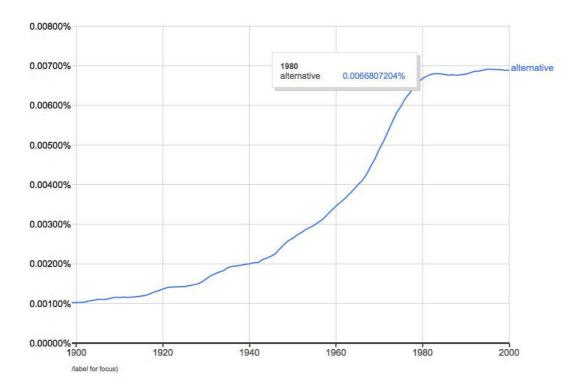
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1984: The Adventures of The Alternative

Graph: Google Ngram Viewer: [alternative], 1900-2008 in English, goo.gl/JMCgUB

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#### Alt-2017

After "post-truth" being The Word of The Year 2016, the 2017 arrival of "alternative facts" comes as the natural element, as another corresponding "alt" product of what wants to be called "alt-right". This is expected - normal - continuation of the process through which the very concept of alternative seems to be appropriated and twisted beyond recognition, to outline today precisely that one worldview that does not allow for any alternative than itself. The debate on the trajectory of "alternative" towards "alt-" is mostly concerned with examining the role of the rising power, sophistication and "uncontrollability" of media, and with the sense of diminishing ability of formal democracies to address this, or any other problem.

The process of deconstructing alternative followed the fate of words like *avant-garde*, *revolution*, *modernism*, and many others that used to be the building blocks of so-called "grand narratives" of (mainly) the previous century. This path would indeed be outlined by media, especially television, and by various different "happenings of the people", both a late remnant of avant-gardist "totalitarian dream" of synchronizing the

society in the joint motion forward, and an early reminiscent of the "alt-" sentiment of today.

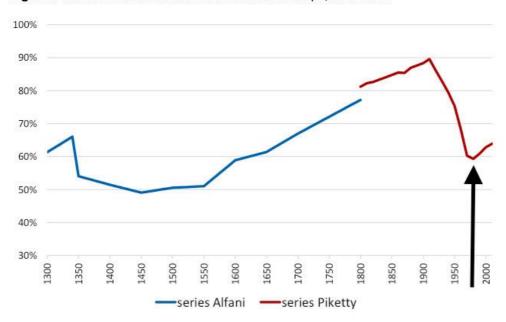


Figure 1 The share of wealth of the richest 10% in Europe, 1300-2010

Graph: Guido Alfani, "The top rich in Europe in the long run of history (1300 to present day)", February 15, 2017, VoxEU.org. (http://voxeu.org/article/europe-s-rich-1300).

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#### Alternative 1980s

It is not hard to locate the arrival of the Alternative to the global stage at the very beginning of 1980s (NGram above). The changes brought by the shiny and colorful decade had a dazzling effect; after observing the media spectacle of entertainers acting as politicians and society turned into an exposition of lifestyle everything from 1970s backwards appears as dull, grey, or explicitly in black and white, as the washed-out image distant from any meaning it can re-acquire today.

The first of the paradoxes that came as the integral part of "alternative turn" was it's ability to operate as "non-ideological ideology". The term already came with internal contradictions built-in; the Alternative as presented by Reagan and Thatcher was construed as the vessel to introduce the "impossible" blend of religion and opportunism - a neoconservative ideology enwrapped in the principles of neoliberal market (de)regulation (the contradiction of using *neo* and *liberal* in regard to *capitalism* being another element of *inverse logic* of this construction). But the "great communicators" themselves added the additional layer of opaqueness (deregulating the very sense of meaning), by communicating "alternative" in negative or paralogical terms (e.g. as Thatcher's "no alternative", or Reagan's "the only alternative").

Over time, similarly to the effect observed in politics where the rejection of the firm and fixed idea of political left brought to the fore relative and "pragmatic" - but futile - concept of the "the left of center", those Alternatives that prevailed abandoned the

visionary (and "obsessively elaborated") ideas of avant-garde in favor of positioning always relative to concrete situation. But once there were options; some specific political and economic circumstances will produce the autonomous and "alternative" alternatives, characteristic by their meta-position of being alternatives both towards the own social constellation and towards their global inspirations. What insight is being offered by returning to such alternate reality adventures?

