

PUNK

## SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA

PREGLEDNA RAZSTAVA

Vidiki slovenskega punk gibanja v fotografiji v obdobju od leta 1977 do sredine osemdesetih ter v obdobju pred punkom in po njem.

## SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY

OVERVIEW EXHIBITION

Aspects of the Slovenian punk movement in photography from 1977 to the mid-1980s, as well as the period before and after punk.

Marina GRŽINIĆ  
Jovita PRISTOVŠEK  
(Ur. / Eds.)

Izjemnost fotografije seveda izhaja iz njene indeksikalnosti in njenega odnosa do referenta. Fotografija lahko prenaša pomen vrsto let in vidno na podobi lahko preživi hegemonске interpretacije in kategorizacije, zlasti nenormativnih ali deviantnih življenjskih slogov. Kljub temu pa delo s fotografskimi arhivi zahteva občutljivost za pripadajoč zgodovinski in politični kontekst ter občutek skrbi in odgovornosti do oseb(e), predstavljenih na fotografijah. Le ob upoštevanju tega nam lahko uspe omogočiti, da se razkrije moč teh fotografij.

Anna VOSWINCKEL je kustosinja s sedežem v Berlinu in Gradcu, od leta 2023 vodja razstavnega programa Camera Austria.

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## **POZICIJE / POSITIONS**

Janez BOGATAJ, Božidar DOLENC, Vojko FLEGAR,  
Dušan GERLICA, Siniša LOPOJDA, Elena PEČARIČ,  
Matija PRAZNIK, Bogo PRETNAR, Bojan RADOVIČ,  
RAZMERJA / 25 let lezbične skupine ŠKUC-LL  
RELATIONS / 25 Years of the Lesbian Group ŠKUC-LL,  
Mladen ROMIH, Tone STOJKO, Jože SUHADOLNIK,  
Jane ŠTRAVS, TOŽIBABE, Igor VIDMAR

**Galerija CD / CD Gallery**

5. 12. 2023 – 30. 1. 2024

## SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA / SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY

Razstava je nastala na pobudo in v okviru raziskovalnega projekta J6-2576 »Oblikovanje novega kulturnega polja v Sloveniji v 1980-ih: civilna družba med nacionalističnimi politikami in medkulturnim sodelovanjem«, ZRC SAZU, vodja raziskovalnega projekta: dr. Oto Luthar, finančni vir: Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

The exhibition was created on the initiative and within the framework of the research project J6-2576 "1980s and the creation of the new cultural field: Slovenian civil society between nationalist policies and intercultural involvement", ZRC SAZU, Principal investigator: dr. Oto Luthar, Financial source: Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

Kustosinja razstave / Curator of the exhibition: dr. Marina Gržinič, ZRC SAZU

Produkcija razstave / Production of the exhibition: ZRC SAZU; v sodelovanju s Cankarjevim domom in pod okriljem Ministrstva za kulturo Republike Slovenije / in cooperation with Cankarjev dom and under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia



**ZRC SAZU**

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GORIZIA





Tone Stojko, Pavica Mijatović, Paraf, Opatija, 1981 © avtor / author

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## SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA

### Uvod

SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA je velika pregledna razstava, ki povezuje fotografijo z različnimi vidiki slovenskega punk gibanja v obdobju od leta 1977 do sredine osemdesetih let ter tudi obdobja pred punkom in po njem. Razstava prav tako zajema ljubljansko subkulturno in alternativno sceno v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, vključno s poudarkom na pojavu skupnosti LGBT+ v osemdesetih, s skupino Laibach ter drugim drznim in subverzivnim dogajanjem.

Razstava omogoča vpogled v pomembno vlogo fotografije pri dokumentiranju in izražanju slovenskega punk gibanja ter drugega subkulturnega dogajanja tedanjega časa. Slovenski punk je prispeval k ustvarjanju provokativne fotografske estetike, ki je prepoznavna in vplivna še danes. Punk je zaznamoval ne samo glasbo, temveč tudi drugo umetnost, modo in življenjski slog. Fotografija je postala pomembna za izražanje punkerskega etosa, za prenašanje sporočil o družbenih in političnih vprašanjih ter za ustvarjanje vizualnih podob, ki so odražale duha časa. Postala je način, s katerim so umetniki, pripadniki scene, izkazovali svoje nezadovoljstvo z družbenimi in političnimi razmerami ter prinašali alternativne poglede na svet.

Fotografije uprizarjajo provokativnost in upiranje konvencionalnim normam. V številnih primerih so se fotografije subkulture osredotočale na dogajanje na koncertih, uličnih protestih in alternativnih prizoriščih, kjer so se zbirali punkerji. Takšne fotografske podobe izražajo energijo, kaos in nasprotje s tradicionalnimi patriarhalnimi vrednotami. Punkerji so se fotografirali v divjih, ekscentričnih in izzivalnih pozah ter z izrazitimi modnimi stilizacijami, ki so kazale njihovo neposrednost, anarhičnost in upor proti družbenim normam. Fotografije punk subkulture so postale pomemben del arhiva gibanja. Širile so sporočila punkerjev ter sooblikovale ikonografije in imidž subkulture. Pogosto so bile objavljene v punkerskih fanzinih, na plakatih, naslovnica albumov in drugih promocijskih materialih.

Skupaj z glasbo, modo in umetnostjo je bila fotografija v punkerski subkulturi medij za izražanje upora, kritike družbe in gradnjo skupnosti. Punk je tako vplival na spremembo fotografske prakse in spodbujal ustvarjalnost, saj so pripadniki slovenskega punka in ljubljanske alterscene s fotografijo samoarhivirali in dokumentirali lastno gibanje. Čeprav je Ljubljana zasedala osrednje mesto punkerskega urbanega življenja in so v fotografijah ohranjeni legendarni prostori – kot so Kavarna Union, Študentsko naselje, Galerija ŠKUC, Disko FV 112/15, ljubljanska železniška postaja, Rio, Filozofska fakulteta in Fakulteta za družbene vede – razstava predstavi tudi dogajanje na obrobju, v Novem mestu, Idriji, Škofji Loki in onkraj meja Slovenije.

Slovenska punkerska scena je bila znana po neodvisnosti in kritičnosti do tedanjega političnega sistema in družbenih norm. Bila pa je tudi prosocialistična, delavska, mladinska in uporniška drža stoletja kot odgovor na družbeno nepravilnost, politično apatijo in gospodarsko krizo. Zaradi takšnega naboja se je spremenila tudi sama slovenska fotografija.

## **SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY**

**Marina Gržinić**

### **Introduction**

**SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY** is a comprehensive exhibition that connects photography with various aspects of the Slovenian punk movement from 1977 to the mid-1980s, as well as the periods before and after punk. The exhibition also encompasses subcultural and alternative events in Ljubljana during the 1980s, including a focus on the emergence of the LGBT+ community in the 1980s, with groups like Laibach and other bold and subversive activities.

The exhibition provides an insight into the important role of photography in documenting and being a vehicle for the expression of the Slovenian punk movement and other subcultural events of that time. Slovenian punk contributed to the creation of a provocative photographic aesthetic that is still recognisable and influential today. Punk left its mark not only on music but also on art, fashion, and lifestyle. Photography became essential for expressing the punk

ethos, conveying messages about social and political issues, and creating visual imagery that reflected the spirit of the time. It became a means through which artists and scene members expressed their dissatisfaction with the social and political situation and brought alternative perspectives to the world.

The photographs depict provocation and resistance to conventional norms. In many cases, photographs of the subculture focused on events at concerts, street protests, and alternative venues where punks gathered. These photographic images convey energy, chaos, and defiance of traditional patriarchal values. Punks were captured in wild, eccentric, and challenging poses with distinctive fashion stylings that showcased their directness, anarchism, and resistance against social norms. Photographs of the punk subculture have become an important part of the movement's archive. They spread the messages of punks and shaped the iconography and image of the subculture. They were often published in punk fanzines, on posters, album covers, and other promotional materials.

Together with music, fashion, and art, photography in the punk subculture served as a medium for expressing resistance, critiquing society, and building community. Punk induced changes in the photographic practice and encouraged creativity as members of the Slovenian punk and alternative scene self-archived and documented their own movement through photography. Although Ljubljana occupied a central place in urban punk life, and the photographs record images of venues as legendary as Kavarna Union, Študentsko naselje (student residence halls), Galerija ŠKUC (ŠKUC Gallery), Disko FV 112/15, the Ljubljana train station, Rio, Filozofska fakulteta (Faculty of Arts), and Fakulteta za družbene vede (Faculty of Social Sciences), the exhibition also presents events on the periphery, in Novo Mesto, Idrija, Škofja Loka, and beyond the borders of Slovenia.

The Slovenian punk scene was known for its independence and criticism of the political system and social norms of the time. However, it was also a pro-socialist, working-class, youth-oriented, and rebellious attitude in response to social injustice, political apathy, and economic crisis. This energy also became instrumental in transforming Slovenian photography itself.





Eden prvih posnetkov Pankrtov / One of the first photographs of the Pankrti, Kino Triglav,  
15. oktober 1977 / 15 October 1977. Arhiv Boga Pretnarja. / Archive of Bogo Pretnar.

## Punk ni mrtev

Razstava nam prikazuje čas, ko so v Sloveniji ustvarjalno moč in idejno pronicljivost ter pomembno aktivistično držo izkazala različna družbena gibanja, med njimi tudi punk. Takrat se je socializem poslavljaj, kapitalizem pa še ni prišel. Tako se je razprl prostor umetniške in idejne svobode, kot ga zagotovo ne bomo več doživeli.

Cankarjev dom je bil sprva prizorišče uglednih kulturnih in političnih dogodkov, denimo 9. kongresa Zveze komunistov Slovenije, ki je Otroke socializma navdihnil za prepevanje o usnjenih torbicah, že kmalu pa je postal tudi prizorišče dogodkov, ki so politično ureditev in državotvorno kulturno krajino postavljali pod vprašaj.

6. februarja 1986 je bila denimo v Gallusovi dvorani premierno uprizorjena postdramska predstava *Krst pod Triglavom* Gledališča sester Scipion Nasice, ki danes velja za prelomno.

Leta 1997 sem v Kosovelovi dvorani organizirala radikalen body art festival *Lepota ekstrema*, na katerem je nastopil tudi ameriški umetnik Ron Athey. Takrat je bil na naši strehi pano, ki je njegov nastop napovedoval hkrati s koncertom Luciana Pavarottija. Athey je pripomnil, da je kaj takšnega mogoče samo v Ljubljani.

Cankarjev dom je mehanizem za konstrukcijo in sočasno dekonstrukcijo oblasti.

Uršula Cetinski, generalna direktorica Cankarjevega doma



## Punk Is Not Dead

The exhibition illustrates a time when creative power and insightful ideas, as well as an important activist attitude, found expression in Slovenia in various social movements, including punk. At that time, socialism was in its final phase and capitalism had not yet emerged. This opened up a space for artistic and ideological freedom the likes of which we will probably not see again in our lifetime.

At first, Cankarjev dom was the venue for high-profile cultural and political events, such as the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which inspired Otroci socializma (The Children of Socialism, a Slovenian punk band) to sing about leather suitcases, but soon it also hosted events that challenged the country's political order and statist cultural landscape.

On 6 February 1986, for example, the postdramatic theatre performance *Krst pod Triglavom* (Baptism under Triglav) – by the Gledališče Scipion Nasice (Scipion Nasice Sisters Theatre), now considered a milestone in theatre history, premiered in CD's Gallus Hall.

In 1997 I organised the radical body art festival *The Beauty of Extreme* in the Kosovel Hall of CD, in which the American artist Ron Athey also participated. At the time, there was a billboard on our roof announcing his show along with Luciano Pavarotti's concert. Athey remarked that such a thing was only possible in Ljubljana.

Cankarjev dom is a mechanism for the simultaneous construction and deconstruction of power.

Uršula Cetinski, Cankarjev dom Director General

## Kako se izogniti zgodovini?

### I

Za razliko od drugih tovariških ritualov spominjanja se je punku nekoliko uspelo izogniti povelečevanju lastne preteklosti. Punkerji so vzeli ukaz Marka Breclja dobesedno in začeli (zares) pljuvati resnici v obraz. V obraz Resnici in resnici. V obraz Resnici okorelih NOB nostalgikov, predvsem pa v oči resnice množice preračunljivih sopotnic in sopotnikov revolucije. Prav slednji so bili priljubljena tarča njihovega posmeha in navdiha. Zaradi mitlojferjev se je Esad Babačić spraševal, kje so proleterske puške, Peter Lovšin pa kričal, da jim ne verjame. Čredna mimikrija tistih, ki so pozneje konvertirali v demokrate in liberalce, pa ni vznemirjala samo punkerjev, temveč tudi peščico tistih, ki so se lotili resne analize habitusa pantomimikov socializma. Po eni strani tako, da so, podobno kot Tomaž Mastnak, opredelili strukturne poteze stalinizma, na vsakodnevni ravni pa tako, da so opozarjali na njihovo nenačelnost ter materialno in moralno skorumpiranost. Intuitivno je namreč že v osemdesetih postalo jasno, da avtoritarnost sistema ohranjajo predvsem lokalni in sektorski sledilci. Del tega premisleka je spoznanje, da so na mimikrijo aparatčikov bolj množično prvi sicer res opozorili študentski protesti, obenem pa je postalo jasno, da so za novo arheologijo družbe zaslužni punkerji. Ki pa se na to niso odzivali samo z veliko prostodušnosti akterjev, temveč tudi s precejšnjim prezirom do vsake oblike zgodovinjenja.

In to potrdili z napovedjo lastnega konca. Z jasno zavestjo, da spomeniki pomenijo konec in ne začetek spomina. Pri tem ne gre zgolj za recikliranje napovedi samoukinitve v smislu Punk is dead, temveč anticipiranje malih smrti in koncev, ki jih ne potrjujejo samo radikalne poteze, kot je samomor, temveč odhod v vojsko, konec ljubezni, konec gledališča, konec mladosti ... In vse to se odraža na obrazih, ki jih srečamo na slikah, ki so pred nami ...

## II

Ideja za razstavo, posvečeno alter in punk podobi osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, izhaja iz dela pri raziskovalnem projektu »Oblikovanje novega kulturnega polja v Sloveniji v 1980-ih: civilna družba med nacionalističnimi politikami in medkulturnim sodelovanjem«. Po drugi strani je bil projekt samo povod za razmišljanje o njej. Resnično delo se je začelo z oblikovanjem delovne skupine na čelu s kuratorico Marino Gržinić in dogovorom z vodstvom Cankarjevega doma, ki je razstavo naklonjeno sprejelo v svoj program. Sledili so zbiranje gradiva, izdelava vsebinskega in arhitekturnega koncepta ter neskončna serija razprav o konkretni izvedbi.

Nastala je vabljiva/zabavna/presenetljiva ... fotografska refleksija ljudi, (izbranih) dogodkov, predmetov, interpretacij, ki presega pogled kuratorice ter njenih sogovornic in sogovornikov (Jovita Pristovšek, Oto Luthar, Metod Prijatelj, Bojan Radovič), pa tudi pogled avtorjev razstavljenih fotografij in drugega gradiva. Razstava je že ob nastajanju zaživela po svoje ter kot takšna ostaja odprta za poglede in refleksije obiskovalcev.

Po drugi strani razstava odseva tudi spoznanja projekta, ki z akteriji, avtorji in prostori razpozna nastanek novih družbenih in kulturnih praks, organizacijskih oblik ter družbenih in političnih idej in imaginarijev alternativnih gibanj v kontekstu Slovenije, nekdanje Jugoslavije in dela (vzhodne) Evrope. Podobno kot raziskovalke in raziskovalci so tudi kuratorico in njeno ekipo zanimali konkretni razlogi za nastanek novega kulturnega polja. Predvsem pa jih je zanimalo, kako je umetnostno in teoretsko produkcijo mogoče uporabiti kot zgodovinopisni vir, obenem (in predvsem) pa ta služi za večplastno rekonstrukcijo mreže dogodkov, protagonistov, kompleksnosti medosebne, družbene in politične dinamike.

In pri tem ni šlo zgolj za oblikovanje novega kulturnega polja v Sloveniji, temveč za predpostavljane nove družbe.

dr. Oto Luthar, direktor ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

## How to Avoid History?

### I

Unlike other comradesly rituals of remembrance, punk has to some extent managed to avoid glorifying its own past. The punks took Marko Breclj's order literally and started (really) spitting in the face of the truth. In the face of Truth and truth. In the face of the Truth of the hardened NOB (National Liberation Struggle) nostalgics, but above all in the face of the truth of the mass of the revolution's opportunistic "fellow-travellers" (German *Mittlaufer*, Slovenian version: *mitlojfer*). It was the latter who were the favourite target of their derisions and inspirations. The *mitlojfers* have made Esad Babačić wonder where the proletarian guns were, and Peter Lovšin shouted that he did not believe them. The herd mimicry of those who later converted to democrats and liberals, however, disturbed not only the punks, but also the few who undertook a serious analysis of the habitus of the pantomimists of socialism. On the one hand, by identifying, like Tomaž Mastnak, the structural features of Stalinism, and on a day-to-day level by pointing out their unprincipledness and material and moral corruption. Intuitively, it had become clear by the 1980s that the authoritarianism of the system was perpetuated above all by local and sectorial followers. Part of this reflection is the realisation that, while the student protests were indeed the first to draw attention to the apparatchiks' mimicry on a more massive scale, it has also become clear that the punks are responsible for the new archaeology of society. And they reacted to this not only with a great deal of casualness on the part of the actors, but also with a considerable contempt for any form of historicisation.

And they confirmed this by announcing their own end. With a clear awareness that monuments are the end, not the beginning, of memory. This is not just a matter of recycling the announcement of self-defeat in the sense of *Punk is dead*, but of anticipating small deaths and endings, confirmed not only by radical moves such as suicide, but by going to the army, or the end of love, or the end of theatre, or the end of youth... And all this is reflected in the faces we meet in the pictures before us...

## II

The idea for an exhibition dedicated to the 1980s alternative and punk scene evolved from the research project titled “1980s and the creation of the new cultural field: Slovenian civil society between nationalist policies and intercultural involvement”. Then again, the project only provided a reason for our inquiry into this scene. The real work began with the formation of a working group headed by the curator Marina Gržinić and an agreement with Cankarjev dom whose management gladly included the exhibition into its programme. There ensued the collection of material, the formulation of content-related and architectural concepts and an endless series of discussions on the actual implementation.

The result is an appealing/enjoyable/surprising... photographic reflection of people, (a selection of) events, objects, interpretations, which goes beyond not only the gaze of the curator and her curatorial team (Jovita Pristovšek, Oto Luthar, Metod Prijatelj, Bojan Radovič) but also the gaze of the authors of the exhibited photographs and other materials. It was already during the creation process that the exhibition acquired a life of its own and as such remains open to the gazes and reflections of its visitors.

On the other hand, the exhibition also reflects the findings of the project that beyond the subjects, authors and spaces reveal an emergence of new social and cultural practices, organisational forms, as well as political and social ideas and imaginaria of alternative movements in the context of Slovenia, as part of the former Yugoslavia and (Eastern) Europe. In the same vein as the researchers, the curator and her team is interested in the concrete reasons for the formation of a new cultural field. Above all, they were interested in how artistic and theoretical outputs can be utilized as a historiographic source, while also (and primarily) serving as a vehicle for a multilayered reconstruction of a network of events, protagonists, a complex interpersonal, social and political dynamics.

And it was not just about the formation of a new cultural field in Slovenia, but also the anticipation of a new society.

Dr. Oto Luthar, Director of ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

Marina Gržinić

## PUNK: STRATEGIJA, POLITIKA IN AMNEZIJA

Prvič objavljeno kot Marina Gržinić, »Punk: strategija, politika in amnezija«, v *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, ur. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar in Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2003), 66–85. Tukaj objavljamo izvleček izvornega besedila.

