

marko  
golub

## obrnuto ispričana priča: uzorci urbane scene zagreba

### a story told in reverse: patterns in the urban scene of zagreb

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- <sup>1</sup> Mnogi od protagonista 'nove kulturne prakse' u tekstu nisu spomenuti, a oni čija je djelatnost opisana nisu odabrani prema kriterijima 'važnosti', nego ilustrativnosti pojedinih projekata za neke od problemskih aspekata priče. Oni kolektivi čija se djelatnost može isključivo opisati kao 'izvođačka', odnosno 'umjetnička', uglavnom su izostavljeni, jer se u tekstu ne obrađuju umjetnički proizvodi (bili oni progresivni, avangardni ili klasični) kao takvi.
  - <sup>2</sup> Kao *policy-maker* neovisne kulture Celakoski je zastupao aktere izvaninstitucionalne scene koji su reagirali na odluku Ministarstva kulture o ukidanju kulturnih vijeća u ožujku 2004.

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- <sup>1</sup> Many protagonists of the 'new cultural practice' have not been mentioned in this text, while those whose activity has been described were not chosen according to the criterion of 'importance', but rather that of the way in which some of their projects illustrate certain aspects of the story. Those groups whose activity can be described exclusively as 'performative' or 'artistic' have mostly been left out, since this text does not speak about artistic products as such, regardless of how progressive, vanguard, or classical they were.

▼ Obraditi jedan fenomen koji je, barem što se vremenskog odmaka tiče, relativno nov, koliko god on bio jasno lociran u vremenu i prostoru, koliko god mu granice bile čitljive i njegovi protagonisti iscrpni u samodeskripciji, čini se izuzetno teškim poduhvatom. Iz današnje perspektive daleko je jednostavnije govoriti o značenju koje su, primjerice, Galerija Studentskog centra ili Galerija Nova, imale u proizvodnji urbane kulture sedamdesetih godina. Mit o ovim dvama, ne sasvim slučajno odabranim primjerima, u toj je mjeri stasao da ga svaka daljnja aktualizacija iz perspektive suvremenih zbivanja nipošto ne razara, već samo nadograđuje. Činjenica da mitove nerado objašnjavamo jer s racionalnim objašnjenjem gube svoju učinkovitost, predstavlja dodatnu, koliko olakšavajuću, toliko i otežavajuću okolnost. Sve "objektivne" činjenice i spekulativna razjašnjenja, poput društveno-političke podloge, biografija pojedinačnih osoba, utvrdivih datuma, mjesta i događaja, imat će na kraju vrijednost samo i isključivo kao elementi jedne priče, koja će, ako je dovoljno uvjerljiva, svaku novu činjenicu uspješno apsorbirati u vlastito tkivo.

Time se, dakako, ne želi reći da su povijesni događaji tek puki mitovi, već samo upozoriti da oni nužno uključuju priču kao spoznajnu kategoriju na pola puta između istine i laži. Zasnivajući se na pojmu mogućeg kao nečeg što povijesnu istinu ne isključuje, ali joj nije niti obavezno, kategorija priče olakšava zadatak pisanja povijesti o relativno neposrednoj prošlosti. Priča, dakle, jednostavno utvrđuje da se u nekom trenutku nešto dogodilo, izazvalo određenu promjenu i završilo, čak ako su njeni protagonisti u stvarnosti još živi i zdravi, rade kao i dosad, i ni sa čim se rečenim ne moraju nužno složiti.<sup>1</sup> Da između priče i empirijske zbilje, međutim, ne bi došlo do zabune, potrebno je prije svega ustanoviti uvjerljiv početak i kraj.

Krajem devedesetih, dakle, nešto se nepovratno dogodilo na kulturnoj, društvenoj, odnosno "urbanoj" sceni. U jednoj ipak maloj sredini tijekom posljednjih pet ili šest godina niknuo je zavidan broj umjetničkih udruga, kolektiva, autonomnih proizvođača kulture koji su svojim djelovanjem ubrzali, umnogostručili i ojačali ovdašnju kulturnu scenu, parirajući postojećim službenim institucijama i u mnogočemu im čak pretevši ulogu. Budući da priča mora imati zadovoljavajući kraj, u tu svrhu može se preuzeti izjava Teodora Celakoskog<sup>2</sup> kako

● The task of dealing with a relatively new phenomenon, at least in terms of time, appears to be an exceptionally difficult, regardless of how clearly this phenomenon is situated in space and time, how distinct its borders are, or how exhaustively its protagonists have engaged in self-description. From today's perspective, it is far easier to speak of the significance that galleries such as Studentski Centar or Nova had in the production of urban culture in the 70s. The myth of these two galleries has grown to such an extent that all further rationalization from the perspective of contemporary events only builds it up instead of destroying it. The fact that we are reluctant to explain myths, since rational explanation deprives them of their effect, is yet another circumstance that makes the whole thing easier, but somehow also more difficult. All "objective" facts and speculative elucidations, such as the social and political background, biographies of certain individuals, attested dates, places, and events, will eventually acquire their value only and exclusively as elements of a story, and that story will, if convincing enough, successfully absorb each new fact into its texture.

I certainly do not mean to say that historical events are merely myths; rather, I wish to draw attention to the fact that they necessarily include the story as a category of knowledge, halfway between truth and lies. Since it is based on the notion of possible as something that neither excludes historical truth, nor is bound to it, the category of story makes it easier to write about relatively recent history. Thus, a story simply states that something occurred at a certain moment, caused certain change, and finished, even if the protagonists of that change still live sound and safe in this world, they work as they used to and need not agree with anything I am about to say.<sup>1</sup> However, in order to avoid all confusion between the story and empirical reality, it is necessary to begin with establishing a convincing beginning and a convincing ending.

So let us begin: in the late 90s, something irretrievably changed in the cultural and social, that is, "urban" scene. In an environment that is - after all - rather small, an astounding number of artists' associations, groups, and autonomous culture makers have emerged. They have accelerated, multiplied, and strengthened our cultural scene with their activity and become a counterpart to the existing official institutions, snatching away a good piece of their territory. Since our story must have a satisfactory ending, we might

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No 1 (94/5), 08. 1997. godina VII cijena 15 kn 300 SIT 6 DEM



*Free as  
a Bird!*

Slavoj ŽIŽEK

Terry EAGLETON

Boris BUDEN

Space LILY

Riccardo BIANCHINI

Petar GLODIĆ

MOMUS

Keith HOLMES: AIReady Made Photos/PAKRAC

Gen XX \* Performing Arts \* Cybertheory \* Music Non-Stop \* Filmovies

▼  
 3 “Važno je ipak napomenuti da su i okolnosti utjecale na takvu taktiku, jer smo na početku devedesetih, kada smo započinjali s projektom, bili orijentirani - što se autističnosti tiče - na veću grupu, u cilju poboljšavanja komunikacije na sceni općenito; kako se nije dogodio odaziv, ideš na moguću varijantu, stvaraš dijalog s ljudima koji su spremni na to, ako već nije spremna kompletna scena. W. Art je zajednica u malom, to jest dijalog, samo u manjem mjerilu.” (Ivana Keser u razgovoru *Poklapanje u sferi odgovornosti [Sphere of responsibility]*, u: *Frakcija*, 30/31, 2003., 98-107.

