način intelektualna javnost bavi preispitivanjem prošlosti iz različitih aspekata, i „nova publika” je tako reći bila „spremna” na sadržaj koji ćemo prezentovati. Nju su, pored studenata i mladih ljudi, činili direktni svedoci medijskih događanja devedesetih i na nama je bila ogromna odgovornost. Ipak nismo odustajali od naše metode. Ispostavilo se da je promena bila dobra i da smo ideju i pristup mogli da testiramo.

JB  Prelazak u CZKD je bio sasvim prirodan. Publika se zapravo proširila i na onaj deo koji je naš program mogao da čita iz različitih perspektiva, a serijal je bio usmereniji i politički i društveno određeniji. Promenom prostora i konteksta, javno-polemična komponenta je postala značajna jer je publika učestvovala u procesu „proživljavanja” devedesetih, a zatim i u debatovanju na provocirane teme. Zaokret se desio i sužavanju polja interesovanja jer smo se isključivo počeli baviti srbijanskim ili bolje reći beogradskim medijima. Mislim da je recepcija u u Studentskom gradu uvek težila da preraste do nekakvog nivoa kulta ili fetiša, što nam nije bio krajnji cilj, a u CZKD-u je kontekst već uveliko bio „izgrađen” koji smo nastavili da gradimo ili možda menjamo. A interakcija sa publikom je proradila u pravom smislu, što smo hteli od početka.

BP  Pošto smo odlučili da radimo „skeniranja devedesetih” kroz medijske reprezentacije, služeći se postupkom asocijativne montaže morali smo stvarati uslovni referentni okvir. Definisanost tema diktirao je kvantitet i kvalitet pronađenog materijala. Zato se događalo da obrađivane teme ostanu samo nagoveštene, ali reakcija publike nije izostajala. Prvo iz razloga

što svi sadržaji iz perioda devedesetih, a tiču se ovih prostora, deluju traumatično i katarzično, a drugo što je publika počela da definiše stil predavanja koji se sastojao od kolažno raspoređenih primera i naših „hladnih” i svedenih komentara i sugestija. Stvarao se crnohumorni efekat čiji se uzroci naknadno mogu pronalaziti u psihičkim odbrambenim mehanizmima ili manje-više artikulisanom stavu. Ali za nas proces pravljenja svakog programa je zahtevao maksimalnu koncentraciju. Postupak je bio naizgled jednostavan: lociramo najznačajnije i najprepoznatljivije medijske topose i zatim pronalazimo one marginalne i stvaramo novu ili pojačavamo njihovu već postojeću međusobnu vezu i kontekst. Ušli smo u rizik dijametralno suprotnih interpretacija, što je mislim dovelo do izrazite budnosti publike i nekih novih čitanja i preispitivanja. Suočavanje je i za nas teklo istovremeno. Mislim, ideja nije naravno nova, jer postoje istaknuti projekti sličnih orijentacija poput dokumentaraca Lazara Lalića. Ipak, kratko pamćenje u društvu traži konstantno pregledavanje kao vrstu denacifikacije.

JB  Od pop kulture do politike. Sama koncepcija programa se u suštini nije menjala. Forma je bila prijemčiva, a tema prepoznata kao aktuelna od strane univerzitetskih, kulturnih radnika i ljudi raznih profesija, ali i od studenta, i mlađe publike. A novinari i medijski posrednici i stručnjaci su direktno participirali u programu poput novinara Lazara Lalića ili profesorke Fakulteta političkih nauka Snježane Milivojević, sa kojima smo uspostavili dugoročniju saradnju. Oni su velikim doprinosom pomogli jer su nam otvorili svoje privatne arhive. Bez velikog broja saradnika MA ne bi bila realizovana.

BP  Predavanja nisu imala direktan uticaj na preispitivanje odgovornosti medija devedesetih, ali smo, nadam se, participirali na skroman način u jednom dugoročnijem procesu

prikupljanja kolektivnog sećanja... Prvo „veče” u CZKD-u smo nazvali „Karnevalski eskapizam: devedesete”. Književna teorija Mihaila Bahtina nam je bila okvir, i pokušali smo da je prevedemo u domaći kontekst. Hteli smo da uzmemo primere koji će pričati o karnevalu koji je na televiziji trajao više od deset godina i „tresao” narod dok se zemlja u užasima raspadala. Bilo je to radikalno oslobađanje jedne zatvorene zajednice koje je služilo sistemu da održi *status quo*. Počeli smo sa onim što se događalo u „pozadini”.

JB  Da bismo to prikazali uzeli smo zalet od osamdesetih, kao bismo podcrtali jednu klimu i atmosferu koja je prethodila samom ratu i ratnoj (ne)kulturi. Od sportskih do kulturnih redakcija je sve počelo da biva obeleženo ratno-huškačkom notom i jasno je svima bilo da je bratstvo-jedinstvo u državnim medijima „umire”. Zanimljivo je što su u to vreme čini se tekla dva paralelna, ali i međusobno zavisna procesa. Jedan je bila nacionalistička propaganda da bi se internalizovali nastupajući užasi, a druga „holivudski sjaj” i vrhunac pojedinih kultova. Ova druga paralela se na primer tiče zenita karijere folk dive osamdesetih - Lepe Brene i serije visokoprodukcijskih komedija „Hajde da se volimo”. Temu smo načeli insertima video spotova iz pomenutog filmskog serijala, koji su prikazivali Lepu Brenu u žanrovskom maniru Džejmsa Bonda, putujući po svetu, prelazeći prepreke, mora, planine, gradove, kulture, civilizacije, i uvek, na kraju, srećno se vraćajući u Jugu. Pored visoke produkcije, stilizacije i žanrovske hibridnosti ovaj serijal predstavljao je još nešto. Bio je to na neki način poslednji veliki reprezentacijski simbol jugoslovenstva, ali i početak sve izraženije međuetničke stereotipizacije uvijene u „bratstvo-jedinstvo”. Tako upakovano „bratstvo-jedinstvo” je dobro „prodavalo” kult Lepe Brene, čija je masovna reprodukcija trebalo odvući pažnju sa frustrirajućih sadržaja i zaoštrene političke situacije.

BP  Fenomen masovne medijske produkcije i reprodukcije je karakterističan za još neke zanimljive medijsko-populističke obrasce. Jedan od njih je fenomen estradnog pozorišta koji će tek mnogo kasnije doživeti apsolutnu ekspanziju na pojedinim televizijama. Populistička pozorišta su se izvodila po školama, provincijskim domovima kulture, stočnim halama, itd. Ulazila su u narod. Sve su to bile lake i primitivne komedije koje su se igrale postojećim stereotipima i predrasudama naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije.

JB  Ona su se masovno posećivala, i imala ogromnu popularnost. Bili su to trans-žanrovski koncepti, i stvari su se pomerale u svim oblastima. Istovremeno se prodaju video i audio kasete i industrija zabave raste. Ona će se uvećavati sa uvećanjem produkcije novokomponovane narodne muzike koja će polako preći u turbo-folk. U paketu sa estradnim pozorištima narasta i proizvodnja jeftinih parodičnih TV emisija poput „Šoder liste” i sličnih. Krenulo je srozavanje kulturnih vrednosti i to je bio sastavni deo fašizacije društva. Bitna je bila masovnost tih fenomena. Probali smo da uporedimo populizam u estradi i politici (a to nije teško), i kako se mase ljudi sa zabava i posela „prebacuju” na političke mitinge. Dali smo kratko i kolažno gledanje na već poslovični Gazimestan kroz montažu dva TV pristupa istom događaju: oficijalni prenos i reporterski „cinema verite” pristup. Mislim da se dobija čudan efekat spoja „Trijumfa volje” i jeftine vašarske fešte. Monumentalnost i glorifikacija u prenosu, a u reportaži konfuzija, pijanstvo, šizofrenija i tragikomika. Predstaviti eskapizam, i to još karnevalski, znači u stvari secirati suštinu devedesetih. Od '93 do '94 na primer, dolazi do prave provale fenomena, što uslovljavaju društveno-ekonomska kriza i embargo. Trudili smo se da koliko je moguće sve ispratimo. Publika je iz jednog drugačijeg ugla mogla da poima pojedine (re)prezentacije. Pošto je tema medijske „zabave” bila obrađivana mnogo puta,



a ljudi su bili zasićeni, mi smo razložili temu na nekoliko celina vodeći se kriterijumom žanrovske profilacije televizijskih kuća, da bi dali adekvatniju sliku njihovih struktura. Naravno, to nije neki veliki uspeh jer je u pitanju naknadna pamet, ali je dobra elaboracija.

BP Karnevalski eskapizam je bio druga strana rata, krize, siromaštva. Od najznačajnijih medijskih toposa kao što su Gazimestan, prenos svadbe Cece Veličković i Željka Ražnatovića, ili danonoćni prenosi koncerata na Brankovom mostu kao odbrane od NATO bombi pa do nekih potpuno zaboravljenih stvari što smo prikazali: svetosavski balovi na RTS-u, Badnje večeri na TV Politika, Nove godine na TV Palma; sva ta slavlja su imala jednu od dve uloge (ponekad i obe u isto vreme): homogenizacija ili/i samozaborav. Takođe i amnestija od rata koji se vodio „preko plota”. Dok smo obrađivali sadržaj desila se pomenuta kontekstualizacija dekontekstualizovanog

medija i odjednom se sve moglo čitati po istom ključu. Nekoliko uslovnih podkategorija su bile definisane po dva kriterijuma: vrsta socijalne identifikacije i vrsta ikonografije. Tako se mogu prepoznati: neoromantizam - urbana identifikacija sa socijalnim identitetom „probudenog” svetog srpstva koje smo prezentovali kroz primere kostimiranih proslava svetosavskih i drugih balova na RTS-u. U istu kategoriju spadaju pastoralne Badnje večeri i druge pravoslavne svetkovine na raznim televizijama kao ruralna varijanta identifikacije sa autentičnim srpskim seljakom (TV Politika). Zatim, kategorija: salonski fašizam - akademici, književnici i naučnici kao novi gnostičari koji u svojim proslavama na TV Palma propagiraju okultizam i metafizičko poistovećivanje sa „nebeskim narodom”, dok turbo folk kao fenomen za sebe (TV Palma i TV Pink) apeluje na libidinalnu sferu ljudske psihe: seksualno-ratničku potenciju autentičnog brata Srbina i hiperseksualizovanu sliku sestre Srkinje.



„Pan-slovenska koncepcija” Slobodana Miloševića je medijski kulminirala na groteskan način da su se u jednoj „talk show” emisiji mogle viditi bizarni sklopovi najrazličitijih javnih ličnosti. Pesnici, književnici i akademici su mogli biti ukombinovani sa raznim turbo-folk pevačicama. Predstavnici crkava i konfesija ili drugih državnih institucija sa kriminogenim tipovima i vidovnjacima. Svi zajedno su bili tretirani apsolutno na isti način. Tako su se kulturne vrednosti i norme javnog delovanja urušavale, a sa njima i mnogi socijalni identiteti i stvarali su se novi. Državna televizija je, čini se, budila nacionalni identitet na jedan veštački način, dok je u paradržavnim i privatnim televizijama situacija postajala „mekša” i „propustljivija” za delotvorniju propagandu. Kombinacije i varijacije ideoloških i kulturoloških paradigmi i ikonografija (crveno-crno-ružičasto) su bile nakaradne i raskošno su se izvodile na malim ekranima. Televizija osamdesetih je, na neki način, „uterivala” ljude u kulturu, a tokom devedesetih „isterivala”. Primenjivan je populistički princip i računalo se na tradicionalističke i konformističke kulturološke crte ljudi sa ovih prostora. Postojao je „narod” i postojala je „kultura”. Te stvari su uglavnom bile odvojene. Sve je bilo marginalizovano, a ovaj drugi „narodski princip” je obuhvatao je skoro sve oblasti kroz koje se nametalo konstituisanje nacionalnog identiteta.



Medijske slike su reflektovale stanje svesti velike većine građana. Prikazali smo jedan paket TV reklama iz devedesetih i ukazivali na iskušenja advertajzinga u dobe sveopšte anomije. U taj set smo uključili i čuvenu apsurdnu državnu kampanju iz '95: „Lepše je sa kulturom”. Tragične apele i parole na prosvetćenost koje su činile sadržaj ovih spotova, kombinovali smo sa reklamama za piramidalne banke (iako su one glavne već '95 bile razotkrivene), pornografskim reklamama za alkoholna pića, i sl. Nadrealan efekat je postojao u samoj konstrukciji, da ne pominjemo kako se takav niz preklapao sa pauperizovanom

stvarnošću. Ceo program smo završili sa prilogom iz '99: „Brankov most”- snimci živih prenosa hepeninga koji su transično branili Beograd od bombi - iliti karnevala u pravom smislu.... Nakon „karnevalskog eskapizma” sklopili smo program „Revolt(i)” koji je bio orijentisan na informativni program i ticao se većinom prenosa uličnih demonstracija. To je bio međuprogram jer je naredni činio konkretan političko-medijski sadržaj – „Izbori devedesetih”. Ogromna količina mitingovanja širom Srbije je bila fabrikovana na RTB-u još u toku antibirokratske revolucije. Ulične demonstracije i neredi 9. marta, ali i paralelna „događanja naroda” na Ušću i Terazijskoj česmi su bile pogodne za uporedne analize RTB-a i nezavisne televizije StudioB. Društveno-politički značaj je imao i egzaltirani doček prestolonaslednika princa Aleksandra II u Beograd iz Londona, kao svojevrsna nacionalna inicijacija.

Napravili smo mali odmak od srbijanskih medija tako što smo studentske proteste 1996-97. prikazali kroz izveštavanje stranih medija. I to je već bio prelomni trenutak promene recepcije medijske slike u Srbiji devedesetih. I reprezentacija Srbije u zapadnim medijima postaje drugačija. Nije beznačajan i uticaj novog medija – interneta - na političko i medijsko opismenjavanje. Ceo ovaj program su činili uglavnom publici poznati snimci koje smo bojlili sa „opuštenijim” istovremenim medijskim sadržajima koji su se direktno ili indirektno odnosili na dati „revolt”. Zatim smo prešli na temu „Izbori”. Veliku pomoć smo imali od profesorke Fakulteta političkih nauka Snježane Miliwojević, koja se temom medijskog praćenja predsedničkih i višestranačkih izbora bavi dugi niz godina. Izašla nam je u susret sa velikom privatnom arhivom.