Vnovično umeščanje punka v sfero kulturnega, političnega in umetniškega ni samo stvar obujanja spominov ali intimnega podajanja nekaterih osebnih okoliščin, temveč tudi pozicioniranje s stališča radikalne kulturne akcije, anarhične odgovornosti ter politike socialnega in estetskega. Gre za poskus, da bi punkovsko gibanje v Sloveniji resno reaktualizirali ter ga povezali z najbolj progresivnimi pojavi v kulturi in umetnosti v Sloveniji ter z vzvodi oblikovanja demokratičnih procesov. Ob primeru punka se namreč lahko naučimo marsikaj o represiji, odporu in teoriji. Pričujoči tekst vnovič umešča punk znotraj političnega, kulturnega in umetniškega polja z namenom kodiranja, razkrivanja in introspekcije državnopolitičnega zatiranja različnih drugačnih oblik vedenja, kulturne produkcije in kritičnega razmišljanja. To je obenem zgodba o produktivnosti urbane kulture, o njenih strategijah, o stilu, estetiki, življenju in preživetju v času slovensko-jugoslovanskega socialističnega samoupravljanja; to je tudi tekst o ponavljanju, ohranjanju in vse večji krepitvi državne slepote na področju kulture, ko državna denarna podpora za potrebe neodvisne kulture, umetnosti bolj spominja na socialno miloščino kot na naložbo z vizijo. Po petindvajsetih letih [ko pripravljam ta tekst leta 2002, je to petindvajset let od pojava punka na Slovenskem leta 1977] razmišljamo o punku tudi kot o Romerjevem grozljivem zombiju, ki je znova med nami [George A. Romero, *Dawn of the Dead*, 1978].

Pomembno je, da po petindvajsetih letih upoštevamo dve vzporedni zgodbi: tisto, ki se je vzpostavila ob nastanku punka, torej razmerje, ki so ga do punka gojili njegovi notranji in najbolj intimni akterji/akterke, ter sedanjo teoretizacijo in interpretacijo punkovske strategije. Subkultura se spreminja skozi čas in prostor. Tozadevno me zanimajo naslednje ravni tega fenomena:

- odnos oblasti do punka in punka do oblasti ter možnosti za radikalizacijo tega odpora;
- prostorske in časovne okoliščine, ki so vplivale na oblikovanje punka;
- neverjetna pospešitev vse družbene in politične realnosti, ki jo je spodbudil punk;
- politika prostora: kaj in kako – od ulice do kleti (v Študentskem naselju v Ljubljani) in galerij (ŠKUC) – je postalo politični teritorij;
- identiteta prostora in spolnost telesa, nebinarne pozicije, LGBT+ skupnost; družbenospolne dejavnosti znotraj punka in okrog njega;
- postpunkovska realnost in vzporedne subkulturne scene;
- instant tehnologije in mediji kot del kontrakturnega in punkovskega pozicioniranja;
- nove možnosti pomenjenja in reprezentacije.

Punk je bil v času, ko se je [leta 1977] pojavil v Sloveniji, tudi edina mogoča alternativa impotentni socialistični ljubiteljski kulturi na eni strani in visoki modernistični formalni logiki na področju umetnosti na drugi. S tem je odprl celotno polje raziskovanja sodobne urbane kulture umetnosti in njene radikalne postmodernistične paradigme. Poleg tega je punk vzpostavil radikalno asimetrično razmerje med političnim in estetskim ter to asimetrično razmerje ponovil kot produktivno gesto in pomembno produkcijsko stalnico med popularno kulturo na eni in visoko kulturo na drugi strani. Preživetje in življenje v tedanji umetnosti in kulturi je torej povezal s strategijo. V svetovnem merilu je odprl neustavljivo produkcijo teorije o subkulturah, pop industriji, življenju kot stilu, stilu kot obliki blaga in ne nazadnje o kapitalističnem procesu komercializacije vsega in vsakogar.

Ko Brane Bitenc iz skupine Otroci socializma poje o sedemsto usnjenih torbica, ko natančno secira birokratsko mentaliteto tedanje mladopartijske nomenklature, to ni nekaj, kar pripada samo antropološki podobi sistema, marveč je to natančna analiza političnega konteksta, v katerem je delovala punkovska scena. Subkulturna realnost je bila vselej bolj kompleksna od modernističnih teorij in praks.

Punk dandanes interpretirajo kot urbani fenomen; zapišem lahko, da je bila pred punkom Ljubljana vas, z njim pa je postala mesto, urbano središče odpora. Punk interpretirajo tudi skozi optiko mladinske subkulture. Pri tem je pomembno razumeti subkulturo kot teritorij delovanja, koncentracije sinergije



in usklajevanja življenja, ki ustvarja odpor do sistema v mikropolitичnem pomenu, čeprav ta odpor lahko vsebuje jasne prvine razrednega boja; pri punku je šlo za natančno in globoko polariziranje družbene neenakosti, skorajda za utelešenje ekonomske prikrajsanosti, ter za družbeno ujetost in izkoriščanje. Odpor je zato v tako razumljenem družbenem predvsem politična kategorija.

Celotna punkovska scena in vse, kar se je pri nas dogajalo s problematiko subkulture, je bilo v tesni povezavi z migracijo, organskimi intelektualci in tudi s preizpraševanjem družbenega spola. Spomnimo na festival *Magnus. Homoseksualnost in kultura* v Ljubljani leta 1984. Punk je sprožil proces družbene spremembe, ta pa je bila v tistih časih mogoča samo na margini. Punkovska scena naj bi se navezovala na čisto delavsko sceno, vendar se je pokazalo, da je to bil in tudi ostal konstrukt. Njeni pripadniki so bili zlasti srednješolci, študentje in organski intelektualci. Z organskim intelektualcem označujem, sklicujoč se na Gramscija, radikalizirano dejavnost intelektualca v družbeni in politični praksi, ki pa je v svojem delu globoko povezana z delavsko sceno, ali če hočete, z razrednim bojem; delavska je tudi provenienca teh pripadnikov.

Ta proces oblikovanja punka je zaznamoval tudi druge subkulturne scene v Ljubljani. Zanimivo je, da je večina tistih, ki so delovali kot intelektualci in ideologi punka, izšla iz delno notranje migrantske pozicije: to so bili najprej tisti, ki so iz manjših mest prišli študirat v Ljubljano (Vidmar, Laibach itd.); drugi pomemben vpliv na ljubljansko subkulturno sceno in/ali alternativo so imeli tako imenovani študentje iz drugih republik (Reka, Pulj, Skopje, Zenica itd.), ki so konec sedemdesetih let prišli študirat in živeti v Ljubljano. Pri tem je šlo za pozicioniranje emigrantstva/imigrantstva na zelo specifičen, socialistični način. Ljubljana je bila v tistih časih strpna. Izrazite šovinistične drže do tako imenovanih prišlekov iz drugih republik tu ni bilo, še manj do t. i. intelektualnih južnjakov. Obstajal je sicer določen odpor slovenske rdeče buržoazije in napol obubožanega srednjega razreda v nastajanju do južnjakov, toda to je bil prej odpor do delavcev nasploh.

Punk je zgodba o presežku: o presežku odpora na eni in o presežku brutalnosti države na drugi strani, o zatiranju in represiji, tudi ob pomoči državnih, socialnih in kulturnih ter ne samo represivnih aparatov.

Punk bi navsezadnje lahko kodirali tudi v smislu kronologije: kot genezo začetka, vrhunca in konca punka, ki se je zgodil s smrtjo njegovih »avtentičnih« ikon, toda to bi pomenilo, da vztrajamo pri avtentičnosti. Napačno! Brikolaž,

citiranje in retropoza so vendar najbolj ključni za estetsko razsežnost punka. Brikolaž in uporaba reproduktivnih tehnologij (video in fotokopiranje za izdelovanje letakov in fanzinov) sta bila pomembni estetski strategiji. Punk je bil točka radikalne drugačnosti. Punk je z vključitvijo retrostilnih prvin, prisvojenih znakov radikalnih nebinarnih spolnih subkultur in z besedili pomenil rez/razmejitev [danes bi temu rekli prag] med modernostjo in postmodernostjo.

Zapišem lahko, da je postmodernizem na področju sodobne umetnosti in kulture »zašel« v Slovenijo in na druga območja nekdanje Jugoslavije prav po zaslugi punka in ljubljanske alternativne scene. Radikalna postmodernost, takšna, ki si sploh zasluži ta naziv in ki je na novo kodirala sodobno umetnost v Sloveniji, je posledica punka, rock'n'rolla in undergrounda. Nova slika in transavantgarda sta bili zgolj nadaljevanje visokega, hladnega, formalističnega slovenskega modernizma, ki ni nikoli premogel radikalne umetniške prakse. To je tudi razlog, da je obdobje punka in subkulture na področju umetnosti in kulture v Sloveniji najbolj anatemizirano. To je obdobje, ki je povsem radikaliziralo tedanje kritiške in institucionalne podmene umetnosti in kulture, zaradi česar je kot celota povsem izpuščeno iz katalogizacije umetnosti in kulture: je zev, ki pokaže na najbolj radikalno nerazumevanje ter na razliko med delovanjem uradnih kulturnih institucij na Slovenskem in živo, prodorno, radikalizirano umetnost in kulturo, ki sta popeljali Slovenijo in Ljubljano v urbanost, v radikalni postmodernizem in sodobno teorijo ter družbena gibanja.

Za bibliografijo glej str. 22.

## PUNK: STRATEGY, POLITICS AND AMNESIA

Marina Gržinić

First published as Marina Gržinić, "Punk: strategija, politika in amnezija", in *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, eds. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar, and Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2003), 66–85. Here we publish an excerpt of the source text.

The re-location of punk in the sphere of the cultural, political and artistic is not only a question of memory or the intimate reproduction of certain personal

circumstances, but also of positioning in relation to radical cultural action, anarchic responsibility and the politics of the social and aesthetic. It is an attempt to seriously reactualise the punk movement in Slovenia and connect it with the most progressive phenomena in culture and art in Slovenia and with the levers of shaping democratic processes. The example of punk can teach us a lot about repression, resistance and theory. This text situates punk in the political, cultural and artistic spheres in order to encode, expose and examine the state-political repression of various forms of behaviour, cultural production and critical thinking. It is at the same time a story about the productivity of urban culture, its strategies, style, aesthetics, life and survival under the socialist self-management of Slovenia and Yugoslavia. It is also a text about the repetition, perpetuation and increasing reinforcement of state blindness in the field of culture, when state financial support for the needs of independent culture, of art, is more like a social handout than an investment with a vision. Twenty-five years later [as I write this text in 2002, 25 years have passed since the emergence of punk in Slovenia in 1977], we also think of punk as Romero's horrifying zombie that is among us again [George A. Romero, *Dawn of the Dead*, 1978].

Twenty-five years later, it is important to look at two parallel histories: the one at the time of punk's emergence, i.e. the relationship that its inner and most intimate actors/characters had to punk, and the current theorisation and interpretation of punk strategy. The subculture changes over time and space. I am therefore interested in the following levels of this phenomenon:

- The relationship of power to punk and punk to power and the possibilities of radicalising this resistance;
- The spatial and temporal circumstances that influenced the emergence of punk;
- The incredible acceleration of all social and political realities that punk triggered;
- The politics of space: what and how – from the street to the basement (in the student dormitory in Ljubljana) and the gallery (ŠKUC) – became political territory;
- The identity of space and the sexuality of the body, non-binary positions, LGBT+ community; social and gendered activities in and around punk;
- The post-punk reality and parallel subcultural scenes;
- Instant technologies and media as part of countercultural and punk positioning;
- New possibilities of signification and representation.

At the time when punk emerged in Slovenia [1977], it was also the only possible alternative to the impotent socialist amateur culture on the one hand and high modernist formal logic in the field of art on the other. It thus opened up the entire field of research of contemporary urban art culture and its radically postmodernist paradigm. Moreover, punk established a radically asymmetrical relationship between the political and the aesthetic and reproduced this asymmetrical relationship as a productive gesture and important production constant between popular culture on the one hand and high culture on the other. In this way, it linked survival and life in the art and culture of the time with a strategy. On a global scale, it opened up an irresistible production of theories about subcultures, the pop industry, life as style, style as a form of commodity and, last but not least, the capitalist process of commercialising everything and everyone.

When Brane Bitenc of the band Otroci socializma (Children of Socialism) sings about 700 leather briefcases, when he dissects the bureaucratic mentality of the Young Party nomenklatura of the time, it is not only something that belongs to the anthropological picture of the system, but it is a precise analysis of the political context in which the punk scene operated. Subcultural reality was always more complex than modernist theories and practices.

Punk is nowadays interpreted as an urban phenomenon; I can write that before punk Ljubljana was a mere village, but through punk became an urban centre of resistance. Punk is also interpreted through the lens of youth subculture. It is important to understand subculture as a field of action, a concentration of synergy and coordination of life that creates a resistance to the system in a micropolitical sense, even if this resistance contains clear elements of class struggle; punk was about a precise and profound polarisation of social inequality, a quasi-embodiment of economic deprivation and social imprisonment and exploitation. Understood in this way, resistance in the social is thus above all a political category.

The whole punk scene and everything that has happened in our country with subculture has been closely linked to migration, organic intellectuals and also to the questioning of social gender. Let's recall the festival *Magnus. Homosexuality and Culture* in Ljubljana in 1984. Punk started a process of social change, and that was only possible at the margins. The punk scene was supposed to be associated with a purely working-class scene, but it turned out that it was and remained a construct. Its members were mainly high school students, university students and organic intellectuals. By organic intellectuals I mean, following

Gramsci, the radical activity of intellectuals in social and political practices, closely linked in their work to the working-class scene or, if you like, to the class struggle; the members of the scene also came from the working class.

This process of the emergence of punk also influenced other subcultural scenes in Ljubljana. It is interesting to note that most of those who acted as intellectuals and ideologues of punk came partly from internal migration: the first were incomers arriving from smaller towns to study in Ljubljana (Vidmar, Laibach, etc.); another important influence on the subcultural and/or alternative scene of Ljubljana were the so-called students from other cities of the Yugoslav republics (Rijeka, Pula, Skopje, Zenica, etc.) who came to Ljubljana to study and live in the 1970s. This was about positioning emigration/immigration in a very specific, socialist way. Ljubljana was tolerant at that time. There was no chauvinist attitude towards the so-called newcomers from other republics and even less towards the so-called intellectual southerners. There was some resistance from the red Slovenian bourgeoisie and the semi-impooverished middle class against the southerners, but it was more a resistance against the workers in general.

Punk is a history of excess: excess of resistance on the one hand and excess of state brutality on the other, of repression and suppression, also with the help of state, social and cultural apparatuses and not only repressive ones.

Finally, one could code punk chronologically: as the emergence of the beginning, the peak and the end of punk, which occurred with the death of the “authentic” punk icons, but that would mean insisting on authenticity. Wrong! It is the bricolage, the quotation and the retro position that are most important for the aesthetic dimension of punk. Bricolage and the use of reproduction technologies (video and photocopy to produce leaflets and fanzines) were important aesthetic strategies. Punk was a point of radical otherness. By incorporating retro stylistic elements, appropriated signs of radical sexual subcultures and song lyrics, punk represented a cut/border [today we would say a threshold] between modernism and postmodernism.

I can write that postmodernism entered the field of contemporary art and culture thanks to punk and the alternative scene of Ljubljana in Slovenia and other areas of the former Yugoslavia. Radical postmodernism, which also deserves this title and has recoded contemporary art in Slovenia, is a consequence of punk, rock'n'roll and the underground. The New Painting and the Transavantgarde were merely a continuation of the high, cold, formalist

Slovenian modernism that never had a radical artistic practice. This is also the reason why the period of punk and subculture is the most ostracised in Slovenia in the field of art and culture. It is a period that completely radicalised the critical and institutional assumptions of art and culture at that time. That is why it is completely disregarded in the cataloguing of art and culture as a whole: It is the yawn that points to the most radical misunderstanding and difference between the functioning of official cultural institutions in Slovenia and the vibrant, ubiquitous, radicalised art and culture that led Slovenia and Ljubljana into urbanity, radical postmodernism and contemporary theory, and social movements.

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Marina Gržinić

## SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA

Estetika. Politika. Upor.

Z namenom priprave razstave, ki zares slavi obdobje punka in subkulturnega ter alternativnega dogajanja na Slovenskem v 20. stoletju ter obenem pušča prostor vsem, ki prihajajo in so pripravljeni na nadaljnjo poglobitev, sta Marina Gržinić in Jovita Pristovšek izvedli obsežno raziskavo in preiskavo pozicij, arhivov in spominov, povezanih s slovenskim punkom in še bolj s fotografijo. Iskali smo fotografije, kronistke, vplivne glasbenice, poznavalke in nosilke podob v subkulturni sceni in punkerskem gibanju, da bi pridobili bolj raznolik vpogled.

Ob upoštevanju zgodovinskega konteksta socializma in izzivov pri dostopu do dokumentov iz prve roke, še posebej, ker je fotografija večinoma v rokah fotografov, je raziskava zahtevala premišljenost. Prepoznanje moškega pogleda in njegovega vpliva na subkulturno sceno je narekovala potrebo po različnih glasovih in reprezentacijah za preglasitev dominantnih pripovedi.

Razstava ustvarja mrežo vizualnih referenc in zgodb, ki omogočajo sodobno performativno upodobitev pripovedi odpora in upora. Z razstavo želimo poudariti odpor kot politično kategorijo, ki s politiko telesa nasprotuje telesu politike. Fotografija je imela pomembno vlogo pri dokumentiranju in ohranjanju spomina na različne dogodke upornišтва ter pri prikazovanju različnosti in enotnosti protestnikov. O tem pričajo tudi protesti na Slovenskem med epidemijo covid-19 od leta 2020 do 2022. V tem obdobju so se zgodili tudi številni protesti, ki so se dotikali različnih vidikov ukrepov in odziva oblasti na pandemijo.

Delavski protesti so bili pomemben del političnega in družbenega gibanja v Sloveniji in nekdanji Jugoslaviji v 20. stoletju in vse do danes. Punkerske skupine so te proteste podpirale ter jih velikokrat spremljale s svojo glasbo, besedili in nastopi. Vse do danes se punkerska kultura in delavski protesti prepletajo v boju za pravičnost, enakost in spremembo družbe.



Punk ostaja glas upora proti izkoriščanju in politični apatiji, zato ni presenetljivo, da se punkerski elementi pogosto pojavljajo tudi na sodobnih delavskih protestih, na katerih se udeleženci zavzemajo za pravice delavcev, socialno varnost in spremembe v sistemu. Skupaj z drugimi protestniki so pripadniki punkerske subkulture izkazali svojo dejavno politično angažiranost ter upor proti določenim političnim odločitvam in ukrepom, s tem pa nadaljevali tradicijo upora in izražanja nezadovoljstva, ki je značilna za punkersko subkulturo.

Med pozicijami, ki so predstavljene na razstavi, je Božidar Dolenc edini, žal prezgodaj preminuli fotograf, vsi drugi sodelujoči nenehno delajo ali arhivirajo, preurejajo svoje arhive, kot bi rekli, vsake toliko izsledijo kakšen nov negativ iz tistega obdobja, brskajo, prerezporejajo in ponovno zgodovinjijo trenutke. Nekateri so svoje ogromne arhive dali na voljo javnim ustanovam, kar se je pri našem raziskovalnem delu izkazalo za nepogrešljivo, na primer sodelovanje z Muzejem novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije ter Moderno galerijo, MG+MSUM.

Nataša Strlič, muzejska svetovalka v Muzeju novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije, se je izkazala za eno najbolj zavzetih zagovornic pomena takšnega fotografskega arhiva. Skrbno in natančno se posveča delu Janeza Bogataja, Toneta Stojka in drugih, s čimer izpričuje, da je za fotografijo na splošno potrebna nova prihodnost. Kakšne možnosti sodobna slovenska fotografija namreč sploh ima, če tu predstavljenih fotografov ter njihovega dela, senzibilnosti in estetike ne umesti v osredje razprave o tem, kaj sodobna slovenska fotografija je, bi lahko bila in še bo?

Punk se je prepletel s subkulturo ali alternativno kulturno in umetniško sceno Ljubljane, ki je imela središče v Galeriji ŠKUC (Študentskem kulturnem in umetniškem centru) in Forumu, še eni pomembni mladinski organizaciji. Na določeni točki sta se organizaciji združili. Produkcije in kulturne prireditve ŠKUC-Foruma v osemdesetih so legendarne. Sodelovanje s klubom Disko FV 112/15 (v kleti ene od stavb ljubljanskega Študentskega naselja) in drugimi prizorišči je privedlo do močnega združevanja različnih družbenih in političnih gibanj, vključno s formacijo skupnosti LGBT+.

