

GENERALNI ŠTAB
JAVNOG PAMĆENJA

DOGAĐAJ 1
SEMINAR ZA SVAKOGA:
RUINA MEĐU NAMA





GENERALNI ŠTAB JAVNOG PAMĆENJA

seminar za svakoga: RUINA MEĐU NAMA

Tekstovi učesnika i učesnica seminara održanog u Kulturnom centru REX, 25. oktobra 2013.

Essays by participants in the seminar held in Rex Cultural Centre on October 25th 2013.

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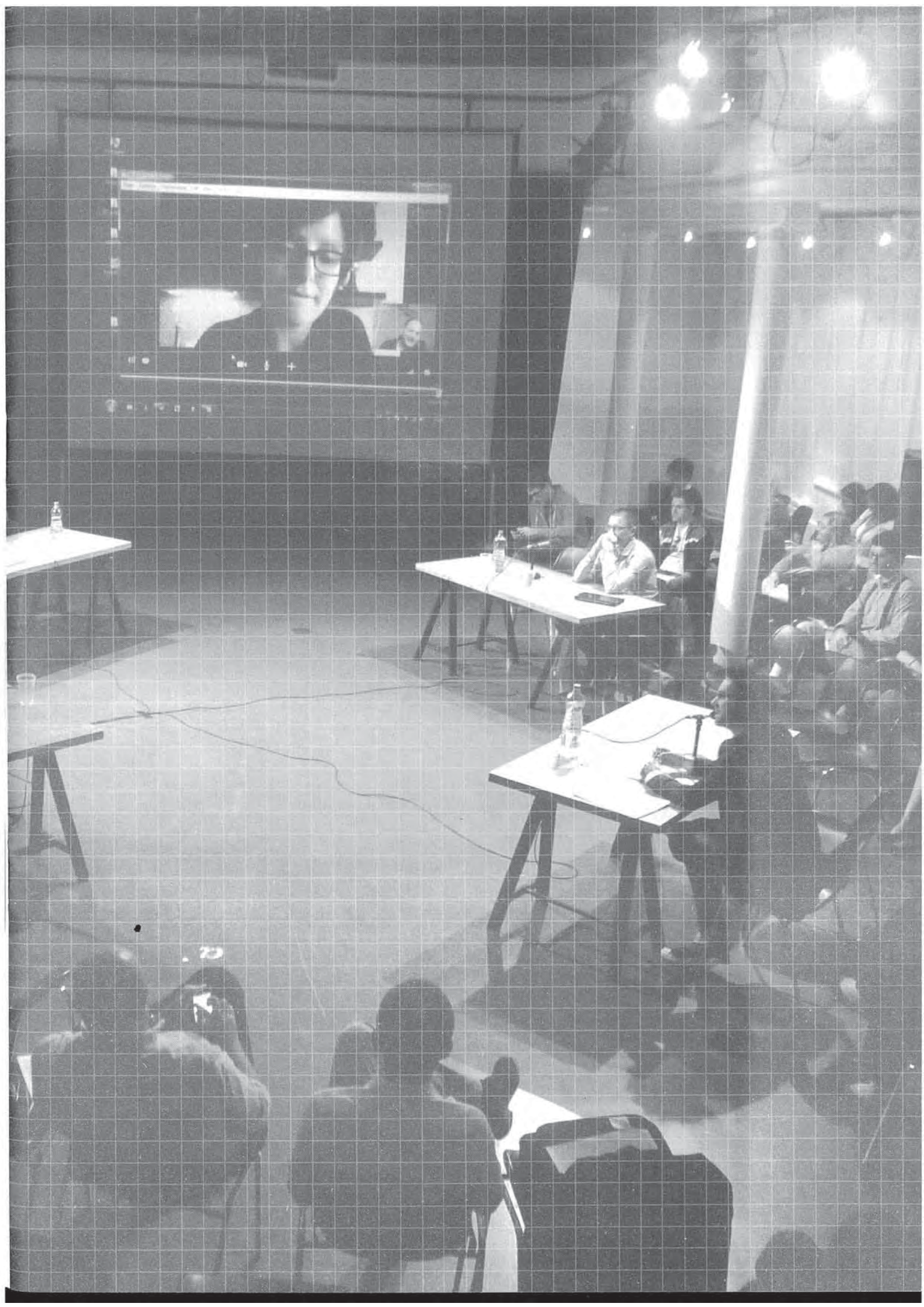
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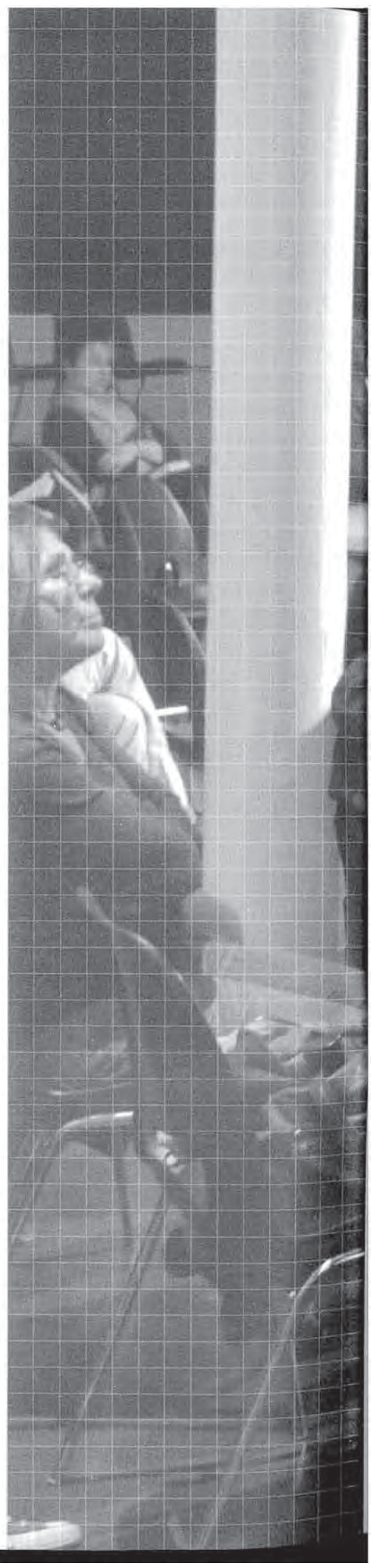
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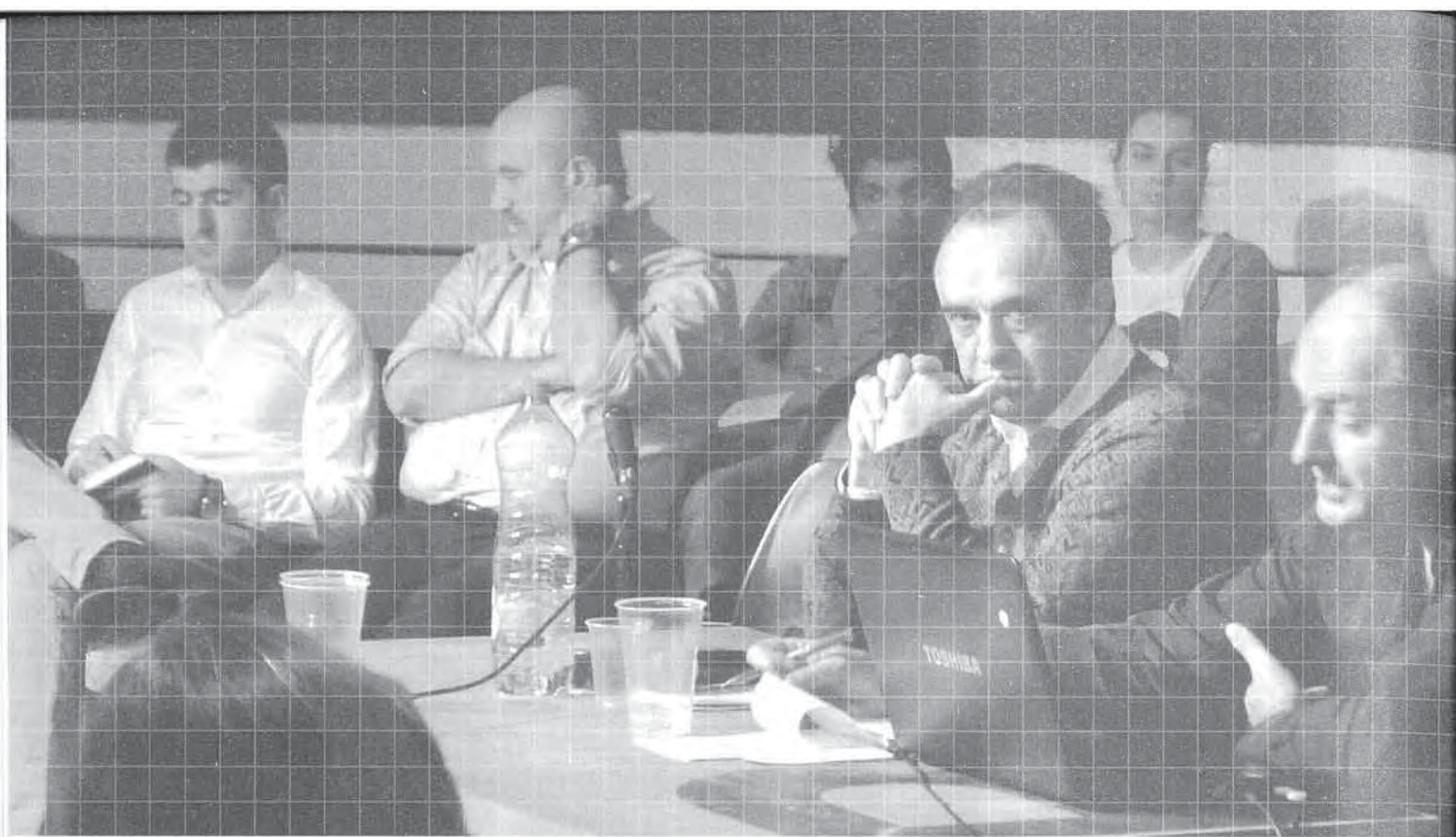
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UVOD

INTRODUCTION

U trenutku kada konačno šaljemo ovu publikaciju u štampu, nekadašnje predvorje kroz koje se ulazilo u objekat B zgrade Generalštaba u Beogradu već je porušeno i uklonjeno. Nadležni sa sve većim samopouzdanjem oglašavaju mogućnost daljeg 'raščišćavanja' i investiranja na lokaciji. Otpor stručne i opšte javnosti je slab i očigledno ne dolazi iz pravca ili intenzitetom koji bi zabrinuo donosioca odluka. Odlučujući se za čitanje ovih tekstova i dalju diskusiju tema koje pokreću, odlučujemo se za odupiranje zaboravu svega onoga što je monumentalni objekat arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića značio u vremenu njegovog nastanka, korišćenja, manje ili više drastičnog oštećenja, postepenog namernog ili nenamernog zapuštanja i - mogućeg nestanka. Kao što je i naglašeno u najavi naše debate održane u Rexu, ova zgrada nezvanično već jeste a uz adekvatan odnos može postati i oficijelan punkt sećanja i podsećanja na različite faze istorije druge Jugoslavije. Kako je naša svakodnevica u velikoj meri ispunjena i formatirana tom istorijom, uništenje ili bilo kakvo zanemarivanje ovako jedinstvenog medijuma za njeno pamćenje, čitanje i razumevanje, na neki način svedoči o uništenju i svakako zanemarivanju same sposobnosti društva da reflektuje sopstvenu prošlost, a time i sopstvenu sadašnjost i budućnost. Ne možemo zameriti ni onima koji ne razumeju ovo što tvrdimo ili se ne slažu sa rezonovanjem koje iz svega toga proizilazi. Ali moramo zameriti nama samima ako na svaki način ne pokušamo da to razumevanje i adekvatno zaključivanje ne ponudimo što većem broju zainteresovanih.

U svom osvrtu na razgovor u okviru programa *Generalni štab javnog pamćenja* održan 25. oktobra 2013. u Kulturnom centru Rex, Marija Milinković postavlja u središte pažnje „problem produktivnog dijaloga“ o prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti zgrade Generalštaba. Ovde je naglasak kako na kritičkom karakteru samog Dobrovićevog projekta (u odnosu na društvenu stvarnost vremena u kome je nastao), tako i na „naglašenom polemičkom tonu u njegovoj recepciji“. Marija Milinković ističe istraživanje originalne projektne dokumentacije (ali i Dobrovićevih teorijskih tekstova) kao važno uporište svake ozbiljne rasprave o Generalštabu.

Kanadska istraživačica Taika Bajaržon smatra da je suština problema s Generalštabom „problem percipcije i predstavljanja“, odnosno problem konfliktnih značenja ove građevine. Brojne interesne grupe uključene su u donošenje odluka o njoj: po svemu sudeći, one se ni u čemu ne slažu. Ne postoji saglasnost o tome šta treba s njom da se uradi i šta ona predstavlja, a takva saglasnost, smatra ova autorka, nikada nije ni postojala. Čitajući Generalštab kao *mesto moći* i *mesto sećanja*

At the moment when we dispatch this publication to print, the old-time entry of the Building B of *Generalštab* (Army General Headquarters) in Belgrade has already been demolished and removed. Those in charge advertise the possibilities of further 'mopping up' and investments at the location with growing self-confidence. Resistance coming from the professional community and general public is feeble and obviously does not come from the direction or with the intensity that would upset the decision makers. Reading these essays and further discussion of the issues they raise implies resisting the ignorance of everything that the monumental structure designed by Nikola Dobrović meant in the times of its creation, full use, more or less drastic demolition, gradual (intentionally or not) neglect and – possible disappearance. As noted in the announcement for our debate held in Rex, unofficially, this building already is, but with an adequate approach may also become an official point of remembrance and record of different phases of the history of second Yugoslavia. Our everyday life is full of and shaped by this history: loss or any downplay of such a unique medium of its remembrance, reading and understanding in a way confirms the loss and downplay of the very ability of the society to reflect its past, and consequently its own present and future. We can not be judgmental about those who do not understand our claims or disagree with our line of reasoning. But we should be judgmental about ourselves if we do not try (in every possible way) to communicate this understanding and proper reasoning to the widest, possibly interested audience.

In her review of the debate Headquarters of Public Memory (*Generalni štab javnog pamćenja*) held on October 25, 2013 in the Cultural Center Rex, Marija Milinković focuses on the *problems of productive dialogue* on the past, present and future of Generalštab. She stresses not only the critical character of Dobrović's design (in relation to the social reality of the times of its origin), but also the „markedly polemical tone in its reception“. Milinković suggests that retrieval of the original project documentation (including Dobrović's theoretical contributions) represents an important reference point for any serious discussion on the questions of *Generalštab*.

Canadian researcher Taika Baillargeon holds that the essential problem here is „the problem of perceptions and representations“, i.e. the problem of conflicting meanings of *Generalštab*. Many stakeholders are involved in the decision-making concerning this building, but they all seem to disagree. There is no agreement on what should be done with it and what it represents: indeed, ac-

“preživelo iz vremena u kojem više ne (moramo da) živimo”, ali i kao ‘ne-mesto’ (‘non-lieu’) koje nikada nije dovršeno i potpuno, Taika Bajaržon dolazi do definicije Generalštaba kao “mesta koje čeka”, i to na transformaciju u prostor s kojim postoji pozitivna identifikacija.

I Vladimir Kulić ukazuje na probleme recepcije i konfliktnih značenja koja se pripisuju Dobrovićevom najznačajnijem objektu kroz celu istoriju njegovog nastajanja i ‘života’: od kritičkih stavova konkursnog žirija do spekulacija savremenih stručnjaka i političara. Kulić posmatra Generalštab kao veoma originalno ostvarenje. Međutim, njegova vrednost nije svima očigledna i zahteva obrazovanog posmatrača: stoga je neophodno da namere samog Dobrovića ponovo nađu svoje mesto u javnom diskursu (iz kojeg su gotovo sasvim iščezle). Prema Kuliću, upravo je Dobrovićev teorijski projekat primer za sposobnost arhitekture da podari društvu novu formu kojom može da menja njegovu realnost (umesto da bude samo pasivna izvršiteljka političkih diktata).

U svom prilogu Marko Matejić fokusira se na pitanja konzervacije i nastoji da dođe do optimalnog modela zaštite Generalštaba kao značajnog dela graditeljske baštine modernističkog perioda u Srbiji. Postojeće pristupe ovom problemu Matejić svodi na *konzervativni model*, koji propisuje rekonstrukciju fasade prema stanju pre bombardovanja, i *ekonomski model* koji nalaže da se o sudbini objekta odlučuje na osnovu ekonomskih pokazatelja (na uštrb svih ostalih), ukidajući Generalštabu status kulturnog dobra. Analizirajući relevantne primere rekonstrukcije urbanih kompleksa u Kelnu, Sarajevu i Njujorku koji su u različitim periodima pretrpeli ratna razaranja, Matejić dolazi do alternative konzervativnom i ekonomskom modelu koji naziva *evolutivni model rekonstrukcije*. U slučaju Generalštaba, ovaj model sažima princip nadgradnje izvornih Dobrovićevih koncepta, princip poštovanja svih slojeva fizičkog postojanja zgrade i princip pamćenja u skladu s kojim se ona posmatra kao spomenik.

Dražen Crnomat ističe simbolički značaj Generalštaba kao „operativnog, taktičkog i strategijskog mjesta ratova devedesetih” i postavlja pitanje „može li se baviti Generalštabom, uko-liko u nje ga nisu unesena i sjećanja ljudi iz BiH, Hrvatske, Kosova...?” Kao vremenski i prostorni simbol, kao mjesto čekanja, Dobrovićev Generalštab zadržava sećanje na 1999. godinu. Međutim, ova ‘kuća duhova’ u srcu Beograda u sebi krije i duhove Vukovara, Knina, Srebrenice... Ključno pitanje, prema tome, nije šta sa ovom ruinom, već zašto nam se ona uopšte desila? Nepostojanje konsenzusa o sudbi-

cording to Baillargeon, there was never any agreement on those issues. Reading Generalštab as a *place of power* and *place of memory*, „survivor of a time in which we do not (have to) live anymore”, but also as ‘non-place’ (‘non-lieu’) which is never completed and never accomplished, this author comes to definition of Generalštab as the *awaiting place* – awaiting the transformation into a space which allows for positive identifications.

Vladimir Kulić also points to the problems of reception, and the conflicted meanings ascribed to Dobrović’s masterpiece throughout the whole history of its origins and life: from critical remarks of the competition jury to speculations of the contemporary professionals and politicians. Kulić sees *Generalštab* as a highly original achievement. However, its value is not self-evident and requires an educated observer. It is therefore imperative that Dobrović’s intentions reclaim their place in the public discourse (they almost completely disappeared from). According to Kulić, Dobrović’s theoretical project is a true example of the power of architecture to give society a new form and thereby intervene in its reality (rather than being just a passive recipient of political dictates).

In his contribution Marko Matejić focuses on the questions of conservation, and attempts to reach an optimal model for protection of *Generalštab* as a landmark of the built heritage of the modernist period in Serbia. Matejić identifies two dominant approaches to this issue. He describes them as the *conservative model* which demands the reconstruction of the façade according to its condition prior to the bombing, and the *economic model* which demands that the fate of *Generalštab* should be decided mostly on economic grounds (sidestepping all other concerns) and that the building’s status of cultural good should be abolished. Looking at relevant examples of reconstruction of urban structures in Cologne, Sarajevo and New York which sustained violent attacks in different historical periods, Matejić comes to an alternative to the conservative and economic models. He describes this model as the *evolutionary model of reconstruction*. In the case of Generalštab, this model joins the principle of advancing Dobrović’s original concepts, the principle of acknowledging all the layers of physical existence of the building, and the principle of remembrance of historic events which conceives this piece of architecture as a monument.

