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▼ Suvremena tehnologija, masovni mediji, novine (dnevne, tjedne, mjesečne ili tek povremene), internet, radio, promotivni događaji... Ništa od toga zapravo nije potuklo moć grafita, poruke koju šalje, mjesta na kojem će se pojaviti, ali niti utjecaja koji će imati, bez obzira nalazio se on na jednom ili na nekoliko mjesta.

#### URBANE LEGENDE

Dobar grafit živi i nakon što je nestao; posve je nebitno postoji li i danas. Nije li istina da kada grafit postane sastavni dio neke urbane legende, on postaje vječno obilježje grada u kojem je nastao? Danas imamo na stotine takvih grafita, odnosno poruka koje ljudi rado upotrebljavaju u svakodnevnom govoru, često ne znajući da je riječ upravo o grafitu. No, on ipak živi.

Kada se pokušate sjetiti nekih slogana ili poruka koji su osvanuli na zagrebačkim zidovima, nisu li to upravo "tramvajljudi", "tramvaj će doći", "jutro su nedorečena", "bilo je dosta misaonog posta" i dr.? Niti jedan od ovih grafita više ne postoji, a ipak žive u kolektivnom urbanom sjećanju.

Njihovu važnost za urbanu sredinu u kojoj nastaju možemo potražiti i u činjenici kako su baš neki od ovih grafita nestali i opet se pojavili na istom mjestu, nekoliko godina kasnije, ispisani drugačijim rukopisom, ali su opet bili tu. Imaju svoje mjesto i svoju važnost, poput spomenika koji se arhitektonski uklapa na neki trg i naprosto ne možete zamisliti taj trg bez njega.

#### POLITIKA SE DOGAĐA NA ULICI [ILI BAREM NA NJENIM ZIDOVIMA]

Grafite rado dijelim u dvije osnovne kategorije, one crtane i one pisane. I jedni i drugi dijele se na političke i nepolitičke. Ne znam postoji li neka stručna podjela, pa ni primjerena terminologija, no svoje bavljenje grafitima ograničavam na praćenje, čitanje i promatranje onoga što smatram bitnim kod grafita. A bitna je poruka. Bitna je i estetika. Lokacija također, no njena važnost ovisi o sadržaju poruke.

No, kada kažem da se politika događa na zidovima, mislim pri tome na činjenicu da je grafit *medij siromašnih*, onih koji ne mogu platiti skupu poruku u medijima, a imaju stav koji žele izraziti. Za grafite je dovoljan sprej, zid, malo hrabrosti i brzine.

● Modern technologies, mass media, daily, weekly, and occasional newspapers, the Internet, radio, promotional events... in fact, nothing has managed to beat down the power of graffiti, the messages they convey, places on which they are about to appear, or influence that they are bound to have, no matter whether they are present in one or in several locations.

#### URBAN LEGENDS

A good graffiti lives even after it has disappeared and it makes absolutely no difference whether it is still there or not. Isn't it true that, when a graffiti becomes a constituent part of an urban legend, it also becomes an eternal mark of the city in which it was created? We are witnessing hundreds of such graffiti today: messages that people like to use in everyday speech, unaware of the fact that it was originally a graffiti. And so it goes on living.

If you try to recall some slogans or messages that have been written down on the walls of Zagreb, don't you come up first with the "trampeople", "the tram will come," "mornings are unspoken," "enough of intellectual abstinence"... Not one of them exists today, but they go on living in the collective urban memory.

The importance of graffiti for the urban environment in which they are produced is proven by the fact that some of the mentioned graffiti have disappeared and then reappeared in the same place some years later. They were written in a different handwriting now, but there they were again. They have secured their own place and significance, like a monument that has become an architectural part of a square and now you can simply no longer think of that square without it.

