

# Od maja 1968 do novembra 1989: transformacije sveta, literature in teorije

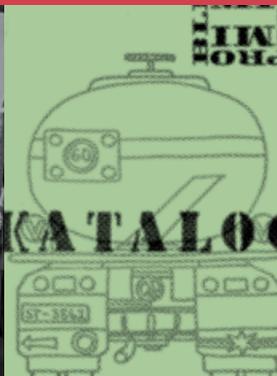
Mednarodna konferenca

From May 1968  
to November 1989:  
Transformations  
of the World, Literature,  
and Theory  
International Conference

PROGRAMME  
AND ABSTRACTS

PROGRAM IN POVZETKI

7.–8. november 2019 / 7–8 November 2019  
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Od maja 1968 do novembra 1989: transformacije sveta, literature in teorije  
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# Program konference

## Četrtek, 7. november

08.30–09.30	Registracija
09.30–10.00	Otvoritev
	Oto LUTHAR, direktor ZRC SAZU
	Marko JUVAN. <b>Maj '68 v literaturi in teoriji: Zadnja sezona modernizma (uvod)</b>
10.00–11.00	Gáspár Miklós TAMÁS. <b>»Buržoazno« in »meščansko«: Pomen tistega, proti čemur se je obrnilo leto 1968</b>
	Jernej HABJAN. <b>Maj '68 in njegovi filozofi: Pariz, Peking, Ljubljana</b>
	Diskusija
11.00–12.00	Odmor za kavo in odprtje razstave
12.00–13.30	Lev KREFT. <b>Od marginalnega k zglednemu</b>
	Miško ŠUVAKOVIČ. <b>Med pismenostjo in transgresijo: Slovenske alternativne umetniške prakse OHO-ja in NSK-ja</b>
	Gašper TROHA. <b>Od gledaliških eksperimentov v nacionalne institucije: Lado Kralj in Dušan Jovanović na slovenskem gledališkem prizorišču od šestdesetih do osemdesetih let</b>
	Diskusija
13.30–15.00	Kosilo
15.00–16.30	Emiliano ALESSANDRONI. <b>Literatura, dialektika in transformacija pri Francu Fortiniju</b>
	Mererid Pw DAVIES. <b>O miših in Mau: Antiliterarna teorija in avantgardna praksa v Zahodni Nemčiji leta 1968</b>
	Charles SABATOS. <b>Češkoslovaška »normalizacija« v pripovedništvu nagrajencev vilenice</b>
	Diskusija
16.30–16.45	Odmor za kavo
16.45–18.15	Irena NOVAK POPOV. <b>Heterogenost slovenske pesniške neoavangarde</b>
	Kaitlyn TUCKER SORENSON. <b>Radikalna igra: Ljubljanska alternativa v letu 1968</b>
	Marijan DOVIČ. <b>»Reizem« v slovenski neoavangardni literaturi in umetnosti</b>
	Diskusija
20.00–23.00	Svečana večerja

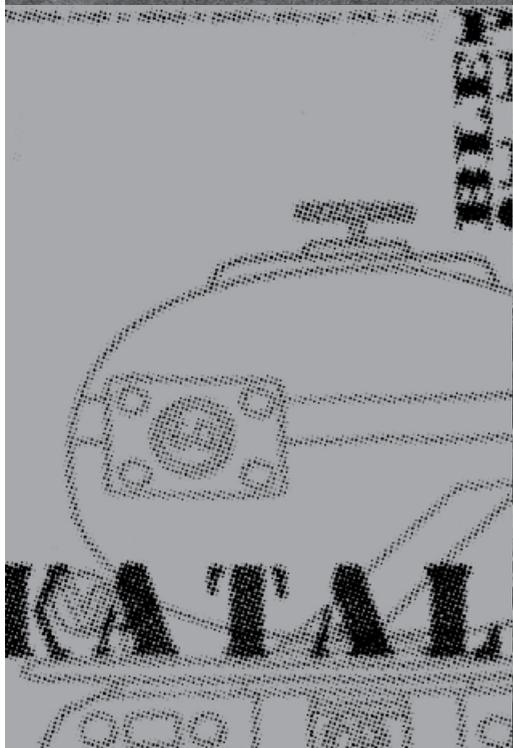
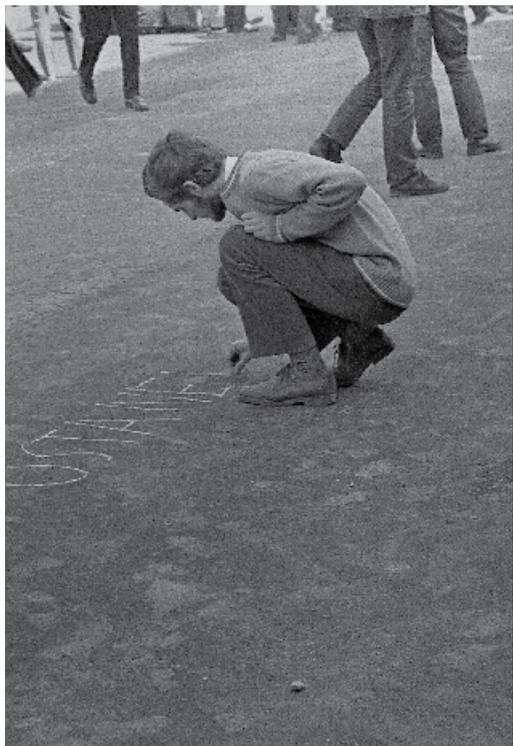
## Petek, 8. november

09.00–10.30	Lev CENTRIH. <b>Dve teoretski in ideološki konjunkturi v sodobni slovenski zgodovini</b>
	Aleš GABRIČ. <b>Pogled na angažiranje modernistov s političnega zornega kota</b>
	Božo REPE. <b>Božo REPE. »Spremembe da, cirkus ne!«: Vloga študentskega gibanja v družbenih procesih Slovenije in Jugoslavije</b>
	Diskusija
10.30–11.00	Odmor za kavo
11.00–12.30	Darja PAVLIČ. <b>Ludizem kot estetski in idejni pojav</b>
	Varja BALŽALORSKY ANTIČ. <b>Maj '68 in vznik écriture féminine</b>
	Andrej TOMAŽIN. <b>Kriza revije Problemi v letu 1968</b>
	Diskusija
12.30–14.30	Kosilo
14.30–15.30	Branislava VIČAR. <b>»Pri vsaki besedi, ki jo napišem, gre za samomor«: Etična, aktivistična in miselna strogost Jureta Detele</b>
	Alenka KORON. <b>»Dolgi maj '68« v slovenskem proznem pripovedništvu in dramatiki</b>
	Diskusija
15.30–16.00	Odmor za kavo
16.00–17.30	Branislav JAKOVLJEVIČ. <b>Lastništvo nad zlom: 1968, 1989 in nova desnica kot mainstreamovska usmeritev</b>
	Zdravko KOBE. <b>Maj '68 in njegove posledice za teorijo: Strukturalizem, maoizem, neoliberalizem</b>
	Matteo COLOMBI. <b>Civilna družba in umetniški proizvajalci kot vzporedni polis? Nekaj premislekov o paradoksih disidentske kulture od 1968 do 1989 in onkraj (češkoslovaško-jugoslovanska primerjava)</b>
	Diskusija
17.00	Zaključek konference

## Uvod

Konferenca bo v preučevanje globalnega študentsko-delavskega gibanja, ki je izbruhnilo maja 1968, posegla z obravnavo dveh doslej zanemarjenih vidikov – literarnega in polperifernege. Poskusila bo analizirati, kako sta bili kritična teorija in poznomodernistična, neoavantgardna literatura povezani s protestništvom, ki se je zunaj okvirov institucionalizirane politike na prelomu iz šestdesetih v sedemdeseta leta 20. stoletja zavzemalo za družbeno-gospodarsko transformacijo tako kapitalističnega sveta-sistema kakor njegove socialistične alternative. Posvet namerava primerjati dogajanja v Parizu in drugih kapitalističnih metropolah modernega svetovnega literarnega sistema s socialistično Ljubljano in drugimi mesti socialistične literarne polperiferije. Kot pričata npr. neoavantgardna skupina OHO in ljubljanska šola teoretske psihoanalize, so tudi ta okolja zmogla revitalizirati domnevno imunizirani formalistični modernizem zahodnega jedra. Ko se je z zlomom študentsko-delavskega gibanja iztekla zadnja faza literarnega modernizma, sta v jedru sveta-sistema sledila postmodernizem v estetiki in neokonservativizem v politiki. V Sloveniji in drugih jugoslovanskih republikah pa zadnji sezoni modernizma v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih sledijo družbenoekonomska in kulturna kriza samoupravnega eksperimenta, krvav razpad federacije in nastanek neodvisnih držav naslednic. Posvet bo skušal odgovoriti na vprašanje, kako je leto 1968, ki mu je transformacija sveta dozdevno spodletela, privedlo do leta 1989, ki pa je svet transformiralo tako, da je razglasilo konec utopije, ki je navdihovala leto 1968.

(Marko Juvan in Jernej Habjan)



## Literatura, dialektika in transformacija pri Francu Fortiniju

V delu Franca Fortinija je ideja literature in njenega transformacijskega potenciala tesno povezana z njegovim konceptom realnosti. Po Fortiniju realnost ni niti foucaultovski panoptikon niti gledališče bojev z ničelno vsoto, ampak polje nasprotujočih si sil in stalno spremenljivega ravnotežja: scenarij, ki postopno nastaja iz konfliktov, ki v svojem razvoju naposled privedejo do določenega rezultata. Dober umetnik je torej zmožen prikazati celoto tovrstnega konfliktnega scenarija, vključno z različnimi silami, ki ga tvorijo, in rezultati, ki izhajajo iz njega. Od tod Fortinijeva kritika neoavantgardne Skupine '63, ki se, s tem ko poskuša konstituirati negativ, antitetično silo, odvrne od antitez realnega sveta in znajde v zgolj intelektualni opoziciji. Od tod

tudi njegova kritika Kafkove literarne produkcije, ki prav tako ponuja predstavo o ideološko deformirani realnosti. Ta realnost je kakor želatinasta zmes »lebdečih pomenov, kjer se vse pretvori v vse«, »enigmatičen« univerzum, katerega »simbolne ekvivalence« napotujejo druga na drugo *ad infinitum* in tako vzpostavljajo »izginjajočo točko sleherne perspektive«. V vsem tem vidi Fortini »pisanje po vodni gladini«. Dialektična ideja realnosti, ki vodi Fortinijeve estetske sodbe, pa učinkuje tudi v politiki, in sicer zlasti leta 1991, ko Fortini poseže v polemiko o prvi zalivski vojni, ki se je v časniku *Liberazione* razplamtela med Norbertom Bobbiiem in Domenico Losurdom.

