

# **Glasilo CK13**

*3. broj, avgust 2017.*

**10 godina  
Crne kuće**



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# **Povodom jubileja:** **Kuća je ništa bez ljudi**

**U proteklih deset godina Crna kuća je bila kuća za sve one koji svoj izraz i afirmaciju ne nalaze u postojećim institucionalnim strukturama, garantija kontinuiranog programa i siguran prostor za drugačije, obespravljenе i diskriminisane. Obeležavajući ovaj jubilej nadamo se da ćemo sledeći dočekati uz više sadržaja, planova i odgovornosti, uz više lične i društvene radosti.**

Omladinski centar CK13 je pokrenut 2007. godine iz potrebe za autonomnim prostorom delovanja u okviru kojeg bi se slobodno razvijale različite društvene, kulturne, umetničke i edukativne inicijative, solidarne prakse i strategije samoorganizovanja, kao i druge forme otpora iz perspektive kritike institucionalnih (nacionalnih i neoliberalnih) politika.

Zamišljen prvobitno kao platforma za istraživanje, razvoj i promociju alternativa hijerarhijskom modelu organizovanja i delovanja, Centar su vodili i formirali nekoliko novosadskih organizacija i inicijativa (kuda.org, Alternativna Kulturna Organizacija - AKO, Kružok, AFANS, LugoNS i Novosadska lezbejska organizacija - NLO) od kojih većina danas ne postoji, ali su zahvaljujući otvorenoj strukturi, kao i razvoju saradnje i zajedničkog delovanja, kroz upotrebu zajedničke infrastrukture i u povezivanju sa organizacijama, grupama i pojedincima koji se bave drugim važnim društvenim pitanjima, brigu o Centru preuzele nove generacije aktivista i aktivistkinja.

Danas je Omladinski centar CK13 društveno-kulturni centar posvećen prvenstveno mlađim generacijama, razvoju njihovog društvenog angažmana i kreativnog potencijala u kojem se kontinuirano realizuju polivalentne sociokulturne aktivnosti u dijalogu sa zajednicom i pojedincima koji ga svojom dinamikom odnosa oživljavaju i razvijaju.

Deset godina postojanja i rada Crne kuće jeste veliko postignuće jer je deset godina borbe i napora njenih protagonisti da se razvije i održi mesto u kojem se praktikuju drugačiji oblici organizovanja i delovanja i podstiče aktivan i slobodan odnos prema kulturi i društvu, pružajući istovremeno otvoren prostor svima koji nemaju obezbeđenu infrastrukturu i ne žele da se konformiraju postojećim institucionalnim strukturama, većinskom mišljenju i vladajućim društvenim normativima. Ova borba nije samo spoljašnja, već i unutrašnja, budući da organizaciono udruživanje predstavlja izazov u izgradnji zajedničkih politika i odolevanju od reprodukcije državnog sistema, spontane hijerarhizacije i institucionalizacije.

Između Kuće i organizacije, između prostora i organizovanja postoji dinamičan odnos. Prostor sam po sebi ne znači ništa ako nema ljudi koji će ga ispuniti svojim vizijama i idejama. Ali, i u najjednostavnijim aspektima funkcionisanja kuće, očituje se neophodnost angažmana, brige i odgovornosti ljudi. U tom smislu, mi nismo samo jedna od organizacija na sceni. Mi imamo javni prostor i odgovorni smo za njega, i odatle generišemo naše politike.

Zajednička politička artikulacija svih u Kući nikada nije predstavljala lak zadatak, i iza nas su brojni burni sastanci povodom toga što bi Kuća trebalo da bude a što predstavlja za svakoga od nas. U tom smislu, Kuća je mesto susreta i integracije svih onih koji su je zajedno gradili i na različite načine doprineli njenom postojanju i radu, bilo kao osnivači, saradnici, zaposleni, bilo kao gosti ili volonteri. Tu je i veliki broj organizacija, formalnih i neformalnih grupa, aktivista i umetnika koji su predstavljali svoj rad i koji su delovali i isticali svoju 'drugost' i autentičnost u vladajućem ideološkom sistemu i u okviru njegovih kulturnih

konstrukcija, i na taj način gradili prostor u kojem se uvek može čuti i videti ono drugo i drugačije od standardne kulturne ponude grada ili zabavnog sadržaja drugih, navodno alternativnih mesta.

Bilo bi laskavo reći da je Centar permanentni pogon kritičkog mišljenja i alternative koji destabilizuje utopiju vladajućeg sistema. Naprotiv! Međutim, zahtevi za radikalnošću moraju biti konstruktivni, odnosno moraju ukazati na ono šta je moguće uraditi u konkretnoj situaciji, a što je mnogo teže od deklarativnog antistava. Čini se da Kuća i ljudi u njoj najbolje rade upravo onda kada rade na nečemu zajednički i iz ličnog uloga, a ne iz jednostavnog odmeravanja radikalnosti i konformizma.

S obzirom da živimo u vremenu u kom dominira snažna individualizacija i konzumerizam, a javne kulturne i omladinske politike se usmeravaju ka podršci kreativnim industrijama, preduzetništvu i spektakularnim događajima, usurpirajući

pri tom potencijalna mesta za izgradnju novih autonomnih prostora, u vremenu u kojem se zatvaraju galerije, a organizacije civilnog društva slabe i u kojem mladi ljudi demonstriraju u zahtevima za izvesniju i bolju budućnost, sve su nam potrebniji nekomercijalni prostori društvenosti i otvorene strukture koje će ne samo omogućiti već i podsticati kolektivna iskustva i zajednički rad, a borbe za očuvanje i stvaranje novih nezavisnih prostora isto su toliko nužne kao i pre deset godina.

Dok god se alternativni centri i udruženja gase, potreba za održavanjem i daljim razvijanjem postojećih autonomnih centara poput Crne kuće ostaje od velikog značaja. U međuvremenu, Crna kuća ostaje otvoren prostor za sve progresivne inicijative, organizacije i pojedince i u tom duhu nastavljamo rad i u narednih deset godina.

**Kolektiv CK13**

## ***Regarding anniversary***

**During last ten years CK13 has been the house for all people who cannot express and affirm themselves within existing institutional structures; it has been a guarantee of continuous program and safe space for different, disempowered and discriminated people. While celebrating this anniversary we hope to celebrate next one with more programs, plans and responsibilities; with more personal and social happiness.**

Youth center CK13 was founded in 2007 because there was a need for autonomous space where free development of various social, cultural, artistic and educational initiatives, solidarity practices and self-organizing strategies, as well as other forms of resistance from the perspective of criticism of institutional (national and neoliberal) policies could take place.

The center was initially imagined as platform for research, development and promotion of alternatives to hierarchic model of organizing and acting and it was formed and led by several organizations and initiatives from Novi Sad (kuda.org, Alternative Cultural Organization-AKO, Kruzok, AFANS, LugoNS and Novi Sad Lesbian Organization-NLO). Most of these organizations don't exist anymore, but thanks to open structure, cooperation and working together, as well as due to sharing infrastructure and connecting with organizations, groups and individuals which work on other important social issues, new generations of activists took care of CK13.

Today Youth Center CK13 is sociocultural center primarily committed to young generations and development of their social engagement and creative potential, it is a

place where polyvalent sociocultural activities are continuously realized through dialog with the community and individuals whose relationship dynamics revitalize and develop it.

Ten years of existence and work of CK13 is big success because it is ten years of struggle and effort of its protagonists to develop and maintain place with different forms of organizing and acting and where active and free attitude towards culture and society is encouraged; the place which at the same time offers open space to all groups without provided infrastructure and who refuse to conform to existing institutional structures, majority opinion and leading social regulations.

This struggle is both external and internal because organizational alliances are challenging when it comes to building common policies and resisting reproduction of governmental system, spontaneous hierarchisation and institutionalization.

There is dynamic relationship between the House and organization, between the space and process of organizing. Space is meaningless without people who can implement it with their visions and ideas. But even the simplest aspects of functioning in the House require engagement, care and responsibility of people. In that regard, we are not just another organization on the scene. We have public space which we are responsible for and that is where we generate our policies from.

Common political articulation of all members in the House was never an easy task and we have had many stormy meetings about defining the purposes of the House as well as the meaning of it for each member. In that regard, the House is meeting point and place for integration of all people who built it and participated in its existence and work, whether they were founders, collaborators, employees, guests, volunteers. There are numerous organizations, formal and informal groups, activists and artists who represented their work and who acted

and expressed their "otherness" and authenticity in ruling ideological system and within its cultural constructs and therefore they built the space in which people could always hear and see something different from standard cultural programs in the city and entertaining contents of allegedly alternative places.

It would be flattering to say that CK13 is permanent drive of critical thinking and alternative which destabilizes utopia of the ruling system. On the contrary! But demands for radicality must be constructive and they must indicate possible solutions in specific situations which is much more difficult than declarative anti-statement. It seems that the House and the people in it are most productive when they work on something together and from personal investments rather than from just comparing extents of radicality and conformism.

Since we live in times where strong individualization and consumerism are dominant and public cultural and youth politics are guided to support creative industries, entrepreneurship and spectacular events, while occupying places with potential for new autonomous spaces; in times when galleries are shut down and civil society organizations are weakened and when young people organize demonstrations demanding more certain and better future-need for non-commercial social spaces as well as for open structures which will not only enable, but also encourage collective experiences and common work is growing. Struggles for maintaining old and creating new independent spaces are equally necessary as they were ten years ago.

As long as alternative centers and associations are being shut down, maintenance and further development of autonomous centers such as CK13 is of great importance. In the meantime CK13 will remain open for all progressive initiatives, organizations and individuals and we will keep going in the same spirit in the next ten years.

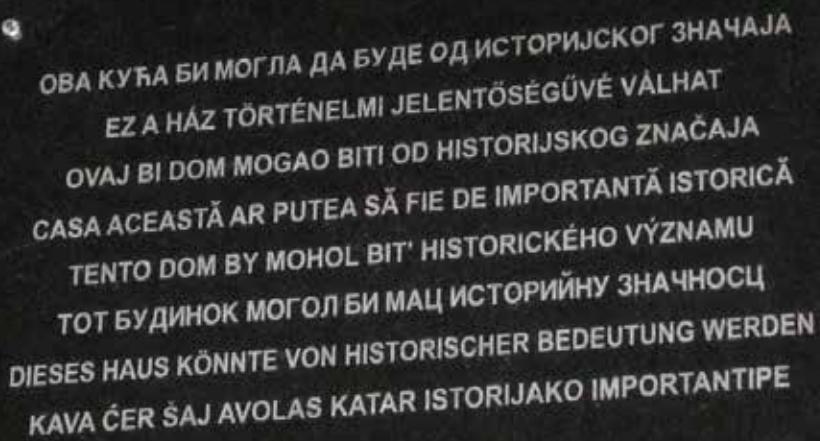
*Collective of CK13*

# **Deset godina CK13**

Podatak da CK13 obeležava deset godina postojanja deluje mi potpuno neverovatno. Ali ne stoga što CK13 iz nekog razloga ne bi bio sposoban da opstane celu deceniju, ili što nije ni trebao da traje toliko dugo; ne, reč je zapravo o nečemu drugom. Naime, sjajno je to da je nešto, u čijem sam osnivanju i sam učestvovao, uspelo da stvarno potraje deset godina. Otuda doživljavam sam taj podatak kao uspeh, delimično i svoj lični. A ono što taj uspeh posebno čini velikim jeste okolnost da je centar kakav je CK13 uspeo da opstane u jednoj takvoj sredini, koja je kao stvorena da ubije svaku inicijativu i koja svakom entuzijazmu pristupa makar sa nepoverenjem i potcenjivanjem, ako ne već otvoreno neprijateljski. Ipak, u vesti da Crna kuća slavi deset godina rada naročito me je

zapanjila prosta činjenica da je od „onda“ do „sada“ prošla cela decenija. A imam utisak kao da je bilo juče...

Jer kao da je juče bilo kada smo se sastajali u prostorijama kuda.org da prodiskutujemo projektni predlog (iz kojeg se razvio CK13 kakav danas znamo) ili sedeli na brojnim pripremnim sastancima; kao da je juče bilo kada smo postavljali binu, farbali prozore i vrata, krečili zidove i nervirali se zbog hiljadu sitnica koje su nedostajale ili bile pogrešno urađene; kao da je juče bilo ono neobično svečano otvaranje (i prateća nestaćica piva), pa prva svirka, diskusija i filmsko veče. Kao da smo juče pozivali ne-poverljive susede u posetu, učestvovali na lokalnom fudbalskom turniru, ili sedeli na



Natpis na ulazu u CK13: „Ova kuća bi mogla da bude od istorijskog značaja“

Caption from the entrance board in CK13: "This house might have historical value"

plenumima, prolazili kroz stavke budžeta, delili zaduženja među sobom i sebe delili na radne grupe, objašnjavali sebi i drugima ko smo i šta nameravamo da postignemo.

Kao zlopamtilu posebno su mi u sećanju ostale, naravno, svađe i sukobi: oko higijene u toaletima i preuzetih, a neispunjениh zadataka, oko bezbroj besmislenih propusta i katastrofalnog vođenja šanka, povodom pristupa Backstage-u ili ponekad neurčunljivog ponašanja ne samo posetilaca, već i samog osoblja. I atmosfera nekakvog podozrenja koja je postojala od samog početka i koja se, kako je vreme prolazilo, sve više pretvarala u međusobno nepoverenje. I brojna razočaranja, nezadovoljstva, frustracije i stresne situacije u toku prve dve godine života CK13, dakle, dok sam lično bio nekakav aktivni učesnik ovog eksperimenta (a o vremenu nakon toga neka govore drugi akteri). Ali nije sve bilo samo loše. Ipak, negativne strane obavezno spominjem, da ne bi izgledalo – kako je to već slučaj prigodom raznih jubileja, kada se prisećamo „dobrih, starih vremena“ – da je sve bilo idealno.

