

ART AS A WEAPON: SERBIAN EPISODES (A CHRONOLOGY)

Predrag Dragojević*

¹University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy - Art History Department, Serbia,
e-mail: pdragoje@gmail.com / pdragoje@f.bg.ac.rs

Abstract: The idea of the paper is to show that art is not (only) an expression of its time, or a subsequent interpreter of history, but an active participant in historical events. The paper shows the role of art in the dramatic change of ideology, which took place in Serbia between 1986 and 1991, which was the period of social and political crisis and the beginning of the breakup of Yugoslavia. The chronology of the historical process is presented, in which gradually the national history, culture, literature and art (which were forgotten or neglected) are revived, and corresponding new cultural features are created, with the aim of eventually removing the existing features related to the socialist revolution and socialist organization of society. This chronology consists of a series of “episodes” (events, affairs, problems, projects) in which it is not only a matter of concern for living art or artistic tradition: activity (in the media, criticism, cultural protection and cultural policy) is directed against political opponents, and tends to change people’s view of the world. When that process was over, it became obvious that at its base was an - unchanged, and constantly present in Serbian culture -comprehension of art as a social (political) weapon.

Keywords: *writing on art, society, crisis, Serbia, 20. century.*

Field: Social Sciences and Humanities

1. INTRODUCTION

Let’s think about art not only as a way of memorizing and presenting, that is, remembering and subsequently presenting or interpreting history, but also as an active participant in the events of a crisis period.

How does art get into that position? In short, it is about the fact that all those who appear close to the work of art (artist, critic, theoretician, historian, conservator, politician, audience, the general public) sometimes tend to use it (its existence, content, function or meaning) in order to achieve a certain non-artistic goal. Roughly speaking, art as a part of memory is often involved in education (Kiurski, 2023), political manipulation (Makuljević, 2022), in official propaganda (Stefanović, 2025) and even in real war and reconciliation (Božić Marojević, 2024). There are many historical data on bans in art (Lopušina 1991), on the destruction of works of art, on the banning of work and the persecution of artists (Mitrović 1983), and the number of recent books on censorship amounts to hundreds, if we only count those that are available online. History records congresses, decisions, laws, actions, social mechanisms, prohibitions, abuses, but that is what is outside. The question is, what is the basis, what is the understanding from which such harmful consequences arise. We called it the understanding of art as a social or political weapon or, for short, art as a weapon. This understanding is derived, through theoretical generalization, from the history of the environment’s relationship to art, and in this case from a series of examples in recent Serbian history (hence the title of the paper).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

From a distance of thirty years, one can trace the role of art in the change of the ideological model that took place between 1986 and 1991, at a time of social and political crisis that ended with the breakup of Yugoslavia.

We will look at the chronology of a historical process, in which gradually the national history, culture, literature and art (which were forgotten or neglected) are revived, and corresponding new monuments are created, with the aim of eventually removing the existing features related to the socialist revolution and socialist organization of society. This chronology consists of a series of “episodes” (events, affairs, problems, projects) in which it is not only a matter of concern for living art or artistic tradition, but activity (in the media, criticism, cultural protection and cultural policy) is directed against political opponents. and in the direction of changing the world view. At that time, “Politika”, the leading daily newspaper in Serbia, was the source of official information about the work of state and party leadership, about public life, cultural policy and the like.

*Corresponding author: pdragoje@gmail.com



3. RESULTS

A few years after the death of Josip Broz in 1980, the tradition of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution is still being maintained, in the spirit of the so-called brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and national minorities. Nevertheless, a strong economic, as well as social and political crisis is shaking the country. Part of the political leadership begins to use culture and art to show their ideas about how society should be organized.

3.1. 1986: SOCIALISM PREVAILS

In 1986, the socialism still prevails. In mid-1986, a monument to the revolutionary Rodoljub Čolaković was unveiled in Belgrade (Anonim, 1986), the memorial house of the revolutionary and official Milentije Popović was opened in Leskovac. At the same time, the public was shaken by the affair surrounding the wrongly restored (i.e. demolished) house of the painter Đura Jakšić in the center of Belgrade; there are open protests by citizens (Anojčić, 1986). In the fall of 1986, a monument to the 1941 uprising was ceremonially unveiled in Niš; at the ceremony, a speech about the modern working class; in the newspaper report, 19 names of politicians are mentioned, but there is no name of the author of the monument. At the same time, the exhibition of the painter Milić of Mačva was banned in Sremski Karlovci, due to "nationalism"; In his paintings, Milić showed his vision of the Serbian people and their history; the director of the city gallery, who previously allowed the exhibition to be set up, was suspended and will be rehabilitated at the end of 1989 (Štraser, 1986, p.18; Dragičević, 1989a).