**M**aj '68 je bil, kar zadeva spol njegovih vodilnih akterjev, v glavnem moška zadeva, ženske niso imele dostopa do javnega govora in izpostavljenih položajev. Vendar je nova konceptualizacija politike, ki jo je proizvedla revolucija, omogočila, da žensko vprašanje spet vznikne na nov subverziven način, zato je gibanje *Mouvement de libération des femmes* (Gibanje za osvoboditev žensk) mogoče razumeti kot neposredno nadaljevanje majske revolte. Poleg tega je prav v okviru novih avantgard, ki so bile pomemben protagonist revolucije (gl. Combes, Gobbille), vzniknila tudi t. i. *écriture féminine* ter dobila trdno teoretsko in poetološko podlago v delih ključnih poststrukturalističnih feministk (Cixous, Kristeva, Irigaray idr.). Nekatere avtorice so izkoristile družbeno-zgodovinsko konjunkturo in stigmatiziranost, ki je izvirala iz spolne pripadnosti, preobrile v emblem estetske inovacije in si začele pridobivati večjo simbolno moč v literarnem sistemu. V Sloveniji se je feministično

civilnodružbeno gibanje porodilo sredi osemdesetih let, torej s skoraj dvajsetletnim zamikom v primerjavi s francoskim, slovenska literarna zgodovina pa se še ni zadovoljivo posvetila raziskovanju začetkov »drugega vala« boja za žensko emancipacijo na področju literarne umetnosti. V poeziji so tej v drugi polovici šestdesetih let pot začele utirati nekatere starejše generacije, ki niso pripadale generaciji študentskega gibanja, vendar tega procesa ni spremljalo povečanje njihove simbolne moči v literarnem prostoru. V prispevku se bom posvetila primeru Saše Vegri, ki od konca šestdesetih let vse bolj načenja teme, ki jih lahko označimo za feministične (zbirki *Zajtrkujem v urejenem naročju* in *Ofelija in trojni aksel*), s knjigo *Konstelacije*, objavljeno leta 1980, pa udejanji pozni vrh pesniške neoavantgarde, v katerem je mogoče prepoznati ključne principe *écriture féminine*, kakor jo razumejo francoske teoretičarke.

**V** prispevku bomo primerjali dve teoretski oziroma ideološki konjunkturi na Slovenskem v dveh različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih. Obe konjunkturi sta pripeljali do družbenih prelomov, vendar z različnimi učinki, neenakimi posledicami za družbene skupine in razrede. Prva konjunktura zajema trideseta leta 20. stoletja, ko je komunističnemu gibanju, kljub pretežno skromnim in močno poenostavljenim teoretskim oziroma ideološkim koncepcijam, nazadnje uspelo povezati napredne levičarske skupine v narodnoosvobodilni in revolucionarni projekt. V nasprotju s prvo pa je druga konjunktura iz osemdesetih let, kljub neprimerno razvitejšim in bolj sofisticiranim družbenim teorijam ter barvitejši polemiki, pripeljala do civilne družbe. Kljub velikemu začetnemu optimizmu je ta civilna družba nazadnje zagotovila samo avtonomijo kritičnih levičarskih intelektualcev, ne pa tudi emancipacije delovnih ljudi in marginaliziranih družbenih skupin. Prva konjunktura

si je za cilj ambiciozno zastavila odpravo kapitalizma, druga pa se je na koncu zadovoljila z »normalizacijo« slovenske družbe v skladu z ideali zahodnega sveta. Prvi konjunkturi je katastrofalno spodletelo, za drugo konjunkturo pa se zaenkrat zdi, da ji zaradi tako skromnih ciljev ne more niti spodleteti. Marx, Engels in Lenin so stavili na srečanje kritične družbene teorije z množicami. Pred stoletjem je bil prostor takega srečanja politična stranka, od šestdesetih let dalje pa manj disciplinirana družbena gibanja. V prvem primeru je teorija za svoj politični angažma najpogosteje plačala z lastno vulgarizacijo, v drugem z marginalizacijo, problem njenega sestopa iz slonokoščene stolpa znanosti pa je ostal nerazrešen.

Matteo COLOMBI

## Civilna družba in umetniški proizvajalci kot vzporedni polis? Nekaj premislekov o paradokskih disidentske kulture od 1968 do 1989 in onkraj (češkoslovaško-jugoslovanska primerjava)

V referatu prikažem dinamiko češkoslovaške disidentske kulture med letoma 1968 in 1989, pri tem pa upoštevam tudi njeno dediščino v današnji Češki republiki. Ta je v moji analizi obravnavana tudi v odnosu do (post)jugoslovanske in predvsem slovenske situacije.

V ospredju referata je koncept paralelnega polisa (*paralelní polis*), ki ga je razvil češki filozof Václav Benda in ki je v osemdesetih letih češkemu disidentskemu gibanju, zbranemu okrog skupine Charta 77 in Václava Havla, služil pri strukturiranju njegove politike. Ideja oblikovanja družbenih in kulturnih »paralelnih struktur, ki lahko [...] dopolnjujejo funkcije, ki manjkajo v obstoječih strukturah, [...] in [...] ki lahko te humanizirajo«, je zanimiva, ker:

1) obuja določene strategije, ki jih je češki umetniški *underground* razvijal že pred letom 1968, v sedemdesetih letih pa jih je vključeval tudi v svoje

programe (npr. v glasbeni skupini *The Plastic People of the Universe* ali v romanu Egon Bondyja *Invalidní sourozenci*): paralelni polis prenaša te strategije iz umetnosti v druge sfere kulture pa tudi v politiko in vsakdanje življenje;

2) se ponša s simptomatično dediščino po letu 1989, ki reflektira prehod od vrednot iz leta 1968 – med moderno utopijo globalne emancipacije in postmodernimi željami o lokalni različnosti – k vrednotam iz leta 1989, ki podpirajo lokalno različnost in obenem zagovarjajo globalni (neo) liberalizem: tako je v devetdesetih letih Benda postal izrazito konservativen desničarski politik, ki je sleherno levičarsko misel obsojal kot obliko totalitarizma (izvzel pa ni niti leve alternative, ki je češkemu disidentskemu gibanju pomagala vzpostavljati paralelne strukture).

Mererid Puw DAVIES

## O miših in Mau: Antiliterarna teorija in avantgardna praksa v Zahodni Nemčiji leta 1968

Protestna gibanja šestdesetih let so izjemen trenutek v zgodovini Zahodne Nemčije. Poleg politične kritike, ki so jo razvila, so izjemna predvsem zaradi svoje osredotočenosti na kulturo in nasploh na simbolno sfero. Branje in pisanje sta imela še posebej visok status med zahodnonemškimi protestniki, ki so izoblikovali nenavadno tekstualno kulturo, segajočo vse od grafitov in letakov do agitpropovske poezije in avtobiografske proze. Ta tekstualnost je pogosto duhovita, provokativna, refleksivna ali napadalna. Avantgardne korenine antiavtoritarizma niso v tej tekstualnosti nič manj očitne kakor njen dolg visoki literaturi; toda ta kultura je zaradi svojega (domnevnega) pretežno antiliterarnega tona večinoma ostala nedostopna za tradicionalno literarno vedo. V tem referatu bom predstavila značilen primer paradokсне (anti) literarne teorije te dobe, in sicer razpravo Hansa Magnusa Enzensberger-

ja. To razpravo bom obravnavala kot antiavtoritarno poetiko, ki se napaja s protislovji. Kaj bi takšna poetika utegnila pomeniti v praksi, pa bom pokazala s pomočjo primerov tedanje subkanonične tekstualne prakse, na katere so poznejše generacije pozabile, a postanejo vidni v luči (anti)literarne teorije iz leta 1968.

Marijan DOVIČ

## »Reizem« v slovenski neoavantgardni literaturi in umetnosti

Prvemu avantgardnemu valu v slovenski umetnosti med dvema svetovnjima vojnama je sredi šestdesetih let sledil izrazitejši in radikalnejši val, ki se je iztekel proti koncu sedemdesetih let in se je zanj ustalil izraz »neoavantgarda«. V njegovem jedru je bila umetniška skupina, povezana z OHO ter z revijama *Problemi* in *Tribuna*, ki sta objavljali njeno teoretsko in umetniško produkcijo; ta je bila predstavljena tudi v zbornikih (*OHO*, *Katalog*, *Pericarežeracirep*), na razstavah, performansih in v drugih kontekstih.

Mnogo bolj kot na tedaj skoraj pozabljeno dediščino slovenske zgodovinske avantgarde se je novo gibanje, ki je prvi vrhunec doživelo v povezavi s študentskimi protesti leta 1968, oprlo na sočasne evropske (neo)avantgardne zglede. Nanj so tvorno vplivale zelo različne spodbude, obenem pa so njegovi protagonisti proizvedli in tudi teoretsko utemeljili tudi dva v znatni meri izvirna koncepta, namreč *ludizem* (iz lat. *ludus* – igra) in *reizem* (iz lat. *res* – stvar), ki sta se ustalila kot

pomembni smerni in slogovni opredelitvi obdobja. *Reizem* je v desetletju 1965–1975 postal vidna slogovna usmeritev, celo eden osrednjih tokov slovenskega modernizma – in sicer ne le v pripovedni prozi, temveč tudi v (konkretni) poeziji in likovni umetnosti. Medtem ko so bila »reistična« likovna dela prve faze delovanja skupine OHO predvsem »artikli«, vsakdanji predmeti, potujeni v maniri poparta, ter dela, narejena z brezosebnimi, serijskimi postopki (npr. odlivanja), se je reizem izraziteje in trajneje uveljavil v literaturi.

V prispevku bom obravnaval tako teoretsko genezo (Kermauner, skupina OHO) kot prakso reizma v slovenski literaturi, njeno kompleksno razmerje do tujih spodbud in njen širši kontekst, npr. razmerje do tradicionalno »realističnih« umetnostnih praks. Podrobneje bodo obravnavana zlasti najbolj markantno reistična dela – pesništvo Iztoka Geistra in Francija Zagoričnika ter pripovedna proza Rudija Šeliga.

Aleš GABRIČ

## Pogled na angažiranje modernistov s političnega zornega kota

Prispevek bo poskušal primerjati idejno in politično angažiranje slovenskih literarnih modernistov in odziv oblasti na njihovo dejavnost ob koncu šestdesetih in ob koncu osemdesetih let 20. stoletja. Slovenija je bila v tem obdobju tisti del komunističnega sveta, v katerem so se polemike med različno mislečimi lahko odvijale javno, v revijah, ki so po mnenju oblasti občasno prestopile meje dovoljenega javnega polemiziranja. Na večjo odprtost medijskega prostora v primerjavi z drugimi deli vzhodnoevropskega komunističnega sveta so vplivala tudi mednacionalna nasprotja v Jugoslaviji, zaradi katerih se je slovenska politika izogibala še ostrejšim posegom v kulturno ustvarjalnost.