Dražen Crnomat spotlights the symbolical significance of Generalštab as the „operational, tactical and strategic crux of the 1990s war”, asking the question „is it possible to deal with Generalštab

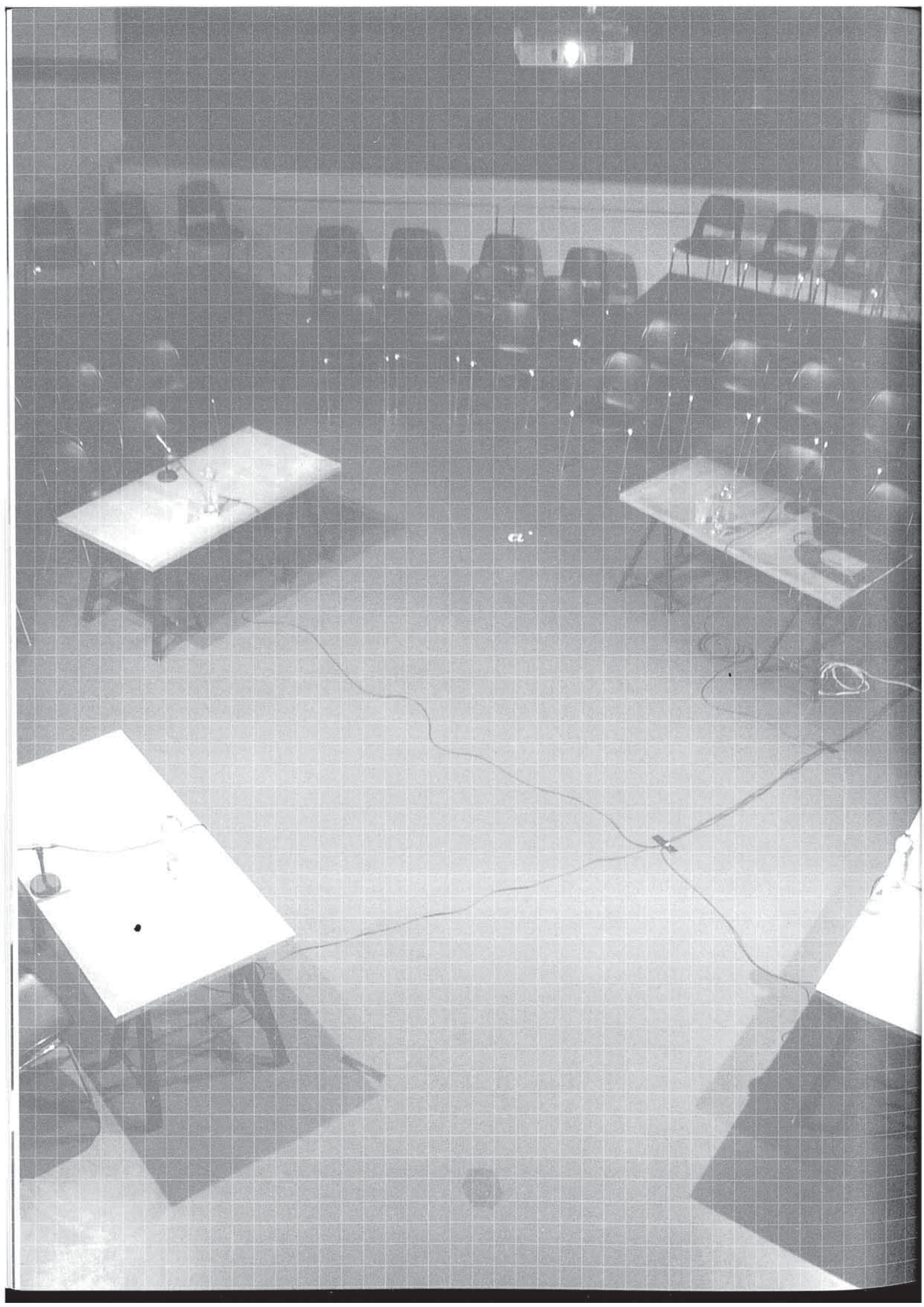
ni Generalštaba u stvari reflektuje nepostojanje konsenzusa u srpskom društvu o odgovornosti za agresivnu politiku u 'ratu za jugoslovensko nasleđe'. Stoga Generalštab nije samo slepa mrlja sećanja na devedesete i ono što im je prethodilo – on je prizma kroz koju se ogleda „ono što Srbija i Beograd (tek) žele postati“.

Urednici

without taking into account memories of the people from Bosnia, Croatia, or Kosovo...?” As a temporal and spatial symbol, as a place of waiting, Dobrović's building imposes the memory of 1999. However, this 'haunted house' in the heart of Belgrade harbors the ghosts of Vukovar, Knin, Srebrenica... Therefore, the main question is not what to do with this ruin, but how we ended up with it in the first place? Indeed, the lack of consensus on the fate of Generalštab mirrors the lack of consensus in the Serbian society on the responsibility for the aggressive politics in the 'war of the Yugoslav succession'. Consequently, the Generalštab is not only a blind spot of remembrance of the 1990s and what preceded them – it is a lens suggestively reflecting „what Serbia and Belgrade (yet) strive to become“.

Editors

Translation: Irena Šentevska



NAJAVA DEBATE **DEBATE ANNOUNCEMENT**

Generalni štab javnog pamćenja

Kulturni centar REX
25. 10. 2013, 13:00

Generalni štab javnog pamćenja baviće se temama koje proizilaze iz sadašnjeg stanja zgrade Generalštaba nakon što je bombardovana u dva navrata tokom rata na Kosovu i Metohiji 1999. godine.

DOGAĐAJ 1 GENERALNI ŠTAB JAVNOG PAMĆENJA seminar za svakoga: RUINA MEĐU NAMA

Generalni štab javnog pamćenja zamišljen je kao niz događaja koji bi se bavili temama prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti zgrade Generalštaba i svim onim arhitektonskim, urbanističkim, ekonomskim i političkim problemima koji karakterišu diskurzivni kontekst same zgrade i njenog simboličkog potencijala.

Generalni štab javnog pamćenja baviće se temama koje proizilaze iz sadašnjeg stanja zgrade Generalštaba nakon što je bombardovana u dva navrata tokom rata na Kosovu i Metohiji 1999. godine, u trenutku kada je već bila ispražnjena od svoje vojne funkcije i pripadajućeg personala ali i očigledno opterećena nasleđenim ili novostečnim simboličkim značenjima.

Seriya događaja teži da markira i otvori polja za debatu koja je istovremeno potrebna i strukama i institucijama u čijem je opisu posla (ili bi trebalo da bude) promišljanje o prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti Generalštaba, kao i celom društvu i njegovim institucijama (duži uvodni tekst je na kraju strane).

Prvi događaj, u formi seminara za svakoga* pružiće uvid u neke glavne smernice već postojećih debata u stručnoj i široj javnosti kao i u različite teorijske pristupe pitanjima koje istorijat, autorski projekat i aktuelno stanje ove zgrade neizbežno pokreću.

* *Forma seminara za svakoga, korišćena već u Kulturnom centru Rex u okviru projekta Poseta Starom sajmištu, teži da približi teorijska i ekspertiska znanja široj publici i time ih stavi na raspolaganje ne samo stručnoj, već i opštoj javnosti, aktivističkoj i umetničkoj sceni.*

The General Staff of Public Memory

Cultural Centre REX
25. 10. 2013, 13:00

The General Staff of Public Memory will be exploring the topics resulting from the current state of the building that used to house the headquarters of the armed forces general staff, after it was bombed twice, during the war in Kosovo and Metohija in 1999.

EVENT I THE GENERAL STAFF OF PUBLIC MEMORY Seminar for Everyone: RUINS IN OUR MIDST

The General Staff of Public Memory has been conceived as a series of events that would focus on the topics related to the past, present and future of the building formerly housing the headquarters of the armed forces general staff (Generalštab) and all the architectural, town-planning, economic and political problems affecting the discursive context of the building itself and its symbolic potential.

The General Staff of Public Memory will be exploring the topics resulting from the current state of the building, after it was bombed twice, during the war in Kosovo and Metohija in 1999, at the moment when it had no longer been used for military purposes and the related personnel had already gone. However, it was obviously still burdened with the inherited or newly acquired symbolic meaning.

This series of events strives to mark and open fields of debate that is necessary both for professionals and the institutions whose responsibilities include (or should include) contemplating the past, present and future of the Generalštab building. (Please, refer to the in-depth introductory essay below.)

The first event in the form of a seminar for everyone* will provide an insight into some of the main guidelines formulated as part of the existing debates that involve experts and the wider public alike, and into different theoretical approaches that are inevitably generated by the history, architectural design and its author, as well as by the current state of the building.

* *Events in the form of seminars for everyone had already been organized at Cultural Centre REX as part of the project A Visit to Staro Sajmište. It strives to bring theoretical and expert knowledge closer to the wider audience, not only professionals, but also the general public, as well as to members of the activist and art scene.*

PROGRAM

Nebojša Milikić,
koordinator debatnog programa
Kulturni centar REX

Kratak pregled aktuelnih debatnih praksi o rekonstrukciji zgrade Generalštaba: kako i zašto do seminara za svakoga?

Taika Bajaržon (Taika Baillargeon),
studentkinja Doktorskih akademskih studija
UQAM-Université du Québec, Montreal, Kanada
Skajp prezentacija (na engleskom jeziku)
Mesto iščekivanja: shvatanja i sukobi oko (dugogodišnjih) ruševina. Slučaj Generalštaba /The awaiting place: perceptions and conflicts over (long term) ruins. The case of Generalstab/

Vladimir Kulić,
docent
Arhitektonski fakultet Florida Atlantic University
Generalštab između autora

Marko Matejić,
student Doktorskih akademskih studija
Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu
Evolutivni model rekonstrukcije: arhitektonski kontinuum i politike pamćenja

Q/A KONSULTACIJE
Marija Milinković,
asistentkinja
Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu

ORGANIZACIJA I PRODUKCIJA
Fond B92 / Kulturni centar Rex
Seminar je deo programa „Raskršća Istok-Zapad“, koji se sprovodi u okviru trogodišnjeg projekta „Engine Room Europe“ koji Kulturni centar REX/ B92 realizuje zajedno sa još 11 evropskih kulturnih centara. Projekat je fokusiran na nezavisne radnike u kulturi i sopstveno polje delovanja, a njegov glavni cilj je razvoj kapaciteta i održivosti nezavisne kulture u Evropi. Projekat „Mašinsko odeljenje Evropa“ je podržan od strane Evropske komisije. Projekat „Crossroads East West“ (Raskršća Istok-Zapad) se realizuje uz podršku Evropske komisije i Ministarstva kulture Republike Srbije. Seminar se održava u okviru Govornih programa Kulturnog centra Rex, podržanih od strane Fondacije za otvoreno društvo i Sekretarijat za kulturu grada Beograda.

PROGRAMME

Nebojša Milikić, Debate Programme Coordinator
Cultural Centre REX
A Brief Overview of the Current Debates on the Reconstruction of the Generalštab Building: The How And Why of the Seminars for Everyone.

Taika Baillargeon, Ph.D. student at
UQAM-Université du Québec, Montreal, Canada
A presentation via Skype (in English)
The Awaiting Place: Perceptions and Conflicts over (Long-term) Ruins. The Case of Generalštab

Vladimir Kulić, Assistant Professor at the Florida Atlantic University School of Architecture
Generalštab between Authors

Marko Matejić, Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade
An Evolutionary Model of Reconstruction: Architectural Continuum and the Policies of Memory

Q/A CONSULTS
Marija Milinković, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

ORGANIZED AND PRODUCED BY
B92 Fund / Cultural Centre REX
The seminar is part of the Crossroads East West programme, implemented as part of Engine Room Europe, a three-year project carried out by Cultural Centre REX/B92 Fund, together with 11 European cultural centres. The project focuses on independent cultural workers and their field of activity and its main aim is to enhance the capacity and sustainability of independent culture in Europe. The project Engine Room Europe is carried out with the support of the European Commission. The programme Crossroads East West is supported by the European Commission and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic Serbia. The debate is also held as part of the Cultural Centre REX Talks programmes with the support of the Open Society Foundation.

APSTRAKTI

Nebojša Milikić

Kratak pregled aktuelnih debatnih praksi o rekonstrukciji zgrade Generalštaba: kako i zašto do seminara za svakoga

Nakon nedavne najave iz Vlade Srbije o mogućoj prodaji zgrade Generalštaba privatnom investitoru, organizovano je nekoliko događaja na kojima se diskutovalo o raznim mogućim implikacijama rušenja ili rekonstrukcije ovog po mnogo čemu jedinstvenog zdanja arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića. Prezentacije i diskusije su reafirmisale postojeće ali označile i neke nove tendencije u tumačenju značaja ovog objekta kao kulturnog nasleđa i njegovog značaja kao nezvaničnog indikatora odnosa društva i države Srbije prema njegovoj prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti...

Taika Bajaržon (Taika Baillargeon)

(Skajp prezentacija na engleskom jeziku, obezbeđen simultani prevod)

Mesto iščekivanja: stavovi i sukobi oko (dugogodišnjih) ruina. Slučaj Generalštaba. (The awaiting place: perceptions and conflicts over (long term) ruins. The case of the Generalštab)

Postoje mesta koja čuvamo, mesta koja opstaju i postoje mesta koja nestaju tokom vremena. Postoje istorijska mesta, memorijalna mesta, mesta od značaja i simboličkog značenja, ali postoji takođe i mnoštvo negativnih mesta (ili mesta negacije). U kontekstu ove diskusije, fokusiraću se na nešto što označavam "mestom iščekivanja", razmatrajući prelaz između postojanja i nepostojanja mesta i preispitujući značaj očekivanja. Ovo razmatranje pratiće studija slučaja zgrade Generalštaba koja će biti posmatrana kao "mesto iščekivanja". Studija slučaja će prvenstveno analizirati viđenje i shvaćanje Generalštaba od 1999. godine do danas. U tom kontekstu, diskutovaću i različite sukobe koji okružuju zgradu Generalštaba od njenog bombardovanja, sa ciljem da predstavim složenost i evoluciju recepcije i percepcije ove zgrade. Na kraju, otvoriću niz pitanja za diskusiju u kontekstu mogućeg rušenja zgrade Generalštaba.

Vladimir Kulić

Generalštab između autora

Šta zgrade kome znače i kako? Ko su autori njihovih značenja i čije je relevantno ili ne? Izlaganje će postaviti problem konstrukcije značenja zgrade Generalštaba između onih koja je ponudio njegov autor, arhitekta Nikola Dobrović, i onih koja su se formirala njenom kasnijom sudbinom: upotrebom, promenama u ideološkom kontekstu,

ABSTRACTS

Nebojša Milikić

A Brief Overview of the Current Debates on the Reconstruction of the Generalštab Building: The How And Why of the Seminars for Everyone

Following the recent announcement made by the government of Serbia about the possible sale of the Generalštab building, several events were organized to discuss different potential implications of the destruction or the building designed by the architect Nikola Dobrović, an edifice characterized by many unique features. The presentations and discussions have reiterated the existing tendencies and highlighted some new trends in the interpretation of the significance of this structure belonging to cultural heritage and its importance as an indicator of the attitude of the society and the Serbian state towards its past, present and future....

Taika Baillargeon

A presentation via Skype (in English)

The Awaiting Place: Perceptions and Conflicts over (Long-term) Ruins. The Case of Generalštab

There are places that are being cared for, places that survive and those that disappear over the course of time. There are historical, memorial places, places of importance and symbolic importance, but there are also numerous places with a negative connotation (or places of denial). In the context of this discussion, I will be focusing on something that I refer to as an "awaiting place" when exploring the transition between existence and non-existence of a place and examining the importance of expectation. This investigation will be followed by a case study of the Generalštab building, which will be viewed as an "awaiting place". The analysis will be primarily targeted at examining views and opinions concerning the Generalštab building from 1999 to the present. In that context, I will be discussing different conflicts surrounding the building from its bombing onwards, with the aim of showing the complexity and evolution of the reception and perception of this edifice. At the end of the presentation, I will put forward a number of questions for discussion, having in mind the possible destruction of the Generalštab building.

Vladimir Kulić

Generalštab between Authors

What do buildings mean to whom and how? Who are the authors of their meaning and whose meaning matters or does not matter? The issue

bombardovanjem i gotovo petnaestogodišnjim nerazrešenim statusom najpoznatije ruševine Beograda.

Marko Matejić

Evolutivni model rekonstrukcije: arhitektonski kontinuum i politike pamćenja

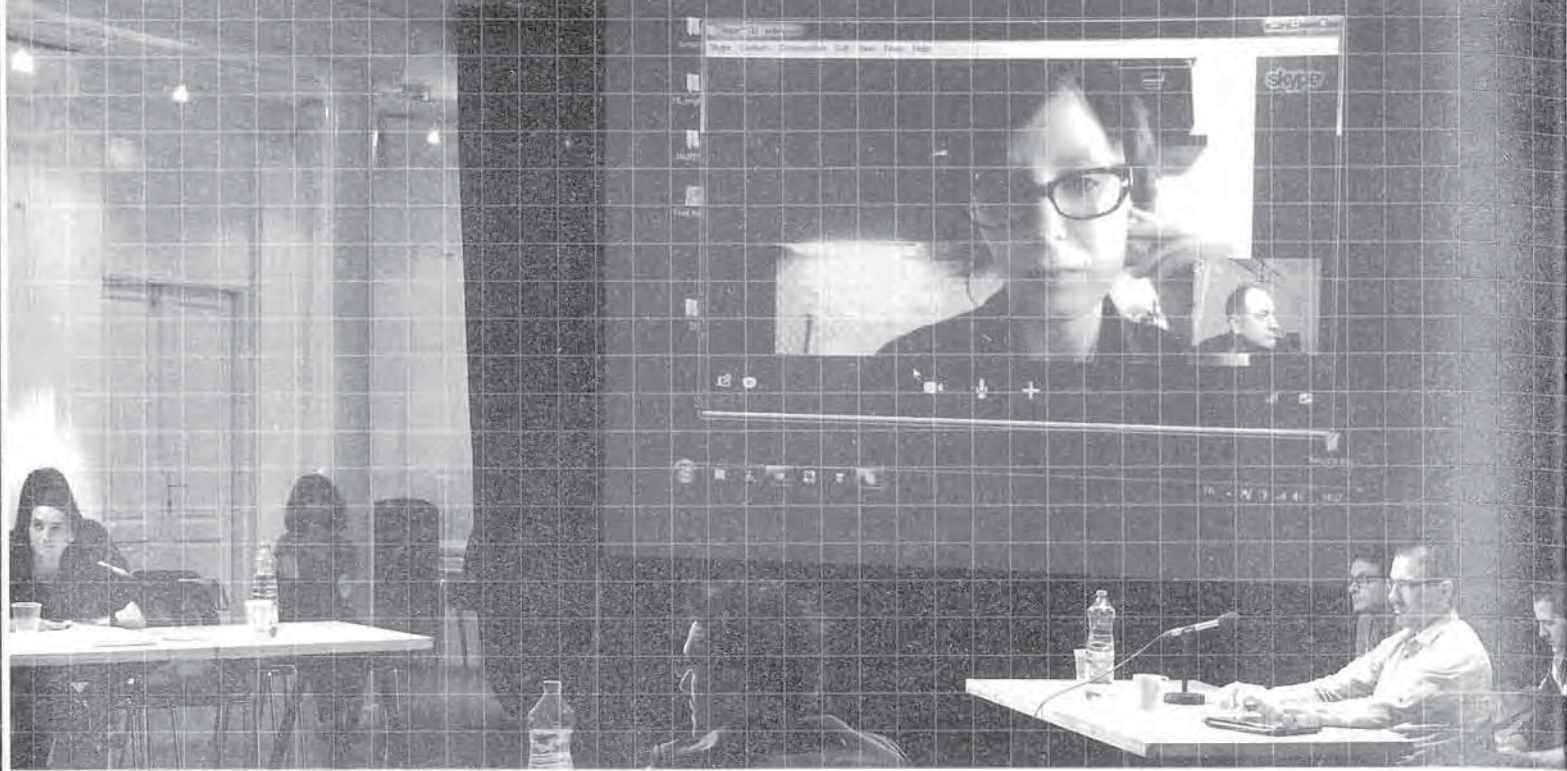
U prethodnim diskusijama na temu rekonstrukcije zgrade Generalštaba nametnula su se dva dominantna, iz toga možda shvaćena i kao dva jedina modela rekonstrukcije, a nazvaćemo ih konzervativni model i (investitorsko) ekonomski model rekonstrukcije. Nasuprot ova dva je evolutivni model rekonstrukcije, koji u sebi sadrži princip arhitektonskog kontinuumu i poštovanja originalnog koncepta prostora, ali i pretpostavlja društvenu evoluciju kroz primenu savremenih modela rekonstrukcije i sećanja na urbane katastrofe. Razmotrićemo primer Dobrovićevog pristupa rekonstrukciji Palace Sponza u Dubrovniku, zatim savremene principe obnove gradova nakon urbanih katastrofa na primerima arhitektonskih objekata u Kelnu, Sarajevu i Njujorku, kao i dosadašnje prakse rekonstrukcije objekata porušenih u Beogradu tokom NATO bombardovanju.

of construction of meaning of the Generalštab building will be put forward in the course of the talk, namely, the problem of the meanings offered by the author of the design, the architect, Nikola Dobrović and those that developed as a result of its subsequent destiny: use, changes in the ideological context, the bombing and its status of the most famous ruin in Belgrade, which has remained unresolved for almost fifteen years now.

Marko Matejić

An Evolutionary Model of Reconstruction: Architectural Continuum and the Policies of Memory

Two dominant models of reconstruction emerged as dominant in the course of the previous discussions of the topic of the Generalštab building. They were thus maybe understood as the only two models. They will be referred to here as the conservative model and the (investor-) economic model of reconstruction. The evolutionary model is the opposite of these two. It incorporates the principle of architectural continuum, respect of the original concept of space and presupposes evolution of the society through application of the contemporary models of reconstruction and memories of urban disasters. We will be analysing the example of Dobrović's approach to the reconstruction of Sponza Palace in Dubrovnik, the contemporary principles of reconstruction of towns after urban disasters, using architectural structures in Koln, Sarajevo and New York as an example, as well as the previous practice of reconstruction of the buildings destroyed in Belgrade during the NATO bombing campaign.



TEKSTOVI

TEXTS

GENERALNI ŠTAB JAVNOG PAMĆENJA: Q/A KONSULTACIJE
HEADQUARTERS OF PUBLIC MEMORY: Q/A CONSULTS

Tribina *Generalni štab javnog pamćenja* zamišljena je i organizovana, kako stoji u najavi prvog seminara pod nazivom *Ruina među nama*, „da markira i otvori polja za debatu o prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti zgrade Generalštaba,” odnosno – kao „platforma za dijalog”. U ovom tekstu, koji je nastao kao naknadno promišljanje tema pokrenutih na ovom seminaru, postavila bih u središte pažnje problem produktivnog dijaloga, i naglasila vrednost ovog arhitektonskog objekta u pogledu iniciranja i „otvaranja” prostora za komunikaciju. U ovom smislu ukazala bih najpre na kritički karakter samog projekta, a zatim na naglašen polemički ton u njegovoj recepciji.