In October 1986, plans were made to erect a monument to vojvoda Živojin Mišić, a Serbian military leader from the First World War, in Valjevo by the end of 1987. There is also an idea to open a Museum of the First World War in his house in Struganik, but there are problems with financing (Živković, 1987b, p.14). At the end of 1986, the question was raised, why some private villas were being built near the Sopoćani monastery, and who was responsible for that.

3.2. 1987 FRACTURE: JUXTAPOSITION OF FEATURES

1987 marks the 50th anniversary of Tito's arrival at the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Tito has been dead for seven years, and this celebration is an attempt to preserve the party's ideological unity. In the first months of 1987, the great importance of the "Josip Broz Tito" Memorial Center was emphasized (Anonim, 1987a), but it was noted that the number of visitors to the "Banjica concentration camp Museum" in Belgrade was declining (Mijalković, 1987). In mid-1987, the exhibition "Tito-Party" (Č., 1987) was opened in Belgrade. A few weeks later, the "To Tito with Love" exhibition was opened in Novi Sad, with 160 exhibits of the "most eminent" Yugoslav artists (Anonim, 1987b), and almost at the same time, a plan for the construction of the largest Yugoslav monument and memorial center dedicated to the partisans was presented in Đakovica. In the same time, the public is more strongly reminded of national history, tradition, and culture. Since February 1987, the construction of the Monument to the Defenders of Belgrade in 1915 has been planned; there is no money, and there are also some "technical difficulties". The idea is for the monument to be 6 meters high and to contain words from the famous speech of Major Gavrilović, which ends with: "for the King and the Fatherland" (Anojčić, 1987a, p.12). In April 1987, a memorial plaque was placed on Nikola Pašić's house in Belgrade (Anojčić, 1987b). In June 1987, the press reported that the restoration of the memorial house of vojvoda Mišić, a Serbian military commander from the First World War, had been completed, and the construction of his equestrian monument was announced in 1988 (Stojić, 1987). In August 1987, plans were made for a memorial house of vojvoda Stepa Stepanović, another important Serbian military commander from the First World War (Jeličić, 1987). In November 1987, a competition was opened for the construction of a monument to Mišić in Mionica; the precise demands of the citizens are that the sculpture cannot be a modern abstraction, nor a stylization, but a realistic and recognizable figure of Mišić on a horse; that sculpture must "reflect" all the characteristics of brave Serbian soldiers from the Balkan wars and the First World War. Critics and theoreticians from cultural institutions support those criteria and help with their theoretical explanations, despite the protests of individual sculptors (Živković, 1987c, 1987d, 1987e). In the last days of 1987, the historical exhibition "Serbia in the Balkan Wars" (B., 1987) was opened in the Sava Congress Center in Belgrade.

3.3. 1988: RESTORATION OF NATIONAL VALUES

The whole year of 1987 was dedicated to the 200th anniversary of Vuk Karadžić. In January 1988, Vuk is already a political symbol, declares in Vienna one of the members of the Central Committee of the Union of Communists of Serbia (Anonim, 1988a, p.14). At the same time, in Svetozarevo (today:

Jagodina) there is a debate about whether a relief with the image of Vuk Karadžić should be exhibited at all costs, even if it has no artistic value (Žikić, 1988). Along with the anniversary of Vuk, the restoration of the Cyrillic alphabet begins with the questions: how to save the Cyrillic alphabet as a national script, and: who is to blame for the current situation - the school system, the media... (Džunov, 1988b). In September 1988, the Cyrillic alphabet will return to Serbian television, one Sunday afternoon, a foreign film with Cyrillic subtitles is broadcast for the first time.