Izbori, bilo koji da su, jesu jedan poseban žanr koji nastaje devedesetih. Višestranačje je i donelo i višak medija, kao što smo rekli. Mi smo se bavili konkretno predsedničkim izborima. Narastanje broja televizija (bilo lokalnih, privatnih ili paradržavnih)

bilo je povezano sa raznolikom prezentacijom predsedničkih kandidata. Javnost je bila potpuno ideološki zbunjena. Prvi parlamentarni i predsednički izbori iz 1990-e nudili su medijske prezentacije ogromnog broja predsedničkih kandidata koji su podsećali su na nebulozne šou-programe. Početno političko preobilje se desilo svim postkomunističkim zemljama pri ulasku u tranziciju. Ali zanimljivo je bilo posmatrati urnebesnu i grotesknu fasadu parlamentarizma. Bio je to čudan spoj naizgled važnog procesa izbornih kampanja vođenih na konzervativnom RTB-u i potpuno komičnih političkih prezentacija najneverovatnijih stranaka i kandidata. To je SPS i Slobodana Miloševića čija kampanja nikada nije bila vidljiva (ali je držao sve pod kontrolom) činilo dugo jedinim favoritom. Analogija je ista u slučaju RTS kao „najracionalnijeg“ u poplavi kiča/šunda i informacijskog šuma. Međutim, „Revolt(i)“ smo donekle prikazali koje vrste unutrašnjih medijskih ratova su vođene, a ticale su se forme i sadržaja prenosa mitinga i demonstracija krajem osamdesetih i početkom devedesetih. Naročito sa prenosom Studija B i devetomartovskih demonstracija. To je bio i početak gušenja brojnih nezavisnih medija i opozicione stranke nisu imale kontinuirano „objektivan“ televizijski medij za predstavljanje. Kasnije se zbog toga i biračko i gledalačko telo podelilo. Predsednički izbori '90-te bili su arena kandidata i pojava brojnih novih modernijih i hibridnih TV žanrova: tok šou, rijaliti šou... što je u odnosu na ranije godine čak bilo inovativno.



Na kraju je gost bio Lazar Lalić sa kojim smo pregledali njegov dokumentarni filmski opus iz devedesetih. Iako smo neke od njegovih filmova gledali mnogo puta na TV ekranima i drugim javnim projekcijama (kao npr. „Dnevnik 2“), ispostavila se da to nikada nije bilo dovoljno. Zanimljivo je bilo uporediti njegov i naš kolažni pristup: kako medijske devedesete posmatra i tumači osoba koja je neposredno kao novinar markirala topose

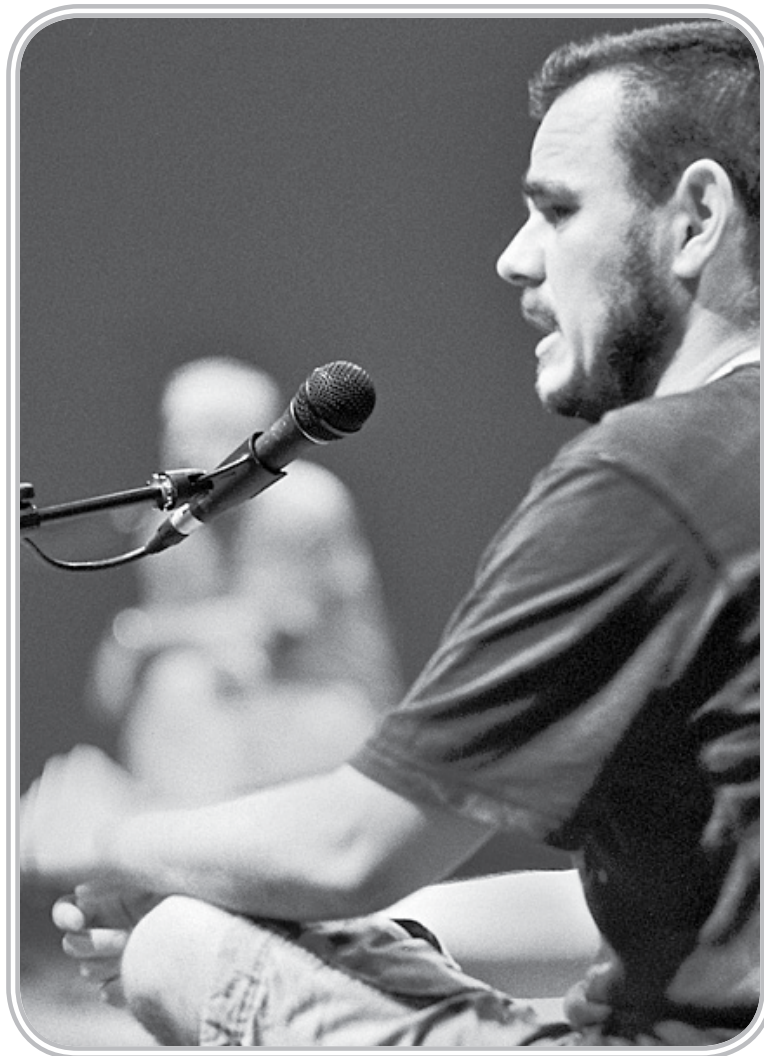
fabrikovanja stvarnosti i zbog toga bila proganjana, a kako daleko mlada generacija koja živi posledice devedesetih u Srbiji. Izborom delova iz njegovih filmova seciran je informativni program državne televizije i eksplicitne ratne propagande (pornografije). Ludačke novinarske ratne reportaže imale su za cilj da probude nacionalnu svest, izmisle ratne poduhvate i heroje, lažiraju žrtve i potpuno zalude javnost. Vremenska distanca je mnogim snimcima dala još apsurdniju dimenziju nego što su to, na primer, imale anticipacije iz poslednjeg serijala „Top liste nadrealista“ pred sam početak građanskog rata.



Mislim da je i mladim i starijim generacijama bilo značajno da posmatraju kolektivno medijsko sećanje. Možda smo kroz ponovna gledanja mogli sa različitih stanovišta sagledati kompleksne društvene procese, a mediji su samo njihov deo. Devedesete su period velikih socijalnih obrta i još dugo će razni analitičari morati da zalaze u njih, pogotovo što društveno-političko-ekonomska klima neprestano doziva u sećanje te turbulentne godine. Jer koliko god je situacija pročišćena posle 5. oktobra. 2000., ipak pregledavanje medijskih slika iz devedesetih ostavlja gorak ukus koji je u stvari posledica spoznaje da se malo toga promenilo. Jer konfuzija traje i dalje. 'Pogled unazad' je zato koristan svima i zbog količine informacija koje danas primamo pod udarom globalizacije i lokalno nestabilnog političkog stanja. Takođe, važno je osvetliti i osvestiti svaki detalj proizvođenja virtuelne stvarnosti tokom tih godina u Srbiji, ali i u regionu. Konkretno u Srbiji, zbog pretnje blizinom građanskog rata, društvene krize, ali i prividne uljuljkanosti, mnogi ljudi nisu bili svesni šta se i na koji način događalo u medijima koji su pored policije i državne bezbednosti bili okosnica totalitarnog režima. Medijska konstrukcija stvarnosti je kulminirala u izopačenosti tokom bombardovanja Srbije 1999. i potom petooktobarskom revolucijom pukla, ali čini se da i posle deset godina brojni stečeni

obraci kontrolisanja i manipulisanja opstaju, ili se transformišu u perfidnije oblike. Zato je važno imati jedan dijalektički uvid u procese koji se događaju u dužim vremenskim blokovima ukoliko postoji javni interes da kritička svest zaživi.

BP *Medijska arheologija* je samo jedan segment procesa preispitivanja, sistematizacije i kontekstualizacije kolektivnog pamćenja. To su procesi koji u periodima srozavanja univerzalnih društvenih vrednosti pobuđuju interesovanje javnog diskursa. Važno je pronaći i remobilisati utopijske, kreativne društvene potencijale. Devedesete su još uvek težak zadatak, na koncu zbog toga što etički i politički obračun sa njima nije završen. Kao pripadnici generacije koja je devedesetih odrastala, imali smo potrebu da debatujemo o njima, otvoreno, kombinujući diskurse, bez obzira na malu vremensku distancu. One se zaista mogu posmatrati sa stanovišta različitih politikoloških, socioloških, psiholoških i kulturoloških teorija, i to kao „opšte mesto” jer se radi o kraju dvadesetog veka, kraju posmoderne i ulaska u posthumano društvo. Tim *Medijske arheologije* je ponudio jednu subjektivnu, nepotpunu, ali korisnu sliku „devedesetih” kroz različita čitanja lokalnog medijskog fluksa, dok se sam proces nastavlja kroz angažmane društvenih grupa i pojedinaca. Arhiva koju smo uz pomoć prijatelja i saradnika počeli da konstituišemo, treba da bude jedna od polaznih osnova za permanentna ispitivanja i otvorena je za sve.







ПРАЗНО ЈЕ БЕЗ КУЛТУРЕ

МИНИСТАРСТВО КУЛТУРЕ СРБИЈЕ

ARHIVSKA GROZNICA I MEDIJSKA ARHEOLOGIJA



U proteklih par decenija smo svedoci nečega sto se može nazvati “arhivskom groznicom”. Nova digitalna tehnologija omogućava skladištenje ogromnih količina podataka, dok im razvoj interneta pruža jednostavan pristup. Arhivi i baze podataka se umnožavaju, kao i različita oruđa za pretraživanje i pregledavanje. Uz to, ova arhivska groznica nije ograničena samo na očekivane oficijalne institucije, već je zahvatila i ogroman broj samoorganizovanih umetničkih i drugih kulturnih projekata. I pored svega toga, nismo sasvim sigurni šta je tačna svrha takvih skupina podataka, dokumenata, slika, tekstova itd.

Upotrazi za objašnjenjem ove upadljive arhivske groznice mogli bismo da se okrenemo jednoj knjizi istog naslova koju je pre petnaestak godina napisao Žak Derida¹. Beleženje i čuvanje stvari nisu uopšte tako nevine i samoočigledne aktivnosti kako nam se to može učiniti na prvi pogled. Sama činjenica da nam one izgledaju sasvim uobičajeno govori o tome da je pravljenje arhiva nešto što već dugo predstavlja sastavni deo naše društvene stvarnosti. Ova duga istorija arhiva i arhiviranja je, prema Deridi,

povezana sa pričama o počecima, o započinjanjima, ali i sa jednim nomološkim planom, sa zakonima ili zapovestima. Aktivnost arhiviranja i arhivi su uvek duboko isprepleteni sa vlašću i politikom². Iako Derida ovo jasno naglašava, on ipak nastavlja da istražuje impresiju koju frejdovski “potpis” ostavlja na arhiviranje, ulazeći tako više u implikacije arhiva na Frejduvu psihoanalizu, nego u one neposredno društvene i političke. Tako da, ukoliko smo manje zainteresovani za suptilne deridijanske etimološke obrte *arkhē*-a u okvirima frejdovke arhivske groznice, a više za jednu materijalističku perspektivu o ekonomskim, političkim i društvenim razlozima za nju, onda bi logičan potez bio okrenuti se drugom “klasiku” postmoderne misli – Fukou (naročito s obzirom da se negovo delo direktno bavi problemom arheologije).

Izgleda da činjenica učestalog arhiviranja podataka i umnoženog stvaranja baza podataka može da usmeri objašnjenje u neznatno paranoičnom pravcu razotkrivanja zavera vlada da nadgledaju i kontrološu ljudsko ponašanje – a veći deo Fukoovog rada takvoj

2 “Ne postoji politička moć bez kontole arhiva i, u stvarnosti, ona određuje politiku od vrha do dna kao *res publica*-u. Efektivna demokratizacija se uvek može meriti sledećim suštinskim kriterijumom: participacijom u i pristupom arhivu, njegovom kreiranju i njegovoj interpretaciji.” (Derrida, op. cit., str. 4, u fusnoti 1).

1 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chicago, 1995.

perspektivi daje za pravo. Nove tehnologije zaista omogućavaju još invazivniji nadzor i lak pristup ogromnim skladištima podataka, što olakšava, u mnogim aspektima, kontrolu kretanja, obrazaca ponašanja i dnevnih rutina individua. Međutim, ovakva vrsta "gavernmentaliteta"³ nam je poznata već najmanje pet vekova, a skorašnje tehnološke promene nisu donele skoro ništa "revolucionarno" ovim strategijama, osim možda poboljšanja njihovog dometa i brzine. Moglo bi se reći da one samo spadaju u jedan deo onoga što Fuko naziva disciplinska vlast ili panoptizam⁴, što sve sačinjava neke od strategija moderne države u vladanju i upravljanju stanovništvom.

Savremena akumulacija dokumenata, slika, tekstova i drugih zapisa takođe je povezana sa određenom ekonomskom nužnošću takozvane "socijalne tržišne ekonomije" i predstavlja određenu vrstu prvobitne akumulacije jedne specifične vrste kapitala. Arhivirani skupovi simbola, slika, pojmova, ideja, reprezentacija istorijskih događaja i ličnosti, umetničkih dela itd.

3 Fuko je predložio upotrebu termina *gouvernementalité* u svojim predavanjima na Kolež de Frans 1977/78 koja su naslovljena "Sigurnost, teritorija, stanovništvo". Termin spaja reči "upravljanje" i "mentalitet" u svrhe naznačavanja jedne strategije istraživanja onoga što Fuko naziva "veštinom upravljanja", koja ima za cilj da shvati refleksivnost u praksi upravljanja i o refleksiju o praksi upravljanja. "Rečju 'gavernmentalitet' želim reći tri stvari. Pod 'gavernmentalitetom' podrazumevam celinu koju sačinjavaju institucije, procedure, analize i refleksije, kalkulacije i taktike koje omogućavaju ispunjavanje te, kako specifične, tako i kompleksne, forme moći koja za ključni cilj ima stanovništvo, za glavnu formu znanja političku ekonomiju, a za glavni tehnički instrument mehanizme sigurnosti. Kao drugo, pod 'gavernmentalitetom' podrazumijevam tendenciju, liniju sile koja kroz istoriju Zapada već odavno neprestano napreduje prema prevlasti onih tipova moći koje možemo nazvati 'vladavina' nad svim drugima: suverenitet, disciplina; ono što je jednim delom pokrenulo razvoj čitavog niza specifičnih aparata vladanja i drugim razvoj čitavog niza znanja. Na kraju, mislim da 'gavernmentalitet' treba smatrati procesom, ili pre rezultatom procesa kojim je srednjovekovna država prava u XV i XVI veku postala administrativna država, koja malo po malo biva 'gavernmentalizovana'." (Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007., str. 144 – kod nas je dostupan samo prevod rezimea tih predavanja u: Mišel Fuko, *Predavanja, Bratstvo-jedinstvo*, Novi Sad, 1990.).