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- 2 As a policy-maker of independent culture, Celakoski represented the extra-institutional scene, which reacted to the decision of the Ministry of Culture to abolish cultural councils (March 2004).
- 3 “Still, it is important to observe that circumstances played a certain role in that policy. In the early 90s, when we were starting with the project, we were oriented -speaking about being autistic - towards a larger group, which aimed at improving communication within the scene as such; since there was no response, we logically turned to a feasible variant, we entered into dialogue with those people who were ready for that even if the scene in its entirety was not. W. Art is a small community; it is that dialogue, only at a smaller scale.” (Ivana Keser, in the interview *Sphere of responsibility*, in: *Frakcija*, 30/31, 2003, 109-115.)

1. Naslovna stranica časopisa *Arkzin* / Front cover of the *Arkzin* magazine (br. / No 1, 1994/5)

2. Naslovna stranica hrvatskog prijevoda *Komunističkog manifesta s predgovorom Slavoj Žižeka* / Front cover of the croatian translation of *Communist manifesto with the foreword by Slavoj Žižek*, izdanje / ed. *Arkzin*, Zagreb 1998.

3. Naslovna stranica publikacije *Knjiga i društvo - 22 %* / Front cover of publication *The Book and Society - 22 %*, izdanje / ed. *Arkzin*, Zagreb 1998.

su udruge koje nazivamo *alternativnima* u svjetskim okvirima zapravo *mainstream današnje kulturne scene*. Budući da uvelike definira sliku današnjeg stanja te tumači posljedice jednog, po svemu sudeći radikalnog programa, ta dijagnoza ima potrebnu težinu za logičan svršetak priče.

Daleko je, međutim, teže utvrditi početak koji bi jednako jasno sažeo sve važne aspekte jednog takvog događanja i koji bi sigurno bilo pogrešno tražiti u nečijem individualnom doprinosu. Što se tiče vremenskog određenja, svi će bez puno razmišljanja uprijeti prstom u devedesete godine - vrijeme koje je, dokinuvši kontinuitet s prethodnim razdobljem, kontinuitet jedne šire, drugačije orijentirane kulturne scene, doista bilo pogubno za određene segmente kulture. Neki od oblika kulturnog života naprasno su ukinuti, drugi su jednostavno prestali funkcionirati, dok “novih”, koji bi nadomjestili prazninu, nažalost, nije bilo. Nedostatak bilo kakve stabilne platforme djelovanja mogao je prouzročiti dva tipa reakcije - eksplicitnu rezignaciju ili samoorganiziranje neizvjesnog ishoda.

Prije desetak godina započeo je projekt *Weekend Art*, gledan iz današnje perspektive, na neki je način utjelovljavao oboje. Poigramo li se sa značenjima, “povremeno povlačenje troje umjetnika u šumu iznad Zagreba” predstavljalo bi prvi, dok bi “zajednički odlazak na izlete jednom tjedno”, predstavljao drugi tip moguće reakcije. Iako između ove, proizvoljno odabrane i male, ali vremenski rastegnute akcije, i novih kulturnih modela koji će se formirati tijekom narednih nekoliko godina nema previše formalnih sličnosti, bilo bi ipak zanimljivo ukazati na neke paralele među njima. Prije svega, *Weekend Art* je proizašao iz nemogućnosti komunikacije unutar postojećeg sistema. Rješenje je pokušao pronaći u provociranju komunikacije koja, takoreći, počinje “od nule”: u simbolici prijateljskog druženja i neke vrste istomišljeništva kao minimalnog umjetničkog, ali i političkog uloga.<sup>3</sup> *Weekend Art*, promatran na taj način, jest kolektiv u malom, minijatura utopijske prakse i tek moguća podloga za odgođenu proizvodnju umjetnosti. Pejorativan pak naziv projekta - termin preuzet iz prakse amaterskih umjetničkih udruženja - naglašava težnju za samoorganiziranjem; ako je takvo samoorganiziranje reakcija na nemogućnost djelovanja unutar postojećeg umjetničkog sustava, onda se *Weekend Art* uistinu može smatrati kritički intoniranim

use to this purpose a statement by Teodor Celakoski,<sup>2</sup> who said that the associations that we call *alternative* in fact represent the *mainstream of today's cultural scene* in global terms. Since his diagnosis largely defines the way things are today and helps interpret the consequences of a programme that we might call radical, it has the necessary weight to serve as the logical ending of our story.

However, it is far more difficult to identify a beginning that would equally clearly condense all aspects of such an important process; and it would certainly be wrong to look for that beginning in any individual contribution. As for the time frame, everyone will point their fingers to the 90s - an era that broke up all continuity with previous times, which was the continuity of a broader, differently oriented culture scene, and indeed proved fatal for certain segments of culture. Some forms of cultural life were abruptly done away with, while others simply stopped functioning; unfortunately, there were no “new” ones that would fill the gap. The lack of any stable platform for action could only result in two types of reaction - explicit resignation and self-organization with an uncertain outcome.