At the beginning of 1988, the public's attention was attracted by an exhibition of paintings by Milić of Mačva in the windows of Belgrade shops, in the area from Slavija to Kalemegdan (Kršić, 1988). At that time, the works - which were called restoration - in the church of St. Sava in Belgrade continued. In February 1988, the Belgrade Museum of Applied Art held an exhibition on the history and construction of that Temple (its building started before the Second World War, but it remained unfinished). It is an announcement that the construction, interrupted 50 years earlier, will be continued; in the following months, thousands of pilgrims come to Belgrade to see the Temple of St. Sava (Antić, 1988, 1988a). In March 1988, there were polemics about the state of cultural monuments in the area of Novi Pazar, especially the Sopoćani monastery; the question arises: is that area (in terms of vulnerability) the new Kosovo (Živković, 1988a). In April 1988, the Fruška Gora monasteries were in focus: 20 Serbian monasteries that were centers of Serbian spirituality; it is emphasized that during the Second World War they were systematically destroyed by the ustašas, and after the war they were left to the negligence of the (communist) authorities (Mićunović, 1988). In May 1988, the condition of the house of the Serbian composer Mokranjac in Negotin, which was allegedly turned into a cafe, was criticized (Popović, 1988; Todorović, 1988). At the same time, the restoration of vojvoda Mišić's house is again on the agenda (Dobrić, 1988). In June 1988, there was a decision to erect a 6.5 meter high bronze equestrian monument of vojvoda Mišić in Mionica, his birthplace; some cultural events are organized to raise money in this poor area (Živković, 1988b; Radošević, 1988). In June 1988, the wider public of Serbia was absorbed by the shocking news that a large part of the exhibition had disappeared in Novi Pazar; portraits of famous Serbs of the 19th century, owned by the National Museum in Belgrade, were stolen; discussions about responsibility arise in cultural institutions and in the general public; there is an opinion that "someone" regularly steals Serbian cultural heritage. A few weeks later, in August 1988, the paintings were found at a children's playground in Novi Pazar (Bakarčević, 1988; Blagojević, 1988). Meanwhile, at the end of June, concern was expressed that the Studenica monastery was in danger due to the possible construction of a dam (Džunov, 1988a; Vasić, 1988), and at the beginning of July, the same was the case with the Morača monastery (Đikanović, 1988). During that period, the holy relics of prince (called "emperor", "tsar") Lazar travel through Serbia; from Belgrade, via Fruška Gora and several monasteries in Serbia, then Gračanica, to Ravanica monastery. The connection between Ravanica monastery and Kosovo is explained to the public: the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 and the 300th anniversary of the great migration of Serbs in 1690 are approaching (Antić, 1988c). In June 1988, preparations began for the creation of a monument to Miloš Obilić, the legendary hero of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo (Zejneli, 1988). In September 1988, newspapers write about unrest in the Gračanica monastery (Vujović, 1988). At that time, they also write about works of art of national value, which were illegally taken from the museum and are in the possession of some politicians (I.M., 1988). One year later, in September 1988, an (unfinished?) Monument to vojvoda Mišić was unveiled in Valjevo, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the liberation in the First World War and the formation of the Kingdom of SHS, later Yugoslavia. Allegedly, the monument was erected in haste, and the artist claimed the right to complete his sculptural work (Stojić, 1988, p.16). In the winter of 1988, the one-year campaign of the search for the Terazije fountain, ended. It "revealed" who was "destroying" the Serbian cultural heritage, where the Serbian works of art end up, how "indolent" the cultural institutions are, and promoted a new ideology and a new political strategy that was fully introduced in the 90ies (more details Dragojević, 2016). During 1988, memories of the socialist revolution appeared sporadically as a part of the routine, without much energy. In April 1988, an exhibition of Rade Stanković, an old sculptor of social and social-realist orientation (B., 1988), was opened in the House of the JNA. In mid-1988, the bust of revolutionary and national hero Blagoje Parović was ceremonially unveiled in Belgrade; the ceremony is attended by politicians and generals (R., 1988). On those days, in the small town of Bački Jarak near Novi Sad, in Vojvodina, a bust of partisan and post-war general, recently deceased, Kosta Nađ (Anonim, 1988b) was ceremonially unveiled. Something unusual is beginning to happen to the old landmarks of the revolution. In June 1988, it was revealed in Niš that the Monument to the victims of the Second World War, 1963, was in fact wrongly placed, contrary to the idea of the artist (Nešić, 1988). In the fall of 1988, the association of fighters claim that the photos showing Fadilj Hoxha - an Albanian communist and opponent of Slobodan Milošević - should be removed from the Museum of the Revolution 1941-1945 in Stolice; their explanation is that Hoxha committed an injustice to the revolution (Žugić, 1988).