#### POLITICS TAKES PLACE IN THE STREET [OR AT LEAST ON ITS WALLS]

I usually classify graffiti into two principal categories: images and texts. Both of them can be subdivided into political and non-political graffiti. I am unacquainted with any further scholarly classification or terminology applied to the art of graffiti, but I will continue my research by identifying, reading, and observing those things that I consider important in them. For example, the

NADA JE REVOLUCIJA



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Politički grafiti su posebno zanimljivi, zato što osim slanja određene političke poruke potiču debatu koja se može događati negdje drugdje, no događa se i na samim zidovima, čime jedna poruka pre-rasta u nekoliko njih, što ide toliko daleko da pojedini grafiti postanu prave diskusije. Između zagrebačkih kvartova Utrina i Zapruđa (ili, kako kaže grafit na tamošnjoj tramvajskoj stanici, *Utripruđa*), točnije, u pothodniku koji ih povezuje, nekoliko je godina stajao grafit "*Legalizirajte marihuanu*", na koji se tijekom vremena nado-vezalo pravo malo ispitivanje stava o tom pitanju - izmjenjivalo se "hoćemo" i "neće-mo", sve dok nije nestalo prostora na zidu. Nakon što je zid prebojan, grafit se opet pojavio. Kao i odobravanje i negiranje. Ipak, danas više ne postoji, pothodnik je ispunjen nizom malih trgovina...

Politički su grafiti imali svoja različita razdoblja i ako pogledamo posljednja dva desetljeća, jedna od zanimljivijih pojava bila je *Luna*, autorica ili nekoliko njih, cijelog niza anarhofeminističkih poruka koje su se pojavile gotovo po cijelom gradu, a od kojih nekolicina još uvijek postoji. "*Ne znači ne. Ti imaš pravo odbiti!*", "*Ako ne mogu plesati ne želim biti dio vaše revolucije*", "*Ne želim biti vodena!*", "*Šef treba tebe, a ne ti njega!*", "*Ne želim provesti cijeli život peglajući tvoje gaće*", samo su neke od poruka koje potpisuje *Luna*, a koje su osim na ulicama, podigle veliku prašinu i u medi-jima. U trenutku kada je poruka sa zida prešla u medijski prostor, njen utjecaj je postao veći nego što je to *Luna* ikada mogla zamisliti.

No, i u ovom slučaju, mediji nisu bili jedini prostor diskusije, već se cijela stvar nastavila na zidovima, pa je tako kao odgo-vor na *Lunine* poruke po gradu u Savskoj ulici, nasuprot Studentskom centru, osvan-uo grafit "*Ja sam najpametnija*", koji također potpisuje *Luna*, no prema sadržaju poruke i rukopisu bila je jasna ironija i sprd-nja na račun "prave" *Lune* (ako takva uopće postoji).

Kako je autorica izazvala razne reakci-je, tako je i jedan od grafita koji je bio ispisan na samoposluživanju ("*Šef treba te-be, a ne ti njega!*") izazvao reakciju (vjero-jatno) poslovođe u toj trgovini, pa je riječ "*šef*" nakon svega par dana bila prebojana. Naravno, uskoro je nestao i ostatak poruke.

Zanimljiva pojava kod nekih političkih grafita svakako je njihova ponovna upotre-ba u različitom, ali opet sličnom političkom

message is important. The aesthetic is important. The location as well, but its importance depends on the content of the message.

However, when I say that politics takes place on the walls, I mean primarily the fact that graffiti are the *medium of the poor*, of those who can not afford to post their mes-sages in expensive mass-media, but still have an opinion they need to express. With graffiti, all you need is spray and some courage. And you need to be fast.

Political graffiti are especially interest-ing because they not only convey a certain political message, but also provoke broader debates, which can take place anywhere else, but also on that very wall. In this way, a single message becomes many and can go so far as to create a real graffiti discus-sion. Between two residential quarters of Zagreb, Utrine and Zapruđe (or *Utripruđe*, as one can read in a graffiti at the local tram station), there is an interconnecting subway. One could read there for years the graffiti "*Legalize marijuana*," which was followed by a genuine little opinion poll on the topic: "Yes!" and "No!" alternated on the wall until there was no more space to fill. When the wall was whitewashed, the graffiti reappeared. So did the pro and con-tra comments. However, today it is no longer there and the subway now hosts a series of small shops...