Za osemdeseta leta bo pri analizi dejavnosti tistih slovenskih intelektualcev, ki so se že leta 1968 zapletli v polemike z ideologijo vladajoče stranke, v ospredje postavljeno vprašanje, ali in v kolikšni meri so se pri kritikah sistema sklicevali na ideje iz leta 1968 in dogodke, ki so mu sledili. Ker so v

Sloveniji že nekaj let pred letom 1989, ki je pomenilo prelom za vzhodni del Evrope, potekale odprte polemike med intelektualci, ki so bili kritiki oblasti, in komunističnimi ideologi, lahko predvidevamo, da so zahteve presegle tiste iz leta 1968 in da se zato niso preveč sklicevali na njegovo dediščino. Za analizo bodo izbrani zglede tistih ustvarjalcev, ki niso bili angažirani zgolj na področju umetniškega ustvarjanja, temveč obenem tudi v politični sferi delovanja.

Jernej HABJAN

## Maj '68 in njegovi filozofi: Pariz, Peking, Ljubljana

**51** let po maju '68 lahko njegovo teoretsko dediščino razdelimo na tri intervale po 17 let. Leta 1985, 17 let po letu 1968, sta Luc Ferry in Alain Renaut objavila knjigo *La pensée 68* (Misel 68), v kateri sta kanonizirala podobo o francoskem strukturalizmu kot teoretski podlagi maja '68. 17 let zatem, leta 2002, je Kristin Ross v knjigi *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Maj '68 in njegovo posmrtno življenje) to podobo zamenjala z opozorilom, da so bili francoski strukturalisti do maja rezervirani, če že niso bili odsotni, in da sta bila najtesnejša teoretska zaveznika protestnikov in stavkujočih ravno glavni tarči strukturalističnih antihumanistov, tj. Sartre in Marcuse s svojima različicama humanističnega marksizma. Danes, 17 let po vplivni knjigi Kristin Ross, lahko naposled negiramo tako tezo iz leta

1985 kakor antitezo iz leta 2002 ter postavimo tole vprašanje: zakaj kljub Sartrovi in Marcusejevi masivni navzočnosti in enako masivni odsotnosti strukturalistov politika spomina na maj '68 že pol stoletja vsebuje kanonizacijo (post-)strukturalizma prav na račun humanizma? Zakaj, najsi iščemo v letu 1985, 2002 ali 2019, zlahka najdemo asociacijo maja z misleci, ki so razvijali kritiko humanizma celo tedaj, ko so sledili Marxu (kakor Althusser) ali Heideggro (kakor Derida)? Marx brez Sartra in Marcuseja, Heidegger brez Marcuseja in Sartra – to sta filozofa maja '68. Oziroma, rečeno pozitivno, Marx *avec* Mao, Heidegger *avec* Žižek.

Branislav JAKOVLJEVIĆ

## Lastništvo nad zlom: 1968, 1989 in nova desnica kot mainstreamovska usmeritev

**O**b dvajseti obletnici beograjskega junija je srbski konservativni mislec, umetnostni zgodovinar in slikar Dragoš Kalajić v reviji *Duga* objavil članek s tole pomenljivo enačbo v naslovu: »1968+20=0«. Namen članka je s tem očiten, nehote pa obenem nakazuje, da leto 1968 sodi v stohastičen model, ki odmeva vzdolž zgodovinske verige zdajev. Ko v referatu govorim o »beograjskem juniju«, mislim ne le na študentske demonstracije, krvave spopade s policijo in zasedbo univerzitetnih prostorov med 3. in 9. junijem, temveč tudi na celotno konstelacijo kulturnih in političnih dogodkov v Srbiji in Jugoslaviji, ki so pospremili to izrecno politično akcijo. Osredotočam se na kritična projekta, ki sta določila razpon politične dediščine »junija« v Srbiji. Konec šestdesetih let je Kalajić

začel pisati niz člankov in razprav, ki so kmalu začrtali nekakšen svetovni nazor po zgledu evropske nove desnice Juliusa Evole in Alaina De Benoista, ki je prav leta 1968 ustanovil desničarsko mislišče GRECE (Groupe de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne). Ta »svetovni nazor« zelo spominja na analizo srbske desnice, ki jo je leta 1969 razvil Radomir Konstantinović v prelomni knjigi *Filosofija palanke*. S tega gledišča se Kalajićev fašizem izkaže za vse kaj drugega kot idiosinkratičen pojav v političnem življenju Srbije in Jugoslavije. Konstantinović nam namreč pokaže, da leto 1968, če smo pozorni na desnico, ni bil nekakšen originarni dogodek, ampak zgolj eno od prešitij v politični sekvenci 20. stoletja.

Zdravko KOBE

## Maj '68 in njegove posledice za teorijo: Strukturalizem, maoizem, neoliberalizem

Dogodki maja '68 so bili za vodilne teoretske tokove tistega časa presenečenje. Strukturalizem se je na primer ponosno distanciral od političnega angažmaja, njegovi glavni predstavniki v dogodkih niso sodelovali, prej nasprotno, in če že iščemo teoretsko platformo maja '68, bi jo našli kvečjemu v situacionizmu in Lefebvrovi teoriji momentov, ki je poudarjala revolucionarni potencial prostega časa. Toda kar je bila praktična ovržba strukturalizma kot teoretske paradigme, to se je na podlagi nekega nesporazuma sprevrglo v institucionalni triumf njegovih nosilcev. Lacan – okoli katerega se je spletla legenda, da je v svojem jaguarju tihotapil Rdečega Danyja čez mejo – je zdaj lahko zatrdil, da je bil maj '68 sestop

struktur na ulice. S tem naknadnim pripetjem teorije na revolucionarno prakso, takšna je naša teza, se je začela nenavadna emancipacija kritične teorije od realnih pogojev, ki je nazadnje imela za posledico, da je tako imenovana teorija izgubila notranjo konsistentnost in postala ideologija modernega srednjega razreda, medtem ko so tradicionalni boji za pravice izkoriščanih ostali brez vsake teorije. Maoizem se je izkazal za razvojno stopnjo na poti od marksizma do neoliberalizma. Od tod današnja zmeda.

Alenka KORON

## »Dolgi Maj '68« v slovenskem proznem pripovedništvu in dramatik

V prispevku obravnavam slovenske literarne reprezentacije dogodkov, raznovrstnih izkušenj in vzdušja študentskega protestnega gibanja v »dolgem maju 1968«, specifični revoluciji v svetovnem sistemu. Skozi prizmo odnosov med centrom in periferijo (Francijo in Slovenijo) razlagam devet slovenskih besedil, štiri drame in pet romanov (nobeno med njimi ni prevedeno v angleščino), napisanih med samim gibanjem, kmalu po njem ali celo desetletja po njegovem zatonu. Prepričana sem, da jih je najbolje razumeti na sociokulturnem ozadju neuvrščene socialistične Jugoslavije, ki je bila v obdobju hladne vojne integralni del evropskega segmenta globalnih političnih procesov. Prispevek se osredotoča na literarno-umetniško

naravo teh besedil. Zanimali me bodo načini, kako so ta besedila ustvarjalno artikulirala študentsko gibanje in kako je to oblikovalo njih. Po premisleku o temah, morebitnih formalnih inovacijah in literarnozgodovinskih značilnostih izbranih besedil se bom vprašala, ali je izraz »reprezentacije« v primeru dolgega maja 1968 sploh primeren.

## Od marginalnega k zgllednemu

**P**roza v *kavbojkah* Aleksandra Flakerja (1975 je izšla v nemščini, 1976 pa v srbohrvaščini) je knjiga, ki iz literature »1968« Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope naredi model. Zgodnji premislek slovenskega leta »1989« sta 1991 prispevala Aleš Erjavec in Marina Gržinič (*Ljubljana, Ljubljana: Osemdeseta v slovenski umetnosti in kulturi*). Aleš Erjavec je pozneje spodbujal raziskovanje in razkritje modela v socialističnih deželah. Ta model je bil povzet predvsem iz vizualne kulture. Obelodanjen je bil v zbirki študij, ki jo je leta 2003 uredil Aleš Erjavec (*Postmodernism and the Postsocialist Condition*) in sam podaljšal leta 2008 (*Postmodernism, Postsocialism and Beyond*).

Oba modela bom postavil skupaj, da bi raziskal možne povezave med letoma 1968 in 1989. Proučil bom tri hipoteze:

1. da obstaja neposredni razvoj od etike ugodja, ki se je leta 1968 postavila po robu protestantski etiki,

in oblagovljenim poželenjem poselitvi iz socializma v nakupovalno središče v osemdesetih letih;

2. da podobna povezava obstaja med spopadom mlade generacije proti tradicionalnemu kanonu nacionalne književnosti, njegovemu estetskemu humanizmu in njegovim zastopnikom, in nastopom te iste generacije dvajset let pozneje v vlogi zastopnikov programa narodogradnje, z izdelavo prvega predloga ustave republike Slovenije vred;
3. da je slovenska književnost, kot trdi Flaker, za model »1968« izdelala robne primere, medtem ko v osemdesetih letih slovenska »alternativna kultura« predstavlja zglleden primer za regijo kot celoto.

## Heterogenost slovenske pesniške neoavantgarde

**V** prispevku bom analizirala segment sodobne slovenske poezije med letoma 1966 in 1973, ki se je kljub tujosti, subverzivnosti, izzivalnim lingvističnim in vizualnim eksperimentom trajno vpisala v kolektivni spomin: vzpostavila je zavedanje o jeziku kot znakovnem sistemu ter koncept jezikovne strukturiranosti zavesti in nezavednega. Osvetlila bom skrajno resno in hkrati duhovito raziskovanje, ki zajema vse ravnine pesniške pojavnosti, od črke (znaka) in besede do besedne zveze in stavka, konvencij linearne pisave, prostorskega videza pesmi, natisnjene in vezane knjige kot nosilca vednosti, razmerje med literarnimi in praktičnosporazumevalnimi besedili, med besedo in zunajjezikovno referenco, razširjene možnosti multimedialnosti (sodelovanja med pesniki in vizualnimi umetniki) ter performativnost (načine socializacije skozi dogodke), torej mnogovrstno preskušanja

nje mej pojmovanja literature in literarnosti ter mehčanja systemske meje med literaturo in življenjsko prakso.

Eden izmed razlogov za konec slovenskega študentskega gibanja (1968–1972) je bila notranja razcepljenost, saj so namesto globalne kritike prevladale ideološke polemike med različnimi skupinami. Zelo slikovito je ideološko raznolikost in njen vpliv na umetniško svobodo označil Aleksander Zorn v spremni besedi »Opojni časi brezmejne literature« v antologiji kratkih zgodb *Vidčevo sporočilo* (1991), kjer omenja čas »tropske anarhije ideologij in svetovnih nazorov«. To oznako pojasnjuje njegov seznam dotlej prepovedanih nazorov, kot so trockizem, maoizem, evropska nova levica, navdušenje nad Che Guevarom, zen budizem, hipijevstvo, svobodna ljubezen, yuppiesvstvo, teorija spontanega gibanja množic, zasnutki ekologije, zavzemanje za pravi socializem, množično obiskovanje božičnih polnočnic.