U svojim prethodnim istraživanjima, baveći se elementima i oblicima kritičkog mišljenja u arhitekturi, uočila sam različite vidove arhitektonske projektantske kritike u radu Nikole Dobrovića. Svi Dobrovićevi projekti i izvedeni objekti sadrže implicitnu refleksiju u odnosu na savremenu društvenu stvarnost i zgrada Generalštaba u tom pogledu nije izuzetak. Razumevanje složenih socio-političkih uslova u kojima je ovaj projekat nastao, kao i originalnih ideja i autorskih stavova je, rekla bih, jedan od osnovnih preduslova za razmišljanje o budućnosti ovog kompleksa. Rad na pronalaženju originalnih dokumenata, njihovo čitanje i tumačenje, kao i osetljiva rekonstrukcija nepostojeće projektne dokumentacije koju je preduzeo Marko Matejić, predstavljaju stoga važno uporište svake ozbiljne rasprave o ovoj temi.

U Dobrovićevim tekstovima, među kojima su posebno značajni „Tehnički opis konkursnog projekta za zgradu Državnog sekretarijata za poslove narodne odbrane”, i teorijska studija „Pokrenutost prostora – Bergsonove ‘dinamičke šeme’ – nova likovna sredina”, nalaze se jedinstveni ključevi za razumevanje i tumačenje originalnog projekta i Dobrovićevog kritičkog odnosa prema istorijskom, društvenom i političkom kontekstu. Pitanje koje se ovde postavlja je kako dovesti u relacije rezultate dosadašnjih istraživanja, naučnih i umetničkih radova, i na koji način bi rad na kompleksnoj istorijskoj konstrukciji mogao postati osetljivi instrument za restituciju i oživljavanje javnog pamćenja?

Recepciju zgrade Generalštaba, kao što primećuje Taika Bajaržon (Taika Baillargeon), bitno određuje nedostatak konsenzusa („no agreement”), kao i

The debate *Headquarters of Public Memory* (*Generalni štab javnog pamćenja*) was conceived and organized, as noted in the announcement for the first seminar titled *A Ruin Amidst Us*, „to demarcate and open the floor for discussing the past, present and future of the building of *Generalštab*”, i.e. – „as a platform for dialogue.” In this reflection on the topics raised at the seminar, I shall focus on the problems of productive dialogue, emphasizing the value of this architectural structure in terms of initiating and „opening” the space for communication. In that respect, I would firstly point out the critical character of Dobrović’s design and markedly polemical tone in its reception.

In my previous research focusing on elements and forms of critical thinking in architecture, I have noted different aspects of architectural designers’ criticism inherent in Nikola Dobrović’s work. All his designs and built structures contain implicit reflections on contemporary social reality and *Generalštab* is no exception in those terms. Understanding complex socio-political conditions which brought about this project as well as Dobrović’s original ideas and authorial position is, I would claim, a basic precondition for thinking about the future of this complex. Therefore, all efforts on retrieving original documents, their reading and interpretation, including the sensitive reconstruction of the lost project documentation undertaken by Marko Matejić, represent important reference points for any serious discussion on this topic.

In Dobrović’s writing, notably the „Technical description of the competition entry for the building of State Secretariat of National Defense Affairs” and theoretical study „Space in Motion – Bergson’s ‘Dynamic Schemes’ – New Visual Environment,” one may find unique clues for understanding and interpretation of the original design and Dobrović’s critical attitude towards the historical, social and political circumstances. The question here is how to associate the results of previous research, academic and artistic endeavors, and how could all this work dealing with a complex historical construction become a sensitive toolkit for restitution and bringing back to life a public memory?

The reception of *Generalštab*, as noted by Taika

nemogućnost aproprijacije i identifikacije sa ovim prostorom. Ideje o nepotpunom uspehu Dobrovićevog najznačajnijeg objekta mogu se pratiti kroz celu istoriju nastajanja i korišćenja zgrade: od kritičkih stavova konkursnog žirija iz 1953. godine, do špekulacija savremenih stručnjaka i političara. Konačno, savremena recepcija objekta u široj javnosti zasnovana je na urbanim mitovima, pre nego na istorijskim činjenicama, i izlaganje Vladimira Kulića je ukazalo upravo na kompleksan problem konstrukcije i rekonstrukcije značenja zgrade Generalštaba.

Razgovor koji je na ovu temu vođen 25. oktobra 2013. u Kulturnom centru Rex, navodi na razmišljanje o značaju i dometima javne rasprave, kao efikasnog načina za proizvodnju znanja i preispitivanje različitih ideja i pretpostavki. Iskustvo pokazuje da je duboko suprotstavljenim, polemičnim stavovima o hitnosti promene, s jedne, i idejama o konzervaciji postojećeg stanja zgrade Generalštaba, s druge strane, moguće pretpostaviti ozbiljnu igru pitanja i odgovora, recipročnog objašnjenja, u kome dogmatska polemika ustupa mesto otvorenoj i produktivnoj – diskusiji.

Baillargeon, is largely determined by the lack of consensus ("no agreement") and the inability of appropriation and identification with this space. Opinions on flawed success of Dobrović's most significant work of architecture may be traced through the whole history of making and further life of the building: from critical remarks of the 1953 competition jury, to speculations of contemporary architectural professionals or politicians. After all, contemporary reception of the structure among the wider public is grounded in urban myths, rather than historical facts. Vladimir Kulić spotlighted the very issue of construction and reconstruction of *Generalštab's* meanings, in all its complexity.

The panel discussion held on this topic on October 25, 2013 in the Cultural Center Rex made us consider the importance and the merits of public debate as efficient means of knowledge production and testing of different ideas and assumptions. Experience shows that there is a possibility to overcome sharply opposed polemical attitudes on the urgency of change on the one hand and arguments for conservation of the existing state of *Generalštab* on the other with a serious game of questions and answers: reciprocal elucidation wherein dogmatic polemics opens the floor to an open and productive – discussion.

Translation: Irena Šentevska

MESTO KOJE ČEKA: PERCEPCIJA I KONFLIKTI OKO (DUGOVEČNIH) RUINA. SLUČAJ GENERALŠTAB

THE AWAITING PLACE: PERCEPTIONS AND CONFLICTS OVER (LONG-TERM) RUINS. THE CASE OF THE GENERALŠTAB

Uvod (kako je moj rad evoluirao od ruševina do mesta i osećaja za mesto)

Godine 2011. boravila sam u Beogradu da bih obavila intervju za potrebe moje doktorske teze o percepciji savremenih ruševina, čiju je okosnicu predstavljao Generalštab. U tom periodu sam prikupljala sve napise o Generalštabu, lokalno objavljivane između 1999. i 2011. godine.

U to vreme naprosto sam se pitala zašto je ta zgrada još uvek tu, skoro 15 godina nakon bombardovanja. Brzo sam uočila da je u pitanju problem percepcije i predstavljanja. Zapravo se radi o problemu konfliktnih značenja. U skladu s mojim čitanjem, brojne interesne grupe uključene su u donošenje odluka o ovoj građevini a, po svemu sudeći, one se ni u čemu ne slažu. Ne postoji saglasnost o tome šta treba s njom da se uradi i šta ona predstavlja. U stvari, *nikada* nije ni postojala saglasnost o tome šta ona predstavlja, premda se načelno svi slažu da građevina nešto predstavlja.

Dok sam se bavila savremenim ruševinama, jedna stvar se ispostavila kao za mene veoma uznemirujuća: po svemu sudeći, nikome u stvari i nije mnogo stalo do ove konkretne ruševine. Većina ljudi koje sam intervjuisala govorila je o originalnoj građevini, njenim karakteristikama kao delu moderne arhitekture i o "velikom" Dobroviću. Na ovo izvesno ne želim da se žalim. Mnogo sam naučila o samom projektu, urbanom planiranju, i o teorijama i delima profesora Dobrovića. Meni se, lično, građevina onakva kakva je bila prilično dopada. Međutim, bila sam iznenađena shvativši da moj rad 'na terenu' nije otkrio mnogo o ruševini i njenom uticaju na urbani pejzaž Beograda. Kada sam se raspitivala o istorijatu građevine, još jednom, većina učesnika govorila mi je o modernoj arhitekturi, kako je Dobrović bio pozvan da učestvuje na konkursu i kako je na kraju zbog ove građevine došao u sukob s vojskom. U stvari, malobrojni su pominjali bombardovanje kao deo istorije ovog kompleksa. Neki sagovornici zapravo su insistirali na tome da on i nije ruševina (podvlačeći razliku između 'urušenog' i 'porušenog'). Drugi su priznavali da u stvari više i ne vide tu građevinu, jer je ona takva kakva je deo njihovog svakodnevnog života. Neki su čak izjavili da nikada nisu imali snažna osećanja prema toj građevini, jer je ona bila

Introduction (how my work has evolved from ruins to place and a sense of place)

Back in 2011, I was in Belgrade to conduct interviews for my PhD project about the perceptions of contemporary ruins, the focal point being the Generalštab. Back then, I also collected all the local articles about the Generalštab, published between 1999 and 2011.

At the time I was, quite simply, wondering why the building was still there, almost 15 years after the bombing. I quickly realized the problem was a problem of perceptions and representations. In fact, there was a problem of conflicting meanings. According to my readings, there were many stakeholders involved in the decision-making concerning this building and they all seemed to disagree. There was no agreement on what should be done with it and what it meant. In fact, there was *never* any agreement on what it meant, although it is generally agreed that the building means something.

As I was working on contemporary ruins, one thing came out as very disturbing for me: actually, nobody seemed to care much about the ruin itself. Most people I interviewed talked about the original building, its characteristic as a piece of modern architecture and about Dobrović, "the great". I certainly don't want to complain about that. I learned much about the design, the urban planning and about theories and projects of Professor Dobrović. I, personally, love the building as it used to be. But I was surprised to realize that my fieldwork didn't tell me much about the ruins and its impact on Belgrade's landscape. When I asked about the history of the building, once again, most participants told me about modern architecture and about how Dobrović was invited to participate in a competition and how he ended up disagreeing with the army about the building. In fact, very few actually talked about the bombing as a part of the complex's history. Some of them actually insisted that it wasn't even a ruin (underlining a difference between *urušeno* and *porušeno*). Others admitted they didn't really see the building anymore, as it was part of their everyday life. In fact, some even said that they had never had strong feelings for the building before

vojna ustanova i kao takva bila je nepristupačna: nije predstavljala mesto 'javne aroprijacije'.

I tako sam se našla, proučavajući ruševine, na mestu gde ljudi uglavnom mare za njegovu prvobitnu arhitekturu. U takvom kontekstu, osećala sam da ne mogu da se fokusiram na percepciju ruševina: počela sam da se pitam kako treba da pristupim ovom urbanom objektu i šta je on u stvari. Ma šta predstavljao (a sâm Bog zna da ova građevina ima mnogo različitih značenja) značenja ovog kompleksa su važna. U stvari, to nije samo građevina; nije ni 'samo kompleks'. Ona je obeležje. Ona je predstavljala gradsku kapiju u vreme kada je železnička stanica još uvek bila sâm središte grada. Predstavljala je simbol moderne arhitekture I Jugoslavije, socijalizma, komunizma. Bez obzira da li se to nama sviđa ili ne, bez obzira da li je to arhitekta nameravao ili ne. Za neke moje sagovornike, ona je bila i simbol jednog doba u kome su arhitekti imali više slobode i više novca da izvode arhitektonske projekte. Ona je bila delo velike inovacije i veliki inženjerski poduhvat. Konačno, za samo nekolicinu njih, ona je bila i trag NATO bombardovanja. Ona podseća na raspad Jugoslavije, a možda i na novo lice opustošene Srbije. Zaista, kako su istakli neki od intervjuisanih: ova građevina je, nažalost, u istom stanju kao i sama zemlja. Premda ove ruševine nisu 'zbrinute', onako napuštene one predstavljaju mnogo više od običnih ruševina i zato nisam želela da Generalštab posmatram kao 'običnu' ruinu. Budući da problem Generalštaba u stvari leži u njegovom značenju, odlučila sam da radim na ovom kompleksu kao "mestu", fokusirajući se na značenje građevine i njenu evoluciju od mesta do "ne-mesta".

Mesta, ne-mesta i mesta koja čekaju

Mesta između vezanosti i otuđenja

Kao što možda znate, mesto je teritorija kojoj se pripisuje značenje. Međutim, postoje različite vrste mesta. Postoje mesta koja cenimo, poput mesta koja bude sećanja, mesta koja bude emocije, mesta koja služe za uzor... ali postoje i neka mesta koja kvalifikujemo kao negativna ili kao mesta negacije. Ova kategorija odnosi se na mesta za koja se ne vezujemo ili s kojima se ne identifikujemo: 'niska' mesta, 'uspavana' mesta, među-mesta, ne-mesta... U izvesnom smislu, mogli bi da tvrdimo da postoje mesta vezivanja i mesta otuđenja. Ovaj osećaj za mesto odnosi se na značenje mesta. Značenje Generalštaba je tokom godina evoluiralo, a ova građevina predstavljala je različite vrste mesta.

either, as it was a military building and therefore not accessible and never a place of public appropriation.

So, there I was, studying ruins in a place where people mostly cared about its original architecture. In that context, I felt I could not focus on perceptions of ruins and I started to wonder how I should approach this urban object and about what in fact this urban object is. Whatever it meant, and God knows this building has many different meanings, this complex had a strong meaning. In fact, it wasn't just a building; it was not only a complex either. It was a landmark. It was a gate to the city at a time when the train station was still central. It was a symbol of modern architecture AND of Yugoslavia, of socialism, of communism. Whether we liked it or not, whether it was intended by the architect or not. For some participants, it was also a symbol of a time when architects had more liberty and more money to conduct architectural projects. It was the figure of great innovation and engineering. Finally, for only a few people, it was also a trace of the NATO bombing. It was a reminder of the dismantling of Yugoslavia and possibly the new face of a ruined Serbia. Indeed, as some interviewees pointed out: this building was, unfortunately, in the same state as the country. In fact, although the ruins were not taken care of and were somehow abandoned, they were much more than just ruins and for that reason, I didn't want to consider the Generalštab as such. Given that the problematic of the Generalštab is really about meaning, I decided to work on the complex as a "place," focussing on the building's meaning and its evolution from place to placelessness.

Places, non-places and awaiting places

Places between attachment and detachment

As you may know, a place is a territory invested with meaning. But there are different kinds of places. There are the places we appreciate, like the places of memory, the places of the heart, the exemplary places... but there are also some places we qualify as being negative or places of negation. This category goes for the places we do not attach to or identify with: low places, sleeping places, non-place, in-between-place. In a way, we could say that there are places of attachment and places of detachment. This sense of place is related to the meaning of the place. The Generalštab's meaning actually evolved over the years and the building served as different kind of places.

Mesta moći i mesto sećanja

Na osnovu onoga što sam prikupila o percepciji građevine pre nego što je bombardovana, mogu da tvrdim da je Generalštab prvobitno percipiran kao *mesto moći* i *mesto sećanja*. Premda neki možda prvenstveno cene suptilnost njene arhitekture i urbanističkog plana, ona je običnoj publici bila poznata kao: 1) građevina koja pripada vojsci – građevina u koju većina ljudi nikada neće moći da uđe, u vreme kada je vojska bila snažan faktor u državi; 2) metaforični prikaz bitke na Sutjesci koji podseća na pobjedu partizana; 3) Za arhitekta koji su bili upoznati s Dobrovićevim delom građevina je predstavljala i veliki reper moderne arhitekture, arhitektonski odgovor na autorovu zaokupljenost pokretom. U stvari, uz Nemanjinu ulicu, kompleks je bio postavljen tako da omogući i neku vrstu apropijacije prostora. Nažalost, Dobrovićeva teorija arhitekture u pokretu (Dobrović, 1961) nije stvarno doprla do običnih ljudi i ne možemo da kažemo da je u to vreme bila deo javne slike ove građevine. Međutim, to pokazuje da je građevina već iskazivala međusobno nesaglasna značenja.

Mesto sećanja vs. mesto otuđenja

Tokom godina, ova građevina ostala je mesto ispunjeno različitim značenjima. Nastavila je da bude Ministarstvo odbrane i da podseća na Sutjesku, a Nemanjina ulica nastavila je da služi kao mesto javne apropijacije na kome prolaznik može da se divi detaljima ove moderne građevine. U devedesetim godinama, uoči NATO bombardovanja, građevina je bila ispražnjena. U izvesnom smislu, ovo napuštanje obeležava kraj njenog značaja kao *mesta moći*. Ili je, možda, moć jednostavno prešla iz jedne ideologije u drugu.

Od tada, Generalštab je uglavnom postao mesto sećanja. "Mesto" koje bi francuski istoričar Pjer Nora (Pierre Nora) opisao kao "preživelo iz vremena u kojem više ne moramo da živimo" (1997: 29). Ali *mesto sećanja* nije samo mesto komemoracije ili mesto koje nas podseća na prošle dane: to je i mesto koje čuvamo i održavamo da bi zamenilo istoriju. Prema pomenutom istoričaru, u savremenom svetu mesta sećanja smenjuju sveta mesta za sećanja koja smo nekada imali. A gradeći i održavajući takva mesta, mi u stvari živimo "iluziju večnosti", izbegavajući realnost neumitnog kraja.

Nakon bombardovanja Generalštaba, novine su relativno brzo počele da spekuliraju o mogućnosti rušenja građevine da bi se sagradio hotel. U to vreme Društvo arhitekata Beograda izražavalo je zabrinutost zbog ove situacije, a članovi njegovog upravnog odbora pripremili su pismo kojim se za-

Places of power and place of memory

From what I have collected on the perceptions of the building before it was bombed, I can suggest that the Generalštab was first perceived as a *place of power* AND a *place of memory*. Although some could appreciate the subtlety of its architecture and urban plan, it was known to the mere public as: 1) the building of the army – a building most of them would never be able to enter, at a time when the army was a strong power within the state; 2) a figure of the Sutjeska battle and a reminder of the partizan's victory. 3) for the architects who were familiar with the work of Dobrović, the building was also a great marker of modern architecture, the architectural response to a concern about the movement. Indeed, with Nemanjina street, the complex was also set to allow some kind of appropriation of space. Unfortunately, Dobrović's theory of architecture in movement (Dobrović 1961) didn't really reach the common people and we couldn't say it was part of the public imagery of the building at the time. However, this shows the building was already invested with conflicted meanings.

Place of memory vs. place of detachment

Over the years, the building remained this meaningful place. It continued to act as the Defence Ministry, as the reminder of Sutjeska, and Nemanjina street continued to serve as a place of public appropriation, where one could appreciate the details of this modern building. In the 1990s, before the NATO bombing, the building was emptied out. In a way, this desertion marks the termination of its meaning as a *place of power*. Or, perhaps, the power simply passed from one ideology to another.

From then on, the Generalštab mainly became a place of memory. A "place" French historian Pierre Nora would describe as the "survivor of a time in which we do not live anymore" (1997: 29). But a *place of memory* isn't only a place of commemoration or a place that reminds us of the old days, it is also a place we keep and entertain to actually replace history. According to Nora, in our modern world, places of memory actually replace the sacred places for the memory we used to have. And by constructing or keeping such places, we actually live an "illusion of eternity," while we avoid the reality of the end.

Following the bombing of the Generalštab, newspapers started quite quickly to speculate about the possibility of destroying the building to build

hteva da se građevina zaštititi kao spomenik kulture. Moramo imati u vidu činjenicu da je upravo ovo pismo (i nekoliko ljudi koji stoje iza njega) u to vreme verovatno spasilo građevinu. Međutim, sada možemo da uvidimo i da je to doprinelo zamrzavanju bilo kakve diskusije o građevini, o tome šta treba učiniti s ovim mestom moći i mestom sećanja, i o tome koje sećanje treba sačuvati. U izvesnom smislu, ne nužno na svestan način, zaštita je poslužila tome da se jedno značenje učini dominantnim. U njenu odbranu, moram da preciziram da zaštita zaista ističe značaj Dobrovića, moderne arhitekture i Sutjeske. Takođe, kao i obično kada je u pitanju zaštita ovog tipa, ona je obavljena veoma brzo, po hitnom postupku, i nije bilo stvarnog vremena za javne konsultacije o njoj. U ovom kontekstu, nažalost, ona ne uzima u obzir funkcionalnu memoriju građevine i njenu vezu s vojskom, ona stvarno ne razmatra sećanje na bombardovanje i ne uzima u obzir mišljenje javnosti o Generalštabu.

Nakon što je Generalštab stavljen pod zaštitu, lokalne novine počele su da preispituju ovakav način zaštite, postavljajući pitanje zašto porušena građevina treba da se štiti, umesto da se proda u vreme kada vojsci, državi i narodu treba novac. U stvari, premda su novine govorile o izgradnji hotela, one su pominjale i činjenicu da vojsci trebaju stanovi za 'veterane'. U skladu s tim, bilo je mnogo razgovora između vojske, državne i gradske uprave o ovom pitanju. Kao što je možda poznato, godine 2001. vojska je počela da rasprodaje svoju infrastrukturu po celoj Srbiji, ali Generalštab se nikada nije našao na ovoj listi. Prema nekim novinskim člancima, sami vojni krugovi bili su podeljeni po pitanju Generalštaba: treba li ga čuvati ili prodati? Treba li vojska da ga zadrži ili zameni za nove stanove?

Dve godine nakon što je građevina stavljena pod zaštitu (2007.) Direkcija za građevinsko zemljište najavila je da će u saglasnosti s vojskom zatražiti da se zaštita obustavi. U to vreme, mnoge novine podržavale su novi diskurs o Generalštabu, pominjući da je u pitanju ruševina koja je opasna za 'pučanstvo', podstičući time njegov strah od građevine. Ona je počela da se predstavlja kao napuštena, beskorisna i omražena. Time je dobila nova značenja. Predstavlja se kao ne-mesto, koje ne pripada više nikome.

a hotel. At the time, Belgrade's Association of Architects was worried with this situation and the members of the board prepared a letter requesting that the building be protected as a cultural monument. We have to appreciate that this very letter, and the few people behind it, probably saved the building at the time. However, we can now recognize that it also contributed to freeze any possible conversation about the building, about what to do with this place of power and place of memory and about which memory to preserve. In a way, without necessarily knowing it, the protection served to consecrate one meaning over another. To the defence of this protection, I have to specify that the protection does claim the importance of Dobrović, of modern architecture AND of Sutjeska. Also, as most protection of this type, it was completed very quickly, out of emergency, and it didn't really have the time to conduct public consultations about it. In that context, unfortunately, it does not take into account the functional memory of the building and its connection to the army, it does not really consider the memory of the bombing and it doesn't take the public's appreciation of the building into consideration.