3.4. 1989: REHABILITATION, RETURN

In May 1989, in the context of already open political conflicts, the so-called Šuvar's White Book was published in Belgrade - "the report of the Center of Croatian Communists for Information and Propaganda from 1984 on unacceptable ideological and political tendencies in art, literature, theater and film critics, and in public performances of creators" (Antić et al., 1989); the content of the book was understood as a kind of index auctorum prohibitorum and it mentions all the important Serbian visual artists, poets, writers, journalists... (more on Šuvar: Dragojević R, 2024).

In June 1989, painter Bata Mihailović, an emigrant who has lived in Paris since 1952, exhibited in the SANU gallery. In 1968, he received the prestigious state October Award, but it was soon taken away from him by the authorities. Mihailović painted the ruins of churches, the Serbian Empire, Kosovo, the Holy Warriors, King Milutin, the Čele Kula, Jasenovac... He had an exhibition in Belgrade in 1981, but then some pictures were removed and the catalog censored (black pages were printed). Everything that could not be seen before is now exposed (NN, 1989). In July 1989, the Serbian authorities rehabilitated the painter Mića Popović; almost thirty years earlier, Popović received the prestigious "Politika" prize for painting, but it was taken away from him in 1971 for political reasons (Živković, 1989a, 1989b). In August, the public is presented with the history of the well-known song "March on the Drina", on the occasion of the anniversary of the Battle of Cer in 1915 (Anonim, 1989a). The song is well known, it lives on in the people, it was also preserved in the famous Serbian movie of the same name. However, because it is tied to the national history and the army of the Kingdom of Serbia, it was not always suitable for official, ideologically colored, ceremonies and now it is gradually being rehabilitated. In September 1989, the exhibition "Kosovo as inspiration" was opened in the National Museum in Belgrade, where about 70 works of art by Serbian artists were exhibited (J., 1989). In September 1989, the Monument to the Defenders of Belgrade 1915 was completed (Anonim, 1989b). In November 1989, newspapers write about Hopovo Monastery (Dautović, 1989) and Krušedol Monastery in the context of the upcoming 300th anniversary of The great migration of Serbs 1690; on this occasion, the bad condition of many Serbian cultural monuments, icons and other valuables, as well as the frequent theft of cultural goods were mentioned (Dragičević, 1989b). At that time, a series of articles continued about the paintings that "disappeared", or were stolen, from the Gallery of Sava Šumanović, a Serbian artist who was killed by the ustašas during the Second World War; within that topic, it is indicated that some politicians abuse art and freely use some pieces from art collections (Dragičević, 1989c).

3.5. 1990: TAKEOVER

During 1990, at the time when the famous loan for economic revival of Serbia was announced, Association of Fine Artists of Serbia organized artists to present their works to citizens who give loans to Serbia (as a reward for the largest loan donors); the action is accompanied by the slogan: the pictures belong to the people. At the very beginning of the year, in January 1990, the memory of the Monument to King Peter I in Pančevo, authored by Petar Palavičini in 1932, was renewed; memories are evoked of the magnificent unveiling of the monument and the fact that it was removed by German soldiers in 1941 but destroyed by the communists in 1947 when it was sold for scrap (Šašić, 1990). At the same time, in the town of Svetozarevo (today: Jagodina), delegates in the municipal assembly decided that three social-realist paintings from 1972 depicting Marx, Lenin and the partisans are to be removed from the town hall. Their reasoning is that it is not art, but a distorted image of history, and that there should be no ideology in the decoration of the assembly (Žikić, 1990). In February 1990, newspaper write about the royal residences and the villas on Dedinje in Belgrade; it is emphasized that they should be opened for the public, for the people, which would leave politicians without privilege to live in there (Trklja, 1990). In those days, Miroslav's Gospel was also the subject of public comments; the topic is the conservation of this medieval manuscript, an occasion to criticize the previous cultural policy (Živković, 1990).