#### 1980s: Births and deaths

"The death of Ian Curtis, the death of Joseph Broz Tito, and the death of Yugoslavia." - Laibach on what triggered their artistic activities in 1980s<sup>1</sup>

1980s begun: in the West, Reagan and Thatcher were born; in Yugoslavia, Tito died. The sentiments had to be different. But, what was shared between these events is their motion towards the search for alternatives, about to acquire an unmatched speed, or, with all implications of the word, an *acceleration*. The tranquil "End of History" soon to be (semi)enthusiastically announced in the West in Yugoslavia and elsewhere will result in another painful and devastating "birth of history" (that, seemingly, "had no alternative" <sup>2</sup>).

One of the distinct phenomena in Yugoslavia to mark the 1970s transitioning towards 1980s, and (neo)avant-garde giving way to alternative could be found in specific use of mass-media. The formation and the subsequent popularity of the 1980s alternative scene gravitated around the emergence of the New Wave, a complex cultural phenomena heralded by the Yugoslav music scene involving design, photography, theater, magazines and the ultimate form of video. As the computer expert and writer Bruno Jakić underlines, Yugoslav local subcultures were "more than a mere emulation of their Western analogues". He defines New Wave scene as the blend of "social critique, music, and arts with the occasional use of home computers", establishing the analogies between the alternative and subcultures ("distinct subculture of meetings, radio shows, music, and parties").3 Alternatives were using the same infrastructure as (neo)avant-gardes before them; most of the bands, artists, writers and other participants of the New Wave emerged trough the cultural centers, festivals, youth and students clubs and journals that were developed over the 1970s (or after 1968) under the principles of "democratization of art", "artistic/academic autonomy", "new art practices" and "(workers) self-management".4

# **Curating TV: "radical (con)temporality" of TV Galerija**

One of the paradigmatic figures to bring the principles of "democratization of art" to the mass media was Dunja Blažević, whose work in the context of Yugoslavia and more specifically in the context of Belgrade was already symbolic for her experiments in the field later to be recognized as curating (at the time, by its very actors it was termed as "applied critique", signifying a different approach to exhibition practice and showing art). She arrived at the scene in early 1970s as the editor of visual arts program of Belgrade's Students Cultural Center (SKC) – the institution established as the consequence of 1968 as an *institution-movement* – and created a platform for

development of New Art Practices and rethinking their links with historical avantgardes<sup>5</sup>.

In early 1980s Blažević turned to television. While terrestrial television in the West was just past its recent peak and recorded the most watched terrestrial broadcasts ever, already starting to give way to various different more competitive and personalized offerings from cable TV providers and thus shifting the power and the control over programming towards marketing departments, television in Yugoslavia was still viewed and operated as public asset controlled by policies and editors. TV Belgrade being at the time the only TV station in Serbia, Blažević's editorial work at the Other Art show<sup>6</sup> presented the possibility of introducing the attitudes and ideas of artistic (and political) avant-gardes to the widest audiences possible.

In 1984 Blažević continued with the unique television format of TV Galerija (*TV Gallery*). Consisting of discussions and interviews, reportage, artworks and movies and especially of the growing form and format of video, it will be broadcasted monthly until 1991 to produce around 90 shows (only about 20 were discovered so far in the archives). Frequently referencing Gerry Schum and his *TV Gallery* as a pioneering project in the field of curating media <sup>7</sup>, Blažević will not repeat his conceptual approach to "curating TV"; in line with her affiliations with engaged art she would rather use television as the kind of "pedagogical enterprise":

"[...] I started presenting the videos – first it were only excerpts of the various video works and I acted as some sort of a presenter-pedagogue, and what followed later was the production of new videos for the Yugoslav television and many artists from here joined the project. [...] As our programme was running for years and gained its own audience, I started playing ever longer segments, because people had already been used to video, and I could play integral pieces. In the end, I cut out the introduction altogether, because I thought that the audience had already had the required knowledge. Then I started the production with the artists." 8

Blažević was able to present the show on art (and around art) at the national TV network with the degree of artistic autonomy in using the mass media that remains as the rare exception from the rule and a thing that was then, as it would be now, "impossible". As the sovereign author of the program she was independent in choosing the topics and the guests. Importantly, by strategically negotiating a slot at the very end of the late-night umbrella show, she did not have to conform the content to strict programming, and the exact duration of the broadcast would depend on if the guests or the host decided to enter into longer discussions, or if there was a decision to present longer footage.