Med vidnimi akterji študentskega gibanja je bil Milan Jesih. Leta 1969, še pred vpisom na Filozofsko fakulteto, je postal član literarne skupine 442 (Matjaž Kocbek, Ivo Svetina, Andrej Brvar, Tomaž Kralj in Milan Jesih).

Skupina ni imela posebnega programa, njeni člani so razvijali lastne poetike. Leta 1972 je v elitni knjižni zbirki izšla Jesihova prva pesniška knjiga *Uran v urinu, gospodar!*. Tedanja kritika nad knjigo ni bila navdušena, v njej so namreč prepoznali ponavljanje ludističnih postopkov, ki jih je v slovensko poezijo vpeljal že Tomaž Šalamun z zbirko *Poker* (1966). Izraz ludizem (iz lat. ludus = igra; uvedel ga je Taras Kermauner) se je v slovenski literarni vedi uveljavil kot oznaka za avantgardistični nazor, da je literaturna svobodna, spontana, ustvarjalna igra z jezikom. V svojem prispevku se bom ukvarjala z genezo ludizma in njegovimi značilnostmi, pri čemer me bosta zanimala razvoj Jesihove poetike in vprašanje, kam umestiti (slovenske) nove avantgarde, v modernizem ali postmodernizem.

## »Spremembe da, cirkus ne!« Vloga študentskega gibanja v družbenih procesih Slovenije in Jugoslavije

Študentskega gibanja v slovenskih in jugoslovanskih razmerah ni mogoče označiti za »čisto« opozicijsko gibanje. Kljub temu je imelo velike politične posledice že v času, ko je nastalo, iz njega pa je pozneje zrasla vodilna politična elita osemdesetih in devetdesetih let 20. stoletja. Zahteve jugoslovanskih študentov so bile zelo heterogene, ponekod tudi nacionalno obarvane. V bistvu se študenti niso obrnili proti oblasti, pač pa so se identificirali s programskimi cilji Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije, medtem ko je v njihovih zahtevah prevladovala egalitaristična nota. Demonstracije so pri jugoslovanskem vodstvu sprožile užaljeno samoljubje, saj je predstava o Jugoslaviji kot stabilni državi sredi nemirnega sveta začela izginjati, močan pa je bil tudi strah pred izgubo oblasti, podkrepiljen z možnostjo intervencije Sovjetske zveze. Tudi sicer so bile kasnejše ocene študentskega gibanja zelo različne in tudi nasprotujoče. Tako naj bi bilo študentsko gibanje v pomoč »zdravim silam« v obračunu z »liberalnimi odkloni«, to je »liberalno«

usmerjenim predsednikom slovenske vlade Stanetom Kavčičem. Pogoste so ocene, da je »je šlo za očiten poskus sprememb smeri družbenega razvoja, ki je bil trasiran z ekonomsko in družbeno reformo leta 1965«, da so torej študenti z zahtevami po egalitarnosti spodbujali gospodarske reforme. Eden od kritikov je celo zapisal, da je bilo študentsko gibanje »uvod v kulturno revolucijo sedemdesetih let.« V sedemdesetih letih se je študentsko gibanje razcepilo na razne struje, študentska organizacija pa se je institucionalno preobrazila. Študentsko gibanje v Sloveniji in Jugoslaviji se je od podobnih gibanj po Evropi razlikovalo predvsem v tem, da so študenti tako v Zahodni kot Vzhodni Evropi zavračali sistem in njegove institucije, v Jugoslaviji pa so se opredeljevali za avtentične vrednote socialističnega samoupravljanja, podpirali so politično vodstvo in nasprotovali reformam, ki bi z liberalizacijo gospodarstva povečale socialne razlike.

Charles SABATOS

## Češkoslovaška »normalizacija« v pripovedništvu nagrajencev vilenice

Obdobje med praško pomladjo in zasedbo Češkoslovaške iz leta 1968 ter žametno revolucijo iz leta 1989 je na Češkoslovaškem (kjer je bilo znano pod evfemizmom »normalizacija«) sicer zaznamovala represija, a je med drugim prineslo večje zanimanje za češko literaturo kakor katero koli obdobje prej ali potem. Čeprav gre mednarodni preboj češke književnosti pripisati eni sami knjigi, namreč v eksilu objavljenemu romanu Milana Kundere *Neznosna lahkost bivanja* (1984), je »normalizacija« povzročila vzpon disidentskega gibanja, ki je sodelovalo pri odpravi hladnovojne delitve Evrope. Kunderi so slavo v osemdesetih letih zagotovili ne le romani, pač pa tudi eseji, v katerih je kritiziral hladnovojno Evropo tako z Vzhoda kakor z Zahoda in oživiljal pojem Srednje Evrope. Kundera je bil eden od treh čeških dobitnikov slovenske literarne nagrade vilenica v prvih osmih letih njenega obstoja; ostala lavreata sta bila pesnik Jan Skácel in češko-nemška avtorica Li-buše Moníková. Leta 1997 je vilenico

prejel Pavel Vilikovský, edini slovaški lavreat doslej, odtlej pa češki in slovaški pisci niso prejeli te nagrade vse do leta 2015, ko jo je prejel Jáchym Topol (če ne upoštevamo Erice Pedretti in Ilme Rakusa, ki sta bili rojeni na Češkoslovaškem, a sta večino časa preživeli v tujini). V tem referatu bodo omenjeni češki in slovaški pisci (Kundera, Moníková, Vilikovský in Topol) obravnavani kot romanopisci in kritiki zadnjega obdobja socializma, ki so reflektirali zgodovinsko izkustvo neke regije majhnih narodov, obdane s svetovnimi velesilami.

Miško ŠUVAKOVIĆ

## Med pismenostjo in transgresijo: Slovenske alternativne umetniške prakse OHO-ja in NSK-ja

Namen tega referata je pokazati na pomembne strateške in taktične estetske in politične razlike med kontekstom delovanja neoavantgardne skupine OHO iz šestdesetih let na eni strani in retroavantgardnega gibanja Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK) iz osemdesetih let na drugi strani. Skupina OHO je nastala na vrhuncu modernističnih umetniških in kulturnih praks, značilnih za samoupravni socializem in politiko neuvrščenosti. Prevladujoča umetnost je bila socialistični modernizem (ljubljska grafična šola, slikarski temni modernizem, informel). V nasprotju z umetniškim mainstreamom je neoavantgarda delovala kritično in subverzivno. Skupina OHO je v prostoru med pesniškim reizmom, gibanjem arte povera, procesualno umetnostjo in konceptualno umetnostjo razvijala taktike pismenosti, procesualnosti, avtorefleksivnosti ter sinteze umetnosti in življenja. Teoretsko je delo ohojevcev zaznamovala zavrnitev heideggrovskega ek-sistencializma v imenu Marcusejeve »nove senzibilnosti«, antipsihiatrije,

strukturalizma in poststrukturalizma pa tudi tedaj novega new agea. Gibanje NSK je nastalo na nekakšnem začetku konca socialističnega državnega projekta ob vzniku vzhodnoevropske kapitalistične tranzicije. Gibanje je izhajalo iz različnih retrogibanj postmodernizma, sovjetskega socarta, pankaa in industrijskega roka. Simbolno uničenje modernistične politike je gibanju služilo kot vir intervencij na področju glasbe (Laibach), slikarstva (Irwin), gledališča (Dragan Živadinov) in retrofilozofije (Peter Mlakar). Njihov namen je bil radikalizirati transgresivne umetniške prakse s pomočjo soočanja s simptomi totalitarnih režimov, liberalnih kriz in fascinacij z mikro- in makroidentitetnimi praksami (vse od slovenske nacionalne identitete do globalnega koncepta države v času). Teoretsko se je skupina ravnala po t. i. vzhodnoevropskih postsovjetskih diskurzih pa tudi po ljubljanski šoli teoretske psihoanalize.

Gáspár Miklós TAMÁS

## »Buržoazno« in »meščansko«: Pomen tistega, proti čemur se je obrnilo leto 1968

Prihodnje generacije bodo najbrž pozabile, kolikšno moč so imele buržoazne konvencije in konformizem v obdobju med obema vojnama. Po padcu weimarske republike, porazu avstrijskega socializma (1934), porazu v Španiji, moskovskih procesih – ter v letih ljudske fronte in odporniškega gibanja – je levica vse od Vladivostoka do New Yorka (pomislimo na stari slogan KP ZDA »Komunizem je pravi amerikanizem!«) zavzela konservativno in domoljubno stališče ter zavrnila pravico do splava, progresivno pedagogiko, avantgardo, homoseksualnost in internacionalizem (»kozmpolitizem«) pa tudi absentizem, svobodno ljubezen in kritičnega duha. Pihalni orkestri in vojaške parade ter nasploh servilni kult vodij so zamenjali Schönberga in Brechta, medtem ko so razgrajško tovarštvo, ljudski kič in narodne noše poskušale zakriti sivi proletarski vsakdan. Tako se je moral uporni duh nove levice leta 1968 upreti starim socialdemokratskim in komunističnim strankam ter fordističnim sindikatom pa Volkswagnu, Topolinu, Renaultu DS 16 in drugim simbolom socialne države. Drugi val poburžoazenja

delavskega gibanja ter vse bolj nacionalističnih in tradicionalističnih »socialističnih dežel« vzhodnega bloka je sprožil moralni upor tako zoper različice državnega kapitalizma, socialne države oziroma potrošništva kakor zoper spolno, moralno oziroma intelektualno represijo, militarizem in avtoritarizem.

Razumljivo je, da sta mlade navdihovala kritična teorija frankfurtske šole in »eksistencialistični« marksizem revije *Les Temps Modernes*: to sta bili najočitnejši nekonformistični težnji, saj sta bili zavestno modernistični in antiavtoritarni ter ne le antikapitalistični v tradicionalnem »komunističnem« partijskem smislu, pač pa tudi antiburžoazni v *romantičnem* smislu; tako je moja generacija (leta 1968 sem bil star dvajset let) ponovno odkrila *l'amour-passion* in *amour fou* v pomenu, znanem iz tedanjih filmov, glasbe in komun.

Erotična revolucija, uperjena proti zasebni lastnini, družini in državi (Engels) je naposled uničila buržoazno družbo – kapitalizem pa še vedno cveti.