Jer ništa nije bilo idealno, ni prostor, ni ljudi u prostoru, ni polazne pozicije za rad, ali je ipak većina onoga što se odigravalo u tih 6–7 meseci pred otvaranje i prvih godinu ili dve dana rada CK13 zaista bila jedna odlična priča. Pamtim sjajnu energiju i entuzijazam koji su nas vozili i motivaciju da se uradi nešto novo i drugačije u jednoj takvoj močvarnoj sredini kakva je Novi Sad bio (i ostao). Do tada smo i mi spadali u one koji su želeli da izvedu nekakvu promenu na bolje, radi sebe i društva oko sebe, ali koji nikada nisu imali priliku za to. Nama se, međutim, ta prilika pružila! Jer sve o čemu smo u potaj ili otvoreno maštali, mogli smo „odjednom“ da počnemo da sprovodimo u delo. Imali smo prostor, minimalne uslove za rad – novac, istinu govoreći, nikad nismo imali, ali nema veze – i svu slobodu da radimo šta hoćemo, kako i kada hoćemo! Da organizujemo svirke omiljenih bendova, razgovore na teme koje su nas zanimala, projekcije filmova koje smo mi smatrali važnim, da realizujemo istraživanja koja smo mi tematski određivali, da postanemo R'n'R

zvezde ili DJ-evi, da pravimo sopstvene filme, slikamo, heklamo, igramo, kuvamo, osnujemo svoju političku školu ili alternativni univerzitet; mogli smo šta god smo hteli! Da napravimo od toga sebi radna mesta i da se pri tome dobro zabavljamo! Ima li šta bolje od toga? Bila je to zaista neverovatna, jedinstvena prilika koja se ljudima, pogotovo takvima kao što smo mi, retko pruža! Imali smo – konačno! – mogućnost da izvršimo jednu vrstu ne kulturne, nego upravo političke intervencije u gradu, a i šire: da okupimo sve ono što je, po našem mišljenju, bilo dobro, vredno pažnje, inovativno, pametno i zanimljivo, ali i politički subverzivno i provokativno, a istovremeno (vrlo često) marginalizovano, gurnuto u očaj, izolaciju ili unutrašnju emigraciju, razbijeno i nepovezano, i da povezivanjem svih i svega iz toga nastane jedan od centara kontramoći, neke buduće mreže iz koje bi se mogao organizovati opšti napad na Mordor koji nas je okruživao i polako davio. Jer bila je to jedna sredina u kojoj je delovanje gotovo svih aktera na javnoj sceni i tada bilo zasnovano na principu međuljuda, cinizma i neofeudalnog, klijentelističkog umrežavanja. Oh, kako smo samo strasno prezirali sve to! Svima njima nameravali smo da se suprotstavimo svojim primerom, da po kažemo najširem krugu ljudi da je nešto drugačije moguće, da su drugačije zasnovani međuljudski i radni odnosi zaista mogući i da ih motivišemo, ne nužno sa ciljem da nam se priključe – jer nismo bili partija u potrazi za masovnim članstvom – nego da se i sami oprobaju u nečemu sličnom, na neki sličan način i da tako i sami postanu deo već spomenute mreže kontramoći. Da me neko pita da li smo hteli revoluciju, rekao bih da je revolucija bila samo prva stavka na listi naših zahteva. Jer mi smo hteli mnogo više od toga!

Upravo je zbog toga jedna od mojih prvih asocijacija na CK13 (kao prostor ili vreme provedeno u njemu) mesto prvog pokušaja realizacije utopije. A to je prepostavljam i osnovni razlog moje snažne emotivne veznosti za njega. Jer iskustvo sa i u CK jeste bilo vrlo inspirativno, pošto mi je pokazalo da su alternative moguće kad se ljudi udruže! Ko-

liko smo mi od te alternative realno ostvarili za tako kratko vreme i da li je moglo više u tim okolnostima i sa tom grupom ljudi, to sve, u krajnjoj liniji, ne igra neku ulogu. Jer nema sumnje da je moglo i više i bolje i dalje. Ali pouka je upravo ta, da je drugačije takođe moguće, upravo da je i (ne)moguće moguće!. Drugim rečima, da sveopšti cinizam i klanovsko-partijsko-klijentelističko ludilo, gaženje po leševima, laktanje i podmetanje nogu kao konvencionalni modus operandi, ulagivanje i ulizivanje, grljenje, bratimljenje i lajkovanje iz straha i predstrožnosti, i svi drugi užasi koje nam tamna strana Sile nameće kao obrazac koji nema alternativu, ipak, nisu neizbežni. Zato i shvatam CK13 kao moj prvi pokušaj prelaska iz – nazovimo to tako – carstva nužnosti u carstvo slobode na jednom mikro nivou. Nekom drugom je u ličnom imaginarijumu CK možda bio nešto drugo, meni je međutim upravo to.

I taj naš drajv iz CK13 lično sam vozio i razvijao i dalje, i nakon konačnog odlaska iz Centra, dakle, u drugim organizacijama, na drugim nivoima i u drugim mrežama. I polazeći od njega tražio ljude koji su slično mislili i sa kojima bi se entuzijazam mogao deliti i reprodukovati na obostrano zadovoljstvo. Nekada su rezultati toga bili bolji, nekad lošiji, ali koncept je ostao isti.

Stoga Crna kuća za mene predstavlja zaista mesto učenja i žive inspiracije (a ne samo neki mrtvi spomenik, tj. mesto sećanja). Jer upravo se u CK13 po prvi put počelo saznavati i raditi nešto drugačije i ovladavalo se nekim veštinama za koje tada nisam ni znao da postoje. Sve do tada je bilo površno teorijsko znanje i palamuđenje sa pivom u ruci. Tek u CK13 počinjem(o) da se bavim(o) pravim izazovima, od kojih su nam brojni bili ili u nedovoljnoj meri poznati, ili im nismo pridavali pažnju. I koji nam okupiraju pažnju sve do danas! Jer pitanje kako se radi (odnosno ne radi) sa i među ljudima u jednoj nehijerarhijskoj strukturi, kako treba (a kako ne treba) međusobno komunicirati, kako se u grupi diskutuje, donose i sprovode odluke... – o svemu tome i mnogim drugim temama smo bili izvrsno informisani, ali

smo tek trebali da ih savladamo u praksi. I još uvek pokušavamo da ih savladamo! Tada smo radili doslovno na vrhovima znanja, onako kako je ko znao, polazeći od sopstvene intuicije ili vrlo tankog preðašnjeg iskustva, i postigli smo dobre rezultate, iako smo naravno i često grešili, upadali u konflikte i ponavljali se, pri čemu se mnogi levičar i glasni izvikivač parola među nama razotkrio kao nesposobnjaković, autoritac, sociopata, državni činovnik koji je samo u potrazi za nameštenjem ili, jednostavno, budala. Ali, takav je to proces i meni je lično bio od neprocenjive koristi za sav kasniji angažman, uključujući i aktuelni eksperiment u kojem učestvujem.

Osim toga, CK13 je bio i mesto susreta i povezivanja sa stotinama zanimljivih likova sa sve četiri strane sveta. Tu su mnogi od nas imali priliku po prvi put ne samo da slušaju i lično upoznaju neke od svojih omiljenih bendova, nego da se susretu i sa mnogobrojnim interesantnim akterima lokalne, regionalne i evropske političke, umetničke, aktivističke i kakve sve ne scene, da se povežu sa mnogima od njih, da razmene iskustva i nauče nešto jedni od drugih, da se međusobno inspirišu, razviju nove ideje i koncepte, zajednički rade i zajednički da se zajebavaju, da propuštu ne samo pola ovog kontinenta nego da stignu da posete i druge delove sveta, pa čak i da sa nekim od njih i žive nakon svih ovih godina. Ja sam konkretno u CK13 ili zahvaljujući angažmanu u CK13 upoznao sve one ljude sa kojima i danas živim i vodim zajedničku borbu. Pa treba li više od toga?

Zato na posletku, ako već treba nečim da zaključim, osim onim neizbežnim, ali svejedno iskrenim zapažanjem da mi je superdrago što sam bio deo cele te priče, zaključio bih tezom da CK13 – i to nije nikakvo preterivanje – za neke od nas, a za mene lično bez svake sumnje, zaista ima istorijski značaj. Drugim rečima, da je natpis sa table na ulazu, što se mene tiče, definitivno odavno prešao iz konjunktiva u indikativ.

**Petar Atanacković**

# **Ten Years of CK13**

It seems totally unbelievable that CK13 is celebrating its tenth anniversary. Neither because there is a reason for it not to last for the whole decade, nor because it shouldn't have lasted for so long—none of these reasons. It's great that something I founded together with other people, really managed to last for ten years. That's why I consider it a success, partly a personal one. It makes it even bigger, because it happened in this environment which kills any initiative and approaches enthusiasm with suspicion and underestimation or openly hostile. But, the most amazing fact is that ten years have passed since then. And it seems as if it was yesterday.

It seems that just yesterday we had meetings at kuda.org premises to discuss project proposal (which happened to become CK13 as it is known now), organized numerous preparation meetings; set stage, painted doors and windows, painted walls and were nervous about many wrong or missed details. It seemed that only yesterday we had the unusual opening ceremony (followed by lack of beer), first gig, discussion, movie night. It seems that just yesterday we invited suspicious neighbors, took part in local football tournament or plenums, discussed budget, shared responsibilities and formed working groups, explained ourselves and our goals to others and to us.

I rancorously remember conflicts and arguments, of course: conflicts about toilet hygiene, unfinished tasks, pointless mistakes, catastrophic bar management, backstage approach issues and occasional erratic behavior of both staff members and visitors. I remember that slightly suspicious atmosphere gradually turned into mutual distrust. There were numerous disappointments, frustrations, and stressful situations during first two years of existence of CK13. During that time I was active participant in everything, but I must let other people talk about other periods. But it wasn't all only

bad. I have to mention these things because I do not want it to be a "good, old days"—ideal—anniversary type of story.

Because, nothing was ideal—neither the premises and the people, nor the starting job positions. Still most of the things that happened during the first 6–7 months before opening and first year or two of activities, was really a great story. I remember energy, enthusiasm and motivation which inspired us to do something new and different in such a drowsy environment of Novi Sad (still drowsy, though). Until that moment we belonged to the group of people who wanted to make change, for themselves and society, but didn't have chance to do so. But we got that chance! All we secretly dreamt about could suddenly become reality. We had space, minimal working conditions, (to tell the truth – never enough money, though) and freedom to do things how and when we wanted to do them. To organize gigs of our favorite bands, discussions on the topics we were into and screenings of important movies; to realize researches in accordance with the topics we explored, to become r'n'r stars or DJs, to make our own movies, paint, tat, dance, cook, start our own political school or alternative university – anything we wanted! To make it our jobs and have fun! Is there anything in this world better than that? It was really unbelievable and unique opportunity which is rarely given to people, especially people like us.

We finally had chance to make an intervention; not cultural but political intervention in the city and in broader environment. We had a chance to gather what was good, worth our attention, inventive, smart and interesting, politically subversive and provocative but very often at the same time marginalized, thrown into despair, isolation or inner immigration, broken and disconnected. By connecting it all and everybody we had a chance to create a center of

super-power and future network which would organize the attack on Mordor that surrounded and gradually strangled us. In that environment almost all public activists based their activities on principles of interpersonal relationships, cynicism and neo-feudal, clientelism networking. We really despised it all! We wanted to give an example of confrontation to that; to show everybody that it was possible to build

things on different relations, that it was possible to build different interpersonal and working relations. We wanted to motivate people, not in order to make them join us (because we were not political party in need of massive membership), but to give them the example they can apply to their own model inside the above mentioned network of counter power. Ask me if we wanted a revolution and I will tell you that



Otvaranje Omladinskog centra CK13, 13.4.2007.

Opening of Youth Centre CK13, 4/13/2007

it was just first item on our list. We wanted much more than that!

That's why one of my first memories of CK13 (of those premises and of the time spent there) is the memory of the first place where I tried to make utopia come true. I suppose that's why I am so deeply emotionally connected to that place. It was very inspiring experience, because it showed me that alternative solutions were possible if people worked together! How many alternative solutions we realized during that short period of time and could we do more with those people in those circumstances – those facts are not so important now. Undoubtedly we could have done more and better, gone further. The moral of the story is that alternative is possible and that impossible is also possible! In other words the moral is that general cynicism, madness of clannish and political party related clientelism, winning at all costs, pushiness and working behind people's back as conventional modus operandi; flattery, hugging, fraternization, and favoritism based on fear and as a precaution – all those horrors imposed to us without alternative by dark side of the Force, all of them are not inevitable after all. That's why I like to think that CK13, on a micro level, is my transition from empire of necessity to empire of freedom. Other people probably found another purpose of CK13 in their personal imaginary world, but for me it was exactly this. I personally continued that drive we started in CK13 and took it to other organizations, other levels and other networks. It was my starting point in process of searching for people with similar ideas who could make it possible to reproduce that enthusiasm, which causes mutual happiness. Results were more less good depending on a case, but concept remained the same.

Therefore CK13 was a classroom and vivid inspiration (rather than dead memorial monument) for me. There we started doing and learning something different, and there I learned some skills I didn't even know about. Before that it was just theory and chatting over a beer. In CK13 for

the first time, we started dealing with real challenges which we hadn't known or hadn't been interested to know more about. Those challenges are still our focus! Ways of cooperating (and not cooperating) with others in non-hierarchical structure, ways of good and bad communication, group communication, group decision making and conducting were the topics we were very well informed about theoretically, but not experienced in practically! We literally worked on the top of the iceberg of knowledge, the best way we could, using our intuition and not so rich former experience. We got some good results, although we made a lot of mistakes, too. We had many conflicts and repeated ourselves, very loud lefties turned out to be useless, authoritarian, sociopath, plain office workers looking for a better position or, simply fools. That was all part of the process and it helped me a lot in my further engagements including the current experiment I am taking part in.

Besides, CK13 was a meeting point for many interesting people from all over the world. We could for the first time hear and meet our favorite bands and interesting activists of local, regional and European political, art (and any other) scene; we could connect with them, exchange experiences and inspire one another, develop new ideas and concepts, work together and have fun together, travel all around Europe and other parts of the world – we could even live with some of those people after all those years. In CK13 I have met people I still live with and still fight for the same cause together. Do I need more?

So in the end if I have to make some kind of conclusion, apart from inevitable but honest remark that I am extremely happy to be part of this story – I would say that (without exaggeration) for some of us, and for me doubtlessly, CK13 has a historical value. In other words – caption from the entrance board of CK13 transformed from conjunctive to indicative.

**Petar Atanacković**

# ***Crna kuća, moj centralni komitet***

Ove godine se obeležava deset godina postojanja i rada CK13. To znači da ja imam više od trideset i da bih mogla da dam neki objektivni komentar, udaljen od tačke gledišta – od kuće koja je za mene bila mesto stvaranja, kreativnosti i novih ideja, i od kluba koji mi je još uvek drago mesto za izlaska. To je teška muka, kada veći deo dana provodiš u kući, ne u svojoj, nego u Crnoj kući. Crna kuća, kako smo je od početka zvali, ili samo "kuća", jeste mesto koje smo izmaštali tokom dva leta, 2004. i 2005. tokom projekta "Mapiranje desnog ekstremizma", razmene dve grupe mladih aktivista i budućih aktivista iz Novog Sada i Brandenburga. U velikom nedostatku prostora gde bi se mladi alternativci okupljali, razmišljali kritički, van sistema o sistemu, stvarali programski sadržaj i umrežavali se, nastala je velika potreba za osnivanjem ovakvog jednog prostora. Takav prostor je bio i još uvek je potreban, i to ne samo kao fizički prostor za koncerте, filmske projekcije i programe raznih neformalnih grupa i organizacija koje dele iste ciljeve i načine rada, nego kao mesto odakle potiču ideje.