Another part of the strategy was to address the problem of "mass" in mass media: the possibility of TV Gallery having too low of a rating for the national TV coverage and being seen as *bourgeois-elitist* (in then-dominant rhetoric of socialism) or *non-sustainable* (in contemporary rhetoric of capitalism). Referencing both *the existing* (the current socialist policies) and *the new* (the emerging language of civil society), Blažević claimed the neo-avantgarde art community to be a "cultural minority" which, as all other recognized minorities at the time, was guaranteed its right to public expression. This change in articulation perhaps most clearly reflected the shift from the avant-gardist topics of engaged art, of radical democratization and frontality,

characteristic for the art of 1970s, to the problematic of minorities and of "rights-based" social activism, more characteristic for the alternative politics of proto-civil society of 1980s, that will emerge in the full sense only with post-socialism, with the end of Yugoslavia and the rise and professionalization of the civil democracies in the newly-formed nation states.<sup>9</sup>

The sentiment of the times is probably best explained by one of the actors of Yugoslav alternative scene of 1980s, Rastko Močnik, who in his recapitulation concludes that alternatives were entrapped in the vain hope that opening the new political horizons will not undo the achievements of the past, and by the same stroke capture the future in the perpetual present:<sup>10</sup>

"The structures such are social [welfare] state, public education and similar have to be preserved trough the permanent class struggle, and are not the achievements that could be taken for granted, as something that we already made and from where we can only progress further. That would be precisely my attitude towards the socialism in 1980s, and I would say it was very wrong. My colleagues and myself were thinking within the horizon of socialism, and we thought if all this was already achieved, there can be no step back, it can not be lost. So we were thinking further, about what should come next, about the freedom of expression, freedom of association, how to prevent the bureaucratization of self-management, about personal and cultural issues, and so on... That was how 1980s went - the worse it was getting with economy, the better it was with human rights."

### **Alt-Coexistence of alternatives – TV Gallery vs Dinasty**

The same year the TV Gallery launched, after the considerable (public) discussion on the values of such Western TV programs displaying the opulence and banality of the rich, involving both the warnings it will "corrupt socialism" and enthusiastic letters by the audience to the editors asking for the show, in mid-1984 Radio Television Belgrade started broadcasting the famous American soap-opera Dynasty, becoming so popular it was "emptying the streets". The imagery of "capitalism that never was" in the West will get to shape the "capitalism to be" in many post-Socialist countries, including Yugoslavia. Soon after, the TV offering is about to expand to broadcasting spectacular populist speeches by various "larger than life" characters complemented by the endless production of national and historical mythology, opening the space towards 1990s for the equally endless row of TV prophets, "teleshops", the explosion of lifestyle and celebrities, leading to the neverending era of soap operas and reality politics of 2000s. This is probably common for many other cultural alternatives of 1980s: in the era of "new mysticism" to come, (following the own avant-gardist tendency) the art was being ever more demystified. But in 1984, the Alternative was (still) promising the world in which both the TV Gallery and Dynasty can and will exist, side by side.

### Here's the Alternative: No Patents, No Copyright

At the very end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984, by the famous Apple "Big Brother" ad, several great transformations were being announced. This, as a difference from most of the other alternative motions of the decade, was a campaign against the Old Corporations and only insinuating the State. In what today reads as a cynical anecdote, Apple made the move in behalf of the people against the massive corporate force of IBM, because of "intrusion of privacy". As seen in the spectacular commercial directed by Ridley Scott, the smashing of the central screen by the young hammer-wielding heroine liberated the technology and put it at the disposal of the people stuck in the Orwellian, grey and obedient world; it manifested the arrival of a particular way of individualism, which will be expressed by everyone's inherent creativity once the interface towards the complex and cumbersome computing machinery is being resolved.

Less obvious was that the creativity about to be expressed will foster the emergence of the unprecedented industry that in less then two decades will globalize and monopolize the world, determining almost all aspects of life and work and giving new corporations more control and power with less accountability then IBM could dare to even dream of back in 1984. This was probably also not obvious at the time to the very actors of the computer scene themselves, who have seen their rise from the "garage" - a place soon to become a mythical source of alternative, DIY, "self-propelled" and "independent" artistic propositions and technical innovation - as a sort of a genuine bottom-up, emancipatory and horizontal motion. "Garage" would come to symbolize the "guerrilla tactics" that brought to the fore the entire field of alternative music and media, the entire specter of emerging technology, the sense of time spent together in alternative communities, the figures of *entrepreneur* and *hacker* (evolving to become today "the philosophers of our times")...