Following the protection, local newspapers started to question this preservation, wondering why this torn-down building should be preserved instead of sold at a time when the army, the government and the people needed the money. Indeed, although newspapers had talked about building a hotel, they also mentioned the fact that the army needed apartments for their veterans. There were, accordingly, many talks between the army, the government and the city about this issue. As you may know, in 2001, the army started to sell its infrastructure all around Serbia, but the Generalštab was never put on the list. According to some newspaper articles, the army itself was divided on the matter of the Generalštab: should it be preserved or should it be sold? Should the army keep it or exchange it for new apartments?

Two years after the building was protected, in 2007, the directorate for property announced that in agreement with the army, they would request that the protection goes down. At the time, many newspapers were underpinning a new discourse about the Generalštab, mentioning it was torn-down and fuelling citizen's fear by saying it was dangerous for the population. The building started to be portrayed as abandoned, as useless, as unloved. This gave a new meaning to the building. It presented it as placeless: not appropriated

Šta podrazumevamo pod mestima koja su ne-mesta? Šta su to ne-mesta? Nemam vremena da se bavim svim oblicima mesta otuđenja, ali recimo barem nešto o "ne-mestu" koje verovatno predstavlja njihov najrasprostranjeniji oblik. Antropolog Mark Ože (Marc Augé, 1992) pominje "non-lieu" ili "ne-mesto" kao mesto tranzita, u kome se duže ne zadržavamo i s kojim se ne identifikujemo, ni teritorijalno ni emotivno. Prema Ožeu, to je «mesto koje se ne može definisati ni kao potvrda identiteta, bilo relaciona ili istorijska» (Augé, 1992: 100). Ovo "ne-mesto" je takođe mesto koje nikada nije dovršeno, nikada nije potpuno. Na ovaj način, ono uvek predstavlja prostorno i temporalno "međuvreme". Ovaj koncept ne-mesta izvesno može biti koristan kada razmišljamo o Generalštabu, ali on ne uzima u obzir činjenicu da je ova građevina nekada bila ispunjena značenjima. On takođe ne uzima u obzir moguće promene tokom vremena. Jednom rečju, on ne uzima u obzir vreme.

Međutim, ako je Generalštab mesto koje u stvari ne pripada nijednom postojećem tipu mesta, smatram da bih morala da formulišem tip mesta koji bi definisao Generalštab, kao i druge građevine suočene sa sličnom sudbinom. Tako sam, na osnovu jednog uopštenog istraživanja o mestima i ne-mestima, došla do koncepta "mesta koje čeka".

Mesto koje čeka: mesto ispunjeno značenjem

Mesto koje čeka je mesto sa značenjem, koje je doživelo neki šok, i od tada čeka da se transformiše. Premda njegovo značenje vremenom evoluira, mesto koje čeka je još uvek mesto. Zbog tog šoka, njegova forma, funkcija i simbolika drastično su promenjene. Ovaj događaj uznemirio je mesto, koje, sledstveno tome, prolazi kroz značenjsku tranziciju koja se može razumeti kao transfer s jednog na drugo značenje ili, čak, kao gubitak značenja. Jednom kada je šok prošao, percepcija mesta takođe se menja, ali njegova forma ostaje ista. Tokom godina, kolektivne percepcije Generalštaba drastično su promenjene, ali su i pojedinci menjali mišljenje o njemu. Međutim, u fizičkom smislu građevina je ostala u ruševinama: u formi koju je inicijalno oblikovalo bombardovanje.

Uopšte uzev, nakon takvog traumatičnog događaja, moguće su različite opcije za rešavanje problema oštećene građevine. Ponekad odlučimo da uništimo ruševinu, da građevinu ponovo sagradimo ili preoblikujemo na način koji poštuje i prošlost i budućnost grada. Međutim, u slučaju "mesta koje čeka" prolaze godine, a da se ne realizuje ni-

anymore.

The non-place

Now, what do we mean by placeless places? What are the placeless places? I don't have the time to go through all kinds of places of detachment, but let's at least talk about the "non-place", which is probably the most common of them all. The anthropologist Marc Augé (1992) refers to the "non-lieu" or "non-place" as a place of transit, where we don't stay for long and with which we are not identifying, neither territorially nor emotionally. In his words, it is "a place that can't be defined neither as an affirmation of identity, relational or historical" (Augé, 1992: 100). This «non-place» is also a place that is never completed, never accomplished. This way, it always represents a spatial and temporal "meanwhile". This concept of non-place can certainly be useful when thinking of the Generalštab, but it doesn't take into consideration the fact that the building used to be strongly meaningful. It also doesn't consider a possible change over time. In short, it doesn't take time into account.

But if the Generalštab is a place and it doesn't exactly belong to any existing type of place, I figured I would have to formulate a type of place that would define the Generalštab as well as other buildings experiencing a similar fate. That's how, based on a throughout research on place and placelessness, I came up with the concept of «awaiting place».

The awaiting place: a place saturated with meaning

The awaiting place is a meaningful place that went through a shock and has, since then, been waiting for transformation. Although its meaning has evolved over time, the awaiting place is still a place. Because of the shock, its form, its function and its symbolic changed abruptly. This event disturbed the place, which consequently went through a meaning transition that some people might understand as a transfer from a meaning to another or even as a loss of meaning. Once the shock has passed, the perceptions of the place change as well, but its form stays the same. Through the years, the perceptions of the Generalštab changed often from one individual to another, but one single person has also changed his or her mind over the years. However, physically the building remained a ruin: a form that was initially shaped by the bombing.

Generally, after such traumatic event, many different options are possible to manage the affected

jedan projekat. Zanimljivo je pomenuti sledeće: premda ovo mesto ponekad postaje predmet rasprava i sukoba, ništa nam ne govori da će građevina ikada doživeti transformaciju. U skladu s tim, mesto koje čeka je pasivno mesto koje želi da se menja, ali tu promenu ne doživljava. Ovo mesto nije zaboravljeno i nije bez glasa, ali nije prihvaćeno kao mesto sećanja. U slučaju Generalštaba, to je spomenik pod zaštitom, ali ova zaštita nije dovoljna da bi se promenila percepcija i da bi se on posmatrao kao pozitivno mesto. Na sličan način, premda ovakva mesta izazivaju kontroverze, ona ne podstiču razmene i inovacije. Mesto koje čeka stoga je među-mesto (između prošlosti i budućnosti), ali ono još uvek ne prolazi kroz process teritorijalizacije.

Vreme čekanja

Pre nekoliko godina, da bih definisala vreme lišeno teritorijalnih strategija, došla sam do ideje o vremenu "stalne efemernosti". Tako temporalnost postaje središte mog koncepta "mesta koje čeka". "Stalna efemernost" nije prosta temporalnost, već temporalnost koja daje novo vrednovanje napuštenom mestu. U stvari, jedino činjenica da mesto ostaje u napuštenom stanju u nekom izuzetno dugom periodu daje mu vrednost ili barem opravdava dublju refleksiju o njemu. Drugim rečima, ovaj temporalni fenomen (dugo trajanje) je tako neobičan da postaje glavna karakteristika mesta. Moramo da uvidimo da ova stalnost u vremenu globalizacije, zasićenja, reprodukcije i neprekidnih promena, stvara procep koji ne narušava samo urbani pejzaž, već i ubrzanost našeg savremenog sveta. Kada smo suočeni s takvim mestom, svedoci smo nečega što ne bi trebalo da se tu više nalazi, nečega što neće tu zauvek ostati: mi smo u zoni efemernosti.

Na ovaj način, o "stalnoj efemernosti" treba misliti kao o nečemu što je trebalo da bude privremeno, ali što se pokazuje kao nadmoćno nad vremenom. Ona je inherentno povezana s nepoznatim; mi ne znamo kada ili kako će se završiti. Ali ona je povezana i s *obećanjem novog*, zato što ovo stanje neće biti permanentno. "Stalna efemernost" je stoga među-period kada se nadamo pokretu i promeni. Međutim, ako čeka na promenu, on ostaje nesposoban da se menja. Na različit način od pustopoljine ili prazne parcele, ruševina u stalnoj efemernosti vezana je za svoju istoriju. U stvari, volja za promenom ukazuje na duboki dualitet između nostalgije i progresa. Ovaj dualitet na kraju postaje sterilan jer je nemoguće pomiriti ove dve strane. Na taj način, mesto ostaje u osnovi zaglav-

building. We sometimes decide to destroy the ruins, to rebuild the building or to reshape it in a way that respects both the past and the future of the city. However, in the case of the "awaiting place," years pass by and no project is taken up. It is interesting to note that although this place sometimes becomes the subject of debates and conflicts, nothing tells us the building will ever go through a transformation. This way, the awaiting place is a latent place that wishes for change, but doesn't experience it. This place isn't forgotten and isn't without a voice, but it is not appropriate as a place of memory. In the case of the Generalštab, it is indeed a protected monument, but in fact, this protection isn't sufficient to change the perceptions and to make it a positive place. In the same way, if these places incite controversies, they do not push towards exchange and innovation. The awaiting place is, therefore, a place of in-between, between the past and the future, but it isn't going through a territorialisation process yet.

The time of the awaiting

A few years ago, in order to define a time deprived of territorial strategies, I came up with the idea of a time of "continuous ephemera." This temporality becomes the center of my concept of "the awaiting place". The "continuous ephemera" is not a simple temporality, but a temporality that gives a new valorisation to the abandoned place. Indeed, the fact that a place stays in an abandoned state for an exceptional period of time is precisely what gives it value or at least justifies a more profound reflection. In other words, this temporal phenomenon (the long term) is so unusual that it becomes the main characteristic of the place. We have to admit, this state of continuity in a time of globalisation, of saturation, of reproduction and of constant changes, creates a gap that doesn't only shatter the urban landscape, but the haste of our contemporary world. When facing such a place, we are witnessing something that shouldn't be there anymore, something that will not stay forever: we are in the ephemera.

That way, the "continuous ephemera" should be thought of as what should have been temporary, but prevails in time. It is intrinsically connected to the unknown; we do not know when or how it will end. But it is also connected to the *hope of new*, because this state will not be permanent. The "continuous ephemera" is therefore a period of in-between where we hope for movement and for change. However, if it is waiting for change, it remains incapable of changes. Differently then

ljeno između prošle vrednosti i želje da se krene dalje.

Vreme iščekivanja

Temporalnost je inherentna karakteristika mesta koje čeka. Kao što smo već pomenuli, karakterizacija "koje čeka" pretpostavlja i anticipaciju i pasivnost. Ovaj moment iščekivanja izvesno može biti prazan, jalov ili lišen strpljivosti: međutim, može biti i bogat ili čak ispunjen sadržajem. U stvari, čekanje nudi višestruke mogućnosti i ovo obilje mogućnosti može da uspori realne procese promene. U ovom kontekstu, kao što Grimaldi pominje u svojoj fenomenologiji iščekivanja (1993), percipirana forma (ovde mesto) postaje sekundarna u odnosu na prednosti nevidljive pozadine (vreme). Drugim rečima, iščekivanje je faktor transformacije kroz koju mesto više ne kreira značenje, već to čini vreme. Mesto postaje "mesto koje čeka" u momentu kada čekanje postaje njegova glavna karakteristika. Mesto koje čeka ustvari upućuje na odlaganje. Ovo odlaganje nije lišeno mogućnosti, ali to je vreme iščekivanja. Kao što Grimaldi ističe: "šta god da se desi, to nešto desiće se ovde: da bismo se pripremili i predupredili iznenađenja, naša svest nikada ne sme da prestane da posmatra sadašnjost, ne bi li mogla da uoči i najmanji znak koji može da najavi budućnost" (1993: 38). Međutim, pojam iščekivanja sugerise i nestrpljenje: mi ne cenimo mnogo duge i najduže rokove. U stvari, kada govorim o "dugim rokovima", mislim na potpuno subjektivnu temporalnost koja se odnosi na vreme koje se doživljava kao previše dugo, neočekivano, smutno. Grimaldi je ustvari govorio o vremenu brige.

Da zaključim, pošto je ovde u pitanju mesto koje je među-mesto, delovalo mi je sasvim primereno da promišljam njegov odnos prema tranziciji, vremenu i očekivanjima. Smatram da je ovo iščekivanje istovremeno simptom i potpora onoga što će tek doći. Shodno tome, premda je ono efemerno, od suštinske je važnosti misliti o njemu da bi se u potpunosti razumela tranzicija. Premda su tranzitorna, mesta koja čekaju reprezentativna su za vreme-prostor koji je često teško dokučiti. Kao što je Generalštab nekada simbolizovao novu i modernu državu, on sada možda simboliše Beograd ili današnju Srbiju. Iz tog razloga je uputno i, čak, suštinski bitno odvojiti vreme da se o ovom mestu razmisli pre nego što se donese bilo kakva odluka. Većina naučnika i profesionalaca obično ne razmatra među-faze mesta. Oni će razmatrati prošlost građevine i misliti o njenoj potencijalnoj budućnosti, ali neće odvojiti vreme da promisle značenja perioda stagnacije. Pošto je građevina u ovakvom stanju već skoro 15 godina, moguće je

wasteland or a vacant lot, the continuous ephemeral ruin it attached to its history. In fact, the will for change presents a profound duality between nostalgia and progress. This duality ends up being sterile as it is impossible to reconcile these two parties. That way, the place stays fundamentally stuck between a past value and the desire to go on.

The time of expectation

Temporality is an intrinsic characteristic of the awaiting place. As we already mentioned, the terminology "awaiting" supposes both the anticipation and the latency. This waiting moment can certainly be empty, drained, or impatient, but it can also be rich and even saturated. As a matter of fact, to wait offers multiple possibilities and these too many possibilities can actually slow down a real process of change. In this context, as Grimaldi mentions in his phenomenology of expectation (1993), the perceived form (here the place) becomes secondary to the profit of the invisible background (time). In other words, the expectation is a factor of transformation through which it's not the place that creates meaning anymore, but the time. The place becomes an "awaiting place" at the moment the expectation becomes its main characteristic. With the awaiting place, we actually have a suspension. This suspension is not without possibilities, but it's a time of expectation. As Grimaldi underlines: "whatever happens, it is a given that something will take place and in order to prepare and not to be surprised, the conscience should never cease to observe the present, so as to distinguish even a little sign by which the future could be announced" (1993: 38). However, the notion of expectation also suggests impatience: we do not appreciate the long term or the very long term. Indeed, when I talk about "the long term", I mean a completely subjective temporality that goes for a time that is considered as too long, unexpected, disconcerting. Grimaldi would in fact talk about a time of worry.

In conclusion, since this place is a place of in-between, it seemed pertinent to think its relation to transition, to time and to expectation. I believe that this expectation is both symptomatic and supporting of what is yet to come. That way, although it is ephemeral, it is essential to think about it in order to fully understand the transition. Although they are transitory, the awaiting places are representative of a time-space that is often difficult to grasp. As the Generalštab once symbolized a new modern state, it perhaps now symbolizes the Belgrade or the Serbia of today. This is also why it is pertinent and even elemental to take time to con-

da došlo vreme da se istraže svi njeni slojevi značenja, na način koji omogućava da se bolje predviđi njena potencijalna budućnost, kao i budućnost Beograda.

Prevod sa engleskog: Irena Šentevska

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sider this place before any decision is taken. Most scholars and professionals usually do not consider the in-between phases of places. They will consider the past of a building and think of its potential future, but they will not take the time to reflect on the meaning of the stagnation. Since the building has been there for almost 15 years now, it might be high time to understand full layers of its meaning in order to better evaluate its potential future as well as the future of Belgrade.

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GENERALŠTAB I NJEGOVI AUTORI THE GENERALŠTAB BETWEEN ITS AUTHORS

Šta jedna građevina znači, za koga i kako? Da li ona ima više od jednog značenja i koje je od tih značenja 'ispravno'? Ko su tvorci ovog značenja?

Ova pitanja nalaze se u središtu kontroverze oko najčuvenije beogradske ruševine, Generalštaba arh. Nikole Dobrovića. Podrazumeva se da bi Generalštab trebao nekome nešto da znači; ali šta i kome? Brojne diskusije na internet forumima otkrivaju protivrečne interpretacije: Generalštab je ožiljak na licu Beograda koji treba ukloniti, svedočanstvo o žrtvovanju Srbije u rukama Zapada koje treba sačuvati, ozloglašeni simbol komunizma, mesto nostalgije za vrhuncima socijalističkog progressa, vrhunski domet modernizma, primer za njegove neuspehe, potencijalno javno mesto, prepreka na putu unovčavanja vredne nekretnine itd. Ono što izostaje iz ovih rasprava su značenja koja je arhitekta imao na umu kada je projektovao građevinu. To čini stvari dodatno komplikovanim, jer je arhitektonska vrednost Generalštaba glavni argument za njegovu zaštitu koji se zasniva upravo na bliskoj vezi između Dobrovićeve teorije i prakse. Generalštab je veoma originalno ostvarenje, ali njegova vrednost nije svima očigledna i zahteva obrazovanog posmatrača – to je moderni "*homo spatiosus*" kojeg je Dobrović već zamišljao na ulicama Beograda. On je, po svemu sudeći, bio preveliki optimista; međutim, za kompetentnu javnu debatu od ključnog je značaja da Dobrovićeve namere nađu svoje mesto u javnom diskursu.

Dobrović je pisao o Generalštabu u svom čuvenom članku iz 1960. pod naslovom 'Pokrenutost prostora – Bergsonove 'Dinamičke sheme' – nova likovna sredina'.¹ Ovde je koristio Generalštab kao ilustraciju teorije o "pokrenutom prostoru" koja bi, nadao se, transformisala haotične i neuređene gradove u harmonične i uravnotežene organizme. Kao što sugerise sâm naslov članka, filozofsku osnovu predstavljalo je delo francuskog filozofa Anrija Bergsona (Henri Bergson, 1859-1941), a posebno njegova najpopularnija knjiga *Stvaralačka evolucija* (1907).² Inspirisan Čarlsom Darwinom, Bergson je postavio pitanje šta pokreće evoluciju živih organizama i došao do zaključka da to mora biti životna sila koja obezbeđuje kontinuitet u razmnožavanju živih bića. U svom članku Dobrović je ovu liniju mišljenja preusmerio na gradski prostor. On se zalagao za "novu likovnu sredinu" u kojoj bi urbani prostor bio vizuelno pokrenut kroz dinamičke odnose među građevinama: time grad

What does a building mean, to whom, and how? Does it have more than one meaning and which is the correct one? Who are the authors of those meanings?

These questions are at the center of the controversy over Belgrade's most famous ruin, Nikola Dobrović's Generalštab. The underlying assumption is that the Generalštab *means* something to someone; but what and to whom? Numerous discussions on internet forums reveal conflicting interpretations: a blemish on the face of Belgrade to be removed, evidence of Serbia's victimhood at the hands of the West to be preserved, a reviled symbol of communism, a harbinger of nostalgia for the heyday of socialist progress, a pinnacle of modernism, an example of the failures of modernism, a potential public space, something that stands in the way of monetizing on valuable real-estate, etc. Missing from the discussions are the meanings that the building's architect had in mind. That is perplexing, because the Generalštab's architectural value is the chief argument for its preservation and it lies precisely in the close connection between Dobrović's theory and practice. The Generalštab is a highly original achievement, but its value is not self-evident and requires an educated observer, a modern "*homo spatiosus*" that Dobrović imagined already walked the streets of Belgrade. He was, it appears, too optimistic; but for an informed public discussion, it is thus crucial that Dobrović's intentions find way into the public discourse.

Dobrović wrote about the Generalštab in a famous 1960 article titled "Space in Motion—Bergson's 'Dynamic Schemes'—New Visual Environment."¹ In it, he used the Generalštab to illustrate the theory of "space in motion," which, Dobrović hoped, would transform haphazard, disorderly cities into harmonious unified organisms. As the title suggests, the philosophical basis was the work of the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941) and in particular his most popular book *Creative Evolution* (1907).² Inspired by Charles Darwin, Bergson wondered what drives the evolution of living organisms and came to the conclusion that it had to be a vital force that enables the unceasing propagation of life. In his article, Dobrović applied this line of thinking to the urban scale. He argued in favor of a "new visual environment" in which urban space would be set in visual motion

postaje ekvivalentan organizmu koji likovno objedinjuje vlastite životne sile.

Dobrovićeva metafora o gradu kao harmoničnom organizmu datira barem iz perioda kada je rukovodio planiranjem Beograda sa okolinom, neposredno nakon rata. Godine 1946. pisao je o postojećem gradu kao primeru "nesređenog životnog organizma izvitoperene funkcije i neizgrađene urbanističke fizionomije", proizvodu društvenog uređanja koje daje prednost "ekonomski jačima" na račun svih onih koji to nisu.³ Nasuprot tome, nova planska ekonomija u socijalizmu "umanjuje nekontrolisano delovanje slepih materijalnih sila", omogućavajući gradovima da postanu "biološki organizmi u kojima pravilno funkcionišu svi pojedini organi".⁴ Takve tvrdnje bile su u skladu s modernističkim urbanističkim teorijama koje su optuživale špekulacije kapitalizma za haotičnu izgradnju savremenih gradova. Organicističke metafore iznova su se vraćale u modernistički diskurs: iste godine kada je Dobrović pisao gore navedeno, Le Corbusier je upoređivao gradove s "biološkim fenomenima koji imaju srca i organe, bez kojih ne mogu obavljati svoje specifične funkcije."⁵ Dobrović je kompleks Generalštaba shvatao kao ultimativni primer nove, organske urbanističke vizije – izgrađeni fragment "nove likovne sredine" – za čije je ostvarenje polagao nade u socijalizam.

