

An aerial, black and white photograph of a public square. A large, multi-story building with many windows is on the right. The square is filled with a dense crowd of people. Several large, white, rectangular objects are scattered on the ground, possibly art installations or markers. Bare trees are visible in the square. The overall scene suggests a public gathering or protest.

POLITIKE PROSTORA

MAROJE MRDULJAŠ
SREČKO HORVAT

POLITICS OF SPACE

Tijekom posljednjih nekoliko godina svjedočimo građevinskom *boomu* u Hrvatskoj, osobito u većim urbanim središtima. Taj građevinski *boom* prate i brojne kontroverze vezane uz političku domenu na svim razinama, od tema korupcije i korporativnog kapitalizma do etičkih vrijednosti strukâ uključenih u proces građenja, pri čemu je središnja tema problem javnog interesa i javnog dobra. Srećko Horvat i Maroje Mrduljaš u razgovoru pokušavaju istražiti odnos građenja i građanskih protesta, umjetničke projekte i akcije vezane uz urbanističke kontroverze, nastojeći naznačiti tematski okvir fenomena politikâ prostora.

MAROJE MRDULJAŠ... U razgovoru o politikama prostora prikladno je naznačiti neka svojstva institucionalne politike. Opće je mjesto da suvremena politika preuzima konceptualne i funkcionalne obrasce preuzete iz marketinga, kao što je to, primjerice, pokazano u provokativnoj seriji dokumentarnih filmova „The Century of the Self“ Adama Curtisa snimljenih za BBC. Politički programi definiraju se prema istraživanjima javnog mnijenja, a socijalna država i lijeva ideja koje bi trebale zagovarati javni interes dotučene su upravo djelovanjem stranaka koje su po svojoj tradiciji bile progresivno usmjerene – demokrata u SAD-u u doba Clintona te laborista u Velikoj Britaniji u

doba Blaira. Domena javnoga, kako u političkom tako i u najširem smislu, sve se više sužava ili preobličuje, a slično vrijedi i za tranzicijska društva, čija je demokratska tradicija bitno drugačija. Posljedice tih procesa jasno se očitavaju i u urbanim transformacijama i u građenju koje Saskia Sassen opisuje kao „otisak kapitala u prostoru“. Sužavanje javne domene ključno je utjecalo i na status arhitekture kao discipline i na poziciju arhitekta, a odnos arhitekture i pojma javnog već je dvadesetak godina jedna od vodećih tema u debati o pitanjima prostora.

Grad je i u političkom i u praktičnom smislu kroz povijest bio korišten kao poprište političke

In the last couple of years we have witnessed to a construction boom in Croatia, especially in bigger urban centers. That construction boom is followed by numerous controversies about political domains on all levels, from corruption and corporative capitalism to ethical values of the professions included in the process of construction, with the main theme of the issue of public interest and public good. In a conversation, Srećko Horvat and Maroje Mrduljaš are trying to explore the relation of construction and public riots, artistic projects and actions connected with urban controversies, and they also try to specify a thematic frame for the spatial politics phenomenon.

MAROJE MRDULJAŠ... In the discussion about spatial politics it is suitable to mention some of the features of institutional politics. It is generally known that the contemporary politics takes over conceptual and functional forms taken from marketing, like it was shown, for example, in the provocative documentary series by Adam Curtis – “The Century of the Self” made for the BBC. Political programs are defined according to public opinion research, while the social republic and left winged idea that are supposed to represent the public interest have been finished off exactly through the activity of parties that were progressive by their tradition – democrats in the USA in Clinton’s time, and

Labourists in Great Britain in Blair’s time. The sphere of the public, in political, as well as in its widest sense, is more and more shrinking or reshaping, and the similar goes for societies in transition whose democratic tradition is essentially different. The consequences of those processes can be seen clearly in urban transformations and construction that Saskia Sassen describes as “the mark of the capital in space”.

The shrinking of the public domain had a crucial impact on the status of architecture as a discipline, on the position of the architect and relation of architecture and the notion of public domain, which has been one of the leading topics in the discussion

konfrontacije, pa je tako i 1968. između ostaloga bila i poseban urbani fenomen, i, da parafraziram Henrija Lefebvrea, posljednji eksplicitni pokušaj „urbane revolucije“. U tom revolucionarnom kretanju važan trenutak zauzimalo je nasilje u javnom prostoru koje se ispoljavalo u dva suprotstavljena oblika. Prvi oblik je nasilje prema predmetima, prema repertoaru urbane opreme, kojim se simbolički iskazivao protest protiv političkog poretka. Drugi oblik je nasilje prema ljudima, prakticirano u prvom redu radi gušenja pobune. Nasilje nad urbanim elementima, pa i nad arhitekturom, dio je tradicije 1968. I Michelangelo Antonioni izražava protest protiv konzumerističkog društva kroz nasilje nad predmetima u znamenitoj završnoj sekvenci filma *Zabriskie Point* iz 1970. gdje glavna junakinja detonira raskošnu vilu u pustinji a u psihodeličnom kadru uz glazbu Pink Floyd u zrak lete bezbrojni komadići predmeta koji sačinjavaju artifičijelni pejzaž suvremenog društva.

Danas je ta tema nasilja prikrivenija, getoizirana ili premještena u sferu virtualnog.

Sve do nedavno novija hrvatska povijest praktički nije upoznala grad kao neposredno polje iskazivanja ili gušenja političke pobune ili iskazivanja protesta kroz nasilje, s tim da treba pripomenuti kako su baš urbana središta tijekom Domovinskog rata bila ciljevi čije je uništavanje imalo značenje upravo u simboličkom smislu. No recentna događanja, primjerice ona vezana uz blok *Cvjetni trg* u Zagrebu ili uz Rivu u Splitu, pokazala su u Hrvatskoj sve veći interes za politike prostora a urbane intervencije postaju jedna od važnih neuralgičnih točaka u kojima se reflektira brutalnost političko-ekonomskog poretka tranzicijskog konteksta. Razlozi za to su brojni, od identitetskih pitanja do slijeda nelogičnosti u kojima nije jasno što je javni a što privatni interes. Primjerice, gradske administracije ažurno opslužuju interese privatnog investitora u slučaju Cvjetnog trga, dok se u drugim slučajevima, poput

on the issues of space for the last twenty years or so. Through history, the city has been used in political, as well as in a practical sense, as a place of political confrontation, and so 1968 was, in a way and among other things, a special urban phenomenon, and, to paraphrase Henri Lefebvre, the last explicit attempt of “urban revolution”. In that revolutionary development the violence had an important position in public space, and it was expressed in two opposed forms. The first form is violence against objects, against the repertoire of urban equipment, which symbolically expressed a protest against the political order. The other form of violence is violence towards people, practiced in the first place to suppress the riot. The violence against urban elements, and even architecture, is a part of 1968 tradition. Even Michelangelo Antonioni expresses the protest against the consumerist society through violence towards objects in the last, remarkable, sequence of his film “Zabriskie Point” from 1970, where the main actress detonates the luxurious

villa in the desert, and in a psychedelic scene, followed by the music from Pink Floyd, countless fragments of objects representing the artificial landscape of contemporary society are blown in the air. Nowadays, the theme of violence is more veiled, ghettoized or moved into the virtual sphere. Not so long ago, the newer Croatian history practically did not know about the city as a direct field of making a statement about or suppressing a political riot through violence, where it has to be pointed out that urban centers alone were, during the Croatian War of Independence, targets whose destroying had exactly the symbolic meaning. But recent events, like the one with Cvjetno Square in Zagreb, or Split Waterfront, have testified the increasing interest for spatial politics in Croatia, and urban interventions are becoming one of the important neuralgic points reflecting the brutality of political-economic order in transitional context. There are numerous reasons for that, from identity issue to a number of illogicalities where

Splitske rive, očituje korupcija gradskih vlasti. To nije nužno specifičnost lokalnog konteksta, nego zaoštrena preslika globalnih tendencija koja je u Hrvatskoj samo brutalnija. Važno je ukazati da je u svim tim pobunama protiv realiziranih ili nerealiziranih urbanih intervencija jedinstvena homogenizacija vrlo različitih socijalnih skupina koje se mobiliziraju u otporu prema projektima, što pokazuje da gradski prostor u Hrvatskoj sve više postaje poprište otvorenog političkog konflikta građana i institucionalne politike. Naime, rijetko kada se u Hrvatskoj dogodio građanski protest oko nekog problema uz koji građani nisu bili direktno vezani nekom vrstom partikularnog interesa. Drugačije rečeno, širi je angažman građana za javno dobro izostajao, osim možda u slučaju protesta vezanog uz ukidanje frekvencije Radiju 101.