Prvi dogodek, povezan z gejevsko sceno, je potekal leta 1984 v Galeriji ŠKUC: festival *Magnus. Homoseksualnost in kultura*. Ti dogodki so zajemali različne zahteve po samoodločbi, miru in pravicah marginaliziranih skupin, vključno s hendikepiranimi osebami. Vse to se je prepletalo s punkom ter vplivalo na oblikovanje diskurza in aktivizma v okviru subkulturne scene.

V poznih sedemdesetih in zgodnjih osemdesetih letih je v Ljubljani zaživela razgibana in vplivna punkersko-rockovska scena. Slovenija je kot tedanja jugoslovanska

republika doživljala kulturno in politično prebujanje. Punk je omogočil mladostniško uporništvu, samoizražanje ter nestrinjanje s prevladujočim družbenim in političnim redom.

V tistem času so nastali lokalni bendi, kot so Pankrti, Otroci socializma, Lublanski psi ipd., ki so odločilno sooblikovali zvok in identiteto slovenskega punka. Ljubljansko punkersko gibanje se je ponašalo z etosom samoiniciative (DIY/»naredi sam«), energijo in alternativnimi umetniškimi izrazi.

Prvi koncert Pankrtov je bil 18. oktobra 1977 na ljubljanski Gimnaziji Moste. Bilo je obdobje socializma. Pankrti, ustanovljeni v začetku istega leta, so hitro pritegnili pozornost kot ena prvih punkerskih skupin v nekdanji Jugoslaviji. S svojo surovo energijo, uporniškimi odnosom in provokativnimi besedili so nago-varjali tedanjo mladino izgubljenih iluzij. Leta 1978 so pri ŠKUC-u izdali prvi singel *Lepi in prazni / Lublana je bulana*, leta 1980 pa pri založbah ZKP RTV Ljubljana in ŠKUC prvenec *Dolgcajt*, kar je še utrdilo njihov položaj kot enega vodilnih punkerskih bendov v regiji.

Za prvo punkersko skupino je praviloma obveljala britanska Sex Pistols, ustanovljena sredi sedemdesetih, ki se je uveljavila kot eden najvplivnejših punk bendov vseh časov. Sex Pistols so prvič uradno nastopili 6. novembra 1975 v St. Martin's School of Art v Londonu. Koncert zasedbe, s pevcem Johnnyjem Rottenom (John Lydon), kitaristom Stevom Jonesom, basistom Glenom Matlockom in bobnarjem Paulom Cookom, je vključeval priredbe skladb skupin, kot sta The Stooges in Small Faces, ter nekaj avtorskih skladb. Njihov debitantski singel *Anarchy in the U.K.*, izdan novembra 1976, velja za prelomno punkersko himno, ki je povzela bistvo punk gibanja.

Termiti in Paraf sta oba odigrala pomembno vlogo pri vzpostavitvi punk gibanja na Reki ter vplivala na naslednje generacije punkerskih in alternativnih bendov na Hrvaškem. Reško punk sceno so povezovala močne vezi z Ljubljano.

Termiti, ustanovljeni leta 1977, veljajo za prvi punk bend na Hrvaškem. Bili so pomembni pri uvajanju punkerskega zvoka in drže na lokalno glasbeno prizorišče. Z energičnimi in uporniškimi nastopi, zaznamovanimi s hitrim tempom in besedili političnokritičnega naboja, so hitro pritegnili pozornost in navdihnili druge punkerske skupine v regiji. Paraf, ustanovljen leta 1978, je z značilnim zlitjem punka, novega vala in eksperimentalnih elementov prav tako prispeval k razvoju punkerske scene na Hrvaškem. Temen in nekonvencionalen slog Parafa, skupaj s kritičnimi besedili o družbi, jih je postavil v ospredje in utrdil njihov položaj v zgodovini hrvaškega punk rocka.

Razstava vključuje naslednje skupine: Pankrti, Otroci socializma, Via Ofenziva, Lublanski psi, Berlinski zid, Čao pičke, Kuzle, Šund, Buldogi, Indust-bag, Niet, Tožibabe, Gast'r' bajtr's, Laibach, Borghesia, Grupa 92, Video sex, O! Kult, Paraf, Termiti itd.

## SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY

Marina Gržinić

### **Aesthetics. Politics. Revolt.**

In order to put together an exhibition that truly marks the period of punk and subcultural and alternative developments in Slovenia in the 20th century, while leaving space for those who come and are ready to dive in further, Marina Gržinić and Jovita Pristovšek have conducted extensive research and investigation into positions, archives, and memories associated with Slovenian punk and even more so with photography. We sought out female photographers, chroniclers, influential musicians, insiders, and image bearers within the subcultural scene and the punk movement to gain a more diverse perspective.

Given the historical context of socialism and the challenges of accessing first-hand documents, especially since photography is predominantly in the hands of men photographers, this research required careful work. Recognising the male gaze and its influence on the subcultural scene underscores the need for diverse voices and representations to challenge dominant narratives.

The exhibition creates a network of visual references and stories that enable a contemporary performative representation of narratives of resistance and rebellion. With this exhibition, we aim to highlight resistance as a political category that opposes the body of politics with the politics of the body. Photography played a significant role in documenting and preserving the memory of these events, as well as showcasing the diversity and unity of the protesters. This is also evident in the protests in Slovenia during the Covid-19 pandemic from 2020 to 2022. During this period, numerous protests took place, addressing various aspects of government measures and responses to the pandemic.

Workers' protests have been an important part of the political and social movement in Slovenia and the former Yugoslavia in the 20th century until today. Punk bands supported these protests and often accompanied them with their music, lyrics, and performances. To this day, punk culture and workers' protests intertwine in the fight for justice, equality, and societal change.

Punk remains a voice of resistance against injustice, exploitation, and political apathy. Therefore, it is not surprising that punk elements often appear in contemporary workers' protests, which advocate for workers' rights, social security, and systemic changes. Alongside other activists, members of the punk subculture demonstrated their active political engagement and resistance against specific political decisions and measures, thus continuing the tradition of rebellion and expressing dissatisfaction characteristic of the punk subculture.

Of the positions featured in our exhibition, Božidar Dolenc is the only contributor whose demise was unfortunately far too untimely. All the others are working continuously or archiving, rearranging, finding new negatives, so to speak, every day, digging, regrouping, rehistoricising the moments. Some have made their immense archives available to public institutions, which have proved indispensable for our research work, such as the cooperation with Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije (National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia) and Moderna galerija, MG+MSUM (Museum of Modern Art, MG+MSUM).

Nataša Strlič, museum counsellor at the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia, has proven to be one of the most committed advocates of the importance of this photographic archive. She takes forensically close care of the work of Janez Bogataj, Tone Stojko, and others, proving that a new future is needed for photography in general. After all, what prospects does contemporary Slovenian photography have if it does not place the photographers represented in the exhibition and their work, sensibility, and aesthetics at the centre of the discourse on what contemporary Slovenian photography is, could be, and will be?

Punk intersected with the subculture or alternative cultural and art scene of Ljubljana, which revolved around the ŠKUC Gallery (ŠKUC is an acronym for Študentski kulturni in umetniški center / Student Cultural and Art Centre) and Forum (another important youth organisation). At some point they merged. ŠKUC-Forum's productions and cultural events in the 1980s are

legendary. The collaboration with a club, Disko FV 112/15 (in the basement of one of the buildings of Ljubljana's student dormitory, Študentsko naselje) and with other venues led to a strong coming together of various social and political movements, including the formation of an LGBT+ community.

The first coming out of the gay scene took place in 1984 at the ŠKUC Gallery with the festival *Magnus. Homosexuality and Culture*. These scenes were composed of various demands for self-determination, peace, and the rights of marginalised groups, including people with disabilities. All of this overlapped with punk and shaped the discourse and activism within the subcultural scene.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was a vibrant and influential punk rock scene in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. It was an era of cultural and political awakening, as Slovenia was part of the former Yugoslavia. The punk movement offered youth an outlet for rebellion, self-expression, and dissent against the prevailing social and political order.

Local bands such as Pankrti (The Bastards), Otroci socializma (The Children of Socialism), Lublanski psi (Ljubljana Dogs), etc. emerged during this period and had a decisive influence on the sound and identity of Slovenian punk. The punk scene in Ljubljana was known for its DIY ("Do It Yourself") ethos, energy, and alternative artistic expressions.

Pankrti's first performance took place on 18 October 1977, at the Gimnazija Moste grammar school in Ljubljana. It was socialism. Pankrti, formed earlier that year, quickly gained attention as one of the first punk bands in the former Yugoslavia. Pankrti's raw energy, rebellious attitude, and provocative lyrics resonated with the disillusioned youth of the time. They released their debut single *Lepi in prazni / Lublana je bulana* (Pretty and Empty / Ljubljana is Sick) under ŠKUC in 1978 and their debut album *Dolgcajt* (Boredom) under ZKP RTV Ljubljana and ŠKUC labels in 1980, further cementing their position as one of the region's leading punk bands.

The first appearance of a punk band is often associated with the Sex Pistols in Britain. The Sex Pistols emerged in the mid-1970s and became one of the most influential punk bands of all time. The Sex Pistols' first official performance took place on 6 November 1975, at St Martin's School of Art in London, England. The band, consisting of vocalist Johnny Rotten (John Lydon), guitarist Steve Jones, bassist Glen Matlock, and drummer Paul Cook, played a set that included cover versions of songs by bands such as the Stooges and the

Small Faces, as well as some original compositions. Their debut single, *Anarchy in the U.K.*, released in November 1976, is considered a seminal punk anthem that encapsulated the essence of the punk movement.

Both Termiti and Paraf played an important role in establishing the punk movement in Rijeka and influenced subsequent generations of punk and alternative bands in Croatia. The Rijeka punk scene had a strong connection to Ljubljana.

Termiti was formed in 1977 and is widely considered to be the first punk band in Croatia. They played an important role in introducing the punk sound and attitude to the local music scene. Their energetic and rebellious performances, characterised by fast-paced music and politically charged lyrics, quickly attracted attention and inspired other punk bands in the region. Paraf, founded in 1978, with their distinctive blend of punk, new wave and experimental elements, contributed to the development of the punk scene in Croatia. Their dark and unconventional style, coupled with socially critical lyrics, distinguished them and cemented their place in the history of Croatian punk rock.

The exhibition programmatically includes the following bands: Pankrti, Otroci socializma, Via Ofenziva, Lublanski psi, Berlinski zid, Čao pičke, Kuzle, Šund, Buldogi, Indust-bag, Niet, Tožibabe, Gast'r'bijtr's, Laibach, Borghesia, Grupa 92, Video sex, O! Kult, Paraf, Termiti, etc.



DVORANA M.B. 21. DECEMBER 1984 032051



## PUNK. FOTOGRAFIJE. MUZEJ.

Kot skrbnica fondov fotografov nekdanjega tednika Zveze socialistične mladine Slovenije, *Mladine*, Toneta Stojka (tudi urednika fotografije) in Janeza Bogataja, imam privilegij podrobnega vpogleda v njuno fotografsko gradivo, ustvarjeno večinoma v zadnjih dveh desetletjih socialistične Slovenije in Jugoslavije. Večina je iz osemdesetih let, obdobja prehoda iz samoupravnega socialističnega v večstrankarski sistem ter pojavljanja prodornih posameznikov in skupin, ki so na različnih ravneh in vsak na svoj način na različnih družbenih področjih premikali meje do tedaj dovoljenega ter spodkopavali temelje sistema in države. Tiste države, v kateri so se idejno politične usmeritve sprejemale tudi na kongresih vodilne in edine republiške politične sile Zveze komunistov Slovenije (ZKS).

Podroben pregled Stojkovih posnetkov 9. kongresa ZKS,<sup>1</sup> ki je aprila 1982 potekal v pravkar zgrajenem ljubljanskem Cankarjevem domu, je poleg motivov oblikovalsko dognanih plakatov, impozantnih tridimenzionalnih konstrukcij, postregel tudi s prizori delegatov, ki hitijo na kongres. Večina je v rokah nosila torbice pravokotne oblike s kratkim ročajem in nedoločljive barve. Za marsikoga nepomemben podatek, za poznavalca in spremljevalca takratne slovenske punk scene pa nedvomno sprožilec naslednje asociacije:

Sedemsto usnjenih torbic dobro ve, kaj narod hoče.

Sedemsto usnjenih torbic dobro ve, kaj je pozitivno  
in kaj nesprejemljivo.<sup>2</sup>

Druga kitica nekaj časa prepovedane pesmi<sup>3</sup> »700 usnjenih torbic« punk poeta in pevcu skupine Otroci socializma Braneta Bitenca, prvotno suhoparno foto zgodbo o 9. kongresu ZKS vpelje v fenomen punk gibanja. To je leta 1977 s pojavom Pankrtov in njihovih vse bolj jeznih naslednikov »ukinilo zaroto molka, ki je trajala že leta. Odslej molka ni bilo več. Glasovi so bili iz leta v leto razločnejši, besede zmerom bolj provokativne.«<sup>4</sup>

Poleg bogate glasbene zapuščine in punk poezije, eksplozije video produkcije<sup>5</sup> in inovativnih vizualnih izdelkov so ostali fotografski dokazi te subkulture. In

prav vsak posnetek ponuja tudi vzporedne zgodbe. Z razbranimi motivi vsakdanjih predmetov, pisane mavrice oseb, različnih prostorskih ozadij, predvsem pa z raziskovalčevim dobrim poznavanjem obdobja jih lahko umestimo v mrežo širše zgodovinske pripovedi.

Kot »jasen izsek časa, ki osvetli določene trenutke in jim s tem doda vrednost«, <sup>6</sup> je fotografska punk zapuščina prisotna tudi v muzejskih fotografskih opusih Toneta Stojka in Janeza Bogataja. Prvega je vodil izjemen občutek za dosledno, kronološko spremljanje aktualnega dogajanja, drugega pa je v svet alternativne kulture in prebujajočega se punka povedla predvsem lastna pobuda. Njune fotografske podobe pionirskih punk dogodkov, ikoničnih prostorov druženja in portretov takratne bogate in raznovrstne umetniške scene, so večplastno zgodbo s konca sedemdesetih in začetka osemdesetih prejšnjega stoletja zapisale v brezčasnost.

Njuna »Mladinina« fotografska dediščina je danes varno shranjena v Muzeju novejši in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije ter hkrati dostopna širši javnosti.

»Fotografija sama po sebi je predmet, ki je zelo priročen za zbiranje in hranjenje. Posledično jo lahko predelujemo in obdelujemo, pomanjšamo, povečamo, retuširamo, izrežemo, ji spreminjamo merilo.«<sup>7</sup> Glavna naloga skrbnikov, raziskovalcev pa je, da (fotografsko) gradivo temeljito raziščejo, dokumentirajo in proučijo, ga umestijo v vsebinski in časovni okvir ter postopoma predstavijo širši javnosti. Tako na lastnih kot na razstavah sorodnih inštitucij, v publikacijah, spletnih straneh, video produkcijah, v medijih ... Osnovo predstavlja dobro ohranjen fotografski nosilec. V primeru »mojih« zbirk so to majhni, večinoma črno-beli negativni leica formata, ki po prvem, hitrem pregledu z lupo in na svetlobni mizi običajno ne razkrijejo vsega. Še do začetka 21. stoletja s klasičnim postopkom razvijanja fotografij v muzejskem fotolaboratoriju, v digitalni dobi 21. stoletja pa z vse bolj sofisticiranim skeniranjem, se razkrijejo sprva na videz nepomembne podrobnosti, ki lahko raziskavo zapeljejo v različne smeri.

Večina zgoraj in spodaj zapisanega je opredeljena v prvem stavku poslanstva našega muzeja, ki pravi, »da muzej sistematično evidentira, zbira, dokumentira, proučuje, hrani ter strokovno in znanstveno raziskuje premično kulturno dediščino od začetka 20. stoletja do danes«. <sup>8</sup> Bogata, 75-letna zgodovina njegovega predhodnika, Muzeja novejši zgodovine Slovenije, večkrat dopolnjeno poslanstvo in posledično razširjena zbiralna politika so ga do danes oblikovali v ustanovo, ki hrani okrog šestdeset tisoč muzealij in tri milijone fotografij. Poleg originalnih fotografij na papirju in steklenih plošč je večina shranjena na filmih in diapozitivih, vedno

pogosteje v digitalni obliki. Na različnih formatih (6 x 9, 6 x 6, leica, 4 x 6) ilustrira različne vidike življenja na slovenskem ozemlju v 20. in 21. stoletju.

Danes je shranjeno v muzejski negoteki, v okviru oddelka Fototeke, ki fotografsko gradivo zbira od leta 1952.<sup>9</sup> Klimatizirana prostora v več kot 280 let stari muzejski stavbi sta zatemnjena in obrnjena na sever. Brez ekstremnih temperaturnih nihanj, s priporočenima vrednostma temperature in vlage nudita odlične pogoje za hrambo<sup>10</sup> in zagotavljata, da bo to gradivo na voljo tudi naslednjim generacijam ...

... za razliko od nekaterih izjemnih fotografskih opusov, ki morda v manj ugodnih pogojih in daleč od oči javnosti čakajo, da jih (ponovno) odkrijemo. Ena od prednostnih nalog naše muzejske ustanove je, da jih sprejme in shrani ter jim omogoči status, ki jim pripada.

Status nacionalne kulturne dediščine.<sup>11</sup>

Nataša Strlič, Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije

#### OPOMBE

- 1 Fond Toneta Stojka, film TS 82563. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije.
- 2 Otroci socializma [Brane Bitenc], »700 usnjenih torbic«, v *Zamenite mi glavo: Antologija slovenske punk poezije*, ur. Esad Babačič (Lovrenc na Dravskem polju: Hiša imen; Ljubljana: Buča, 2023), str. 33.
- 3 »Glasba za dobro jutro: Otroci socializma, Pejt ga pogledat Brane«, *Delo*, 23. julij 2014, <https://old.delo.si/kultura/glasba/glasba-za-dobro-jutro-otroci-socializma-pejt-ga-pogledat-brane.html>.
- 4 Tine Hribar, »Pankrti, tovariši in drugi«, v *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, ur. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar in Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), str. 5.
- 5 Glej tudi Marina Gržinič, »O projektu: Od ljubljanske subkulturne scene do novomedijske scene v Sloveniji«, *Paralelne zgodovine opolnomočenja in urbanosti Slovenije 1980–1990–2000*, 2022, <https://sistory.github.io/ljsubkultmediji/cip.html>.
- 6 Sanda Zakrajšek, »Fotografija kot posnetek in simbolna konstrukcija« (diplomsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2004), str. 13.
- 7 Zakrajšek, »Fotografija kot posnetek in simbolna konstrukcija«, str. 13.
- 8 Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije, »Uradno ustanovljen Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije«, 14. februar 2023, <https://www.muzej-nz.si/si/blog/1781-Uradno-ustanovljen-Muzej-novejse-in-sodobne-zgodovine-Slovenije>.
- 9 Ivo Vraničar, »Fotografija in čas«, v *Fototeka: Fotografska zapuščina XX. stoletja*, ur. Kaja Širok, Ivo Vraničar in Andreja Zupanec Bajželj (Ljubljana: Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, 2017), str. 11.
- 10 Vraničar, »Fotografija in čas«, str. 11.
- 11 Vse reprodukcije v tem katalogu, ki jih hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije, je skeniral in obdelal Sašo Kovačič.

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## PUNK. PHOTOGRAPHS. MUSEUM.

Nataša Strlič

As the curator of the museum collections of the photographers for *Mladina*, the former weekly publication of the Socialist Youth League of Slovenia, Tone Stojko (also photography editor) and Janez Bogataj, I am privileged to have a detailed insight into their photographic material, created mainly over the two decades leading up to the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia and Slovenia's independence. Most of this material dates from the 1980s, the period of transition from the socialist self-management to a multiparty system. The emergence of progressive individuals and groups who, at different levels and each in their own way, in various areas of society, pushed the boundaries of what was previously permissible and undermined the foundations of the system and the state. The state whose political ideology models were adopted also at the congresses of the republic's leading and sole political force, the League of Communists of Slovenia (ZKS).