4 Cf. Mišel Fuko, *Nadzirati i kažnjavati*, Prosveta, Beograd, 1997.

faktički predstavljaju ono što se danas naziva "kulturni kapital". Ovo treba da predstavlja – u zamislima "socijalne tržišne ekonomije" trećeputaške socijaldemokratije – unosnu priliku za pojedince koji su obrazovani ili su se samoobrazovali u poljima umetnosti, teorije i kulture uopšte. Međutim, pristup ovim arhivima i njihovo korišćenje nikako nisu slobodni i neograničeni, jer juridička ideologija *copyright*-a – koja je samo deo šire ideološke formacije pravna individualnog posedovanja – još uvek hara. Upravo u ovim instancama ograničenog ili privilegovanog pristupa, dozvoljava razledanje ali ne i za *download*-ovanje, kao i novih *pay-per-view* prodajnih metoda, ali i takođe u praznim zvaničnim obećanjima demokratizacije arhiva, susrećemo strategije dominantne neoliberalne politike.

Prema tim strategijama, današnji kulturni radnik mora da bude istovremeno i kulturni preduzetnik, što znači onaj koji "kreativno" – u stvari, profitabilno – koristi taj "kulturni kapital" koji mu je pri ruci. Drugačije rečeno, "kreativni proizvođač" treba da bude "fanki biznismen" u savremenom "karaoke kapitalizmu" transformišući ove sirovine kulture u nešto tek malo više od trenutne zabave⁵. Sledstveno tome, možemo uočiti da je ono što Fuko naziva "bio-vlast"⁶ usredsređeno na kreiranje i proizvodnju preduzimačkog subjekta – individue koja je sposobna da čitav svoj život, aktivnosti, čak i sopstveno fiziološko telo sagleda u terminima jedne ekonomske logike investiranja i profitabilnog korišćenja. Sve ovo je još uočljivije u svakodnevnom životu, gde se arhiviranje tiče velikog broja aktivnosti kao što su

5 Cf. Dušan Grija and Jelena Vesić, "Neo-liberalna institucija kulture i kritika kulturalizacije", <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0208/prelom/sr>

6 "Pod [bio-vlašću] podrazumevam izvestan broj fenomena koji mi se čine značajnim, uglavnom se radi o jednom skupu mehanizama kroz koji osnovne biološke karakteristike ljudske vrste postaju predmetima jedne političke strategije, jedne opšte strategije vlasti ili, drugim rečima, onoga kako su, počevši od XVIII veka, moderna zapadna društva prihvatila fundamentalnu biološku činjenicu da su ljudska bića jedna životinjska vrsta." (Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, op. cit, str. 16).

pravljenje dokumentacije o sopstvenom radu, sastavljanje CV-ja i biografskih referenci, kao i nekih sasvim svakodnevnih stvari kao što su dokumenti, fotografije, različite uspomene itd. Izgleda skoro kao da se savremeni subjekt ne može uspostaviti bez neke vrste arhiva.

Kako bi jedan tako ambivalentan koncept kao što je medijska arheologija mogao da stiha ovu arhivsku groznicu? Termin medijska arheologija ušao u širok opticaj tokom poslednjih nekoliko godina, pojavljujući se u sve većem broju umetničkih projekata, festivala, eseja i studijskih grupa. On se odnosi na polje studija medija koje se uglavnom bavi mrtvim⁷ ili zaboravljenim⁸ medijima i praksama povezanim sa njima, kao i njihovim uticajem na razvoj savremenih tehnologija komunikacije. Medijska arheologija se takođe može razumeti u smislu određenog interesovanja za načine njenog prevođenja u tradicionalnu arheologiju i za proučavanje karakteristika materijalnog sveta manifestovanog kroz pojedine medije. Iz ovog i nekoliko drugih razloga su mnogi pisci o medijskoj arheologiji crpili inspiraciju iz Fukoove arheologije znanja⁹. To sigurno može biti produktivan pristup, jer tretira predmete, slike i druge materijalne tragove ne kao dokumente već kao spomenike, težeći onome što Fuko naziva "intrinzičnim opisom spomenika" koji otkriva neravnomernosti, diskontinuitete i različite prekide unutar tradicionalnog istorijskog narativa.

7 Na primer "Dead Media Project" Brusa Sterlinga (www.deadmedia.org).

8 Cf. Siegfried Zielinski, "Media Archeology", <http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=42>

9 "... naziv [arheologija] ne upućuje na traganje ni za kakvim početkom, a analizu ne čini srodnom nikakvom iskopavanju ili geološkoj sondaži. On označava opštu temu jednog opisa koji propituje ono ne-rečeno u ravni njegove egzistencije, u ravni iskazne funkcije koja se u njemu vrši, diskurzivne tvorevine kojoj ono pripada, opšteg arhivskog sistema s kojim je u vezi. Arheologija opisuje diskurse kao specifikovane prakse u elementu arhiva." (Mišel Fuko, *Arheologija znanja*, Plato, Beograd, 1998., str. 142-143).

Međutim, ono sa čime ovde imamo posla nije baš takva vrsta medijske arheologije. Projekat *Medijska arheologija*¹⁰ je započela grupa ljudi u Domu kulture "Studentski grad" pre tri godine. S početka taj projekat nije imao ništa zajedničko sa prethodno pomenutim suptilnostima medijske arheologije, jer je iznikao iz sasvim spontane ideje da se "prekopaju" različiti, uglavnom privatni i amaterski, VHS arhivi i da se vidi šta interesantno može da se pojavi. Ovo je rezultiralo prvim programom – *screening*-om praćenim diskusijom – o onome što se nazivalo "ekonomsko propagadni program". Pregledavanje starih reklamnih spotova se pokazalo kao nešto mnogo više od jedne zabavne i vrlo smešne stvari, jer je otkrilo upornu podzemnu struju konzumerističkog društva koja je bila već prilično prisutna u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji 1970-ih godina. Usledila je serija sličnih događaja koja se bavila muzičkim video spotom 1980-ih godina u SFRJ. To je pokazalo rano i kontradiktorno uključivanje rokenrola u državnu politiku, čineći današnji prividno paradoksalni prevrat značajnog broja rok bendova od opozicionarske pozicije tokom 1990-ih do one koja danas promoviše srpsko pravoslavno hrišćanstvo, manje iznenađujućim. Programi su nastavljeni istraživanjem istorije "Pesme Evrovizije", koja se tokom vremena pretvorila jedno od retkih mesta gde ljudi evropske periferije mogu da se "nose" sa bogatstvom i moći "tvrdave Evropa". Jedan poseban program je bio posvećen pop kulturi u Aziji, otkrivajući začuđujuće sličnosti i značajne razlike spram lokalne pop kulture. Program pod naslovom "TV Monolog" je bio izuzetno ilustrativan za predačke balkanske tradicije usmene epike koje i danas opstaju, kao i herojskog "skresati im sve" licem u lice sa "čitavim svetom".

Ipak, ovo je prilično različito od Fukoove arheologije, ali je u stvari prilično slično njegovom pojmu genealogije. "Genealogija se ne pretvara da se vraća kroz vreme da bi restaurisala jedan

neprekinuti kontinuitet koji operiše iza rasutosti zaboravljenih stvari [...] Naprotiv, pratiti složeni pravac nasledstava znači održati prošle događaje u njihovoj stvarnoj raspršenosti; to znači identifikovati slučajnosti, minijaturne devijacije – ili, nasuprot tome, potpune preokrete – greške, lažne sudove i pogrešne kalkulacije koji su porodili one stvari koje nastavljaju da postoje i da imaju vrednost za nas. [Genealogija] ima vrednost kritike.”¹¹ Kontinuitet suludo pojačanog medijskog bruma koji jedva da skriva pustoš savremene egzistencije je rastavljen praksom *Medijske arheologije* u diferencirani mozaik slika i situacija koje otkrivaju različite sledove događaja. Genealogija se takođe odnosi na ono što Fuko povremeno naziva “kontra-istorija” ili “kontra-sećanje”, sačinjavajući tako jednu antagonističku poziciju u bitci za značenje prošlih vremena i događaja.

M*edijska arheologija* ide i dalje od ove vrste genealoške analize i ispituje nešto što bi se moglo nazvati “kolektivnim medijskim nesvesnim”, čineći da ono prođe kroz njegovu vizuelnu artikulaciju i da se razotkrije misaonom ispitivanju. Prošle godine je *Medijska arheologija* preseljena u Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju i pokrenuta je nova serija događaja koji razmatraju užase medijskog haosa Srbije 1990-ih godina. Ovo je proizvelo jedan čudan i specifično fukoovski osećaj koji je Žil Delez majstorski opisao u svojoj knjizi o Fukou: “Prizor Božanske komedije kažnjavanja znači da je naše elementarno pravo da poludimo od smeha kada sagledamo zasenjujuću paletu perverznih izuma, ciničnog govora i razrađenog užasa. Čitav niz fenomena, od mašina protiv masturbacije za decu do mehanizma zatvora za odrasle, podstiče jedan neočekivani smeh koga ni sramota, patnja i smrt ne mogu da učutkaju. Mučitelji se retko smeju, a i kada se smeju, to ne čine na isti način kao drugi. Vallès je već suprotstavljao jedinstveni osećaj razdraganosti unutar

užasa kod revolucionara sa groznom razdraganošću mučitelja. Pod uslovom da je mržnja dovoljno jaka, nešto se može i izvući odavde, jedna velika radost koja nije ambivalentna radost mržnje, već radost želje da se uništi sve što sakati život.”¹² Ovakvo suočavanje sa neposrednom i traumatičnom prošlost je možda dala najrelevantniji uvid o tome kako se stvari i nisu stvarno toliko promenile od pada Miloševića 2000. godine.

Sve-u-svemu, praksa *Medijske arheologije* se pokazala kao kritička i izuzetno bitna za mlade ljude koji su prisustvovali i učestvovali u programima, jer se suprotstavila dugoj medijskoj tradiciji u Srbiji. Već skoro 20 godina ova tradicija uključuje kasnonoćna prikazivanja porno filmova na javnoj TV i *sex-chat*-ova sa striptizetama, kao i raznorazne proricačke kontakt-programe, rutinske političke debate i *talk-show*-ove gde folk zvezde i estradne starlete zajedno sa političarima i popovima, kao i drugim polusvetom zabavljaju sedativirane mase, a sve to je isprekidano 7 minutnim blokovima reklama, dok je projekt *Medijska arheologija* secira, pokazujući da ona nije nešto nesavladivo.

11 Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, edited by D. F. Bouchard, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1977, p 146

12 Žil Delez, Fuko, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci, 1989. str. 29

MISIJA I CILJEVI



Medijska arheologija je dugoročni projekat istraživanja i audio-vizuelnih programa, ustanovljen kao serija predavanja i diskusija, ali prerastao u širu platformu za javnu diskusiju i razmenu medijskih sadržaja.

Misija

Medijska arheologija je projekat koji želi da ustanovi model javnog učešća u istraživanju, selekciji i prezentaciji medijskih sadržaja, uz stvaranje strukturisanog koncepta tematskih pregleda sa narativom kojeg daju domaćini, ali u otvorenom procesu prikupljanja i raspravljanja o sadržaju i kontekstu.

Ciljevi

Podizanje svesti o kontinuitetu razvoja medijskih formi kao o linearnom i razgranatom narativu, ali i kao o kompleksnom flukšu socijalnih, političkih, umetničkih i kulturnih odnosa.

Ponuda specifičnog modela edukativnog programa mladim generacijama u Srbiji i regionu, koji se zasniva na alternativnom pristupu prezentovanju i analizi skorije istorije regiona kroz medijske sadržaje.

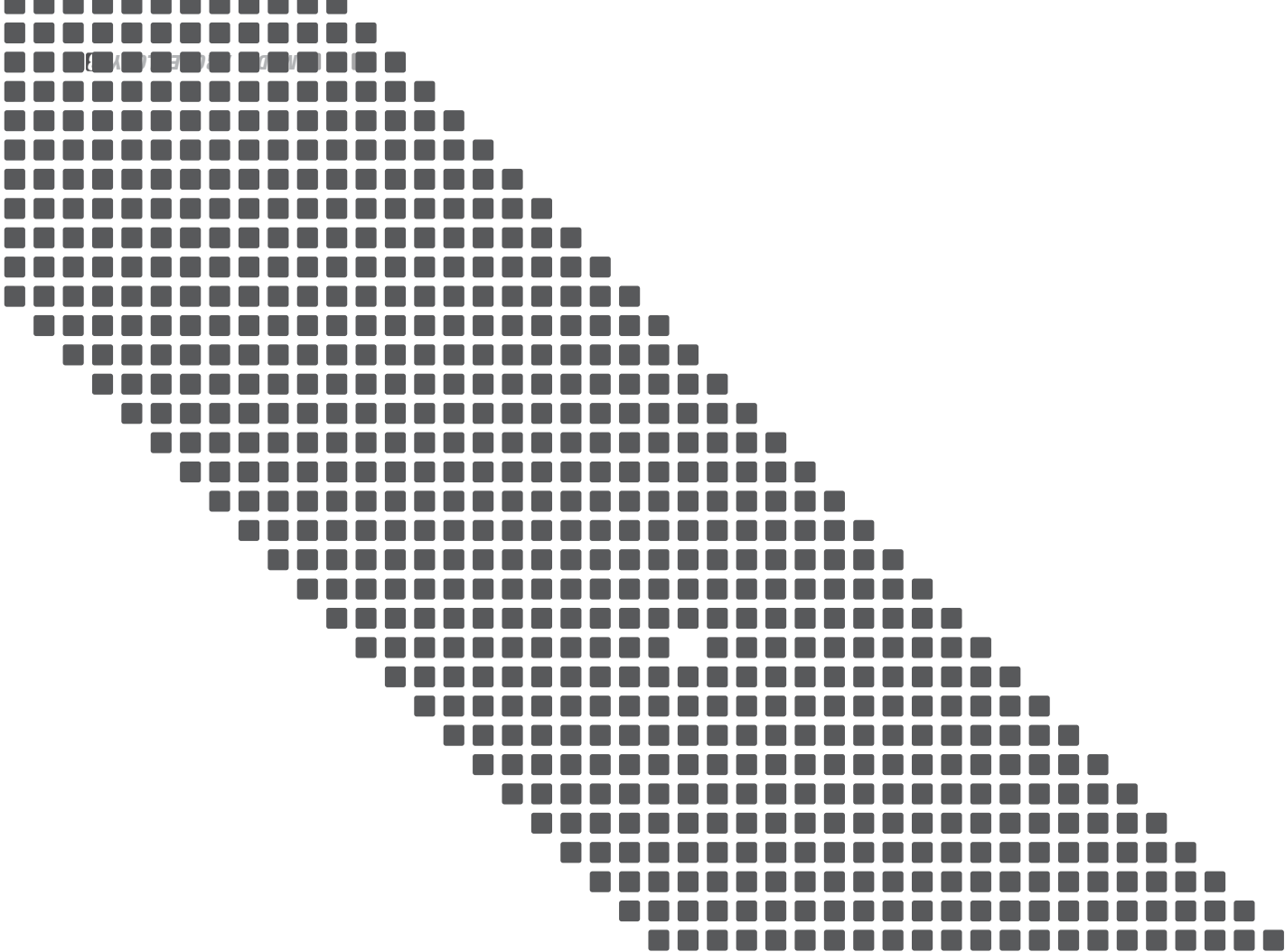
Ustanovljavanje novog modela arhivske prakse, u sakupljanju i prezentovanju audio-vizuelnih materijala, koji će se posmatrati u konvencionalnoj praksi Arhiva alternativnog filma i videa u Beogradu, ali i kroz nove interfejs: onlajn portale i žive nastupe.