### Why not run on "more than 100%"?

In an interesting development, it was precisely the very end of 1983 and the beginning of 1984 when in Yugoslavia people were presented with computing technology they had the full control of and which arrived carrying the principles of public, free and open approach.

Although in 1960 being one of the only six countries that successfully developed the own mainframe computer (CER-10), <sup>12</sup> 1980s seen Yugoslavia lagging behind the wave of advancing personal computing. As the living standard crumbled, the most significant obstacles were high prices of Western products and components, and the law barring private import of any significant amount of goods (the attempt by State to halt the outflow of foreign currency under the pressure of crisis); a young and self-thought engineer Voja Antonić addressed both problems. As elsewhere, the new technology was introduced by the old, and computers arrived carried by the magazines and radio. The potential of Antonić's invention was entangled with the enthusiasm of computer publicist Dejan Ristanović and radio host Zoran Modli - and the spirit of New Wave.

By "hacking" the processor and optimizing the code, <sup>13</sup> Antonić came up with a complete and feasible solution for self-building a microcomputer using only the

affordable components available on the Yugoslav market. The instant acceptance and appeal of Galaksija (*Galaxy*), named after the popular science magazine where it was presented as DIY project, was a consequence of both its innovative design and how the machine was distributed; Galaksija was offered as a self assembly kit. Beating the wildest estimations, at least 8000 people wrote to order or to confirm building their own computer, and magazine editor Ristanović, who also helped in writing Galaksija code, seen the print run of the special issue "Computers in your home" quadruple to 120 000 copies. Next in line to solve was the problem of the distribution and exchange of software.

Zoran Modli, the radio host of Ventilator 202 show, already experimented with broadcasts from various different locations like cultural and youth clubs, concert venues, bookshops and streets, and being a licensed commercial pilot, in 1981 was allowed to run the very first live radio broadcast while flying the small Cesna airplane over Belgrade. He stated that this was his "attempt to demystify the ideas of radio and airplane". <sup>14</sup> As a part of his mission to "give the power of technology to the 'ordinary guy on the street'" the software for Galaksija, alongside with software for the other then-popular platforms and very early versions of digital "zines", will be shared in what is to become a regular slot of the show - by being broadcasted in the form of "noise" over the radio waves to be recorded on compact cassettes and then loaded to the computers of the listeners. <sup>15</sup>

The bright, upbeat, frequently humorous daytime show on popular culture felt rather distant from the late-night examinations of complex artistic and intellectual matters of TV Gallery; but both were a part of the new sentiment of possibilities, of open-ended experimentation and the belief in the inevitability of progression.

Galaksija appeared as the complete solution to introduce personal computers to the general public by using the existing infrastructure and almost without any costs. It offered the alternative conception on many levels, and towards various different constellations - it presented the alternative in regard to the policy of the Yugoslav State that at the time restricted the import of technology; it presented the alternative proposition in regard to the history of technology, by the early introduction of integrated video processor and using more than 100% of program memory; it used a "wireless transfer" of data in 1984. Insisting on the principles of DIY and sharing trough giving the blueprint to the public and even making copy protection difficult on the level of hardware, it presented the alternative to the concept of developing personal computing relying on the regime of patents and copyright.<sup>16</sup> The DIY approach also meant that no two units looked the same, expressing further the skill and aesthetics of their makers-owners. <sup>17</sup> Perhaps most importantly, it presented a massive and systematic educational campaign - the interest and knowledge in building and improving hardware and software could be exchanged and transferred between experts, enthusiasts, and population in a public, self-maintained and "organic" way.

Later, Antonić will go on to produce dozens of different projects that will be offered as a public domain. However, the progressive tendencies of the early computer scene (described as "elitist, a part of culture of alternative music and art, but not driven by political motives"<sup>18</sup>) will not be reproduced; as Galaksija project faded away, the computing industry will get to be based on imports and experts, Yugoslavia will soon disappear "without alternative", and the computer scenes of newly created nation-states will follow the dominant trends of 1990s "without history".