No, za razliku od situacije 1968., kada je nasilje nad predmetima i nad arhitekturom značilo društveni protest, u recentnim hrvatskim

primjerima uočavaju se postupci estetizacije protesta, s intencijom prikupljanja istoga simboličkog kapitala. U slučaju bloka Cvjetni trg pojedini događaji u javnom prostoru bili su osmišljeni i organizirani kao kolektivni, estetski i konceptualno domišljeni *performance/ happening*. Tako su ulice i trgovi oko bloka Cvjetni trg postali mjesta iskazivanja specifične forme političkog događaja, ali njega slijedi i odgovarajuća „kulturalizacija“ radi jasnijeg i snažnijeg posredovanja protesta, stvaranja kohezije i osjećaja kolektivnosti. Moguće je polemizirati o tome je li riječ o preuzimanju taktika društva spektakla, ili se pak politička domena ovdje sublimira u javni događaj kao specifična forma popularne kulture. Ta sublimacija je pak posljedica nemogućnosti djelovanja institucionalnim kanalima, bilo zbog nepovjerenja u profesionalnu politiku i političku administraciju, bilo zbog vrlo ograničene mogućnosti građanske participacije u domeni praktične politike prostora u Hrvatskoj.

it is unclear what is the public and what private interest. For example, city authorities promptly serve the interests of a private investor in the case of Cvjetno Square, while in other cases, like with Split Waterfront the corruption of city authorities becomes obvious. That is not necessarily the specificity of a local context, but an intensified copy of global tendencies, which is only more brutal in Croatia. It is important to draw attention to the fact that in all those revolts against realized and unrealized urban interventions there is a unique homogenization of very different social groups that become mobilized in rebellion against these projects, which shows that the public space in Croatia is becoming a scene for an open conflict between citizens and institutional politics. Namely, in Croatia there was rarely a public rebellion about a problem that was not directly connected to citizens through some kind of particular interest. In other words, a wider citizens' engagement for public good was missing, expect for, maybe, the case of

the protest against the elimination of Radio 101 frequency.

But, as opposed to the 1968 situation when the violence towards objects, as well as towards the architecture, was a sign of a social protest, in the recent Croatian examples we can see the acts of anesthetization of the protest with the intention to collect the same symbolic capital. In the Cvjetno Square case some of the events in the public space were meant and organized as a collective, aesthetically and conceptually thought out performances / happenings. In that way the streets and squares around Cvjetno Square block have become the places for expressing a specific form of political event, but followed by the corresponding “culturalization” for the purposes of clearer and stronger mediation of the protest, creating a cohesion and the feeling of collectiveness. It is possible to controvert about whether the subject is the taking over of the tactics from the society of the spectacle, or is that the political domain is



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„Kulturalizacija“ protesta reakcija je na nasilje koje Moć i politika provode nad samim gradom, s tim da ja to nasilje vidim prvo kroz prizmu nerazumijevanja morfologije grada i njegovih antropoloških svojstava, a autokratsko ponašanje slijedi kao provedba tih iracionalnih i društveno neosjetljivih zamisli.

Kao nastavak tih protestnih akcija i sami umjetnici počeli su proizvoditi skandale. Tako je autor pod pseudonimom majorian⁴⁵⁸ povodom Salona mladih istupio s pomno razrađenim projektom (ili, kako ga on zove, anti-projektom) *Stakleni Perstil*, koji uključuje i medijsku manipulaciju, i pokazao da su ne samo građani nego i stručnjaci spremni povjerovati da je manijakalna ideja gradnje komercijalnog centra na Peristilu realna, stvarna inicijativa. Taj rad samo potvrđuje već poznato, nešto što doista i može biti realni prijedlog i ne može ga se smatrati kritičkim. No, *Stakleni Perstil* jasno indicira da je gradski prostor dosegao visoku razinu ranjivosti i kulturološke i političke

relativizacije pa ga je moguće vrlo fleksibilno koristiti i za metaforu stanja u društvu.

SREČKO HORVAT... Dobro je da spominješ *Century of the Self* Adama Curtisa, jer upravo tamo imamo savršen primjer prisvajanja praksi koje bi se mogle okarakterizirati kao subverzivne. Edward Bernays – ni manje ni više nego Freudov nećak – 20-ih je godina prošloga stoljeća angažiran od američke duhanske industrije da njihovo tržište proširi i na žensku populaciju, koja tada nije pušila. Savršeno poznavajući postulate psihologije masa i medija, on je sakupio grupu mladih žena i poslao ih na tada veoma popularnu paradu grada New Yorka, a istodobno novinarima javio da će grupa feministkinja zapaliti tzv. „baklje slobode“. Na njegov znak, sve su žene istodobno zapalile Lucky Strike ispred hrpe fotografa, vijest je obišla svijet, a tržište cigareta je dvostruko poraslo. Ukratko, ono što se čak i danas još uvijek smatra feminističkim činom *avant la lettre*, nije ništa drugo nego dobar PR.

POLITIKE
PROSTORA

PROTESTI PROTIV PLANIRANE INTERVENCIJE U BLOKU
CVJETNI TRG, ZAGEB, 2008

PROTESTS AGAINST PLANNED CONSTRUCTION IN CVJETNI
TRG BLOCK, ZAGREB, 2008

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being sublimated into a public event as a specific form of pop culture. That sublimation is still the consequence of impossibility to act through institutional channels, whether it be due to distrust towards the professional politics and political administration, or because of the very restricted possibility of citizens' participation in the domain of practical politics in Croatia. The “culturalization” of the protest is a reaction to the violence against the city, implemented by the Power and the politics, but I see that violence first through a prism of misunderstanding of the city's morphology and its anthropological characteristics, and the autocratic behavior follows as the implementation of those irrational and socially insensible ideas.

As a sequent of those protest actions, artists themselves have started to fabricate scandals. So did the author under the majorian⁴⁵⁸ pseudonym on the occasion of the Salon of the Young come out with carefully thought out project *Stakleni Perstil* / *Glass Perstil* that also includes media manipulation,

and he showed that not only citizens, but experts as well, are willing to believe that the maniacal idea of erecting a commercial centre on Perstil is a real, actual initiative. That work only confirms something already known, something that actually can become potentially real proposal and cannot be taken as critical. But *Glass Perstil* clearly indicates that the city space has become highly vulnerable and culturally and politically relative, so it is easy to use it very flexibly as a metaphor of the condition of society.

SREČKO HORVAT... It is good that you have mentioned *Century of the Self* by Adam Curtis because there we have a perfect example of adopting practices easily characterized as subversive. Edward Bernays – Freud's nephew himself – was employed by the tobacco factory in the 1920ies to extend their market to female population, which at the time did not smoke. Perfectly knowing the postulates of psychology of the masses and media, he gathered a

Bojim se da se slično događa s današnjim urbanim transformacijama. Najbolji je primjer Hamburg. U tamošnjoj kulturnoj četvrti St. Pauli, koja je i danas poznata kao ljevičarska i subverzivna, događa se radikalni proces gentrifikacije. Baš kao što je Bernays iskoristio feminizam da bi prodao više cigareta, tako se u toj četvrti koriste „kul“ fasade s grafitima i ruševni urbani okoliš koji privlači puno turista kako bi se unutar izvana derutnih zdanja, primjerice, stavili *fancy* dućani sa skupocjenim čizmama od nekoliko stotina eura.