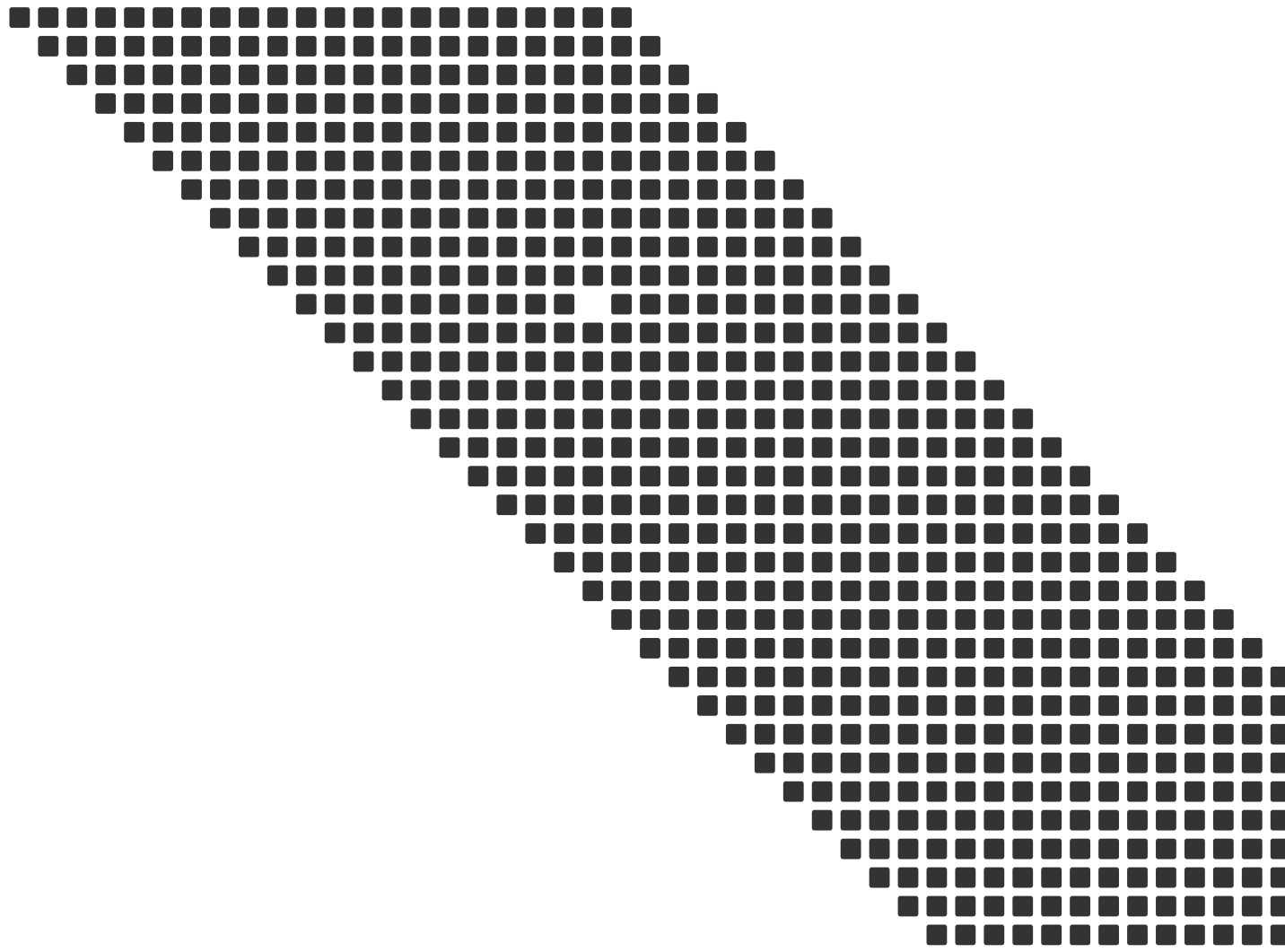
Razvoj šire mreže centara i inicijativa i doprinos regionalnoj kontekstualizaciji zajedničkog kulturnog sećanja u disperziji linija skorije istorije.

*Ova publikacija projekta "Medijska arheologija: Devdesete" samo je polazište za dalji razvoj načetih tema i razmatranje mogućnosti za nove programe. Zajedno sa saradnicima i sa svima vama nastavićemo na našem veb sajtu **www.medarh.org** intenzivnu razmenu i diskusiju, i zato ćemo sve tekstove i materijal koji je ovom prilikom priređen omogućiti dostupnim na veb sajtu i video bazi.*

Nekomercijalni DVD „Medijska arheologija: Devdesete“ priređen je u svrhu lakše promocije i distribucije ovog projekta u svim gradovima, programima i centrima koji su za ovo zainteresovani.

Projekat je realizovan uz podršku Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Srbije.





This publication of the project "Media Archaeology: The Nineties" is only a starting point for further development of the initiated themes and thinking about possibilities for new programs. Together with our collaborators and all of you we will continue on our web site www.medarth.org our intensive exchange and discussion, and for that purpose all of the texts and all the material we offer here we will make available on the web page and our video base.

Non-commercial DVD "Media Archaeology: The Nineties" we offer for the easier promotion and distribution of this project in all cities, programs and centers interested in this activity.

The project was supported by Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia

MISSION and AIMS

Media Archaeology is a long-term research program and audio-visual project established as a series of lectures and discussions, but expanding into a wider platform of public discussion and media content exchange.

Mission

Media Archaeology wants to establish a participatory model of research, selection and presentation of media content, providing a structured concept of thematic reviews with the curating/guiding narrative of the hosts, but with an open process of growing and discussing content and context.

Aims

Raising awareness of the continuity in the development of media forms as a linear and branching narrative, but also as a complex flux of social, political, artistic and cultural relations.

To offer an educational program to the younger generation in Serbia and in the region based on an alternative approach to the presentation and analysis of recent history in the region through media content.

To establish a new model of archival practice in collecting and presenting the corpus of audio-visual material, which will be perceived through the conventional service of the archive of alternative film and video in Belgrade, but also through new interfaces, including the online portal and live performance.

To develop a wider network of centers and initiatives and contribute to the regional contextualization of the common cultural memory and dispersed lines of recent history.



[...] On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us. [It] has a value as critique.”⁵ The continuity of hecically amplified media broom that barely conceals the destituteness of contemporary existence is dismembered by the *Media archaeology*’s practice into a differentiated mosaic of images and situations that reveal different sequences of events. Genealogy also refers to what Foucault occasionally termed as “counter-history” or “counter-memory”, forming an antagonistic stance within the battle for the meanings of past times and events.

The *Media Archaeology* goes even further this kind of genealogical analysis and taps into something that could be called “collective media-unconscious” by making it pass through its visual articulation and reveal itself to cognitive scrutiny. Last year the *Media Archaeology* moved to the Center for Cultural Decontamination and launched a new series of events tackling the horrors of media havoc in the 1990’s Serbia. It produced a strange and specifically Foucaultian feeling that Gilles Deleuze superbly described in his book on Foucault: “The Divine Comedy of punishment means that we can retain the basic right to collapse in fits of laughter in the face of a dazzling array of perverse inventions, cynical discourses and meticulous horrors. A whole chain of phenomena, from anti-masturbation machines for children to the mechanics of prison and death cannot silence. The torturers rarely laugh, at least not in the same way. Valles has already contrasted the revolutionaries’ unique sense of gaiety in horror and the horrible gaiety of torturer. Provided the hatred is strong enough something can be salvaged,

5 Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, edited by D. F. Bouchard, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1977, p. 146

A ll-in-all, practice of the *Media Archaeology* proved to be a critical one and exceptionally important for the young people attending and participating in programs, since it made them (en) counter the longstanding media tradition in Serbia. For almost two decades now this tradition includes after-midnight broadcasting porn on public TV and live sex chat shows with strippers, various fortune telling contact programs, routine political debates and talk shows where folk stars and show-biz starlets together with politicians and priests, as well as other *demi-monde*, amuse the sedated masses, and all that breaking up every now and than for 7 minutes barrage of commercials, and the *Media Archaeology* project is dissecting it showing that it isn’t not insurmountable.

a great joy which is not the ambivalent joy of hatred, but the joy of wanting to destroy whatever mutilates life.”⁶ This kind of facing the immediate and traumatic past maybe gave the politically most relevant insight of how actually many things have actually didn’t change since the downfall of Milošević in 2000.

O ne's work, composing CVs and biographical references, as well as other quite mundane things like documents, photos, various memorabilia etc. It is almost looks as if contemporary subject cannot establish itself without some kind of archive.

N ow, how can such an ambiguous concept as media archaeology alleviate this archive fever? The term media archaeology has gained quite wide circulation in the last few years, appearing in a growing number of artistic projects, festivals, essays and study groups. It refers to a field of media studies which are mainly concerned with the dead¹ or forgotten² media and the practices associated with them, as well as their impact on developments of contemporary technologies of communication. Media archaeology can also be understood in terms of a concern with the ways of translating it to traditional archaeology and with the exploration of qualities of the material world manifested by a particular media. For this and several other reasons, many writings on media archaeology sought their inspiration in Foucault's archaeology of knowledge³. This can surely be a productive approach, since it treats objects, images or other material traces not as documents but as monuments, striving for what Foucault terms as an "intrinsic description of a monument" which reveals the unevenness, discontinuities and different breaks within the traditional historical narrative.

1 For instance Bruce Sterling's "Dead Media Project" (www.deadmedia.org).

2 Cf. Siegfried Zielinski, "Media Archaeology", <http://www.ctheory.net/articles>.

3 "[The] term [archaeology] does not imply the search for a beginning; it does not

relate analysis to geological excavation. It designates the general theme of description that questions the already-said at the level of its existence: of the enunciative function that operates within it, of the discursive formation, and the general archive system to which it belongs. Archaeology describes practices specified in the element of the archive." (Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Pantheon, New York, 1972, p 148).

B ut, what we are dealing here with is not quite that kind of media archaeology. The project *Media archaeology*⁴ started a group of people in the "Student's City" Cultural Center some three years ago. Initially it had nothing to do with aforementioned sophisticated media archaeology, since it stemmed out of purely spontaneous idea to "dig" into different, mainly private and amateur, VHS archives and see what kind of interesting stuff pops up. This resulted in the first program – screening followed by discussion – on the so-called "economic propaganda program". Browsing through the old advertising clips proved to be much more then an amusing and quite funny thing, since it revealed the persistent undercurrent of consumerist society that was already strong even in socialist Yugoslavia in the 1970s. A subsequent series of similar events took on music clip in the 1980's SFRY. It showed an early and contradictory involvement of rock-and-roll with state politics, making today's ostensibly paradoxical turn by a significant number of rock bands from oppositional stance during the 1990s to the one that promotes Serbian Orthodox Christianity, a little less surprising. Programs were continued by an inquiry in the history of "Eurovision Song" contests, which during the years turned into an extraordinary place where the peoples of European periphery can compete with the wealth and power of "fortress Europe". A special program entitled "TV Monologue" was exceptionally illustrative of similarities and significant differences from the local one. The fore-fatherly Balkan traditions of oral epics that still persist, as well as of individual heroism of one-on-one dispute with the "rest of the world".

N ow, all this is rather different from Foucault's archaeology, but it is actually quite similar to his notion of genealogy. "Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond dispersion of forgotten things

really do enable a more invasive surveillance and easy access to huge data pools which facilitate, in a lot of aspects, control of individuals' movements, patterns of behavior and daily routines. Nevertheless, this kind of "governmentality"³ is with us for at least five centuries now, and the recent technological changes haven't brought almost nothing "revolutionary" to those strategies, apart from just maybe improving their scope and speed. It can be said that they just form a part of what Foucault termed as disciplinary power or panoptism⁴, which constitute some of the strategies of modern state in governing and managing of populations.

The contemporary accumulation of documents, images, texts and other recordings also has to do with an economic necessity of the so-called "social market economy", and represents a certain kind of primitive accumulation of a specific form of capital. The achieved sets of symbols, images, notions, ideas, representations of historical events and persons, art-works etc. represent in fact

3 Foucault proposed the term *gouvernementalité* in his 1977/78 courses at Collège de France entitled "Security, Territory, Population". The term fuses words "government" and "mentality" in order to indicate a strategy in the study of what Foucault terms as, the "art of governing" which aims to grasp the level of reflection in the practice of government and on the practice of government. "By this word, *governmentalité*, I mean three things. First, by *governmentalité* I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. Second, by *governmentalité* I understand the tendency, the line of force, that for a long time, and throughout the West, has constantly led towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power – sovereignty, discipline, and so on – of the type of power that we can call "government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (apparails) on the one hand, [and, on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (savoirs). Finally, by *governmentalité* I think we should understand the process, or rather, the result of the process by which the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and was gradually 'governmentalized.'" (Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, Paigraive Macmillan, New York, 2007, p 144).