Okupljanje ljudi i stvaranje kolektiva naravno nije lak zadatak, jer struktura CK13 je često i redovno fluidna – menja se kako se ljudi smenjuju, kako se grupe unutar kolektiva menjaju. Sadržaj programa i sama slika se menja u toj meri koliko se često menja kolektiv.

U projekt "Mapiranje desnog ekstremizma" uključila sam se preko Socijala medije, neformalne grupice alternativnih fanzinaša koja je vojela da beleži ne tako česte koncerte bendova u gradu. Sedmoro mladih ljudi između 16 i 21 godina su jednom ili dva puta mesečno išli na svirke i razgovarali sa svojim prijateljima u bendovima, sa slikarima, alternativnim pesnicima i beležili, snimali i fotografisali događaje. Tih godina,

preciznije 2003–2004. koncerti ne samo ska, hardkor ili pank bendova su se dešavali svake druge ili treće nedelje, ako smo imali dovoljno sreće. Tada nisu postojala glasila za nas, a koncertnih prostora je bilo malo. U to vreme, poslednji Koncert godine nam je bio pojam andergraunda. U stvari, više kao produženi vikend izlazak. Parola etike "Uradi sam" glasi: ako nešto ne postoji, ti stvorи, napravi. I pravili smo naš fanzin "Pogon kontre". Nekoliko zabavnih godina druženja i pisanja nas je kasnije okrenulo ka udruživanju. Te 2005. godine deo nas se uključio u pomenuti projekat. A kada posetiš Berlin, odjednom ti se rađaju ideje, sumanuti optimizam i želja da se nešto promeni i u Novom Sadu. Svako od nas je našao neki način da ostvari ideje, uči i kritički razmišlja.

Svoju kreativnost ja sam kanalislala na pisanje izveštaja sa koncerata, beleženje intervjua, i istovremeno sam postala nezvanični hroničar novosadske scene, pa i događaja u CK13. Jedan od razloga je taj što sam relativno blizu živila i deo svog slobodnog vremena sam provodila na programima u Crnoj kući.

Crna kuća je za mene i, verujem, za mnoge od nas, bila Žuta kuća naše generacije. Realno, nismo je se sećali, nismo nikad bili na koncertu u Žutari ili na času škole crtanja. Naša potreba da imamo mesto koje ćemo prihvati kao blisko i kao svoje, nije samo generacijska i lokalna stvar, nego je i aktivistička potreba. Gde drugde pronaći knjige o istoriji Drugog svetskog rata, priručnike o pisanju projekata i vođenju sastanaka? Gde drugde pronaći pamflete i ideje iz alternativnih društvenih centara koje te zanimaju?

Nakon što sam 2010. zvanično postala volonterka Omladinskog centra CK13, dobila sam priliku da vidim kako funkcioniše mesto

koje sam samo doživljavala kroz programe ili iz bekstejdža. Pored lepljenja plakata za programe bilo je i manje dosadnih aktivnosti (vođenje programa, učestvovanje na radionicama, kuvanje veganske klope). U martu, nakon internog konkursa za nove koordinatorke programa, postala sam jedna od koordinatorki programa.

Bio je to za mene period sa puno entuzijazma, potpune izgubljenosti, bez ikakvog priručnika i sa malo saveta. Koordinirali smo, sastančili, pisali ideje za projekte, poboljšavali program i broj publike se povećavao. Sastančili smo, pregovarali, pokušavali... Zanimljivo je da je veći deo programa bio pravljen "pomoću štapa i kanapa", bez budžeta, pod parolom "snađi se", ali sa puno energije i puno zagriženosti za etiku "Uradi sam". Jedan od prvih koje smo izmislili i pokrenuli uz pomoć naše volonterke Rose i njenog projekta aktivističke veganske kuhinje je "Otvorena kuhinja". Velika mi je radost bila i da završim pokrenutu ideju novog muzičkog programa "Come Out and Play", namanjenu mladim bendovima. Ideju sam razvila i ostvarila, a ne bi bila moguća bez svih u kolektivu (logo, snimanje nastupa bendova, press clipping, iznajmljivanje više nego povoljne opreme iz Paklene pomerandže... lista je duga). Za manje od godinu dana, svakog, a kasnije svakog drugog vikenda, dva-tri mlada benda su nastupala sa potpunom backline opremom. Cena karte je bila simboličnih 100 dinara. Publiku je mahom bila iz redova prijatelja. Ono što je ostalo vezano za "Come Out and Play" su zbumjeni klinci na bini kako slušaju upute tonca, kako mi se obraćaju sa "Vi". To im je bio prvi susret sa "poznatim mestom u gradu, sa dobrim ozvučenjem", prvi susret sa mestom na koje su ih roditelji verovatno teškom mukom pustili da idu.

Nakon potpunog gubitka energije, volje za dalji rad i susreta sa sindromom sagorevanja, vratile sam se na mesto volonterke, kao urednica-članica kolektiva Infoteke CK13 (uz stalni posao nevezan za nevladin sektor). Ideja za nastanak Infoteke se provlačila dugo kroz naše priče i sastanke. Tek nakon preseljenja kancelarije na sprat i zahvalju-

jući entuzijazmu volontera Jakoba, otvorio nam se slobodan prostor u prizemlju, kao savršen prostor za alternativnu biblioteku, info stand i malu distro radionicu za kopiranje fanzina. Ubrzo smo kreirali program koji se zasnivao na informisanju, obrazovanju i diskusiji o važnim pitanjima za lokalnu zajednicu i mlade: feminizam, javni prostori, tranzicija, antisemitizam i fašizam. Pored projekcija aktivističkih dokumentarnih i igranih filmova, sve su češće organizovane i diskusije sa publikom. U okviru ovakvih diskusija jedna od važnih tema za publiku je bila i aktivizam na internetu i pismenost na mreži – korišćenje open source programa. Od svog osnivanja, CK13 podržava korišćenje i promovisanje open source operativnog sistema, pre svega distribucije Linuxa. Iz ove ideje, razvila sam poseban deo edukacije (IT edikacija) u okviru Infoteke CK13 koja je imala za cilj da pruža nove mogućnosti u radu na mreži i na računaru, koristeći open source. IT edukacija je imala četiri radionice sa predavanjima. Sve radionice su bile praktične i snimljene su. Materijal je montirao naš tehničar-tonac Žolt (direktore)). DVD video izdanje ove edukacije je bilo dostupno svima i besplatno distribuirano.

Pored stalnih evaluacija, sastančenja i planiranja programa, gledali smo i svet van kuće. Nisam osećala strah kada je bačen molotovljev koktel, kada je bačena petarda topovski udar, kada su lomljeni prozori, kada je kamenje letelo kroz prozor sa ulice, kada je kamera zabeležila napadače i kada se nakon toga ništa nije desilo sa istragom protiv n.n. lica. Osetila sam neizvesnost, zbumjenost. Čuvala sam svaki kamen i ostatke petarde koji su bačeni. Šalili smo se sami sa sobom da treba da čuvamo te predmete za mali Muzej nasilja. Muzej nasilja je bio pogled na društvo i stajao je iza knjiga na prvoj polici u Infoteci. Šalili smo se da na događajima prijateljskih organizacija uvek vidimo ista poznata lica, slušamo iste priče o istim problemima i da smo sami sebi publika. Za goste smo imali inicijative, grupe, organizacije koje su rasle, njihove ideje su rasle i menjale lokalne politike, politike o javnim prostorima i zagovaranja. Generacijske ili lokalne bitke započete sa Otvorenou

javnim prostorima, na sastancima Za javne prostore, Studenskim protestima, sastancima za osvajanje Kasarne, na čišćenju zapuštene barake u Kineskoj četvrti, Kritičnom masom Biciklističke inicijative... Grad se ipak menja. Sva ta poznata lica utiču na nas, utičemo jedni na druge, menjamo sebe, druge i grad, u želji da bude bolje. Problem u gradu trenutno možda nije samo nedostatak prostora i programa za mlade, nego i apatija.

Sada radim u jednoj sjajnoj privatnoj firmi u sektoru podrške korisnicima programa. Za pet godina četiri puta sam se selila po Novom Sadu, a svaki put je to moralo biti na pet minuta hoda od CK13. U slobodno vreme učim jezike, predajem engleski koji mi je struka, a vikendom ponekad svratim i do CK, mog centralnog komiteta.

*Jelena Tipšin*

## **Ck13, my Central Committee**

This year is the tenth anniversary of CK13's existence and work. That means that I am more than thirty years old which allows me to give more objective and distant comment on the House which represented the place of creation, creativity and new ideas for me, and where the club which I still like to go to is. It is very difficult, because I used to spend most of my days in CK13, not at my own house. CK13 or just "The House" as we called it, was a project we had fantasized about during two summers in 2004 and 2005 while working on "Mapping Rightwing Extremism" project which was about exchange of two young activists' groups - future activists from Novi Sad and Brandenburg. There was no place in town where young people could gather, critically think out of the system and about the system, create programs and start networking, so there was a huge need for a space like this. That kind of space is still necessary, not only for concerts, movies and programs of various informal groups and organizations with same goals and methodology, but as the source of ideas as well.

Gathering people and creating collective is not easy, because the structure of CK13 is very often fluid with people and groups

changing frequently. Contents and frameworks of programs change the same way collective does.

I took part in the "Mapping Rightwing Extremism" project through "Sociala Media" which at first was small informal group of alternative zine makers who recorded quite rare concerts of local bands. Once or twice a month seven young people (age 16–21) would go to gigs and talk to their band-member friends, artists, alternative poets and recorded and photographed it all. At that time, in 2003–2004 concert of Ska, hardcore or punk bands occurred once in every two or three weeks if we were lucky. No media reporting about it, just a few concert stages. At that time the last "Concert of the Year" was the symbol of underground for us. Actually, more like a long weekend out. Half of the DIY ethics is based on creating things you need and lack. We made our zine "Pogon kontre". A few fun years of hanging out and writing together turned into gathering. In 2005 some of us took part in above mentioned project. And once you visit Berlin you get many ideas and driven by crazy optimism, you wish to change things in Novi Sad. Each of us found the way to realize ideas, to learn, to think critically.

I channeled my creativity through writing concert reports and recording interviews, so I became an informal chronicler of the scene in Novi Sad, including events in CK13, too. One of the reasons for that was the fact that I lived nearby and spent part of my free time on programs in CK13.

CK13 was the Yellow House of our generation. We were not old enough to remember the Yellow house or to go there for an art lesson. Our need to have our own space was not only local and generational, but an activist need as well. Where else could we find books about WWII history, manuals on writing projects or holding a meeting? Where else could we find pamphlets and ideas from other social centers we were interested in?

After I officially became a volunteer of youth center CK13, I got the chance to see how the place I used to experience only through

programs or from the backstage, really functions. Apart from placing posters (to all ten places worth leaving it there), I had some other less boring tasks to do such as presenting programs, taking part in workshops, cooking vegan food. In March, after internal open call for program coordinator position, I became one of the program co-ordinators.

For me it was a period of huge enthusiasm, when I was totally lost and lacked manuals or advice. We were coordinating things, had meetings, wrote project ideas, improved programs, audience was increasing, we had meetings, negotiated, tried hard, had more meetings. Interesting fact is that we made a lot of programs without any money, doing the best we could and following the DIY ethics. One of the first fantasies to come true in cooperation with our volunteer Rosa and her project of activist cuisine was the "Open kitchen" project. Hopefully we



*Crna kuća je često bila meta napada različitih klerofascističkih organizacija*

*CK13 was often target of attacks organized by clerofascist organizations*

will read more about it in this publication. I was very happy to realize my idea "Come out and play" – music program for young bands. I couldn't do it alone and without help of the rest of the collective (logo, recording live gigs, press clipping, very cheap gear renting). The list is long. In less than a year, every weekend and later once in two weekends, young bands performed with complete backline equipment. The entrance cost was only 100 RSD (less than 1 EUR). Most audience was band members' friends. I remember confused kids listening to technician's instructions and using polite language with me. It was their first experience with some public place in the city, with good audio equipment; the place their parents probably wouldn't let them go out to.

After losing all my energy and a burnout, I returned to volunteering position as an editor-member of Infoshop in CK13 (while working fulltime in an NGO). The idea of Infoshop had been a topic of many meetings for a long time. After moving offices upstairs and thanks to enthusiasm of volunteer Jacob, we got a ground floor space for small library, Info Stand and small distro-workshop for printing and copying zines. Shortly after we created program based on informing, educating and discussing about important issues for local community and young people such as feminism, public spaces, transition, antisemitism and Fascism. In addition to activist and featured movie screening, we organized regular discussions with audience more often. Some important topics in these discussions were Internet activism and Network literacy – using open source programs. Since its foundation CK13 has supported using and promoting open source operating systems, especially Linux. I developed an IT education based on that idea in Infoshop CK13 with a goal of gaining new possibilities in working online while using open source programs. IT education consisted of four workshops with lectures included. All of them were practical and recorded. Material was edited by our technician Zsolt. DVD version of these lectures was available to

everybody and free of charge. Aside from constant evaluations, meetings and program planning we were aware of the world outside the house. I didn't feel fear when they threw Molotov cocktail and smoke ball at us, when they broke windows of the House, threw stones at us from the street, when camera recorded attackers and Police did no investigation on them afterwards. I felt uncertainty and confusion. I kept all the stones and debris of the smoke balls for, as we called it jokingly, "Little Museum of Violence". The Museum was hidden behind the books on the first shelf in Infoshop and mirrored our opinion about society.

We joked that at events organized by friendly organizations we could always meet same, familiar faces, listen to same stories, same problems and be our own audience. Our guests were initiatives, groups, developing organizations with developing ideas who were changing local policies and public spaces policies, as well as advocating it; young, alert people were meeting in the audience. Generational and local battles started with Openly About Public Spaces project, on meetings of group "For public spaces", on Students' protests, during meetings for starting project Open Barracks, while cleaning rusty shack in Chinatown, while starting Critical Mass of Novi Sad initiative... The city is changing, all those familiar faces influence us, we influence one another, change ourselves, change others, change the city – all that for better future. Now, the only problem in the city is maybe not just the lack of space and programs for young people, but an apathy as well.

Now I work in a great private company as customer support staff member. I have moved for four times during five years in Novi Sad, but always five minutes away from CK13. In my free time I study languages, teach English (it is my profession) and during the weekends I sometimes drop by to CK13, my central committee.