In addition to artfully designed poster motifs, imposing three-dimensional constructions, a detailed look at Stojko's photos of the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia,<sup>1</sup> which was held in April 1982 at the newly built Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana, also revealed scenes featuring delegates rushing to the Congress. Most of them carried rectangular bags, briefcases of indefinable colour with a short handle. Although seen as irrelevant to many an observer, this detail will undoubtedly trigger the following association for connoisseurs and

followers of Slovenia's punk scene of that time:

Seven hundred leather briefcases know exactly what the nation wants.  
Seven hundred leather briefcases know perfectly well what's positive  
and what unacceptable.<sup>2</sup>

The second stanza of a song that was banned for a time,<sup>3</sup> "700 usnjenih torbic" [700 Leather Briefcases] by Brane Bitenc, a punk poet and singer with the band Otroci socializma, places the initially bland photo story of the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia into the context of the punk movement phenomenon. The movement that in 1977, with the arrival of the Pankrti band and their increasingly angry successors, "put an end to the conspiracy of silence that had lasted for many years. From then on, there was no more silence. The voices grew more and more audible from one year to the next, and the words ever more provocative."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to punk's rich musical legacy and poetry, an explosion of video production<sup>5</sup> and innovative visual works, photographic record has survived as a testament to this subculture. What's more, every single shot offers parallel stories. In detecting motifs of everyday objects, a wide variety of names, different spatial backgrounds, and primarily applying a researcher's knowledge of the period, these stories can be placed in the network of a wider historical narrative.

As a "clear segment of time that sheds light on certain moments thus adding value to them"<sup>6</sup> punk's photographic legacy is also present in the museum photographic oeuvres of Tone Stojko and Janez Bogataj. Stojko was guided by a remarkable feel for a consistent, chronological record of current events, and Bogataj entered the world of alternative culture and nascent punk movement largely on his own initiative. Their photographic representations of pioneering punk events, iconic social venues and portraits of the period's lively and diversified art scene immortalized the multifaceted story from the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Their photographic legacy created for *Mladina* is today safely housed by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia and at the same time accessible to the general public.

"A photograph in itself is an object that is highly suitable for collecting and keeping. As a result, it can be processed and treated, minimized, magnified, retouched, cut out, rescaled."<sup>7</sup> The main task of curators, researchers is to thoroughly examine, document and study the (photographic) material, place it in a content-related and temporal context and gradually present it to the general

public. At exhibitions, either their own or those organised by similar institutions, in publications, on websites, with video productions, in the media... A well-preserved photographic capture medium constitutes the basis. In the case of “my” collections, these are small, mostly black-and-white negatives in Leica format which, during the first brief viewing with a magnifier and on a light table, usually do not disclose everything. Apparently irrelevant details that can take the research in different directions get revealed through the classical process of photographic development in a museum photo laboratory up to the beginning of the 21st century, and through ever more sophisticated scanning in the 21st century and the digital age.

Most of the points mentioned above and below feature in the first sentence of our museum’s mission statement, which reads that “the museum systematically records, collects, documents, examines, houses and professionally and scientifically researches movable cultural heritage from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day.”<sup>8</sup> Building on the foundations of the rich history spanning 75 years of its predecessor, the Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia, the repeatedly updated mission statement and consequently enhanced acquisition policy, the museum has grown to become a venerable institution housing around sixty thousand museum exhibits and three million photographs. In addition to original photos on paper and glass plates, most of the images are stored on film and slides, more and more often in digital form. In different formats (6 x 9, 6 x 6, Leica, 4 x 6), they illustrate various aspects of life on Slovenian territory in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Today, it is stored in the museum’s image library, forming part of Fototeka, which has been collecting photographic material since 1952.<sup>9</sup> Located in the over 280-year-old museum building, the two air-conditioned rooms are darkened and have a northern exposure. Free from any extreme temperature fluctuations, with recommended temperature and humidity values, the spaces provide excellent storage conditions<sup>10</sup> and ensure that this material is preserved for posterity...

...unlike some exceptional photographic oeuvres waiting to be (re-)discovered in possibly less favourable conditions and far from the public eye. One of our museum’s priorities is to include them into our holdings, house them and accord them the status they deserve.

The status of a national cultural heritage.<sup>11</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Tone Stojko collection, film TS 82563. Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.
- 2 Otroci socializma [Brane Bitenc], "700 usnjenih torbic", in *Zamenite mi glavo: Antologija slovenske punk poezije*, ed. Esad Babačić (Lovrenc na Dravskem polju: Hiša imen; Ljubljana: Buča, 2023), p. 33.
- 3 "Glasba za dobro jutro: Otroci socializma, Pejt ga pogledat Brane", *Delo*, 23 July 2014, <https://old.delo.si/kultura/glasba/glasba-za-dobro-jutro-otroci-socializma-pejt-ga-pogledat-brane.html>.
- 4 Tine Hribar, "Pankrti, tovariši in drugi", in *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, eds. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar and Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), p. 5.
- 5 See also Marina Gržinić, "About the project: From the Ljubljana Subcultural Scene to the New Media Scene in Slovenia", *Parallel Histories of Slovenia's Empowerment and Urbanity 1980-1990-2000*, 2022, <https://sistory.github.io/ljsubkultmediji/cip.html>.
- 6 Sanda Zakrajšek, "Fotografija kot posnetek in simbolna konstrukcija" (graduation thesis, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2004), p. 13.
- 7 Zakrajšek, "Fotografija kot posnetek in simbolna konstrukcija", p. 13.
- 8 Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije, "Uradno ustanovljen Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije", 14 February 2023, <https://www.muzej-nz.si/si/blog/1781-Uradno-ustanovljen-Muzej-novejse-in-sodobne-zgodovine-Slovenije>.
- 9 Ivo Vraničar, "Fotografija in čas", in *Fototeka: Fotografska zapuščina XX. stoletja*, eds. Kaja Širok, Ivo Vraničar and Andreja Zupanec Bajželj (Ljubljana: Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije, 2017), p. 11.
- 10 Vraničar, "Fotografija in čas", p. 11.
- 11 All reproductions in this catalogue, which are held by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia, were scanned and processed by Sašo Kovačič.

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## OBLAST RAZDIRA, LJUDJE NA ULICAH BI GRADILI IN KREPILI

Mar ne živimo v času, ko bi vsi ves čas morali biti na ulicah in protestirati? Za drugačen sistem in boljšo družbo, je bil neizrečen horizont vprašanja, uokvirjenega v okoljsko izčrpavanje, podnebni zlom, delavska izkoriščanja in finančne stiske, v vojaško ringlšpil distopijo, medčloveško odtujenost in razjedajočo osamljenost.

Nedavno je iz knjige o neoliberalizaciji Slovenije, ki poteka že zadnja tri, štiri desetletja, padla razglednica. Na črno-beli fotografiji avtoceste se po pasovih, ki potujejo k pogledu, bližajo protestirajoči delavci in delavke. V prvih vrstah so ženske in fotografija nosi pogum njihovega koraka, veselje solidarnosti in moč, ki jo izžareva občutek skupnosti. Delavke in delavci hodijo naprej, a vse okrog njih se prostor vse bolj zapira – z obeti nižjih plač, odpuščanj in z razprodajami tovarn.

Za nekoga, ki še ni uspel zlesti iz pleníc v času punka, ki je postal ikonski del pripovedi o procesih slovenskega osamosvajanja, je črno-bela fotografija ena od podob, ki se do danes niso vtisnile dovolj globoko v zavedanje, da bi se stopile v spomin odraščanja. Javni prostori, javne debate in javni intelektualci so pristali, da so v prvi vrsti razredne boje za enakopravnejši družbeni sistem nadomestila subkulturna prizadevanja za identitetni individualizem. Ana Podvršič, prijateljica in avtorica knjige *Iz socializma v periferni kapitalizem*, pravi, da je v osemdesetih marsikdo temeljne pravice in možnosti, ki so jih ljudje zgradili v desetletjih jugoslovanskega socialističnega sistema, jemal za samoumevne.<sup>1</sup> Grenko pojasnilo številnih, da so leta 1990 na plebiscitu glasovali predvsem za demokracijo, ne pa za konec socializma, je del te sestavljanke.

Prav želja po demokraciji – tisti, ki presega volilne skrinjice ter sega v delovna okolja in dnevne sobe, ki se širi skozi medsosedske odnose in se krepi z delovanjem javnih institucij – je rdeča nit, vedno znova najdena med ljudmi, ki protestirajo na ulicah – še vedno, spet. Da bi se slišal, spoštoval in upošteval njihov glas, da bi lahko prispevali k jutri in sovplivali nanj.

Ob protestih jeseni in pozimi 2012, ki se jih je poimenovalo v vstaje, je obveljalo, da gre po številčnosti za prelomen upor zoper avtoritarno in skorumpirano oblast, ki se je razširil iz Maribora v prestolnico.<sup>2</sup> A sindikalno organizirani delavci in delavke so s svojo množičnostjo le sedem let prej preprečili politične ideje, da se zavoljo konkurenčnosti ukini pravičnost, ki še ostaja kot del progresivne obdavčitve, da se zagotovi zadostna družbena sredstva za javne storitve, dostopne vsem. Prekarizirana – v negotovost potisnjena – družba je pristala na brisanje zgodovine lastnih bojev – in zmag. Opozorila anarhističnih, antifašističnih in antikapitalističnih skupin, da alternativne politike in prakse niso kulturna predstava ali pesem niti ne morejo biti protestniški-umetniški program, so se izkazala za enako pomembna kot opozorila, da boj proti skorumpiranim posameznikom spregleda sistemsko korupcijo, ki je del kapitalizma in ki je ne morejo rešiti vsakič novi politični obrazi.

Politična praksa, ki je obstala skozi zadnje desetletje, krepila ljudi in širila polje demokracije, se gradi ravno v Mariboru. Inicijativa mestni zbor je z neomajno predanostjo in vztrajnostjo v družbeni prostor ponovno uvedla pričakovanje, da morajo biti oblasti odzivne, v službi ljudi in ljudem odgovorne, da morajo imeti ljudje besedo glede politik, ki vplivajo na njihova življenja, in da se lahko skupnosti samoorganizirajo, da se ukrene, česar oblasti ne znajo ali ne želijo izpolniti.<sup>3</sup> Njihova prizadevanja so uvedla institut participativnega proračuna v več deset občin – in zdaj poskusno tudi v šole. Učenje in razvijanje praks demokratičnega in enakopravnega sodelovanja in soodločanja se nadaljuje.

In v tem je paradoks. Ki nasprotuje idejam, ki jih imamo. Tisti, ki rušijo družbeni sistem, danes niso protestniki, ampak je to oblast – oblast, ki v družbo po zgledu Margaret Thatcher ne verjame. Oblast danes uničuje, kar je ostalo od družbenih sistemov pravičnosti in varnosti. Oblast ohranja finančno-gospodarski sistem, ki mora izkoriščati in uničevati, da lahko preživi, ki zato izčrpava in sesuva vse, kar je ostalo od skupnega bogastva in javnega dobro. Načelo punka »naredi sam«, ki je bilo nekoč varovalka polja svobode in temeljni kamen gradnje zaupanja s sodelovanjem znotraj različnih skupnosti, je v neoliberalizmu okoljskega in podnebnega sesuvanja postalo individualistično vodilo »naredi zase«.

Zadnji množični protesti so v Sloveniji ponovno sovpadli z vladavino skrajne desnice na krilih izrednega stanja, ki ga je uvedla svetovna pandemija covid-19.<sup>4</sup> Filozofinja Marina Gržinić je spomladi 2020 v intervjuju opozorila, da vidimo udejanjanje nekropolitik,<sup>5</sup> o katerih piše kamerunski filozof Achille Mbembe<sup>6</sup>: politik, ki samo še upravljajo z izčrpavanjem in pobijanjem, ki z božjim kompleksom odreja, kdo in kako hitro umre.

Prav v uničevalnosti in razdiralnosti prevladujočih politik gre iskati razloge za zadržanost ljudi do ponavljajočih se protestov, ki ne dajejo horizontov možnosti za dosego konkretnih, demokratičnih sprememb na bolje. Ob okoljski, podnebni, socialni, zdravstveni, duševni, znanstveni in intelektualni »krizi« postajajo že ščitenje in varovanje, skrb za soljudi in naravo, ustvarjanje skupnega in vključevalno sodelovanje vse bolj oblika protesta.

Z desetletji izkušenj in ob zavedanju, da večino tehnoloških informacijskih orodij oblasti hitreje uporabijo za nadzor in podreitev ljudi, kot uspe ljudem razviti potencial teh orodij za večjo demokratičnost, enakopravnost in vključenost, se zdi, da nam kot družbam ter kot članom in članicam planetarne skupnosti trenutno manjka orodij in strategij za krepitev demokratičnega sodelovanja. Nauke zasedb trgov, da je bolje kot k soglasju glede vsega težiti k podpori in solidarnosti s skupinami in posamezniki, ki se odločijo delovati in ukrepati v smeri skupnega cilja, poznamo. Sodobni panoptikum neprestanega nadzora ter možnosti zlorabe tehnologij in množičnih medijev najedajo najpomembnejše – zaupanje v soljudi. A to se v vsakem primeru gradi iz oči v oči – s pogumom pokazati ranljivost in tvegati. Zglede imamo – delavke in delavci, mladi in stari so protestirali, se borili in korakali za enakopravnejši svet za vse že dolgo pred nami. Druge, človeka vredne poti ni.

Kristina Božič, novinarka

## OPOMBE

1 Ana Podvršič, *Iz socializma v periferni kapitalizem* (Ljubljana: Založba / \*cf., 2023).

2 Glej »'Gotovo je!': Reflections on direct democracy in Slovenia«, CrimethInc, 11. maj 2016, <https://crimethinc.com/2016/05/11/feature-gotovo-je-reflections-on-direct-democracy-in-slovenia>.

3 Iniciativa mestni zbor, »Deset let zborov samoorganiziranih četrtnih in krajevnih skupnosti«, 2023, <http://www.imz-maribor.org/Deset-let-zborov-samoorganiziranih-cetrtnih-in-krajevnih-skupnosti-.html>.

4 Glej Tjaša Pureber, »Kolesarski protesti 2020: Razpoke svobode«, *Mešanec*, 12. november 2020, <https://mesanec.si/kolesarski-protesti-2020-razpoke-svobode/>.

5 Marina Gržinić, »Obvarovati moramo življenja in preprečiti militarizacijo«, intervjuvarka Kristina Božič, *Večer*, 28. marec 2020, <https://vecer.com/v-soboto/intervju-marina-grzinic-obvarovati-moramo-zivljenja-in-preprečiti-militarizacijo-10149159>.

6 Achille Mbembe, *Kritika črnskega uma*, prev. Suzana Koncut (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2019). Izvorno objavljeno kot *Critique de la raison nègre* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).

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## THOSE IN POWER DESTROY, THOSE ON THE STREETS WISH TO BUILD

Kristina Božič

Do not we live in times when everyone at all times should be on the streets protesting? For a different system and a better society, was the horizon left unarticulated in the question, framed by environmental exploitation, climate breakdown, workers' abuses and financial hardships, by dystopian militaristic merry-go-round, interhuman alienation and corroding loneliness.

A postcard has recently fallen from a book about the neoliberalization of Slovenia, a process that has been happening for the last three or four decades. In a black and white photograph of a highway, approaching the viewer down the lanes, are protesting workers. Women walk in the first row. The photograph conveys the courage of their step, the joy of solidarity, and the strength emanating from the sense of a community. The workers walk onwards, while all around them the space is shrinking – through prospects of lower wages, redundancies and factory sell-offs.

For someone barely out of diapers during the punk movement – the iconographic part of the story how Slovenia gained independence –, the black and white photograph is one of the images that have not managed to imprint themselves deep enough into the consciousness to lodge themselves in the memories of growing

up. Public space, public debates and public intellectuals have acceded to a substitution of predominantly class struggles for a more just social order with the efforts of different subcultures for identity-based individualism. Ana Podvršič, a friend and the author of the book *Iz socializma v periferni kapitalizem* (From Socialism to Peripheral Capitalism), says that many people in the 1980s took for granted the rights and possibilities that had been built in the decades of the Yugoslav socialist system.<sup>1</sup> The bitter explanations, which many offer today, how they voted for democracy and not for the end of socialism in the 1990 plebiscite, are a piece of this image.

It is this desire for democracy – that reaches beyond the voting boxes into workplaces and living rooms, that spreads through the relations in a neighbourhood and is strengthened by how the public institutions function –, which offers the red line, connecting the people protesting on the streets – still and again. That their voices were heard, respected and taken into consideration, that they could contribute to tomorrow and help shape it.

During the autumn and winter 2012 protests, which were named uprisings, all public debates grew from the assumption that we were witnessing – given the numbers of people on the streets – a pivotal rebellion against authoritarian and corrupted government and politicians in power, spreading from Maribor all the way to the capital.<sup>2</sup> Yet, seven years before organized workers with their sheer numbers stopped political plans that wanted, hailing competitiveness to abolish a just system of progressive taxation that ensured societal means for public services, accessible to all. Ever more precarious society – pushed into uncertainty – conceded to the erasure of its own battles – and victories. Just as important as the warnings from the anarchist, antifascist and anticapitalist groups that alternative politics and practices are neither a cultural show, a song, nor can they be a protest-art program, was the cautioning that battling corrupted individuals misses the systemic corruption, innate to capitalism and to which perpetual ‘new political faces’ cannot offer a solution.

The political practice that has been empowering people and widening the democratic field throughout the last decade is being built especially in Maribor. Inicijativa mestni zbor – IMZ (the Initiative for Citywide Assembly) has with unwavering commitment and perseverance reintroduced the expectations that those in power have to be responsive, in the service of people and responsible to them; that people have to have a say regarding the politics that effect their lives, and that communities can self-organize to do what the authorities cannot or refuse to

fulfil.<sup>3</sup> Their work contributed to the introduction of the participatory budgeting in numerous municipalities – and the first test trial also in schools. Processes of learning and developing practices of democratic and equal cooperation and joint decision-making continue.

And here lies the paradox that counters the ideas we have. The embodiment of the power responsible for demolishing societal order today is not the protesters on the streets but those in power – who believe, like Margaret Thatcher did, that there is no such thing as a society. Those in power today destroy what is left of societal systems to ensure justice and security. Those in power preserve the financial and economic system that needs to exploit and destroy to survive, and thus exhausts and demolishes all that is left of common wealth and public good. Punk's principle "Do It Yourself", which used to safeguard the creative freedom and help build trust through cooperation among different communities, has in the era of neoliberalism of ecological and climate breakdown metamorphosed into individualistic principle "Do It For Yourself".

The last mass protests in Slovenia again coincided with the rule of the extreme right political party buoyed by the state of emergency that accompanied the global Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>4</sup> Philosopher Marina Gržinić warned in an interview in spring 2020 that we were witnessing the realisation of necropolitics,<sup>5</sup> described by Cameroonian historian and theorist Achille Mbembe<sup>6</sup>: politics that only manage the exhaustion and killing, declaring with a God complex who is to die and how soon.

It is this destructive and destroying nature of the ruling politics in which we can search for the reasons why people have become more reserved towards repetitive protests lacking the horizons of possibilities to achieve concrete, democratic changes for the better. Given the environmental, climate, social, health, mental, scientific and intellectual "crises", a form of protest has become the bare protection and guarding, caring for others and nature, creating common and inclusive cooperation.

Given decades of experiences and understanding that the majority of information technology tools is faster used by those in power to control and subjugate than people can develop them to enhance democracy, equality and inclusion, we – as societies and as a planetary community – seem to lack tools and strategies to strengthen democratic cooperation. We have learned from the Occupy that better than reaching consensus about everything is to support and stand in solidarity

with groups or individuals who have decided to act and try to reach closer to the common aim. A present-day panopticon of constant monitoring and the possibility of abusing the technology and social and mass media eats away at what is most important – trust in other people. Yet, this is built face-to-face – by the courage to be vulnerable and to take a risk. We do not lack examples – workers young and old have protested, fought and marched for a more just world for all. It is the only human-worthy way to be.