4 Cf. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Random House, New York, 1975

what is nowadays termed as "cultural capital". This is supposed to present – in the conceptions of a "social market economy" by the third-way social democracy – a lucrative opportunity to the individuals educated or self-educated in the fields of art, theory and culture in general. However, the access to and usage of those archives is not at all free and unconstrained, since the judicial ideology of copyrights – which is just a part of the larger ideological formation of the rights of individual possession – is still at large. It is precisely in those instances of either restricted or privileged accessibility, of allowing to browse through and not to download, as well as the novel pay-per-view selling methods, but also in the empty official celebrations of the "democratization" of archives, that we encounter the strategies of dominant neo-liberal politics.

According to those strategies, the cultural worker of today "has to be a cultural entrepreneur at the same time: one who "creatively" – meaning profitably – uses this "cultural capital" which is at hand. In another words, the "creative producer" is supposed to be a "funky businessman" in contemporary "karaoke capitalism", transforming this raw material of "culture" into little more than temporary entertainment⁵. Consequently, we can see that what Foucault terms as "bio-politics" is focused on creation and production of entrepreneurial subject – an individual capable to perceive his whole life, activities and even physiological body in terms of an economical logic of investment and profitable use. This is all the more evident in everyday life where archiving pertains to the vast number of activities such as making documentation on

5 Cf. Dušan Grlja and Jelena Vesic, "The Neo-liberal Institution of Culture and the Critique of Culturalization", <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0208/prelom/en>

6 "By [bio-power] I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the eighteenth century, modern western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species." (Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, op. cit., p 16).

ARCHIVE FEVER AND MEDIA ARCHEOLOGY



In the past couple of decades we are witnessing something that can be called “archive fever”. The new digital technology enables mass storage of data and the development of internet enables easy access to them. Archives and databases are multiplying, as well as different tools for browsing and searching. Moreover, this archive fever is not limited only to the expected official institutions, but it had infected a huge number of self-organized artistic and other cultural projects. Nevertheless, we are not quite sure of what is the exact purpose of such pools of information, documents, images, texts etc.

For an explanation of this conspicuous archive fever we could turn to a book of the same title that Jacques Derrida wrote some 15 years ago¹. Recording and storing things are not at all innocent and self-evident activities as it could look like at the first glance. The very fact that those activities seem quite ordinary tells us that the making of archives is something that for a long time now represents a constituent part of our social reality. This long history of archives and archiving is, according to Derrida, connected to the tales of beginning, commencement, but also

¹ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chicago, 1995

to a nomological plane, to laws or commandments. Archiving activity and archives are always deeply interwoven with power and politics². Even though Derrida clearly states this, he goes on to investigate the impression that “Freudian signature” leaves in archiving, venturing thus more into implications of the archive for Freud’s psychoanalysis, than in the immediately social and political ones. So, if we are less interested in subtle Derridian etymological twists and turns of *arkhē* in Freudian archive fever, and more in a materialist perspective on economic, political and social reasons for it, the logical move would be to turn to other “classic” of postmodern thought – Foucault (especially since his work directly addresses the problem of archeology).

It seems that the fact of frequent archiving of data and the multiplied creation of databases could push the explanation in a slightly paranoid direction of unveiling government’s conspiracies to oversee and control human behavior – and a lot of Foucault’s work gives this perspective a substance. The new technologies

² “There is no political power without control of the archive and in truth determines politics from top to bottom as res publica. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation.” (Derrida, op. cit., p 4, footnote 1).





media, which was the foundation of a totalitarian regime, beside the police and state security. Media construction of reality culminated in the viciousness during the bombing of Serbia in 1999 and with the takeover of October 5 it burst; but it seems that even after ten years, many of the learned models of control and manipulation resist, or are transformed into more cunning forms. That is why it is important to have a dialectic insight into the processes which go on in longer time intervals, if there is an interest to have a critical awareness.

BP *Media Archaeology* is just one segment of the process of re-examination, systematization and contextualization of collective memory. Those are the processes which, in the period of downfall of the universal social values, raise the interest in public discourse. It is important to find and mobilize the utopian, creative social potential. The nineties are a hard task, due to the fact that ethical political clearing with them is not finalized. As members of a generation who grew up in the nineties, we had a necessity to debate about them, openly, combining discourses, not hesitating because of the minor time distance. They can really be observed from the point of different political, sociological, psychological and cultural theories, as a "common place," because it is related to the end of the century, the end of the postmodern and the transition to the post human society. The team of *Media Archaeology* offered one subjective, incomplete, but useful overview of "the nineties," through different readings of local media, while the process itself continues through the engagement of social groups and individuals. The archive which we managed to collect with the help of our friends and collaborators should be just one of the bases for permanent research, and it is open to everyone.



particularly with the presidential elections. The increase of the number of television stations was connected to the variety of presentations of candidates. The public was totally confused ideologically. The first parliamentary and presidential elections in 1990 offered media presentations from the enormous number of presidential candidates who seemed like ridiculous entertainment show hosts. This initial plethora of political choices appeared in all post-communist countries. But it was interesting to observe the hilarious and grotesque façade of parliamentarism. It was a strange mix of seemingly important processes of election campaigns ran on the conservative RTB and comical political presentations of the most incredible candidates and parties. That made the Socialist Party of Serbia and Slobodan Milošević, whose campaign was never visible (but had everything under control), the only favorite for a long time. The analogy is the same in the case of RTS as the "most rational" in the flood of kitsch and trash and information noise. With the theme "The Revolt(s)," to a certain extent we managed to show the kinds of internal media wars which took place and related to the forms and content of the broadcast of the rallies and demonstrations in the end of the 1980s and beginning of 1990 – especially visible in the example of Studio B and live broadcasts of the demonstrations of March 9, 1991. That was a start of the oppression over numerous independent media and the opposition parties did not have continuous "objective" TV media for presenting themselves. Later, that was the reason for the division of the electoral body. The presidential elections in 1990 were the arena for candidates and numerous new modern and hybrid TV genres: talk shows, reality shows, which were innovative, considering.



In the end, our guest was Lazar Lalić, with whom we went through his documentary opus from the 1990s. Although we had seen some of his films many times on TV and

public screenings (like "Dnevnik 2"), it turned out that it was never enough. It was interesting to compare his and our collage method: how the 1990s in media are observed and interpreted by a person who was directly as a journalist marking the topoi of the fabrication of reality, and had been prosecuted for that, and how a much younger generation who lives the consequences of the 1990s in Serbia. By a selection of some parts of his films, we performed a vivisection of the state television and the explicit war propaganda (pornography). Insane war reports aimed to awaken national awareness, invent the war heroes and heroic acts, falsify the victims and completely confuse the people. The time distance gave an even more absurd dimension to these recordings than the anticipations from the last series that the "Top lista nadrealista" show had before the beginning of the civil war.



I think that it was important to both younger and older generations to observe the collective media memory. Maybe we could, through that reviewing, see the complex social processes from different angles. The nineties was the period of big social turnovers and the analysts will have to go through that for much longer, especially because the socio-political-economic climate continuously evokes those turbulent years. However the situation was cleared after October 5, 2000, reviewing the media images from the nineties still leaves a bitter taste which is the consequence of the notion that only to a certain extent things really changed. Because the confusion still lasts. 'Look back' is therefore useful to everybody, because of the amount of the information we receive today under the stroke of globalization and the locally instable political situation. Also, it is important to shed light to every detail of the production of the virtual reality during those years in Serbia, but also in the region. In Serbia, because of the threat of the civil war, social crisis, but also a seemingly lulled conscience, many people were not aware of what goes on in the

The “pan-Slavic concept” of Slobodan Milošević culminated in the media in a grotesque way when in a talk show you could see bizarre gatherings of various public figures. Poets, writers and academics could be mixed with turbo folk singers. The representatives of churches, or other state institutions, with criminal types and foretellers. All of them together were treated in exactly the same way. So the cultural values and norms of public activity were undermined, and with them old identities and the new ones were being created. The state television, it seems, was waking national identity in an artificial way, while in para-state and private television stations the situation was “softer,” and more penetrable for an open propaganda. The combinations and variations of the ideological and cultural paradigms and iconography (red-black-pink) were ridiculous and were glamorously performed on small television stations. Television in the eighties was, in a way, “forcing people into culture,” while in the nineties it was “forcing them out.” A populist principle was applied, relying on the assumptions about the traditional and conforming cultural attributes of the people in this region. There were “people” and there was “culture,” and those two were kept separated. Everything was marginalized, and this other populist principle conveyed all areas through which constituting a national identity was enforced.



Media images have reflected the state of consciousness of the great majority of the citizens. We screened a block of commercials from the nineties and pointed to the challenges advertising had faced in those times. We also included in this set the famous state campaign from 1995: “It is nicer with culture.” The tragic appeals and parodies of the enlightened those videos contained was combined with the commercials for the pyramid structure banks (although in 1995 they had been discovered as frauds), pornographic commercials for alcoholic drinks, etc. A surreal effect was there in the very construction, not to mention



how this string overlapped a pauperized reality. The whole program concluded with an excerpt from the 1999 live recording of the events on Brankov Bridge, which had defended Belgrade from the bombs. After “Carnival Escapism” we assembled the program “The Revolt(s),” mostly oriented on the informative and related to the broadcast of the demonstrations in the streets. That was an inter-program, because the next consisted of direct political media content: “The Elections in the Nineties.” The huge quantity of rallying all over Serbia had been fabricated on Radio-Television Belgrade in the course of anti-bureaucratic revolution in 1989. Street demonstrations and rebellions on March 9, 1991, but also the parallel “happenings of the people” on Ušće and Terazije were useful for the comparative analysis of RTB and Studio B. Also, the Belgrade welcoming of Prince Aleksandar II from London was socio-politically significant, as a kind of national initiation. We made a small step out from the Serbian media by presenting the student protests in 1996-7 from international media reports; and that was the breaking point of the change of the reception of the media image in Serbia in the 1990s. Representations of Serbia in foreign media became different. The influence of a new medium – the internet – also has an importance in political and media literacy. This program mainly consisted of media fragments well-known to our audience, which we tried to “color” with more “relaxed” simultaneous media content which was directly or indirectly related to the given “revolt.” Then we approached the theme “The Elections.” We had great help from Professor Snježana Milivojević, who treated the subjects of the media coverage of the parliamentary and presidential elections for years. She gave us access to her large private archive.



The elections, whatever kind they were, made a special genre which emerged in the nineties. The multi-party system brought a surplus of media, as we noticed. We dealt



achievement, considering it is a look in the past, but it makes for a good elaboration.



Carnival escapism is the other side of the war, crisis and poverty. The most significant media topoi, such as Gazimestan, the broadcast of the wedding of Arkan Ražnatović and Ceca Veličković, but also the day-long live broadcast of the concerts on Branko's bridge as a form of defense from the NATO bombs, all the way to completely forgotten things we screened, such as: the dances on the Day of St. Sava, Christmas Eve on TV Politika, New Year on TV Palma – all those celebrations had one of the two roles (sometimes both at the same time): homogenization and/or forgetting, also, an amnesty of war which was taking place “over the fence.” While we were working on the content, the mentioned contextualization of the decontextualized media happened, and from that moment everything could be read in the

same way. Several conditional sub-categories were defined using two criteria: social identification, and iconography. So you can recognize neo-romanticism – urban identification with the social identity of the “awakened” holy Serbianship, which we illustrated with the costumed dances on the occasions of St. Sava holidays and other celebrations on RTS. In this category we also put pastoral Christmas Eves and other orthodox celebrations as the rural version of identification with the authentic Serbian peasant (TV Politika). Then, in another category was salon fascism, where members of Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, writers, scientists, as the new Gnostics, on their celebrations on TV Palma promote occultism and metaphysical identification with the “heavenly nation,” while turbo folk, a phenomenon unto itself, appealed to the libidinal side of the human psyche: the sexual-warrior potential of the brother Serb and the hypersexual image of the sister Serb.

were playing with the existing stereotypes and prejudices of the

nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.



They were massively attended and had a huge popularity. Those were trans-genre concepts, and there were movements in all directions. Simultaneously the audio and video tapes were being sold and the entertainment industry was growing. It will grow with the increase of the production of neofolk music which will gradually grow into turbo-folk. In the package with the populist theater, the production of cheap parodic TV shows grows, like "Soder lista" and others. The overall downfall of cultural values was initiated and that was a constitutive element of the then fascist nature of society. The size of those phenomena is significant. We tried to compare the populism in entertainment and politics (which is not hard), and how the masses were moved from the concerts to the political rallies. We gave a short view of the famous Gazimestan meeting through confronting two television approaches to this event: the official broadcast and a reporter's "cinema verité" method. I think what you see there is a merging of the Triumph of the Will and a cheap country fair. Monumentality and glorification in the official broadcast, and in the report there was confusion, drunkenness, schizophrenia and tragic-comic scenes. Presenting escapism, and even more, carnival escapism, means doing a vivisection of the essence of the nineties. In the period 1993-94, there was a burst of phenomena, due to the socio-economic crisis and the embargo. We did our best to cover everything. The audience had an opportunity to comprehend particular (re)presentations from a different angle. Since we had already treated the theme of media entertainment many times, and the audience had already seen those programs, for this occasion we made a program of sections according to the genre proliferation of TV stations, so we could give more adequate insight into their structures. Of course that is not such a big



To show this, we stepped back to the eighties, so we could remind everyone of the atmosphere which preceded the war itself and the wartime non-culture. From sports to cultural programs, everything was transformed into a war-encouraging tone, and the "brotherhood and unity" in the state media was expiring. It was interesting that there were two parallel but mutually dependent processes going on simultaneously at the time. One was the nationalist propaganda, so the forthcoming horrors could be internalized, and the other was a Hollywood glamour and the peak of certain cults. The other one relates to the example of Lepa Brena, a folk diva from the eighties, and the film series "Hajde da se volimo" ("Let's Make Love") We started the theme with fragments of music videos from the mentioned serial, which presented Lepa Brena in the manner of a James Bond film, as she travels around the world, overcoming obstacles, seas, mountains, cities, cultures, civilizations, and always in the end, happily comes back to Yugoslavia. Besides the high production values, stylization and the genre hybridity, this series presented something more. It was the last big representation of Yugoslav-ness on a symbolic level, but also a beginning of ethnic stereotyping covered by "brotherhood and unity." Packed in such way, "brotherhood and unity" was successfully selling the cult of Lepa Brena, whose mass reproduction was meant to detour the attention from the frustrating contents and the emerging tension in the political situation.