*Jelena Tipšin*

# **U Crnoj kući (2009 – 2012)**

**Ključne akcije: Novosadska Lezbejska Organizacija — NLO dolazi u CK, organizuje brojne programe, usmerena i na otvaranje CK ka lokalnoj sredini; dvoipogodišnje dešavanje Poezije u kući; pokušaj reorganizovanja CK, uključivanje različitih ljudi u rad Kuće.**

Mnogo je načina kojima se može govoriti o Crnoj kući, previše je pitanja koja se mogu otvoriti. Ali ovde me zanima da ukažem na nekoliko problema koji mogu koristiti svakome ko organizuje akcije u lokalnoj sredini, sa posebnim akcentom na problem otuđenosti same akcije/prostora od zajednice u kojoj radi. Setnim jezikom rečeno, otuđenost je bolno pitanje Crne kuće. I još, za mene veoma važno, ukazaću na rad Novosadske Lezbejske Organizacije – NLO koja je sa svog marginalnog mesta, u ovom periodu, radila na otvaranju CK ka javnosti. To je nešto što se ne sme zaboraviti, a što se, kako biva sa istorijama lezbejskog rada, najčešće zaboravlja.

Naizgled, CK je građena na dve suprotne ideje. Prva je liberalска ideja koju nosi jedna od grupa osnivačica kuda.org, kao i donatori (SHL) koji su podržali uređivanje i otvaranje Crne kuće, a druga je radikalna ideja antifa aktivizma koju su zastupale preostale dve grupe, AKO i Kružok. Prema nijihovim osnovnim definicijama ove ideje se razilaze, prva je: bliska saradnja sa institucijama, privatizovanje prostora, kapital kao bitna stavka, elitizovanje levih ideja, a druga je beskompromisni stav protiv svake isključujuće, i posebno fašističke ideologije, i to korišćenjem svih sredstava. Međutim, značajnije je videti šta je zajedničko ovim organizacijama. U našim krajevima većina organizacija (koje žele da društvo učine boljim i ustalu protiv lošeg haosa, ksenofobije i ostalih fobija) kako bi preživele, novčanu podršku dobijaju od inostranih donatora. I tu nema ničeg radikalnog. Piše se projekat u kom se predstave politike koje određeni fond prihvata i podržava. Tako je bilo i sa

CK, a ovom su činjenicom, i pomenute organizacije umnogome već izjednačene. Vrlo često, rad sa ovih pozicija jeste konformistički, recimo — udoban. Dakle, nije radikalno, ali ima potencijal. Kao što je svojim otvaranjem i ozbiljnom infrastrukturom CK podsetila Novi Sad na sopstveni potencijal. I to je dobra stvar.

Iskustvo desetogodišnjeg rada u NLO-u govori mi da se samo sa tog mesta „margin“ može lomiti sistem koji nas davi, da na tom mestu, naizgled ali i zaista, tako ranjivom, mi nikada nismo poverovale da smo nemoćne, nismo imale taj „luksuz.“ Tako smo se ponašale i došavši u CK koja je već bila izolovana u odnosu na većinu lokalnih inicijativa. NLO je u Crnoj kući gotovo odmah otvorila niz kontinuiranih programa, a zatim se uključila u upravljanje prostorom sa osnovnom idejom da se CK pomeri iz izolacije i uložila napor da se u rad Kuće uključi više ljudi (većina onih koji su i sada tamо).

Državni aparati svejedno rade sve što mogu da oslabe nezavisne inicijative, taktike su stare i poznate: prozivanje „profitera“, „izdajnika,“ medijsko ignorisanje, itd. U NLO-u smo provele stotine sati pregovarajući, pozivajući i tražeći novinare (sa bukvalno bilo kog vojvođanskog medija) koji bi preneli neku vest iz NLO-a, iz CK. Ipak, problem je što su neke od ovih državnih taktika već odavno kultura i u pojedinim nezavisnim organizacijama i to otuđuje ljude iznutra, a organizacije jedne od drugih. Ovo se desilo i sa CK, političke razlike i razlike u pristupu (koje su rešive) nisu komunicirane i postale su lični sukobi. A sve to vodi u nemoć ili osećaj nemoći iznutra koji se emituje ka spolja i mi dobijamo Kuću koja je izolovana. Učestvujući u organizovanju rada u CK, bila sam jedna od zagovornica ideje da je Kući potrebno više ljudi koji će raditi na različitim mestima, na kojima će se rotirati. To je važan momenat jer CK nije neko „ekspertska“ mesto, nije mesto kom treba

lider i menadžer ili puno para. Uvek sam ga videla kao fludino, posebno jer je imalo mogućnost da menjaju forme rada, da traži dobre načine, sirove, da se osloni na snagu lokalne zajednice/naroda. Svakako, ono se moralno organizovati i zahtevalo je konkretni rad. Pozivali smo ljudi, priključivali su se, i trebalo mi je vremena da shvatim da postoji otpor, da ljudi osećaju da rade za nekoga, čekaju zadatke, boje se grešaka i nisu voljni da se pomere/rotiraju na mestima na kojima rade. Ovo se nastavilo, nije se menjalo. Kao da sam se našla u nekoj fabričkoj strašnijem privatnim vlasnikom koji će svaki čas krenuti da otpušta radnike. Kao da sam se našla u nekoj opresivnoj instituciji u kojoj trvanje nastaje zato što neko želi da je menja, neko se u njoj zatvara pod izgovorom da je to način subverzivnog rada (mada bez kontakta sa sličnim lokalnim politikama subverzija nije moguća), neko je potpuno paralisan, itd. Bez želje da dalje analiziram razloge, hoću samo da ukažem na moguće probleme u organizovanju politički aktivnog prostora, a koji su očigledno preslikano stanje sveta u kom živimo.

Pokušaje otvaranja CK radili smo i raznovrsnim programima od kojih je većinu organizovala NLO (npr. LGBT bioskop, mala feministička škola, Ženski bazar, niz tribina, obeležavanje značajnih dатuma: protiv nasilja nad ženama, anti-fašističke borbe, mirovnog pokreta iz 90-ih i dr), komunikacijom sa drugim nezavisnim prostorima, komunikacijom sa medijima, pružanjem prostora na korišćenje bliskim organizacijama, reagovanjem na lokalna politička dešavanja, itd. Takođe, fizičko otvaranje vrata i prozora jeste značajno kao poziv lokalnoj sredini, izlazak iz bunkera važan je za organizacije ovakvog tipa. Dalje, pažljivo organizovanje šanka koji je prva linija prostora, i koji može voditi ka samoodrživosti prostora – daje zaradu. Prvac kojim sam maštala da idemo jeste CK kao platforma za organizovanje novosadske i šire alternative u politici i umetnosti.

Ove principe sam pokušavala da izvedem i kroz događaj „Poezija u Kući.“ Ponešto je uspevalo, ponešto ne. „Poeziju u Kući“ osmisnila sam inspirisana beogradskim



Ženski bazar – lutrija za izgradnju Ženskog Kreativnog Prostora, 14.4.2012.

Women Bazaar – lottery for building Women Creative Space, 4/14/2012

„Pesničenjem,” upravo u cilju da otvorи Kuću, ono je bilo više socijalno nego umetničko dešavanje. Već nakon prvih večeri bilo je jasno da postoji potreba za javnim govorom, i pesnikinja/pesnika, ali i bilo koga drugog, raznih koji su dolazili i vežbali javni nastup. Počela sam sa „zadatim temama” kao okvirom koji nam daje osećaj povezanosti, podseća nas na slične preokupacije, izaziva nas da se razumemo. Takođe, radila sam na različitim formama kojima možemo predstaviti poeziju (omiljena: u maloj sobi na spratu CK, sedi pesnik, a ljudi jedan po jedan ulaze da im čita svoju poeziju). Promenama formi nameravala sam da apelujem na postojanje različitih puteva do pojedinaca, do akcija, asocirala na niz mogućnosti koje postoje, na njih bezbroj. \*Programu bi se povremeno priključile pozivane saradnice ali sam ga predano, iz meseca u mesec, radila sa toncem Žoltom Polgarom.

Sve u ovom tekstu pišem sa pozicije politike socijalnog rada, to je ono što poznajem i u šta verujem jer Novosadska Lezbejska Organizacija – NLO (sa Biljanom Stanković

Lori i drugima) radilla je više po principima socijalne službe nego prema principima neke kultur organizacije. Dakle, NLO je radila u direktnom kontaktu sa lezbejskom zajednicom, pratila njene potrebe i tempo kojim se menjao odnos lezbejske zajednice prema lokalnoj sredini i obrnuto. NLO je više od četiri godine radila u „zatvorenom” prostoru u kom je stvoreno stotine programa (od psihološke podrške do kreativnih programa i nužnog smeštaja koji je postojao za lezbeijke kojima je bio potreban) i sve u cilju davanja oslonca LGBT zajednici. Politička pozicija NLO-a je feministički princip socijalnog rada, u kom grupa pokušava da razume individualne pozicije unutar zajednice (ovde, lezbejske), poznajući stanje u društvu (Srbiji), i u odnosu na to zajednici pruži odgovarajuće potpore za osnaživanje autentičnog života, sa što manje/ili bez prilagođavanja sistemu. Jasno je da su ovo principi za čije je ostvarivanje potreban celoživotni rad.

NLO je u CK još 2008. održala deo svog festivala lezbejske umetnosti i akcije. A onda



smo 2009. godine doobile poziv za preseljenje u Crnu kuću. U tom momentu unutar CK dolazi do razlaza grupa osnivačica, i napuštaju je AKO i Kružok, u potpunosti je prepustajući organizaciji kuda.org.

Kako CK jeste osnovana i podržana kao omladinska, antifašistička organizacija sa idejom socijalne i umetničke akcije, izlaskom ovih grupa izgubila je, načelu, jasnu političku liniju. Bila joj je potrebna organizacija kao NLO, a nama u NLO-u odgovaralo je, da u ovom momentu, pređemo u javni prostor. Bio je to obostrani kompromis. Ušle smo tamo u antifašistički prostor, što danas ne podrazumeva skoro ništa. Ljudi koji su bili deo kolektiva nisu znali ništa o egzistenciji, kulturi, političkoj poziciji i borbama LGBT zajednice, a mi smo prosto verovale u njihovu dobromernost i zajednički rad koji će dovesti do susreta u ideji: svi smo tu za sve. Uselile smo se u CK iz više razloga: prvi, kako bi učinile sigurnim jedan javni prostor za lezbejsku i gej zajednicu; drugi, smatrale smo da je nužno podeliti odgovornost sa ostalim akterima nezavisne političke scene u Novom Sadu. Odgovornost za poziciju LGBT zajednice, kao i za celo društvo, svima nam pripada.

Naravno, spolja gledano, kada je NLO već bila u CK, Kuća je postala „lezbejsko mesto,” odmah napadano, kamenovano, itd. Ipak, mene više zanima ono što se događalo iznutra (i u CK i na nezavisnoj „sceni“ uopšte). Moj san je da nezavisna „scena“ dođe do hrabrosti da se identifikuje sa marginalnim grupama. Istina je da svako od aktivnih ljudi u teoriji i akciji može bar da kaže: ja sam Rom, ja sam siromašna, ja sam radnik... Ali, sanjam da može, bez ografe, reći ja sam lezbejka, ja sam gej muškarac. A to je retko, i nalazi se pod velom stida čak i za političke aktivistkinje i aktiviste koji nisu gej. A zamislimo kako je onda LGBT ljudima koji nisu aktivisti i nemaju ovu, na neki način, ipak zaštićenu poziciju, već samo žele da žive svoj život, i doprinose društvu radeći šta vole, znaju, itd.

Želim da kažem, biti sigurna kao lezbejka ili gej muškarac je lično osećanje koje posta-

je političko. To je odluka: biću sigurna. Za LGBT ljudе u ovom društvu to nije jednotavna odluka, zbog svega što se događa, do sada već imam utisak, da to nije unutrašnji ritam gej ljudi, to da se osećaju sigurni, lično, mnogo se mora raditi na tome.

Dakle, mi smo znale da za lezbejsku i gej zajednicu ovo znači ulazak u novi proces i da oni neće tako lako prihvati jedan javni prostor kao siguran. Imale smo plan, uvele smo sopstvene programe (kasnije uključile i gej grupu Izadi...). Važan cilj bio je i da Novosađanke/Novosađane upoznamo sa LGBT kulturom, pre svega, skrenemo pažnju da ova kultura postoji.

Unutar Kuće imale smo i svoj ugao, sa malom videotekom i bibliotekom, sa svakodnevnim radnim vremenom. Takođe, držale smo se svojih principa, koji su ponekad bili razumljivo različiti od principa CK. Na primer, za događaje NLO-a nismo koristile tipove iz obezbeđenja i imale smo razvijenu sopstvenu strategiju sigurnosti ako se pojavi neko od nasilnih homofoba, i slično. Isto tako, komunicirale smo sa policijom zbog niza napada koji se dešavaju lezbejkama i gejevima, ali smo imale i dogovor da policija nikada ne ulazi u CK u uniformi kako ne bi uznemiravali posetioce programa. To je, zapravo, pravo koje je korisno znati ukoliko organizujete bilo šta slično, treba znati za pravo autonomije prostora u odnosu na državne aparate i službe.

Crna kuća kakvu sam zamišljala danas bi, recimo, imala jedan od ključnih uticaja na pritisak lokalne uprave i biznisa koji planiraju da sruše Kinesku četvrt. No, Crna kuća to nema i nije ono što sam se nadala da će postati – nije protočnik akcije i teorije, nije pista za okupljanje različitih struja koje mogu održati ozbiljnu protivtežu lomaljnoj upravi i ostalim državnim aparatima. Za tako nešto trebalo bi izgraditi integritet, što znači razumevanje sopstvene uloge kao kolektiva koji pripada društvu, a ne bilo kojoj, bilo kojoj organizaciji ili pojedincima.

**Jelena Andelovski**

# **In CK13 (2009–2012)**

**Key activities: Novi Sad Lesbian Organization-NLO came to CK13 and organized numerous programs, it focused on opening CK13 to local community as well; event "Poetry in the House" lasted for two and a half years; an attempt of re-organizing CK13; inclusion of various people in activities of the House.**

There are many ways to talk about CK13 and too many possible issues to discuss. But I will point out a few issues that can be useful to any activity organizers in any local community, as well as highlight the issue of alienation of activity/space itself from that community. To put it sentimentally – alienation is a sore point with CK13. For me it is also important to highlight the work of Novi Sad Lesbian Organization (NLO) which, from its marginalized position and in that period of time, put efforts into opening CK13 towards public. That must not be forgotten, as it usually is the case within the history of lesbian work.