Kristina Božič, journalist

## NOTES

- 1 Ana Podvršič, *Iz socializma v periferni kapitalizem* (Ljubljana: Založba /\*cf., 2023).
- 2 See “Gotovo je!': Reflections on direct democracy in Slovenia”, CrimethInc, 11 May 2016, <https://crimethinc.com/2016/05/11/feature-gotovo-je-reflections-on-direct-democracy-in-slovenia>.
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- 4 See Tjaša Pureber, “Kolesarski protesti 2020: Razpoke svobode”, *Mešanec*, 12 November 2020, <https://mesanec.si/kolesarski-protesti-2020-razpoke-svobode/>.
- 5 Marina Gržinić, “Obvarovati moramo življenja in preprečiti militarizacijo”, interview by Kristina Božič, *Večer*, 28 March 2020, <https://vecer.com/v-soboto/intervju-marina-grznic-obvarovati-moramo-zivljenja-in-prepreciti-militarizacijo-10149159>.
- 6 Achille Mbembe, *Kritika črnskega uma*, trans. Suzana Koncut (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2019). Originally published as *Critique de la raison nègre* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).

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# Paralelne zgodovine opolnomočenja in urbanosti Slovenije 1980–1990–2000 / Parallel Histories of Slovenia's Empowerment and Urbanity 1980-1990-2000

Od ljubljanske subkulturne scene do novomedijske scene v Sloveniji / From the Ljubljana  
Subcultural Scene to the New Media Scene in Slovenia

Marina Gržinić

## ARHIVI SPOMINJANJA

The archives of memories

**Punk, subkultura, Laibach, LGBT, Magnus, Lilith, video produkcija subkulture, xerox, grafiti, Disko FV 112/15, Radio Študent, Tribuna, Mladina, fanzini, Viks, ZG, Galerija ŠKUC, Galerija ŠKUC izdaja, ŠKUC Ropot, NSK, ŠKUC Forum, alter-fotografija, psihoanaliza, YHD - Društvo za teorijo in kulturo hendikepa, politična ekonomija, post-marksizem, ideologija, novi mediji, internet, odprta koda, Reartikulacija, dekolonialnost, trans študije...**

Against forgetting  
**PROTI POZABI**

post-moderni  
fašizem  
post-modern  
fascism

ponavljanje in  
nasilje nad LGBT  
skupnostjo  
repetition and the  
violence against  
LGBT community

regulacija  
spomina  
regulation of  
memory

od biopolitke  
k nekropolitiki  
from biopolitics to  
necropolitics

**Politike nasilja in  
pozabljanja  
v nekdanji Jugoslaviji  
in Sloveniji  
od leta 1982 dalje  
Politics of violence and  
forgetting in Former  
Yugoslavia and Slovenia  
after 1982**

od nacionalne države  
do vojne države  
from nation state to war state

turbo  
neoliberalizem  
turbo-fašizem  
turbo neoliberalism  
turbo-fascism

nevtralizacija  
političnega mišljenja  
in neodvisne kulture  
neutralization of political  
thinking and of  
independent culture

evakuacija  
spomina  
evacuation of  
memory

M. Gržinić 2022

<https://sistory.github.io/ljsubkultmediji/index.html>

Digitalni arhiv Paralelne zgodovine opolnomočenja in urbanosti Slovenije 1980–1990–2000  
Digital archive Parallel histories of Slovenia's empowerment and Urbanity 1980–1990–2000

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Igor Vidmar

## PUNK V CD!

Vnovično umeščanje punka v sfero kulturnega, političnega in umetniškega ni samo stvar obujanja spominov ali intimnega podajanja nekaterih osebnih okoliščin, temveč tudi pozicioniranje s stališča radikalne kulturne akcije, anarhične odgovornosti ter politike socialnega in estetskega.

Marina Gržinić, »Punk: Strategija, politika in amnezija«<sup>1</sup>

Tule so prvič nastopili Pankrti [...]. Takrat niso mislili, da bodo kaj dosti nastopali [...], so pa njihove pesmi še vedno aktualne.

ljubljski taksist ob vožnji mimo moščanske gimnazije

Spoštovane, spoštovani!

Je punk »46 let pozneje« – prvič v nacionalnem hramu kulture – še vedno »subverziven, odpadniški in neposlušen« presežek?

Ali pa je v CD že ujet v protislovje postmodernistične kolaboracije s kulturno birokracijo, pred katero ga je že davno svarila alternativna teorija?<sup>2</sup> Lahko da, a prav zato je razstava tudi novo uspešno udejanjenje priporočila iz istega naslova: »'Pravilna' strategija zatorej ni v deklarativni odpravi (kaj šele 'preseganju') konstitutivnega protislovja, pač pa v njegovem ohranjanju: v njegovi 'manipulaciji'.«<sup>3</sup>

Povrh pa je »zgodovinsko« razstava točno tam, kamor spada punk tako rekoč od začetka CD: ta je bil namreč navdih enega prvih vzletov punkovske poezije – pesmi »700 usnjenih torbic« Braneta Bitenca, »posvečene« kongresu Zveze komunistov (cenzurirane tako v državnih medijih kot v alternativni reviji *Problemi*), za katerega je bil CD mdr. zgrajen. Bil je tudi ozadje fotografije za plakat drugega festivala Novi rock (prvega po naci-punk aferi); in nedaleč stran je Plečnikov trg – po punkerjih preimenovan v Johnny Rotten Square, kot priča ena od fotografij.<sup>4</sup>

S postavitvijo projekta, ki vnaša spomin na avtonomno in alternativno ustvarjalnost v osrednji prostor nacionalne kulture – in korak stran od kolesarskega Trga republike – je avtorica, sicer dejavna protagonistka začetne »alterscene«, afirmirala tisto, kar je bilo od samega začetka bistveno za sporočilnost »gibanja«: soočanje punka in vladajoče družbe, roba in centra, alterprakse in »teorije«, akcije in (samo)premisleka.

Punk in alternativa sta se lotila manipulacije protislovja med sabo in vladajočo kulturo/ideologijo/birokracijo – že kar kmalu po prvem poku Pankrtov leta 1977<sup>5</sup>: za poskus izdaje prvega albuma Sex Pistols je npr. ŠKUC že leta 1979 »angažiral« strokovnega sodelavca Marksističnega centra Centralnega komiteja Zveze komunistov, ki je mdr. zapisal še danes relevantno: »Subverzivnost punka pa je ravno v tem, da fašizaciji inscenira njeno lastno resnico, ki si jo fašizacija nujno zastira, in je ravno s tem mimesisom že na poti osvoboditve.«<sup>6</sup>

Ta »pravilna strategija« ima torej veliko in slavno zgodovino – poleg omenjenega tudi znameniti uvodnik prvih *Punk problemov* istega avtorja: »Punk dobesedno *uprizarja* zatrtto razsežnost 'normalnega' in že s tem 'osvobaja' [...]: prav odsotnost 'eksplicitne' perspektive nakazuje, da sam punk že govori iz nekega 'utopičnega' 'neodtujenega' mesta.«<sup>7</sup>

Za končno emanacijo te strategije pa gre najbrž šteti uvodnik akademika dr. Tineta Hribarja v zborniku *Punk je bil prej*, kjer mdr. pravi, »vse bolj sem prepričan, da brez Pankrtov in valovanja, ki se je širilo za njimi in okoli njih, komunistična oblast sploh ne bi pristala na začetek izhajanja *Nove revije*«. <sup>8</sup>

To »valovanje«, ta razdiralno-ustvarjalni »hrup« (prosto po Jacquesu Attaliju)<sup>9</sup> je v zavesti javnosti že davno preglasilo enozvočje komercialnih medijev, pop potrošništva ter narcistično individualistični zaporni ogenj antidružbenih »družabnih« medijev virtualnega totalitarizma in sedaj še militarizma.

Zato je ta fotoobnova spomina na zvoke – označevalce utopije, avtonomije, svobodnosti v kolosu nacionalne kulture še toliko bolj dragocena. Če ji kaj manjka, je le ... hrup. Hrup današnjega, »realno obstoječega« punka, ki vztraja kot »naiven« upor novemu odvratnemu statusu quo – ne več enoumno avtoritarnemu, ampak »demokratično« neoliberalnemu in totalitarno omreženemu.

**Buldogi, »Kolk rabš?«, album *Ni lepo*, 2011**

zajebal so še tist, kar ni zajebat dal  
a zmer je izpadu čist sam enotednski škandal  
najprej so hvalil se, kva ujo vse naredl  
sral po useh tevejih, vi pa ste usi nasedl  
zdej kso pouni usega, se jim jebe za ceu svet  
še najbl pa za tebe, ksi za njih tazadn skret

kva mislš kolk še rabm. da mi prekipi  
da se mi utrga in dau tekla kri?

ti jst povem kolk rabš, da enkrat boš dojeu  
čet ne dajo kr je tvoja, siuš pa sam uzeu!

nč več prou dost!

**Damir Avdić, »Demokratija«, album *Mein Kapital*, 2012**

Demokratija je zabluda  
podvala kapitalizma  
kako bi organizovani kriminal  
mogao nesmetano da djeluje

sloboda je prevara  
laž revolucije  
kako bi roblje marširalo u stroju  
s uzdignutim bajonetima

istina je samo jedna  
boli nas kurac za nesretne i jadne  
istina je samo jedna  
boli nas kurac za ponižene i slabe

Igor Vidmar, politični novinar

- 1 Marina Gržinić, »Punk: Strategija, politika in amnezija«, v *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, ur. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar in Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), str. 66.
- 2 Glej Rastko Močnik, »Razum zmaguje«, v *Punk pod Slovenci*, ur. Neža Malečkar in Tomaž Mastnak (Ljubljana: Republiška konferenca ZSMS; Univerzitetna konferenca ZSMS; krt, 1985), str. 61–81.
- 3 Močnik, »Razum zmaguje«, str. 81.
- 4 Glej fotografijo Vojka Flegarja, Johnny Rotten Square, Medex, Ljubljana, marec 1981. CD je bil tudi prizorišče prve – in zadnje – neposrečene teatarske tematizacije punka: Jovanović-Makarovičeve *Smrad opere* (1982).
- 5 Nato pa Laibach leta 1980, *Punk Problemi* (1981–83), punk fanzin galerije ŠKUC (glej *Publikacije: Galerija ŠKUC izdaja*), ipd.
- 6 Slavoj Žižek, izvirni tipkopis, 3. avgust 1979, arhiv ŠKUC Ropot.
- 7 Slavoj Žižek, [Uvodnik], *Punk Problemi* [1], *Problemi*, let. 19, št. 205/206 (1981): b. pag. Alternativna medijska praksa pa se je navdihovala pri nemškem marksistu Hansu Magnusu Enzensbergerju; glej »Lepljenka na temo množičnih medijev«, *Problemi*, let. 18, št. 196 (1980): str. 87–97.
- 8 Tine Hribar, »Pankrti, tovariši in drugi«, v *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, ur. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar in Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), str. 6. Punk nasploh in slovenski punk kot še bližja realizacija njegove teze je nastal sočasno s teoretsko obravnavo hrupa Jacquesa Attalija iz njegove knjige *Bruits: Essai sur l'économie politique du musique* (Pariz: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977), preveden kot *Hrup: Esej o politični ekonomiji glasbe*, trideset let pozneje pri založbi Maska. V oddajah RŠ je bila knjiga takoj opažena – v italijanskem prevodu leta 1978. Seveda Attali – tudi v »novi izdaji« – punka ne omenja; bolj nenavadno je, da ne njega ne Laibachov ne omenja slovenska spremna beseda.
- 9 To je seveda od punka takoj odtujilo del progresivne teorije. Glej Mladen Dolar, »Slovenska nacionalna identiteta in kultura – navodila za uporabo«, v *Nacionalna identiteta in kultura*, ur. Neda Pagon in Mitja Čepič (Ljubljana: Inštitut za civilizacijo in kulturo – ICK, 2003), str. 21–35.

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- Punk Problemi* [1], *Problemi*, let. 19, št. 205/206 (1981). Dostopno na <http://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-LYQM58W8/?query=%27keywords%3dproblemi+205-206%27&pageSize=25>.
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# PUNK AT CD!

Igor Vidmar

The resurgence of punk in the cultural, political and artistic spheres is not only a matter of evoking memories or offering an intimate insight into certain personal circumstances, but also of adopting the position of radical cultural action, anarchic responsibility, as well as social and aesthetic politics.

Marina Gržinić, "Punk. Strategija, politika in amnezija"

[Punk: Strategy, Politics and Amnesia]<sup>1</sup>

This is where the Pankrti band made their debut [...] At the time, they didn't think they'd be performing much... but their songs are still of relevance today.

A Ljubljana taxi driver while driving past the Gimnazija Moste grammar school

Ladies and gentlemen

Is "punk 46 years later" – for the first time at the nation's main cultural centre, Cankarjev dom (CD), – still a "subversive, dissident and disobedient" excess?

Or, contrarily, is punk at CD already caught in the contradiction of a post-modernist collaboration with cultural bureaucracy against which alternative theory had long warned it?<sup>2</sup> It could be; but this is precisely why this exhibition also constitutes a successful new implementation of the recommendation from the same source: "Rather than declaratively eliminating (let alone 'transcending') the constitutive contradiction, 'the correct' strategy is therefore to preserve it: 'to manipulate' it."<sup>3</sup>

What is more, "historically-wise" this exhibition is being held exactly where punk has belonged to since the very beginnings of Cankarjev dom, so to speak: this is because the venue provided the inspiration for one of punk poetry's first lift-offs – the song "700 usnjenih torbic" [700 Leather Briefcases] by Brane Bitenc (censored both by the national media and the alternative magazine *Problemi*), "dedicated" to the Congress of the League of Communists which was one of

the main reasons behind the construction of the centre. The venue also features in the background of the 2nd Novi Rock Festival poster photograph (the first after the Naci-punk affair); and Plečnikov trg square is situated in its immediate vicinity – renamed Johnny Rotten Square by punk rockers, as testified to by one of the photos.<sup>4</sup>

In launching a project that introduces the memory of autonomous and alternative creativity into Slovenia's major national culture centre – a stone's throw away from the bicycle movement's Trg republike square (TN: it provided the venue for cycling protests against the right-wing government) – its author – an active protagonist of the initial "alternative scene" – affirmed what was essential from the outset to the message of the "movement": a confrontation between punk and the ruling society, the margins and mainstream, alternative practice and "theory", action and (self)reflection.

Punk and the alternative movement set about manipulating the contradiction existing between the movement and the ruling culture/ideology/bureaucracy – just shortly after the Pankrti band's first explosion onto the scene in 1977<sup>5</sup>: for example, in an attempt to release the Sex Pistols' debut album ŠKUC "engaged" as early as in 1979 the services of an expert associate at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's Marxist Centre whose reflection on the matter remains of continuing relevance: "The subversiveness of punk lies precisely in enacting to fascistization its own truth, the truth that fascistization is denying of necessity, and it is precisely this mimesis that already sets it on a path towards liberation."<sup>6</sup>

This "correct strategy" therefore has a great and glorious history – in addition to the aforementioned discourse, the famed introduction to the first *Punk problemi* fanzine by the same author: "Punk literally *stages* the suppressed dimension of 'normality' and in this very act proves itself a 'liberating' force [...]: the very absence of an 'explicit' perspective suggests that punk itself is already speaking from some 'utopian,' 'unalienated' position."<sup>7</sup>

Authored by academician Dr. Tine Hribar, an introduction to the collection of papers *Punk je bil prej* most likely constitutes the final emanation of this strategy. An excerpt from this introduction reads, "I am increasingly convinced that without the Pankrti band and the waves generated in their wake and spreading around them, the communist authorities would never have approved the launch of the *Nova revija* magazine".<sup>8</sup>

In public consciousness, these “waves”, this disruptive-creative “noise” (loosely after Jacques Attali),<sup>9</sup> have long been overridden by the consonancy of commercial media, pop consumerism and narcissistically individualistic barrage fire of virtual totalitarianism’s and now also militarism’s anti-social “social” media.

This is why this photographic evocation of the memory of sound – signifiers of utopia, autonomy, freedom in a colossus of national culture – is all the more valuable. If anything is missing, it’s merely... noise. The noise of today’s “truly exstant” punk that has persisted as a “naïve” rebellion against the hideous new status quo – no longer unequivocally authoritarian but “democratically” neo-liberal and digitally totalitarian.

**Buldogi, “Kolk rabš?”, album *Ni lepo*, 2011**

They fucked up even the unfuckupable,  
And all the blame they took was a week-long scandal  
First they bragged about all the progress they’d achieve,  
Talking loads of shit on all the channels, and you all fell for it,  
Now they’ve cashed in on us, they don’t give a fuck about anything  
Least of all about you, a nobody to them

How much longer before I’ve had enough, before  
I blow a fuse and blood will flow?

I’ll tell you how much longer before you figure it out that  
If they don’t give you what’s yours, you’ve got to get it yourself!

It won’t be much longer!

**Damir Avdić, “Demokratija”, album *Mein Kapital*, 2012**

Democracy is a delusion  
Capitalism’s deception  
To ensure the smooth running of  
Organised crime

Freedom is a delusion  
Revolution’s lie

To ensure the slaves marching in formation  
With raised bayonets

There is but one truth  
We don't give a damn about the wretched and the miserable  
There is but one truth  
We don't give a damn about the humiliated and the weak.

Igor Vidmar, political journalist

## NOTES

- 1 Marina Gržinić, "Punk: Strategija, politika in amnezija", in *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, eds. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar and Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), p. 66.
- 2 See Rastko Močnik, "Razum zmaguje", in *Punk pod Slovenci*, eds. Neža Malečkar and Tomaž Mastnak (Ljubljana: Republiška konferenca ZSMS; Univerzitetna konferenca ZSMS; Krt, 1985), pp. 61–81.
- 3 Močnik, "Razum zmaguje", p. 81.
- 4 See Vojko Flegar's photo, Johnny Rotten Square, Medex, Ljubljana, March 1981. CD was also the venue for the first – and last – flopped theatrical thematization of punk: the performance *Smrad opere* by Svetlana Makarovič and staged by director Dušan Jovanović (1982).
- 5 And Laibach's in 1980, *Punk Problemi* (1981–83), Gallery ŠKUC's punk fanzine (see *Publikacije: Galerija ŠKUC izdaja*), etc.
- 6 Slavoj Žižek, original typescript, 3 August 1979, ŠKUC Ropot archives.
- 7 Slavoj Žižek, [Introduction], *Punk Problemi* [1], *Problemi*, vol. 19, no. 205/206 (1981): n. pag. On the other hand, alternative media practice drew inspiration from the German Marxist Hans Magnus Enzensberger; see "Lepljenka na temo množičnih medijev", *Problemi*, vol. 18, no. 196 (1980): pp. 87–97.
- 8 Tine Hribar, "Pankrti, tovariši in drugi", in *Punk je bil prej: 25 let punka pod Slovenci*, eds. Peter Lovšin, Peter Mlakar and Igor Vidmar (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba; Ropot, 2002), p. 6. Punk in general and Slovenian punk as an even closer actualization of his thesis emerged at the same time as the theoretical inquiry into noise by Jacques Attali, as expounded in his book *Bruits: Essai sur l'économie politique du musique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977), translated 30 years later into Slovenian as *Hrup: Esej o politični ekonomiji glasbe* and published by the publishing house Maska. In Radio Študent's shows, the book was immediately present – via an Italian translation from 1978. Naturally, Attali does not mention punk – not even in the "new edition"; it is far more unusual, though, that neither he nor the Laibach band is mentioned in the Slovenian afterword.
- 9 This, of course, immediately alienated part of the progressive theory from punk. See Mladen Dolar, "Slovenska nacionalna identiteta in kultura – navodila za uporabo", in *Nacionalna identiteta in kultura*, eds. Neda Pagon and Mitja Čepič (Ljubljana: Inštitut za civilizacijo in kulturo – ICK, 2003), pp. 21–35.

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Arhiv Igorja Vidmarja. / Archive of Igor Vidmar.

Marina Gržinić

## SLOVENSKI PUNK in FOTOGRAFIJA

### Pozicije: fotografi in sopotniki

Janez Bogataj je odigral pomembno vlogo pri ovekovečenju bistva in duha punkerske scene. Njegov fotografski opus je dragocen zgodovinski dokument nastopov številnih pomembnih punkerskih skupin. Ti vizualni zapisi pogosto izkazujejo surovost, intenzivnost in upornost, značilne za obdobje punkerskega gibanja.