In March 1990, a scandal related to the so-called Sevso collection - silver objects found in the western parts of Yugoslavia, kept in secret for several decades, and sold to a foreign country in an unknown way. In a way, this is a contemporary version of the Terazijefountain problem; during the research, the established matrix of responsibility in cultural institutions, politics, the federal government, Broz's family... is repeated and it is shown that nothing has changed (Zec, 1990). However, spinning about the obscure silver objects did not mobilize the public as it was the case with the public fountain. In May 1990, the jury for the Monument to the First Serbian Uprising made its final decision (the competition was opened in February 1989); comprehended as a memory of the history of a nation, the monument has ocila, prominent features of Serbian identity (Stefanović, 1990). On the last day of May 1990, angry audience interrupted the theatrical play "Saint Sava" at the Yugoslav Drama Theater in Belgrade, explaining that the play gave a distorted picture of history and insulted the image of Saint Sava. The entire cultural public

was appalled by the act, but the play was never performed again (Simić 1990; Tirnanić 1990). In August, a Belgrade journalist “reveals” that the Serbs had their own art even under Turkish rule and calls on science to do its part (Nešić, 1990). That case is one of the indicators too that not politicians, but ignorant took the lead in matters of history, culture and art.

3.6. 1991-1992: REVENGE

In August 1991, in the city of Užice, a large Monument to Josip Broz Tito was removed from the main city square (Pejović, 1991). In September 1991, the state symbols of Serbia were changed: the red five-pointed star was removed from the flag, a new anthem was chosen, and a new coat of arms was introduced (Radisavljević, 1991a, 1991b). In the autumn of 1991, a huge retrospective of Milić of Mačva's paintings was organized in the National Museum in Belgrade, as a supreme tribute to the famous artist; for that occasion, part of the museum's permanent exhibition was removed which had never been done before (Subotić, 1992, p.249). In May 1992, on Ravna Gora, a political organization erected the Monument to Draža Mihailović. One of their political opponents comments that it is actually a monument to Tito, only slightly modified (Samardžija, 1992). This whole process of changing ideology - which cannot be read through party documents and resolutions, but through the attitude towards culture and cultural heritage - encountered echoes and reactions in other Yugoslav republics (cfr Dragojević, 2006).

4. DISCUSSION

When it comes to the wider public, it is interesting that at the beginning of the process of changing the world view, stand the public's reactions to a TV comedy series in 1989, and at the end, the reactions to the theatre play Saint Sava in 1990; the political sign and system of values changed, but the attitude towards art remained exactly the same, as shown by a comparative analysis of vocabulary, structure and meaning in both reactions in 1989 and 1990 (more details Dragojević, 1991). Regardless the obvious political and ideological differences of both criticisms (1989 and 1990), one could easily recognize their similarities in few main points: (1) in both it is said that criticized work of art does not reflect the “truth”, that it is politically incorrect, it is considered mockery, a public humiliation produced according to non-artistic, i.e. political, motifs. (2) Since its artistic value is being denied, author - or performer - is not considered artist. (3) Consequently, it is believed that it should be treated as a common act or product: one should penalize authors and performers if necessary, remove their product, prohibit its appearance, and even prevent its creation again, if possible... – therefore a suggestion that art in general should be controlled. (4) As a criterion for such a control, one gives an implicit definition of art, depending on what one considers “truth”. This structure of reasoning reveals a concept of art as a (social or political) “weapon”. According to that comprehension, art was a strong means that influenced the way of thinking, feeling and acting of people. Attitude to such a useful but dangerous means - as well as to anyone who produces, uses or distributes it - has much in common with the attitude towards any (deadly) weapon and person who has knowledge, motives and opportunity to use it. Its basic aim is to be supplied with such a weapon, and at the same time to prevent the opponents to have it. Even the advocates of this concept often openly use such comparisons (hence the name of this theoretical generalization).