## The adventure of 2017: "Another world is (still) possible"

"One of the decisive consequences of the 1970s and the 1980s, in this sense, was that the entire theoretical field – or, rather, a battlefield, a Kampflatz in the Kantian sense, as one philosopher noted – which included the dichotomous and indeed antagonistic figures of class struggle, of capitalism, socialism and communism, of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of reform and revolution, was to be replaced by a rather more pacifying doublet: the dialectics of democracy and socialism." (Ozren Pupovac)<sup>19</sup>

Instead of making the challenges more demanding and politics more concrete in the growingly complex circumstances of life, "alternatives" of 1980s, as evolved over time, seemed to have done the opposite by creating the image of politics as pointless, and as a surplus to the truth of human condition, which is to become individual, internal, relative.

The recent turmoil caused by the "alt-" phenomena itself points to the phase in which, after removing all the alternatives except for itself, the grand proposition of 1980s against all the "grand narratives" is perhaps about to dissolve under the weight of the own intrinsic controversy, leaving the *Kampflatz* of politics entirely open, but also entirely empty and deserted.

Perhaps the absence of avant-gardes and of left politics *en masse*, the source of much of the present-day sense of loss and disorientation, can be explained by the disappearance of it's material substrate of the future. In the contemporary machinery of social consumption that endlessly reproduces *supernow* the future is seen exactly as the present, only with numbers adjusted to meet the (predominantly economic) expectations. For the "alt-" forces the future is merely the opportunity for rearranging of what is formerly known as history, for the eternal re-writing and re-visioning of the "better past", as in contemporary slogans of "taking *back* control" over something or making it "great *again*"; the past re-enacted only with "facts adjusted" to meet the certain ideological premise.

"Alternate History" aficionados (who usually spend their time pondering questions like "what would have happened if the Aztecs had resisted Spanish colonization?") have devoted significant time to speculating about an alternate reality in which the Galaksija exceeded Western models in popularity during the 1980s, saved Yugoslavia from dissolution and made inexpensive microcomputer kits available to the Third World." (Lily Lynch) <sup>20</sup>

In their alternative practices TV Galerija and Galaksija both acknowledged the past, disregarded the present and looked straight into the future. Their proposition was to face the growing complexity of technology and of media, not to hide it away. In the *alternate reality* where such propositions were given the future, surely the people would have other problems to worry about; but it would be, on many levels, entirely different world. "I never patented anything"<sup>21</sup>, stated Voja Antonić, while Dunja Blažević underlined: "I was not limited with 'TV minutes'. That was the first thing that I fought for."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Laibach: Mi smo SS masovne, popularne kulture ("Laibach: We are the SS troopers of mass, popular culture"), (Novi List, August 15, 2011, http://www.novilist.hr/Scena/Glazba/Laibach-Mi-smo-SS-masovne-popularne-kulture)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The alliance of what would be probably recognized today as "single-issue" activist groups (dedicated to human rights, gay rights, ecology, peace activism, etc) that grew to become the political force to formally trigger the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia emerged in Slovenia in early 1980's around the Mladina (Youth) political weekly and Radio Študent (both financed by the State). It was known as "Alternative", frequently written with a capital A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bruno Jakić: "Galaxy and the New Wave: Yugoslav computer culture in the 1980s", in *Hacking Europe: From Computer Cultures to Demoscenes*, edited by Gerard Alberts, Ruth Oldenziel, Springer, 2014, p. 107

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> More in Branislav Jakovljević, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia*, 1945-91, University of Michigan Press, 2016

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See: Prelom kolektiv, The Case of Student Cultural Centre in 1970s, Interview with Dunja Blažević, "SKC and New Cultural Practices", p. 81–84, http://www.prelomkolektiv.org/pdf/catalogue.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Perhaps the very name of the show referenced the influential concept of the Other Line of Yugoslav art by Ješa Denegri, art theorist and critic and a frequent guest of the show - the hypothesis recognizes the art that represents *the continuum of breaks* from some of the ever dominant "bourgeois" artistic tendencies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "The TV gallery only exists in a series of TV transmissions, that means TV Gallery is more or less a mental institution, which comes only into real existence in the moment of transmission by TV." Gerry Schum in a letter to Gene Youngblood, 1969, http://www.eai.org/supporting-documents/837