From today's perspective, it somehow seems that the *Weekend art* project, which started ten years ago, embodied both reactions. If we play a bit with meanings, we might say that the “sporadic retreat of three artists into the forest above Zagreb” would be the first, while “hiking together once a week” would be the second possible type of reaction. Even though there are not too many formal similarities between this intentionally chosen and small, but temporally protracted action and the new cultural models that developed within the few years to follow, it would still be of interest to point out certain parallels between them. First of all, *Weekend Art* originated in the impossibility of communication within the existing system. The solution it sought consisted in provoking communication that would, so to say, start “from zero”: from the symbolism of friendly intercourse and some sort of fellowship in opinion as the minimal assets in terms of art and also politics.<sup>3</sup> Seen in this way, *Weekend Art* was a small enterprise, a miniature version of utopian practice and a possible basis for the postponed production of art. The pejorative connotation of the group's name - borrowed from the activity of amateur associations of artists - accentuated their tendency towards self-organization; if such self-organization is a reaction to the impossibility of action within the exist-

projektom. Pozicija *Weekend Arta*, locirana na granici privatnosti, u svojoj je biti subinstitucionalna, na sličan način kao što bismo to pod određenim uvjetima mogli reći i za današnju urbanu kulturnu scenu; sve metode, modeli i oblici djelovanja navedeni u kontekstu ovog projekta ujedno su i neki od najkarakterističnijih obilježja kojima se i ona sama može opisati. Ono što su svojim djelovanjem uspjele nametnuti udruge poput WHW-a, Multimedijalnog instituta, Platforme, Community Arta, BLOK i mnogih drugih, također se temeljilo na nužnosti uspostavljanja modela kolektivnog djelovanja kao platforme na kojoj bi se razvila scena, reformiranju načela kulturne politike, nedvosmislenoj političnosti nastupa i programa, reaktiviranju sposobnosti utopijskog mišljenja koje leži u svakom poimanju želje za promjenom i međusobnoj solidarizaciji, bez koje o "sceni" uopće ne bi moglo biti govora. Akteri koje ovdje spominjemo u pravilu nisu izvođači, dakle, ne proizvode umjetnička djela, arhitekturu niti kazališne predstave, nego stvaraju podlogu da bi se sve, ili nešto od ovoga, moglo ostvariti. Dakle, takva inicijativa stvaranja preduvjeta za proizvodnju kulturnih sadržaja u velikoj je mjeri potaknuta željom za njihovom konzumacijom. Situacija se u krajnjem ishodu čini pomalo incestuoznom, budući da alternativne udruge prakticiraju kulturu mimo službenih institucija, umrežavajući se međusobno unutar neovisnog sustava, stvarajući vlastitu organizacijsku infrastrukturu, programe, ciljeve te na kraju i publiku.

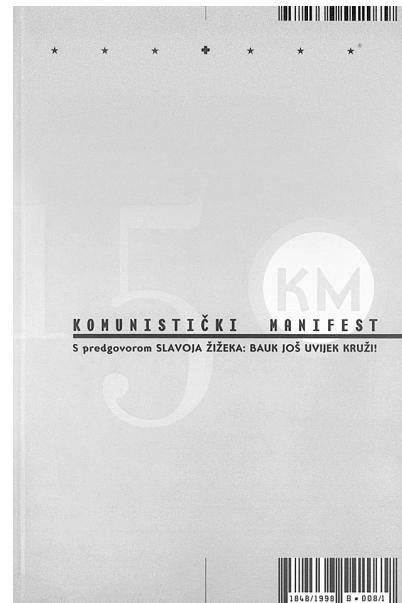
Scena koja je, na određeni način, "samonikla", danas se s pravom može nazvati "mainstreamom", budući da je od početka pokušavala ispuniti neke od funkcija reprezentativne urbane kulture koje su u lokalnom kontekstu i u okviru postojećeg institucionalnog sustava, izostale. Ovo je djelovanje u neku ruku utemeljeno na redefiniranju pojmova "kulture" i njenog "urbanog" atributa, odnosno na objedinjavanju uloga umjetnika, izvođača, proizvođača, konzumenta i građanina kao elemenata jedinstvenog kolektivnog subjekta koji aktivnim i svjesnim pristupom svakodnevnici konstituiraju urbanost vlastite sredine.

Djelovanje ovih neovisnih udruga usredotočenih na organizaciju i poticanje različitih kulturnih projekata zapravo je vrlo rano prepoznato i u službenim krugovima. Jedna od kustoskih koncepcija u okviru 25. salona mladih 1998. godine bila je, naime, usredotočena na nekoliko tada netom osno-

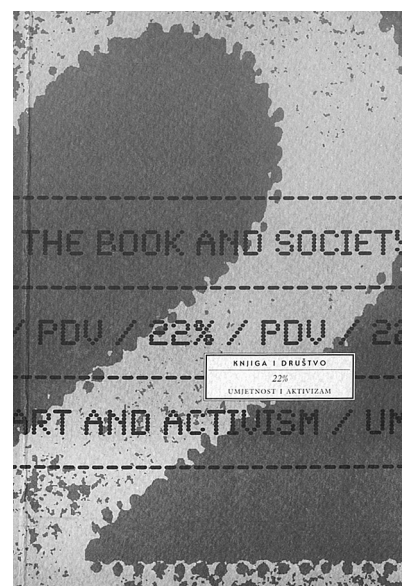
ing art system, then *Weekend Art* can indeed be considered a critically oriented project. The position of *Weekend Art* was located at the borderline of privacy and essentially subinstitutional, and we may under circumstances say the same about today's urban cultural scene; all methods, models, and forms of action mentioned in relation to this project are at the same time among the most characteristic features that may describe the cultural scene as such. Those things that associations such as WHW, Multimedija Institute, Platforma 9,81, Community Art, BLOK, and many others managed to impose through their action was likewise based on the necessity of establishing a model for collective action as a platform on which a scene could develop, of reforming the principles of cultural policy, giving an unambiguous political colouring to one's presentation and programme, reactivating the capacity of utopian thinking that is contained in every notion of striving for change, and establishing mutual solidarity, without which we could not speak about a "scene" at all. The protagonists we are talking about here were as a rule not identical with the performers, that is, they did not produce works of art, architecture, or theatre plays; instead, they created a basis for realizing all of these, or at least some. Thus, the initiative of creating the preconditions for the production of cultural content was largely motivated by the desire for its consummation. The situation might in the end seem a little incestuous, since alternative associations practiced culture outside of official institutions, mutually networking within an independent system, creating their own organizational infrastructure and eventually their own audience.

The scene that was in a way "homebrewed" can today be justly called "mainstream", since it struggled from its very beginnings to fulfil some of the functions of representative urban culture that were missing in the local context, as well as in the existing institutional system. Its action was in a way based on redefining the notions of "culture" and its "urban" attribute, that is, on unifying the roles of artist, performer, producer, consumer, and citizen as the elements of a unique collective subject that would constitute the urban character of its own environment through his active and conscious approach to everyday life.