5. CONCLUSION

The theoretical conclusions from a historical insight are as follows. The understanding of art as a social weapon is applied to current art, as well as to cultural heritage and often to visual communication and visual culture in general. It exists in the public, as well as among politicians, activists, experts and artists. Action in public follows from that attitude. In short, the first course of action is to control the use of that “weapon”, and the second to prevent all other social or political groups from using it. Basically, ideology and concrete political goals are identified with the definition and content of artistic creation; and everything that is different is considered unacceptable and labeled as quasi-art or non-artistic. One gives “own” artists a place in the public political, media and cultural space, and disable all the others, if possible. Moreover, one declares own activists as artists, and protect them with artistic freedoms; in the same time, blame others for abusing art, by denying them any artistic value. The purely political activity of a politically correct individual can be “enhanced” by the fact that he/she is an artist. The history teaches us that verbally renouncing artistic value to an opponent is only the beginning. Other, stronger, activities against what is unacceptable are possible. Various mechanisms, procedures and degrees of action have been recognized in art history - like economic pressure, censorship, threats, attacks, stalking, persecution, prohibition, closure, destruction of works or artistic heritage, the liquidation of the artist, general suspension of artistic

activities... That all depends on the historical circumstances, culture, conscience and social influence of those who advocate the belief that art is a weapon.

Nevertheless, all the elements of such comprehension appear to be connected as a whole. With certainty, upon recognizing one of the positions listed here, the others can be immediately discovered, or expected from the person who represents them. Examples can be found at various times and on many sites. Their recognition in the Serbian culture is an attempt to discover and abandon this attitude, which is nevertheless disastrous.