Božidar Dolenc ujame podrobnosti in simboliko ljubljanskega subkulturnega Diska FV 112/15. Njegov fotografski opus so svojci podarili fotografski zbirki MG+MSUM, pri tem pa sta pomembno vlogo odigrali kustosinja Lara Štrumej iz MG+ ter njena kolegica Sabina Povšič, ki sta nam omogočili dostop do Dolencevega opusa.

Vojko Flegar je kot novinar poročal o različnih temah, med drugim o političnih zadevah in družbenih vprašanjih ter kulturi. Dokumentiral je punkerje in punkerske bende iz Ljubljane, Idrije (Šund in Kuzle) in drugod ter se ukvarjal z lokalno punk sceno ter fotografsko ujel njene kulturne in glasbene izraze. Flegar je fotografijo uporabil predvsem kot ustvarjalni medij, s katerim je ujel vsakdanje utrinke punka, uprizorjene punkerske embleme v povezavi s socialističnimi spomeniki urbane arhitekture ter podal vpogled v punkerje in prizorišča.

Fotografije Dušana Gerlice odražajo oblikovanje nove punkovske mladine. Fotografiral je koncerte v Menzi, v Študentskem naselju v Ljubljani. Njegovi posnetki koncerta Pankrtov aprila 1979 v Menzi so zgodovinskega pomena. Ti vizualni zapisi so dragoceni zgodovinski viri koncertov, osebnosti in kulturnega konteksta dobe. Pripomorejo k ohranjanju spomina na vplivne zasedbe, kot so Pankrti, ter krepijo razumevanje slovenskega punkerskega gibanja.

Fotografije Siniše Lopojda so bogat zgodovinski zapis subkulturnih gibanj in razgibane glasbene scene v Ljubljani. Lopojda je fotografiral začetke in zatem vztrajno delovanje kluba Disko FV 112/15, ki je bil v času socializma vsak večer

dostopen punkerjem in alternativcem. Lopojdove fotografije Diska FV 112/15 razkrijejo, kako je prizadevanje za preseganje gole podobe porodilo povsem novo vizualno zasnovano kseroksiranih plakatov.

Močan vpliv punka in alternativne scene je obenem prinesel redefinicijo vizualnega kot takega. Opustitev modernističnega vizualnega formalističnega okvira je pripeljala do kulture punkzinov in umetnosti, ki je zapolnila vrzel med vizualno in množično kulturo, ki je prek glasbe in dogodkov v socializmu prišla tudi z Zahoda. Pomembno pa je poudariti, da so bili v osemdesetih letih od vseh držav nekdanjega vzhodnega bloka le v nekdanji Jugoslaviji kopirni stroji na voljo za civilno uporabo. Za reprodukcijo in diseminacijo gradiva je zadoščala ena sama naprava, kot sta bila VHS videokamera in snemalnik ali Polaroidov fotografski aparat.

Kustosinja pričujoče razstave, tudi pripadnica in sooblikovalka ljubljanske subkulturne in alternativne scene, že desetletja hrani takrat nastale plakate, vizualije, zine in glasbene kasete (arhiv M. Gržinić). Njihova izrazna moč ter vizualna, politična in estetska razsežnost so udarne. Na razstavi igrajo vlogo ne le znanilca, temveč obenem tudi oblikovalca novega režima reprezentacije in podobe za 21. stoletje. Punkersko gibanje, znano po uporniškem etosu, je pogosto zagovarjalo vključevanje »drugih« ter izzivalo družbene norme in krivice. Karizmatična moč Elene Pečarič izpostavlja te povezave.

Matija Praznik, sopotnik scene, nam je izročil odprt arhiv. Praznik je prizorišče spremljal nefiltrirano in celostno ter svoje delo predstavlja kot odprto arhivsko gradivo brez specifične izbirne metode. S tem pristopom si fotografi, kot je Praznik, pogosto prizadevajo dokumentirati in ohraniti bistvo, energijo in različnost določene subkulture.

Bogo Pretnar, dejaven član Pankrtov in njihov »arhivar«, se že od začetka delovanja skupine ukvarja z ohranjanjem zgodovinskih zapiskov in dokumentacije benda (arhiv B. Pretnarja). Ena najzgodnejših fotografij v Pretnarjevem arhivu datira iz sredine oktobra 1977. Zgodovinsko jo lahko umestimo na prag globalnega gibanja znotraj zgodovine punka.

Fotografi in kronisti so ključni pri dokumentiranju in ohranjanju zgodovine in kulturnega pomena glasbenih scen. Njihove fotografije in dokumentarni zapisi prispevajo k našemu razumevanju skupin, dogodkov in energije, ki je oblikovala punk sceno v določenem času in kraju. Fotografsko delo Bojana Radoviča, ki dokumentira punkersko sceno in koncerte v Novem mestu, je dragocen prispevek k lokalnemu glasbenemu arhivu in regionalni punkerski sceni.

Videofilm *Razmerja / 25 let lezbične skupine ŠKUC-LL* raziskuje zgodovino, dejavnosti in odnose znotraj lezbične (in gejevske) scene v obdobju petindvajsetih let. Naslov »25 let« se nanaša na obdobje od leta 1987 do 2012. Videofilm vključuje intervjuje z akterji in akterkami scene LGBT+ v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, arhivsko gradivo, gejevsko diskosceno ljubljanske subkulture in arhivske posnetke Diska FV 112/15. Mladen Romih je dokumentiral študentsko življenje v Ljubljani v začetku osemdesetih. Ujel je kulturne, socialne in akademske vidike študentskega življenja, ki so dragocen vpogled v dinamiko študentske skupnosti tedanjega časa in prostora.

Tone Stojko je s fotografijami prejšnjih desetletij, vse do punka in nedavnih protestov v Ljubljani, najbolj stalen fotografski arhivist in ustvarjalec podob 20. stoletja. Stojko igra pomembno vlogo pri dokumentiranju družbene in politične realnosti Slovenije vse od šestdesetih let naprej. Slovenija, kot republika nekdanje Jugoslavije, je imela socialistični sistem, znan kot samoupravni socializem, ki je poudarjal samoupravljanje in udeležbo delavcev pri odločanju. V obdobju socializma v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih so Ljubljano pretresali številni delavski protesti, ki so bili povezani z zahtevami po delavskih pravicah ter z vprašanji v zvezi s plačilom, ugodnostmi in zastopanstvo delavcev pri političnem odločanju. Protesti v Ljubljani v letih 2020–2022 so se prav tako navezovali na vladno politiko, korupcijo, svobodo medijev in okoljska vprašanja. Šlo je za mirna zborovanja, shode in govore na vidnih javnih mestih v Ljubljani, kot je npr. Prešernov trg. Protestniki so izrazili zaskrbljenost, zahtevali odgovornost in pozvali k spremembam na številnih področjih slovenske družbe. Fotografije odslkavajo energijo, politiko in dinamiko teh gibanj, pa tudi širši kulturni in družbeni kontekst, v katerem so se kalile.

Jože Suhadolnik se je uveljavil s fotografijo ljubljanske subkulturne scene osemdesetih let, s poudarkom predvsem na glasbenih skupinah, kot je Laibach. Njegove fotografije so svojevrsten vizualni vpogled v subkulturno glasbeno sceno, prikaz energije, estetike in nastopov skupin. Suhadolnikovo delo ne dokumentira le glasbe in nastopov, temveč tudi širše kulturne in družbene kontekste.

Jane Štravs se osredotoča na portrete punkerskega glamurja in mode. Njegova fotografija ujame subkulturo kot inscenirano držo, ki kljubuje kameri s performativnostjo in seksualnostjo. Štravs dokumentira akterke in akterje subkulture, modne sloge in njihovo vlogo ter vpliv znotraj subkultur. Vsaka posamezna fotografija na razstavi zatorej razgrinja doslej nerazkrite, nevidene plasti. Ko se ozremo nazaj, desetletja v preteklost, se ob razstavljenih fotografijah izkristalizirajo

mogočne pripovedi, ki ponazarjajo, zakaj je pomembno preizpraševati obdobje punka in subkulture, ujetih v fotografiji, na videu, posterjih, v zinih, itd. V tem pogledu je zanimiv prikaz zgodovinskih koncertov skupine Laibach, ki jih večina fotografov, sodelujočih na tej razstavi, ni zamudila.

Tožibabe so več kot izjemna ljubljanska punkerska skupina z izključno ženskimi članicami. Z glasbo, ki so jo zaznamovali neposredna energija, provokativna besedila in feministične teme, so izpodbijale družbene norme in pričakovanja ter odpirale vprašanja o neenakosti spolov, spolnosti, ljubezni, jezi in družbeni pravičnosti. Ime skupine odraža njihovo ključevalno in samozavestno držo. S svojimi udarnimi nastopi in družbenokritičnimi besedili so Tožibabe pridobile zveste privrženca in postale ena najvplivnejših punkerskih zasedb v Sloveniji. Znane so bile po energičnih živih nastopih in zavezanosti k izpovedovanju feminističnih idealov skozi glasbo.

Igor Vidmar je sooblikoval politični in ideološki diskurz znotraj punkerskega gibanja na Slovenskem. Njegove glasbene kritike in politični komentarji na Radiu Študent ter osebna integriteta so pripomogli k ohranjanju kritične perspektive punka in spodbujanju dialoga znotraj skupnosti. Radio Študent, najstarejši neodvisni študentski radio v Evropi (čigar nastanek je posledica demonstracij v nekdanji Jugoslaviji leta 1968, saj ga je komunistična nomenklatura ponudila kot kompenzacijo ljubljanskim študentom za njihove politične zahteve), je imel izjemno pomembno vlogo pri predvajanju punkerske, alternativne in subkulturne glasbe ter razvoja glasbe kot subverzivnega diskurza. Presenečenje je Vidmarjeva škatlica zbirke fotografij, ki je razpršen spomin na punkerske dogodke iz preteklosti (arhiv I. Vidmarja). Prikaz fotografij, zgovorne intimne zbirke punkerske »filozofije, zgodovine in avtobiografije«, lepo sovпада z Vidmarjevim vplivnim in prelomnim kulturnim delom na področju punka, rock'n'rolla za socializem, za novo družbo.

# SLOVENIAN PUNK & PHOTOGRAPHY

Marina Gržinić

## Positions: Photographers and Companions

Janez Bogataj played an important role in capturing the essence and spirit of the punk scene. He created a valuable historical record of the performances of numerous important punk bands. These visual records often show the rawness, intensity, and rebellious spirit associated with the punk movement.

Božidar Dolenc captures details and symbolism in the Disko FV 112/15 in the Ljubljana underground. His work was donated to MG+MSUM and Lara Štrumej, one of the curators of MG+, together with a colleague, Sabina Povšič, made it available to us.

As a journalist, Vojko Flegar has written on a range of topics including political affairs and social issues as well as culture. Flegar has documented punks and punk bands from Ljubljana, Idrija (Šund and Kuzle), and elsewhere, engaging with the local punk scene and photographically capturing their cultural and musical expressions. Flegar has also used photography as a creative outlet, captured everyday moments of punk, staged punk emblems in conjunction with socialist landmarks of urban architecture, and provided insights into punks and places.

Dušan Gerlica's photographs reflect the formation of the new punk youth. He documented the concerts at Menza, at the student dormitory complex of the University of Ljubljana. His photographs of the Pankrti concert in April 1979 at Menza are of historical importance. These visual records are valuable historical sources of the concerts, the personalities, and the cultural context of the era. They help to preserve the memory of influential bands such as Pankrti and enhance the understanding of the Slovenian punk movement.

Siniša Lopojski's photographs are a rich historical record of subcultural movements and Ljubljana's vibrant music scene. Lopojski photographed the beginnings and then the persistent activity of the club Disko FV 112/15, which

was open every night to punks and alternatives during socialism. Lopojda's photographs of Disko FV 112/15 reveal how the quest to go beyond the naked image gave birth to a completely new visual design of xeroxed posters.

The strong influence of punk and the alternative scene also brought about a redefinition of the visual as such. Abandoning the modernist visual formalist framework led to a punk zine culture and art that bridged the gap between visual culture and mass culture, which also came to socialism from the West through music and events. It is important to note, however, that in the 1980s, of all the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, only in the former Yugoslavia were copying machines available for civilian use. A single device was sufficient to reproduce and distribute material, as was the case with a VHS video camera and recorder or a Polaroid photographic device.

The curator of this exhibition, also a member and co-creator of the Ljubljana subcultural and alternative scene, has kept the posters, visuals, zines, and music tapes created at that time for decades (M. Gržinič's archive). Their expressive power and visual, political, and aesthetic dimension are striking. In this exhibition, they play the role of not only harbingers but also shapers of a new regime of representation and of the image for the 21st century. The punk movement, known for its rebellious ethos, often advocated for the inclusion of "others" and challenged social norms and injustices. The charismatic power of Elena Pečarič illustrates these connections.

Matija Praznik, a member of the scene, provided us with an open archive. Praznik captured the scene in an unfiltered and comprehensive way, presenting it as an open archive without a specific selection method. Using this approach, photographers like Praznik often seek to document and preserve the essence, energy, and diversity of a particular subculture.

Bogo Pretnar, an active member of Pankrti and their "archivist," has been involved in preserving Pankrti's historical records and documentation since the band's inception (B. Pretnar's archive). One of the earliest photographs found in the Pretnar archive dates from mid-October 1977 and is historically situated on the threshold of the global movement within the history of punk.

Photographers and chroniclers play an important role in documenting and preserving the history and cultural significance of music scenes. Their photographs and records contribute to our understanding of the bands, events, and energies that shaped the punk scene at a particular time and place. Bojan

Radovič's photographic work documenting the punk scene and concerts in Novo Mesto (Slovenia) is a valuable contribution to the local music archive and the regional punk scene.

*Relations / 25 Years of the Lesbian Group ŠKUC-LL* explores the history, activities, and relationships within the lesbian (and gay) scene over the course of 25 years. The title "25 Years" refers to the period from 1987 to 2012. Videofilm includes interviews with players of the LGBT+ scene in former Yugoslavia, numerous pieces of archival footage, and the gay disco scene in the underground of Ljubljana, as well as archival footage of Disko FV 112/15. Mladen Romih documented student life in Ljubljana in the early 1980s. He captured the cultural, social, and academic aspects of student life, offering valuable insights into the dynamics of the student community of the time and place.

Tone Stojko, who has photographed the past decades, up to punk and the recent protests in Ljubljana, is the most consistent photo archivist and creator of twentieth century images. Stojko has played an important role in documenting the social and political reality of Slovenia since the 1960s. As a republic of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia had a socialist system known as self-management socialism, which emphasised self-management and worker participation in decision-making. During the socialist period of the 1960s and 1970s, Ljubljana was shaken by a series of workers' protests demanding workers' rights, as well as issues related to pay, benefits, and workers' representation in political decision-making. Protests in Ljubljana in 2020–2022 were directed against government policies, corruption, demanding media freedom, and protection of the environment. These protests were peaceful gatherings, marches, and speeches in topical public places in Ljubljana, such as Prešernov trg (Prešeren Square). Participants voiced their concerns, demanded accountability, and called for change in various aspects of Slovenian society. The photographs of the events provide valuable visual records showing the energy, politics, and dynamics of these movements.

Jože Suhadolnik gained recognition for his work capturing the 1980s sub-cultural scene in Ljubljana, focusing particularly on bands like Laibach. Suhadolnik's photographs offered a unique visual perspective on the underground music scene, showcasing the energy, aesthetics, and performances of the bands. Suhadolnik's work, however, not only documents the music and performances, but also portrays the broader cultural and social context in which these subcultures thrived.



Jane Štravs focuses on portraits of punk glamour and fashion. His photography captures subculture in a manufactured sense that defies the camera with performativity and sexuality. Štravs documents the members of subculture scene, fashion styles, and their role and influence within the subculture. Each photo in the exhibition thus reveals previously hidden, unseen layers. Looking back decades into the past, layers of possible narratives crystallise through the images on display, illustrating why it is important to interrogate the era of punk and subculture through visual material captured in photography, video, posters, zines, etc. In this regard, it is interesting to show historical Laibach concerts, and most of the photographers participating in this exhibition did not miss them.

Tožibabe, which consists entirely of female members, were indeed a remarkable punk band from Ljubljana. Tožibabe's music was characterised by its raw energy, provocative lyrics, and feminist themes. Through their music, they challenged social norms and expectations, addressing issues such as gender inequality, sexuality, love, anger, and social justice. The name of the band itself, Tožibabe, roughly translates as "complaining women," reflecting their defiant and confident attitude. With their powerful performances and socially critical lyrics, Tožibabe gained a loyal following and became one of the most influential punk bands in Slovenia. They were known for their energetic live shows and their commitment to expressing their feminist ideals through their music.

Igor Vidmar has co-shaped the political and ideological discourse within the punk movement in Slovenia. His music criticism and political commentary on Radio Študent (Ljubljana), as well as Vidmar's personal integrity, have helped to maintain a critical perspective on punk and foster dialogue within the community. Radio Študent, the oldest independent student radio station in Europe (a result of the 1968 protests in the former Yugoslavia, which the communist nomenklatura granted to the students of Ljubljana to appease them), played a very important role in broadcasting punk, alternative, and subcultural music, and in the development of music as a subversive discourse. A surprise is Vidmar's boxed collection of photographs, a scattered reminiscence of punk events in the past (I. Vidmar's archive). This display of photographs, a telling intimate collection of punk "philosophy, history and autobiography," coincides well with Vidmar's influential and groundbreaking cultural work in the field of punk, rock'n'roll for socialism, for a new society.

**Janez BOGATAJ**

**Božidar DOLENC**

**Vojko FLEGAR**

**Dušan GERLICA**

**Siniša LOPOJDA**

**Bojan RADOVIČ**

**Tone STOJKO**

**Jože SUHADOLNIK**

**Jane ŠTRAVS**

## Janez BOGATAJ

Janez Bogataj (1961) je v zgodovino slovenske fotografije vpisan kot dokumentarist družbenopolitično turbulentnih osemdesetih let 20. stoletja. Bogataj je bil takrat fotoreporter pri tedniku *Mladina* in je objavljala predvsem fotografije koncertov. Vzporedno z reportažno fotografijo je ustvarjal tudi svojo avtorsko in pozneje izdal fotografsko monografijo *Pastorala* (Karantanija, 2004). Nanizal je vrsto uspešnih razstav doma in v svetu ter prejel vrsto nagrad, serijo njegovih del pa hrani ugledna Nacionalna biblioteka v Parizu, prav tako Muzej novejši in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije.

Janez Bogataj (1961) has gone down in the history of Slovenian photography as a documentarist of the socio-politically turbulent 1980s. In the 1980s Bogataj worked as a photojournalist for the weekly magazine *Mladina* and published mainly photos of concerts. Parallel to reportage photography, he also created his own auteur photography and later published the photo-monograph *Pastorala* [Pastoral] (Karantanija, 2004). He has held a number of successful exhibitions at home and abroad and has been awarded a number of prizes. Some of his works are kept by the renowned National Library in Paris and the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.



Janez Bogataj, **Buldogi**, Novi rock '81, Ljubljana, 4. september 1981 / 4 September 1981. Hrani Muzej novejši in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.



(zgoraj / up) Janez Bogataj, **Indust-Bag**, Novi rock '81, Ljubljana, 3. september 1981 / 3 September 1981. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.

(spodaj / down) Janez Bogataj, **Čao pičke**, Novi rock '83, Ljubljana, 8. september 1983 / 8 September 1983. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.







(zgoraj / up) Janez Bogataj, **Niet**, Ljubljana, 13. oktober 1984 / 13 October 1984. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.

(str. / pp. 66–67) Janez Bogataj, **Lublanski psi**, Novi rock '81, Ljubljana, 3. september 1981 / 3 September 1981. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.