Ovdje ne možemo ne sjetiti se i veoma uspješne *Operacije grad*, koja je usred Zagreba, u tvornici Badel okupila oko 50.000 ljudi a ipak nije dovela do društvenog pomaka u smislu dobivanja prostora za nezavisnu scenu i kulturu, nego je – protivno svojoj

volji – uspjela jedan prije neatraktivan prostor učiniti atraktivnim za Kapital. Nije slučajno da je upravo taj prostor jedan od rijetkih, ako ne i jedini, u tom dijelu grada gdje se može izgraditi neboder. Naravno – da se vratim na Cvjetni trg i gradski prostor kao poprište konflikta – da subverzivne akcije mogu osvijestiti kako postoji isprepletana mreža između moći i prostora i da se, u skladu s tim, može i suprotstaviti Moći. Međutim, iznova, valja biti jako oprezan (što ne znači nužno i skeptičan). Kao jedno od pozitivnih obilježja čitavoga projekta Pravo na grad svakako valja naglasiti određeno osvješćivanje građana o vrijednosti Prostora... ma koliko argumenti da se Pravo na grad obazire samo na uži centar bili inicijalno usmjereni protiv projekta za spas



group of young women and sent them to, then very popular, parade of New York City, at the same time notifying the press that a group of feminists will light up the so-called “torches of freedom”. At his sign, all the women simultaneously lit Lucky Strike in front of numerous photographers, the news went around the globe and the cigarette market doubled. In short, what is even today seen as a feminist avant la lettre, is nothing more than a good PR.

I am afraid that something similar is happening with today's urban transformations. Hamburg is the best example. In St. Pauli, its cult district, nowadays known as left oriented and subversive, a radical process of gentrification is taking place. As Barnays used feminism to sell more cigarettes, so they used “cool” facades with graffiti writings and ruinous

urban landscape that attract many tourists to the neighborhood to place fancy stores with expensive boots costing couples of hundred of Euros into those ruinous buildings.

We cannot go on here without mentioning the very successful *Operacija grad / Operation: City* that had gathered together, in Badel factory in the centre of Zagreb, around 50 000 people, and it still did not result in social change in a sense of obtaining the space for independent scene and culture, but it managed – against its will - to make a previously unattractive space attractive to Capital. It is not an accident that this space is one of rare ones, perhaps even the only one, in that part of the city where it is possible to build a skyscraper.

Of course, to go back to the topic of Cvjetno Square

Cvjetnog, činjenica je da čak i ti protuargumenti (tipa zašto se Pravo na grad ne brine za Novi Zagreb, Vrbik, itd.) potvrđuju da se poput virusa proširila svijest o oduzimanju Prostora, o bezobzirnoj vladavini Kapitala koja svaki prostor, pa bio on i historijski značajan, može pretvoriti u igralište vlastitih interesa.

MAROJE MRDULJAS... Koje su moguće produktivne pouke tog kolektivnog *performansa* i postoje li naznake suradništva između umjetničke zajednice i građanstva? I jednoj i drugoj potreban je strateški saveznik. S jedne strane, dio umjetničke scene pokazuje snažnu želju za društvenim angažmanom, od modernističkih utopijskih projekcija do intimističkih radova koji iskazuju

empatiju prema raznim oblicima društvene svakodnevice. No, mnogi od tih radova i dalje ostaju hermetični ili jednostavno zatvoreni unutar vlastitog diskursa, često se zadovoljavajući deklarativnom solidarnošću. S druge strane, građanske inicijative trebaju određeni zajednički program ili političku kulturu novog tipa koja bi se mogla suprotstaviti dominaciji političkog marketinga i nemogućnosti direktnog djelovanja kroz demokratske institucije. Već davnašnji san o nadilaženju granica povlaštenih prostora kulture – muzeja i galerija u prostor ulica, ovdje nalazi svoju priliku za društveno produktivnu realizaciju i susret između umjetnosti i građanskog i političkog života.

Iskustva šezdesetih godina i radovi radikalnih



OPERACIJA
GRAD: STARA
TVORNICA
BADEL,
ZAGREB, 2005

OPERATION
CITY: FORMER
FACTORY
BADEL,
ZAGREB, 2005

and city space as scenes for conflicts, subversive actions can awaken the notion that there is a mesh network between power and space, and that, in accordance with that, Power can be opposed. But then again, we have to be very cautious (but not necessarily skeptic). As one of the more positive characteristics of the whole *Pravo na grad / Right to a City Project* we surely have to mention the specific raising of citizens' consciousness about the values of the Space...no matter how much are the arguments that *Right to a City* deals only with the narrow centre of the city initially pointed against the project for salvation of Cvjetno, the fact is that even the anti-arguments (like - why the *Right to a City* does not take care of New Zagreb, Vrbik, etc.) confirm the fact that the consciousness about losing the Space

has spread like a virus, the consciousness about the unscrupulous domination of the Capital that can turn every space, even if it is historically relevant, into the playground for individual interests.

MAROJE MRDULJAS... What are the possible productive lessons of that collective performance and are there any signs of cooperation between art society and citizens? Both of them need a strategic partner. On one hand, a part of the art scene expresses a strong aspiration towards social engagement, from modernist utopist projections to intimate works expressing empathy towards various forms of social everyday life. But many of those works continue to be hermetic or simply enclosed within their own discourse, often being satisfied with declarative

skupina i autora, poput Archizooma i Superstudia u Italiji ili Yona Friedmana i *Groupe d'Étude d'Architecture Mobile* u Francuskoj, nastojali su u svojim vizionarskim projektima dekonstruirati hijerarhijsku strukturu gradova i modernističko-tehnicističke urbanističke postavke. Ti su projekti oscilirali između radikalizma i pop-pokreta i imaju tek tangencijalni utjecaj na današnje arhitektonske prakse, no mora ih se prihvatiti upravo sposobnošću kritičkog mišljenja o arhitekturi koje se suprotstavlja potpunoj jednoznačnosti i političkoj indiferentnosti na potezu investicija – gradnja. U djelovanje tih radikalnih skupina bila je snažno uključena i svijest o društvenim promjenama koje su bile primarni motiv za urbanističku interpretaciju. Time je došlo do inverzije klasične i modernističke postavke da će vizionarski projekt novoga grada djelovati edukativno na svoje korisnike i poslužiti kao katalizator društvene promjene, što već, primjerice, zagovara i socijalistički utopist Saint Simone, ali i Jeremy Bentham sa znamenitim projektom

Panopticona koji je Foucaultu poslužio kao prostorna metafora društvene (samo)kontrole. Na temelju tih premisa je i nastao znameniti Le Corbusierov poklič: „Arhitektura ili revolucija? Revoluciju je moguće izbjeći.“ U slučaju radikalnih praksi šezdesetih ta postavka je obrnuta, revolucija se već odvija unutar socijalnog, antropološkog ili političkog polja, a prostorne koncepcije joj trebaju pružiti odgovarajuću podršku.

SREČKO HORVAT, ... Čini se da je, ma koliko ta riječ takozvane radikalne ljevičare stavljala u kušnju da vade revolvere, za neku širu akciju uvijek potreban određeni populizam. Tu svakako valja obratiti pažnju na noviju knjigu Ernesta Laclaua *On populist reason* (Verso, 2005.) u kojoj on pokazuje tvorbu kolektivnih identiteta, ali ujedno dekonstruira – ako taj (pomodni) glagol ne navodi na krivi trag – mitove koji su uvijek pratili diskusije o populizmu. Već će u uvodu svoje knjige Laclau naglasiti da odbijanje populizma predstavlja

solidarity. On the other hand, the citizens' initiatives need certain common program or a political culture of a new type that could oppose to the domination of political marketing and inability of direct action through democratic institutions. An ancient dream of surpassing the boundaries of privileged spaces of culture – museums and galleries into the space of the streets, finds here its chance for socially productive realization and encounter between art and civil and political life.