"Dinamičke sheme" u naslovu Dobrovićevog teksta reflektuju Bergsonove teorijske postavke o dve vrste memorije: "mehaničkoj", kao što pri učenju pesama napamet, i "intelektualnoj" koja zahteva napor da se rekonstruiše upamćeni sadržaj, "koncentrovan" u jedinstvenom, celovitom prizoru.⁶ Prvoj vrsti sećanja treba mnogo vremena da se prikupe, ali se lako vraćaju – kao u slučaju pesmice iz obdaništa koja se lako izrecituje bez mnogo razmišljanja; drugom vrstom upravljaju "dinamičke sheme", apstraktne zbirke "smernica" ili unapred datih obrazaca koji zauzimaju malo memorijskog prostora, ali zahtevaju da obavljamo intelektualni rad na "otpakivanju" njegovog sadržaja. Dobrović je ove dinamičke sheme preveo u fizički prostor kroz seriju dijagrama koji mapiraju skup dinamičkih "likovnih sila" pomoću kojih je razvio koncept Generalštaba. Oni grade prostorni i formalni "genetski kod" koji metaforički pokreće celu građevinu: ona ovim izražava siloviti dinamizam koji nema paralela u srpskoj arhitekturi.

Još jedan s tim povezani kompleks značenja izvi-
re iz Dobrovićevih natpisa uz dijagrame. Ovde je on definisao zgrade DSZPNO (Državnog sekretarijata za poslove narodne odbrane) kao nosioce "svih bitnih osobina jednog prkosnog i borbenog naroda, od ustanka – organskim izrastanjem iz

through dynamic relationships between buildings, thus making the city equivalent to an organism bound together by the vital visual forces.

Dobrović's metaphor of a city as a harmonious organism dates back at least to the early postwar days when he headed the planning of Greater Belgrade. In 1946, he wrote about the existing city as a "disturbed organism with degenerate functions and unformed urban physiognomy," a product of the social order that favored the "economically powerful" at the expense of everyone else.³ In contrast, the new planned economy under socialism would "diminish the uncontrolled effects of blind material forces," enabling the cities to become "biologically well founded organisms."⁴ Such statements resonated with the modernist theories of urbanism, which blamed capitalist speculation for the chaotic development of modern cities. Organicist metaphors made a recurrent appearance in modernist discourse; the same year when Dobrović wrote the quoted words, Le Corbusier compared cities to "biological phenomena. They have hearts and organs indispensable to their special functions."⁵ Dobrović understood the Generalštab complex as the ultimate exemplification of the new, organic urban vision, a built fragment of the "new visual environment" that he hoped socialism would be able to summon into being.

The "dynamic schemes" in the title of Dobrović's text reflect Bergson's theorizing of two kinds of memory: "mechanical," such as learning a poem by heart, and "intellectual," which requires an effort to reconstruct the memorized content, compressed into a single unified image.⁶ The former takes much time to be stored but is quickly retrieved, like a nursery rhyme that can be easily recited without much thinking; the latter is governed by the "dynamic schemes," abstract collections of "directions" or preset patterns that occupy little memory space but require that we perform the intellectual work of unpacking its content. Dobrović translated these dynamic schemes into physical space through a series of diagrams that map the collection of dynamic "visual forces" along which the Generalštab unfolds. They comprise the spatial and formal "genetic code" that metaphorically sets the whole building in motion, allowing it to express a forceful dynamism without parallel in Serbian architecture.

Another related complex of meanings emerges from Dobrović's captions to the diagrams. There he defined the building as a "carrier of all important characteristics of a defiant and bold nation, from the uprising—by organic growth from the

tla – do izvijanja do vrletnih visina i neprohodnih litica".⁷ Ova tvrdnja očigledno se odnosi na partizansku narodnooslobodilačku borbu, uspostavljajući logičku vezu između formalnog dinamizma Generalštaba i otpora i hrabrosti Jugoslovena u ratu. Jedan kratki izdvojeni pasus pogodan je za još specifičniju interpretaciju: "Graditelj je odlomio komad planina, u kojima se vodila najljuća i najsudbonosnija borba o biti ili ne biti jugoslovenskih naroda i njihove likovno opremljene litice premestio u središte glavnoga grada. Urbanistički simbol Sutjeske oblikuje se s jedne i s druge strane Nemanjine ulice u novom prostornom tonu 'likovne Eroike'"⁸ Dobrović je tako transformisao Generalštab u ikonički znak koji prenosi značenje kroz vizuelnu sličnost, jer centralni motiv građevine – dve simetrične isturene kaskade zaista podsećaju na kanjon.

Verovatno nije preterano reći da je članak 'Pokrenutost prostora' jedinstven po tome što predstavlja prilog teoriji arhitekture u Srbiji o kome se najviše raspravljalo.⁹ Međutim, dok su bergsonovske teme ostale neupitne, simboličke reference na Bitku na Sutjeski najpre su dovođene u pitanje, a zatim se u potpunosti izostavljaju iz interpretacija. U jednom ranijem tekstu imao sam za cilj da vratim u raspravu ovo značenje – nasuprot njegovom pristrasnom brisanju ne bi li se Generalštab 'očistio' od socijalizma.¹⁰ Pa ipak, kao što pokazuju nebrojeni komentari na internetu, taj napor je bio uglavnom suvišan zato što referenca na Sutjesku lako opstaje: intelektualno izazovna teorija pokrenutog prostora je ono što zahteva šire prisustvo u javnosti. Međutim, nešto smo prevideli i ja i svi ostali komentatori: činjenica je da i pokrenuti prostor konotira socijalizam, uz Dobrovićev primer za novi harmoničan grad koji može da prevaziđe haotične posledice kapitalističke špekulacije. Ali to je bio *socijalizam prema Dobroviću*, daleko od pukog "odraza" socijalističke države: slično dostignućima sovjetske avangarde, Dobrovićev teorijski projekat primer je za sposobnost arhitekture da podari društvu novu formu kojom može da menja njegovu realnost (umesto da bude samo pasivna izvršiteljka političkih diktata).

Istorija Generalštaba proizvela je i druga značenja, prevashodno ona koja su povezana s njegovom funkcijom u aparatu državne odbrane. Mnogi ljudi iz bivše Jugoslavije imali su nekakvo lično iskustvo s vojskom čije je sedište bilo u ovoj građevini – kao njeni pripadnici, preko članova porodice, kao njeni protivnici, žrtve ili u nekoj kombinaciji navedenih mogućnosti. Problem je, međutim, u tome da korisnik objekta u ovom slučaju nije bio "u jedini, već u množini", i daleko od toga da se nije menjao. Koju vojsku čovek ima na umu kada je u pitanju

ground—to the ascension to cragged heights." ⁷The statement clearly referred to the Partisan liberation war, establishing a logical affiliation between the formal dynamism of the Generalštab and the Yugoslavs' defiance and courage. A short standalone paragraph offered an even more specific interpretation: "The builder broke off a piece of the mountains in which the fiercest and the most decisive struggle for the fate of the peoples of Yugoslavia was led, and he moved them to the center of the capital. An urban symbol of the Sutjeska is formed on either side of Nemanjina Street in a new spatial tone of a 'visual Eroica.'" ⁸ Dobrović thus transformed the Generalštab into an icon that signifies through visual resemblance with its referent, as the building's central motif of two symmetrical cantilever cascades indeed resembles a canyon.

It is probably not much of an exaggeration to say that the "Space in Motion" article is the single most discussed piece of architectural theory produced in Serbia.⁹ But while the Bergsonian themes remained indisputable, the symbolic reference to the Battle of Sutjeska was at first questioned and then completely omitted from interpretations. In an earlier text, I aimed at recuperating that meaning against the tendentious erasures that tried to purge socialism from the Generalštab.¹⁰ Yet, as innumerable internet comments show, that effort was largely unnecessary because the reference to the Sutjeska easily survives; it is the intellectually challenging theory of space in motion that requires broader public dissemination. What I and all other commentators overlooked, however, was the fact that space in motion also connoted socialism, as Dobrović's exemplification of a new harmonious city that would overcome the chaotic results of capitalist speculation. But it was a *socialism according to Dobrović*, far from a mere "reflection" of the socialist state; similar to the achievements of the Soviet avant-garde, Dobrović's theoretical project is an example of the power of architecture to give society a new form and thus intervene in its reality, rather than being just a passive recipient of the political dictate.

The Generalštab's history has also produced other meanings, most notably those related to its use as the seat of a state defense machine. Vast numbers of people around the former Yugoslavia have had some personal experience with the army that headquartered in the building, whether as its members and through family, as its adversaries, its victims, or any combination of the above. The problem, however, is that the user in question is not singular but plural and far from static. Just what army does one have in mind in relation

Generalštab? Partizanske jedinice iz Bitke na Sutjesci? Vojsku koja je oslobodila Beograd od Nemaca sa Dobrovićem u svojim redovima, ali nikoga nije štedela u osveti nad saradnicima nacističkog okupatora? Jugoslovensku narodnu armiju koja je naručila ovu građevinu početkom pedesetih godina kao simbol jugoslovenske nezavisnosti od Sovjeta? Rigidnu vojsku iz osamdesetih godina, bastion društvenog konzervativizma? Dezorijentisanu armiju koja se bori za sopstveno mesto u zemlji koja se nasilno dezintegriše? Viktimizovanu vojsku neiskusnih regruta koje su napadali dok su se povlačili iz zapadnih jugoslovenskih republika? Bezumnu vojsku koja je Vukovar granatirala u paramparčad? Onu koja je počinila ratne zločine na Kosovu? Vojsku koja se borila protiv NATO-a i oborila 'nevidljivi' američki F-117? Ili sadašnju profesionalnu vojsku koja je sama po sebi gotovo nevidljiva? Ova značenja upisuje nestabilni i nedefinisani institucionalni 'autor', podložan nedoslednostima i protivrečnostima, i čiji je identitet na ivici šizofrenog.

Još jedno značenje proizilazi iz činjenice da je Generalštab bio meta NATO bombardovanja 1999. Endru Heršer je nedavno izneo teoriju da uništenje građevina operiše kao "kulturalna konstrukcija": "Poput drugih kulturnih formi, nasilje je neka vrsta zapisa, zaogrtaње materijala u identitet i značenje koje nije svodivo na namere autora, uticaje konteksta ili objašnjenja tumača".¹¹ Zaista, u javnim raspravama izgleda da postoji saglasnost o tome da je nasilje nad Generalštabom proizvelo značajne tragove – ali koju vrstu tragova? Jesu li to obeležja sramote ili ožiljci koje treba nositi s ponosom? I zašto je NATO uopšte bombardovao Generalštab? Očigledan odgovor da je kompleks bio sedište neprijateljske vojske može se dovesti u pitanje u svetlu činjenice da u njoj nije bilo personala i opreme mesecima pre intervencije, a da je ceo Beograd bio svedok njegove evakuacije. Nesumnjivo je da je motivacija za bombardovanje uglavnom bila simboličke prirode; ali kako je tačno glasila poruka i na čiju adresu je trebala da stigne? Je li svrha bombardovanja naprosto bila širenje defetizma po Srbiji ili je njegova poruka pre bila upućena publici na Zapadu? Ili je iza njega stajala skrivena kulturna agenda, kao što je provokativno sugerisao Srđan Jovanović Weiss: da li je NATO zaista delovao kao arhitektonski kritičar ciljajući modernističke građevine, a proglašivši neoklasicistički Beli dvor off limits za projekte zato što u njemu visi Rembrant?¹² Koje su mesto zapravo dobile bombardovane građevine u NATO hijerarhiji kulturnih vrednosti? Jesu li smatrane legitimnim metama zato što nisu dovoljno stare da bi se smatrale kulturnom baštinom? Je li to bio slučaj zato što NATO vode kulturni konzervativci? Ili zato što

to the Generalštab? The Partisan units of the Battle of Sutjeska? The army that liberated Belgrade from the Germans with Dobrović in its ranks, but was then less than discriminatory in its retribution against the Nazi collaborators? The Yugoslav People's Army that commissioned the building in the early 1950s as a guarantor of Yugoslavia's independence from the Soviets? The ossified army of the 1980s, the bastion of social conservatism? The disoriented army struggling to find its place in the violently disintegrating country? The victimized army of inexperienced recruits attacked during their retreat from Yugoslavia's western republics? The insane army that shelled Vukovar into pieces? The army that committed war crimes in Kosovo? The army that fought NATO and took down an "invisible" American F-117? Or the current professional army that is in itself virtually invisible? These meanings are inscribed by an unstable and elusive institutional "author" prone to inconsistencies and contradictions, whose identity borders on schizophrenic.

Another meaning derives from the fact that the Generalštab was a target of NATO in 1999. Andrew Herscher recently theorized that the destruction of buildings works as "cultural construction" in its own right: "Like other cultural forms, violence is a kind of inscription, an investment of material with identity and meaning that is irreducible to the intention of an author, the determination of a context, or the explanation of an interpreter."¹¹ Indeed, in the public discussions there seems to be an agreement that the violence against the Generalštab produced meaningful traces; but what kind of traces: are they signs of shame, or are they scars to be worn with pride? And why exactly did NATO bomb the Generalštab? The obvious explanation that the building was the seat of the enemy army can be questioned in light of the fact that it was emptied of personnel and equipment months before the intervention, with all of Belgrade witnessing its evacuation. There is little doubt that the motivation was largely symbolic; but what exactly was the message and who were supposed to be its recipients? Was the purpose of bombing simply to spread defeatism around Serbia, or was it rather aimed at the public in the West? Or was there a hidden cultural agenda behind it, as Srđan Jovanović Weiss provocatively suggested: did NATO indeed act as an architectural critic by targeting modernist buildings, while declaring the neo-classicist White Palace off limits for the missiles because there was a Rembrandt hanging inside?¹² Indeed, what place were the bombed buildings given in NATO's hierarchy of cultural values? Were they considered legitimate targets because they were not old enough to con-

su mnoge bombardovane građevine zaostavština socijalističkog perioda, a njihovo uništenje time predstavlja pripremu za njihovu potonju tranziciju u globalni kapitalizam, kako je rečito ilustrovao primer zgrade Centralnog komiteta?

S druge strane, kada je Generalštab dobio status kulturne baštine 2005. godine, njegova arhitektonska vrednost ponovo je unela određen stepen izvesnosti u njegova tumačenja. Problem je u tome što unutar polja značenja kojima dominiraju ona koja su neodređena i kontradiktorna, profesionalna nedvosmislenost zauzima duboko perifernu poziciju, bez značaja za vladajuću elitu zaokupljenu time da konvertuje u kapital svaku dostupnu gradsku lokaciju prodajom ovom ili onom stranom investitoru. Kontrast sa stepenom profesionalne autonomije koju je Dobrović uživao tokom socijalističkog perioda – koji se često opisuje kao 'totalitaran' – jedan je od mnogih pokazatelja odlaska Srbije na periferiju globalne neoliberalne ekonomije.

Prevod sa engleskog: Irena Šentevska

Napomene:

¹ Nikola Dobrović, 'Pokrenutost prostora – Bergsonove 'Dinamičke sheme' – nova likovna sredina', prvobitno objavljeno u: Čovjek i prostor (Zagreb) 7, br. 100 (1960): 10-11; reprint u Dobrović, posebno izdanje časopisa Urbanizam Beograda XII, br. 58 (1980): 38-51; i u: Miloš Perović, Spasoje Krnić, eds., Nikola Dobrović: Eseji, projekti, kritike (Beograd: Arhitektonski fakultet i Muzej arhitekture, 1998), 115-134.

² Anri Bergson, Stvaralačka evolucija (Beograd: Kosmos, 1932.)

³ Nikola Dobrović, 'Obnova i izgradnja Beograda. Konture budućeg grada', u: Tehnika br. 6 (jun 1946): 176.

⁴ Nikola Dobrović, 'Središnji i regionalni (urbanistički) planovi', u: Tehnika I, br. 1 (Január, 1946): 8.

⁵ Le Corbusier, Propos d'urbanisme (Paris: Éditions Bourrellier, 1946), 49.

⁶ Henri Bergson, 'Intellectual Effort', u: Mind-Energy: Lectures and Essays, prev. H. Wildon Carr (Westport, CT, i London: Greenwood Press, 1920 [1975]), 186-230.

⁷ Dobrović, 'Pokrenutost prostora', 43.

⁸ Ibid. •

⁹ Opširan pregled akademske literature o Dobrovićevom članku, videti u: Marko Matejić, 'Prilog proučavanju zgrade Generalštaba Nikole Dobrovića: koncept i iskustvo prostora', u: Nasleđe, br. 13 (2012): 167-83.

¹⁰ Vladimir Kulić, Architettura e politica dell'interpretazione: Il caso del Generalštab a Belgrado. Rim: Fondazione Bruno Zevi, 2010.

¹¹ Andrew Herscher, Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict, Kindle edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), Loc. 166.

¹² Srđan Jovanović Weiss, 'NATO as an Architectural Critic', Cabinet I, br. 1 (zima 2000)

stitute cultural heritage? Or was it because NATO is run by cultural conservatives? Or was it because many of the bombed buildings were heritage from socialist period, their destruction thus preparing their subsequent transition to global capitalism, as the Central Committee building so eloquently illustrated?

In contrast, when the Generalštab was awarded the cultural heritage status in 2005, it was its architectural value that again inserted a degree of certainty into its interpretation. The problem is that within a field of meanings dominated by vague and contradictory meanings, professional clarity occupies a deeply peripheral position, irrelevant to the reigning elite intent on capitalizing on any available urban site by selling it to this or that international investor. The contrast with the degree of professional autonomy that Dobrović enjoyed during the socialist period—which is often portrayed as "totalitarian"—is one of the many indicators of Serbia's passage into the periphery of the global neoliberal economy.

Notes:

¹ See Nikola Dobrović, 'Pokrenutost prostora – Bergsonove 'Dinamičke sheme' – nova likovna sredina,' first published in Čovjek i prostor (Zagreb) 7, no. 100 (1960): 10-11; reprinted in Dobrović, special issue of Urbanizam Beograda XII, no. 58 (1980): 38-51; and in Miloš Perović, Spasoje Krnić, eds., Nikola Dobrović: Eseji, projekti, kritike/Essays, Projects, Critiques (Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet and Muzej arhitekture, 1998), 115-134.

² Henri Bergson, Creative Evolution (New York: Random House, 1944).

³ Nikola Dobrović, 'Obnova i izgradnja Beograda. Konture budućeg grada,' in: Tehnika no. 6 (June 1946): 176.

⁴ Nikola Dobrović, 'Središnji i regionalni (urbanistički) planovi,' in: Tehnika I, no. 1 (January, 1946): 8-9.

⁵ Le Corbusier, Propos d'urbanisme (Paris: Éditions Bourrellier, 1946), 49.

⁶ Henri Bergson, 'Intellectual Effort,' in: Mind-Energy: Lectures and Essays, translated by H. Wildon Carr (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1920 [1975]), 186-230.

⁷ Dobrović, 'Pokrenutost prostora,' 43.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For an exhaustive overview of the scholarly accounts of Dobrović's article, see: Marko Matejić, 'Prilog proučavanju zgrade Generalštaba Nikole Dobrovića: koncept i iskustvo prostora,' in: Nasleđe, no. 13 (2012): 167-83.

¹⁰ Vladimir Kulić, Architettura e politica dell'interpretazione: Il caso del Generalštab a Belgrado. Rome: Fondazione Bruno Zevi, 2010.

¹¹ Andrew Herscher, Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict, Kindle edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), Loc. 166.

¹² Srđan Jovanović Weiss, 'NATO as an Architectural Critic,' Cabinet I, no. 1 (Winter 2000).