## Božidar DOLENC

Božidar Dolenc (1950–2008) je bil eden najvidnejših fotografov v drugi polovici 20. stoletja pri nas. Bil je član Foto-kino kluba LEK in Fotogrupe ŠOLT ter od leta 1984 član Društva oblikovalcev Slovenije. Bil je eden od pobudnikov za nastanek fotografske revije *Fotografija* in njen glavni urednik (1997–1998). Dolenc je intenzivno dokumentiral čas ljubljanskega alternativnega kulturnega gibanja, vse tedanje umetniške in družbene dogodke. Bil je tudi dokumentarist naključnih uličnih prizorov in vseživljenjskega cikla avtoportretov. Danes vso njegovo fotografsko zbirko hrani Moderna galerija, ki je leta 2021 v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti Metelkova pripravila Dolenčevo prvo obsežnejšo posthumno razstavo.

Božidar Dolenc (1950–2008) was one of the most prominent Slovenian photographers of the second half of the 20th century. He was a member of the Foto-kino club LEK and the Fotogrupa ŠOLT, and from 1984 he was a member of the Designers Society of Slovenia. He was one of the initiators of the founding of the photo magazine *Fotografija* and its editor-in-chief (1997–1998). Dolenc intensively documented the period of the alternative cultural movement of Ljubljana and all artistic and social events of that time. He also documented random street scenes and spent a lifetime working on a series of self-portraits. Today, his entire photographic collection is kept by the Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana, which organised Dolenc's first major posthumous exhibition in 2021 at the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova.





VOGUE



VOGUE

VOGUE



VOGUE







(zgoraj) Božidar Dolenc, **Iz cikla Ljubljanska subkulturna scena. Disko FV, Ljubljana, 1984**, fotografija, sr.žel. plast. papir, 19,7 x 28,7 cm, sign.: ni, inv. št.: MG 1350/F. Z dovoljenjem Moderne galerije, Ljubljana.

(up) Božidar Dolenc, **From the Ljubljana Subculture Scene series. Disco FV, Ljubljana, 1984**, gelatin silver print on RC paper, 19,7 x 28,7 cm, unsigned, Inv. No.: MG 1350/F. Courtesy of the Moderna galerija, Ljubljana.

(str. 70–71) Božidar Dolenc, **Iz cikla Ljubljanska subkulturna scena. Disko FV, 1984**, fotografija, sr.žel. plast. papir, 19,4 x 28,4 cm, sign.: ni; zadaj l. zg. žig: FOTOGRAFIJA: / BOŽIDAR DOLENC, inv. št.: MG 1325/F. Z dovoljenjem Moderne galerije, Ljubljana.

(pp. 70–71) Božidar Dolenc, **From the Ljubljana Subculture Scene series. Disco FV, 1984**, gelatin silver print on RC paper, 19,4 x 28,4 cm, unsigned; stamp on verso UL: FOTOGRAFIJA: / BOŽIDAR DOLENC, Inv. No.: MG 1325/F. Courtesy of the Moderna galerija, Ljubljana.



Božidar Dolenc, *Iz cikla Ljubljanska subkulturalna scena. Disko FV*, 1984, fotografija, sr. žel. plast. papir, 28,8 x 19,8 cm, sign.: ni, inv. št.: MG 1320/F. Z dovoljenjem Moderne galerije, Ljubljana.

Božidar Dolenc, *From the Ljubljana Subculture Scene series. Disco FV*, 1984, gelatin silver print on RC paper, 28.8 x 19.8 cm, unsigned, Inv. No.: MG 1320/F. Courtesy of the Moderna galerija, Ljubljana.



## Vojko FLEGAR

Vojko Flegar, rojen 15. decembra 1958, je diplomirani pravnik, upokojeni novinar, med drugim sodelavec Radia Študent in *Tribune*, dopisnik, komentator in urednik *Dela* in *Dnevnika* ter samostojni novinar in urednik spletnega portala razgledi.net.

Vojko Flegar, born 15 December 1958, is a lawyer, retired journalist, contributor to Radio Študent and *Tribuna*, correspondent, commentator and editor of *Delo* and *Dnevnik*, as well as a freelance journalist and editor of the web portal razgledi.net.



(zgoraj / up) Vojko Flegar, Kuzle, Idrija, julij 1981 / July 1981 © avtor / author

(str. / p. 75) Vojko Flegar, Johnny Rotten Square, Medex, Ljubljana, marec 1981 / March 1981  
© avtor / author

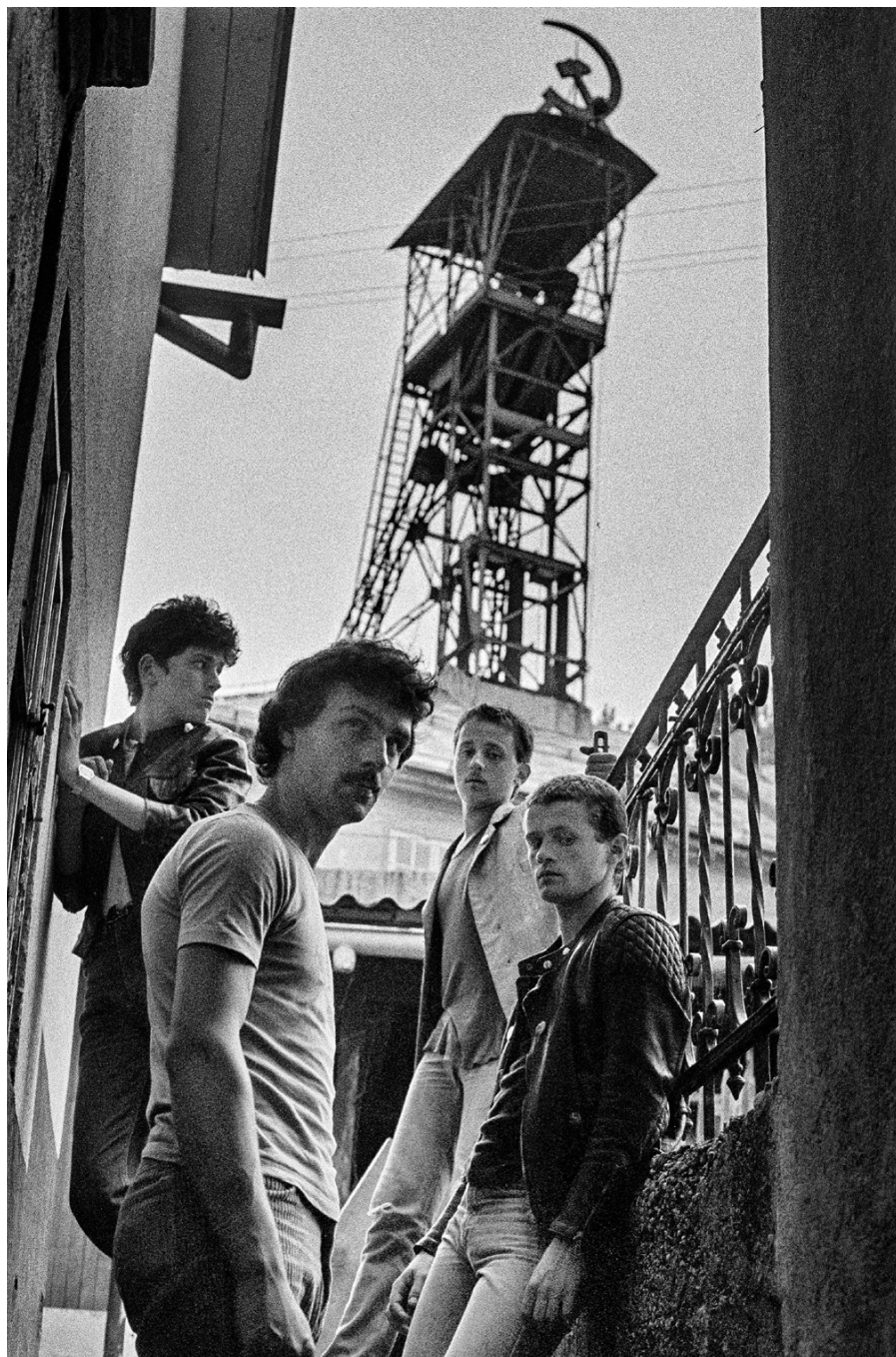












(zgoraj / up) Vojko Flegar, **Šund**, Idrija, julij 1981 / July 1981 © avtor / author

(str. / pp. 76–77) Vojko Flegar, **Pankrti**, Škofja Loka, oktober 1978 / October 1978 © avtor / author

## Dušan GERLICA

Dušan Gerlica se je po študiju novinarstva posvetil novinarski fotografiji, ki jo je objavljaval v *Tribuni* in *Mladini*. Gerlica je na začetku jugoslovanskega punka in na začetku konca jugoslovanskega socrealizma fotografiral koncertne prizore glavnih in takrat svežih punkerskih atrakcij (Pankrti, Water Pistols, Klinska pomora, Paraf, Berlinski zid, Termiti). Leta 2019 je ob 40-letnici prvega uradnega koncerta Pankrtov izdal knjigo *Menza Pank: Študent Ljubljana 1979/80* (Študentski dom, 2019) s še neobjavljenimi fotografijami koncertov v veliki menzi Študentskega naselja med letoma 1979 in 1980.

After studying journalism, Dušan Gerlica devoted himself to journalistic photography, which he published in *Tribuna* and *Mladina*. At the beginning of Yugoslav punk and in the latter stages of Yugoslav social realism, Gerlica captured the concert scenes of the most important and fresh punk attractions of the day (Pankrti, Water Pistols, Klinska pomora, Paraf, Berlinski zid, Termiti). In 2019, on the 40th anniversary of the first official concert of the Pankrti, he published the book *Menza Pank: Študent Ljubljana 1979/80* [Menza Punk: Student Ljubljana 1979/80] (Študentski dom, 2019) containing unpublished photos of concerts in the large canteen of the student quarter between 1979 and 1980.



(zgoraj / up) Dušan Gerlica, **Paraf**, Menza, Ljubljana, 3. november 1979 / 3 November 1979  
© avtor / author

(str. / p. 81) Dušan Gerlica, **Termiti**, Menza, Ljubljana, 30. maj 1980 / 30 May 1980  
© avtor / author

(str. / pp. 82–83) Dušan Gerlica, **Pankrti**, Menza, Ljubljana, 20. april 1979 / 20 April 1979  
© avtor / author









## Siniša LOPOJDA

Siniša Lopojda je ena od osrednjih osebnosti Ljubljanske alternativne in subkulturne scene, ki se je razvijala okrog Galerije ŠKUC v osemdesetih letih. Lopojda, pripadnik Diska FV, je fotografijo uporabljal tudi kot sredstvo za oblikovanje punkovskih in dadaističnih kolažev in posterjev, ki so bili razstavljeni v okviru diska FV in so sčasoma zadobili status umetniških artefaktov sami po sebi.

Siniša Lopojda is one of the central figures of the alternative and subcultural scene in Ljubljana that developed around the ŠKUC Gallery in the 1980s. Lopojda, a member of Disko FV, also used photography as a means of creating punk and dada collages and posters, which were exhibited as part of the Disko FV programme and eventually acquired the status of an artistic artefact in their own right.



Siniša Lopojda, Esad Babačić – Car, 1982 © avtor / author



(zgoraj / up) Siniša Lopojski, *Laibach in / & Igor Vidmar*, Disko FV, Ljubljana, 1982 © avtor / author

(str. / pp. 86–87) Siniša Lopojski, *Disko FV*, Ljubljana, 1983 © avtor / author









Siniša Lopojda, *Disko Študent*, Ljubljana, 1983 © avtor / author

# Bojan RADOVIČ

Bojan Radovič je diplomiral na Inštitutu za visoko šolstvo Zahodni Glamorgan (WGIHE), Fakulteti za umetnost in oblikovanje v Swanseaju (Wales) v Združenem kraljestvu. Je soustanovitelj fotogalerije Pri Slonu, Fotogalerije Novo Mesto ter ustanovitelj Luminus d.o.o. in Hiše fotografije. Radovič je ena osrednjih osebnosti sodobne slovenske fotografije in njenih poti. Že desetletja se ukvarja s fotografsko prakso, raziskuje njene estetske in konceptualne razsežnosti ter njene (ne)zmožnosti. Svoje fotografije je predstavil na vrsti samostojnih razstav doma in v tujini ter sodeloval na več preglednih razstavah sodobne slovenske fotografije in umetnosti.

Bojan Radovič is a graduate of the West Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education (WGIHE), Faculty of Art and Design in Swansea (Wales), United Kingdom. He is a co-founder of the photo gallery "Pri Slonu," the Photo Gallery Novo Mesto and founder of Luminus Ltd. and the House of Photography. Radovič is one of the central figures of contemporary Slovenian photography and its paths. He has been engaged in photographic practice for decades, exploring its aesthetic and conceptual dimensions and its (im)possibilities. He presented his photographs in a number of solo exhibitions at home and abroad and participated in several survey exhibitions of contemporary Slovenian photography and art.



Bojan Radovič, **Občinstvo** / The audience, Gimnazija Novo Mesto, 10. junij 1983  
/ 10 June 1983 © avtor / author



Bojan Radovič, Gast'r'bjajtr's, Gimnazija Novo Mesto, 10. junij 1983 / 10 June 1983 © avtor / author







Bojan Radovič, O! KULT, Gimnazija Novo Mesto, 10. junij 1983 / 10 June 1983 © avtor / author





## Tone STOJKO

Tone Stojko je med študijem novinarstva v Ljubljani delal na RTV Ljubljana in bil član Fotogrupe ŠOLT. Delal je tudi pri študentskem časopisu *Tribuna* ter leta 1971 postal urednik fotografije in fotograf tednika *Mladina*. V prvi polovici osemdesetih let je sistematično dokumentiral gledališko dogajanje, v drugi polovici pa kronološko spremljal demokratizacijo in nastajanje slovenske države. Od leta 1968, ko je v objektiv ujel študentsko pomlad v Ljubljani, je njegova stalnica fotografiranje protestov in demonstracij. Je soustanovitelj Prodok d.o.o. in gledališkega dokumentacijskega centra Prodok Teater TV. Za svoje delo je prejel vrsto nagrad, njegovo fotografsko gradivo danes hrani več ustanov (Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije, SLOGI – Gledališki muzej, Galerija Prešernovih nagrajencev v Kranju in druge).

During his journalism studies in Ljubljana, Tone Stojko worked for RTV Ljubljana and was a member of Fotogrupa ŠOLT. He also worked for the student newspaper *Tribuna* and became photo editor and photographer at the *Mladina* weekly in 1971. In the first half of the 1980s he systematically documented theatre events, and in the second half of the 1980s chronologically recorded the democratisation and formation of the Slovenian state. He has documented protests and demonstrations since 1968, when he captured the Student Spring in Ljubljana on camera. He is a co-founder of Prodok Ltd. and the theatre documentation centre Prodok Teater TV. He has received several awards for his work and his photographic material is now kept by several institutions (National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia, The Slovenian Theatre Institute – the Theatre Museum, Prešeren Award Winners of Fine Arts Gallery Kranj, etc.).



(zgoraj / up) Tone Stojko, **Otroci socializma**, november 1982 / November 1982. Hrani Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.

(spodaj / down) Tone Stojko, **Laibach**, Festivalna dvorana, Ljubljana, 19. februar 1987 / 19 February 1987  
© avtor / author







(zgoraj / up) Tone Stojko, **Laibach**, Festivalna dvorana, Ljubljana, 19. februar 1987 / 19 February 1987  
© avtor / author

(str. / pp. 96–97) Tone Stojko, **Občinstvo** / The audience, Novi rock '84, Ljubljana, september 1984 /  
September 1984. Hrani Muzej novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije. / Kept by the National Museum  
of Contemporary History of Slovenia.

## Jože SUHADOLNIK

Jože Suhadolnik je svojo fotografsko pot začel leta 1982 v Disku FV v Rožni dolini. Dokumentiral je porajajočo se punk in novovalovsko sceno osemdesetih let. Od leta 1985 je kot neodvisni fotograf delal za številne časopise, revije in agencije, med drugimi za *Tanjug*, *Mladino*, *Evropo*, *Republika*, Associated Press, EPA, Bloomberg, ter kot fotograf državnega protokola. Je soustanovitelj fotoagencije Bobo. Od leta 2006 je zaposlen pri časopisu *Delo*, sprva kot urednik fotografije, zadnjih deset let pa deluje kot redakcijski fotograf. Je avtor fotografske monografije *Balkan Pank* (Akina Books, 2014) in *Balkan Pank II* (Goga, 2016).

Jože Suhadolnik began his photographic journey in 1982 in Disko FV in Rožna dolina. He documented the emerging punk and new wave scene of the 1980s. Since 1985 he has worked as an independent photographer for many newspapers, magazines and agencies, including *Tanjug*, *Mladina*, *Evropa*, *Republika*, Associated Press, EPA, Bloomberg and as a state protocol photographer. He is a co-founder of the Photo Agency Bobo. He has been employed by the *Delo* newspaper since 2006, first as a photo editor and for the last ten years as an editorial photographer. He is the author of the photographic monograph *Balkan Pank* (Akina Books, 2014) and *Balkan Pank II* (Goga, 2016).



Jože Suhadolnik, *Linije sile*, Ljubljana, v 1980-ih / 1980s © avtor / author











(zgoraj / up) Jože Suhadolnik, **Hard Core**, v 1980-ih / 1980s © avtor / author

(str. / pp. 100–101) Jože Suhadolnik, **Brane Bitenc**, Ljubljana, v 1980-ih / 1980s © avtor / author



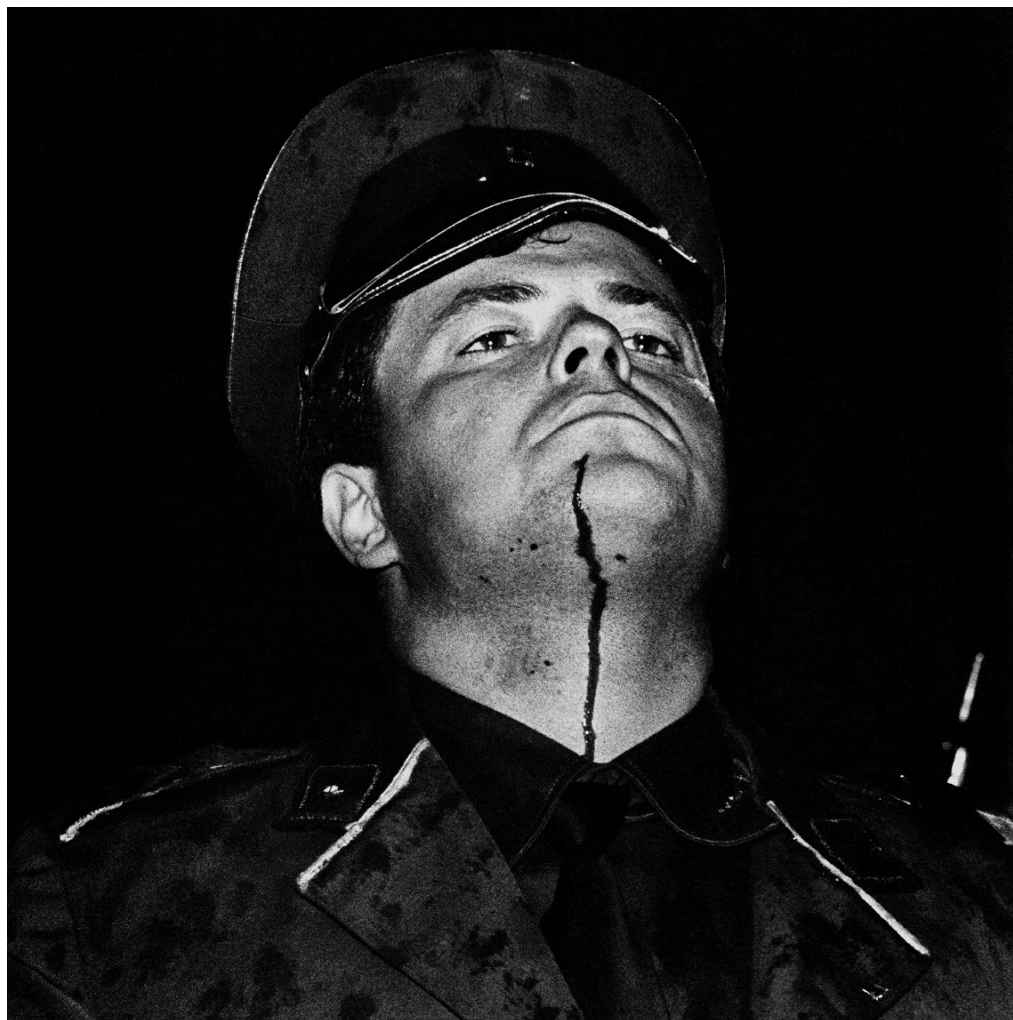
Jože Suhadolnik, Anja Rupel, v 1980-ih / 1980s © avtor / author