CK13 is founded on two seemingly opposed ideas. The first one is the liberal idea promoted by a group of organizers kuda.org and donors (SHL) which supported organizing and starting CK13; the second one is radical antifa activist idea promoted by two other groups – AKO and Kružok. Definitions of these two ideas are opposed. The first one is about close cooperation with governmental institutions, supporting privatization of public spaces, emphasizing importance of capital and elitism of left-wing ideas, while second idea uncompromisingly and by all means fights against all excluding, especially fascist ideologies. But it is more important to reconsider what they have in common. In our region most organizations which wish to create better society and fight against negative chaos, xenophobia and other phobias, must be supported by international donors in order to survive. There is nothing radical about it. Certain projects which represent certain policies

must be written and accepted, supported by certain funds. That was the case with CK13 too, and it makes those above mentioned organizations to a great extent equal. Working on these positions is often very conformist and pleasant activity. Therefore, not exactly radical, but with a potential. The same potential Novi Sad was reminded of when CK13 was founded and developed its infrastructure. And that's a good thing.

My experience of working in NLO for ten years tells me that only marginalized positions can break the system which strangles us; on that seemingly (but actually truly) vulnerable position we never believed to be powerless – we never had the "luxury" of thinking so. We continued acting like that when we first came to CK13 which had already been isolated compared to most other local initiatives. NLO almost instantly started variety of continual programs, then joined the management with basic idea of displacing CK13 from isolation and finally took efforts to include more people (most of them are still there) in activities of the House.

The government apparatus certainly does everything it can to weaken independent initiatives and its tactics are old and well-known: labeling "profiteers" and " betrayers", media negligence etc. We spent numerous hours in NLO negotiating and inviting journalists (from literally all media in Vojvodina) who would report from NLO or CK13. But the problem is that some of these governmental tactics have become part of organizational culture in some independent organizations for some time now and that alienates both people and organizations. This happened in CK13 too: uncommunicated differences in policies and approaches (as solvable problems) grew into personal conflicts. It led to either helplessness or feeling of helplessness inside the House which is reflected outside and the House became isolated.

While taking part in CK13 management I was among those who advocated an idea of including more people to work and swap on different positions. It was very important point because CK13 was not an "expert place" and needed no leaders, managers or lots of money. I have always seen it as fluid because it could change frameworks and find better, cruder ways to be supported by local community/people. Of course, organization and practical work were necessary. We invited some people and they joined us. It took me some time to understand that there was certain amount of resistance, that people felt like they work for somebody, that they waited on their tasks and orders, afraid of mistakes and not eager to swap positions. This continued and never changed. I felt like working in a factory where the almighty boss would start making people redundant any time soon. Similar to being in an oppressive situation where the conflicts start because some people want change, others are using it as an excuse for subversive work (although subversive work is impossible without cooperation with similar local policies), some are totally paralyzed etc. I want to emphasize possible problems in organizing political activist space, which are obviously mirroring the world we live in, without further analyses of the reasons for problems themselves.

We tried to open CK13 to public with starting various programs organized mostly by NLO (such as LGBT cinema, Little School of Feminism, Women Bazaar, many workshops, celebrations of important dates – the International Day of the Elimination of the Violence against Women, International Day Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, The Day of the Peace Movement from 90s etc.), communicating with other independent places and media, letting similar organizations use our premises, reacting to local political events etc. It is also very important to physically open space for local people; going out of bunker is very important for this type of organization. Furthermore, careful organization of the frontrunner bar can bring profit and support sustainability of the place. My dream was to make CK13

the platform for organizing the alternative in politics and art of Novi Sad and region.

I tried to realize this principles with the event "Poetry in the House". It was partly successful. My inspiration for "Poetry in the House" was "Poetrying" (Pesničenje) from Belgrade and its goal was to open the House more. Therefore it was rather social than art event. After first few sessions it was obvious that many poets, as well as other people who came there to practice public speech, needed to speak in public. I started with "given topics" using it as a framework for mutual connection, evoking of common interests and as a challenge for mutual understanding. I also worked on different forms of poetry (my favorite was when the poets would sit in a small room upstairs and people would come in one by one to listen to them reading poetry). Variety of forms was my way of saying that there was a variety of ways to reach an individual, start actions; I alluded to variety of possibilities – myriad of possibilities. \*I dedicatedly worked on this project with technician Zsolt Polgar every month, although some collaborators joined us occasionally.

This text is written from the social work point of view because that is what I know and believe in due to the fact that Novi Sad Lesbian Organization – NLO (with Biljana Stanković – Lori and others) worked more as a social service than cultural organization. NLO had direct contact with lesbian community, followed its needs and tempo of changing its relations with local community and vice versa. NLO had worked in "closed" space for more than four years and started hundreds of programs (from psychological support and creative programs to providing accommodation for lesbians in need) in order to support LGBT community. Political position of NLO is feminist principle of social work which is about the group making effort to understand individual positions in the community (lesbian community in this case) and by knowing Serbian circumstances, helping and supporting community to have authentic life with minimal or none

adjustments to the system. It is obvious that those principles require a lifelong work.

In 2008 NLO organized part of its Festival of Lesbian art and Action in CK13. And then in 2009, we were invited to move there. At that point the founding groups in CK13 broke up – AKO and Kružok left it to kuda.org. CK13 was founded and supported as youth, anti-fascist organization with the idea of social and artistic action in the first place, so after those groups had left it, it became explicitly political organization. It needed an organization like NLO, and we wanted to become part of the public space at that time. It was mutual compromise. We entered anti-fascist space, which means almost nothing nowadays. People who worked there knew almost nothing about existence, culture, political position and the battle of LGBT community. We simply believed that their benevolence and mutual cooperation would bring us together in the same idea – "all for one and one for all". We moved in to CK13 for several reasons. Firstly, we wanted to make public space safe for lesbian and gay community; secondly – we taught it was important to share responsibility with other participants on independent political scene in Novi Sad. We are all equally responsible for position of LGBT community and society in general.

Of course, the external perspective of The House was that it became "lesbian place" which very soon was attacked etc. But I am more interested in what happened inside (in CK13 and on independent scene in general). My dream is that independent "scene" becomes brave enough to identify itself with marginal groups. Theoretically and during a particular action anybody can say: "I am Roma, I am poor, I am a worker"... But my dream is that they, without any borders can say "I am lesbian", "I am gay man". But this happens rarely and hidden behind veil of shame even for non-gay political activists. Therefore it must be even harder for LGBT people who are not activists protected by this position and who only want to live their life and contribute to society by

working what they love and know. I want to say that being sure of the lesbian or gay identity is the personal feeling becoming political. It is a decision – I will be sure of my identity. For LGBT people in this society it is not simple decision, because of everything that happens; I have impression that it is not inner rhythm of these people – it takes a lot of hard work to make them feel sure of their identity and it requires a lot of personal work.

We knew this was new step for lesbian and gay community and that they wouldn't easily accept public space as safe. We had a plan, created our own programs and later included gay group "Izadi". Important goal was to introduce people of Novi Sad with LGBT culture and to draw attention to its existence. We had our own corner in the house, with small library and video library with everyday working hours. We had our own principles which sometimes were, of course, different from principles of CK13. For example, we didn't use their security for NLO events and had developed our own safety strategy in case of violence and homophobic attacks. We also communicated with the police because of numerous attacks on gay men and lesbians, but we had an agreement that they never wear uniforms and disturb our guests. It is very useful knowledge for all people who want to organize similar public events – the knowledge about right to autonomous space related to government apparatus and services.

CK13 I imagined would have the key role in oppressing local government and businesses that work on shutting down Chinatown. But, CK13 is not what I hoped it would become – it is not meeting point of action and theory nor of various groups which could seriously oppose local government and other parts of government apparatus. It is necessary to build integrity for that which means to understand its own role as the role of collective which belongs to society rather than any particular House, organization or individuals.

*Jelena Andelovski*

# **Ako nešto ne postoji, ti napravi**

Ukratko, kada sam kao dvadesetogodišnjak živeo u Novom Sadu godinu dana, bilo mi je sjajno u velikoj meri zahvaljujući postojanju CK13. Možda će ovo iznenaditi neke koji čitaju ovaj tekst zato što sam tada imao dosta zamerki na rad Crne Kuće. Dakle, ni konflikti nisu izostali u tom periodu. Ali vratiću se na to kasnije.

Došao sam u avgustu i toplo vreme bilo je izazov za mene, a lepo, zeleno-žuto dvorište i prijatno renovirane prostorije CK13 postale su moj novi dom na godinu dana. Većinu godine svakodnevno sam bio тамо, često od jutra do večeri, a iskreno – često i tokom noći. Zašto? Uglavnom zato što sam se bavio takozvanim "volunteerskim radom", ali najvažniji razlog je bio taj što sam tu dobio priliku da realizujem mnoge zanimljive ideje i projekte, kao i zato što je tu dolazilo mnogo dragih i zanimljivih ljudi.

Za one koji ne znaju šta je "volunteerski rad" ili zašto sam upotrebo reč "takozvani", pokušaću to da objasnim u tri rečenice pre nego što pređem na glavnu temu, a to je moj doživljaj CK13 i njen značaj za mene. Za Nemce "volunteerski rad" najčešće predstavlja: mlade pripadnike uglavnom bele srednje klase koji su upravo završili školu i putuju u neku stranu zemlju kako bi pomogli, ili pokušali da pomognu, nekim organizacijama. Obično "volonteri" bolje znaju kako treba rešiti neke probleme, iako su tek završili školu i vrlo slabo (ili nikako ne) poznaju lokalni kontekst.

"Volunteerski rad" najčešće je povezan sa (sopstvenim) imidžom velikodušne osobe koja će provesti godinu dana života "pomažući siromašnim ljudima u nerazvijenim zemljama". Zapravo, volonteri putuju u veoma bezbednim okolnostima koje organizuju nevladine organizacije i državne institucije, zarađuju (da, volonteri su plaćeni) više od lokalnog stanovništva i imaju najviše koristi od vremena provedenog тамо: uče strani jezik, spoznaju potpuno drugačiji životni kontekst i posle godinu dana mogu da se vrate u svoju "bezbednu i bogatu zemlju".

Iako je ovo generalizacija, mislim da u većini slučajeva veoma dobro opisuje glavne problematične aspekte "volunteerskog rada". Takav je manje-više bio i moj slučaj. Ovim stičete uvid u ulogu iz koje sam stekao svoja iskustva u CK13 i iz koje perspektive pišem. Kad sam (još u Nemačkoj) prvi put čuo za CK13 oduševio sam se. Kulturni i Omladinski centar oformljen kroz saradnju različitih malih aktivističkih i kulturnih grupa koji promoviše samoorganizovanje, suprotstavlja se diskriminaciji i različitim vrstama ugnjetavanja sa jasnim antifašističkim polazištem.

Stigao sam i saznao da je lokalna antifašistička grupa napustila organizaciju zbog



Mural na ulazu u Infoteku, Davor Gromilović

Mural at the entrance of Infoshop, Davor Gromilović

konflikata, ali sam bio srećan što su radikalne feministkinje iz Novosadske Lezbejske Organizacije (NLO) veoma aktivne na projektu. Obradovao me je projekat aktivističke kuhinje koji je tek počeo, bila je tu i mala besplatna radnja, grupa za podučavanje Linux-a i mnogo dragih ljudi koji su tu radili i dolazili.

Posle šest nedelja uzbuđenja, postajao sam frustriran. Stvari su bile drugačije nego što sam zamišljao i kako sam navikao, teško sam prihvatao veoma drugačiji kontekst, suočio sam se sa frustracijama nekih bivših članova CK13 i bio sam iznenađen zbog stvari poput "Koka-kole" u ponudi bara (kod mojih nemačkih levičara to je bilo apsolutno zabranjeno). Preko dana bilo je malo programa, a većinu stvari je radila i odluke donosila nekolicina plaćenih "zaposlenih članova", a ne jaka volonterska zajednica aktivista.

Ali, imao sam sreće i nakon kraće krize dobio sam šansu da unesem novine:

U saradnji sa NLO-om i nekolicinom novostih prijatelja ostvario sam svoj san da napravimo Anarhističko-feminističku Infoteku u CK13. Proputovao sam Balkan posećujući Anarhističke sajmove knjiga, stvarao nove kontakte i nabavio mnogo knjiga za našu Infoteku. Bio sam veoma srećan :)

Zajedno sa malom grupom dragih ljudi organizovali smo projekcije filmova o Španskoj revoluciji, kao i diskusije i radionice promovisanja slobodnog i jednakog društva koje se suprotstavlja ugnjetavanju, izrabljivanju i lažima. Mesto u centru grada s velikom prostorijom za organizovanje događaja, lepo dvorište, tehnička oprema i ljudi koji su znali kako da je koriste i koji su iskusni u javnim promocijama – bili su korisni i ključni faktori uspeha ovih aktivnosti. Uprkos kritikama, jedno takvo mesto neophodno je svakom gradu. Ali, trebalo bi da ih bude više različito organizovanih u isto vreme, kako bi ljudi mogli da se razdvoje pre nego što konflikti eskaliraju i da se udružuju u slučaju fašističkih i drugih napada.

Jednom nedeljno, nekada i češće za potrebe seminara ili nekih drugih događaja, sa grupom dragih ljudi koji su se menjali, kuvali smo sjajna veganska jela u okviru projekta "Otvorena kuhinja". Hmm, uvek ukusna hrana :) I divni ljudi. U kasno proleće probali smo nove, drugačije aktivnosti poput čitalačkog kluba, komunikacijske gerile i pripremu većeg letnjeg događaja koji mi je bio posebno važan. Planirali smo da organizujemo dvonedeljni Festival samoorganizovanja tokom leta i uspeli u tome.

Prvih dana smo organizovali razne "uradi sam" radionice tokom dana (slikanje na svili, pravljenje mustri i fanzina i slično), a tokom večeri puštali filmove (o Emi Goldman, slobodnim školama i slično). Mnogo manje uspešan bio je međunarodni Sajam knjiga tokom vikenda, ali održale su se neke lepe diskusije.

Za mene je najinspirativniji bio treći deo festivala, kada je nekoliko trenera iz različitih evropskih zemalja organizovalo radionice o praktičnim grupnim veštinama za organizovanje društvenih pokreta – facilitaciji sastanaka, koncezusnom donošenju odluka, rešavanju konflikata, strategijama, kampanjama i mnogim drugim. Napokon neke veoma praktične veštine potrebne za rešavanje problematične grupne dinamike s kojom sam se često susretao u mnogim drugim grupama i kontekstima. Četvrti, poslednji deo festivala su organizovale druge grupe i sastojao se od višednevnih radionica sítu štampe kao i aktivističkih filmova pod naslovom „Signalni otpora”.

Bio sam umoran i srećan što je za mene poslednji veliki projekat u CK13 završen, i zadivljen svim tim ljudima koji su i danas nastavili da održavaju ovo mesto i da mnogima obezbeđuju prostor za realizaciju ideja. Ja sam nastavio svoj projekat na drugim mestima, ali inspirisan mnogim lekcijama naučenim tokom godine provedene u CK13.