Andrej TOMAŽIN

## Kriza revije *Problemi* v letu 1968

Prispevek raziskuje pogoje in načine formalne razrešitve krize uredništva revije *Problemi* v začetku leta 1968. Prihod novih sodelavcev v širše uredništvo revije *Problemi* zaradi ukinitve *Perspektiv* in sprememb v uredništvu *Sodobnosti* je sredi šestdesetih let že nakazoval vzporedno delovanje različnih kulturniških struj in teoretskih usmeritev. Prispevek analizira posodobljen mehanizem cenzure, ki je sledil ukinitvam različnih literarnih in splošnih kulturniških revij (*Beseda*, *Revija 57* in *Perspektive*) s strani CK ZKS in njegovih podrejenih organov. Novo odkrito arhivsko gradivo razkrija vpliv tedanjih političnih struktur, obenem pa nakazuje polemike v reviji sami. S tem da se je koncept splošne kulturne revije formalno fragmentiral na posamezne izdaje, razdeljene po strokah (filozofija, literatura, sociologija, literarna kritika), je prišlo do inovativne razpršitve odgovornosti in s tem za nekaj časa tudi do zmanjšane možnosti moči vplivanja na politične procese. Deloma je temu konec šestdesetih let botrovala tudi sprememba vloge intelektualca v Sloveniji (in Jugoslaviji), ki deloma ustreza Foucaultovemu razlikovanju med univer-

zalnim in specifičnim intelektualcem, navezuje pa se tudi na Gramscijevo opozicijo med tradicionalnim in organskim intelektualcem.

Gašper TROHA

## Od gledaliških eksperimentov v nacionalne institucije: Lado Kralj in Dušan Jovanović na slovenskem gledališkem prizorišču od šestdesetih do osemdesetih let

Lado Kralj in Dušan Jovanović sta bila konec šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja bržkone najpomembnejša akterja drugega avantgardnega vala v gledališču. Kralj kot soustanovitelj in prvi umetniški vodja Eksperimentalnega gledališča Glej (1970), pozneje ustanovitelj in vodja Pekarne (1971), Dušan Jovanović kot osrednji akter Gledališča Pupilije Ferkeverk in soustanovitelj EG Glej. Oba sta tudi intenzivno reflektirala svojo umetniško ustvarjalnost in v osemdesetih letih stopila v institucionalna gledališča. Lado Kralj kot umetniški vodja SNG Drame Ljubljana (1982–1987), Dušan Jovanović kot umetniški vodja Slovenskega mladinskega gledališča (1978–1985).

V svojem delu sta trčila ob meje gledališkega eksperimenta in se pozneje od njega odvrnila. Jovanović to prikaže v svoji drami *Igrajte tumor v glavi in onesnaženje zraka*, Kralj pa je po spoznanju, da se je Pekarna sprevrgla v nekakšno avtoterapevtsko skupino, to skupino z Ivom Svetino leta 1978 ukinil. Po tej izkušnji sta v osem-

desetih letih odločilno spremenila delovanje institucionalnih gledališč, ki sta jih vodila. Kralj je po besedah Tomaža Toporišiča v Drami »izpeljal poskus prave estetske revolucije in doživel precej hude politične pritiske«. Dušan Jovanović je v Slovenskem mladinskem gledališču v estetskem smislu ustvaril najvznemirljivejše gledališče v tedanji Jugoslaviji. Postavlja se torej vprašanje, kakšen je bil pogled obeh ustvarjalcev na umetnost in gledališče, kot se kaže v njunem delovanju, refleksiji in dramskih tekstih. Kako sta se gledališka revolucionarja spreminjala od nemirnih šestdesetih do prevratnih osemdesetih let, ko se je zdelo, da je prav umetnost pripomogla k razjedanju in propadu socializma?

Osvetlitev teh vprašanj nam bo pomagala osvetliti razvoj revolucionarnega duha generacije 1968, ki je ključne družbene pozicije zavzela prav v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja.

Kaitlyn TUCKER SORENSON

## Radikalna igra: Ljubljanska alternativa v letu 1968

3. junija 1968 opoldne se je podpredsednik Izvršnega sveta Skupščine Socialistične republike Slovenije dr. France Hočevar srečal s predstavniki študentk in študentov Univerze v Ljubljani. Nekaj ur poprej so se študenti znašli v nenavadnem položaju. Potem ko so že ves teden mirno protestirali, so to jutro izvedeli, da so se študenti Univerze v Beogradu spopadli s policijo. Novica je bila vse prej kot dobra: govorilo se je o smrtnih žrtvah, ranjenih, požigih. Ozračje v Ljubljani je nenadoma postalo veliko bolj napeto, sestanek z dr. Hočevarjem pa je bil napovedan za opoldne. Ta je študente pozdravil s tole izjavo: »Spremembe da, cirkus ne!« V tem referatu bom analizirala, kako je ta uradna izjava služila kot kodifikacija določene estetske prakse, ki se je v Ljubljani razvijala že sredi šestdesetih let in je bila bistvenega pomena za oblikovanje alternativ(e). Podala bom zgodovinski oris prispevkov v *Tribuni* in *Problemih*, ki kažejo, kako sta bili, kot je ocenil Rastko Močnik, »neresnost« in celo igrivost

elegantno kombinirani s političnim radikalizmom. V sklepu bom pokazala, kako je ta radikalna igrivost oziroma igrivi radikalizem vplival na teoretsko prakso v Ljubljani in postal dolgotrajna poteza slovenskega intelektualnega aktivizma.

## »Pri vsaki besedi, ki jo napišem, gre za samomor«: Etična, aktivistična in miselna strogost Jureta Detele

Prispevek skuša na osnovi esejev in še neobjavljenih zapisov iz zapuščine Jureta Detele umestiti Detelo v kontekst modernega anarhizma. Detela je svoja politična načela navezal na anarhistične impulze nove levice s konca šestdesetih let 20. stoletja in zagovarjal anarhistične principe, ki so bili prevladujoče pacifistični. Njegov družbeni angažma zajema čas od študentskega gibanja do razbitja Jugoslavije, »ko je bilo videti, da so se na najbolj grozljiv način sesuli vsi tisti ideali nenasilja, ki jim je posvetil življenje« (Miklavž Komelj). Njegova politična pozicija ni pomenila napada na temelje socialistične družbe, kot je bilo v kontekstu slovenskega socializma večkrat zmotno interpretirano, vendar pa Detela v socializmu ni prepoznal označevalca mobilizacije onstran vladajočih struktur. V temeljni zavrnitvi dominacije in hierarhije v *vseh* odnosih je opredelil tudi problem človekove dominacije nad živalmi. Vendar pa je v teh prizadevanjih ostal osamljen in nerazumljen, saj nova levica tedaj vprašanja živali, ki je pred-

stavljalo integralni del in nepogrešljiv aspekt emancipacijskega projekta, ki ga je zagovarjal, ni jemala resno. Na anarhistični emancipacijski etiki so zasnovana tudi Detelova pesniška načela, v katera je vpisal konceptualno izročilo neoavantgarde šestdesetih let. Temeljno vprašanje, ki si ga je zastavil, je bilo, kako lahko pesem dojemamo v smislu reprezentiranja življenja. Z etično, aktivistično in miselno strogostjo je kritično reflektiral lastne pesniške postopke ter kontinuirano vrednotil transformativni potencial svojih pesmi, da bi »proces imenovanja registriral stvari in bitja z zavestjo o celovitosti, samobitnosti njihovega bivanja« (Detela), pri tem pa ga je usmerjalo kritično razumevanje jezika in njegovih reprezentacijskih moči. Pisanje in branje poezije zanj ni bila zgolj potrditev avtoreferencialnih struktur, ampak sredstvo transformacije, ki omogoča »soočenje s socialno odgovornostjo« (Detela).



# Conference Programme

## Thursday, 7 November

08.30–09.30	Registration
09.30–10.00	Conference opening
	Oto LUTHAR, the director of ZRC SAZU
	Marko JUVAN. <b>May '68 in literature and theory: The last season of modernism (introduction)</b>
10.00–11.00	Gáspár MIKLÓS TAMÁS. <b>“Bourgeois” and “bürgerlich”: The meaning of what 1968 has turned against</b>
	Jernej HABJAN. <b>May '68 and its philosophers: Paris, Beijing, Ljubljana</b>
	Discussion
11.00–12.00	Coffee break and the opening of the exhibition
12.00–13.30	Lev KREFT. <b>From the marginal to the exemplary</b>
	Miško ŠUVAKOVIĆ. <b>Between literacy and transgression: Slovenian alternative artistic practices of OHO and NSK</b>
	Gašper TROHA. <b>From theatre experiment to national institutions: Lado Kralj and Dušan Jovanović on Slovenian theatre scene from the 1960s to the 1980s</b>
	Discussion
13.30–15.00	Lunch
15.00–16.30	Emiliano ALESSANDRONI. <b>Literature, dialectics, and transformation in Franco Fortini</b>
	Mererid Puw DAVIES. <b>Of mice and Mao: Anti-literary theory and avantgarde practice in West Germany, 1968</b>
	Charles SABATOS. <b>Czechoslovak “normalisation” in the fiction of Vilenica laureates</b>
	Discussion
16.30–16.45	Coffee break
16.45–18.15	Irena NOVAK POPOV. <b>The heterogeneity of Slovenian neo-avant-garde poetry</b>
	Kaitlyn TUCKER SORENSON. <b>Radical play: Ljubljana’s alternative in 1968</b>
	Marijan DOVIĆ. <b>“Reism” in Slovenian neo-avant-garde literature and art</b>
	Discussion
20.00–23.00	Conference dinner

## Friday, 8 November

09.00–10.30	Lev CENTRIH. <b>Two theoretical and ideological currents in the contemporary Slovenian history</b>
	Aleš GABRIČ. <b>The engagement of modernists from a political point of view</b>
	Božo REPE. <b>“Yes to change, no to circus!”: The role of the student movement in the social processes of Slovenia and Yugoslavia</b>
	Discussion
10.30–11.00	Coffee break
11.00–12.30	Darja PAVLIČ. <b>Ludism as an aesthetic and conceptual phenomenon</b>
	Varja BALŽALORSKY ANTIČ. <b>May '68 and the emergence of écriture féminine</b>
	Andrej TOMAŽIN. <b>The crisis of the Problemi periodical in 1968</b>
	Discussion
12.30–14.30	Lunch
14.30–15.30	Branislava VIČAR. <b>“Every word I write is about suicide”: Ethical, activist, and intellectual rigour in Jure Detela</b>
	Alenka KORON. <b>“The Long May '68” in Slovenian prose fiction and drama</b>
	Discussion
15.30–16.00	Coffee break
16.00–17.30	Branislav JAKOVLJEVIĆ. <b>The ownership of evil: 1968, 1989, and the mainstreaming of the New Right</b>
	Zdravko KOBE. <b>May '68 and its consequences for theory: Structuralism, Maoism, neoliberalism</b>
	Matteo COLOMBI. <b>Civil society and art producers as parallel polis? Some reflections on the paradoxes of dissident culture from 1968 to 1989 and beyond (a Czechoslovak-Yugoslav comparison)</b>
	Discussion
17.00	Conference closing

## Introduction

The Conference will intervene in the study of the global student and labour movement that erupted in May 1968 by systematically analysing two largely neglected but key aspects: the dimensions of the literary and the semi-peripheral. It will seek to analyse how critical theory and late modernist, neo-avant-garde literature were related to these protests, which, opposing institutional politics of the late sixties and early seventies, struggled for the socio-economic transformation of both the capitalist world-system and its second-world socialist alternative. The Conference will compare developments in Paris, the core of the modern literary world-system and the global exporter of theory, and other capitalist metropolises and those in the socialist Ljubljana and other cities of literary semi-periphery that, nevertheless, kept up with France by producing a theory that came to be recognised worldwide (the Ljubljana School of Lacanian Psychoanalysis) and a literary and artistic neo-avant-garde that, together with other contributions from the global (semi)periphery, revitalised the immunised modernism of the Western core (e.g., the ludism and conceptualism of the OHO group). As the last phase of modernism faded together with the student and labour movement, this was followed in the core of the world-system by postmodernism in aesthetics and neo-conservatism in politics. And in Slovenia and other Yugoslav republics, the last season of modernism was followed by the socioeconomic and cultural crisis of the self-management experiment, the bloody disintegration of the federation, and the emergence of independent successor states. The speakers at the Conference will address the question of how the conjuncture of 1968, whose struggle to transform the world seemed to have failed, led to that of 1989, which transformed the world by announcing the end of the utopia that had inspired 1968.