**EVOLUTIVNI MODEL REKONSTRUKCIJE ZGRADE GENERALŠTABA NIKOLE DOBROVIĆA:
ARHITEKTONSKI KONTINUUM I POLITIKE PAMĆENJA
EVOLUTIONARY MODEL OF RECONSTRUCTION OF NIKOLA DOBROVIĆ'S BUILDING OF
GENERALŠTAB: ARCHITECTURAL CONTINUUM AND POLITICS OF MEMORY**

1. Uvod: Tri modela rekonstrukcije

Nakon bombardovanja zgrade Generalštaba 1999. godine od strane NATO-a, u dnevnoj štampi, predavanjima i diskusijama različitog tipa dominirala su dva modela rekonstrukcije, koja iz tog razloga pogrešno mogu biti shvaćena i kao dva jedina modela rekonstrukcije. Prvi model rekonstrukcije nazvaćemo *konzervativni model*, koji je sadržan u stavu da zgradu (pri čemu se misli na fasadu) treba rekonstruisati prema stanju pre bombardovanja. Iza ovakvog stava stoje Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i deo stručne arhitektonske javnosti. Drugi model rekonstrukcije nazvaćemo *ekonomski model*. Glavna karakteristika ovog modela jeste da se o sudbini zgrade Generalštaba odlučuje prevashodno na osnovu ekonomskih elemenata, zanemarujući sve ostale elemente i slojeve koje prostorna intervencija ovog obima i društvenog značaja nosi sa sobom. Preduslov za ostvarivanje ovakvog modela jeste ukidanje statusa kulturnog dobra. Ovakav model rekonstrukcije ima podršku Republičke direkcije za imovinu Republike Srbije i političara koji su u javnosti iznosili stavove u prilog ovakvog modela dok su vršili funkcije ministara odbrane, gradonačelnika itd. Alternativa konzervativnom i ekonomskom modelu jeste *evolutivni model rekonstrukcije* koji predstavlja sveukupni dalji razvoj arhitektonskog objekta. U slučaju zgrade Generalštaba ovaj model sadrži princip poštovanje i nadgradnje izvornog i sveukupnog Dobrovićevog koncepta prostora, sadrži arhitektonski kontinuum kroz poštovanje svih slojeva fizičkog postojanja zgrade i princip pamćenja istorijskih događaja kroz arhitektonski objekat kao spomenik, pritom prihvatajući ravnomerno sve simboličke slojeve i tumačenja koje zgrada nudi. Sa ciljem daljeg pojašnjenja i argumentovanja ovog modela prvo ćemo na primeru palate Sponza razmotriti Dobrovićev pristup rekonstrukciji zaštićenih arhitektonskih objekata. Nakon toga, na primerima Kelna, Sarajeva i Njujorka, prikazaćemo savremene modele rekonstrukcije zgrada koje su delimično ili potpuno porušene u ratu ili terorističkim napadima. Pritom, između zgrade Generalštaba i predstavljenih primera ne treba tražiti potpunu jednakost, imajući u vidu različite kontekste u kojima se primeri dešavaju i različiti obim prostorne rekonstrukcije. Ipak, u ovim pri-

1. Introduction: Three models of reconstruction

After the NATO bombing of *Generalštab* in 1999, two models of proposed reconstruction featured in the daily press, lectures and discussions of various types. For this reason they could be misperceived as the only possible models of reconstruction. We shall refer to the first of them as the *conservative model*, which conforms to the opinion that the building (its façade) should be reconstructed in its condition prior to the bombing. This position is held by the Belgrade City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia and a part of the professional architectural community. The second model of reconstruction will be described as the *economic model*. Its main claim is that the fate of *Generalštab* should be decided mostly on economic grounds, sidestepping all the other elements and layers embedded in a spatial intervention of this scale and social significance. A precondition for its implementation is abolishing the building's status of a cultural good. Such model of reconstruction is supported by the Property Directorate of the Republic of Serbia and a number of politicians who advocated it during their public office mandates as defense ministers, mayors etc. The alternative to the conservative and economic models is the *evolutionary model of reconstruction* which stands for the overall further development of an architectural structure. In the case of *Generalštab*, this model meets the principles of compliance with and advancing of Dobrović's original and integral spatial concepts. It argues for an architectural continuum in acknowledging all the layers of physical existence (and decay) of the building, and a principle of remembrance of historic events conceiving a piece of architecture as a monument. Furthermore, it embraces on equal terms all the symbolic layers and interpretations the building might propound. In further discussion and clarification of this model we shall first look at Dobrović's approach to the reconstruction of protected architectural structures, using the example of Sponza Palace in Dubrovnik. We shall proceed with illustrations of contemporary approaches to the reconstruction of violently destroyed buildings in Cologne, Sarajevo and New York. Nevertheless, one should not expect full equivalence between the *Generalštab*

merima treba tražiti dodirne tačke, prepoznati situacije iz kojih se mogu izvesti pouke i prepoznati elemente koji prilagođeni kontekstu Beograda i zgrade Generalštaba mogu doprineti kompleksnijem razumevanju i sagledavanju novih mogućnosti i pravaca u kojima se proces rekonstrukcije može kretati.

2. Diskusija, argumentacija, primeri

2.1 Dobrović i rekonstrukcija zaštićene arhitekture

Boraveći u Dubrovniku tridesetih godina dvadesetog veka, Dobrović je između ostalog 1937. godine uradio projekta za adaptaciju prizemlja palate Sponza, koji je obuhvatao između ostalog zatvaranje bočnog luka atrijuma i po obimu intervencije daleko je skromniji od rekonstrukcije zgrade veličine Generalštaba. Mala po obimu, ipak ova intervencija u prostoru je proizvela podjednako različita mišljenja kao što je to danas slučaj sa zgradom Generalštaba. Različite stavove o adaptaciji palate Sponza navela je Marija Milinković u svom magistarskom radu koji se bavi Dobrovićevim stvaralaštvom u periodu njegovog boravka u Dubrovniku.¹ Kako ona navodi, stav Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika i prirode u Dubrovniku bio je da Dobrovićev pristup adaptaciji palate Sponza narušava izvornost građevine i da je konzervator-



Slika 1: Palata Sponza, zatvaranje bočnog luka atrijuma prema Dobrovićevom projektu (ljubaznošću Marije Milinković)

Image 1: Sponza Palace, closing of the lateral atrium arch according to Dobrović's design (courtesy of Marija Milinković).

and other examples, due to different contexts of reconstruction and different scales of spatial interventions. However, in those instances one should seek points of analogy, recognize the instructive situations and elements which, tailored to the contexts of Belgrade and *Generalštab* itself, may contribute to a more complex understanding and conceiving new possibilities and directions for the reconstruction process.

2. Discussion, arguments, examples

2.1. Dobrović and reconstruction of protected architecture

While staying in Dubrovnik in the 1930s, Dobrović (among other things) conceived in 1937 the project for adaptation of the ground floor of Sponza Palace: this included the closing of the lateral arch of the atrium. The intervention was certainly modest in scale, when compared to reconstruction of a building of *Generalštab's* size. However small-scale it may have been, this spatial intervention did provoke equally differing opinions as is today the case with *Generalštab*. In her MA thesis on Dobrović's *oeuvre* from the period of his stay in Dubrovnik, Marija Milinković described the attitudes towards the adaptation of Sponza Palace.¹ According to Milinković, the Institute for the Protection of Monuments and Nature in Dubrovnik held that Dobrović's approach to the adaptation of Sponza Palace compromised the original features of the building, judging that as unacceptable. On the other hand, she quotes the contemporary architect from Dubrovnik, Krunoslav Ivanišin, who acknowledged Dobrović's adaptation of Sponza Palace as the most consequent contemporary architectural intervention inside the walls of Dubrovnik. On her part, Milinković saw this intervention as far from being 'restrained' and pointed out that from today's perspective it could not be viewed as insensitive to the quality and character of Dubrovnik's built heritage. According to this author, the example testifies that Dobrović conceived the processes of design and reconstruction of architectural structures as acts of critical reflection and creative thinking - not as routine resort to formulas.

2.2. Cologne: Reconstruction of the Cologne Cathedral and the Church of St. Columba

Cologne Cathedral and Church of St. Columba are two notable buildings which (along with the rest of the city) suffered great damage in the Allies' bombing during the World War II.

ski neprihvatljiv. Sa druge strane, navodi mišljenje savremenog dubrovačkog arhitekta Krunoslava Ivanišina, koji smatra da je Dobrovićeva adaptacija palate Sponza najdoslednija savremena arhitektonska intervencija unutar dubrovačkih zidina. Sama Milinković je ovakav pristup adaptaciji videla kao prostornu intervenciju koja je daleko od konzervatorske uzdržanosti, ali koja sa sadašnje tačke gledišta ne bi mogla da se tumači kao neosetljiva na kvalitet i karakter graditeljskog nasleđa. U nastavku ona ističe da je ovo primer da je Dobrović procesu projektovanja i rekonstrukcije arhitektonskih objekata pristupao kao činu kritičkog rasuđivanja i kreativnog mišljenja, a ne kao rutinskoj primeni obrazaca.

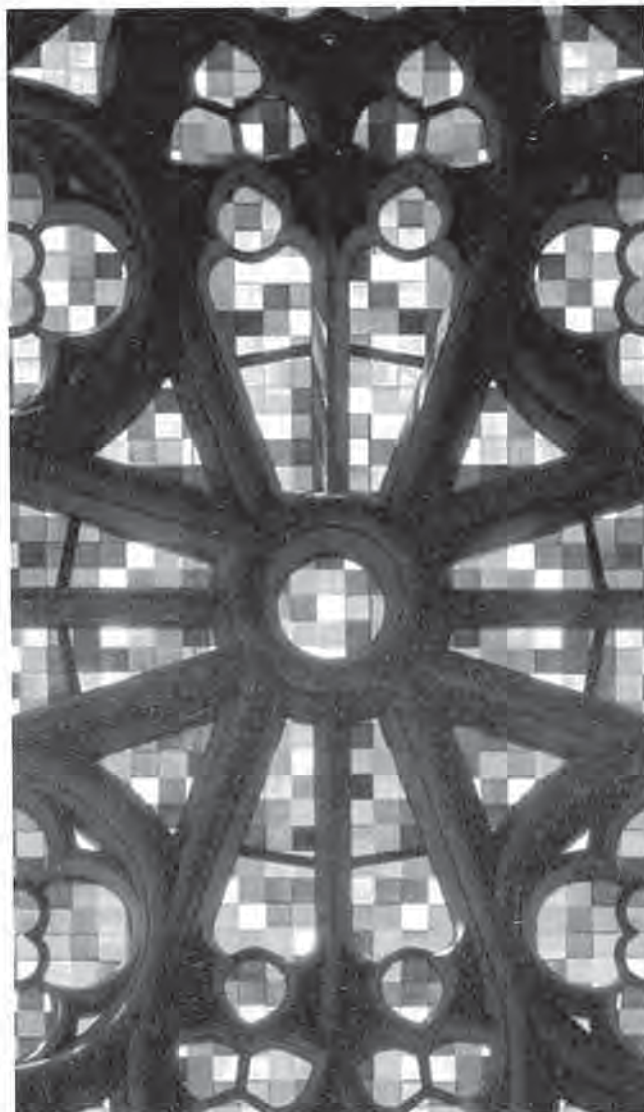
2.2 Keln: rekonstrukcija Kelnske Katedrale i Crkve Svetog Kolumbana

Kelnska katedrala i Crkva Svetog Kolumbana dva su značajna arhitektonska objekta koja su kao i ostatak Kelna pretrpeli velika oštećenja u savezničkim bombradovanjima tokom Drugog svetskog rata.

U slučaju Kelnske katedrale, rekonstrukcija prozora u južnom transeptu veličinom intervencije i kontraverznim reakcijama koje je proizvela bliska je Dobrovićevoj intervenciji na palati Sponza. Nakon što je oštećen tokom bombardovanja, u prozoru južnog transepta privremeno je bilo montirano obično staklo koje je tu ostalo više od šezdeset godina, sve dok 2007. godine nije zamenjeno vitražom koji je izradio poznati nemački konceptualni umetnik Gerhard Rihter. Međutim, Rihterova ideja da se prozor u južnom transeptu izradi nalik na digitalni vitraž sastavljen od velikog broja staklenih piksela različite boje, nije naišla kod svih na odobravanje. Jedan od protivnika ovakve ideje bio je i kardinal Joakim Majsner prema čijem mišljenju je ovaj prozor nakon rekonstrukcije trebalo da prikazuje katoličkog mučenika. Nakon što je Rihterova ideja ipak sprovedena u delo, kardinal je odbio da se pojavi na otkrivanju vitraža.

Takođe, severozapadni stub severnog tornja Kelnske katedrale oštećen je tokom bombardovanja 1943. godine u visini od dvadeset metara. Kako je oštećenje stuba bilo značajno i pošto je bila narušena statička stabilnost tornja u oštećeni stub je ugrađeno 27500 komada opeke sakupljene sa okolnih ruševina. Ovaj ožiljak je postao poznat pod nazivom *ziegelsteinplombe* predstavljajući spomenik i sećanje na istorijske događaje. Ipak, 2005. godine stub je rekonstruisan prema originalnom izgledu u originalnom materijalu i danas, osim razlike u boji kamena, ne postoji jasan trag o istorijskim događajima utkanim u arhitektonsko tkivo katedrale.

In the case of the Cologne Cathedral, reconstruction of the window in the south transept, due to the size of the intervention and controversies it provoked, somewhat resembles Dobrović's intervention in the Sponza Palace. Damaged in the bombing, the window of the south transept was provisionally replaced by plane panel glass. This remained in position for more than 60 years, until in 2007 it was replaced by a stained glass designed by the well-known German conceptual artist Gerhard Richter. However, Richter's idea to render the window of the south transept so as to resemble a digital stained glass (composed of a multitude of glass pixels of varying colors) was not universally appreciated. One opponent to this concept was the cardinal Joachim Meisner (Archbishop of Cologne) who opined that after the reconstruction this window should feature a Catholic martyr. When Richter's idea was finally executed, the cardinal refused to appear at the ceremonial revealing of the stained glass window.

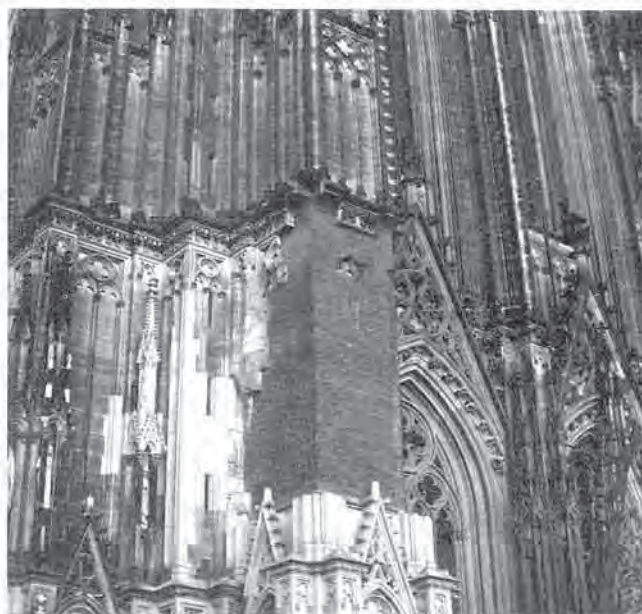


Slika 2: Vitraž u prozoru južnog transepta Kelnske katedrale nakon rekonstrukcije

Image 2: Stained glass window of the south transept of the Cathedral of Cologne after the reconstruction.

Rekonstrukciju arhitektonskih objekata prema njihovom originalnom stanju američki arhitekta Libius Vuds smatrao je civilizovanom parodijom, smatrajući da ožiljci na zgradama predstavljaju vizuelni podsetnik i estetsko oličenje prošlosti koja ne sme biti poništena.²

Druga zgrada koju prikazujemo kao primer iz Kelna, Crkva Sv. Kolumbana, srušena je maltene u potpunosti tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Na njenim ruševinama je u periodu od 2003. do 2007. godine izgrađen Muzej umetnosti Arhiepiskopije Kelna, prema projektu švajcarskog arhitekta Petera Zumtora. Za ovaj projekat, Zumtor je 2009. godine dobio najveće priznanje u oblasti arhitekture – Prickerovu nagradu (Pritzker Prize). U katalogu venecijanskog Bijenala za 2002. godinu, ovaj projekat se opisuje kao delo koje u sebi apsorbuje sve postojeće fragmente, što je postignuto usva-



Slika 3: Oštećeni stub severnog tornja Kelske katedrale sa ispunom od cigala

Image 3: Damaged column of the north tower of the Cathedral of Cologne with the brick infill.

janjem originalnih planova i postavljanjem zgrade na same ruševine čime ona postaje deo jednog arhitektonskog kontinuuma koji predstavlja uspomenu i svojevrsan zapis o razaranjima tokom rata. U istom katalogu, Zumtorov projekat tumači se kao uspešan odgovor na jednu vanvremensku dilemu, da li istorija mesta prevazilazi vreme ili se njena prošlost gubi u sadašnjosti?³

Arhitektonski kontinuum povezan je sa Bergsonovim (Anri Bergson, francuski filozof sa početka dvadesetog veka) shvatanjem pojma trajanja, a na taj način povezan i sa prostornim konceptom zgrade Generalštaba. (Bergsonove teze predstavljaju deo Dobrovićeve konceptualne postavke prostora).⁴ U svojoj knjizi *Stvaralačka evolucija* Bergson

Furthermore, the north-west column of the Cologne Cathedral's north tower sustained damage during a 1943 bombing. As the damage of the column was severe (20m high) and as the static stability of the tower was compromised, there was an urgent intervention: 27 500 bricks gathered from the surrounding ruins were built into the crumbled column. This scar became known as *ziegelsteinplombe*, which represented a monument commemorating historic events. However, in 2005, the column was reconstructed according to its original design and in its original material. Today, except for the difference in color of the stone, there is no clear evidence of the historic events entangled in the architectural 'tissue' of the cathedral.

American architect Lebbeus Woods considered reconstruction of architectural structures to their original state as a civilized parody. In his opinion, buildings' scars served as visual reminders and aesthetic reification of the past which should never be obliterated.²

The second example from Cologne presented here, the Church of St. Columba, had been demolished during the Second World War more or less entirely. From 2003 to 2007, the Art Museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne was being built at its ruins, according to the design of the Swiss architect Peter Zumthor. In 2009, for this design Zumthor received the highest accolade in the field of architecture – the Pritzker Prize. In the catalogue of the 2002 Venice Biennale this project was described as a work which absorbed all the existing architectural fragments: this was accomplished by adopting the original plans and locating the building on the very ruins of the church. It thus became a part of an architectural continuum which represents a memory and a particular trace of the wartime destruction. In the same catalogue, Zumthor's design was interpreted as a successful response to a timeless dilemma: does history of a place transcend time or its past loses itself in the present?³

Architectural continuum refers to Henri Bergson's understanding of *duration*: therefore, it also relates to the particular conception of the *Generalštab* building. (Bergson's theses are embedded into Dobrović's conceptual layout of the space).⁴ In his book *Creative Evolution* Bergson conceived duration as 'invention, creation of forms, and incessant production of the absolutely new...'.⁵ Someone might go astray and find here arguments (in favor of producing the absolutely new) for a full removal of the existing buildings of *Generalštab* and development of brand new structures in their stead. To the contrary, as true

trajanje tumači kao "invenciju, stvaranje oblika, neprekidno izrađivanje apsolutno novog".⁵ Neko bi se mogao prevariti pa u izgrađivanju apsolutno novog pronaći argument za potpuno uklanjanje postojećih zgrada Generalštaba i izgradnju sasvim novih zgrada na njihovoj parceli. Naprotiv, Bergson pod stvarnim trajanjem i stvaranjem apsolutno novog podrazumeva stvaranje "oblika koji postaju iz ranijih oblika, dodajući tu nešto novo."⁶

2.3 Sarajevo: radikalna rekonstrukcija i slobodni prostor Libiusa Vuds

Libius Vuds je 1993. godine boravio u Sarajevu tokom rata u Bosni u vreme opsade ovog grada i u tom periodu izradio projekte za rekonstrukciju brojnih porušenih zgrada, koji su predstavljali studije slučajeva za njegovu teoriju radikalne rekonstrukcije. Prema ovoj teoriji, oštećenja na zgradi nastala kao posledica delovanja urbanih katastrofa (kao što je rat) imaju značajnu ulogu u očuvanju memorije i stoga trebaju biti sastavni deo sveukupnog procesa rekonstrukcije. Jedan od projekata koje je Vuds uradio bio je i projekat za rekonstrukciju zgrade Elektroprivrede poznatog jugosloven-

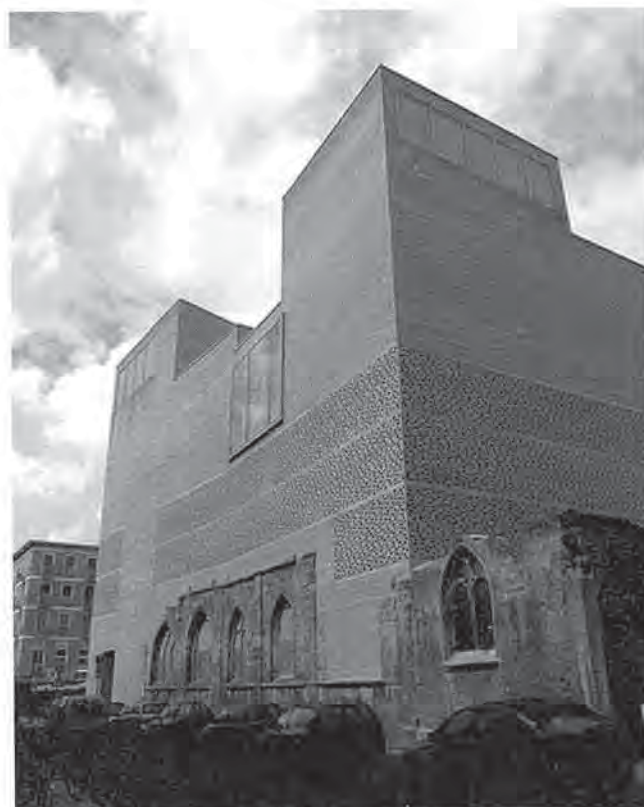


Slika 5: Srušena zgrada Elektroprivrede, Sarajevo
Image 5: Demolished building of Elektroprivreda, Sarajevo



Slika 6: 3D model prema projektu Libiusa Vuds
Image 6: 3D model according to the project by Libbeus Woods.

duration and creation of the absolutely new, Bergson had in mind the 'forms derived from previous forms, adding there something new...'⁶



Slika 4: Muzej umetnosti arhiepiskopije Kelna
Image 4: Art Museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne

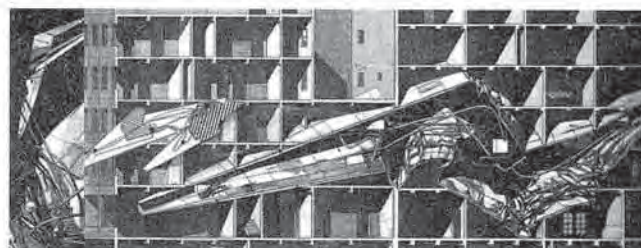
2.3 Sarajevo: Radical reconstruction and free space of Libbeus Woods