The activity of these independent associations, which were focused on organizing and motivating various cultural projects, was in fact acknowledged rather early by the official



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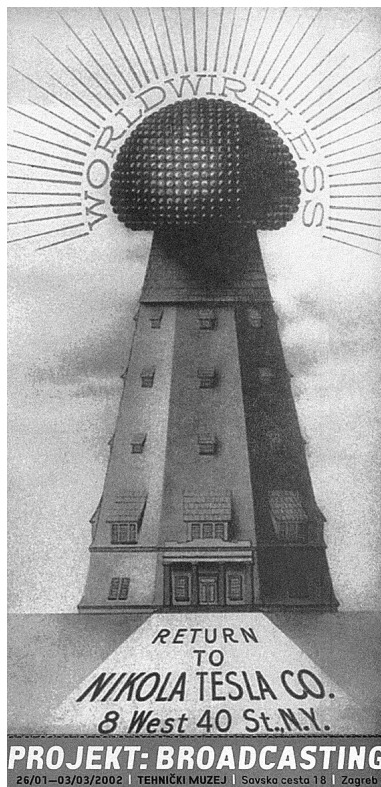
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vanih kolektiva, a fenomen je prepoznat kao nadregionalan, pa su na spomenuti Salon pozvani i zagrebački ATTACK, i splitsko 21. proljeće, i riječka URA, i dubrovačka Art radionica Lazareti. Kod svih su ovih udruga inzistiranje na drugačijoj praksi prezentacije kulturnih događaja i komunikacije s publikom, aktivistički stav prema razvijanju građanskih sloboda i zaštiti ljudskih prava, stvaranje alternativnih prostora za kulturu i umjetnost, uključujući i ulicu, bili osnova njihova djelovanja. Moglo bi se reći da se do sada ništa bitno i nije promijenilo, osim što je samih udruga mnogo više. Iste je godine na zagrebačkom Cvjetnom trgu Igor Grubić u suradnji s Autonomnom tvornicom kulture organizirao happening pod nazivom *Knjiga i društvo - 22%*. Taj je projekt, doduše, bio umjetnički, ali je ciljao na širu zajednicu i pozivao na okupljanje kritične mase. Zbog nedostatka adekvatne dokumentacije skloni smo ga zaboraviti. Međutim, činjenica je da su se tada na jednom mjestu našli svi budući glavni protagonisti urbane scene pa će mnogi tvrditi kako je upravo ovim projektom zapravo sve započelo. Koliko je bio širok raspon među samim izvođačima govori činjenica da su u projektu sudjelovali istovremeno i mladi umjetnici, poput Andreje Kulunčić s jednim od njenih prvih internetskih radova, ali i stariji, poput Tomislava Gotovca, koji je na istom trgu aktualizirao načela svojih već legendarnih urbanih akcija. Nezavisne kulturne inicijative doista su imale afirmativan odnos prema povijesti. Igor Grubić na splitskom je terenu, primjerice, svojim provokativnim radom *Crni peristil* prizivao, uostalom kao i *Weekend Art*, određene trenutne umjetničke prošlosti u kojima je agitiranje za kolektivnu akciju doista bilo jedno od ključnih mjesta umjetničkog djelovanja. Oživljavanje avangardnih koncepata podudarilo se i s probuđenim emocijama šire lokalne zajednice kada se te iste 1998. godine na glavnom trgu zbilo masovno okupljanje kao podrška jednoj lokalnoj radiopostaji.

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*Arkzin*, koji je kao magazin u međuvremenu prestao postojati, tada je inicirao reizdanje *Komunističkog manifesta* koje će dvije godine poslije biti poticaj za izložbu u Meštrovićevom paviljonu, Domu HDLU-a. Uloga časopisa *Arkzin*, kao i alternativne tvornice kulture ATTACK, u mnogo čemu je nezaobilazna. Taj je časopis, odnosno skupina ljudi oko njega, tijekom određenog raz-

circles. One of the curating conceptions at the 25<sup>th</sup> Salon of Young Artists in 1998 was actually focused on several recently founded groups and the phenomenon was recognized as supraregional: thus, ATTACK from Zagreb, 21. proljeće from Split, URA from Rijeka, and Art radionica Lazareti from Dubrovnik were all invited. The activity of these groups was characterised by their insistence on a different practice of presenting cultural events and communicating with the public, on an activist attitude towards promoting citizens' liberties and protecting human rights, as well as on creating alternative spaces for culture and art, including the street. One might say that nothing much has changed since, except that such groups became more numerous. In the same year of 1998, Igor Grubić and Autonomna tvornica kulture (Autonomous Culture Factory) organised a happening on the Flower Square in Zagreb entitled *The Book and the Society - 22%*, which, although essentially an art project, aimed at a broader community and called for the activation of masses with a critical attitude. Since it was inadequately documented, it has almost fallen into oblivion, but the fact remains that all future protagonists of the urban scene of Zagreb were there, in one place, and one might even consider that project the actual starting point of everything. How broad was the range between the performers themselves is evident from the fact that there were young artists participating in the project, such as Andreja Kulunčić with one of her first internet pieces, as well as older ones, such as Tomislav Gotovac, who reasserted the principles of his legendary urban actions on the same square. These independent cultural initiatives indeed had a positive attitude towards the history. In Split, for example, Igor Grubić and his provoking piece *Black Peristil* evoked - just like *Weekend Art*, after all - certain moments of artistic past, moments when agitating for collective action was what artistic activity was largely about. The revival of vanguard concepts coincided with the emotional reawakening of a broader local community in a mass gathering that took place in that same year of 1998 on the main square, in order to support a local radio station.

And then, the *Arkzin* magazine, which has ceased existing in the meantime, initiated the reissuing of the *Communist Manifesto*, which inspired an exhibition at the Meštrović Pavilion, at Dom HDLU (House of the Croatian Association of Visual Artists) two years later. The role of *Arkzin*, as well as of

doblja još neartikuliranoj viziji novih kulturnih praksi ponudila teorijski žargon i vizualni identitet.<sup>4</sup> Iskopavanje *Manifesta* doista nije bio sasvim bezazlen čin: nekima je on bio povod za mrgođenje, a mnogim drugima trenutak trljanja očiju, impuls da se preispita što se dogodilo u proteklom desetljeću, odnosno što se u međuvremenu zbilo s odbačenim utopijama. Izložba ostvarena dvije godine poslije temeljila se na istim ovim pitanjima i bila je, u tom trenutku, bez sumnje, otvorena gesta provokacije. Činjenica da se izložba održavala u određenom galerijskom prostoru<sup>5</sup> nije bitno umanjivala takav učinak.

Izložba je, međutim, jednim svojim dijelom zauzela i gradske ulice, pa uz nju vežemo i aktivistički intoniran rad Andreje Kulunčić *NAMA - 1908 zaposlenika, 15 robnih kuća*, koji cilja na buđenje socijalne svijesti građana, prisvajajući komunikacijske potencijale i strategije novouvezanih oblika "reklamne arhitekture" - city-lights boxova. Na izložbi, koja je kasnije postavljena u nekoliko drugih europskih gradova, pored je Arkzina radila i skupina formirana oko novoosnovanog net-kulturnog kluba MaMa, a iz samog je projekta tada nastao i kustoski tim koji je preuzeo dio naziva izložbe *Što, Kako i za Koga*, odnosno WHW.