The phenomena of massive media production and reproduction are characteristic for more interesting media-populist models. One of them is the phenomenon of the "estrada" theater, which would later get increasing attention on certain television stations. Populist theaters were playing in schools, cultural centers in the province, cattle fairs, etc. They were going to the people. Those were primitive comedies which

turned out the change was good, and we could subdue the idea and the approach to a test.



Moving to CZKD was logical. The audience expanded to those who could read the programs from different perspectives, and the series was more direct and more socio-politically determined. By the change of the venue and the context, the public polemical component became significant because the audience participated in the process of the "reliving" of the nineties, and then in the discussion about certain subjects. The turnover happened also in the narrowing of the field of interest because we started to deal exclusively with Serbian, or more precisely Belgrade, media. I think that the reception in SCCG tended to grow into some sort of fetish or cult, which was not our goal; but in CZKD the context had already been built, which we continued. And the interaction with the audience was created from the start, which we had always wanted.



Since we decided to do the "scanning" of the nineties through the media representations, using the method of associative editing, we had to create a referent frame. Quantity and quality of the material dictated the defining of the themes. That is why it sometimes occurred that the themes remained anticipated, but the reactions of the audience were not. First, because of the fact that all the content from the period of the nineties and concerning this region had a traumatic and cathartic effect; second, the audience started to define the style of the programs which consisted of the collage set of examples and our "cold" and reduced comments and suggestions. A black humor effect was being created whose reasons can be found in psychological defense mechanisms. But for us the process of creation of every program demanded maximum concentration. The method was seemingly simple: the most significant and recognizable media topoi are located, then we find marginal ones, and then we create



new or emphasize old inter-relations and contexts. We accepted the risk of diametrical interpretations, which, I think, produced the exceptional attentiveness of the audience and some of the new readings and examinations. I think this idea is not new, because there were distinguished projects of similar orientations, like the documentaries of Lazar Lalić. But short memory in a society demands constant reviewing as a kind of de-nazification.

From pop culture to politics. The conception itself has not been essentially changed. The form was communicative, and the theme recognized as relevant today by the side of university workers and cultural workers, people of various professions, but also by the students and younger audience. And the journalists and media experts have directly participated in the program, such as Lazar Lalić and Snježana Milivojević, with whom we established a great deal because they opened their private archives to us. Without a large number of collaborators, *Media Archaeology* would not have existed.



The programs have not directly influenced the re-examining of the responsibility of the media in the nineties, but we have, I hope, participated in a modest way in a different process of assembling the fragments of the collective memory. The first "evening" in CZKD we called "Carnival Escapism: The Nineties." The literary theory of Mikhail Bakhtin was our framework, and we tried to transpose it into the local context. We wanted to take examples which will tell a story about the carnival which lasted more than ten years on television, which was "shaking" the people while the country was falling apart horribly. It was a radical liberation of a closed community which served to maintain the *status quo* of the system. We began with what happened "in the back."

Belgrade (later Radio-Television Serbia) appeared to be the only rational option of the majority of the audience in the country. As the influence of the independent media was weak due to pressure, and a growing economic crisis and inflation, most of the citizens sat in their cold homes and watched RTS. The fabrication of reality was complete.

JB In fact, in Serbia political pornography went together with real pornography. Channel 3, for example, introduced some novelties which had previously been unthinkable. Of course, pornography was broadcast at night before, but there were also other populist innovations in the regular program. That was, it seems, the mission of the "coming to the people." Later, this genre hybridity was applied on other television stations.

BP After three programs in SCC, a change of venue and audience happened. First, we collected material from various private archives, and then we moved to the Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD) and continued the project. Then we realized we needed to reconceptualize the series. Supposed subjects like "TV Metaphysics," "Pornotopia," "100 DM" and others became main topoi inside the bigger units. We decided to go through the decade rapidly in a collage form, performing shock therapy to the audience. We would take a context through which we would edit the material, but the emphasis was on the very process of the reception of the media reality of the nineties. Different hosts brought different audiences. CZKD is a place where the intellectual public deals with examining the past from different aspects in a much more serious way, and the "new audience" was ready for the content we intended to present. The audience consisted of, besides young students, direct witnesses of the media developments in the nineties, and a huge responsibility was given to us. Nevertheless, we did not abandon our method. It



business. The flood of private television stations began, especially local ones, which started their programs with the previously mentioned forms of TV monologues or interviews. The example of such a bizarre television station which we often analyzed was TV Palma. Studio B as an exclusive Belgrade television station directed informative programs and the experience of "live broadcasting" to the oppositional activity of certain parties and individuals for a long time, although with periodic interruptions. There was pressure on the independent media, while the majority was supported by the system. Still, the genre jungle was omnipresent. Also, the institution of the "surplus of television" can be observed like this: in the 80s the surplus was channeled through the conventional television stations, while in the 90s through the numerous small television stations and their profiling.



The process went on side-by-side with the political, and then the multi-party system was introduced. A seemingly anarchic situation was created. State television was completely controlled, but a bigger number of TV stations fell under the direction of the system; TV as a media played (and still does) an important role in constituting public opinion. Considering the turbulent social and political changes and new parliamentary system, the majority of the citizens of Yugoslavia in this period were confused, indecisive, lost and susceptible to any kind of manipulation. Since several years before the ruling structures of the republics had taken control over the television stations, they systematically prepared the people for the forthcoming war. That brought them a large advantage. The whole decade started on republic television stations openly encouraging the war, so broadcast of the "happening of the people" on Gazimestan. In the 1990s Radio-Television Belgrade was weakened in a technical sense due to the onset of the wars and economic crisis, and establishing private TV stations became a cheap and lucrative

and grotesque; watching them again after ten years enabled us to have an overview of the total degradation of the media and the public in Serbia. We showed other examples: long audio statements of the functionaries of JUL (a part of the ruling coalition) about the student protests in 1996-7, covered with alternating static images, or legendary phone conversations of Vuk Draskovic (at the time the Minister of Foreign Affairs) with CNN, also during the bombing in 1999. In broken English he talked about Serbian traditions, dances, love, and celebrations, defending us in the eyes of the Western audience. On TV Belgrade, during the war in 1991-2, the so-called "Dnevnikov dodatak" (TV Journal special) had several journalists who would take on the role of parapsychologists, state philosophers and quasi-scientists, and they would tell fairytales long into the night. The leader of the state himself also had given long statements about the reconciliation of state television. I think that this strategy never dies, but rather adapts and transforms.



Chronologically observed, the tyrannization from the 1980s to the 1990s is a transition to a different comprehension of TV as a medium in an essential sense. From glamour and entertainment, there was a transition to a production minimalism: one man, one camera. TV Ljubljana and TV Belgrade were more into informative programs and education, and TV Zagreb and TV Sarajevo were into entertainment (popular night programs). There was YUTEL, of course, as an all-Yugoslav option which was a combination of the two. Belgrade television had already developed the institution of the "live broadcast" inside the informative program, especially in broadcasting the rallies of the "antibureaucratic revolution," which culminated in the grandiose broadcast of the "happening of the people" on Gazimestan. In the 1990s Radio-Television Belgrade was weakened in a technical sense due to the onset of the wars and economic crisis, and establishing private TV stations became a cheap and lucrative



production grew in the field of "pop" genres. The culmination came during the war; we tried to give an overview of the transformation of the television stations: TV Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana and Skopje. Their conceptions had similarities and differences between them. Through the examples of pop culture, we pointed to their common characteristic: the ruling structures in the republics started to act seriously towards all kinds of TV programs. The media was focused on informative and educational components, until elements of entertainment were increasingly introduced. Those elements, of course, existed before, since the 1950s and the institution of the "golden youth," and especially with the film *Ljubav i moda* ("Love and Fashion"), a kind of a turnover phenomenon. But, forty or fifty years ago, TV entertainment still had to be fit into the conservative concept of state television, so any kind of

excess would have been noticed. We should just look back to the 1960s and the appearance of rock and roll, pop icons, and cults of the 1970s - Bijelo Dugme and Zdravko Čolić, the new wave in the 1980s and new visions of music videos. In the beginning of the 90s the institution of entertainment programming was being transformed. With the growth of state and private-owned media, an institute of the "surplus of television" emerged. A third channel of state television was established (in the first period called "OK" – short for the youth channel), then Studio B, TV Politika and much later YU Info; and there was private media: TV Palma, TV Pink, BK TV, whose concepts, to a certain extent, embraced some influence of the 1980s. The television stations which managed to survive stepped forward in a production sense, but not much in the programming sense. The regulated media had competition.



By the appearance of the numerous new television stations, some new media forms emerged. One of them was TV monologue, with the music video being one of the first subjects in the Media Archaeology series "The Nineties." Zoran Skopljak, a lawyer from Belgrade working on this as a hobby, lent his help. TV monologue was supposed to be the autistic form of media communication, present at all times, and routed in the epic tradition. It was grown to the extreme in the course and in the end of the nineties. The form which consists of the long and nonsensical conversation one has with oneself was anticipated in the live broadcast of the Party congress, or political debate shows. Skopljak made a presentation for us with a large choice of the programs of TV Palma, especially during the bombing in 1999. Miki Vujović, ex-director of this station, in those days would, from his studio armchair, spread xenophobic ideas and curses on the West, NATO, America, etc. The description of those TV performances, which were by rule carried to absurdity, is sufficient because even then, to the majority of viewers they looked crazy

1990s, which is chronologically justified. In the content, and sub-themes in the end of the first series, dealing with the end of the eighties, the nineties were literally anticipated. Already in 1988 the authorities of the Yugoslav republics completely took over the public televisions in Yugoslav centers, and you could see signs of madness already at those times. "Eurovision Song" is a light example as a phenomenon, but everything else, from the informative to the political and pop culture, started to decay seriously. The fall into the nineties was inevitable. The eighties have always been considered in this region as the times of pop culture, while the nineties were the years of the war and non-culture. But in fact, pop culture was present in the course of the nineties too – in a perverted way, and those deviations were screened. Of course, this method had been used earlier in scientific research texts (works of Zarana Papić and Milena Dragičević-Šešić).



The whole team made some initial program units through which we were going to present the situation in ex-Yugoslavia, and the only in Serbian media. Those units were conditionally shaped according to the media forms which, according to our estimation, were newly grown on TV screens (TV monologue, TV metaphysics, pornography, etc.). Through a more detailed study we realized that the criteria for such a division although innovative still was too conditional, because many of those media appearances had existed in some way before, and on the other hand, some of them were hard to separate (i.e. TV monologue from TV metaphysics or pornography). Media reality was complex and entangled so much that it was impossible to apply such a heuristic method, so we got back to the reviewing of programs. In fact, we reconceptualized programs and themes, but the content remained the same. Of course, our attitude remained the same like in the case of the 1980s. Two programs made the introduction. The first was "TV Monologue" where we managed to

extract some specific phenomena, and the other made a bridge from the 1980s to 1990s – "Music video," through the analysis of music videos of neo-folk, turbo-folk and pop music, as symptoms of the growth of TV production, privatization and accumulation of trash.



Beside the themes, we treated another process: the shifting of television genres which happened first on the republican level, and then nationally. By the time the Berlin Wall fell and the dismantling of the Eastern Bloc began, television received another character, as it did in Yugoslavia; it was constituted on different principles. The number of state-owned and private channels increased, so programming choices expanded. The accent was on an increase of populist content, and a kind of hyper



was pretty much experimental (most of all because of the manner of collecting, treatment and presentation), and that at the moment when we do not have any more material or inspiration, we will stop. Nevertheless, the tapes and recordings kept on arriving, the people grew more and more interested, and the program presentation maintained continuity in monthly installments in AFC SCCC. *Media Archaeology* was in the special programs of the Alternative Film/Video Festival for three years, which is where we screened the best selections of the previous seasons. Those programs were presented as the 'alternative' in evening screenings. While the main program consisted of international selections of video art and alternative film production, we would, in a lounge atmosphere, screen a collage of Yugoslav television from different periods (the eighties mostly). That created an interesting effect in relation to the other programs, considering the fact that the communication code was different, but the content itself was always found to be refreshing. On these occasions the structure of the audience was somewhat different (artists, foreign guests, etc.), but they were still very intrigued. There was a sort of debate between the artistic program of the festival and our, on the surface, 'kitschy' program. In this period we received significant help from the film director Dragomir Zupanc and Drasko Durovic, while a serious institutional contribution was lacking. Crossing the border of a classical notion of a cultural artistic forum program, some kind of performance and intern live television turned out to be a good approach for presenting ideas, but also for establishing easier communication with the audience.



After two seasons of *Media Archaeology* in SCCC, we took a small break. At that time, a significant quantity of material from the 1990s accumulated. We had been stretching the treatment of the eighties, because we knew that the interest for the nineties expired, or to be precise, for several years repressed.



The first series we finished had the theme: "Eurovision through the Centuries" with a rich program and retrospective of the TV coverage of this music manifestation, from the point of Yugoslav television. The symbolic finale was the 1990 award-winning song from Zagreb: "Insleme" by Toto Cutugno (a song about untiring Europe). Already on those recordings, "The Nineties" were announced through the visible presence of the "main characters" who attended this glamorous event. Then, we invited the audience to join us in the project *Media Archaeology: The Nineties*. In the meantime our team expanded, which included: Aleksandra Sekulić, Stevan Vuković, Ivica Đorđević and Nebojša Petrović. We already had great help and support from Ivko Šešić, the chief of the Archive of Alternative Film and Video. We also had a special program whose concept was created by Ivica Đorđević: "Asia and Cultural Translating," where we made parallels and analogies between media forms in near and far East and the Balkans, which was a sort of distancing from the local themes, but also a break before the forthcoming programs. In the meantime, with the project "Media Archaeology: The Nineties", we applied to the open call for projects announced by the Ministry of Culture without big expectations, and continued our research and accumulation of material. The project was approved, we had a certain budget and we "attacked" the nineties. It was not an easy task. We were thinking it over and trying to find a way to approach that tricky subject. Nobody wanted to remember those years. Categorizations and diagnoses usually ended with statements "the distance is small and the traumas are still sore" and "the nineties are not behind us." The important and inevitable point was the question of responsibility of the media for everything that was going on. All of that made the working conditions even harder.

We had good transitions between the decades, from the rich in production and "cheerful" 1980s to the horrific

the audience, experiencing a sort of catharsis. Formal advantages were of a great importance.