**Jakobare**

# **If something doesn't exist one should create it**

In short, when I lived with my 20 years for a year in Novi Sad, I had a great time, and this had definitely a lot to do with the existence of CK13. This may surprise some of the people reading this now, as I was at same time quite critical with quite some points in Crna kuća. So my time there was also a time in which conflicts were not missing. But lets come back to this later. I came in August, for me weather was challenging hot, and the beautiful green-yellow backyard and the nicely renovated rooms inside of CK13 became my new home for more than a year.

Most of the year I spend almost every day there, often from morning to evening, and I have to admit, also quite some nights.

Why? Well, officially I was doing my so called „volunteering service“ there, but the main reason I spend so much time in CK13 was that I found a lot of opportunities to realize interesting ideas and projects in here, and it was a place, where usually a lot of nice and interesting people passed by. For those that don't know what a „volunteering service“ means, or why I say „so called“ I'll try to explain it in 3 sentences before I come back to the main topic, what CK13 meant to me in that time and how I persived it. For Germans “volunteering service” often means: young, mostly white middle class people, which usually just finished school, travel to another country and help out in some organisation, or at least try to. Often the „volunteers“ think they would know much better how things should be done, even though they often just finished school and usually know the local context very less or not at all.

Doing a „volunteering service“ is often connected with an (self)image of being so generous to spend one year of your life to „help the poor underdeveloped countries“. In fact they usually travel in a very protected frame, organized by NGO's and state-institutions, earn (yes you get paid) often more than many locals and profit most from that time: learning another language, getting to know a whole different context of the world and still being able to leave after a year back to „safe and rich home country“.



Even though its obviously a generalisation, I think in most of the cases it describes main problematic aspects of the „volunteering service“ quite well. Like this it was also more or less in my case. Knowing this you know in which role I made my experiences in CK13 and from which perspective I'm writing from.

When I heard first time about CK13 (still in Germany) I was amazed: A Culture and Youth Center, build up by an alliance of different small activist and cultural groups, promoting self-organization, challenging discrimination and oppression of different forms and having a clear anti-fascist standing.

I arrived and was sad to hear the local anti-fascist group had left the place due to conflicts, but happy to see the radical feminists from Novi Sad Lesbian Organisation (NLO) where so present in the project. I was happy to find out there was an activist kitchen project that had just started, there was a tiny free-shop, a linux

group and a bunch of nice people working and hanging out there.

After six weeks of excitement I started to be frustrated - things where different than I thought and was used to, I struffled accepting that context was so different, got confronted with the frustration of former active CK13-members and was simply surprised by few things: to see Coca-Cola beeing sold in the bar (in my German leftist bubble back than that was a complete no-go). There was quite little program during the day, and mostly that most of the tasks and decissions where made by few paid „employees“ and not by a strong „ehrenamtlichen“ activist community.

But I was lucky and after a short period of crises I got the chance to create a new room: In cooperation with NLO and few newly gained friends I could implement my dream of an anarcho-feminist Infoshop in CK13. I traveled through the Balkans, from Anarchist Bookfair to Anarchist Bookfair to make new contacts and collect a lot of new books and zines for our Infoshop. I was so happy!

Together with a small group of nice people we organized film-screenings about The Spanish Revolution, and other discussions and workshops promoting a free and egalitarian society rejecting oppression, exploitation and representation.

Having a place in city center, with a large event-room, a nice backyard, technical equipment and people knowing how to operate it, people experienced with the promotion of public events was so helpfull and a key for the success of those activities. Despite any critisism, having a place like this is very important for a city. Just that there shouldn't be just one, but several one, to try out different forms of organizing, to split in cases of conflict before it completely escalates and to stand in solidarity in case of fascist or other attacs.

Once per week and sometimes additional-  
ly for seminars or other events we where

cooking with a changing group of nice people great vegan-meals with the kitchen project „otvorena kuhinja“. \*Hmmm\* always great food and nice people.

In late spring we tried out different new activities, like reading circles, communication guerilla and started to prepare a bigger event for summer, which was my personal highlight. The plan was to organize a two-week long festival of Self-organisation, and thaths what we made.

The first five days consisted of different D.I.Y-workshops during the day (like silk-printing, stencil-making, fanzines etc.), and filmscreenings in the evening (about emma-goldman, free-schooling and more). Much less succsesfull was the international Bookfair we had planed for the weekend, but still some nice discussions.

For me personaly most inspiring, was the third part of the Festival, when few trainers from different european countries provided workshops on practical group-skills for organizing in social movements: Facilitation of meetings, consensus decision making, conflict resolution, strategy + campaigning and more. Finaly some very practical skills to challenge problematic group-dynamics, which I had experianced already in so many different groups and contexts.

The fourth and last part of the festival was organized by other groups and consisted of a several day long silk-printing workshop and activist movies under the title „Signs of revolt“.

Tired and satisfied, for me last big project in CK13 was over, and i'm amazed by all the people, which continued till today, to keep this place alive and provide for many more people a place to realize their ideas. I for myself continued my projects in different places, but with inspiration and many lessons learned from my year in CK13.

*Jakobare*

# **Parče slobodnog neba, Izadi! u CK13**

Za LGBT pokret u Novom Sadu 2010. godina je označila svojevrsni "aktivistički coming out". Prvi put u istoriji pokreta izlazimo iz podruma, katakombi, "skrivenih" lokacija i svoje delovanje selimo u javni prostor. Dve grupe koje su u to vreme radile sa LGBT osobama u Novom Sadu, grupa IZADI i NLO, počinju da realizuju svoje aktivnosti u Omladinskom centru CK13.

Zašto je ovo toliko veliki događaj?

Zato što govorimo o jednom vrlo turbulentnom periodu – politička klima sa jedne strane i vrlo tenžična atmosfera unutar LGBT pokreta sa druge strane. Tu godinu je obeležila velika količina nasilja i homofobije u javnosti – izjave političara, mediji koji su neprestano dolivali ulje na vatru, otvorene pretnje, lov na aktiviste po ulici i njihovo prebijanje.

Kada je LGBT zajednica 2009. godine ušla u fokus medija zbog uklanjanja Zakona o zabrani diskriminacija iz skupštinske procedure na insistiranje SPC i ostalih verskih zajednica, i njegovog konačnog usvajanja, tadašnja vlast zabranjuje beogradsku Povorku ponosa na vrlo kontroverzan način – izmeštanjem povorke iz centra grada na lokaciju kod tržnog centra "Ušće". Sve ovo prati vrlo neobjektivno izveštavanje medija, poređenje povorke sa orgijama na Terazijama, prikazivanje vrlo eksplicitnih slika i aktivno delovanje ultradesničarskih i navijačkih grupa. Neki od tadašnjih aktivista su zbog pritisaka i otvorenih pretnji smrću morali da napuste zemlju.

Godinu dana kasnije, u Beogradu je održana prva Parada ponosa – pod vrlo sumnjivim okolnostima i pod okriljem Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava. Parada ponosa je tada potpuno ogoljena bilo kakvih političkih poruka i zahteva i praktično svedena

na dve stvari – checkbox koji je ministarstvo moralo da štiklira te godine i scenografija za snimanje par kadrova za jedan film sa vrlo problematičnom porukom. Taj dan je 6.500 huligana potpuno demoliralo centar Beograda i ušlo u otvoreni sukob sa velikim brojem policajaca u kordonima (preko 5.000). Sa druge strane kordona, situacija je bila potpuno groteskna – šareni baloni, muzika, ministar koji drži govor... I svi mi, zloupotrebljeni aktivisti, šetamo u toj lošoj predstavi pod parolom "možemo zajedno".

Realna situacija je bila ta da nismo mogli zajedno. Sav taj teret je doveo do potpunog urušavanja LGBT pokreta u Srbiji. Aktivisti i organizacije su počeli da optužuju jedni druge, pronalaze način da diskvalifikuju svoje neistomišljenike i praktično su postale disfunkcionalne u onome čemu treba da služe – da učine život LGBT zajednice u Srbiji boljim.

Sa porastom vidljivosti LGBT populacije, rasli su i problemi sa kojima se zajednica svakodnevno suočavala, od svoje najbliže okoline, porodice, škole/fakulteta, ulice, do državnih institucija. Sve to je ostavljalo duroke psihičke i emotivne izazove koje LGBT osobe nisu bile sposobne pojedinačno i same da rešavaju. Državne institucije koje imaju za posao podršku mladima tokom njihovog razvoja su retko bile od pomoći, pre svega zbog suštinskog nerazumevanja i neprihvatanja ove populacije. Sa druge strane, donatori u to vreme nisu prepoznавали ove probleme, pa je i finansiranje projekata koji se bave ovom temom izostajalo.

Kao reakcija na ovu zamršenu situaciju, u Novom Sadu se dešava "aktivistički coming out". Dve grassroots grupe iz Novog Sada se priključuju životu Omladinskog centra CK13 i prvi put počinju da rade i deluju u jednom javnom prostoru zajedno sa drugim grupa-

ma koje su bile prisutne u Kući. Dakle, dve vrlo šokantne novosti za to vreme – pederi i lezbejke zajedno; i pederi i lezbejke sa drugim u javnom prostoru.

U martu 2010. godine Grupa IZAĐI započinje prvi ciklus grupe podrške za mlade gej muškarce, koji je bio pilot projekat finansiran u potpunosti sopstvenim sredstvima. Fokus rada grupe je bio na osnaživanju mlađih gej muškaraca, kao i njihov lični i socijalni razvoj. Kasnije je veliki deo ovih mlađih ljudi postao srž grupe u daljim aktivnostima Grupe IZAĐI.

U odnosu na lezbejsku grupu koja je politički bila osvećena i radila u okvirima drugog talasa feminističke teorije, gejevi su u jako maloj meri bili svesni političkog konteksta i za njih nije važilo "lično je političko". To je bio jedan od glavnih izazova ulaska u

Kuću sa vrlo jasnom i snažnom politikom i uspostavljanja našeg LGBT "omladinskog kluba" u potkovlju CK13. Međutim, principi i vrednosti omladinskog rada koje sa sobom nosi Grupa IZAĐI su ubrzo prepoznati kao potpuno komplementarni sa politikom CK13, te su poslužile kao baza za "pravila" života u Kući.

Uprkos tome što gej zajednica u Novom Sadu tada nije imala percepciju Kuće kao LGBT-friendly mesta, potpuno je neverovatno koliko brzo smo počeli da se osećamo sigurno u njoj i CK13 doživljavamo svojom drugom kućom, a pojedini mlađi i jedinom kućom u kojoj mogu da budu ono što jesu. Dok je na ulici divljala homofobija i "ubij-zakolji" atmosfera, u potkovlju smo napravili jednu malu oazu: sedeli bismo na terasi i maštali o tome kako ćemo jednog dana obojiti ceo krov kuće u dugine boje,



Atmosfera sa Parade ponosa u Beogradu, 2014.

Atmosphere at Belgrade Pride, 2014

izlepti Novi Sad nalepnicama duginih boja sa jasnom porukom "nisi sam". Osećali smo se kao pušteni sa lanca na kom smo bili vezani jako dugo.

Apsolutni prioritet je bio prostor. Važno je bilo da mladi koji su bili šikanirani na sve strane, izbacivani iz kuće, maltretirani u školi, prebijani na ulici, zlostavljeni u vezama; imaju parče sigurnog prostora u ovom gradu u kom mogu nešto da nauče, da otvoreno pitaju, pročitaju, besplatno koriste internet ili prosto da budu tu u situacijama kada se nigde drugde ne osećaju bezbedno. Ovo je predstavljalo poseban izazov u periodu kada je kuća više puta napadana razbijanjem prozora i molotov-ljevim koktelima, a učinkovita saradnja sa policijom nije postojala.

Plašili smo se da će to nasilje da se proširi i na unutrašnjost kuće i da će naš siguran prostor, tj. prostor koji smo tako osećali biti kompromitovan.

Sa ove distance, sve ovo je malo kontradiktorno: govorimo o "sigurnom prostoru" u javnom prostoru, u "ubij-zakolji" vremenu, kada su svi znali da su pederi u CK13. Da li je to realno bio siguran prostor? Pa naravno da nije! Bilo ko je mogao da uđe i napravi ozbiljan problem. Ipak, za nas je to bio NAŠ prostor, naše parče sigurnosti i bili smo spremni da ga branimo. Ne samo mi koji smo bili u organizaciji, nego i mlađi koji su dolazili na aktivnosti. Taj osećaj vlasništva nad našim čoškom u potkovlju se ubrzo preneo na celu kuću. Mladi gejevi su učestvovali u svim aspektima života kuće – od krećenja i velikih spremanja, do volontiranja u Otvorenoj kuhinji i rada u Infoteci. To je bio momenat ne samo "coming out-a", već i integracije. Po prvi put smo se osetili prihvaćenim, delom društva, po prvi put smo mogli da dišemo, iako i dalje ne baš jako duboko. Ali disali smo, smejali, imali žurke i druženja, živeli... Na neki način poverovali smo da je promena moguća i u ovoj zemlji, da je život van ormana moguć, da rad naše grupe može da donese promene mladim LGBT osobama u Novom Sadu, a možda i u Srbiji.

I tako, u vreme divljanja ekstremne desnice u društvu, u jednom sigurnom prostoru, grupa mlađih neguje različitosti i praktikuje prihvatanje drugih – čak i mlađih koji slušaju folk zvezdu sporne političke prošlosti; jer ekstremizmu i isključivanju nije bilo mesta. Tokom dve godine rada Grupe IZAĐI u CK13, možemo da kažemo da smo se razvijali zajedno i odvojeno, da smo rasli i shvatili da je siguran prostor postavljen i da je vreme da Grupa IZAĐI počne samostalan život.

Grupa IZAĐI se 2012. godine registrovala kao udruženje građana – Grupa za podršku mladim LGB osobama "IZAĐI" i od tada je fokusirana na lični i socijalni razvoj mlađih gejeva i lezbejki u Novom Sadu. CK13 je poslužila kao plodno tlo za naš rad – pružila nam priliku da se uspostavimo, vidimo da možemo, da se osnažimo, a onda smo se osamostalili. U međuvremenu, desila nam se i tzv. "sмена генерација", imamo nove mlađe ljudе koji kreiraju programe, sproveđe aktivnosti i predstavljaju organizaciju, što je bio veliki korak. Kako smo jačali, tako smo počeli da koristimo i nove javne prostore za naše aktivnosti, sarađujemo sa novim organizacijama, imamo nova lica u medijima – što je iz perspektive 2010. godine bilo potpuno nezamislivo.

Uprkos tome što smo radili u periodu kada su nam životi doslovno bili ugroženi, kada bi svako pojavljivanje u medijima podrazumevalo skrivanje narednih par nedelja; to je bilo vreme vrlo intenzivnog učenja i rada na sebi, testiranja svojih vrednosti i principa, i učinilo nas onakvima kakvi jesmo danas. Podrška od strane velikog broja organizacija i interesovanje mlađih za grupu i njene programe ukazuje na to da smo na dobrom putu. Profilisali smo se kao jedina LGBT omladinska organizacija u Vojvodini i sada radimo na ostvarivanju prepoznatlosti našeg rada od strane lokalne i pokrajinske vlasti, kao i direktnе podrške u uspostavljanju novog LGBT omladinskog kluba, prostora za podršku mlađim LGBT osobama i njihovim porodicama, prostora u kojem će biti prihvaćeni baš onakvi kakvi jesu.