REFERENCES

- Anočić, I. (1986). Zašto je promenjen projekat: posle rušenja Đurine kuće u Skadarliji. *Politika* (Beograd 11.6) 11.
- Anočić, I. (1987-a). Spomenik braniocima Beograda još čeka. *Politika* (Beograd 6.2) 12.
- Anočić, I. (1987-b). Znamenja Francuske ulice. *Politika* (Beograd 6.4) 8.
- Anonim, (1986). Otkrivena bista Rodoljuba Čolakovića. *Politika* (Beograd 7.6).
- Anonim, (1987-a). Veliki doprinos izučavanju Titovog dela. *Politika* (Beograd 14.2) 7.
- Anonim, (1987-b). Izložba "Titu s ljubavlju". *Politika* (Beograd 3.7).
- Anonim, (1988-a). Seme razumevanja: u Beču otvorena izložba o Vuku Stefanoviću Karadžiću. *Politika* (Beograd 20.1) 14.
- Anonim, (1988-b). U Bačkom jarku otkrivena spomen-bista Koste Nađa. *Politika* (Beograd 10.7).
- Anonim, (1989-a). Marš u istoriju sveta. *Politika* (Beograd 28.8) 10.
- Anonim, (1989-b). Herojima belog grada. *Politika* (Beograd 17.9).
- Antić, D. (1988-a). Izložba "Spomen-hram svetog Save na Vračaru". *Politika* (Beograd 3.2) 12
- Antić, D. (1988-b). Poseta gradilištu velikog hrama. *Politika* (Beograd 24.4).
- Antić, D. (1988-c). Ravanica opet čeka neimare: uoči šest vekova Kosovske bitke. *Politika* (Beograd 14.8) 9.
- Antić, H. D et al. (Eds). (1989). Dokumenti vremena: Šuvarova bela knjiga. Intervju, specijalno izdanje 11 (Beograd 10.5).
- B. B. (1987). Srbija u Balkanskim ratovima. *Politika* (Beograd 25.12).
- B.B. (1988). Skulpture Radeta Stankovića, galerija Doma JNA. *Politika* (Beograd 3.4).
- Bakračević, S. (1988). Lopovi skinuli izložbu: u Novom Pazaru velika krađa vrednih slika. *Politika* (4.6).
- Blagojević, V. (1988). Neizvesnost uz uzdah olakšanja: posle pronalazačenja 19 ukradenih slika iz novopazarske galerije. *Politika* (Beograd 10.8) 11.
- Božić Marojević, M. (2024). Back to the future or how to make peace with the past in order to create a better tomorrow together. University, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory; Regional center for advanced studies of humanities, RECAS.
- Č. D. (1987). Otvorena izložba Tito-Partija. *Politika* (Beograd 16.6) 1.
- Dautović, S. (1989). Hopovo u starom sjaju: obnova fruškogorskog manastira. *Politika* (Beograd 1.11) 17.
- Đikanović, Lj. (1988). Hoće li brana ugroziti manastir Moraču. *Politika* (Beograd 8.7) 12.
- Dobrić, M. (1988). Reklama umesto putokaza. *Politika* (Beograd 23.5) 16.
- Dragičević, D. (1989-a). Povratak Pavla Štraseera: ispravljena velika nepravda autonomaša. *Politika* (25.10) 15.
- Dragičević, D. (1989-b). Freska fresku skrila: manastir Krušedol uoči 300. godišnjice seobe Srba. *Politika* (Beograd 5.11) 14.
- Dragičević, D. (1989-c). Slike kao taoci. *Politika* (Beograd 14.11) 13.
- Dragojević, P. (1991). O umetnosti kao "oružju". *Sveske* 10 (Pančevo 1991) 207-213.
- Dragojević, P. (2006). Politics and Culture. Concept or Art as a Social Weapon in Yugoslavia and Serbia. in: Braničevo kroz vojnu i kulturnu istoriju Srbije, 1/3, Požarevac: Istorijski arhiv 2006, 149-172.
- Dragojević, P. (2016). Umetnička baština kao političko sredstvo - Terazijska epizoda. *Kultura* 152, 138-154.
- Dragojević, R. (2024). Šuvar: politička biografija. *Srednja Europa*.
- Džunov, B. (1988-b). Kako sačuvati ćirilicu. *Politika* (Beograd 21.4).
- Džunov, B. (1988-a). Kako najbolja namera postaje velika greška. *Politika* (Beograd 17.1).
- I. M. (1988). Gde su eksponati iz gradskih muzeja: iz Prvog opštinskog javnog tužilaštva. *Politika* (10.9).
- J.V. (1989). Kosovo kao nadahnuće. *Politika* (Beograd 1.9) 12.
- Jeličić, V. (1987). Obnova kuće vojvode Stepe. *Politika* (Beograd 20.8).
- Kiurski, D. (2023). Muzej kao okruženje za učenje i dopuna školskom učenju – primer obrazovnih programa Narodnog muzeja Kikinda. *Nastava i vaspitanje* 72(2) 277-291.
- Kršić, T. (1988). Najgore je mrtvo more: nesvakidašnja izložba Milića od Mačve od Kalemegdana do Slavije. *Politika* (Beograd 10.2).
- Lopušina, M. (1991). Crna knjiga: cenzura u Jugoslaviji 1945-91. Beograd: Fokus
- Makuljević, N. (2022). Memorija i manipulacija: spomenička politika u Srbiji 1989-2021. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Mičunović, V. (1988). Spas za dvadeset manastira: apel sa najvećeg naučnog skupa o fruškogorskim manastirima. *Politika* (Beograd 24.4).
- Mijalković, A. (1987). Istorija nije samo za muzeje. *Politika* (Beograd 5.3).
- Mitrović, A. (1983). Angažovano i lepo: umetnost u razdoblju svetskih ratova (1914-1945). Beograd: Narodna knjiga.
- Nešić, T. (1988). Spomenik nepravilno postavljen: neobično otkriće posle četvrt veka u Nišu. *Politika* (4.6) 11.
- Nešić, T. (1990). Mali mostovi za istorijski mrak: zapostavljene stare crkve kriju tajne istorije srpskog naroda pod turskim ropstvom. *Politika* (Beograd 14.8).
- NN (1989). Dolazak boljih buntovnika: Bata Mihailović. *NIN* (Beograd 18.6.) p.29-31,34.
- Pejović, B. (1991). Uklonjen spomenik Josipu Brozu: juče na Trgu partizana u Užicu. *Politika* (28.8) 16.
- Popović, J. (1988). Kafana u Mokranjčevom dvorištu. *Politika* (Beograd 31.5) 9.
- R. D. (1988). Otkrivena bista Blagoju Paroviću: narodni zbor na Čukarici. *Politika* (Beograd 5.7).
- Radisavljević, Z. (1991a). Ipak, referendum: izbor himne, zastave i grba Republike Srbije. *Politika* (22.9) 14.
- Radisavljević, Z. (1991b). Povratak himne "Bože pravde". *Politika* (Beograd 30.9) 13.
- Radošević, M. (1988). Spomenik vojvodi Mišiću biće ipak završen na vreme. *Politika* (Beograd 21.9).