In 1993 Libbeus Woods stayed in Sarajevo, at the time of the siege of this city during the war in Bosnia. In this period he worked on the designs for reconstruction of many demolished buildings, which represented case studies for his theory of radical reconstruction. According to this theory, damage sustained by buildings as a consequence of urban disasters (e.g. war) plays a significant role in memory keeping and should hence be integrated into the overall process of reconstruction. One of the designs Woods worked on was reconstruction of the premises of *Elektroprivreda* (The Electrical Management Building). This was a work of the well-known Yugoslav architect Ivan Štraus, who asked Woods to commit to this project. According to Woods, the prior administrative functions would mainly be preserved, while the demolished parts would be constructed as free spaces filled with new content. The concept of free space was already present in Woods' 1991 project *Berlin Free Zone*. In addition, different interpretations of this spatial concept found their place in new architectural structures, e.g. the Cooper Union

skog arhitekta Ivana Štrausa, na čiju molbu je Vuds i uradio ovaj projekat. Prema projektu, veći deo prostora je trebalo da dobije prethodnu administrativnu funkciju, dok bi prostori razneseni bombama bili konstruisani kao slobodni prostori ispunjeni novim sadržajima. Ideja o slobodnom prostoru prethodno je prikazana u Vudsovom projektu Berlin Free Zone iz 1991. godine, a različite interpretacije ovog prostornog koncepta našle su svoje mesto i u novoizgrađenim arhitektonskim objektima kao što je nova zgrada The Cooper Union univerziteta, izgrađena u periodu od 2006. do 2009. godine prema projektu Morfozisa. Posmatrano iz ugla autora teksta, slobodni prostor je ispunio i bombama razrušen prostor zgrade Generalštaba u studentskim projektima Milutina Cerovića i Edina Omanovića, izrađenim na Arhitektonskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu.⁷

Projektima za Sarajevo Vuds je želeo da ukaže na to da svrha rekonstrukcije nije samo u čišćenju nereda ili popravci štete, već u transformaciji društva, politike i ekonomije putem arhitekture.⁸ Međutim, rat je, kao jedan vid urbane katastrofe, pored lič-

university premises built between 2006 and 2009 according to the design by Morphosis Architects. Free space, as I understand it, also filled the bombed segments of *Generalštab* in the student designs by Milutin Cerović and Edin Omanović from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade.⁷



Slika 7: Projekat Berlin Free Zone, Libius Vuds
Image 7: The Berlin Free Zone project. Libbeus Woods



Slika 8: The Cooper Union, Morfozis
Image 8: The Cooper Union. Morphosis



Slika 9: Studentski projekat, Milutin Cerović
Image 9: Student project by Milutin Cerović



Slika 10: Studetski projekat, Edin Omanović
Image 10: Student project by Edin Omanović

With his projects for Sarajevo Woods wanted to point out that the purpose of reconstruction was not only to clean the mess or repair the damage, but to transform the society, politics and economy through architecture.⁸ However, as a form of urban disaster, war is (beside the personal tragedies) often followed by social, political and economic upheavals which may, if they last long enough, considerably diminish the capacity of cities for a systemic and multi-layered urban renewal, as noted by Vale and Campanella.⁹ In the post-war circumstances in Sarajevo, socialism or communism which represented the past, unstable privatization which represented the reality of Sarajevo after the war, and unclear ways of funding the reconstruction of damaged buildings, are the social circumstances which Woods attempted to transform.¹⁰ They, in turn, obstructed the realization of his projects and enabled the reconstruction of *Elektroprivreda* premises in a way that abrogates the memory of its original architecture or any of the relevant historic events.

2.4 New York: Building of memory

Contrary to the example of Sarajevo, recovery of New York after the 2001 terrorist attack on



Slika 11: Zgrada Elektroprivrede nakon rekonstrukcije
Image 11: Elektroprivreda building after the reconstruction

nih tragedija, često praćen socijalnim, političkim i ekonomskim katastrofama, koje ako traju dovoljno dugo mogu značajno umanjiti sposobnost gradova za sistemskom i višeslojnom urbanom obnovom, kao što su primetili Vejli i Kampanela.⁹ U posleratnim okolnostima Sarajeva, socijalizam ili komunizam koji je predstavljao prošlost, nesigurna privatizacija koja je predstavljala realnost posleratnog Sarajeva i nejasan način finansiranja rekonstrukcije oštećenih zgrada, društvene su okolnosti koje je Vuds pokušao da transformiše,¹⁰ a koje su onemogućile da njegovi projekti budu realizovani i omogućile da zgrada Elektroprivrede bude rekonstruisana na način koji briše sećanje na prethodnu arhitekturu i istorijska dešavanja.

2.4 Njujork: izgradnja memorije

Nasuprot primeru Sarajeva, oporavak Njujorka nakon terorističkog napada 2001. godine na Svetski trgovni centar primer je na koji način ekonomska i politička snaga, ali i postojanje konsenzusa oko toga šta je to što se pamti, pozitivno utiču na sveobuhvatni urbani oporavak. U veoma kratkom roku nakon terorističkog napada pristupilo se sprovođenju dvanaestogodišnjeg Plana za rekonstrukciju donjeg Menhetna. Plan se sprovodio uz učešće javnih i privatnih organizacija i brojnih savetodavnih veća, koja su zastupala interese najrazličitijih grupa ljudi koje su na neki način pogođene dešavanjima od 11. septembra, uključujući porodice nastradalih, vlasnike lokala, stanovnike tog dela grada itd.¹¹

Plan rekonstrukcije sproveden je kroz dva programa - Memorijalni i kulturni program (World Trade Centre Memorial and Cultural Program) i Razvojni program (World Trade Centre Redevelopment Program). Razvojni deo plana koordinisale

the World Trade Center shows how economic and political forces, but also consensus on the question of what is to be remembered, exert positive impacts on the overall urban recovery. Shortly after the terrorist attack, the 12 years plan of reconstruction of Lower Manhattan came into effect. The plan was implemented with participation from public and private organizations and numerous counseling bodies which represented the interests of various groups of citizens who were affected by the 9/11 events – including the victims' families, shop owners,



Slika 12 i 13: Ostaci srušenih zgrada kao elementi prostora i fragmenti sećanja

Image 12 and 13: Remnants of demolished buildings as spatial elements and fragments of memory

su i sprovodile privatne organizacije, koje su ga i finansirale. Ovim delom programa obuhvaćeno je planiranje, koordinacija i izgradnja poslovnih prostora visoke klase, veliki broj malih prodavnica, hotela, konferencijskog centra, saobraćajne infrastrukture i komunalnih usluga, otvorenih javnih prostora i grčke pravoslavne crkve Sveti Nikola. Memorijalni deo plana koordinisale su javne institucije, a bio je finansiran iz različitih javnih fondova. Ovim delom plana obuhvaćene su sve radnje na planiranju, koordinaciji i izgradnji Memorijala (Memorial – Reflecting Absence), Memorijalnog muzeja (Memorial Museum) i centra za orijentaciju i edukaciju posetilaca (Visitor Orientation and Education Center).¹²

Uloga arhitekata, urbanih planera i umetnika bila je da kroz svoje ideje i projekte oprostore očuvanje sećanja na ovaj istorijski događaj i njegove žrtve, na način koji je definisan u prethodnom delu procesa planiranja u kome su učestvovala sve zainteresovane strane. Ideje predložene na međunarodnom konkursu koji je bio raspisan 2002. godine, prošle su kroz više nivoa javne rasprave, nakon čega je kao pobedničko rešenje usvojen master plan poznatog američkog arhitekta poljskog porekla Danijela Libeskinda. Master planom sama lokacija je bila predviđena kao memorijalni kompleks dok su u okolnim blokovima, koji su takođe pretrpeli štetu, izgrađeni oblakoderi sa komercijalnim, poslovnim i drugim sadržajima. Ostaci Svetskog trgovinskog centra korišćeni su kao skulpture i fragmenti memorije u enterijeru zgrada posvećenih memorijalu.

2.5 Slučaj Beograd

U NATO bombardovanju 1999. godine u Beogradu su oštećene brojne, sa aspekta arhitekture značajne građevine, koje su zbog činjenice da su bile korišćene za potrebe vojnih i bezbednosnih struktura i organa državne uprave, viđene kao simbolički predstavnici vladajućeg političkog režima. Nakon 1999. godine, u okolnostima turbulentne socio-ekonomske i političke situacije, nedostatka diskusije a samim tim i konsenzusa oko pitanja šta je to što se pamti, na koji način se pamti i ko je taj koji donosi odluku oko toga šta se i kako pamti, svaka od ovih zgrada je doživela sopstvenu sudbinu. Neke su prodane - rekonstruisane ili čekaju da budu, neke su poslovni prostori, druge će postati hoteli, neke su rekonstruisane i danas služe kao državne administrativne zgrade kao i pre bombardovanja, dok zgrada Generalštaba čeka.

Među tim različitim sudbinama, zanimljivo je uporediti ponovnu izgradnju do temelja porušenog Avalskog tornja sa primerom Generalštaba i

residents of this part of the city etc.¹¹

The plan of reconstruction was carried out through two programs - World Trade Centre Memorial and Cultural Program and World Trade Centre Redevelopment Program. The development part of the plan was coordinated and implemented by private organizations, which funded it. This part of the program comprised planning, coordination and development of high category office space, numerous small shops, hotels, conference center, traffic infrastructure and communal services, open public spaces and Greek Orthodox church of St. Nicholas. The memorial part of the plan was coordinated by public institutions, and it was financed from different public funds. This part of the plan comprised all the stages of planning, coordination and development of the Memorial (Reflecting Absence), Memorial Museum and Visitor Orientation and Education Center.¹²

The role of architects, urban planners and artists was to 'spatialize' the preservation of memory of this historic event and its victims through their ideas and projects, in a way defined in the previous phase in the planning process which all interested parties participated in. Ideas suggested at the international competition announced in 2002 went through several stages of public discussion. As a result, the master plan proposed by the well-known Polish American architect Daniel Libeskind was adopted as the winning entry. This master plan conceived the site as a memorial complex. In the adjacent blocks which also sustained damage, new skyscrapers were built with commercial, business and other facilities. In the interior design of the buildings included in the memorial, remnants of demolished buildings were used as sculptures or fragments of memory.

2.5 The Belgrade Case

In the 1999 NATO bombing numerous architecturally significant buildings were damaged. Due to the fact that they served the purposes of military and defense structures and government apparatuses, they were seen as symbolic representatives of the political regime then in power. After 1999, in the conditions of a turbulent socio-economic and political situation, lack of discussion and therefore consensus on the questions what exactly is to be remembered, how and who makes the decisions on those questions, each of these buildings met its destiny. Some of them were sold, reconstructed or waiting to be rebuilt, some are office spaces, and some will become hotels; others were renovated and today serve as state governmental buildings like before the bombing. Meanwhile, the *Generalštab* is still waiting.

njegovom i dalje neizvesnom sudbinom. Sa jedne strane je Generalštab, zgrada u samom centru grada, vojni objekat, zabranjena zona, zgrada koju je retko ko imao prilike da doživi dalje od njene fasade, zgrada čija je unutrašnjost postala vidljiva tek nakon što je deo fasade srušen, srušena zgrada koja je postala turistička atrakcija ali nije imala dovoljno vremena niti priliku da postane deo svakodnevnog života grada. Stoga, zgrada za čiju rekonstrukciju, ako izuzmemo arhitektonsku struku, nema pritiska javnosti, zgrada za čiju rekonstrukciju kaže se nema novca, zgrada za čije rušenje se traže izgovori i zgrada čiji je u bombardovanju oštećeni ulazni paviljon B, zajedno sa onim kružnim stubom čija je armatura odolela bombama, nedavno srušio bager. Sa druge strane, iako fizički izmešten iz samog centra grada, lociran na obodu grada, Avalski toranj postao je sastavni deo života mnogih Beograđana koji su brojne izlete i lepe trenutke provedene sa porodicom i prijateljima vezivali za ovu građevinu, ili su u najblažem slučaju navikli da ih silueta tornja dočekuje pri ulasku u Beograd. Stoga, objekat za čiju je ponovnu izgradnju prikupljan novac sa puno entuzijazma i na različite načine (među kojim je bila i emisija na državnoj televiziji) i uz podršku i učestvovanje poznatih ličnosti, pri čemu su otvaranju novog starog Avalskog tornja bili prisutni skoro svi srpski političari. Zaključak je da su simboličko značenje ovih objekata, njihovo prisustvo ili odsustvo u svakodnevnom životu grada, ali pre svega politička volja odnosno njeno odsustvo, na vrhu hijerarhijske lestvice uticajnih faktora koji su u prethodnom periodu formirali sudbinu ovih građevina.

3. Zaključak

Kroz diskusiju u ovom tekstu izneli smo niz argumenta u prilog evolutivnog modela rekonstrukcije. U Dobrovićevom pristupu adaptacije palate Sponza, kao i samoj prostornoj koncepciji Generalštaba zasnovanoj na dinamici i trajanju prostora, videli smo argument u prilog stavu da konzervativni pristup rekonstrukcije nije odgovarajući u slučaju zgrade Generalštaba. Na primerima Kelna, Sarajeva i Njujorka diskutovali smo različite pristupe rekonstrukcije i pamćenja značajnih arhitektonskih objekata, kroz očuvanje svih slojeva arhitekture koji svedoče o njenom nastajanju, postojanju, o trenucima kada je to postojanje ugroženo ili dovedeno do ivice nestajanja, uopšteno o dinamici života jednog arhitektonskog objekta, a u slojevima arhitektonskog pamćenja prepoznali smo čuvare sećanja na prošle događaje i ljude koji su u njima nestali i one koji su uprkos ovim događajima opstali. U procesu rekonstrukcije koji podrazumeva očuvanje memorije veoma je bitno postojanje diskusije, postojanje razumevanja i ako je mo-

Among those different destinies, it is interesting to compare the total rebuilding of the utterly demolished Avala Tower with the instance of *Generalštab* and its further and uncertain fate. On the one hand is *Generalštab* located in the very center of the city, a military edifice, off-limits zone, building that few people had a chance to see from the inside, and the inside of which became visible only after the partial collapse of the façade – a ruin that became a tourist attraction, but lacked time and opportunity to become a part of the daily life of the city. Consequently, reconstruction of this building is not in the highest demand from the public (except for architects), its reconstruction keeps being delayed allegedly for the lack of funds and new excuses are constantly sought for its demolition. Furthermore, its entry pavilion B, partially damaged in the bombing, was recently pulled down with a bulldozer, along with the circular column whose armature actually survived the bombs. On the other hand, although physically displaced from the heart of the city (located in the outskirts), Avala Tower became a part of life of the many Belgraders. They associated numerous picnics and pleasant moments spent with their family and friends with this structure, or at least got used to being welcomed by the silhouette of the tower while entering Belgrade. Consequently, the rebuilding of the tower encountered enthusiastic fund-raising campaigns of various kinds (one of them being a program at the state TV broadcaster) with celebrity support and participation. Moreover, the opening ceremony of the new-old Avala Tower was attended by the entire Serbian political elite. My conclusion is that symbolism of these structures, their presence or absence in the everyday life of the city, but notably political will or lack thereof, stand at the top of the hierarchy of impacts which in the previous years decided their fate.

3. Conclusion

Our discussion brought out a number of arguments favoring an evolutionary model of reconstruction. In Dobrović's approach to the adaptation of the Sponza Palace, as well as his spatial conception of the *Generalštab* based on the dynamics and duration of the space, we saw an argument supporting the claim that conservatory approach to reconstruction is not the satisfactory one in the latter case. On the strength of the examples from Cologne, Sarajevo and New York, we discussed various approaches to reconstruction and memory of significant pieces of architecture, through preservation of all architectural layers that witnessed its creation, existence, moments when this existence was under threat or nearly

guće postizanje dogovora oko načina na koji se nešto pamti i sadržaja onoga što se pamti. Zbog toga način na koji budemo pristupili procesu rekonstrukcije zgrade Generalštaba i funkcija koju u budućnosti ova zgrada bude imala u mnogome će definisati pravac u kome će se naše društvo u budućnosti kretati, način na koji ćemo razumeti sebe, ali i druge, način na koji ćemo se sećati i razumeti prethodne istorijske događaje.

Napomene

¹ Marija R. Milinković, Kritička praksa arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića: Dubrovački period, 1934-1943., MA thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, 2007

² Lebbeus Woods, *Radical Reconstruction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997)

³ Opis projekta u Catalogue of the International Architecture Biennale Venice 2002. Dostupno sa http://www.kolumba.de/?language=eng&cat_select=1&category=14&artikle=315&preview= [Korišćeno: septembar 2010]

⁴ See: Nikola Dobrović, 'Pokrenuti prostor: Bergsonove dinamičke šeme; nova likovna sredina', in: Nikola Dobrović: eseji, projekti, kritike. Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu / Muzej nauke i tehnike, Muzej arhitekture, 1998. First published in: Čovjek i prostor 100 (1960): 10-11; Marko Matejić, 'Prilog proučavanju zgrade Generalštaba Nikole Dobrovića: koncept i iskustvo prostora', in: Nasleđe, no. 13 (2012): 167-83

⁵ Anri Bergson. *Stvaralačka evolucija* (Belgrade: Kosmos, 1932), 37

⁶ Ibid., 329

⁷ More on the projects at: <http://blog.4ofseven.com/0809m5-course/0809-mc-collateral-spaces-army-hq-pavilion/>; <http://www.behance.net/gallery/Generalstab-Memorial-Belgrade/1138261>

⁸ BLDGBLOG, 'Without walls: an interview with Lebbeus Woods' (3 October, 2007). Dostupno sa <http://bldgblog.blogspot.com/2007/10/without-walls-interview-with-lebbeus.html>. [Korišćeno: oktobar 2013]

⁹ Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella (ed.), *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster* (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

¹⁰ Lebbeus Woods, 'The Reality of Theory' (February 2008). Dostupno sa: <http://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2008/02/06/the-reality-of-theory/>. [Korišćeno: oktobar 2013]

¹¹ Lower Manhattan Development Corporation. *The Public Dialogue*, (October 24, 2002). Dostupno sa: http://www.renewnyc.com/content/pdfs/public_dialogue_phase_1.pdf. [Korišćeno: septembar 2013]

¹² Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, *World Trade Centre Memorial and Cultural Program*, (June 2, 2004). Dostupno sa: <http://www.renewnyc.com/content/pdfs/gppandsiteplan.pdf>. [Korišćeno: September 2013]

obliterated, in short – the dynamics of life of an architectural work. We recognize the layers of architectural memory as keepers of remembrance of past events, the people that vanished in them, and those who in spite of those events, survived. What is highly important in the reconstruction process, which implies memory keeping, is the possibility of discussion, understanding and, if possible, agreement on the ways in which something is to be remembered and the content of what is to be remembered. Therefore, how we approach the process of *Generalštab's* reconstruction and functions this building should assume in the future, will largely shape the way in which our society will evolve, how we will understand ourselves (but also the others), and how we will remember and understand the events of history.

Translation: Irena Šentevska

Notes

¹ Marija R. Milinković, Kritička praksa arhitekta Nikole Dobrovića: Dubrovački period, 1934-1943., MA thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade, 2007

² Lebbeus Woods, *Radical Reconstruction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997)

³ Project Description in the Catalogue of the International Architecture Biennale Venice 2002. Available from: http://www.kolumba.de/?language=eng&cat_select=1&category=14&artikle=315&preview= [Accessed: September 2010]

⁴ See: Nikola Dobrović, 'Pokrenuti prostor: Bergsonove dinamičke šeme; nova likovna sredina', in: Nikola Dobrović: eseji, projekti, kritike. Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu / Muzej nauke i tehnike, Muzej arhitekture, 1998. First published in: Čovjek i prostor 100 (1960): 10-11; Marko Matejić, 'Prilog proučavanju zgrade Generalštaba Nikole Dobrovića: koncept i iskustvo prostora', in: Nasleđe, no. 13 (2012): 167-83

⁵ Anri Bergson. *Stvaralačka evolucija* (Belgrade: Kosmos, 1932), 37

⁶ Ibid., 329

⁷ More on the projects at: <http://blog.4ofseven.com/0809m5-course/0809-mc-collateral-spaces-army-hq-pavilion/>; <http://www.behance.net/gallery/Generalstab-Memorial-Belgrade/1138261>

⁸ BLDGBLOG, 'Without walls: an interview with Lebbeus Woods' (3 October, 2007). Available from <http://bldgblog.blogspot.com/2007/10/without-walls-interview-with-lebbeus.html>. [Accessed: October 2013]

⁹ Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella (ed.), *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster* (Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

¹⁰ Lebbeus Woods, 'The Reality of Theory' (February 2008). Available from: <http://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2008/02/06/the-reality-of-theory/>. [Accessed: October 2013]

¹¹ Lower Manhattan Development Corporation. *The Public Dialogue*, (October 24, 2002). Available from: http://www.renewnyc.com/content/pdfs/public_dialogue_phase_1.pdf. [Accessed: September 2013]

¹² Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, *World Trade Centre Memorial and Cultural Program*, (June 2, 2004). Available from: <http://www.renewnyc.com/content/pdfs/gppandsiteplan.pdf>. [Accessed: September 2013]

NATO JE BACAO CVIJEĆE, A NAŠE BOMBE SU GRADILE KUĆE NATO THREW FLOWERS AND OUR BOMBS BUILT HOUSES

Četiri godine nakon operacije NATO-a u BiH i završetka ratova u Bosni i Hercegovini, činjenica neba iznad Bosne bila je (ponovno) brujanje i prelijetanje avijacije iste te alijanse. Ovoga puta prema Srbiji sa misijom prekida vojnih dejstava na Kosovu. Bila je to 1999. godina. Ratovi se, naime, na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, kako ćemo to tada saznati, nisu završili daytonskim mirovnim ugovorom (našim računanjem vremena – prije i poslije rata). Za razliku od 1991/92 – 95, ono što se tada odvijalo gledali smo preko TV-a i uživo preko smrtnica mladih momaka iz BiH koji su se dobrovoljno javljali da učestvuju u ratnim dejstvima srpske vojske i policije na Kosovu. Preko tih umrlica osvježavalo se pamćenje na vizuelno zaboravljene ratne devedesete. Kakvu os ili ulogu (može da) igra u tome Dobrovićev Generalštab?