*Adorjan Kurucz*

# ***A Piece Of Free Sky, Izadi in CK13***

2010 was a year of an “activist coming out” for LGBT community in Novi Sad. For the first time in history of the movement we got out of basements, catacombs, “hidden” locations and started working in public space. Two groups working with LBGT population at that time (Izadi and NLO) started realizing their activities in the youth centre CK13.

Why is this event so important?

Because we are talking about very turbulent period – in terms of political climate on one hand, and great tensions in LGBT movement, on the other hand. That year was marked by a lot of violence and homophobia in public – politicians’ statements, media who supported conflicts, open threats, hunting and beating activists to death in the street.

LGBT community drew attention of media in 2009, when Serbian Orthodox Church and other religious groups demanded removing Antidiscrimination Legislation from public procedures of National Assembly of Republic of Serbia. The Legislation was finally officially adapted, but the government of that time banned Gay Pride Parade in very controversial way – by dislocating the Parade in front of the shopping mall “Ušće”. The Parade was followed by one-sided media reporting (which compared it with orgies and portrayed it with explicit pictures) as well as with raging activities of ultra right-wing. Some activist of that time had to leave the country due to pressures and death threats.

A year later fist Gay Pride Parade was held in Belgrade – under very suspicious circumstances and controlled by Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. It was absolutely exposed and without any political messages and demands, used for two goals:

as checkbox which was part of the Ministry’s duty agenda for that year and as scenery for a movie with very problematic message. On that day 6,500 hooligans completely demolished the centre of Belgrade and openly conflicted more than 5,000 police officers in cordons. On the other side of cordons the situation was rather grotesque-colorful balloons, music, Minister’s speech... And us- a group of abused activists walking in a lousy theater play under the slogan “we can do it together”.

In reality we couldn’t do it together. All that pressure caused a collapse of LGBT movement in Serbia. Activists and organizations started accusing one another, found ways to disqualify opponents and became practically dysfunctional in their primary purpose which is to make life of LGBT community in Serbia better.

Increased visibility of LGBT population caused everyday problems to increase, too–among close community members, in the family, at school/university, in the streets and in governmental institutions. It all caused deep mental and emotional challenges which LGBT people couldn’t deal with individually. Governmental institutions who were supposed to help young people during their development were not very supportive, due to lack of essential understanding and acceptance of LGBT population. On the other hand, donors didn’t recognize these problems, so financial support for projects related to LGBT youth was lacking at that time.

As a reaction to this complex situation we had an “activist coming out” in Novi Sad. Two grassroots groups from Novi Sad joined CK13 and for the first time started working in a public place with other groups who were active there. Those were two

very shocking news for publicity at that time—gays and lesbians working together and gays and lesbians working with other groups in public space.

In March 2010 grouplzađi started first cycle of support for young gay men which was a pilot project totally funded by the group itself. The focus of the project was empowerment, personal and social development of young gay men. Afterwards, most of these men became part of essential group which conducted later activities inlzađi.

Compared to politically aware lesbian group that worked under the terms of Second-wave feminism, gay men were almost completely unaware of the political context and didn't think that the personal was political. It was one of the major challenges of joining politically strong CK13 and starting LGBT "youth club" in the attic of the house. But principles and values of lzađi were recognized as complementary to CK13 policies and made base for "house rules".

Although gay community didn't think of CK13 as a gay-friendly place, very soon we started to feel very safe and free there. We felt like it was our other home and that young gay people could act naturally there. While homophobia and aggression were getting wild in the streets, in our oasis we fantasized about coloring roof of the house in the colors of the rainbow and hanging the posters with message "you are not alone". We finally felt like we were set free from a leash after a long time.

The space was our absolute priority. It was a space for all those young people who were hounded, thrown out of their houses, bullied at schools, beaten in the streets, abused in relationships; they finally had a piece of safe space in this town where they could learn something, ask about anything, read, use Internet for free or just be there and be safe. It was very challenging when the House was attacked many times, when stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown at it and when there was no cooperation with the police. We were afraid

that the violence will come inside, into the space we felt as our safe space and compromise its safety.

From today's perspective it is a contradictory thing—we talk about "safe space" in a public space in a very aggressive period of time when everybody knew that gays were in CK13. Was it really a safe space? Of course not! Anybody could enter it and make a serious trouble there. Nevertheless, for us it was our space, our piece of safety and we were eager to defend it. Not only us who belonged to the organization, but young people who visited the House and took part in our activities, as well. That sense of ownership related to our corner in the attic soon spread throughout the House. Young gay men took part in all aspects of life in the House—from painting and cleaning to volunteering in "Open kitchen" and Infoshop. It was not only a coming out for us, but also the moment of integration—we were accepted for the first time, we were part of the society and could breathe, although not too deeply yet. But we did breathe, laugh, have parties, live...We sort of started believing that the change was possible in this country, that it was possible to live out of the closet, that our activities could help young LGBT people in Novi Sad and maybe in Serbia, too.

In the period of extreme raging of right-wing groups, in a safe space a group of young people cherished differences and acceptance of even young people who listened to music of the folk-star whose political history was very problematic, because there was no space for extremism and exclusion. During two years of working in CK13, we can say thatlzađi was developing both together with others and separately. We were growing and realizing that we built our safe space, so it was time for us to start an independent life.

In 2012 grouplzađi was registered as Civic Association- Support group for young LGB people "Izadži" and since then it has been focused on personal and social development of young gay men and lesbians in



Novi Sad. CK13 was a fertile ground for our work—we got an opportunity to found our group, to gain self-confidence, to strengthen ourselves and then finally become independent. In the meantime a generation change happened in our group—now we have new young people who create programs, realize activities and represent the organization, which was a big step. As we grew stronger, we started using new public spaces for our activities, cooperating with new organizations and having new media representatives—which was totally unthinkable back in 2010.

In spite of what we did when our lives were literally endangered and when each media appearance meant we had to hide

for next few weeks; it was time of very intensive learning and self-improvement, time of testing our values and principles which shaped us into what we are today. We are supported by many organizations and many young people are interested in our programs, which means we are on a good path. We are profiled as the only youth LGBT organization in Vojvodina and we are currently working on realizing visibility of our work on local and provincial level, as well as on getting direct support for creating new LGBT youth club—a space of support for young LGBT people and their families where they will be accepted for who they are.

*Adorjan Kurucz*

# Ljudi i kuća

Navršilo se već deset godina od osnivanja CK13 i ne znam kada su pre prošle. Kako gledati na period od tih deset godina i kako računati vreme kada je ono objektivno posmatrano zgušnuto i nerazabiljivo? Ako bi se toga držali bili bismo u domenu ravni koje na vreme gleda objektivno, a na istoriju kao na nepromenljivu. Imali bismo faktografiju i istoriografiju, a možda i neupitni značaj jednog punkta kakav je CK13. Značajno jer je preživelio, još bi značajnije bilo da nije, te bi ga se sećali eventualno sa nostalgijom i lamentom nad nerealizovanim mogućnostima. Međutim, ako se preciznije pozabavimo „vremenom“ i procesima u njemu, kako im možemo pristupiti? Objektivno svakako da, kritičko-teorijski takođe, pri čemu bi jedino moguće bilo moguće nizanja na listu nemogućnosti i limita kojima smo podređeni. Umesto ovakve kombinatorike, ovde predlažem pristup kojim se prošlost ne drži fiksnom u smislu pronalaženja mogućeg u njoj (ono što može biti u odnosu na ono što jeste, kako u budućnosti tako i u prošlosti), pristup bez lamenta nad nerealizovanim, kako upravo to moguće ne bi bilo isključivo rezervisano za budućnost, koja ga u tom smislu nikada ni ne mora ostvariti. Istorija nije data, kao što ni stvarnost to nije. Ljudi ih (diskontinuirano i povremeno) stvaraju.

Iako se sećam svojih reči na otvaranju CK13, ovde ču ih interpretirati: Imamo kuću, no ono što je bitno nisu zidovi već ljudi. Svakako ni tada nisam mislila na bilo kakvu metaforu tipa „ljudi zatvoreni u zidinama“, i iz razloga što je to u tom trenutku bilo nemoguće. Entuzijazma je bilo na pretek i on je praćen uverenjem da zidovi i ljudi mogu da brinu jedni o drugima na način da održavanje zidova uspravnim može povratno uticati na uspravno držanje glave kada su ljudi u pitanju. Povratno takođe: gradeći svoj integritet, snagu da od mišljenja i zajedničkog rada ne odustaju, ljudi uvek iznova grade i drže zidove kuće uspravnima. Ovom uspravnom ne bi trebalo suprotstavljati horizontalno i suprotstavljanjem ukazivati

na njegov manjak, jer ga integritet i snaga ljudi da se mišljenju i argumentovanju uvek vrate, uključuju. Uključuju, jer horizontalo ovde ima značenje jednakih ljudi koji jednako učestvuju u odlučivanju. Jedno bez drugoga nije moguće.

Međutim, često smo bili svedoci devijacije ovakve pozicije koja nas vraća na nivo uvida u ograničenja koja su uvek pred nama. Nisam pobornik voluntarizma, već pre pravljenja pukotina i probaja kroz večito prisutne strukture. No, one su nekada bile prejake i umele su da nadvladaju svako moguće, pri čemu smo svi u manjoj ili većoj meri posustajali. Ipak, i u najtežim situacijama i međuljudskim odnosima, nešto je saznato i uvidi su stvoreni. Najpre da politike ne mora da bude ni kada su označitelji levice prisutni. Ovde mislim na svaki aktivizam koji je baziran na onom protiv sistema ili nečega drugog, što ne znači automatski obdelavati i reprodukovati taj sistem, odnosno slagati se s njim. Ukoliko postoji poverenje da to ne mora isključivo biti tako, onda imamo prostora da uradimo nešto zajedno s ljudima, aktivistima, grupama s kojima sarađujemo u formulisanju mogućeg.

Dalji uvidi su donekle precizniji: sreli smo organizacije koje ne brinu o sopstvenim organizacijama, kako se pokazalo, iz više razloga – iz akademskih aspiracija i manira, zbog zaposlenja u državi, članstva u partiji. Dakle, sreli smo ljudе koji su uvek negde-drugde od situacije u kojoj su. Sudarali smo se, ali često bez sposobnosti i odlučnosti mnogih od nas da sopstvene pozicije rasklapamo, otvaramo i kroz diskusije sa saborcima menjamo. U tome nam levi označitelji nisu pomagali, teorija isto tako, kao ni akademizmi i partijnosti. Odustajanje ljudi pogotovo. Isto kao i uvođenje pozicija u funkcionisanje kuće na nivou zahtevanja od nekoga da bude arbitar sukoba i činiti od njega „centar moći“ kada je to pogodno za ostvarenje sopstvenih interesa. No, verova-

ti da pobrojano čini čitav i celovit horizont pred nama bilo bi pogubno za svaki angažman, i koji bi time bio osuđen na propast. Ono što je za mene kao princip skovano iz iskustva CK13 jeste da nas suštinski ništa ne razdvaja. Suočavanje da to za druge ljudе ne mora biti takođe je deo tog principa.

No, za ono što iz ovog principa dalje sledi, ne bi nam bila potrebna bolja metafora od onoga što nam CK13 kao kuća i organizacija udruženih ljudi daju kao primer – primer za mogućnost organizovanja života i rada. Dajem, u vreme nemogućnosti zaposlenja u već prebukiranoj državi i odumirućoj privredi. Primer, kao što to može da bude svako udruženje ljudi koji se i jesu udružili da bi nešto rešili, pravili prostor za rad, od toga živeli, izumevali, stvarali novo. Da ne kažem da je to mogući prostor za afekte i prijateljstvo, kao i za rešavanje problema u onome što obično zovemo privatnim. U tome je inicijalni projekat kojim je kuća kupljena, a mislim da je to bilo inspirisano mrežom projekata stanovanja u Nemačkoj gde jedan od drugova s početka rada kuće danas radi i živi, otvorio mnoge nove mogućnosti za organizovanje ljudi. Iz drugih pozicija bi se moglo reći da je ta činjenica baš problem funkcionisanja CK13 jer u sebi sadrži obavezu vlasništva. Ali ono nikada nije smatrano i držano privatnim, već se insistiralo na otvaranju za zajedničko. Ovo je uvek bila čudna pozicija, od dana kupovine kuće do danas, jer bilo ko da pokuša organizованo da dođe do prostora za rad najčešće mora to da učini iznajmljujući ga, za šta uglavnom ne postoji nikakva podrška. Od toga vode dva puta: zatvaranje udruženja ili zatvaranje sa nagomilavanjem duga za prostor. U vreme kada se u Novom Sadu udruženja građana i to u kulturi zatvaraju zbog nemogućnosti održavanja infrastrukture, čak i sa nagomilanim dugovima za iznajmljivanje prostora, CK13 se još jednom ukazuje kao presedan. I to presedan manje u smislu vlasništva nad prostorom koji druge organizacije nemaju, koliko u mogućnostima koje ono otvara kao mesto podrške drugim organizacijama i pojedincima. Poslednji primer je CK kao mesto na kome se susreće Inicijativa nezavisne kulturne scene grada, čiji je CK13 i

član, odnosno mesto još jednom povezanih udruženja građana u kulturi koja se bore za bolje uslove svog rada i života.

Kao što sam napomenula, prostor nije jedina stvar po čemu je CK13 značajan. Sećam se diskusija i borbi po dolasku ljudi koji i danas rade u CK, da nije dovoljno Crnu kuću imati kao servis koji ljudi i organizacije koriste za svoje programe i na koju gledaju isključivo kao na infrastrukturu. Tada se postavljalo pitanje šta s tim ljudima i gde je politika CK? Kako se istrošilo vreme pretnje levim označiteljima kao jedinom politikom u prethodnim periodima funkcionisanja kuće, javila se potreba za mišljenjem politike kuće u, kako shvatam, novom ključu. Međutim, pitanje servisa i infrastrukture je zanimljivo i slično sam razmišljala po početku rada na projektu „Lokalne politike i urbana samouprava“ koji sprovode kuda.org i Grupa za konceptualnu politiku u pokušaju ohrabrvanja ljudi na samoorganizovanje kada je stanovanje u pitanju. Isto tako nismo bili zadovoljni time da nas ljudi smatraju servisom i na kome se politička diskusija ne mora nužno razviti, već se dođe po nešto, uzme i ode. Ali vremenom se pokazalo da je servis ovakve vrste bitan jer ne postoji ni jedno slično mesto a da nije država, naseljena nepotizmom, klijentelizmom i partijskim članstvom, u čemu smo se uverili da politike nema. Ljudi koji žele da reše neki problem preko države ne mogu to da učine a da ne prihvate njene načine rada. U ovakvim servisima mogu. Možda je situacija sa prostorima za realizaciju kulturnih događaja u gradu ipak drugačija, i njih danas ima, te ni u njima odluke i aktivnosti ne moraju biti isključivo u domenu države (nadam se i nenaseljeni njenim strukturama), u trenutku osnivanja CK slični prostori nisu postojali. Otuda i razlog za njegovo pokretanje.