The collecting of the material also went spontaneously. Personally, I had doubts about potential response, because the content itself was perceived from the point of being out-of-date. I wondered how people would react, because after 2000 there was a certain atmosphere of "not-questioning" and "unconditional turning to the future." The attendance and response both surprised us and motivated us additionally. We never knew in advance what we would present. We looked and searched. Friends and colleagues were helping, and gradually a circle of people who explored and enjoyed the process of archaeological exploration of Yugoslav media was created. We could say that in time we "lost" so called authorship, and Media Archaeology became a widespread practice of questioning of the collective media heritage. We began with the 1980s, but we would look back also to the 1960s and the 1970s, so that we would arrive in this moment to working on the 1990s. On the way we would get experience, and as I said, a growing number of friends, colleagues and participants joined, and programs were always assembled according to some theme. It is interesting that we believed from the start that the program



have been presented in media. The relations were sometimes logical, but sometimes also absurd and paradoxical, which was a revelation for our audience, demystifying the way values in a society are channeled through television, which reshapes reality and broadcasts information. Through politics, art and rock music, also some less important programs like commercials, everybody has Warhol's fifteen minutes of fame on TV, where they promote themselves, but also the social order they come from and act in. When you make an overview of television programs in two or three decades, and map individuals and events by analysis of content, you can see socio-psychological and political movements, and various ups and downs. The method is not new, but it was interesting applying it together with the audience.



Students were our target group, which largely determined our method of presentation. We did not have a determined hypothesis in our approach, rather we tried to, in the very selection and treatment of the material, make the program more communicative (entertaining). The identification of the audience with this content was our "manipulative goal," so that we could provoke the audience towards understanding our interpretations between the video illustrations. The performative moment of the presentation and interaction with the audience was the most important part of the project. To use McLuhan's analogy, the experiment was contained in our transforming the cold television medium into a warm cinema hall. An educational moment was enabled by the formal characteristics too: the possibilities offered by the big screen – observing and reading all the parts of the image. By transitions from segment to segment we created an impression of the editing jump – a shock created by shifting TV channels, and the seduced audience was fully engaged with the flow of images and sounds. A sense of community was established and we were, with laughter and tears, feeling a certain nostalgia, together with

events, music videos, commercials...All that surplus material was significant to us.



Generally, in the past few years a contextualization of the overall Yugoslav reality started. Artistic film and music practices have mostly been treated. National television, on the occasion of its 50th anniversary, broadcasted TV documents saved from the oblivion of national television, TV Beigrade (TVB) more precisely, and there was also a well-known – and very important for us – TV show called “TV Trezor.” There was also a show on B92 TV: “TV Maniac,” which used to host weekly reviews of media events through the prism of trash. We should also mention the importance of the You Tube platform as an internet video scrap book. For us, the television medium is an important reflector of reality and events through the decades, but also an important purveyor of pop culture – a powerful tool in forming cults and myths in Yugoslavia. Some of the materials (like several experimental documentary films) we collected and screened were not always defined as the typical television material, although they had been broadcasted on Yugoslav television in the eighties. We have combined programs and content: music, commercials, film, art, science and educational programs, in the same manner that TV does.



Three years ago, *MA* was the “off program” in SCCC. We made jokes about our supposed rivalry with the Black Market program created by Saša Marković and Mlčun Ristić, which had also been taking place in Academic Film Center. They transposed their concept from the area of the student cultural center into a public space and performance. The scope of interest of Black Market was more or less stable (rock/pop history, sub-culture and counter-culture in a global sense). Very quickly, I think we managed to establish our original idea and approach.

Since Jovan and I both deal with film and moving images, our focus was on television as a medium, which to a certain extent is based on the elements of film (television is more of a radio that broadcasts images). We have presented short overviews of the developments of TV genres in our local history, analyzed certain methods of directing, editing and cinematography, and finally, we performed an analysis and reading of the image through various ideological paradigms. Therefore, although we later introduced other media which seemed to us significant due to their specific content, the focus was on television. I think it is important to emphasize a symptomatic decontextualization of television, established by the American media theorist Mary Ann Doane. The structure and essence of television is the fact that it is in “direct transmission” annulling the context in which something is being broadcast. If TV commercials, entertainment shows and sports shows are broadcasted one after another, a sense of flux is created, where nothing is significant and everything is being left to instant oblivion. If only one of those “decontextualized chains” is extracted from the time and screened ten or twenty years after, suddenly an incredible associative frame and context is created, which are undoubtedly documents of everyday reality, but also documents of the manipulation and propaganda technology. Later, when we worked on “The Nineties,” contextualization of the decontextualization imposed itself as a process which followed uncovering and experiencing the media reality.



While we still worked on “The Naive 1980s,” the demystification of people, appearances and events were inevitable exactly because of that process. Media reality today is still packed with people who were in the eighties even, and before, present in the media in a different way. Our task was to show to the audience in SCCC the relation between people/ events/appearances then and now, and the way they

THE MEDARCS

a conversation



developing after October 5, 2000: "turning to the West," turning of the media towards a more contemporary expression. We found a tape, forgotten in the dust of AFC, and making a public presentation of the selection of commercials from that tape we made one of the most popular programs of *Media Archaeology*, so we relied on this method for the future. AFC and the Archive of Alternative Film and Video was a good place for the systematization, conceptualization and presentation of programs. The only difference was in the fact that the archiving practice in Academic Film Center was focused mostly on certain aesthetic formations and author poetics (especially experimental) for film and television, rather than to an ephemeral and banal material.

Yes, we actually started to collect and systematize less important materials of Yugoslav television, which had

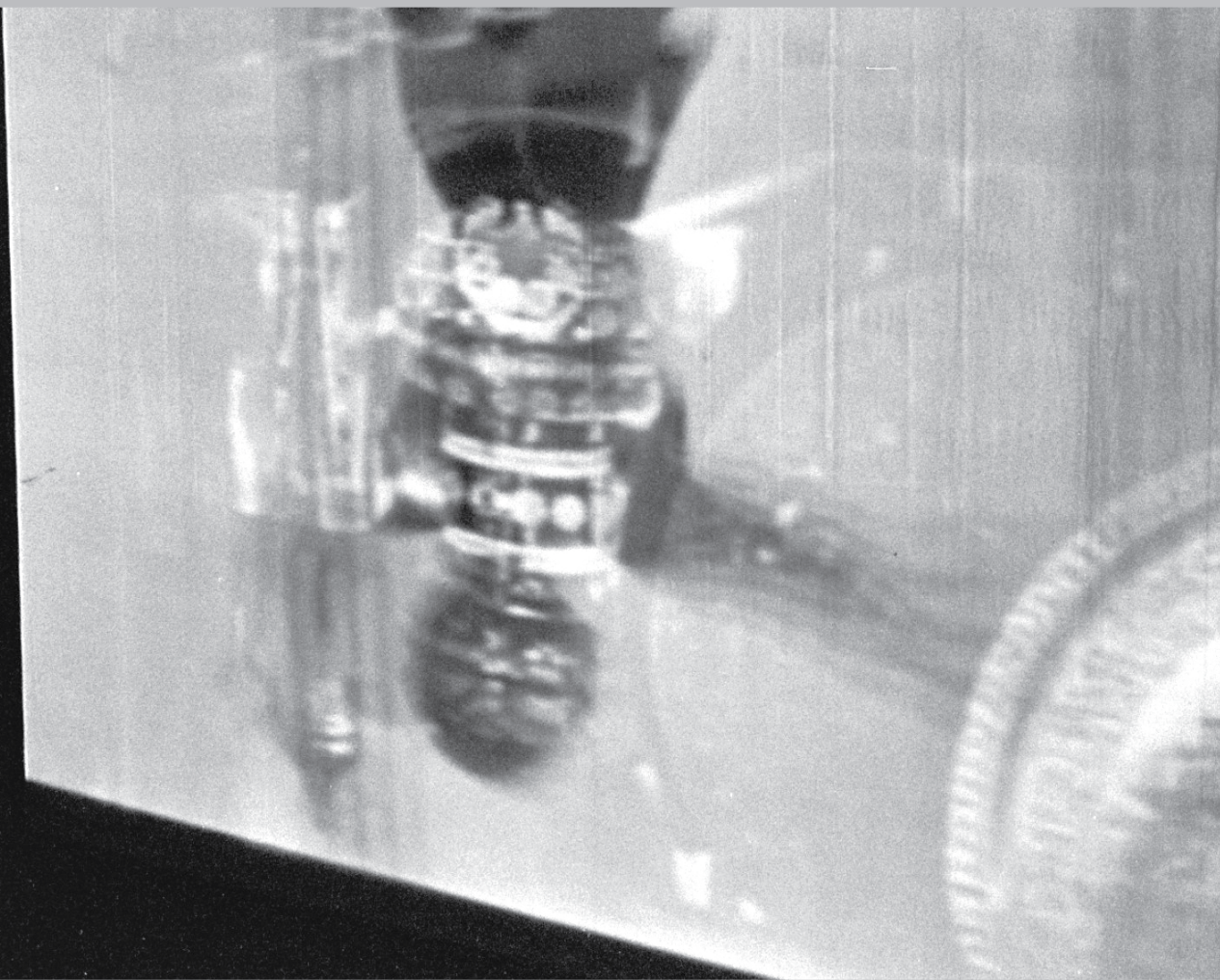


not been practiced in AFC. But that approach and our intentions did not have the pretension of scientific research. Now, from this perspective, it seems that we practically realized media studies with the examples of Yugoslav television, and without a precise method, because what we screened was being discovered on the "leftovers" of VHS tapes – empty space after the recorded films. Those were mostly leftover TV shows, informative programs, sports

In the Archive of Alternative Film and Video, we stumbled upon a three-hour VHS tape containing TV commercials from 1985. We watched it in an informal atmosphere, wondering who would have recorded and collected it. Then we came to the idea of possibly screening it. Hall B of the "Students City" Cultural Center (SCCG) appeared to be a logical place, and the program of Academic Film Center (AFC) had enough space for such an experiment. We screened a selection of ninety minutes of TV commercials from 1985, and we called it "Economic Propaganda Program," and we had a splendid response from the audience. Later we designed programs in a similar spontaneous manner, treating media praxis from the former Yugoslavia, mostly the period of the 1980s because it was easiest to find the materials. We started in the autumn of 2006, when the concept and the program of Academic Film Center was open for experiment and improvisation.

There has always been a tradition of archiving in AFC, and we relied on that continuity in a different way. We started with a cheerful (pop) program of "ex-TV advertising," while in the city there were corresponding events like "Night of Commercials." These events depicted a general situation







Friday, April 24
Center for Cultural Decontamination,
20h
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
*Carnival Escapism in the Times of
Economic Crisis (1990s)*
TV Monologue, TV Metaphysic,
Pornotopia...



Wednesday, May 13
Center for Cultural Decontamination,
20h
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
*Revol(s) – Media Production and
Presentation of Discontent (1990s)*



Sunday, May 24
Center for Cultural Decontamination,
20h
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
Guest: *Snježana Milivojević*



Tuesday, June 16
Center for Cultural Decontamination,
20h
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
Guest: *Lazar Lalić*



audience, and step into a new and dynamic phase of the development of this concept. It is a big challenge in constructing new possibilities and drawing new lines of research, but we will not be alone in this effort, which is the biggest achievement of this project.

MEDIA ARCHAEOLOGY: THE NINETIES

project examines the lines between continuity and discontinuity in the development of media forms, and their relation to the state of society and the devastating crisis of the 1990s in Serbia, as well as their direct involvement. By grouping the media fragments into thematic selections, we map topoi specific for this decade (TV Monologue, TV Metaphysics, Pornotopia, etc.) The project is realized in collaboration with the archive of alternative film and video at "Students' City" Cultural Center, with contributions and support from the archive of National Television of Serbia, and numerous artists and cultural workers and their archives. The project is open for everyone to join and contribute in collecting material and creating programs.

Project team

Boško Prostran, Jovan Bačkulja, Aleksandra Sekulić, Stevan Vuković, Nebojša Petrović, Ivica Djordjević.

Collaborators

Lazar Lalić, Snježana Milivojević, Vukan i Mirko Perović, Nenad Jeremić, Irena Šentevska, Milena Dragičević-Šešić, Borivoje Grbić, Dragomir Zupanc, Dušan Grlja, Izabel Herling, "legat Zoran Stamenković" (Svetlana i Vladan Stamenković)

This project is supported by the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia



Wednesday, September 17

"Students' City" Cultural Center, Hall B
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
TV Monologue – Guest: Zoran Skopljak

Wednesday, November 26

"Students' City" Cultural Center, Hall B
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
Music Videos

Saturday, December 13

Alternative Film/Video 2008
Alt08 Club
Media Archaeology: The Nineties
Jovan Bačkulja and Boško Prostran
Sonja Savić Homage

Media Archaeology is a project created in the Archive of Alternative Film and Video in SCCG, and preparations and realizations of the programs were completed in Academic Film Center (AFC) of SCCG. Authors of the project were related to AFC in direct or indirect ways: Boško Prostran worked at AFC for several years as editor, author and coordinator of the Alternative Film/Video Festival and production of AFC, and whose poetics grew under the influence of contemporary media theory; Jovan Bačkulić, film director and collaborator with AFC in several projects and programs dedicated to research in local film and media history; Ivica Đorđević, editor, participant of the Low-Fi Video movement (as a member of the Happy Individuals group) and technical organizer of the Alternative Film/Video Festival and Balkanima (European festival of animated film) festivals for several years; Nebojša Petrović, animator, graphic designer and for several years chief organizer of Balkanima. At the time serving as program editor of the Academic Film Center, I found *Media Archaeology* one of the most significant projects in the context of this center, because it was derived from the best traditions of AFC and created by the people who knew this tradition and articulated it in the best way, but also managed to mobilize and raise interest among the primary audience of this center: the students of Students City.