Ovim pitanjem upućujem na drugo pitanje koje bi glasilo: otkuda vojna dejstva na teritoriji Srbije, otkuda i kako ta '99-a? Ovo pitanje moglo bi biti opće pitanje građana i građanki Srbije kojima ona pripada. Ono bi se moglo definirati kao recidiv. Kao aktualno neizbrisivo pitanje suočavanja sa prošlošću i budućnošću – a ona, budućnost, ako je uopšte ima, može izgledati bolno, tmurno i nerazrješeno, isto kao i prošlost. Ono je aktualno neizbrisivo, u sličnom smislu, kao što je i negiranje ili ignoriranje zločina genocida u BiH. Samo odlaže, a ne briše pitanja (nereferencijalnosti) traumatičnosti nasilja i smrti, suočavanja i ne donosi ništa na snazi razrješavanja sukoba i otvaranju očekivanih perspektiva budućnosti.

Dobrovićev Generalštab, u izvjesnoj mjeri, zadržava sjećanje na 1999. godinu, stoji kao vremenski i prostorni simbol, stoji kao mjesto čekanja. Stoji, među ostalim objektima, kao reprezent kakve prošlosti i kakvih pokušaja razrješavanja i budućnosti i prošlosti. U jednom vremenskom periodu, periodizaciji, ono je i mjesto i vrijeme kasnih devedesetih i mjesto i vrijeme ranih devedesetih. Ono je mjesto devedestprve koja se kao, bumerang ili petarda, bitno vezano vraća devedesetdevetoj. Vukovar, Knin, Srebrenica odjeknule su Generalštabom. On je memorijabilija na nešto što se (još nije) desilo. Ili se desilo-usmjerilo u suprotnom pravcu ka viktimizaciji Srbije u ratovima devedesetih. Pri tomu je zvanična, otuđena i privatizovana politika oligarha i autokrata paravan i instrumentarij za vlastito bogaćenje, ekonomsko nasilje, pa-

Four years after the NATO campaign and the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the (renewed) rumble of the aircraft of the same alliance flying overhead was the reality of the sky above Bosnia. This time, their destination was Serbia and their mission to put an end to the military operations in Kosovo. It was 1999. The wars, in the former Yugoslavia, as we were to find out, did not end with the Dayton peace agreement (before and after the war, in our counting of time). Unlike the period from 1991/92 to 1995, we watched the developments on TV and live in the obituaries of young men from Bosnia and Herzegovina who volunteered to take part in the war effort of the Serbian military and the police force in Kosovo. These obituaries refreshed our memory of the visually forgotten war in the 1990s. What kind of pivotal role can Dobrović's Generalštab building¹ (possibly) have in that?

With this question I point to another one, which could be formulated as follows: how was it that a military campaign took place in Serbia and how come and why did the events in 1999 happen? This could be a general question of the residents of Serbia to whom the country belongs. It could be defined as a relapse, as a topical, indelible question of facing the past, and the future, if there is any at all, may look painful, gloomy and unresolved, just like the past. That question is topical and indelible in a similar way as the issue of denying or ignoring the war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It just postpones, but does not erase the issues of the (non-referential) traumatic nature of violence and death and of coming to terms with the past. It does not contribute to the force of conflict resolution and the opening of expected future prospects.

Dobrović's Generalštab building, to a degree, preserves the memory of 1999. It stands as a temporal and spatial symbol, an "awaiting place". It stands among other structures, as a representative of some kind of the past and some attempts at a resolution of both the future and the past. On a timeline, in terms of periodization, it is the place and the time of both the late nineties and the early nineties. It is the place of 1991 which returns, closely related, to 1999, as a boomerang or a firecracker. Vukovar, Knin and, Srebrenica reverberated through the Generalštab building. This

uperizaciju i beznađe šireg broja stanovništva.

Ovakav pristup ili periodizacija jest apstrakcija. Apstrakcija koja uopće ne pita o historiji zgrade, njezinom mjestu ili položaju unutar šireg Dobrovićevog opusa, niti se oslanja na Dobrovićeve teorijske perspektive kako grad treba da izgleda, iako ovaj opus i teorijske pretpostavke jesu važne i za razumijevanje devedesetih. Dakle, riječ je o pristupu – ako je uopće pristup – o redukciji koja propituje politiku sjećanja, događajnost devedesetih. Propituje se iz ugla, kako bi se u Sloveniji kazalo, *bivšeg domačeg*. Iako postoji takozvana internacionalna zainteresovanost za bavljenje Dobrovićevim Generalštabom, pitam se postoji li ista takva i regionalna zainteresovanost.

Onoliko koliko je seminar u beogradskom Kulturnom centru Rex, 25.10.2013, na temu Dobrovićevog Generalštaba bio organiziran da stručna sfera bude dostupna širem krugu *publike*, da se otvori komunikacija između znanja i neznanja, toliko je i moje učešće bilo ono pitanja na koji način ja učestvujem u toj komunikaciji i imam li što da komuniciram. I postavljam si pitanja, da li je Generalštab pitanje samo Srbije – a čini mi se da s nekom rezervom jeste, i ako nije što nas to veže? Onoliko koliko Jugoslavije više nema, koliko ono bivše jugoslovensko, sa svim traumama koje smo propatili, može biti željeno da se propituje? Ukoliko je već historijska distanca uspostavljena „građenjem“ novih ili starih nacionalnih republika i traumama, na koji način nas, odnosno kako nas odnos pokidane uzajamnosti veže da govorimo i odgovorimo na ovo pitanje? Muk je možda jedna od *naših* najprisutnijih činjenica trpljenja i govora. U iščekivanju čega, jezički se kodificiramo.

Na seminaru su se nametnula tri modela pristupa pitanju što da se radi sa predmetnim kompleksom ili objektom, odnosno tri modela rekonstrukcije: ekonomski, konzervativni i evolutivni. Ekonomski model zadovoljava sve potrebne uslove tržišne ekonomije i ima svoje pretpostavljene korisnike i korisnice i na ovaj način pravi otklon od sporne prošlosti to jest Generalštaba kao operativnog, taktičkog i strategijskog mjesta ratova devedesetih. Konzervativni model i evolutivni model zadovoljavaju potrebe restauracije objekta, no ne odgovaraju još na pitanje ko su krajnji korisnici i korisnice prostora i u kojoj namjeni se služe njime. Pomenutom objektu time se više obraća kao finansijskom i tehničkom problemu struke, ili kakvoj kolateralnoj šteti, kao da devedesete iza nas ne postoje ili kao da razaranja koja su provedena u tom dobu, a koja kače i sam Generalštab, u sebi ne nose ništa proturječno i što neupitno. Kao da je riječ o kakvom prirodnom fenomenu zapuštenosti

building is a reminder of something that has (not yet) happened, or it happened, but occurred – went in the opposite direction, that of victimization of Serbia in the wars in the 1990s. Besides, the official, alienated and privatized policy of oligarchs and autocrats was a screen and an instrument for acquisition of wealth for themselves and for economic violence, pauperization and hopelessness of a large percentage of the population.

Such an approach or periodization is an abstraction that does not inquire about the history of the building, its place or position in the wider oeuvre of Dobrović or rely on Dobrović's theoretical views on what the city should look like, although his oeuvre and theoretical assumptions are important for understanding the nineties too. Therefore, what we have here is an approach, if it is an approach at all, a reduction that reviews the policy of remembrance and the totality of the events that took place in the 1990s. The review is conducted from the point of view of what the people in Slovenia call, *bivše domače*.² Although the so-called international interest in focusing on Dobrović's Generalštab exists, I wonder whether there is any such interest in the region.

The seminar at Cultural Centre Rex in Belgrade was organized on October 25th, 2013 with the aim of making the expert side of the issues discussed accessible to the wider public and opening communication between knowledge and the lack of knowledge. The extent to which it was held for these reasons was equalled by the extent of my reflecting on the issue of the nature of my own participation in that communication and whether I had anything to communicate. I ask myself whether the Generalštab building issue is the concern of Serbia alone and it seems to me that, with a qualified acceptance, it indeed is. But if it is not, what are the ties that bind us? Given that Yugoslavia is no more, just how much can we wish to review the ex-Yugoslav past and all the traumas suffered? If the historical distance has already been established by “building” new or old nation states and by the traumas, in what way, namely, how does the broken relation of interconnectedness compel us to speak and answer this question? Silence is maybe one of *our* most frequent realities of distress and of speech. As we wait, our language gets codified.

Three models of approach to the question of what is to be done with said complex or the building, namely, three models of reconstruction: economic, conservative and evolutionary arose at the seminar. The economic model meets all the necessary requirements of the market economy

i ruiniranosti. Ili kao da je riječ o kakvom razrješenom pitanju nesporne prošlosti i blistave budućnosti.

Može li se baviti Generalštabom, ukoliko u njega nisu unesena i sjećanja ljudi iz BiH, Hrvatske, Kosova i dalje, uključujući i „srpski“ objašnjavajući diskurs. Ako je Srbija konvulzivno uvučena u sebe i u svoje narative neproturječne prošlosti, diskursi koji bi imali doći iz zemalja regije svakako ne bi bili nešto što ima olakšavajuću i, na početku, smirujuću notu. Svakako je pitanje kakav se povijesni orijentir želi uzeti i kakve povijesne pravce očekivati. Generalštab kao operativno, taktičko i strategijsko mjesto vojnih akcija Republike Srbije ili Savezne Republike Jugoslavije jeste svakako legitimno mjesto napada bilo koje vojne neprijateljske formacije. Nediferencirajući, recentni povijesni tok uloge Generalštaba kreće se od Hrvatske, preko BiH do Kosova i NATO bombardovanja. Problem je svakako, uslovno rečeno, što ni Hrvatska (izuzimam ovdje čitavu bitnu problematiku učešća Hrvatske vojske u ratnim sukobima u BiH) ni Bosna i Hercegovina nisu vodile ratove osim na teritoriju svojih avnojevskih granica. Hrvatska i Kosovo imaju svoj (također, konkurentski) povijesni narativ, utemeljen na sili i pravu jačeg. Takav narativ koji tačno razgraničava mogućnost „srpskog“ narativa da utiče na njihovu „konsolidovanost“. Otuda se i kreće opomena ili aporija savladavanja prošlosti. BiH je, pri tomu, naočiti primjer razkrižja različitih komplementarnih i isključujućih narativa i diskursa koji razdiru tu zemlju.

Postavlja se pitanje prizme Generalštaba kroz ono što Srbija i Beograd žele postati?! Svakako, u ovom slučaju, predmetno vezano za sjećanja u vezi te zgrade, koliko je to traumatična povijest raspada jedne ili više država – i kako se suočavati sa tim? Jednom modelirani Beograd za potrebe Savezne države, sada se raspao kao savezni centralni grad – i to se očituje na svakom koraku. Funkcije saveznog glavnog grada su ispražnjene. Beograd je *opet* postao prijestolnicom nove srpske države, smanjujući zamahe svoje političke volje i mogućnosti na sada uže granice državnog upravljanja.

Postavlja se i drugo pitanje, kako je Dobrovićeva zgrada došla u ovakvo stanje? Postavljeno pitanje, pretpostavljam, otvara prostore nemogućnosti konsenzusa na srpskoj sceni, jer to pitanje zapravo ulazi i u jedno drugo, meni mnogo ozbiljnije pitanje: *Što se to desilo – ako se uopšte desilo?* Izgleda da nam mamurna izmaglica ne daje dovoljne obriše, iako odgovori stoje tu, gotovo, na dohvat ruke. Desilo se bratstvo i jedinstvo. Sada nam granice, potvrđene međunarodnim ugovorima, jamče sigurnost jednih od drugih, a da se nismo još ni upo-

and has its presumed users and thus distances itself from the controversial past, that is from the Generalštab building as the operational, tactical and strategic locus of the wars in the 1990s. The conservative and evolutionary models fulfil the need to reconstruct the building, but still do not provide an answer to the question as to who the end users of the space are and what purposes it will serve. The building is, therefore, treated more like a financial or technical problem, debated in the professional circles, or like some kind of collateral damage, as if the 1990s were the past that never existed or as if the destruction wreaked throughout that period, that affected even the Generalštab building itself did not entail anything controversial or unquestionable. It is as if it were some kind of natural phenomenon of neglect and disrepair, or some resolved issue, whose past is beyond dispute and its future bright.

Can the problem of the Generalštab building be dealt with, unless it incorporates the memories of the people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo and beyond, including the "Serbian" explanatory discourse? If Serbia is convulsively self-absorbed and immersed in its own narratives, the discourses that would come from the countries in the region, certainly would not bring an exculpatory, or in the beginning, a reassuring tone. Surely, the question is what kind of clues from history we wish to follow and what direction history can be expected to take. The Generalštab building, as the operational, tactical and strategic locus of the military campaigns launched by the Republic of Serbia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia certainly is a legitimate target of attack of any enemy forces. The undifferentiated, recent development of the role of the Generalštab building in the course of the history begins with Croatia, continues with Bosnia and Herzegovina and ends with Kosovo and the NATO bombing campaign. The problem is definitely, with some qualifications, that neither Croatia (I exclude here the entire essential issue of the participation of the Croatian army in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina), nor Bosnia and Herzegovina waged wars, except in their own territories defined by the AVNOJ³ borders. Croatia and Kosovo too have their own (competing) historical narrative, based on force and the principle that might is right. That is the kind of narrative that draws a clear demarcation line, preventing the possibility of the "Serbian" narrative affecting their "consolidation". This is where the warning or aporia of overcoming the past starts. Besides, Bosnia and Herzegovina is among the more representative examples of the crossroads of different complementary and excluding narratives and discourses tearing that country apart.

znali. Dva razdvajajuća i razdiruća kolosijeka žrtve i krivca ostavljaju mnogo prostora za neizvjesnost perspektiva budućnosti – pogotovo kada Jugoslavije više nema i kada nam se nove nacionalne budućnosti odaju kao zastrašujuće i usamljeničke. Zajedništvo je u grobnicama, a groblja podijeljena. Prijelom je to u čemu Generalštab, pored drugih činjenica, igra bitnu i instrumentalnu ulogu.

There is the question of viewing the Generalštab building through the prism of what Serbia and Belgrade want to become. In this case, that is naturally related to the subject of the memories regarding that building and the level of trauma that marks the history of the disintegration of one or more countries, as well as the ways of coming to terms with that. Once conceived to meet the needs of the federal state, Belgrade has now disintegrated as the main city of the federation and that is obvious at every turn. The federal capital is devoid of its role. Belgrade has *again* become the capital of the new Serbian state, reducing the momentum of its political will and capacity, which fits the now narrower borders of the state and its administration.

There is another question too, namely, how did Dobrović's building end up in its current state? I assume that once raised, this question opens up spaces marked by the inability to reach a consensus in the Serbian scene, because that issue, in fact, overlaps with another one, which is much more serious, in my opinion, namely, *what happened, if anything happened at all?* It seems that the haze of drowsiness does not bring out clearly enough the contours, although the answers are here, almost within reach. Brotherhood and unity is what happened. Now the borders, confirmed by international agreements, guarantee that we are safe from each other, although we have not even got to know each other yet. The two dividing tracks, tearing us apart, that of victims and culprits leave a lot of room for uncertainty, when it comes to future prospects, especially since Yugoslavia is gone and the new future that we have as nations, seems to be horrifying and lonely. Unity is in tombs and cemeteries are divided. The break is one of the facts in which the Generalštab building has played a crucial and instrumental role.

Translation: Jelena Bajić

Notes:

¹ The building used to house the headquarters of the armed forces general staff. (Translator's note)

² Meaning *formerly domestic* in Slovenian. (Translator's note)

³ Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia – the executive authority of the Yugoslav Partisan resistance movement tasked with the creation of a federal state. (Translator's note)



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SHORT CVs

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MARIJA MILINKOVIĆ graduated from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade and from Moscow Architectural Institute (MARHI) in 1998. She is focuses on research and teaching in the field of history and theory of architecture, as well as on professional and teaching activities in the area of architectural and urban design. She earned her master's degree from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade. Her thesis topic was: *Critical Practice of the Architect Nikola Dobrović: the Dubrovnik Period (1934-1943)*. She got her Ph.D. degree in 2013. The topic of her dissertation, written under the supervision of Dr Ljiljana Blagojević was *Architectural Critical Practice: Theoretical Models*. She is the author of the book *Nikola Dobrović: The Shifting Modes of Critical Practice in Architecture* (in print, The Architecture Observer, 2013).

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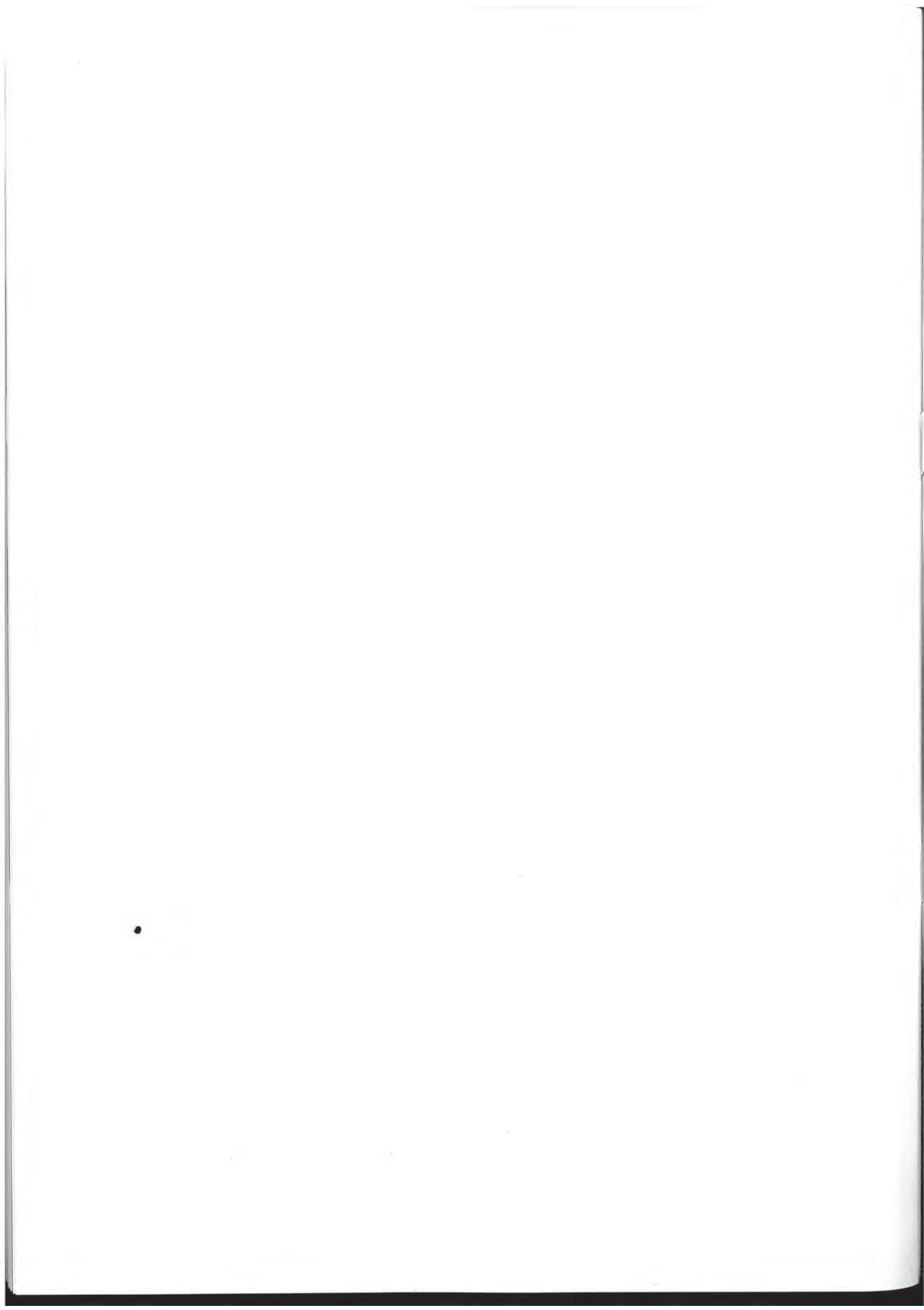
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MARKO MATEJIĆ earned his master's degree from the Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade. He is a doctoral student at that facul-ty and holder of the scholarship awarded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. Moreover, he is the author of the article, *A Contribution to the Study of the Architect Nikola Dobrović's Gen-eral Staff Building: The Concept and Experience of Space* published in 2012 in the issue no. 13 of the *Nasleđe (Heritage)* journal. (The article first appeared in the form of a seminar paper, written under the supervision of Associate Professor Dr Ljiljana Blagojević, primarily as a result of research done as part of a Ph.D. course taught by her).

DRAŽEN CRNOMAT (1978, Banja Luka) engaged in cultural, political and peace activist scene in re-gion. Occasionally writes articles on social, political and economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina for Bosnian and regional media. Permanently en-gaged in Association of Independent Creators and Activist GETO. Studied philosophy and sociology. Co-author of Protest Manuel. Currently lives and works on relation Banjaluka-Belgrade-Pančevo-Tuzla-Sarajevo. You can reach him at d.crnomat@filozofija.net but he could be busy playing video game.



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