The experiences of the sixties and works by the most radical groups and authors such as Archizoom and Superstudio in Italy, or Yon Friedman and *Groupe d'Étude d'Architecture Mobile* in France, have tried, with their visionary works, to deconstruct the hierarchical structure of the cities and modernist-technological urban thesis. Those projects have oscillated between radicalism and pop-movement and have only tangential influence on today's architectural praxis, but they have to be adopted exactly through the ability of critical opinion on architecture which

is opposed to complete uniformity and political indifference in the relation investment – construction. Besides, within the actions of those radical movements there was a strong consciousness about social changes that were the primary motif for urban interpretation. That caused the reversal of classical and modernist postulate, the one of planning a new city that would influence its citizens educationally, and serve as a catalyst of social change, what has already been advocated by, for example, social-utopist Saint Simone and Jeremy Benthal as well, with his remarkable project for Panopticon that to Foucault served as a spatial metaphor of social (self) – control. Out of these premises came famous Le Corbusier's cry: "Architecture or revolution? Revolution can be avoided". In the case of radical practice of the sixties the postulate is reversed, the revolution is already taking place within the social, anthropological or political field, and spatial concepts should provide correspondent support for that.

odbijanje politike *tout court*, odnosno da se populizam uvijek shvaćao kao neka vrsta opasnog ekscesa, koji u pitanje stavlja „racionalizam“ zajednice. Ono po čemu je Laclau koristan za analizu akcija i reakcija na inicijativu oko Cvjetnog trga jest specifična funkcija sinegdohe. Još iz teorije književnosti znamo da postoje dvije vrste sinegdohe: *pars pro toto* i *totum pro parte*. U ovom se slučaju radi o prvoj vrsti sinegdohe, u kojoj jedan element/objekt predstavlja cjelinu. Kao što riječ „glava“, kao dio čovjekova tijela, metaforički označava (čitavog) „čovjeka“ (pa, recimo, imamo „glavu obitelji“ koja ne označava odsječenu glavu oca ili muža, već njegovu čitavu osobu), tako u inicijativi Pravo na grad jedan element (Cvjetni trg) postaje simbol za čitav proces koji se ne odvija samo u Zagrebu, čak niti samo u Hrvatskoj, nego je karakterističan za dalekosežne i duboke urbane transformacije tipične za kasni kapitalizam (npr. ukidanje javne sfere). Da posegnem za još jednim autorom kojim se u Hrvatskoj (iznova) najviše

bavi Leonardo Kovačević, i zahvaljujući kome smo i dobili prvi prijevod nekog od njegovih djela, ljude koji su ovu „sinegdohu“ (Cvjetni trg) upotrijebili kao sredstvo za unošenje promjene u negativne aspekte urbanih transformacija francuski filozof Jacques Rancière bi vjerojatno nazvao „neizbrojivim dijelom“ koji „pomućuje sam princip brojanja“. Taj je dio javnosti – naizgled paradoksalno – istodobno samo „dio, ali također tvrdi da je cjelina“, odnosno da predstavlja interese čitave javnosti. I doista, ako pogledamo, primjerice, Split, vidjet ćemo da se „borba“ u Zagrebu jako lako može povezati s tamošnjim urbanim trendovima. Možda nije slučajno da je upravo jedan Splitsanin, Kerum, došao u Zagreb i uništio „Nadu Dimić“. U tom smislu, (pozitivni) populizam ipak može donijeti promjenu, a na sreću pokazalo se da i dobro osmišljene umjetničke akcije (poput, recimo, prekrivanja zgrade na Cvjetnom koja je postala simbol Horvatinčića) mogu doprinijeti širenju javne

SREĆKO HORVAT..... It looks like to me as if, no matter that this word calls radical left wingers to arm, we always need a certain populism for some kind of wider action. Here we should definitely pay attention to a new book by Ernest Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (Verso, 2005), where he shows the creation of collective identities, but at the same time it deconstructs – if that (trendy) verb does not mislead – myths that have always followed discussions on populism. Already in the prologue of his book Laclau will emphasize that rejecting of populism presents rejection of *tout court* politics, i.e. that populism has always been taken as a kind of very dangerous excess, which calls into question the “rationalism” of the community. The reason why Laclau is useful in analysis of actions and reactions to the initiatives about Cvjetno Square is the specific function of synecdoche. We already know from the theory of literature that there are two kinds of synecdoche: *pars pro toto* and *totum pro parte*. In this case we are dealing with the

first kind where one element/object represents the whole. As the word “head”, as a part of the human body, metaphorically represents (the whole) “man” (for example we have “the head of the family” that does not represent father’s or husband’s head cut off, but the whole person), so we have, in the *Right to a City Initiative*, one element (Cvjetno Square) becoming a symbol for the whole process taking place not only in Zagreb, not even in Croatia alone, but is characteristic for far-reaching and profound urban transformations, characteristics of late capitalism (for example elimination of the public sphere). To reach for yet another author whom, in Croatia (yet again) Leonardo Kovačević is most preoccupied with, and thanks to whom we have the first translation of some of his works, people who have used this synecdoche (Cvjetno Square) as a means for implementing changes into negative aspects of urban transformations, the French philosopher Jacques Rancière would probably call it an “uncountable work” that “troubles the mere

svijesti. (Za razliku od hermetične umjetnosti.) Ipak, osobno sam sklon Barthesovu *punctumu* i radikalnim individualističkim praksama jednoga Deborda, smatram da do „prave“ promjene ne može doći ako do nje ne dođe i na individualnoj razini. Spomenut ću samo jedan, meni omiljen primjer. To je mali, gotovo neprimjetan grafit na Masarykovoju ulici, ispod izloga jednog dućana: „Mrzim široki spektar umjetnosti“. Kratko i jasno, a fantastično i duhovito. Takve naizgled male, a efektne (situacionističke) poruke su ono što meni osobno nedostaje u gradu. To su poruke koje su '68. u Parizu odigrale ključnu ulogu (sjetimo se samo poruka tipa „Dosada je kontrarevolucionarna“ ili „Oni kupuju tvoju sreću, ukradi je“), a danas se manifestiraju kroz transformirane ulične intervencije od *street arta*, koji se i u Hrvatskoj sve više razvija, do Banksyja kao globalnog primjera otpora urbanim transformacijama. Kao pitanje, zanima me gdje ti, kao arhitekt, vidiš pozitivne primjere u samoj struci arhitekata, i to konkretno

na hrvatskim primjerima? Naime, čini mi se da je tzv. struka već *a priori* u „sukobu interesa“, čak i tobože radikalni arhitekti na kraju ipak ovise o volji investitora. Dakle, nije li struka arhitekata već unaprijed – da upotrijebim i tu „jaku“ riječ – reakcionarna?

MARČE MRDULJAS, ... Arhitektura je po svojoj prirodi ambivalentna disciplina jer se kreće između dva pola. Jedan pol je servisiranje investitora, možeš ga zvati kapitalom ili Moći, a drugi je ostvarivanje progresivnih namjera (riječ *progresivan* koristim na onaj način kako ga definira Richard Sennett) ili rad na projektima koji uključuju utopijski ili heterotopijski horizont. Arhitektura neizbježno „kondicionira“ i usmjeruje život kroz činjenicu da joj je zadaća aproksimirati i usklađivati čitav niz parametara, od događaja koje udomljuje do ekonomske računice uloženog i dobivenog. Sve te parametre potrebno je prevesti u prostorno/građevinsku formu, što se može učiniti na

principle of counting”. That part of the public is – seemingly paradoxical – at the same time just “a part, but also claims that it is the whole”, i.e. that it presents the interests of the whole public. And truly, if we take a look at Split for example we will see that the “fight” in Zagreb can easily be connected with urban trends there. Maybe it is not a coincidence that one man from Split, Kerum, has come to Zagreb and destroyed Nada Dimić. In that sense, (positive) populism can still bring the change, and luckily it was proven that well thought out artistic actions (such as the covering of a building on Cvjetno Square that has become the symbol for Horvatinčić) can contribute to the expansions of public consciousness. (Unlike hermetical art). Still, I am personally prone to Barthes’ *punctum* and radical individualistic practices of Debord, I think that the “real” change cannot happen if it does not happen on a personal level as well. We will mention one, my favourite, example. It is a small, almost imperceptible graffiti on Masarykova Street,

under a shop-window: “I hate wide spectrum of the art.” Short and clear, but fantastic and funny. These seemingly small, but effective (situationist’s) messages are what I personally miss in the city. These were the messages that played a crucial role in Paris in 1968 (we can remember the messages like “Boredom is contra- revolutionary” or “They are buying your luck, steal it.”) and today they are manifested through transformed street art interventions increasingly developing in Croatia, to Banksy as a global example of resistance to urban transformations. As a question, I am interested in where do You, as an architect, see positive examples in the architecture profession alone, and specifically in Croatian examples? Namely, it seems to me that the so-called profession is already *a priori* in “the conflict of the interests”, even seemingly radical architects depend upon the will of the investor in the end. So, is it not the profession of an architect already in advance – to use that “strong” word – reactionary?