The program model was constructed with the experience of work for this audience, and during the project with this audience. In this, the project team thought of a way to communicate and present the media materials in the forms of dynamic dialogues and comments, applying the interpretative strategy of film and media studies relevant to AFC, but adding something: a constant emphasis on the individual reading, which inhibits the pompous and didactic tone - usually the elements of endangering the credibility among a young audience. And who was the audience our team was struggling to get attention from? The generation

of students born at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s, who have been receiving contradictory information about the SFRY and the recent history of Serbia from their families, schools, the media, and finally, in SCCG itself, which consists of several mutually independent departments, a true representation of the dominant cultural and educational policy. The inconsistency of the educational system they went through, which was gradually losing credibility, is usually illustrated by expelling and replacing Darwin's theory into the curriculum; but the treatment of recent history in schoolbooks is subdued to the daily political disqualifications and media discussions, so it has been relativized for a long time now. This generation makes its way through history by browsing and compiling information and media fragments from the internet, and it turns out that in this ever-expanding corpus of fragments, forming a program which in a humorous or sober way sheds light on the principles and mechanisms of the production and wider social context, is actually opening a possibility for further individual exploration. Carrying on with this model, we approached the task of the 1990s hoping that this project will maintain the reputation gained and intrigue the audience to confront the images of the nineties with additional "tools" known to professionals; to analyze and read, in the units which are assembled in a way which enables better insight into all the horrific effects, the power and role of media in shaping and covering of the war, social and economic crisis in this dark decade, but also warn of the latent manipulation potential inherent in media.

By moving the program series to the Center for Cultural Decontamination, the project received a different context and audience. As one of the rare cultural centers in Belgrade which has a continuous and dedicated program policy focused on critical analysis of social and cultural phenomena, it offered us a great pretext and possibility to make this initiative widely visible, and to re-think it with a demanding, well-informed and experienced

Jovan Bačkija, Boško Prostran, Ivica Bordenjavić and Zoran Skopljak
in the Archive of Alternative Film and Video in SOCC

shared selections of his work with us. Among other programs in this project is "Homage to Sonja Savić," realized at Alternative Film/Video 2006, prepared by the project team in memory of an artist who had recently passed away, and whose artistic projects in the 1990s treated media in an authentic way, contributing to the critical analysis of media discourse.

In planning the project we relied on Stevan Vuković to come up with an adequate way to review the production from the field of contemporary art which in its own ways have treated this problem in the nineties, so we will have a chance to participate in conversations with the artist and this way remind the audience of some of the works, but also to get more information about the artistic strategies which were relevant in the context of the project.

The support given by the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia to this project enabled its development and gave credibility among the wider circle of institutions and collaborators, and that way expanded the field of activity and heightened the level of production.

Geography of "Media Archaeology: The Nineties"



"Students' City" Cultural Center is built in the center of one of the largest student campuses in the region, and is a direct consequence of the student rebellion in 1968. It was finished in 1976, and had a mission to give students access to various cultural programs. Academic Cine Club-Academic Film Center, established in 1958, was moved from the center of Belgrade to Students' City so its programs, tending towards the alternative, experimental and avant-garde, could constantly try to establish communication with the students around it, but also to the audience attracted to this kind of production. The Archive of Alternative Film and Video was founded in 2003, with the ambition to become one of the most significant (at the time of establishment it was rare) institutional centers for the archiving of this specific production in the region, and by its opening to a wider scope of archiving: media and program production, it pointed to some other potentials of the archive practice.



Methodology of „Media Archaeology: The Nineties“

In preparations for *Media Archaeology* in 2007, the nineties appeared in the contributions of the collaborators, which we saved for future research, but also in the programs, in the form of verbal determinant. We postponed the direct confrontation with this material because we were aware of its importance and the complexity of the analysis, so we wanted to prepare better and expand the team. Differing from uncovering the media content from the SFRRY, which had the ability to intrigue the young audiences in Student City, collected¹ media archives of this decade of wars had to be treated in a way to maintain its credibility and attention, but at the same time to warn about the disastrous consequences of media production and its role in devastating crises.

In articulating the project „Media Archaeology: The Nineties“, we have decided to continue the research of the process of the production and (dis)continuity of the development of media forms as a complex flux of social, political, artistic and cultural relations. We estimated that the series, relying on the infrastructure of a student cultural institution, would be a good initiative for mobilizing public and institutional participation in the designing of more

¹ You could say often exhumed from the repressed, marginalized, forgotten archives.

serious strategies for media archiving and critical analysis. We invited the curator Stevan Vuković to join the team and tried to define basic „topoi:“ the media phenomena which we, according to our own memory and collected material recognized as representative for this decade (TV Monologue, TV Metaphysics, Pornotopia, etc.). It turned out that after the first two programs: „TV Monologue“, when our guest was Zoran Skopljak, and where we had contributions from national television, and the second: music videos, when the participation of the audience and collaborators was intensified, that our starting list of themes was only additional categorization for the process. We discovered formations which enabled a far better insight into the wider context of our subject of research, and established a new basis of comparison with the contemporary situation. In fact, it was the contemporary situation which directly inspired the „formation“ approach, which is the case with the programs „Media Escapism in Times of Economic Crisis (1990s)“² and „The Revolt(s) – Media Production and Presentation of Discontent (1990s)“ which were realized in the spring of 2009.

In the course of the research we had the chance to discover several very inspiring examples of individual and rare institutional archive activity, and we gave a special space in our programs to them. Snježana Milivojević, Professor of the Faculty of Political Sciences, as a guest of the program, presented a segment of her media archive which was related to election campaigns, and using this example presented a form of contemporary scientific analysis in media studies. In the second program, which in a way served as a conclusion of the series, an author whose archive and a specific production inspired current media archaeologists in our country

² In a dilemma between the titles „Carnival Escapism“ and „Media Escapism“, both options remained equal; the first shows how Bachtin's interpretation of the inversion and suspension of the values inspired the assembling of the heterogeneous media fragments into a narrative, the other because it implies existence of several levels of escapism which contributed to the context and production of these materials.

In the first years of its activity, this project established its development basis for further research and introduced its program model.

- Promoting the practice of media archiving: institutional and individual, with constant re-examination of the potential for linking the two of them.
- Establishing the basis for a comparative analysis of media forms through the lines of continuity and discontinuity in chronological perspective, in a local and global context.
- Supporting the participation of the wider audience and collaborators by open public call and encouraging meetings, creation of programs and discussion.

By the establishment of this program model, a possibility was given to directly and publicly present an expansive practice, but also to highlight the necessity of the systematic archiving and analysis of media material, to open questions about institutional responsibility in times of redefining the status of media content, public domain and the process of historicization of cultural and media production of the SFRY¹.

¹ Within this constant I do not consider the scene of contemporary art (which will be a subject of a special segment of this project), because it is without doubt that in this field there was a relevant artistic and theoretical production which deserves special attention.



The Nineties

At the beginning of the year 2000, Zoran Skopljak and I hosted a screening in Belgrade Open School which consisted of collages created by recording the programs of local and international TV stations during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999. My role was creating the concept for showing the material made by Zoran, which we decided to project without interventions. I offered constructing an imaginary time distance, and in my introduction to the audience I suggested this material is found, and illustrates war media production from several decades ago. The audience itself with its individual visions of the future contributed to the increasing of the contrast: either the absurd or the clarifying insight into the deviation of the proclaimed principles of contemporary media production. Comprehension and presentation of the media phenomena of the nineties during that same decade seemed to me very demanding and complex, exactly because of the danger of missing a wider contextualization; but projects emerged at the time like “Dnevnik 2” by Lazar Lalić, or found footage exercises and video works in Low-Fi Video festivals, which pointed out that confronting people with these images at the time had a prevailing cathartic function, and that is why I expected in forthcoming years that serious attention be given to the critical analysis of this content.

own basic critical apparatus for the media analysis, also to have a peak into the country they don't remember, but also among the older and more experienced who were attracted to the unusual themes, significant for the research of local history ("TV Titoград," "Sarajevo Pop," "Margin Against Margin," "The Song That Lasts – May 25," "Eurosong Throughout the Centuries," etc.).

The regional significance of this project was established soon: at the 2006 Alternative Film/Video Festival in SCCG, when guests could attend one *Media Archaeology* program in the special evening sidebar in Alt06 Club, they were inspired to organize a *Media Archaeology* tour in their cities and to start media archaeology activities of their own. The archaeology itself, the uncovering and collecting of material, showed that the method is an equally important and public element of the project: audience participation was intensified and the circle of collaborators expanded, which led to recognition of the importance of the principle of open discussion and the possibility of exchange, audience contributions, and also exploring public archives. The rapid development of the internet inspired one of the most successful experiments of *Media Archaeology*: special program "Asia," which embraced various media forms under the overall theme of cultural translation of Western pop culture in Asia, constructed mainly from content available on the internet. The large attendance at this program confirmed that it is the mediation, the confidence in the "curators" who guide the selection of the material, which creates the unique point-of-view of this project. Initiatives such as *Illegal Cinema* founded by the group Tkh create a wider context in Belgrade for the problematization of the status of media materials and cultural products, and in the frame of its educational mission in SCCG, *Media Archaeology* becomes an important point for such experimental program development.

(SFRY) enabled the audience in Students City (too young to remember that country) an insight to this period different from the confusing reviews they had been given in the educational system. So it was since this first confrontation with the media archive, both audience and production team saw that this model of dislocation of the media collages on a large screen achieved a surprising micromcinema effect due to the atmosphere of the intimate exchange which took place. In the next program, instead of giving an introduction, we put the authors on stage, on either side of the screen, so they could comment on the material as it played, in that way using the model of an existing series of lectures in Academic FilmCenter of SCCG: *Black Market*, whose authors were Saša Marković and Mićun Ristić. While *Black Market* was focused on music formations and phenomena, transforming the format of their previous radio show into live performance with video illustrations, *Media Archaeology* structured the programs so that the particular media forms (music videos, commercials, youth shows, etc.) are observed in the genre and dramaturgy analysis, with an overview of their social and cultural context. This way, *Media Archaeology* had a specific relationship with its sibling, "Black Market", and often emphasised this correlation with the choice of themes which usually met in the SFRY (i.e. "Punk and New Wave in the SFRY" vs. "Music videos of the 1980s in the SFRY").

The relation of these programs was also in the emphasised practice of exchange, whose tradition in Belgrade originates from the city "record markets," where individual archiving was encouraged in small collectives of enthusiasts and fans. But *Media Archaeology* moved its focus from exclusively music-related materials to unique (banal, marginal, bizarre, obscure, forgotten) media content. What was increasingly evident was the importance of the guides and the process of earning credibility among the audience in Students City, who wanted to form their

During his workshop on visual anthropology, in the frame of the "Videography of the region" project in Academic Film Center (AFC) in 2007, Naško Kriznar stated to the students attending the class:

"I think Youtube will become one of the important resources in visual anthropology in the near future."

One of the students looked up from his notes and asked: "How did you say it, You...?"

Through several years of existence, "Media Archaeology" went through dramatic changes in technological possibilities regarding video materials. The development of the internet, emergence of web portals and increased interest for media archives inspired an idea to link the growing archive of this project, its network of collaborators and audience, and the institutional potential of the archive of alternative film and video in the "Students City" Cultural Center (further in text: SCC), where this project has been created. One of the initial projects would be establishing a video base which would rely on both the archive of the Low-Fi Video movement and the archive of "Media Archaeology", which would enable insight into their mutual interaction, thus creating a wider context for those two complementary collections. This project would illustrate "in the field" the very process of the realization of the possibilities for overcoming the problems and unsolved questions regarding the status of the media materials, and possibilities of the new interfaces in intensifying the interaction between the users and the archive (possibility of intervention in the material as creative contribution of the visitors of the base, open forum, etc.). In the meantime, our program will be followed by activities on our web site www.medah.org, which is designed to be our new field of communication and development of the project.



Short History of the Project "Media Archaeology" from the Producer's Point-of-View

The series of programs started in September 2006 with the pilot "Economic Propaganda Program," which established the overall concept of the project. In SCC, the film director Jovan Bačkulja and political scientist Boško Prostran had a chance to browse through the collection of the archive, which was founded by Ivko Sešić. Along with the "intentional" content on VHS tapes there was an "accidental" drift of the media material – TV commercial blocks from the Yugoslav television centers, "caught" along with the films and tv shows meant to be recorded on home VCRs. Recordings of concerts, music videos and TV shows of different profiles from the 1980s became interesting because of its archaic aesthetics, specific dramaturgy and other formal differences which initiated comparative analyses. Periodical reviews of the material became a sort of ritual of self-awareness, like our internal version of "TV Trezor", a TV show by Bojana Andrić on national television (a show which largely contributed to our better understanding of some specific media fragments). Considering this idea to create a public screening of the material, I suggested to make a series so all the phenomena could get full attention. The title was a simple description of a practice, although it had already been launched to describe something else, so we continued the inter-textual game.

Extracted and placed in chronological order, the blocks of TV commercials from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

ONE STEP BACK, TWO STEPS FORWARD

"MEDIA ARCHAEOLOGY:

The Nineties"



What is media archaeology, and what is "Media Archaeology"

Regarding the project "Media Archaeology," the term itself has undergone a creative usurpation. Siegfried Zielinski¹ used it in an attempt to describe a new field for research into the history of media, and projects like "Dead Media Archive" initiated by Bruce

Sterling have far more logical and theoretical relations to this term than our project. The technological object-apparatus being of central importance in the methodological approach established under the title "media archaeology," Eric Kluitenberg² finds the relation between current media archaeology and Foucault's understanding of archaeology is unclear in spite of the implicit reference to his legacy. Foucault's archaeological approach underlines the discursive dimension of formative processes, while there is an obvious risk of neglecting those influences of a wider social and cultural context in the uncovering of material lineages of apparatuses in the current praxis of media archaeology. Zielinski has also developed the concept of "anarchaeology," then "variantology," but out of all his concepts it was not media

1 Siegfried Zielinski: *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, MIT, 2006.

2 Eric Kluitenberg: *Delusive Spaces*, Nai Publishers, Institute of Network Cultures, Rotterdam, 2008, str. 38-42

Nevertheless, the process of our research with video materials can contribute to "conventional" media archaeology. Video is a format which has been undergoing evolutions and transformations for decades now, so the quest for a stable video format is a problem of high priority in the video archiving practice. Video archives which we had a chance to work with consisted of various formats, while the institutional archives (mainly on more expensive Beta tapes) implicated a more complex administrative and technical procedure which limited our access and transferring of the material to DVD of the video recorder as a home laboratory, offering insight into individual decisions, affiliations and estimations, rating of certain media content and awareness of "historical moments" which are chosen for recording and review. Wrinkles on VHS, TV snow, unmarked fragments of the TV show whose age is being estimated based on the visible fashion details – those were elements which explained our choice of "archaeology" for describing the process of realizing these programs.

archaeology that is closest to our project, but perhaps his concept of economy of friendship, which he used to describe forms of collective work emergent from the networking of heterogeneous ideas and fields.

Media Archaeology: The Nineties
Center for cultural decontamination
Archive of alternative film and video
“Students’ City” Cultural Center

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