Political graffiti have had their various periods and if we look back to the past two decades, one of the most interesting occur-rences were the messages written by *Luna*, perhaps a single female author or a group of them. It was a whole series of anarchic-feminist messages scattered almost all over Zagreb, some of which are still visible. "*No means no. You have the right to refuse!*"; "*If I can't dance, I don't want to be a part of your revolution!*"; "*I don't need others to lead me!*"; "*The boss needs you, you don't need him!*"; "*I don't want to spend my whole life ironing your pants*" - these are only a few of the graffiti signed by *Luna*, which managed to raise considerable dust in the media. In the moment, in which the message passed over into the space of mass-media, its influence became stronger than *Luna* could have ever imagined.

Nevertheless, even in this case mass-media were not the only space of discus-sion: the whole thing went on through the graffiti as well. Thus, there was a graffiti answer to *Luna's* urban messages in the

2. JEBEŠ CEDEVITU BEZ THC VITAMINA - zapadni zid fontane pored dvorane Vatroslava Lisinskog, Trg Stjepana Radića 4

FUCK CEDEVITA WITHOUT THE THC-VITAMINE - west wall of the fountain next to the "Vatroslav Lisinski" concert hall, Stjepana Radića Square 4  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska





kontekstu. To me vraća u 1991. godinu, kada je na Mostu mladosti u ljeto spomenute godine osvanula poruka "*Tuđe nećemo, svoje nedamo*". Bilo je to vraćanje u neka vremena koja su odavno prošla i završila, no ponovna upotreba tog slogana u novonastaloj situaciji očito se nekome učinila sasvim primjerenom.

Negdje u isto vrijeme nastaje grafit u Jurišićevoj ulici "*Generali, Hrvatska se ne boji!*", koji se te godine odnosio na generale tadašnje JNA, a koji je nakon nekoliko godina prebojan. Ipak, ponovno se pojavljuje kada generali HV-a bivaju optuženi za ratne zločine te se organiziraju demonstracije u njihovu podršku.

No, nisu svi politički grafiti "ozbiljni", barem ne na način kao ovi do sada spomenuti. Dobar primjer duhovitosti političkih grafita je onaj anarhistički, preko puta hotela *Esplanade*, koji kaže "*Državu u ćevape*", pozivajući valjda na "*mljevenje*" države, što bi u urbanom žargonu značilo temeljito rušenje. Pitanje je koliko je to razumljivo bilo kome izvan generacije za koju možemo pretpostaviti da je autorova, no isto to se može tvrditi za većinu grafita koji su prije obilježje neke generacije (ne nužno svi), nego šire prihvaćena društvena pojava, unatoč činjenici da polako zauzimaju priznato mjesto unutar društva.

#### IZOSTANAK POLITIČKOG KOD GRAFITERA

Do sada smo se bavili pisanim grafitima, no kada se spomenu grafiti, prvenstveno se misli na one crtane, zapravo na suvremenu verziju murala, koji su sastavni dio svakog grada.

Kako sam se grafitima bavio tako da ih promatram kroz filter političkog, društvenog, tražeći u njima reakciju na aktualnu društvenu situaciju, pokušao sam pronaći neke od autora zagrebačkih grafita koji bi se uklapali u taj opis. Nakon razgovora s nekolicinom autora i objašnjenja da tražim nekga iz Zagreba tko bi napravio neku kombinaciju suvremenog grafita, murala, a da je njegov sadržaj politički/društveno angažiran, odgovor je bio da "takvog nema". Cijelo istraživanje odnosilo se na oslikavanje sje-verne strane zida bivše tvornice "*Jedinstvo*", gdje se tada nalazila Autonomna tvornica kulture - Attack. Zid je nakraju oslikan, a sve potpisuje beogradski grafiter Cobe, jer u Zagrebu nije bilo nikoga tko bi to bio voljan napraviti!?

Savska Street, opposite to the Students' Centre: "*I am the smartest of all.*" It was likewise signed by *Luna*, but its content and handwriting revealed that its author sarcastically mocked "real" *Luna* (if she existed at all).

*Luna* provoked various reactions. One of her graffiti that was written on the wall of a grocery store ("*The boss needs you, you don't need him!*") provoked a reaction by the manager (probably), so the word "*boss*" was whitewashed after only a few days. Of course, the rest of the message disappeared soon afterwards.