regresivni ili progresivni način, ovisno o poziciji arhitekta i njegovoj sposobnosti i spremnosti da djeluje kao „zaštitnik javnog interesa“, kako ga definira Kenneth Frampton. Bez obzira na porijeklo investicije, arhitektura je posljedica dijalektike javnog i privatnog i iz tog razloga ona je uvijek i politički čin, od mikropolitike dobrosusjedskih odnosa u gradnji obiteljske kuće do makropolitike generalnog urbanističkog plana. Reći da je arhitektura sama po sebi reakcionarna značilo bi da je i grad, kao građevni, socijalni ili politički fenomen, reakcionaran, što je također moguće ako se ta teza želi radikalizirati do krajnosti. Procesi transformacije gradova jasno reflektiraju vodeće ekonomsko-političke paradigme, pa je pobuna prema urbanizmu i pobuna prema vladajućem sustavu. No, arhitektura nema sama po sebi političke konotacije, nego te konotacije proizlaze iz načinâ na koje se arhitektura koristi, tj. iz njezinih performativnih svojstava. Štoviše, izgrađena

arhitektura je vrlo fleksibilni konstrukt koji poprma smisao tek u načinima njezina korištenja, što uključuje i pitanje nadzora nad određenim prostorom. Progresivni arhitekti su svjesni tog potencijala arhitekture i koriste razne taktike kroz koje nastoje ukinuti jednoznačnosti funkcija, nastoje ostvariti prijelaz između javnog i privatnog fleksibilnim ili ga učiniti takvim da oba pola izvlače dobrobit jedan iz drugoga. Takva emancipirana arhitektura je rijetkost, ali ona predstavlja model za političko ponašanje unutar discipline u kojoj je to teško postići i koja je s nestankom *velikog narativa* modernizma i deklarativnog zagovaranja humanističkih vrijednosti izgubila svoje etičko uporište. No, progresivnu političku kulturu moguće je zagovarati upravo temom društveno emancipiranog posredovanja između javnog i privatnog, što je ostvarivo i unutar perimetra jedne parcele. Pri tome je i tema javnog i privatnog višeslojna, od terminologije Arendt, pa do više

MAROJE MRDULJAS... In its nature architecture is an ambivalent discipline because it moves around two poles. One pole is the servicing of the investors, You can call it capital or Power, and the other one is realization of progressive intentions (I am using here the word progressive in Richard Sennett's sense) or the work on the projects that include utopian or heterotopian horizon. The architecture inevitably "conditions" and directs the life through the fact that its task is to approximate and modulate the whole number of parameters, from the events it hosts to economic calculation of invested and gained. All these parameters need to be translated into spatial/construction form, what can be done in regressive or progressive way, depending on the position of the architect and his/her capability and readiness to act as "the protégée of public interest" as defined by Kenneth Frampton. No matter the source of the investment, architecture is the consequence of dialectics between the public and the private, and for that reason it is always a

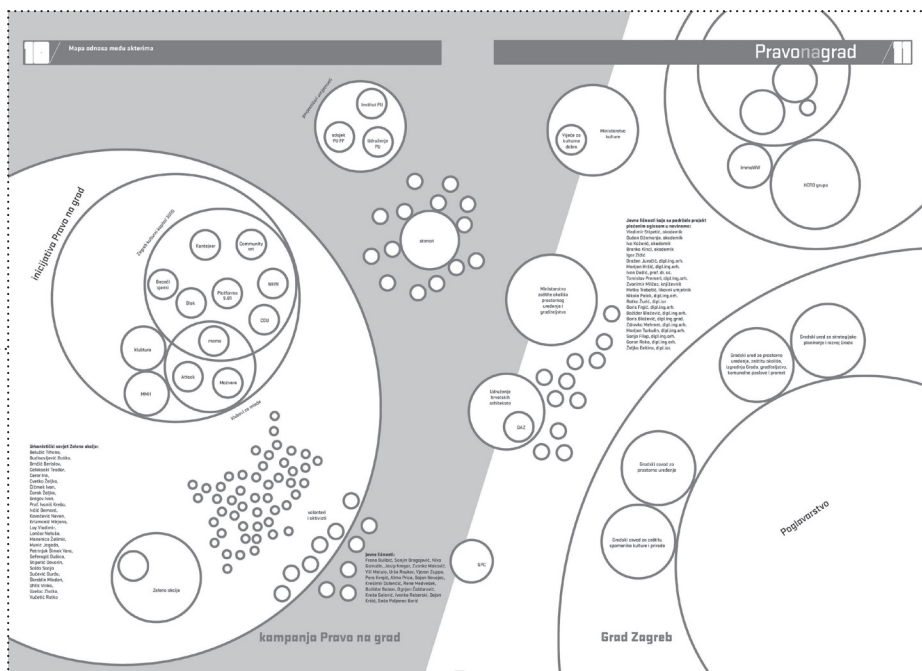
political act as well, from micro-politics of good neighborly relations while building a family house, to macro-politics of a general urban plan. To say that architecture is by itself alone reactionary would mean that the city, as constructional, social or political phenomenon, is reactionary as well, what is also possible if we want to radicalize the thesis fully. The processes of transformation of the cities clearly reflect the leading economic-political paradigms, so then the revolt towards urbanism is also the revolt towards the regime. But, architecture in itself does not possess any kind of political connotations, they are rather resulting in the way architecture is being used, i.e. from its performative properties. Moreover, built architecture is a very flexible construct that assumes its meaning only in ways of its usage, what also includes the question of monitoring the certain space. Progressive architects are aware of that potential of architecture and they use various tactics through which they try to eliminate the uniformity of functions, try

egzistencijalitičkog poimanja odnosa kolektivnog i intimnog, o kojoj je pisao znameniti hrvatski arhitekt Vladimir Turina.

U slučaju Cvjetnog trga i u brojnim drugim situacijama arhitektonska i urbanistička struka su u percepciji javnosti postali „društveni neprijatelji“ koji prema naputcima kapitala i korumpirane politike uništavaju identitet grada i javni gradski prostor, pri čemu se to uništavanje legitimizira „sanitarizacijom štakornjaka“. Žučna reakcija građana (i umjetnika) dogodila se tek kad je

dirnuto u samo „srce grada“. Čitav taj konflikt je s obje strane vođen argumentima koji nisu bili zasnovani na stručnoj urbanističkoj debati, izostala je i jasnija elaboracija o tome što je to javni, a što privatni prostor. Ti pokazatelji indiciraju razmjerno nisku razinu opće i političke kulture, ali je pri tome napokon nadiđena ravnodušnost građana prema javnom dobru. U tom smislu mi je zanimljiva određena doza iracionalnosti i mogućeg aktiviranja nekih neuralgičnih slojeva društveno nesvjesnog koji bi u daljnjoj analizi

GRAD GRAĐANIMA, CENTAR ZA DRAMSKU UMJETNOST, LOKALNA BAZA ZA OSVJEŽAVANJE KULTURE, PLATFORMA 9,81, ZAGREB, 2007.