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Interview with Dunja Blažević, [WHW / kuda.org / SCCA/pro.ba], *Political Practices of (Post-) Yugoslav Art, RETROSPECTIVE 01*, Prelom kolektiv, Belgrade 2010, page 160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For further analysis of the causal connections between the minority politics, new social movements and Alternatives overarched by the concept of "radical democracy" (Laclau, Mouffe) and gradual rejection of socialist politics and class-based political struggle, see: Ozren Pupovac, "Springtime for Hegemony: Laclau and Mouffe with Janez Jansa", Prelom 8, p.115-136. In this study Pupovac also underlines (using the Yugoslav, or more precisely Slovenian example) how heterogeneous political subjectivity of "civil society"/radical democracy of 1980s that led to the end of socialism and establishing of capitalist democracies in former Eastern Europe and former Yugoslavia has been resolved in reaching the homogenous nationalist consciousness ever since the 1990s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Interview with Slovenian sociologist, theorist and political activist Rastko Močnik by Jelena Vesić and Vladimir Jerić Vlidi, *Red Thread Issue 4*, TBA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "True enough,' reads one draft, 'there are monster computers lurking in big business and big government that know everything from what motels you've stayed at to how much money you have in the bank. But at Apple we're trying to balance the scales by giving individuals the kind of computer power once reserved for corporations." - David Burnham, "The computer, the consumer and privacy", New York Times, March 4, 1984,

http://www.nytimes.com/1984/03/04/weekinreview/the-computer-the-consumer-and-privacy.html

(Source: Zoran Modli, "Ventilator 202", http://modli.rs/radio/ventilator/ventilator.html)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Jelica Protić and Dejan Ristanović, "Building Computers in Serbia: The First Half of the Digital Century", in ComSIS Vol. 550 8, No. 3, June 2011, http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/1820-0214/2011/1820-02141100021P.pdf, p. 562

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Voja Antonić: "Hacking the Digital and Social System", Hackaday.com, August 3, 2015, http://hackaday.com/2015/08/03/hacking-the-digital-and-social-system

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Modli decided not to treat the new local alternative music in "special slots" but to include it in the regular playlist that consisted of the mainstream local and international music hits ("I did not want to name those new bands as 'beginners' or as 'those who are given the chance' or as 'those who may become great in the future'; I felt it would be disrespectful towards the people who from the very start presented themselves with the message of 'we want everything, and we want it now!'.")

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This is not the first time such things were done - for example, Dutch radio show Hobbyscoop broadcasted software since 1977 (e.g. *Hacking Europe*, F.C.A. Veraart, page 30), and in early 1980s a lot of radio stations in Europe were beaming the other-worldly squeeking sounds of software, while the DIY launch of the machine trough the press was inspired by how the Altair 8800 home computer was presented in the US trough the Popular Electronics magazine in the mid-1970s. What was probably unique was combining this, and more, into the social and media environment creating the "Galaksija ecosystem" that is public and self-sustainable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "The design of the system encouraged the sharing of software, as the users, after the program was loaded, also could view and edit the program instead of just running it." (Jakić, *ibid*, p.120-121)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "The "Galaksija" computers, all identical by the design of their electronics, were delivered without a casing. As a result, most "Galaksija" computers looked different, some were without even a case. In the hands of the creative youth assembling them, many were fitted with quite creative and artistic cases, a feature that would not be repeated in the PC industry until a decade later." (Jakić, *ibid*, p. 120)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "The development of independent Yugoslav software through the exchange of cassette tapes, radio broadcasts, and transcriptions was similar to that in the Netherlands. But in Yugoslavia, the autonomy was hard wired. The architecture of the locally produced kits and computers was such that the software protection, either backed from the US standards or locally produced, had to be removed before it could be installed. The thriving hacker scene in Yugoslavia was elitist, participated in a culture of alternative music and art, but was not driven by political motives." (*Hacking Europe: From Computer Cultures to Demoscenes*, edited by Gerard Alberts, Ruth Oldenziel, Springer, 2014, Introduction, p. 17)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Pupovac, *ibid*, p. 117

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Lily Lynch, "Galaksija, cult Yugoslav DIY computer from the 1980s lives on", Bturn magazine, December 4, 2011, http://bturn.com/4614/galaksija-do-it-yourself-computer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Source: http://bif.rs/2012/06/voja-antonic-pronalazac-novinar-i-publicista-postoji-nesto-jace-i-od-ljudske-gluposti