(Marko Juvan and Jernej Habjan)



1975g — spjalak marka  
1975g — spjalak marka

**A**

1975g — spjalak marka

Emiliano ALESSANDRONI

## Literature, Dialectics, and Transformation in Franco Fortini

Franco Fortini's idea of literature and its transforming potential is closely connected to his concept of reality. In his opinion, reality constitutes neither a Foucauldian Panopticon, nor a theatre of zero-sum clashes, but a field of struggling forces and a constant change of balance: a scenario, therefore, that gradually rises from the course of conflicts showing development and producing a result. A particular artistic ability will then make the writer capable of depicting the entirety of such a conflictual scenario, together with the diversity of the conflicting forces that compose it and the results that flow from it. Hence his criticism of the neo-avant-garde of the '63 Group which, as it intended to constitute a negative, an antithetical force, turns its back on the antitheses of the real world and ends up giving rise to a merely intellectual opposition. Hence also his criticism of Kafka's literary

production that gives us an idea of an ideologically deformed reality, too. A reality like a gelatinous mixture full of "floating meanings where everything is converted into everything"; an extremely "enigmatic" universe whose "symbolic equivalences," referring to each other to infinity, constitute "the vanishing point of every perspective." All this, Fortini concludes, really means "writing on water." This dialectical idea of reality that guides Fortini's aesthetic judgments also emerges in political affairs, particularly in 1991, when he intervened in the controversy that had broken out between Norberto Bobbio and Domenico Losurdo about the first Gulf War in the *Liberazione*.

## May '68 and the Emergence of *Écriture féminine*

France's May '68 events were – as for the gender of their key protagonists – a rather men's affair: women did not have access to public speech and leading positions. However, the new conception of politics produced by the protests allowed women issues to be raised in a new and subversive way. The *Mouvement de libération des femmes* can be understood as a direct continuation of the May '68 events, which extended the political domain to everyday life and privacy. Within the framework of the new avant-gardes that played an important role in the '68 events (see Combes, Gobille), *écriture féminine* emerged having found a firm theoretical and poetical foundation in the works of poststructuralist feminists (Cixous, Kristeva, Irigaray, etc.). Several women writers took advantage of the social and historical conjuncture and turned the stigmatisation of the gender identity into an emblem of aesthetic innovation, thus achieving more symbolic power within the literary system. In

Slovenia, the second wave feminist movement emerged in the mid-1980s with a twenty-year delay in comparison to France. Slovenian literary history has not yet sufficiently studied the “second wave” struggle for women's emancipation in literature. In the late 1960s, a few women poets who did not belong to the generation of the student protest began slowly to pave the way for it, without, however, winning a more powerful symbolic position in the literary field. In this paper, I present the case of Saša Vegri, who in the second half of the 1960s began to address issues that can be qualified as feminist (poem collections *I Have My Breakfast in a Settled Lap* and *Ophelia and the Triple Axel*), while *Constellations* published in 1980 represents the late pinnacle of the poetic new avant-garde in which the principles of *écriture féminine* as conceptualised by French theoreticians can be identified.

## Two Theoretical and Ideological Currents in Contemporary Slovenian History

The contribution compares two theoretical – ideological currents in Slovenia in two different historical periods. Both have led to social ruptures, but with different effects and unequal implications for social groups and classes. The first current dates back to the 1930s when, despite the generally modest and strongly simplified theoretical – ideological conceptions, the Communist movement finally succeeded in the unification of the progressive left-wing groups into a national liberation and revolutionary project. Contrary to the first, the second current of the 1980s – despite its significantly more developed and more sophisticated social theories and colourful debates – led to civil society. In the end, what this civil society provided, despite its great initial optimism, was the autonomy of critical left-wing intellectuals, but not the emancipation of working people and marginalised social groups. The great ambition of the first current was no less than the abolition of capitalism,

while the second current ultimately became satisfied with the “normalisation” of the Slovenian society in line with the ideals of the Western world. It seems that, while the first current failed disastrously, the goals for the second were too modest even to be able to fail. Marx, Engels, and Lenin believed in the nexus between critical social theory and the masses. While a century ago this nexus was located in political parties, it got relocated, from the 1960s onwards, to less disciplined social movements. In the first case, the theory most often paid for its political engagement with its own vulgarisation, in the second with marginalisation, and the problem of its descent from the Ivory Tower of Science has remained unresolved.

Matteo COLOMBI

## Civil Society and Art Producers as Parallel Polis? Some Reflections on the Paradoxes of Dissident Culture from 1968 to 1989 and Beyond (a Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Comparison)

**M**y paper aims to illustrate the dynamic of Czechoslovak dissident culture from 1968 to 1989, also considering its afterlife in the Czech Republic until today. The analysis shall include a brief comparison with the (post-)Yugoslav and – specifically – the Slovenian situation.

The contribution focuses on the concept of the parallel polis (*paralelní polis*) by the Czech philosopher Václav Benda, on which the Czech dissident movement around Charta 77 and Václav Havel sought to structure its political agenda in the 1980s. The idea of establishing social and cultural “parallel structures that are capable [...] of supplementing functions that are missing in the existing structures [...] and [...] to humanise them” is interesting for the following reasons: 1) it recalls some strategies the Czech artistic *underground* had already begun to develop before 1968 and programmatically pursued in the 1970s (in the field of music with groups like *The Plastic People of the Universe* and

in literature with a novel like *Inval-idní sourozenci – The Invalid Siblings*, 1974 – by Egon Bondy): indeed, *paralelní polis* aims to extend these strategies from art to other sectors of culture as well as to politics and daily life;

2) it has a symptomatic afterlife after 1989, reflecting the shift from the values of 1968 – at the threshold between a modern utopia of global emancipation and a postmodern desire for local diversities – to the values of 1989, with their support of local diversities on the one hand and the belief in global (neo)liberalism on the other: in fact, it is peculiar that, during the 1990s, Václav Benda turned into a very conservative right-wing politician condemning all leftist thinking as a form of totalitarianism (including the positions of the alternative left which was also part of Czech dissent and contributed to building its parallel structures).

Mererid Puw DAVIES

## Of Mice and Mao: Anti-Literary Theory and Avantgarde Practice in West Germany, 1968

**T**he 1960s protest movements marked an astonishing moment for West Germany. They developed, of course, a political critique; but they are distinctive, above all, for their overwhelming emphasis on culture and the symbolic. In particular, reading and writing had a uniquely prestigious status for West German protesters, who produced an extraordinary textual culture ranging from graffiti and flyers to agit-prop poetry and autobiographical prose. This textuality is by turns witty, provocative, reflective, and offensive. The avant-garde roots of anti-authoritarianism are as palpable within it as a debt to high literature; but due to this culture’s (apparently) often anti-literary tone, it has often remained illegible to traditional criticism. My paper presents an emblematic example of the era’s paradoxical (anti-)literary theory, an essay by Hans Magnus Enzensberger. I will outline ways in which Enzensberger’s essay can be seen as an anti-authoritarian poetics which

delights in contradiction. I then go on to suggest what such poetics might have meant in practice, by exploring some examples of the era’s sub-canonical textual practice which have been lost to posterity, but become visible in light of the (anti-)literary theory of 1968.

Marijan DOVIĆ

## “Reism” in Slovenian Neo-Avant-Garde Literature and Art

The first avant-garde wave in the Slovenian art of the 1920s was followed in the mid-1960s by a more radical wave, usually labelled “neo-avant-garde.” At its core was the conceptualist OHO project; the theoretical and artistic production of the radical group was published in the periodicals *Problemi* and *Tribuna* and presented in experimental collective volumes (*OHO*, *Katalog*, *Pericarežera-cirep*), at exhibitions, happenings, performances, and in other contexts. The new movement did not rely on the heritage of the Slovenian historical avant-garde very much; instead, it drew upon the concurrent European and North American (neo) avant-gardes. At the same time, its protagonists proposed two innovative critical concepts, namely *ludism* (“ludizem,” from lat. *ludus* – “play”) and *reism* (“reizem,” from lat. *res* – “thing”), which later became indispensable for the analysis of the period. In the decade of 1965–75, the term “reism” was used

to denote a prominent literary current of Slovenian modernist literature. It referred to specific stylistic complex in narrative prose, (concrete) poetry, and visual arts. While it is OHO artefacts such as everyday items displaced from their habitual contexts in the manner of ready-made and serialist products made by casting that may be termed “reistic,” reism in modernist and neo-avant-garde literature took different forms.

In this paper, I discuss both the theoretical genesis (Kermauner, the OHO group) and the artistic practice of Slovenian reism. I outline its affiliation to foreign sources, its specific sense of the “real,” discussing its broader context, especially the relation to traditional “realism.” Particular focus is placed on the exemplary reistic prose of Rudi Šeligo and poetry of Tomaž Šalamun and Iztok Geister.

Aleš GABRIČ

## The Engagement of Modernists from a Political Point of View

In the contribution, the author will compare the ideological and political engagement of Slovenian literary modernists and the responses of the authorities to their activities towards the end of the 1960s and the 1980s. In this period, Slovenia was the part of the communist world where debates between those who held different opinions could be held in public – in a variety of periodicals that, according to the opinion of the authorities, would occasionally cross the line of what was allowed to discuss publicly. The relative openness of the media environment in comparison with other parts of the Eastern European communist world also stemmed from the oppositions between the Yugoslav nations, which caused Slovenian politics to avoid any even more radical interventions into cultural creativity. With regard to the 1980s, the analysis of the engagement of those Slovenian intellectuals who had been involved in debates with the ruling Party’s ide-

ology as early as in 1968 will focus on the question whether these critiques of the system referred to the ideas expressed in 1968 and the consequent events at all, and, if yes, to what degree. As open discussions between the intellectuals (who criticised the authorities) and the communist ideologues had already started several years before 1989, which represented a turning point for the Eastern part of Europe, we can assume that the 1989 demands transcended those of 1968 and that the legacy of the earlier period would not have been referred to very often. The analysis will take into account the example of the artists who did not merely focus on their art, but were simultaneously involved in the political sphere as well.