CITY TO THE CITIZENS, LOCAL BASE FOR CULTURE REFRESHMENT, CENTRE FOR DRAMA ART, PLATFORMA 9,81, ZAGREB, 2007

to make a transition between the public and the private flexible, or make it so that both poles draw benefit from each other. That kind of emancipated architecture is rare, but it represents the model for political behavior within a discipline where this is hard to achieve and that has lost its ethical stronghold with loosing the great narrative of the modernism and declarative advocacy of humanism. But the progressive political culture is possible to advocate exactly through the topic of socially emancipated intermediation between the public and the private, achievable even within

the perimeters of one parcel. With that, even the topic of the public and the private is multi-layered, from Arendt terminology to the more existential reasoning of the relation between collective and intimate, a topic on which a famous Croatian architect Vladimir Turina has written. In the case of Cvjetno Square and numerous other situations, the architectural and construction professions have, in the eye of the public, become “social enemies” that, according to the instructions of capital and corrupted politics, destroy the identity of the city and public city space, where this destroying is

mogli otkriti specifična značenja prostora. Možda nije u pitanju niti intervencija sama po sebi, koliko snažna personalizacija Moći i njezino sažimanje u liku jednog poduzetnika (s pratećom svitom političara i arhitektonskih stručnjaka) koji penetrira u unutrašnjost bloka koji je „nevidljivi“ dio Donjega grada, njegov paralelni svijet, njegovo Drugo i intimno. Promatrano sa stanovišta urbane morfologije, Horvatinčić ne penetrira u javni prostor, nego u kolektivni »privatni« prostor, u prostor intime prema kojem su okrenute spavaće

sobe i kupaonice građanskih donjogradskih stanova. Je li naše „stražnje dvorište“ sljedeće? To je vrlo intimno, osobno pitanje. Osjećam nelagodu pred pomisli da se „prirodna“, već ustaljena morfologija grada dekonstruira pod pritiskom brutalne sile koja želi zaposjesti njegov prostorni i simbolički centar. Za mene nije kritično pitanje geografskog centra, nego činjenica da taj centar iziskuje veću količinu političkog nasilja potrebnog da se ta intervencija provede, a da je pri tome napadnut intimni prostor koji je u geografskom

PROTESTI PROTIV PLANIRANE INTERVENCIJE U BLOKU
CVJETNI TRG, ZAGEB, 2008



PROTESTS AGAINST PLANNED CONSTRUCTION IN CVJETNI
TRG BLOCK, ZAGREB, 2008

legitimized by “sanitarization of the rat holes”. The fierce reaction from the citizens (and artist) only happened when the mere “heart of the city” was affected. The whole conflict, on the both sides, was led by the arguments that were not based on professional urban debate, even the clear elaboration on what is the public, and what the private space, was missing. Those indicators show a rather low level of general and political culture, but within that the indifference of citizens towards the public good was finally overcome. In that sense I find it interesting that certain

dosage of irrationality and possible activation of some neuralgic layers of socially unconscious that could, in a later analysis, reveal some specific meanings of space. Maybe it is not even about the intervention itself, as much as it is about the strong personalization of Power and its compression within the character of one entrepreneur (with accompanying suite of politicians and architectural experts) who penetrates into the inside of the block, “the invisible” part of Donji grad / Lower Town, its parallel world, its Other and intimate. Seen from the standpoint of urban morphology, Horvatinčić

središtu grada rjeđi. Gradu su potrebna „mjestu oduška“, koja u antropološkom smislu predstavljaju svojevrsni inverzni prostor nekonvencionalnosti ili rezervoare alternativnog i tradicijskog urbanog života. Sanitarizirati takve prostore znači provesti normiranje, uništiti i višeznačnost i vitalnost grada, njegovo lice i naličje. Glavni smisao morfologije zagrebačkog bloka upravo i jest dijalektika između kolektivnosti ulice i intimnosti dvorišta, a ne između javnog i privatnog (prava ili vlasništva).

Sličan slučaj jest i povremeno koloniziranje zapuštenih kompleksa *industrijske arheologije* poput Operacije Grad ili događanja i istraživanja koje je organizirala Platforma 9.81. To su dobri primjeri kako događaji određuju karakter prostora. Područje Tvornice Badel, koje je urbanistički kamen spoticanja i predmet brojnih studija i natječaja, u kratkom roku postaje mjesto okupljanja nezavisne kulturne scene i propulzivno urbano mjesto koje je iz *spleena*

raspadanja aktivirano i prenamijenjeno uz gotovo nikakve graditeljske intervencije. Bivša Klaonica u Heinzellovoj, uzoran primjer modernističke industrijske arhitekture, lako postaje mjesto javnog okupljanja koje je istodobno i pop-spektakl i, barem deklarativno, politička akcija. Usprkos tome, danas je parcela Klaonice u vlasništvu Grada Zagreba na prodaju, u dnevnom tisku se spekulira o prodaji beogradskom *developeru* pod naslovom „Srpsko čudo u središtu Zagreba“, a projekt je ilustriran *renderinzima* jedne izraelske projektantske tvrtke. No Klaonica ima drugačiji simbolički značaj nego Cvjetni jer je taj prostor s identitetskog i antropološkog stanovišta neutralan i niskog intenziteta, iako je u kulturološkom, pa i političkom smislu riječ o istom procesu..

SREČKO HORVAT Naravno, i tebi i meni drag autor Bernard Tschumi će tvrditi da je arhitektura neodvojiva od događaja koji se odvijaju u njoj, te u tom smislu funkcija ne slijedi formu, i obrnuto. No znači li to

does not penetrate into the public space, but into a collective “private” space, in the space of intimacy which the bedrooms and bathrooms of civil Lower Town apartments are looking towards. Is our “back yard” next? That is a very intimate, personal question. I feel discomfort upon the thought that the “natural”, already settled morphology of the city is being deconstructed under the pressure of a brutal force that wants to take over its spatial and symbolic centre. For me, the issue of the geographical centre is not critical, but the fact that the centre requires bigger amount of political violence in order to implement the intervention, while at the same time the intimate space that is more rare in the centre was attacked. The city needs “places of relief”, which in anthropological sense represent a kind of inverse space of unconventionality or the reservoir of alternative and traditional urban life. To sanitize those spaces means to implement standardization, destroy the ambiguity and vitality of the city, its face and reverse. The main signification of Zagreb’s

block morphology is exactly this dialectic between the collectivity of the street and the intimacy of the yard, and not between the public and the private (entitlement or ownership). A similar case is occasional colonizing of derelict complexes of industrial archeology like *Operacija Grad / Operation: City* or events and researches organized by 9,81 Platform. These are good examples of how the events determine the character of the space. The Badel Factory area, the urban stumbling block and the topic of numerous studies and competitions, in a short period of time became the place for the independent culture scene and propulsive urban place that has, after the spleen of decomposing, become activated and changed its original purpose with almost no architectural intervention. The former Slaughterhouse in Henzelova Street, a model example of modernist industrial architecture, easily becomes a place of public gathering, which is at the same time a pop-spectacle, and at least declarative, a political action. In spite of that, the Slaughterhouse

da arhitekti nemaju odgovornost za neki izgrađeni projekt? Odnosno, da ne mogu već unaprijed implementirati kako značenje tako i funkciju? Konkretno, na slučaju Cvjetnog trga, ako se izgradi pseudojavni prostor, odnosno prikriveni shopping-centar, teško da će korisnici moći naknadno upisati svoje vlastito značenje i taj privatni prostor pretvoriti u trg u pravom smislu te riječi (ili park, ili nešto treće). Dakle, čini mi se da – s jedne strane očekivano, s druge strane neočekivano – braniš struku kada tvrdiš da je arhitektura dijalektika privatnog i javnog. Naravno da je tomu tako, no to ni u kojem slučaju ne opravdava same arhitektae koji će se s jedne strane predstavljati kao „društveno angažirani“ ili „progresivni“ (ako si *cool* arhitekt onda ćeš uz svoju praksu još imati i neku kvaziintelektualnu „teoriju“), a s druge će strane graditi shopping-centre ili bilo koje druge projekte koji nisu nimalo „progresivni“, i to opravdavajući se upravo argumentom „bez obzira na porijeklo investicije“, (čemu se onda dodaje

...„mi gradimo ono što želimo, a investitor je tek serviser“. Naravno, znamo da to nije istina. Slažem se da je došlo do određene konstrukcije Neprijatelja, pri čemu su arhitekti postali glavni krivci za loše urbanističke trendove, jednako kao što je i Horvatinčić postao simbol glavnog zla. Međutim, čini mi se da je to naprosto mehanizam funkcioniranja javnog mnijenja i da je lakše voditi uspješnu borbu za, npr., spas Cvjetnog ako se kao krivac za taj projekt – što on uistinu i jest – definira privatni poduzetnik a ne nekakav apstraktni Kapital. Što se pak arhitekata tiče, ako oni nisu krivci, zašto onda recimo nisu potaknuli, kako ti kažeš, „stručnu urbanističku debatu“? Zašto su to činile građanske inicijative? Odgovor je jasan i poprilično distopijski: zato jer čak i arhitektonska udruženja koja bi se trebala baviti javnim interesima nisu odvojena od sitnih privatnih interesa, pa je tako normalno da se u jednom uglednom časopisu pojavljuju hvalospjevi shopping-centrima koji su, realno gledano, estetski

parcel owned by the City of Zagreb is now on sale, and daily newspapers speculate about selling it to the Belgrade developer under the title “Serbian miracle in the centre of Zagreb”, and the project is illustrated with *renderizes* from one Israeli engineering company. But the Slaughterhouse has a different symbolic meaning than Cvjetno because that space is, from identity and anthropological standpoint, neutral and with low intensity, although in a cultural, and even political sense, the same processes take place.