- Samardžija, R. (1992). Čiča ne liči na Tita. *Politika* (Beograd 22.5) 12.
- Simić, T. (1990). U znaku arogancije. *NIN* (Beograd 10.6) 10-11.
- Stefanović, T. (2025). Memorijalni identiteti: spomenici kralju Aleksandru I Karađorđeviću 1934-1941. Beograd: Heraedu.
- Stefanović, V. (1990). Spomenik Prvom ustanku: uz izložbu u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije. *Politika* (12.7).
- Stojić, J. (1987). Struganik danas slavi: obnovljena i uređena rodna kuća vojvode Živojina Mišića. *Politika* (Beograd 20.6) 16.
- Stojić, J. (1988). Mrlja na spomeniku? Posle otkrivanja spomenika vojvodi Mišiću. *Politika* (Beograd 20.9) 16.
- Subotić, I. (1992). Retrospektivna izložba Milića od Mačve: od Narodnog muzeja do Gradića-Rodića. *Delo* 38/5-8 (Beograd 1992) 249-253.
- Šašić, M. (1990). Kako je uništen "konjanik" Palavičinja: otkrivena istina o nestalom spomeniku. *Politika* (3.1) 10.
- Štraser, P. (1986). Još nešto o otkazanoj izložbi Milića od Mačve. *Politika* (Beograd 27.10) 18.
- Tirnanić, B. (1990). Poslednje Savino iskušenje. *NIN* (Beograd 10.6) 12.
- Todorović, S. (1988). Testerom na Mokranjca. *Politika* (Beograd 1.6) 16.
- Trklja, N. (1990). Dedinjske rezidencije pred oči javnosti. *Politika* (Beograd 23.9) 19.
- Vasić, Lj. (1988). Može li bez brane: završen naučni skup u SANU. *Politika* (Beograd 24.6) 14.
- Vujović, M. (1988). Ugroženi imovina i čeljad: nespokoj u manastiru Gračanica. *Politika* (Beograd 5.9) 9.
- Zec, S. (1990). Bruko moja pređi na drugoga: kako su se naši "stručnjaci", stručnjaci i činovnici odrekli kolekcije "Sevso". *Politika* (Beograd 29.3) 11.
- Zejnli, Z. (1988). Gradiće se spomenik Milošu Obiliću. *Politika* (Beograd 12.6).
- Žikić, S. (1988). Vredanje dobrog ukusa: na marginama slučaja "buzdovan". *Politika* (Beograd 31.1).
- Žikić, S. (1990). Novi nesporazumi oko umetnosti. *Politika* (Beograd 29.1) 12.
- Živković, M. (1987a). Otvoren "Stari muzej": juče u Memorijalnom centru "Josip Broz Tito". *Politika* (25.2).
- Živković, M. (1987b). U spomen vojskovođe: u rodnom kraju vojvode Živojina Mišića. *Politika* (5.4) 14.
- Živković, M. (1987c). Konjanik i neke priče. Povodom konkursa za spomenik Živojinu Mišiću. *Politika* (Beograd 11.11) 16.
- Živković, M. (1987d). Nesporazumi su uvek mogući. *Politika* (Beograd 13.11) 10.
- Živković, M. (1987e). Hiljadu vidova umetnosti. *Politika* (Beograd 17.11).
- Živković, M. (1988a). Neistina o Sopoćanima. *Politika* (Beograd 24.3) 11.
- Živković, M. (1988b). Uskoro konjanik u bronzi. *Politika* (Beograd 3.6).
- Živković, M. (1989a). Ispravljanje nepravde. *Politika* (Beograd 10.7) 13.
- Živković, M. (1989b). Uručena nagrada Mići Popoviću za 1971. godinu. *Politika* (Beograd 12.7) 17.
- Živković, M. (1990). Jevandjelje se raspada: ekskluzivno - Miroslavljevo jevandjelje posle 800 godina. *Politika* (Beograd 28.2) 13.
- Žugić, V. (1988). Ukloniti fotografije Fadilja Hodže. *Politika* (Beograd 21.9).