Jernej HABJAN

## May '68 and Its Philosophers: Paris, Beijing, Ljubljana

Fifty-one years after May '68, its theoretical legacy can be broken down into three intervals of seventeen years. In 1985, seventeen years after 1968, Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut published a book, *La pensée 68*, in which they canonised French structuralism as the theoretical underpinning of May. Seventeen years later, in 2002, Kristin Ross's book *May '68 and Its Afterlives* replaced this image with the notion that French structuralists were highly reserved, if not absent, during May and that, moreover, the closest theoretical allies of the protesters and strikers were in fact the main targets of structuralist anti-humanists, namely Sartre and Marcuse with their own schools of humanist Marxism. Today, seventeen years after Ross's seminal book, it may be time to negate both the thesis from 1985 and Ross's antithesis from 2002, and ask the following question: Why, despite the

massive presence of Sartre and Marcuse, and the equally massive absence of structuralists, has the memory politics of May '68 during the past half-century included the canonisation of (post-)structuralism at the expense of precisely humanism? Why, in 1985, 2002, and 2019 alike, do we find May closely associated with thinkers who were occupied with the critique of humanism even as they followed Marx, like Althusser, or Heidegger, like Derrida? A Marx without Sartre or Marcuse, a Heidegger without Marcuse or Sartre – these seem to be the philosophers of May '68. Or, in positive terms, Marx *avec* Mao, Heidegger *avec* Žižek.

Branislav JAKOVLJEVIĆ

## The Ownership of Evil: 1968, 1989, and the Mainstreaming of the New Right

On the twentieth anniversary of Belgrade June, Serbian conservative thinker, art historian, and painter Dragoš Kalajić published an article in the biweekly *Duga* entitled with a telling equation: “1968+20=0.” While intentions of this article are obvious, its unintended suggestion is that 1968 belongs to a stochastic model that reverberates down the historical chain of presents. In this paper, by “Belgrade June” I am not referring only to student demonstrations, bloody skirmishes with police, and the occupation of university buildings that lasted from 3–9 June, but to a whole constellation of cultural and political events in Serbia and Yugoslavia that took place in proximity to this overt political action. More specifically, I am focusing on two critical projects that came to define the range of political legacy of “June” in Serbia. In the late 1960s,

Kalajić started publishing articles and essays that would quickly coalesce into a “worldview” profoundly informed by the European New Right of Julius Evola and Alain De Benoist, who founded the right-wing think-tank GRECE (Research and Study Group for European Civilization) precisely in 1968. This “worldview” strikingly corresponds to the analysis of Serbian right that Radomir Konstantinović offered in his landmark book *The Philosophy of Parochialism*, published in 1969. Seen in this light, Kalajić's fascism comes across as far from being an idiosyncratic occurrence in the political life of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Instead, Konstantinović helps us understand that, if we focus on the right, 1968 was not an originary event, but only one of nodal points in a political sequence that spans the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Zdravko KOBE

## May '68 and Its Consequences for Theory: Structuralism, Maoism, Neoliberalism

The events of May '68 took the representatives of major theoretical currents by surprise. Structuralism, for instance, proudly declared itself free from engagement and apolitical, and if we were to look for a theoretical platform of May '68, we would rather find it in situationism or Lefebvre's theory of moments, which emphasised the revolutionary potential of leisure. But what had been the practical refutation of structuralism as a theoretical paradigm turned into the institutional triumph of its protagonists. Lacan – legend would even have him smuggling Danny the Red across the border in his Jaguar – could now pretend that May '68 was the descent of structures onto the streets. With this move, full of misunderstanding,

to adapt theory to revolutionary practice, a strange emancipation of critical theory from the real conditions of emancipatory struggles was introduced, which finally led to the theory becoming the ideology of the modern middle class, while the traditional struggle for the rights of the exploited were left devoid of any appropriate theory. Maoism proved to be a developmental stage on the path from Marxism to neoliberalism. Hence today's confusion.

Alenka KORON

## “The Long May '68” in Slovenian Prose Fiction and Drama

In this contribution, I treat Slovenian literary representations of events, a variety of experiences and the atmosphere of the student protest movement in “the long May '68,” which was a specific revolution in the world system, through the prism of the relations between the centre, in our case France, and the periphery, Slovenia. I will deal with the corpus of nine Slovenian texts, four dramas and five novels (none of which has been translated into English) written during the movement itself, partly after it or even decades after its decline, in light of the belief that they can best be understood within the sociocultural situation of the non-aligned Socialist Yugoslavia as an integral part of the European microcosm of global political processes during the Cold War

between the East and the West. In the discussion, I will focus on the literary-artistic nature of these texts, which are dialectically embedded in the very peak of the student movement, and the period before and after it. I will seek to present the eligibility of the corpus and will be interested not only in the ways it creatively articulated the movement, but also in how the student movement itself shaped the selected texts. I will also inquire about the themes and possible formal innovations of the texts, their literary-historical features, as well as expressing some doubts with respect to whether the term “representations” of the long May '68 is in fact appropriate.

## From the Marginal to the Exemplary

Aleksandar Flaker's *Prose in Jeans* (1975 in German, 1976 in Serbo-Croatian) is the book that makes a model of the "1968" literature of the Central and Eastern Europe. An early reflection of Slovenian "1989" came in 1991 by Aleš Erjavec and Marina Gržinić (*Ljubljana, Ljubljana: The Eighties in Slovenian Art and Culture*). Later, Aleš Erjavec stimulated the research and discovery of the model within socialist countries. This model was mostly extracted from the visual culture. It was launched in the 2003 collection of studies edited by Aleš Erjavec (*Postmodernism and the Postsocialist Condition*) and extended in 2008 by Erjavec himself (*Postmodernism, Postsocialism and Beyond*).

Both models will be taken together to research possible links between 1968 and 1989. Three hypotheses will be analysed:

1) There is a direct line in the development from the ethics of pleasure, which in the 1960s stood up against the protestant ethics, to the 1980s

commodified desire to migrate from socialism to the shopping mall;  
 2) There is similar linkage between the 1960s struggle of the young literary generation against the traditional canon of national literature, its aesthetic humanism and their protagonists, and the emergence of this generation twenty years later as a protagonist of the nation-building programme, including the drafting of the first proposal for the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia;  
 3) While Slovenian literature produced, as Flaker claims, marginal cases of the "1968" model, Slovenian "alternative culture" of the 1980s, on the other hand, represents an exemplary case for the region as a whole.

## The Heterogeneity of Slovenian Neo Avant-Garde Poetry

In my paper, I shall analyse the segment of contemporary Slovenian poetry between 1966 and 1973 that has been inscribed in the collective memory despite its initial strangeness, subversiveness, and provocative linguistic and visual experiments. It has reestablished the awareness of language as sign system and the conception of linguistic structuring of the conscious and the subconscious. I shall elucidate the utterly serious and, at the same time, ingenious research that affects all of the levels of poetry phenomenology: letter (sign) and word, phrase and sentence, linear writing, spatial form of a poem, printed and bound book as the vehicle of knowledge, the relationship between literary texts and practical communication, between words and their extra-linguistic references, the extended possibilities of multimedia presentation (collaboration of poets and visual artists) and of performativity (socialisation by means of happenings). To summarise, I shall present

multiple ways of testing the limits of literature and of extenuating the system boundary between literature as art and the cultural praxis of everyday life.

Darja PAVLIČ

## Ludism as an Aesthetic and Conceptual Phenomenon

One of the reasons for the decline of the Slovenian student movement (1968–72) was its internal split, since instead of a global critique, ideological controversies prevailed among the various groups. The ideological diversity and its influence on artistic freedom was vividly illustrated by Aleksander Zorn in his accompanying text “The Dangerous Times of Limitless Literature” in the anthology of short stories *Vidčevo sporočilo* (The Voyeur’s Message, 1991), where he mentions the time of the “tropical anarchy of ideologies and worldviews.” This label is explained by his list of prohibited ideologies such as: Trotskyism, Maoism, the European new left, enthusiasm for Che Guevara, Zen Buddhism, hippiedom, free love, yuppiehood, theory of spontaneous movements of the masses, ecology concepts, the pursuit of real socialism, and a high rate of Christmas midnight mass attendance.

Among the prominent actors of the student movement was Milan Jesih. In 1969, even before enrolling at the Faculty of Arts, he became member of the literary group 442 (Matjaž Kocbek,

Ivo Svetina, Andrej Brvar, Tomaž Kralj, and Milan Jesih). The group did not follow a special programme, its members developed their own poetics. In 1972, Jesih’s first poetry book *Uran v urinu, gospodar!* (Uranium in Urine, Master!) was published in an elite book collection. Contemporary critics were not impressed by the book, since they recognised in it the repetition of the ludic procedures that Tomaž Šalamun had introduced in Slovenian poetry with his book *Poker* (1966). The term “ludism” (from Latin *ludus* = play; introduced by Taras Kermauner) is established in the Slovenian literary studies as a label for the avant-garde view that literature is a free, spontaneous, creative play with language. In my paper, I will analyse the genesis of ludism and its characteristics, the development of Jesih’s poetics, and the question of whether to characterise the (Slovenian) new avant-garde as modernism or post-modernism.

Božo REPE

## “Yes to Change, No to Circus!” The Role of the Student Movement in the Social Processes of Slovenia and Yugoslavia

The student movement that emerged in the circumstances of Slovenia and Yugoslavia at the time cannot be labelled as a “pure” opposition movement. Nonetheless, the movement did have a great political impact even at the time of its emergence, later giving rise to the leading political elite of the 1980s and the 1990s. The demands of Yugoslav students were extremely heterogeneous in nature, in some cases even ethnically oriented; essentially, students did not oppose the authorities but rather identified themselves with the goals of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), and their demands were characterised by an egalitarian note. These demonstrations hurt the Yugoslavian leadership’s feeling of self-importance by dissolving the notion of Yugoslavia as a stable country amidst a turbulent world; there was also a strong fear of losing power, which was aggravated by the possibility of an intervention from the Soviet Union. In general, subsequent assessments of the student movement were very diverse and some even contradictory. The demonstrations were said to allegedly assist the “healthy powers” in

crushing the “liberal deviations,” i.e. the liberal-minded Stane Kavčič, President of the Slovenian Government. The movement was often described as “a blatant attempt to change the course of societal development which had been charted by the economic and social reform of 1965,” or, in other words, that the demands for egalitarianism undermined the economic reforms. One critic even wrote that it was “an introduction to the cultural revolution of the 1970s.” In the 1970s, the student movement branched off into various factions and the Student Organisation institutionally transformed.