SREČKO HORVAT Of course, the author we both like, Bernard Tschumi, would say that the architecture is inseparable from the events taking place in it, and in that sense function does not follow the form, and vice versa. But does that mean that the architects do not carry a responsibility for a certain constructed project? That is, can they not in advance implement the meaning and the function as well? Specifically, in the case of Cvjetno Square, in case

there is going to be built a pseudo public space, i.e. a hidden shopping centre, it is highly improbable that the users will later be able to inscribe their own meaning into it and turn that private space into a square in the real sense of the word (or a park, or something else). So, it seems to me – on one hand expected, on the other unexpected – that you defend the practice by claiming that the architecture is dialectic between the private and the public. Of course this is the case, but that in no way excuses the architects who will, on one side present themselves as “socially engaged” or “progressive” (if you are a cool architect than you will, together with your practice, have some sort of a quasi-intellectual “theory”), and on the other side they will build shopping centers or any other projects that are not at least “progressive”, and all that by excusing themselves with the argument “no matter where the investment came from”, (to which they add)...“we build what we want, and the investor is merely a maintenance man”. Of course, we all know





PULSKA GRUPA: MULTITUDA
OSVAJA NOVU OBALU, UR-
BANISTIČKI PRIJEDLOG, PULA,
2008

THE PULA GROUP: MULTITUDA
OCCUPIES NEW WATERFRONT,
URBANISTIC PROPOSAL
PULA, 2008

(i funkcionalno) posve neprimjereni, ali se o tome, dakako, ni ne može pisati drugačije jer projektanti tih shopping-centara nerijetko sjede na vrhovnim pozicijama tih udruženja. Dakle, koliko god javno svaljivanje krivice na arhitekta moglo biti vođeno jednodimenzionalnim prikazima, ipak se nalazimo u jednom začaranom krugu gdje provedbu nekog projekta ne određuje toliko korisnost zajednici koliko Kapital, bilo kao privatni poduzetnik, bilo kao apstraktna samocirkulirajuća mašinerija u Marxovu smislu.

MAROJE MRDULJAS, ... Arhitektura i arhitektonska struka nisu sinonimi, a radi pojednostavljivanja debate moguće je izvesti razliku između termina „građenje“ i termina „arhitektura“. Različiti napredni arhitektonski koncepti i ideje uglavnom imaju malo veze sa stvarnošću građenja. Kao što sam ranije pokušao naznačiti, ta progresivna politika se u arhitektonskoj praksi neposredno iskazuje unutar same parcele na kojoj arhitekt gradi i za tu

parcelu je arhitekt doista neposredno odgovoran, dok ostalo spada u sferu javnog i angažiranog djelovanja kulturnog radnika. Pojedini mladi arhitekti, kao što je to skupina Pulska grupa, pokazuju emancipiranu svijest o aktivnom javnom djelovanju i već nekoliko godina vrlo pragmatično i decidirano reagiraju na brojne urbanističke teme Pule i pulske regije, pri čemu ne ostaju samo na razini dijagnosticiranja problema, nego projektiraju inteligentne alternative, pregovaraju s gradskim vlastima, organiziraju izložbe u galerijama i oglašavaju se u dnevnom tisku. Njihov rad pokazuje da arhitekti moraju koristiti razne komunikacijske kanale, no politički kontekst unutar kojega djeluju automatikom brutalne sile izmješta ih u područje utopije, iako su njihovi prijedlozi superracionalni i rađeni s mnogo projektantske kreativnosti vođene empatijom prema potrebama zajednice.

U slučaju Horvatinčićeva projekta za blok Cvjetnog trga izostaje svaka mogućnost za

this is not true. I agree that a certain construction of the Enemy has happened, where the architects became main culprits for bad urban trends, the same as Horvatinčić became a symbol of the main evil. But I think that this is simply the mechanism of how public opinion functions and that is easier to lead a successful fight for, for example the salvation of Cvjetno Square if the culprit for that action – and this is really the case - becomes a private entrepreneur and not some abstract Capital. And talking about architects, if they are not culprits, why did not they then start, as you would say, “professional urban debate”? Why did civil initiatives do that? The answer is clear and pretty dystopian: because not even architectural societies that should deal with public interest are separated from petty personal interests, so it is normal that one respectable magazine publishes eulogies to shopping centers that are, realistically speaking, aesthetically (and functionally) completely unsuitable. But it is not possible to write about

it in any other way because the designers of those shopping centers usually occupy the top positions in those corporations. So, no matter how much the public blaming of the architects could be lead by one-dimensional reviews, we are still in an enchanted circle where the implementation of a project is not determined by the usefulness to the society, but by Capital, in a form of a private entrepreneur or an abstract self-circulating machinery in Marx’s sense.

MAROJE MRDULJAS, ... Architecture and architectural practice are not synonyms, and to simplify the discussion it is possible to draw a difference between the term “building” and the term “architecture”. Different advanced architectural concepts and ideas usually have little in common with reality of building. As I was trying to point out earlier, within the architectural practice that progressive politics is directly expressed within the parcel alone which the architect is building on, and is actually responsible for, while everything other belongs to the sphere of

usklađivanje javnog i privatnog zbog programa koji je previše opsežan i koji ta parcela ne može podnijeti, nego dolazi do nasilja nad prostorom, ali ne nad prostorom predmetâ, nego nad prostorom ljudi. Cvjetni trg je znak, jedan slučaj, no društveno znatno opasnija tema u Hrvatskoj jesu stambena naselja koja su i u urbanističkom i u arhitektonskom smislu nezadovoljavajuća i uglavnom građena na profilerskim osnovama. Moj je stav da tu arhitekture nema, da je riječ samo o građenju a da su „arhitekti“ koji izrađuju te planove i projekte samo uslužna djelatnost, proizvođači projektne dokumentacije koja je potrebna kako bi se ishodile lokacijska i građevinska dozvola i odradio tehnički proces građenja i to upravo zbog toga što ti projekti ne pokazuju interes prema boljitku zajednice. Doista, građenje je često regresivna djelatnost jer je instrumentalizirano, a i neizbježno uronjeno u ekonomsko-političke procese. Također, građenje je u svojoj biti uvijek nasilni proces, zapsjeda se

prostor, „discipliniraju“ se četvrti i „organiziraju“ ljudi koji ih nastanjuju. Problem treba preokrenuti, i iskoristiti svako građenje kao priliku da se ostvari taktički arhitektonski pomak i da se neizbježna razina nasilja u građenju sublimira u društvenu vrijednost, kako u političkom tako i u poetskom smislu. Mislim da arhitektura (kao disciplina) i arhitektonski artefakt imaju potencijal sublimacije. S obzirom da građenje stvara prostorni okvir za sve društvene djelatnosti i aktivnosti, zanimljivo je postaviti pitanje u kojim je slučajevima opravdano tražiti progresivnu poziciju i ima li zadataka koje arhitekti ne bi smjeli prihvaćati. Što to znači projektirati „napredni“ *shopping*-centar? Postoje rijetki arhitektonski vrijedni primjeri robnih centara. Da li arhitekti time samo potpomažu konzumerističko društvo iako u te projekte nije ugrađen nikakav arhitektonski element koji bi taj konzumerizam poticao? Štoviše, neki od njih čak formiraju kvalitetne javne prostore. Ili bi arhitekti trebali odustati od arhitektonski napredne