Možda je bilo potrebno da prođe deset godina da bi se konačno video entuzijazam ljudi koji su u njoj, odlučnih da je postave na stabilne temelje i takvim ih održe održavajući sebe kao kolektiv. Možda je bilo potrebno da se kuda.org kao jedan od osnivača, a u trenutku osnivanja i jedina formalna organizacija, izmakne i time omogući prostor za

udruživanje ljudi koji su konačno odlučili da u CK13 rade. A možda je bilo potrebno nešto posve drugo. Svako bira sopstvenu poziciju i perspektivu, i tu se ne može ništa ukoliko se ona kroz diskusiju ne menja i ako se na mišljenju i uvažavanju drugih štedi. Ja

ću se držati prvog uvida iz ovog paragrafa, ma koliko entuzijazam u današnje vreme bio devalviran, u opisanom iskustvu on je jedina kategorija i afekt politike.

*Branka Ćurčić*

## ***The People and the House***

Ten years have already passed since founding CK13 and I don't know how it happened so fast. How to think about this period of time and how to measure it when the time itself is objectively condensed and impossible to comprehend? Measuring would lead us to see time as objective and history as unchangeable. We would get facts, historiography and maybe authentic value of CK13 as a center. That center is important because it survived; it would have been even more important if it hadn't, for we would have remembered it with nostalgia and lament over unrealized possibilities. But, how can we more precisely approach the "time" and the processes within it? We can do it in an objective way or by using critical theory which would only lead us to the list of impossibilities and limitations which subordinate us. Instead of that I suggest the approach which does not perceive past as fixed in terms of possibilities within it (referring to relation between possibilities and their realizations both in past and future); the approach without lamenting over unrealized possibilities, because relating possibilities only to future relativizes them in terms of their realization. Neither history, nor reality are given to us. We (discontinuously and occasionally) create them by ourselves.

Although I remember my speech at the opening of CK13 I will interpret it here: "We have the House, but what's important is not the walls – the people are". Of course it wasn't some metaphor of people locked inside the walls or anything like that, because it would be impossible to use it at that time.

The enthusiasm was huge and followed by the belief that the walls and the people could take care of one another – keeping the walls of the house vertical could help the people hold their heads up, too. And vice versa – by building their integrity and strength in persistent united thinking and working, people always rebuild and keep the walls of the house vertical. This vertical is not opposed to or therefore worse than horizontal because it is included in the integrity and strength of the people who always keep returning to thinking and discussing. It is included because horizontal represents equal people who take equal part in making decisions. These are inseparable.

Nevertheless, we often witnessed the deviation of this position which took us back to the level of insights in limitations in front of us. I don't support voluntarism, but I do support making cracks and crevices in eternally present structures. But those structures used to be too strong and dominant over possibilities, which made all of us to give up, more or less. Nevertheless, even in the most difficult situations and human relations, we learned something and gained some insights. Firstly, we learned that even the presence of left-oriented signifiers doesn't make it a political act. I refer to the activism based on fight against the system or something else, which doesn't automatically mean to labor in it and reproduce it, nor to agree with the system itself. If there is faith in something different we can define possibilities together with people, activists, and groups we work with. Further insights were more precise – we met organ-

izations which didn't care for themselves due to academic aspirations and mannerism, and because their members worked as public officers or belonged to political parties. We met people who were always displaced from the situation they belonged to. We collided but often without ability and determination of many of us to deconstruct, open and change our positions through discussions with our comrades. Neither left-wing signifiers and theory, nor academicism and party-oriented approach helped us with that. Especially people who gave up didn't help us with that. As well as forming positions in functioning of the House which demanded of some people to be arbiters of conflicts and favored them as "centers of

power" in order to fulfill personal interests. But it would be fatal to believe that those above mentioned factors made the whole horizon and this (as any other) arrangement would be doomed. My experience in CK13 taught me that we are essentially inseparable. Facing the fact that some people don't share that opinion is also part of that principle.

But, what developed further from this principle is metaphorized in CK13 both as the house and the organization of gathered people who gave us as an example of possible way to organize life and work. It is additionally significant in times of unemployment, saturated country and dying



*Adaptacija kuće, 2007.*

*Adaptation of the house, 2007*

industry. This is the example of the association of people who gathered to solve certain issues, build working space, become sustainable, create and invent new things. It is also a good place for affections and friendships, as well as for solving problems from private sphere. This is how an initial project of buying the House, inspired by network of housing projects in Germany where one of our comrades from the beginning of the House lives and works today, opened various new possibilities for organizing people. Looking from other positions, some might say that the ownership is main problem in functioning of the House. But the House was never considered as private property, it was insisted on group ownership. Since buying the House till today it has always been a strange position, because usually people who want to work together in some space must rent it without any support. And after that there are only two paths – closing the organization or closing the organization with piled rental debts. In period when cultural organizations in Novi Sad were closing due to inability to maintain infrastructure and piled up rental debts, CK13 was again a precedent. Less in terms of having a property which other organizations didn't have, but more in terms of possibilities of this property to support other organizations and individuals. Today CK13 represents the place where the Initiatives of independent urban culture scene meet, and as being part of that initiative, it is also the place where reconnected citizens' cultural associations fight for better working and living conditions.

As I already mentioned, space is not the most important thing about CK13. In the beginning, many people who still work in CK13 used to argue and discuss how it was not enough for CK13 to be a service for people who wanted to realize their programs there and to be perceived just as an infrastructure. We asked ourselves what to do with those people and what the policy of CK13 was? After dominant left-oriented signifiers in the functioning of the House were used up, a need for new policies and definitions appeared. But the questions of service and

infrastructure are interesting and I remember thinking similarly at the beginning of the project "Local policies and urban sustainability" conducted by kuda.org and Group for Conceptual Politics, created to encourage people in self-organized housing. We also didn't want to be perceived as city service, a place which was not a fertile ground for political discussion, a place people would just come to, take something from and leave. But we eventually realized that this service is important because there isn't anything similar to it apart from the government which is populated with nepotism, clientelism and political party membership – which is not political at all. People who want governmental support for dealing with some issues don't have a choice but to accept its ways. But these services give them choice. Maybe today there are more spaces in the city where cultural activities can be realized and the situation there is different so their decisions and activities hopefully don't have to be limited and structured by the government – but when CK13 was founded similar spaces didn't exist. That's why it was founded in the first place.

Maybe it took ten years to finally make visible the enthusiasm of the people who work in CK13 and who decisively laid and still maintain its stable foundations, while maintaining as a collective. Maybe it was necessary for the one of the founding groups and only formal organization Kuda.org to leave CK13 and make space for gathering of other people who finally decided to do some serious work there. Or maybe something completely different was necessary. Everybody chooses their own position and perspective, but it should be changed through discussion and never spared from other people's opinions or appreciation for those people. I will stick to the insight from the first paragraph – no matter how much the enthusiasm is devalued nowadays, in above described experience it is the only political category and affection.

*Branka Ćurčić*

# Galerija/Gallery

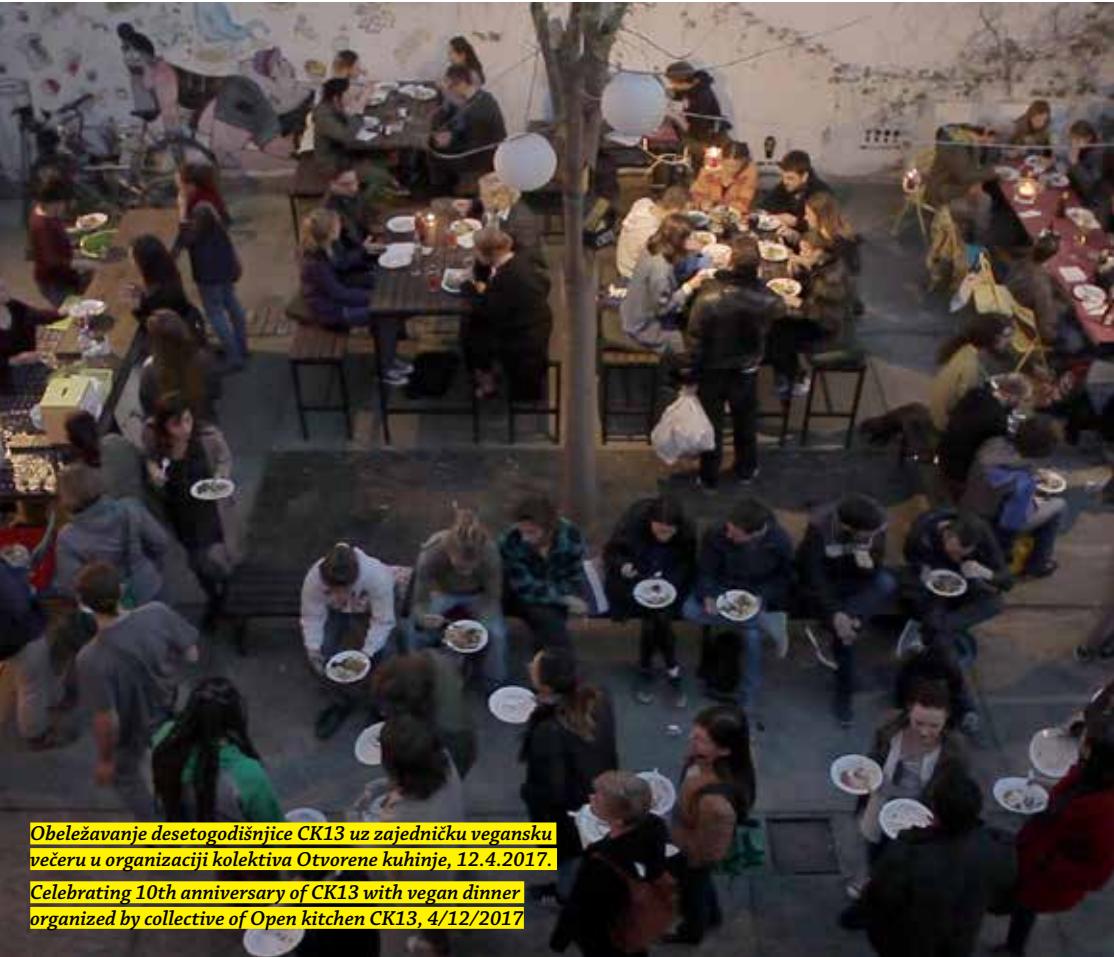


Letnja scena – program na otvorenom u dvorištu CK3

Summer scene-outdoor program in the yard of CK13

Obeležavanje desetogodišnjice CK13 uz koncert benda Casillas. Iste večeri su nastupili i Lednik, Become As One i Gun Sale, 13.4.2017.

Celebrating 10th anniversary of CK13 with concert of band Casillas. Bands Lednik, Become As One and Gun sale performed on the same night, 4/13/2017



Obeležavanje desetogodišnjice CK13 uz zajedničku vegansku večeru u organizaciji kolektiva Otvorene kuhinje, 12.4.2017.

Celebrating 10th anniversary of CK13 with vegan dinner organized by collective of Open kitchen CK13, 4/12/2017

CULTURE\_ON TOUR, - prva romska-neromska  
omladinska grupa, 25.5.2007.

CULTURE\_ON TOUR- first youth group gathering  
both Roma and non-Roma people , 5/25/2007



Obeležavanje četvorogodišnjice CK13 uz tribinu  
"Svako ima svoj centar", 13.4.2011.

Celebrating 4th anniversary of CK13 with panel  
discussion "Everybody Has a Center", 4/13/2011



Battle of the night – hip hop, brejkdens, fristajl džem, 2.4.2009.

Battle of the night-hip-hop, break-dance, freestyle jamming, 4/2/2009



Muzička radionica „Novo u popularnoj muzici”  
improvizovana muzika za film, 16.4.2017.

Music workshop “New in Popular Music”  
improvised film music, 4/16/2017



Koncert benda Landerraad, aktivističkog  
hardkor benda iz Amsterdama, 1.11.2013.

Concert of band Landerraad, an activist hard  
core band from Amsterdam, 11/1/2013

Inicijativa nezavisne kulturne scene Novog Sada u podršci nezavisnim organizacijama i  
inicijativama smeštenim u kompleksu nekadašnje fabrike Medika u Zagrebu, maj 2017.

Initiative of independent culture scene from Novi Sad supporting independent organizations and  
initiatives settled in the complex of former factory "Medika" in Zagreb, May 2017



Promocija prvog broja biltena Glasilo CK13, 25.6.2015.

Promotion of the first issue of newsletter "Glasilo CK13", 6/25/2015

**Signalni otpora – direktne kreativne akcije protiv kapitalizma, radionica sito štampe 3–6.9.2011.**

**Signals of resistance–direct creative actions against capitalism, screen printing workshop 9/3–6/2011**



**Ženski bazar – prodajna izložba autorki i autora koje/i se bave izradom i (re)dizajniranjem različitih vrsta rukotvorina**

**Women Bazaar– exhibition sales made by female and male artists who create and (re)design various handicraft**

**Radionica žongliranja u saradnji sa  
Volonterskim centrom Vojvodine, 11.1.2010.**  
**Juggling workshop in cooperation with  
Volunteer's Centre of Vojvodina, 1/11/2010**



**Zovem se neizgovoreno – predstava primenjenog  
pozorišta o ženskoj seksualnosti, 7.4.2011.**

**My Name is "Unspoken" – applied theater play  
about female sexuality, 4/7/2011**

# Impressum

**NASLOV:**  
**Glasilo CK13**

**Godina izdanja III  
broj 3, avgust 2017.  
Besplatan primerak**

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**ŠTAMPA:**  
**Futura štamparija, Petrovaradin**

**TIRAŽ: 500**

*Glasilo CK13 se publikuje uz podršku:*

**National Endowment  
for Democracy**

*Supporting freedom around the world*

**NED**

CIP – Katalogizacija u publikaciji  
Biblioteka Matice srpske, Novi Sad  
008  
GLASILO CK13 / urednik Ozren Lazić.  
God.1, br .1 (2015) -- Novi Sad:  
Omladinski centar CK13, 2015 -.  
Ilustr.; 23cm  
Dva puta godišnje.  
ISSN 2466-2933 = Glasilo CK13  
COBISS.SR-ID 300256775



**CK13**  
omladinski centar