An interesting phenomenon concerning some political graffiti is certainly their repeated use in different and yet similar political contexts. This takes us back to the year 1991, in which summer the communist motto "*We don't want yours and won't give you ours*" appeared on the Bridge of the Youth. It felt like being transferred to some long-gone times, but the repeated use of that graffiti as referring to the completely new situation was obviously considered as totally appropriate by its author.

The graffiti in Jurišićeva Street, "*Generals, Croatia is not afraid!*", can be dated to the same period and was originally referring to the generals of the Yugoslav National Army. It was whitewashed several years later. However, it reappeared when some generals of the Croatian Army were accused of war crimes and demonstrations were organized to support them.

Still, not all political graffiti are "serious", at least not in the same way as those I have mentioned so far. A good example of humorous political graffiti is the anarchist one across the *Esplanade* Hotel, which says: "*Let's turn the state into a hamburger,*" probably calling for "*mincing*" the state, which would, in urban slang, signify total annihilation. It is questionable whether it has ever been understood by anyone who does not belong to the generation that we can presume as author's, but we might ask the same thing about most of the graffiti, since they are largely an expression of a particular generation (though not necessarily all of them) rather than an accepted social phenomenon, despite the fact that they have gradually won recognition within the society.

3. JEDNA RASA LJUDSKA RASA - Runjaninova ulica, zapadni zid Botaničkog vrta  
ONE RACE HUMAN RACE - Runjaninova Street, west wall of the Botanical Garden  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska



Promatrajući supkulturu grafitiranja, često ilegalnu, jer se događa na mjestima gdje to nije dozvoljeno (odnosno, u trenutku nastajanja nigdje nije bilo dozvoljeno), posve je nevjerojatno da u Zagrebu nije stvoren senzibilitet za neka društvena pitanja koji postoji kod svih supkultura. Tu ne govorimo o senzibilitetu baš za sva društvena pitanja, međutim skupine koje su marginalizirane, potisnute, ili čak stavljene pod nazivnik "ilegalno", a u što se uklapa veći dio supkulture, vrlo brzo razvijaju svijest o tome da u društvu "nešto ne valja" te da položaj koji imaju u njemu naprosto nije "pravedan". Ako ništa drugo, ovdje govorimo uglavnom o mladim ljudima, dakle o društvenoj skupini kojoj je bunt, pobunjenički duh (ili barem tragovi istog) posve prirodan, ili bi barem trebao biti. Možda to govori više o općoj inertnosti i nezainteresiranosti za bilo što u društvu kao cjelini, nego o samoj grafiterskoj supkulturi. Međutim, nemoguće je ne zamisliti se nad tim.

PISANA PORUKA  
NADJAČALA SLIKU

U suvremenom svijetu u kojem je vizualno znatno zastupljenije od pisanog, pa samim time zauzima i više radnog prostora "procesora" u ljudskom mozgu (za "procesuiranje" vizualnog koristimo daleko više kapaciteta mozga nego za tekstualno), u grafiterskom svijetu, barem kada govorimo o Zagrebu i političkom u grafitima, tekstualna poruka je daleko ispred vizualne. Ako uzmemo u obzir to da je informacija u tekstualnom obliku lakše i brže razumljiva za ljudski mozak, mogli bismo reći kako su autori i autorice grafita izrazito promišljeni, no s druge strane možemo zaključiti da je grafiterska scena naprosto nezainteresirana za angažman koji odlazi dalje od estetskog. Naravno, tu postoji i pitanje grafitiranja mjesta koja su teško dostupna, zabranjena (primjerice, vlakovi) i koja traže pravu vještinu izrade grafita. Međutim, tu sve staje.

Možda se razlog tomu može potražiti i u činjenici da je grafiterstvo pronašlo svoje mjesto u društvu, odnosno da predstavlja gotovo ravnopravnu granu umjetnosti koja se ne želi konfrontirati i ugroziti taj novostečeni položaj. Ipak, bilo bi nepravedno tražiti razloge samo u očuvanju udobnosti

LACK OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT  
IN GRAFFITI AUTHORS

Up to this moment, we have focused on the textual graffiti. However, when we mention the word "graffiti", we mostly think about images, which are actually a modern variety of the mural and form a constituent part of all cities.