public and engaged action of a cultural worker. Individual young architects such as *Pulska grupa* team show an emancipated consciousness about the active public action, and for a couple of years already they act very pragmatically and decidedly react to numerous urban topics of Pula and its region, where they do not stop at the level of diagnostics of the problem, but they project intelligent alternatives, negotiate with city authorities, organize exhibitions in galleries and advertise in daily newspaper. Their activity demonstrates how the architects have to use different communication channels, but the political context they are working within, which, with the automatism of a brutal force, shifts them into the sphere of utopia, although their propositions are super-rational and made with a lot of engineering creativity led by the empathy towards the needs of the community. In the case of Horvatinčić's Cvjetno Square block project every possibility of harmonizing the public and the private is missing, because of the too

extensive program which the parcel cannot stand – and it comes to the violation of space, but not the space of objects, but the space of people. Cvjetno Square is a sign, one case, but socially much more dangerous topic in Croatia are residential areas, unsatisfactory in both urban and architectural sense, and they are mainly profit based. My opinion is that there is no architecture, it is only about building, and the “architects” making those plans and projects are only service industry, producers of project documentation needed for obtaining location and building permit and getting through the technical process of building, and only because those projects show no interest towards the prosperity of a community. Really, building is often regressive service because it is instrumentalized and inevitably immersed into economic-social processes. As well, building is, in its core, always a violent process, it takes over the space, “disciplines” districts and “organizes” people living there. The problem needs to be reversed and use every building as an opportunity

artikulacije *shopping*-centara, i prepustiti da taj zadatak potpuno potone u banalnost? Mislim da bi takav stav bio ciničan, no također se pokazuje da arhitektura ima razmjerno maleni potencijal direktnog „revolucionarnog« djelovanja koji bi strukturalno mogao utjecati na društvo. Ako žele ostvariti društveno korisnu poziciju, arhitekti se uglavnom nalaze u konfliktnoj situaciji pregovaranja sa svim akterima u procesu građenja. Taj konflikt se očituje i unutar vodeće teorijske debate koja je polarizirana između pozicije „kritičke arhitekture“ i „projektivne prakse“. Dok prva pozicija zagovara autonomnost autora-arhitekta kao subjekta otpora, druga pretpostavlja djelovanje unutar društvenih datosti, pa time i političkog sustava. „Projektivne prakse“ su bliske postavkama Frederica Jamesona koji upozorava da u kasnom kapitalizmu kapital kolonizira i zadnje enklave otpora. Već je marksistički povjesničar arhitekture Manfredo Tafuri dijagnostificirao kraj kritičke arhitekture u onom

trenutku kada su utopijske koncepcije koje su došle iz same arhitektonske discipline degenerirale pod pritiskom kapitala (ili komunističkog totalitarizma), no poziciju autora kao subjekta otpora su nastavili koristiti arhitekti vezani za neoavangardne tendencije, osobito za formalnu dekonstrukciju, poput američkog arhitekta i teoretičara Petera Eisenmana. Projektivne prakse pak pretendiraju na realističnost, ali u sebi nose klicu određenog cinizma koju dobro ilustrira tvrdnja Rema Koolhaasa da je „arhitekt surfer na valu kapitala“. Upravo u suprotstavljenim pozicijama Eisenmana i Koolhaasa uočava se gotovo apsurdna situacija: Eisenman koji zastupa kritičku tradiciju ne uzima u obzir kapital kao relevantan parametar i inzistira na autonomnosti arhitektonskog jezika, dok je Koolhaas, kojeg bi se moglo optužiti za „teorijski kolaboracionizam“, u potpunosti obuzet društvenim kontekstom i pozicioniranjem arhitekta unutar njega. Mislim da je moguće obuhvatiti obje pozicije i na

to realize tactical architectonic shift and to sublime the inevitable level of violence in building into a social value, in political as in poetic sense. I think that architecture (as a discipline) and architectural artifacts have a potential of sublimation. Considering the fact that building creates spatial frame for all social actions and activities, it is interesting to ask a question in which cases is it justified to look for a progressive position and are there any tasks architects should not accept? What does it mean to plan an “advanced” shopping centre? There are very few examples of architecturally valuable shopping centers. Do the architects then support the consumerist society, although they have not put into that project any architectural element that would support that consumerism? Moreover, some of them even form quality public spaces. Or should architects give up the architecturally advanced articulation of the shopping centre, and leave that task to completely sink into banality? I think that this kind of attitude

would be cynical, but it also shows how architecture has relatively small potential of direct “revolutionary” action that could structurally affect society. If they want to achieve socially useful position, architects are usually positioned in a conflict situation of negotiating with all the actors in the process of building. That conflict is visible even inside the leading theoretical debate polarized between the position of “critical architecture” and “projective practice”. While the first position advocacies the autonomy of the author-architect as a subject of resistance, the other presupposes action within the given social conditions, and therefore political system as well. Projective practices are close to Frederic Jameson’s postulates that warn how in late capitalism the capital colonizes even the last enclave of resistance. Marxist historian of architecture Manfredo Tafuri had already diagnosed the end of critical architecture at the moment when the utopian conceptions that came from the architectural discipline itself have degenerated under the pressure of the capital (or communist

strateškom planu prihvatiti „projektivnu praksu“, dok se na taktičkoj razini same parcele-projekta mogu ostvariti kritički pomaci sredstvima same arhitekture. Na konkretnom primjeru bi to vrlo pojednostavljeno značilo da je „Operacija Grad“ ostvarila inicijalni „projektivni“ pomak prepoznavanjem potencijala Tvornice Badel, osmišljavanjem scenarija događanja i sposobnošću da se ta događanja u Tvornicu Badel barem privremeno udome. Ono što je izostalo jest arhitektonsko prepariranje Badela u prostorni konstrukt s jasnom namjenom, naravno, uz pretpostavku da se pronađe odgovarajući model njegova financiranja. Te modele može osmisliti i arhitekt s pomoću prijedloga organizacije programa koji balansira između privatnog i javnog. Bez konkretne arhitektonske intervencije prostor ostaje ranjiv. Ne mislim da arhitektura sama po sebi može ili treba biti „revolucionarna“, no nadam se da može biti evolutivna, da se može misliti kao „iluminacija parcele“, kao osvjetljavanje

mogućnosti koje sam investicijski zahtjev uopće ne pretpostavlja.

totalitarianism), but the position of the author as a subject of resistance was later used by the architects connected to neo-avant-garde tendencies, especially to formal deconstruction, like American architect and theoretician Peter Eisenman. Projective practices pretend to realism but carry in themselves a seed of cynicism, well illustrated by the claim from Remo Koolhaas that “the architect is a surfer on a wave of the capital”. Exactly in the opposition of Eisenman and Koolhaas an almost absurd situation can be noticed: Eisenman representing critical tradition does not take into consideration capital as a relevant parameter and insists on the autonomy of architectural language, while Koolhaas, who could be charged with “theoretical collaborationism” is completely taken by social context and positioning of the architect inside of it. I think that it is possible to include both positions and, on a strategic plan, accept “projective practice”, while on the tactical level of the project – parcel alone critical shifts can be achieved through mere architectural devices.

On a concrete example that would mean, in a very simplified way, that the Operation: City reached the initial “projective” shift through recognizing Badel’s Factory potential, theoretical organization of the scenario of events and capability to, at least temporary, place those events into Badel Factory. What was missing was architectural treating of Badel as a spatial construct with clear purpose, of course with a premise that there is a suitable model of its financing. Those models could be thought out by the architect through organizational suggestion of the program that balances between public and private. With no concrete architectural intervention the space remains vulnerable. I do not think that architecture itself should be “revolutionary” but I hope it could be evolutive, that it could be seen as an “illumination of a parcel”, as highlighting the possibilities not assumed by the mere investment requests.