Osim što je programom i intenzitetom događanja ojačala i usredotočila niz rasutih medijskih i tehnoloških praksi te posegnula za nizom međunarodnih gostiju, MaMa je tada, kao jedina udruga s adekvatnim prostorom za rad, preuzela ulogu svojevrsne platforme na čiji su račun sve ostale udruge pribavljale predavače, radnu snagu, stručne suradnike, razmjenjivale informacije te djelomično i realizirale svoje programe. Zbog heterogenosti produkcije tijekom prvih nekoliko godina, klub je gotovo izgubio isprva jasno razlučiv profil. U MaMi se pored redovitog programa, formirao BLOK, vodila logistika *Urbanog festivala*, predavaonice je redovito posuđivao WHW, ali i institucije poput Muzeja suvremene umjetnosti. Takva situacija prave gužve oko jednog malenog lokala zapravo je na određen način obogatila oblik njegovog djelovanja. MaMa je danas još uvijek mjesto ozbiljnog sastančenja i neobaveznog druženja, glazbene produkcije, koncentracije informacija, podjednako o popularnoj kulturi i hard-core teoriji, logistički check-point i štošta drugo.

Novo izdanje Salona mladih 2001. godine ponovilo je, proširilo, i redefiniralo

the alternative culture factory ATTACK, was in many ways essential. During a certain period, that magazine, that is, the circle of people linked to it, was giving a theoretical jargon and a visual identity to a yet unarticulated vision of new cultural practices.<sup>4</sup> To dig out the *Manifesto* was indeed far from harmless: some were frowning, others rubbed their eyes and tried to re-examine what had happened in the past decade, what had become of the discarded utopias. The exhibition that took place two years later was based on the same questions and was at that moment doubtlessly understood as an open gesture of provocation. The fact that the exhibition was located in a gallery did not significantly mitigate its effect.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the exhibition partly occupied the streets of Zagreb as well, and one associates with it the socially engaged piece by Andreja Kulunčić entitled *NAMA - 1908 Workers, 15 Department Stores*, the aim of which was to stir the social awareness of the citizens by adopting the communicational potentials and strategies of the newly imported "advertisement architecture" - city light boxes. The exhibition, which was repeated in several European cities, featured (beside Arkzin) a group formed around the recently founded net-culture club MaMa, whereas the project itself gave birth to a curators' team which adopted a part of the exhibition title for its name - *Who, How, and for Whom*, that is, WHW.

Apart from corroborating and uniting a number of scattered media and technological enterprises in its programme and the intensity of its events, as well as bringing international guests to Croatia, MaMa took on the role, as the only association with an adequate working space, of a sort of platform, through which all other associations could get hold of lecturers, human resources, and experts, exchange information, and partly realize their programmes. Because of the heterogeneity of its production during the first few years, the club almost lost its formerly clear profile. Besides its regular programme, MaMa helped in establishing the BLOK group, took care of the logistics for the *Urban Festival*, lent its lecture room to WHW, and even to institutions such as Museum of Contemporary Art. All that crowd gathering around such a small club actually enriched its activity in a certain way. Today, MaMa still functions as a home for both serious meetings and informal coming together, a place for music production, a source of information about popular culture

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- 4 Vizualni identitet - čak doslovno. Letci, katalozi i programske knjižice izvaninstitucionalnih udruga dijele ne samo zajedničko agitpropovsko ruho (nerijetko ostavljajući dojam uniformnosti), nego i dizajnerski autorski potpis.
- 5 Izložba se održala u Domu HDLU-a, odnosno na simbolički izrazito konfliktnom terenu Trga žrtava fašizma, u to doba preimenovanom u Trg hrvatskih velikana.
- 
- 4 A visual identity - literally speaking. Leaflets, catalogues, and programme booklets of extra-institutional associations not only shared their "agitation and propaganda" attire (often giving the impression of uniformity), but also the designers' signatures.
- 5 The exhibition took place in Dom HDLU, on the Square of the Victims of Fascism, which was at that time renamed into the Square of Distinguished Croats and, in terms of symbolism, extremely charged with conflict.

4. Naslovna stranica kataloga izložbe *Što, kako i za koga* / Front cover of catalogue of the exhibition *What, how and for whom*, izdanje / ed. Arkzin, Zagreb 2000.

5. Propagandni letak za izložbu *Projekt: broadcasting* / Flyer for the exhibition *Project: Broadcasting*



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konceptiju prethodnoga utoliko što su protagonisti urbane scene ovaj put bili prevedeni u težišne točke strukture pravog malog idealnog grada. Malo tko se uopće sjeća natječajnih radova s tog Salona, jer su njegovi organizatori tada odlučno pokušali rekonstruirati realno stanje - gdje se proizvodi kultura i gdje se uistinu formira publika? U prostoru povećeg paviljona na Velesajmu ponovno su se našli ATTACK i 21. proljeće, ovaj put kao gost. Niti organizacije djelomice je vukao i Slaven Tolj iz ARL-a,<sup>6</sup> a od novih svoj su dio terena dobili, između ostalih, MaMa i Močvara (odnosno URK<sup>7</sup>). Djelatnost čitavih klubova, od kojih neki doista nisu imali odgovarajući prostor za rad, unutar tih je mjesec dana bila preseljena na zajedničku privremenu lokaciju. Još jedan novonastali kustoski tim odabrao je zaštitni znak uspješnog (iako za HDLU financijski katastrofalnog) projekta za svoje ime - Kontejner, a postav ove nimalo klasične izložbe potpisala je grupa mladih arhitekata Platforma 9,81.

Djelovanje ove posljednje skupine bilo bi, međutim, posve pogrešno dovoditi u vezu s konkretnim arhitektonskim realizacijama, budući da je primarno obilježeno upravo naporom oko stvaranja aktivne publike. Skupina je praktički izrasla u okviru zagrebačkog Arhitektonskog fakulteta kad je nekolicina studenata, uvidjevši ograničenja i manjkavosti postojećeg nastavnog programa, odlučila sebi i svojim kolegama ponuditi samosvjesniji model obrazovanja, između ostalog usredotočen i na definiranje vlastitog zvanja. Mladi arhitekti pokušali su predstaviti arhitekturu kao nešto što ih ne samo, u skladu s akademskim imperativom, "zanima", nego i kao problemsko područje koje svakodnevno žive i u kojem aktivno sudjeluju. Ono što je u početku moglo biti shvaćeno kao parazitiranje na infrastrukturi Arhitektonskog fakulteta vrlo se brzo pokazalo kao daleko ambiciozniji projekt, čak toliko ambiciozan da se i danas čini kako Platformini poletni teorijsko-akcijski programi višestruko nadilaze vlastite konkretizacije. Od *Otvorenog programa* i *Arhitekture uživo*, Platforma je razgranala svoje djelovanje na čitav niz programa koji bi se vrlo teško mogli jednoznačno opisati, a svi ciljevi, istraživanja, procesi i konkretni projekti isprepliću se oko nekoliko žarišnih točaka interesa: novih modela edukacije, stvaranja polja dijaloga i razmjene informacija između različitih kritičkih i umjetničkih praksi, medijskih akcija, interdisciplinarnih

and hard-core theory alike, a logistic check-point, and many other things.