Since my approach to graffiti consists in looking at them through the filters of the social and the political, in search of a reaction to actual circumstances in the society, I have tried to find some graffiti authors in Zagreb who would fit this description. After talking with a few authors and explaining to them that I needed someone from Zagreb who would make some sort of a modern graffito, a mural, but with a politically/socially engaged content, the answer was that there was "no such." My entire research was related to the project of painting the northern side of the wall belonging to the former "Jedinstvo" factory, which had been turned into the Autonomous Culture Factory - Attack. The wall was finally painted, but the images signed by a graffito artist from Belgrade, Cobe, since there was nobody in all of Zagreb who was willing to do it!?

If we think of the art of graffiti as a sort of subculture, which is often illegal because it occurs in places where it is prohibited (as a matter of fact, it has not yet been permitted anywhere), it is virtually impossible that Zagreb has not developed any sensibility for certain social issues, which is present in all subcultures. I do not mean here sensibility for all social issues; but it is characteristic that those groups, which have been marginalized, repressed, or even proclaimed "illegal" - and that covers most of the subculture - very quickly develop awareness of what is "rotten" in the society, as well as the fact that their own status is simply "unjust". After all, we are speaking here primarily of young people, that is, a social group to which revolt or rebellious spirit (or at least its traces) come naturally - or at least it should be that way. We might say that the lack of political engagement tells us more about the general inertia and disinterest for the society as such than about the subculture of graffiti. Still, one can not help but wonder about it.

4. KUPI KUPI KUPI - Klub Močvara  
BUY BUY BUY - Močvara Club  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska





5



6

društvenog priznanja. Podcjenjivanje nije dobar argument.

Kako god bilo, ostajem pri tvrdnji da je tekstualno nadjačalo vizualno u kontekstu političkog kod grafita, a razloge ostavljam samim akterima te scene koji će svoje razloge zasigurno znati bolje argumentirati od autora ovih redaka. ▼

#### TEXTUAL MESSAGE IS STRONGER THAN THE IMAGE

In the modern world, the image is far more present than the text and by this very fact occupies more working memory in the “processor” called human brain (we use far more of our brain for “processing” the image than we do for the textual data). However, in the world of graffiti, at least concerning Zagreb and the political aspect, the textual message is far more present than the image. If we consider the fact that human brain can understand textual information faster and more easily, we might say that the authors of graffiti are highly manipulative. However, another possible conclusion is that the graffiti scene is simply disinterested in any engagement that goes beyond the aesthetics. Certainly, there is also the issue of creating graffiti in hardly accessible or forbidden places (trains, for example), as well as those that require great skills in making, but that is just about how far it goes.

Perhaps one might look for the reasons in the fact that the art of graffiti has gained its place in the society, that is, it stands on an almost equal footing with the rest of art disciplines; therefore, it may wish to avoid conflicts that endanger its newly acquired position. However, it would be unfair to explain everything through social prestige and conformism. Underestimation is hardly a good argument.

In any case, I remain with my observation that the textual aspect has outdone the image in the political aspect of graffiti. I leave the reasons to the artists themselves, since they will be able to communicate their standpoints far better than the author of these lines. ●

prijevod / translation: Marina Miladinov

5. NOČU JE HLADNIJE NEGO VANI - Novi Zagreb, pothodnik na križanju Avenije Savezne Republike Njemačke i Avenije Dubrovnik, južni zid.

IT'S COLDER BY NIGHT THAN OUTSIDE - Novi Zagreb, subway at the crossing of Savezne Republike Njemačke Avenue and Dubrovnik Avenue, south wall.

Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska

6. SMISAO MOG ŽIVOTA NIJE TVOJA BUNDA - Ulica Tina Ujevića

YOUR FUR-COAT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF MY LIFE - Tin Ujević Street

Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska

→ Marko Strpić - izdavač i povremeni novinar. Kaže da spaja teoriju i praksu.

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