The student movement in Slovenia and Yugoslavia differed from similar movements across Europe mostly with regard to the fact that in Western and Eastern Europe the students rejected the system and its institutions, whereas in Yugoslavia they advocated the authentic values of socialist self-management, supported the political leadership, and opposed the reforms that were likely to worsen social disparities by liberalising the economy.

Charles SABATOS

## Czechoslovak “Normalisation” in the Fiction of Vilenica Laureates

The period between the Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 and the Velvet Revolution of 1989 was politically repressive in Czechoslovakia (where it was known euphemistically as “normalisation”), but led to a greater world interest in Czech literature than had been seen before or since. Although the emergence of Czech writing from obscurity is due to a single novel published in exile, Milan Kundera’s *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984), “normalisation” gave rise to a movement of dissent that helped to overturn the Cold War division of Europe. Kundera’s success in the 1980s was due not only to his novels but also to his essays, which critiqued Cold War-era Europe from both the East and the West and helped revive the concept of Central Europe. He was one of the three Czech writers to win Slovenia’s Vilenica Prize in the first eight years of its existence, along with the poet Jan Skácel and the Czech-German Libuše Moníková. Following the prize awarded to Pavel Vilikovský (the only Slovak laureate

to date) in 1997, Czech and Slovak writers did not win the Vilenica for nearly twenty years, until Jáchym Topol’s prize in 2015 (not counting two laureates born in Czechoslovakia who spent most of their lives elsewhere, Erica Pedretti and Ilma Rakusa). This paper will look at these Czech and Slovak writers (Kundera, Moníková, Vilikovský, and Topol) as both novelists and critics of the late socialist period, reflecting the historical experience of a region of small nations surrounded by global powers.

Miško ŠUVAKOVIĆ

## Between Literacy and Transgression: Slovenian Alternative Artistic Practices of OHO and NSK

In my paper, I intend to show important strategic and tactical aesthetic and political differences between the context and the conditions of the neo-avant-garde group OHO in the 1960s and the retro-avant-garde movement Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK) in the 1980s.

The OHO group emerged at the height of modernist artistic and cultural practices inherent to self-managing socialism and non-alignment policy. The dominant art was socialist modernism (the Ljubljana graphic school, the dark painting modernism, the art informel). In contrast to the mainstream art, neo-avant-garde acted critically and subversively. The OHO group worked in the space between poetic reism, arte povera, procesual art, and conceptual art, revealing the tactics of literacy, procesuality, self-reflection, and the synthesis of art and life. In theory, their work is marked by the rejection of Heideggerian existentialism in the name of Marcuse’s “new sensibility,” antipsychiatry, structuralism and poststruc-

turalism, as well as the new discourse of the New Age.

The NSK movement emerged at the “beginning of the end” of a socialist state project, at the inception of the Eastern European transition to capitalism. The NSK movement is based on various retro-movements of post-modernism, Soviet Sots Art, punk and industrial rock. The movement set the symbolic destruction of modernist politics as a source of intervention in the field of music (Laibach), painting (Irwin), theatre (Dragan Živadinov), and retro-philosophy (Peter Mlakar). Their goal was to radicalise transgressive artistic practices by confronting the symptoms of totalitarian regimes, liberal crises, and fascinations with micro and macro identity practices ranging from the Slovenian national identity to the global concept of the NSK state in time. Their work has theoretically corresponded to so-called Eastern European post-Soviet discourses, but also to the Ljubljana school of Lacanian psychoanalysis.

Gáspár Miklós TAMÁS

## “Bourgeois” and “bürgerlich”: The Meaning of What 1968 Has Turned Against

Posterity is apt to forget the sheer force of bourgeois convention and conformism in the postwar period. After the end of the Weimar Republic, the defeat of Austrian socialism (1934), the defeat in Spain, the Moscow trials – and during the Popular Front years and the Resistance – the Left from Vladivostok to New York City (consider the old slogan of the CPUSA, “Communism is true Americanism!”) adopted a conservative and patriotic stance, turning against reproductive rights, advanced educational methods, the avant-garde, homosexuality and internationalism (“cosmopolitanism”), against truancy and absenteeism, against free love and critical spirit. Brass bands and military parades, slavish cult of the leaders have replaced Schoenberg and Brecht and unruly camaraderie, folksy kitsch and ethnic costumes have tried to hide the grey proletarian everyday. Therefore the rebellious spirit of the 1968 New Left had to turn against the old social democratic and communist parties and Fordist trade unions, against the Volkswagen, the Topolino, and the Renault DS 16, these symbols of the welfare state. The second-wave

*embourgeoisement* of the workers’ movement and of the increasingly nationalist and traditionalist “socialist countries” of the Eastern Bloc triggered a moral rebellion against both versions of state capitalism/welfarism/consumerism plus sexual/moral/intellectual repression, militarism, and authoritarianism. It was quite logical that the young were inspired by the Frankfurt School critical theory and by the “existentialist” Marxism of *Les Temps Modernes*: these were the most conspicuously non-conformist tendencies, self-consciously modernist and anti-authoritarian, not only anti-capitalist in the traditional “communist” party sense, but also anti-bourgeois in a *romantic* sense; hence the rediscovery by my generation (I was twenty in 1968) of *l’amour-passion* and of the *amour fou*, in a sense familiar from the films and the music and the communes of that epoch. The erotic revolution against private property, the family and the state (see Engels) has in the end annihilated bourgeois society – while capitalism is still flourishing.

Andrej TOMAŽIN

## The Crisis of the *Problemi* Periodical in 1968

The paper discusses the formal resolution of the editorial crisis of *Problemi* at the beginning of 1968. The arrival of new authors and their joining the broad editorial board of *Problemi* indicated changes of cultural currents and theoretical orientations within the periodical itself. Against the background of the abolition of various literary and general cultural journals (*Beseda*, *Revija 57*, and *Perspektive*) by the Central Committee of the Slovenian Communist Party and its subordinate bodies in the preceding years, the change of censorship mechanisms within the cultural-political field is explained with the help of newly acquired archival documents regarding the political influence and also regarding the polemics which had arisen within the journal itself. Initially conceived as a general cultural magazine, *Problemi* underwent a formal fragmentation into separate divisions (philosophy, literature, sociology, literary criticism), which was followed by an innovative atomisation of responsibility – and with that the reduced efficacy to have a major influence upon political processes. Partly, however, this was due to the changed role of

the intellectual in Slovenia (and Yugoslavia) of the late 1960s, which partly corresponds to Foucault’s distinction between the universal and the specific intellectual, while also relating to Gramsci’s opposition between the traditional and the organic intellectual.

Gašper TROHA

## From Theatre Experiment to National Institutions: Lado Kralj and Dušan Jovanović on the Slovenian Theatre Scene from the 1960s to the 1980s

Lado Kralj and Dušan Jovanović were probably the most important players of Slovenian theatre experiment at the end of the 1960s. Kralj was co-founder of the Experimental Theatre Glej (1970) and later on founder of Theatre Pekarna (1971), while Dušan Jovanović led the Theatre of Pupilija Ferkeverk and founded the Experimental Theatre Glej. They both reflected upon their work and entered national institutions in the 1980s. Lado Kralj later became the artistic director of the Slovenian National Theatre Drama (1982–87), and Dušan Jovanović was the head of the Slovenian Youth Theatre (1978–85). They both took theatre experiments to their limits and then turned away from them – Jovanović showed his vision of these in *Igrajte tumor v glavi in onesnaženje zraka*, Kralj closed down Pekarna in 1978 after he realised it had turned into a therapeutic group that was obsessively dealing with psychological frustrations of its members. Subsequently, they both changed

the programmes of the institutions they headed. Tomaž Toporišič wrote that Kralj “carried out an aesthetic revolution and met quite a resistance from the authorities.” Dušan Jovanović on the other hand turned the Slovenian Youth Theatre into the most interesting theatre of the 1980s in former Yugoslavia.

What then was the view of both Kralj and Jovanović of theatre practice as it is evident in their work between the 1960s and the 1980s? How did it change through the years given that the 1960s were the times of student revolts and the 1980s were the decade of the downturn of socialism?

The answers to these questions will help us understand, how the student generation of the 1960s implemented and changed their views in the 1980s when it came to hold key positions in the theatre system.

Kaitlyn TUCKER SORENSON

## Radical Play: Ljubljana’s Alternative in 1968

At noon on 3 June 1968, the vice president of the Parliamentary Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia – Dr. France Hočevar – went to speak with the students of the University of Ljubljana. Early that morning, the students found themselves in an unexpected situation. For the past week, they had been engaging in measured protests. But that morning, news had arrived about clashes that had broken out at the University of Belgrade between students and the police. It sounded bleak. There was talk of the dead, the wounded, arson. Suddenly, the atmosphere in Ljubljana was far more tense, and a meeting with Dr. Hočevar was scheduled for noon. He greeted the students with a proclamation: “Changes – yes, circus – no.” This paper analyses how this official formulation, “Spemembe da, cirkus ne,” served as a codification of an aesthetic practice that had developed in Ljubljana since the mid-1960s and had far-reaching implications for the

development of the Slovenian Alternative scene(s). It will chronicle contributions to *Tribuna* and *Problemi* that exemplify the way in which, as Rastko Močnik put it, “‘unseriousness’ and even playfulness were combined in a graceful way with political radicalism.” Finally, it will analyse how this radical playfulness/playful radicalism influenced theoretical developments in Ljubljana, and became an enduring facet of Slovenian intellectual activism.

## “Every Word I Write Is About Suicide”: Ethical, Activist, and Intellectual Rigour in Jure Detela

Based on the essays and unpublished writings from the legacy of Jure Detela, the article attempts to position Jure Detela in the context of modern anarchism. Detela tied his political principles to the anarchist impulses of the new left from the end of the 1960s and stood for anarchist principles that were predominantly pacifist. His active social engagement covers the time from the student movement to the dismantling of Yugoslavia, “when it seemed that all the ideals of nonviolence that he devoted his life to were destroyed in the most terrible way” (Miklavž Komelj). His political position did not imply an attack on the foundations of a socialist society, as it was repeatedly misinterpreted in the context of Slovenian socialism, but Detela did not see the signifier of mobilisation beyond the ruling structures in socialism. In the fundamental rejection of domination and hierarchy in *all* relations, he also identified the problem of human domination over animals. However, in these efforts, he remained alone, misunderstood, and isolated, since the question of animals,

which was an integral part and an indispensable aspect of the emancipatory project that he defended, was not taken seriously by the new left in that time.

Detela’s poetic principles, in which he inscribed the conceptual message of the neo-avant-garde of the 1960s, are also grounded in anarchist emancipatory ethics. The primary question for him was how the poem can be seen to represent life. With the principled nature of his ethical, activist, and mental position, he critically reflected on his own poetic expression and continually evaluated the transformative potential of his poems so that “the process of naming would register things and beings with the awareness of the integrity and authenticity of their being” (Detela), all the while being guided by the critical understanding of language and its representational powers. Writing and reading poetry was not merely a confirmation of self-referential structures, but a means of transformation that enables “confrontation with social responsibility” (Detela).

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