The new edition of the Salon of Young Artists in 2001 repeated, enlarged, and redefined the conception of the previous one. The protagonists of the urban scene were now transformed into the points of gravity within the structure of what seemed a sort of ideal city. Few people remember at all the works of art that were competing at that Salon, because its organizers were determined to reconstruct the true state of things - where was culture produced and where was its audience actually formed? ATTACK and 21. proljeće were also present in the large pavilion at the Zagreb Fair, this time as guests. The strings of organization were partly pulled by Slaven Tolj from ARL,<sup>6</sup> and as for the new faces, the field was, among others, taken by MaMa and Močvara (that is, by URK<sup>7</sup>). The activity of entire clubs, some of which really did not have an adequate place to work, was transferred to a common temporary location for the whole month. Another newly formed curators' team adopted the name of a successful project (though HDLU had considered it a disaster) as their landmark - the Kontejner. The concept of this rather non-classical exhibition was signed by a group of young architects, Platforma 9,81.

However, it would be entirely wrong to link the activity of this group to actual architectural achievements, since it was primarily oriented towards creating an active audience. Platforma 9,81 practically grew out of the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb, where a small number of students realized the limitations and lacks of the existing teaching programme and decided to offer to their colleagues and themselves a more self-conscious educational model, which would be, among other things, focused on defining the profession. These young architects tried to present architecture as something that not only "interested" them, in accordance with the academic imperative, but also as a thematic field with which their everyday life was intricately linked and in which they actively participated. What might have been understood in the beginning as parasitic feeding on the infrastructure of the Faculty of Architecture, soon proved to be a far more ambitious project, so ambitious that the enthusiastic theory/action projects of Platform still seem to have surpassed their own realizations by far. Since its *Open Programme* and *Architecture live*, Platform has expanded its activity to a series of programmes that one could hardly describe in

istraživanja, radionica, djelovanja na urbanu politiku iz pozicije javnosti, aktivizma kao arhitektonske prakse te sudjelovanja arhitekata u svim društvenim aspektima prostornih promjena.<sup>8</sup> Praksu toliko karakterističnu za povijest raznih subkulturnih skupina - skvotiranje - iskušavali su na nekoliko pojedinačnih projekata, da bi na kraju i ona sama prerasla u još opsežniji, dugoročni projekt - *Nevidljivi Zagreb*.<sup>9</sup>

Samo ime *Urbanog festivala* možda se na samom početku moglo zamijeniti nekim u nizu "urbanih" festivala koji su se već redovito odvijali u gradu. Ono što je ovaj festival, međutim, odmah izdvojilo od istoimenih događanja, jest činjenica da njegovi organizatori nisu smatrali gutače vatre, cvilež violina na uglovima te odjevne artikle na gradskim skulpturama i rasvjetnim stupovima oblicima kulture koja ispunjava pojam "urbane" prakse. *Urbani festival*, koji je 2001. godine osnovala udruga BLOK, nije obnavljao niti postojeće primjere o umjetnosti u javnom prostoru, koji nerijetko poprimaju prilično banalne oblike, niti se zadržao u okvirima urbanih intervencija koje ostaju u organizacijskoj domeni velikih galerijskih institucija koje su takvu praksu već odavno usvojile kao posve legitiman oblik umjetničkog izlaganja. Kroz nekoliko projekata u svom prvom izdanju *Urbani festival* na neki je način otkrio žanr koji u svojoj biti nije niti izrazito popularan, a niti elitistički, nego izmiče objema krajnostima te ih u pristupu publici na neki način izjednačava. Radovi koji "redovito ciljaju na probleme i specifičnosti gradskog života" te "građane provociraju na promišljanje svakodnevnice"<sup>10</sup> nisu, međutim, mogli dugo ostati bez fokusiranja konkretnijih problemskih sadržaja, pa tako od svoga trećeg izdanja festival uvodi specifične problemske koncepte.<sup>11</sup>

Kustoski tim WHW u međuvremenu je ostvario još jedan projekt, karakterističan po tome što sama izložba, iako je predstavljala finalni ishod i svojevrsnu kulminaciju čitavog projekta, zapravo nije bila njegov najzanimljiviji dio. Broadcasting je od početka bio provoden kao polagano zagrijavanje medijskog i javnog prostora, odnosno potencijalne publike na koju su vrebale kriptično ispisane pozivnice, neuobičajeni novinski članici i serija ciljano osmišljenih radijskih emisija. Pristup je očito bio dvojako uvjetovan - propitivanjem novih modela komunikacije s publikom s jedne strane i metaforičkim temeljem u

common terms, while all their goals, research, processes, and actual projects have been intertwined around several focal points of interest: new educational models, creating a field of dialogue and exchange of information between various critical and artistic practices, media actions, interdisciplinary research, workshops, influencing urban policies from the position of the public, activism as architectural practice, and participation of architecture in all social aspects of spatial change.<sup>8</sup> They also engaged in squatting - which is typical for the history of many sub-cultural groups - in several separate projects, after which it developed into another, larger, long-term project in itself - the *Invisible Zagreb*.<sup>9</sup>

The very name of *Urban Festival* was perhaps misleading in the beginning, confusing it with other "urban" festivals that were regularly taking place in Zagreb. However, what set this festival apart at once was the fact that its organizers did not consider that fire jugglers, squeaking violins on the corner, or dressing up monuments and lamp posts were the forms of culture that corresponded to the idea of "urban" practice. The *Urban Festival* that was started in 2001 by the BLOK association neither revived the existing examples of art in public space, which often acquired rather banal features, nor remained within the limits of urban interventions, which usually stuck with the organizational domain of large galleries, since this practice had been accepted long ago as a perfectly legitimate form of art presentation. The few projects of its first edition made the *Urban Festival* discover its own genre, which in itself was neither excessively popular, nor elitist, but rather evaded both extremes and somehow levelled them in its approach to the public. Nevertheless, art that "regularly aims at the problems and specificities of urban life", "provoking the citizens to reflect upon their everyday life,"<sup>10</sup> could not remain for long without focusing on more definite issues. Thus, the third edition of the festival introduced some specific thematic concepts.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, the curators' team WHW was engaged in another project, the special feature of which was the fact that the exhibition itself was not its most interesting part, even though it represented its final outcome and a sort of its culmination. The Broadcasting was from the very beginning realized as a gradual warming-up of the space of media and public space: it ensnared potential visitors by means of cryptic invitations, unusual

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<sup>6</sup> Art radionica Lazareti  
<sup>7</sup> Udruženje za razvoj kulture  
<sup>8</sup> Sve ove točke obrađuje njihova programska knjižica mnogo detaljnije. Vidi: Platforma 9.81 - Istraživanja&akcije u arhitekturi, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> "*Nevidljivi Zagreb* je mreža prostora u gradu koji su napušteni, neriješenih vlasničkih odnosa ili na drugi način nedefinirani. Aktiviranje ovakvih prostora privremenim sadržajima simbolički i stvarno ih vraća na mapu grada - čini ih vidljivima. Prvi korisnici su proizvođači kulture s izvaninstitucionalne scene. Inovativnim korištenjem prostora te promjenom programa stvaraju se uvjeti za ispitivanje i planiranje novih urbanih tipologija te stvaranje privremenih javnih prostora." Platforma 9.81 (bilj. 8).

<sup>10</sup> Vidi: [www.urbanfestival.hr](http://www.urbanfestival.hr)

<sup>11</sup> Urbani festival 2003. organiziran je oko teme "Ad Hoc kolektiva", podijeljene na tri cjeline: tranzit; zabava, kultura i šport; te potrošnja. Urbani festival 2004. bio je vezan uz propitivanje funkcije "slobodnog vremena".

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<sup>6</sup> Art Workshop Lazareti.

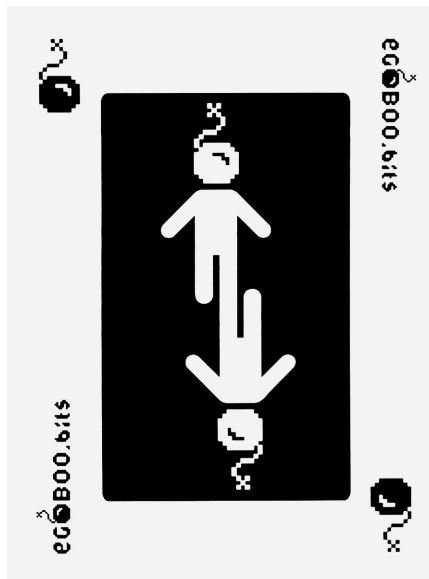
<sup>7</sup> Association for Cultural Development.

<sup>8</sup> All these points are dealt with in detail in their programme booklet. See: Platforma 9.81 - Istraživanja&akcije u arhitekturi [Research and actions in architecture], 2004.

<sup>9</sup> "*Invisible Zagreb* is a network of spaces in the city that are abandoned, belong to an unknown owner, or are undefined in some other way. Activating these spaces through temporary events brings them symbolically back to the city map - it makes them visible. The primary users are the culture makers from the extra-institutional scene. By using this space in an innovative way and by changing the programme, conditions are created for investigating and planning new urban typologies and for creating temporary public spaces." Platforma 9.81 (n. 8).

6. Naslovna stranica programske knjižice *Festivala alternativnog kazališnog izričaja Faki* / Front cover of booklet of *The Festival of Alternative Theatre Faki*, grafičko oblikovanje digital bastard/arkzin / graphic works by digital bastard/arkzin





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samoj ideji *broadcastinga* kao odašiljanja informacija s druge. Dvije godine kasnije, preuzevši Galeriju Nova, WHW je postao "punopravna", "udomljena" institucija, a novi su uvjeti rada zahtijevali i korjenitu promjenu strategije djelovanja. Umjesto velikih, dugo osmišljenih projekata uslijedila je izložbena hiperaktivnost, nevidena u dosadašnjoj galerijskoj praksi u nas: od izložbi neafirmiranih mladih umjetnika (pri čemu je "neafirmiran" i "mlad" shvaćeno doista doslovno), do *hommagea* povijesnim umjetničkim pojavama (pri čemu se može razabrati određeni afinitet prema konceptualnoj umjetnosti sedamdesetih) te kustoskih koncepcija s težištem na umjetnosti usmjerenoj prema sociopolitičkim temama. Galerija Nova, doduše, nije u potpunosti ostvarila ideju "prostora za boravak, a ne samo prolazak" koju je u početku plasirala, ali održala je zavidan tempo organiziranja raznih diskusija, predavanja i drugih događanja ponudivši, dakako, prostor i ostatku nezavisne kulturne scene, djelomično rasterativši klub MaMa od programske zagušenosti.

Pokretanjem projekata *Clubture* i *Kulturnog kapitala Europe 3000* priča se polako primiče kraju, logičnom ishodu intenzivne borbe za prostor i status na polju kulture. Naime, ta dva projekta na neki način institucionaliziraju politiku suradnje i ostale procese koji su se dotada unutar scene, nazovimo ju još jednom alternativnom, činili ipak neformalnim.

*Clubture*, kao platformska osnova koordinacije nezavisnih udruga, čiji je broj danas tako velik da je njihovo djelovanje postalo gotovo nemoguće pratiti, može se shvatiti kao već izgrađen administrativni sistem koji u određenom smislu utjelovljuje obrasce novog kulturnog modela, relativno neovisnog o ipak još uvijek dominantnoj varijanti kulturne politike temeljene na državnom subvencioniranju reprezentativnih institucija. *Kulturni kapital Europe 3000*, odnosno platforma za suradnju nastala kao zajednički projekt Centra za dramsku umjetnost, Multimedijalnog instituta, Platforme 9.81 i WHW-a, već samim imenom samosvjesno parodira strategije dominantnih režima kulturne promidžbe. Nemoguće je, međutim, ne shvatiti čitavu poruku dovoljno ozbiljno, jer situacija se doista u mnogočemu promijenila. Kada je, doduše, u jednom nezgodnom trenutku, u priči o nezavisnoj kulturnoj sceni do javnosti doprla riječ *mainstream*, to nije značilo

newspaper articles, and a series of carefully planned radio programmes. Their approach was obviously conditioned by two things - on the one hand, by investigating new models of communication with the audience; on the other, by a metaphoric foundation of the very idea of broadcasting as emitting information. Two years later, the WHW team took over the Nova Gallery and became a "full-fledged", "domestic" institution. New working conditions demanded a fundamental change in their strategy of action. Large and long-planned projects were replaced by hyperactivity in organizing exhibitions that had no precedent in the practice of local galleries: from the exhibitions of yet unknown young artists (whereby I literally mean "unknown" and "young") to homage exhibitions for famous artists (in which one could notice certain affinity towards the conceptual art of the 70s) and curating conceptions with an accent on art oriented towards social and political topics. The Nova Gallery, it must be said, never completely realized its idea of becoming a "space for staying, not merely walking through", which it had endorsed from the outset, but it retained an enviable tempo of organizing various debates, lectures, and other events, since it offered its space to the rest of the independent culture scene and thus partly took the suffocating burden off the back of MaMa Club.

With the launching of the *Clubture* projects and the *Cultural capital of Europe 3000*, the story is slowly approaching its end, which is a logical outcome of an intensive struggle for space and status in the field of culture. These two projects, namely, institutionalized in a way the policy of cooperation and other processes that were still considered informal within the scene that we may once more call alternative.

*Clubture* is the platform and the basis of coordination for independent associations, whose number is nowadays so large that it is almost impossible to trace their activities, and it can be understood as a fully built administrative system that in a certain way embodies the patterns of a new cultural model, which is still relatively independent from the still dominant variant of cultural policy based upon state subvention of representative institutions. *The Cultural capital of Europe 3000* is a cooperation platform that was created as a common project of Centre for Drama Art, Multimedia Institute, Platforma 9,81, and WHW, and its very name is a parody on the strategy of dominant regimes of cultural pro-

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**23.11.2001.**  
 mama i močvara vam predstavljaju  
 mama clubbing / breakbeat session #2

**freeride culture / bg**  
 mc dju-ra / scratch master uce  
 dj rahmany / dj webad

mama / 18.00 / prezentacija + dj set / 0 kn  
 močvara / 22.00 / party / 30 kn

da se ta nezavisna scena sadržajem prilagodila dominantnom građanskom ukusu, nego upravo suprotno, da je oblikovana potpuno nova publika, potpuno nov sistem pravila, potpuno novi modeli odnosa između publike, izvođača i institucionalnih medijatora, modeli prezentacije, financiranja... S određivanjem neke konačne, jednoznačne perspektive trenutnog stanja, kao i proglašavanjem kapitulacije jednog sistema u korist drugog, treba, međutim, biti oprezan. Prije svega, pojam "reprezentativne kulture" vidljivo se razgrađuje, bez obzira na to što svi sudionici nisu podjednako toga svjesni. S druge strane, izvaninstitucionalna scena naočigled je kolebljiva što se tiče definiranja vlastite uloge u društveno-političkom i kulturnom sistemu: s jedne strane se razvija kao opozicija reprezentativnoj kulturnoj proizvodnji službenih institucija, dok s druge jasno uvida kako se njeni programi ne iscrpljuju na dijalektici suprotstavljanja, što ih stavlja u novu i odgovornu poziciju ravnopravnog sudionika u formiranju kulturnog habitusa grada i šire. To je postalo jasno vidljivo upravo s aspekata financiranja i medijske prezentacije urbane scene u nas: naime, ni država kao (još uvijek glavni) financijer kulturnog sektora niti javni mediji nisu, zapravo, sigurni kamo fenomen izvaninstitucionalne scene smjestiti, što je dovelo i još uvijek dovodi do čitavog niza nesporazuma. Problem, dakle, ne leži u prirodi same "scene", nego u shvaćanju uloge koju bi ona u urbanom društvu trebala obnašati, što podrazumijeva minimum kolektivne volje od strane svih instanci, počevši od medija i organa vlasti do samih udruga. Vizija i praksa suvremene kulture na globalnoj se razini iz korijena mijenja, a izrazi poput "alternativno", "popularno", "nacionalno", i "reprezentativno" gube svoju kompetitivnu snagu i konkretiziraju svoja nova, potpuno izmijenjena značenja. ▼

motion. It is impossible, though, not to take the whole message seriously, since the situation has changed in many respects. When the word *mainstream* reached the ears of an audience, which admittedly happened at an awkward moment, in a story about the independent culture scene, I did not mean to say that the independent scene had adapted its content to the dominant bourgeois taste, but quite the contrary, that an entirely new audience was formed, an entirely new system of rules, entirely new models for the relationship between the audience, performers, and their institutional intermediaries: models for presentation, financing, etc. However, we must be very careful when defining a final, unambiguous view on the state of things, as well as announcing the defeat of one system before another. First of all, the term "representative culture" is obviously disintegrating, regardless of the fact that its participants are not all equally aware of the fact. Secondly, the extra-institutional scene is apparently reluctant to define its own role within the social, political, and cultural systems: on the one hand, it is developing as an opposition to the representative cultural production of official institutions, while on the other it clearly sees that its programmes are not reducible to the dialectics of opposition, which puts them in a new and responsible position of an equal participant in shaping the cultural habitus of the city and beyond. This has become evident precisely from the viewpoint of financing and media presentation of Croatian urban scene: neither the state as the (still main) sponsor of the cultural sector, nor the public media are sure of where to locate the phenomenon of extra-institutional scene or what caused and is still causing a whole lot of misunderstandings. Thus, the problem is not in the nature of the "scene" itself, but rather in the notion of the role it should play in urban society, which includes a minimum of collective willingness on the part of all participants, beginning with the public media and administrative services all the way down to the associations themselves. The vision and the practice of contemporary culture is experiencing fundamental change at the global level, while expressions such as "alternative", "popular", "national", and "representative" are losing their competitive power and realizing their new, entirely transformed meanings. ●

prijevod / translation: Marina Miladinov

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<sup>10</sup> See: [www.urbanfestival.hr](http://www.urbanfestival.hr)

<sup>11</sup> The Urban festival of 2003 was organized around the theme "Ad Hoc kolektiva" [Ad Hoc Grouping], which was divided into three units: transit; entertainment, culture, and sport; and consummation. The Urban Festival of 2004 was related to re-examining the function of "free time".

7. Propagandni letak net-kulturnog kluba MaMa / Flyer for the net-culture club MaMa

8. Propagandni letak net-kulturnog kluba MaMa i kluba Močvara / Flyer for the net-culture club MaMa and Močvara Club

9. Propagandni letak za izložbu u klubu Močvara / Flyer for the exhibition in the Močvara Club



9

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Marko Golub - teaches visual culture. Active as journalist, art critic, and independent curator in Zagreb.