## Jane ŠTRAVS

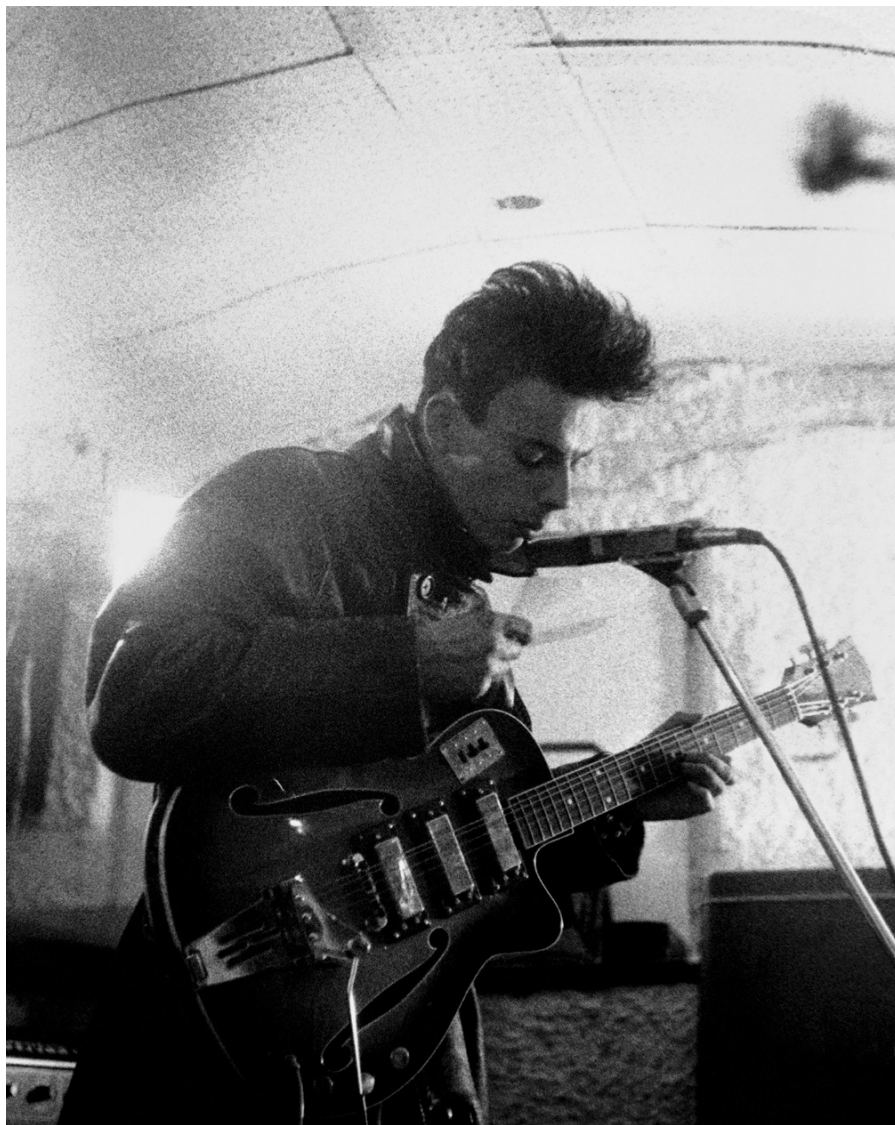
Jane Štravs (1965, Ljubljana) je začel razstavljeni v zgodnjih osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja kot eden vidnejših kronistov in protagonistov ljubljanske alternativne kulturne scene. Njegova biografija obsega več kot štirideset samostojnih in več kot sto skupinskih razstav v Sloveniji in tujini. Moderna galerija v Ljubljani je leta 1993 predstavila obsežen pregledni izbor njegovih del. Pri Založbi ZRC je leta 2003 izšla njegova monografija *Photographic Incarnations* [Fotografske inkarnacije] z uvodnima esejema Marine Gržinić in W.J.T. Mitchella. Štravsove fotografije se nahajajo v številnih javnih in zasebnih zbirkah. Dela kot samostojni ustvarjalec na področju kulture v Ljubljani.

Jane Štravs (1965, Ljubljana) began exhibiting in the early 1980s as one of the most prominent chroniclers and protagonists of Ljubljana's alternative cultural scene. His biography includes more than 40 solo and more than a 100 group exhibitions in Slovenia and abroad. In 1993, the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana presented a retrospective of his works. In 2003, the publishing house of ZRC SAZU published his monograph *Photographic Incarnations* with introductory essays by Marina Gržinić and W.J.T. Mitchell. Štravs' photographs are in numerous public and private collections. He works as an independent cultural worker in Ljubljana.





Jane Štravs, Tomaz Hostnik (1961–1982), Laibach, Novi Rock '82, Ljubljana, 1982 © avtor / author



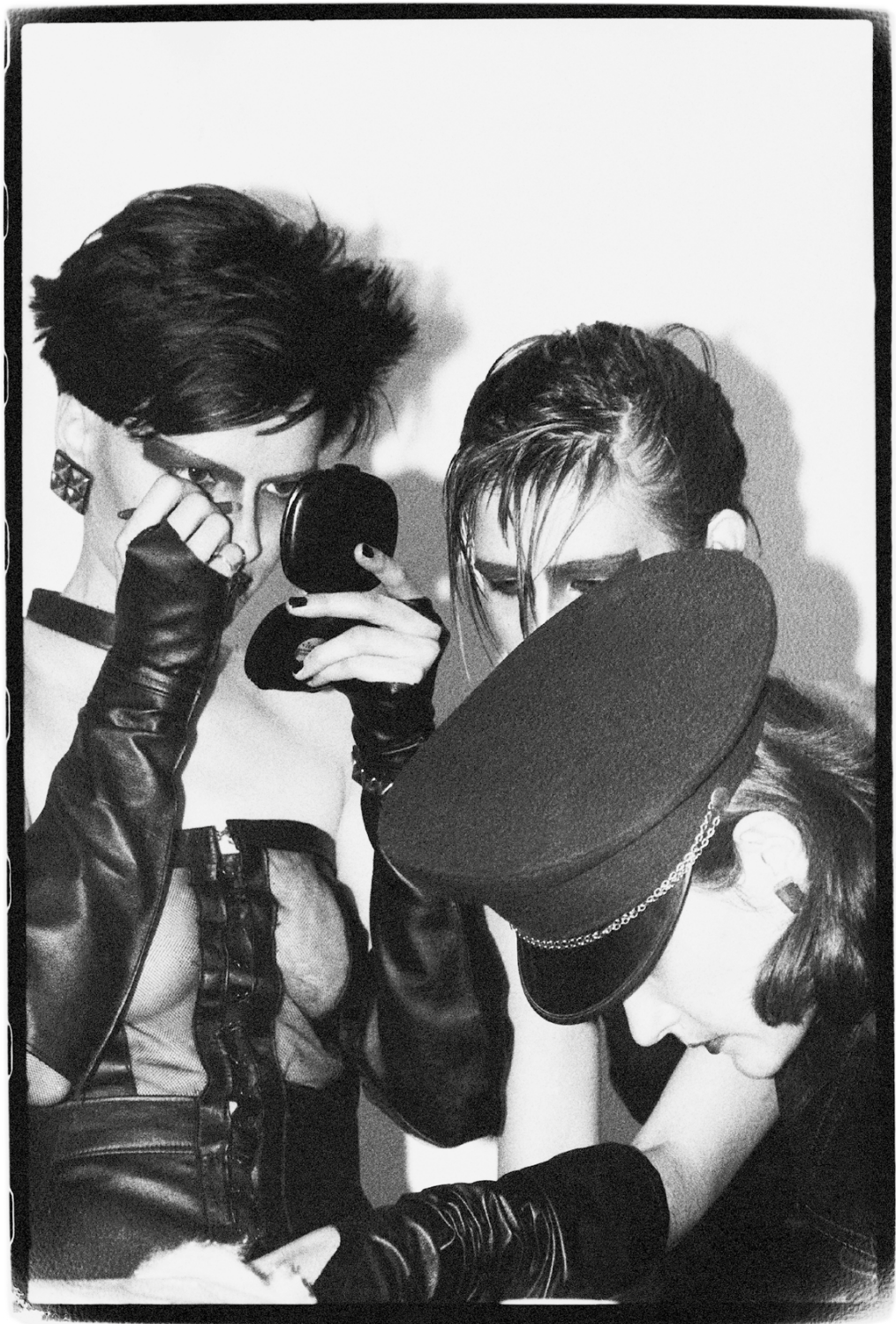
Jane Štravs, Dejan Knez, Laibach, FV 112/15, Ljubljana, 1982 © avtor / author



(zgoraj / up) Jane Štravs, **Magnus, Borghesia**, Ljubljana, 1984 © avtor / author

(str. / p. 108) Jane Štravs, **Linije sile**, Ljubljana, 1984 © avtor / author





**Elena PEČARIČ**

**Matija PRAZNIK**

**Bogo PRETNAR**

**RAZMERJA / 25 let**

**lezbične skupine ŠKUC-LL**

**RELATIONS / 25 Years of**

**the Lesbian Group ŠKUC-LL**

**Mladen ROMIH**

**TOŽIBABE**

**Igor VIDMAR**

## Elena PEČARIČ

Elena Pečarič (1971) je filozofinja, sociologinja kulture in aktivistka. Že konec osemdesetih let je vzpostavila projekt Neodvisno življenje hendikepiranih, v devetdesetih je sooblikovala Društvo za razvijanje preventivnega in prostovoljnega dela, ki je 1994 postalo del Mreže za Metelkovo (SOT 24,5). Leta 1996 je soustanovila YHD – Društvo za teorijo in kulturo hendikepa, ki je bilo glavno gibalo večletne kampanje za Zakon o osebni asistenci. Izdala je delo *EUtropija* (Sanje, 2009), ki je serija kritičnih zapisov o demokratičnosti delovanja evropskih institucij in spoštovanju človekovih pravic, prav tako je avtorica dela *Invalidski Catch the Cash: Državne Loterijske Igre* (Za-misli, 2017) in *Svoboda dihanja* (KUD AAC Zrakogled, 2021).

Elena Pečarič (1971) is a philosopher, cultural sociologist and activist. As early as in late 1980s, she established the project Independent Life of the Handicapped, in the 1990s co-founded the Society for the Development of Preventive and Voluntary Work, which became part of the Metelkova Network in 1994 (SOT 24,5). In 1996, she co-founded YHD – Society for the Theory and Culture of Handicap, which was the main driving force behind the multi-year campaign for the Personal Assistance Act. She published *EUtropija* [EUtrophly] (Sanje, 2009), a series of critical notes on the democratic functioning of European institutions and respect for human rights, and is also the author of *Invalidski Catch the Cash: državne loterijske igre* [Disability Catch the Cash: State Supported Lottery Games] (Za-misli, 2017) and *Svoboda dihanja* [The Freedom of Breathing] (KUD AAC Zrakogled, 2021).



**Elena Pečarič, Pust / Shrovetide, Zavod za usposabljanje invalidne mladine Kamnik (danes CIRIUS Kamnik) / Institute for the Training of Disabled Youth Kamnik (today CIRIUS Kamnik), 1985. Arhiv Elene Pečarič. / Archive of Elena Pečarič.**



**Elena Pečarič, Pust / Shrovetide, Zavod za usposabljanje invalidne mladine Kamnik (danes CIRIUS Kamnik) / Institute for the Training of Disabled Youth Kamnik (today CIRIUS Kamnik), 1985. Arhiv Elene Pečarič. / Archive of Elena Pečarič.**



## Matija PRAZNIK

Matija Praznik, diplomirani inženir elektrotehnike z dokončanimi štirimi letniki filozofije, je bil v zgodnjih osemdesetih letih dejaven spremljevalec ljubljanske alternativne scene. Vse od dogajanja v Disku FV na začetku osemdesetih jo je spremljal s fotoaparatom in jo soustvarjal z razstavami svojih del, z izdelavo scenskih elementov za gledališke predstave ali performanse, z mizarskimi deli pri postavitvah razstav drugih umetnikov. Svoje fotografije tedanjega časa razume kot osebni fotografski dnevnik, katerega namen je zgodovinjenje.

Matija Praznik, an electrical engineering graduate with a four-year degree in philosophy, was an active supporter of Ljubljana's alternative scene in the early 1980s. Since the events at Disko FV in the early 1980s, he followed the scene with his camera and helped shape it by exhibiting his own works, making stage elements for plays or performances, doing carpentry for the installations of other artists' exhibitions. He regards his photographs from this period as a personal photographic diary whose purpose is to chronicle.



Matija Praznik, *Union*, Ljubljana, 1. februar 1987 / 1 February 1987 © avtor / author



Matija Praznik, Dule Bitenc, Disko Študent, Ljubljana, april/junij 1982 / April/June 1982 © avtor / author

## Bogo PRETNAR

Bogo Pretnar, kitarist skupine Pankrti in njihov neomajni »arhivist«, hrani obsežno dokumentacijo zgodovine Pankrtov, med katero je mogoče najti tudi enega prvih posnetkov Pankrtov v Kinu Triglav, kjer so se kalili, še preden so prvič javno nastopili 18. oktobra 1977 v Gimnaziji Moste v Ljubljani. Njihov prvi koncert, ki je naznanil rojstvo punka v nekdanji Jugoslaviji, se je odvil deset dni pred izdajo prvega in edinega studijskega albuma Sex Pistolsov *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Sex Pistols* (Virgin Records). V Pretnarjevem arhivu se nahaja tudi fotografija Pankrtov v Zagrebu decembra istega leta, ko so na odprtju razstave stripov Mirka Ilića skupaj z Azro – Rock'n'roll iz šume Striborove, zgodnjo inkarnacijo zasedb Azra in Film, koncertirali v Galeriji SC.

Bogo Pretnar, the guitarist of the band Pankrti and their indefatigable “archivist,” keeps an extensive documentation of the Pankrti’s history, among which is one of the first photos of the Pankrti at the Kino Triglav (Triglav Cinema), where they polished their act before their first public performance on 18 October 1977 at the Gimnazija Moste grammar school in Ljubljana. Their first concert, which heralded the birth of punk in the former Yugoslavia, took place ten days before the release of the Sex Pistols’ first and only studio album, *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Sex Pistols* (Virgin Records). Pretnar’s archive also includes a photo of Pankrti in Zagreb from December of the same year, when they performed at the opening of Mirko Ilić’s comics exhibition together with Azra – Rock’n’roll iz šume Striborove, an early incarnation of the bands Azra and Film, at the Gallery SC.





(zgoraj / up) **Pankrti**, Radio Študent, oktober 1977 / October 1977. Arhiv Boga Pretnarja.  
/ Archive of Bogo Pretnar.

(spodaj / down) **Pankrti**, Galerija SC, Zagreb, december 1977 / December 1977. Arhiv Boga Pretnarja.  
/ Archive of Bogo Pretnar.

## **RAZMERJA / 25 let lezbične skupine ŠKUC-LL**

Marina Gržinić, Aina Šmid in Zvonka T. Simčič

Mini DV, barvni, 84.02 min., produkcija Zavod CCC, Ljubljana, 2012

Dokumentarni videofilm govori o 25. obletnici lezbične skupine ŠKUC-LL (1987–2012) in o lezbičnem gibanju v nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Gre za projekt, ki vizualizira in opredeljuje kontekst gibanja in LGBTQ-skupnosti znotraj politike, ekonomije, kulture, umetnosti in pravnih institucionalnih struktur ter v povezavi z njimi. Ta kontekstualizacija poteka na dveh plasteh: najprej od razpadajočega socializma do neoliberalnega kapitalizma, nato pa je v devetdesetih letih prikazan prehod v sedanjí, krvavi neoliberalni globalni kapitalizem. Videofilm vključuje analizo gibanja v EU po letu 2004, ko je Slovenija postala članica EU, ter vključuje razprave in analizo »klime«, ki je sledila razpravam in zavrnitvi novega družinskega zakonika v Sloveniji leta 2012. Družinski zakonik je bil zavrnjen na referendumu marca 2012, večina pa se je odločila proti temeljnim človekovim pravicam istospolnih partnerstev in njihovih otrok. Parade ponosa na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije v filmu zasedajo posebno mesto. Videofilm prikazuje različne procese marginalizacije in boja za pravice lezbične in LGBT-skupnosti v Sloveniji ter širše.

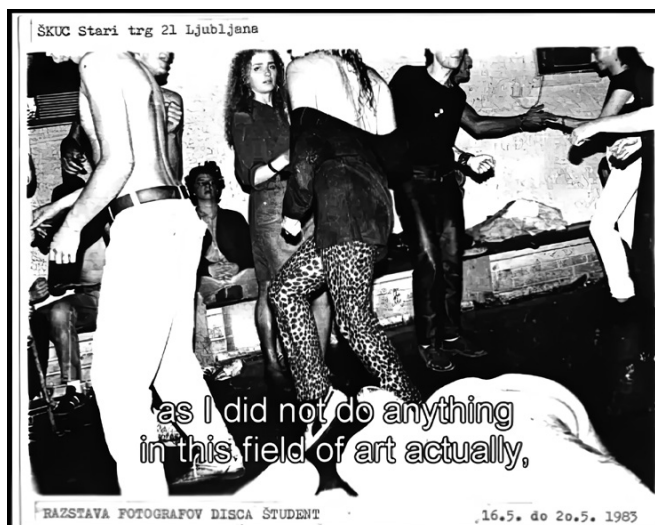
## **RELATIONS / 25 Years of the Lesbian Group ŠKUC-LL**

Marina Gržinić, Aina Šmid & Zvonka T. Simčič

Mini DV, colour, 84.02 min., production Zavod CCC, Ljubljana, 2012

This documentary videofilm deals with the 25th anniversary of the lesbian group ŠKUC-LL (1987–2012) and with the lesbian movement in the former Yugoslavia. It is a project that visualises and defines the context of the movement and the LGBTQ community within and in relation to politics, economy, culture, art and legal institutional structures. This contextualization takes place on two layers: first charting the shift from disintegrating socialism to neoliberal capitalism, and then presenting the 1990s transition to the current, bloody neoliberal global capitalism. The videofilm includes an analysis of the movement in the EU after 2004, when Slovenia became a member of the EU, and includes discussions and analysis of the “climate” that followed the discussions and rejection of a new Family Code in Slovenia in 2012. The Family Code was rejected in a referendum in March 2012, with the majority deciding against basic human rights for same-sex partnerships

and their children. Pride Parades on the territory of the former Yugoslavia have a special place in the film. The videofilm shows a variety of processes of marginalisation and the struggle for the rights of the lesbian and LGBT community in Slovenia and, more broadly.



(zgoraj / up) **Razmerja / Relations**, Razstava fotografov Diska Študent / Exhibition by Disko Študent photographers, 16. 5. – 20. 5. 1983, ŠKUC, Ljubljana, video kader / video still. Mini DV, barvni / colour, 84.02 min., režija / directed by Marina Gržinič, Aina Šmid & Zvonka T. Simčič, produkcija / production Zavod CCC, Ljubljana, 2012 © avtorice / authors

(spodaj / down) **Razmerja / Relations**, Disko FV 112/15 scena v 1980-ih / Disko FV 112/15 scene in the 1980s, video kader / video still. Mini DV, barvni / colour, 84.02 min., režija / directed by Marina Gržinič, Aina Šmid & Zvonka T. Simčič, produkcija / production Zavod CCC, Ljubljana, 2012 © avtorice / authors

## Mladen ROMIH

Mladen Romih, rojen 1959, je študiral politične vede in novinarstvo na Fakulteti za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo v Ljubljani, kjer je diplomiral leta 1983. Bil je zaposlen v državni upravi, sedaj upokojenec. S fotografijo se je intenzivno ukvarjal v srednji šoli in med študijem. Fotoaparati so bili njegovi redni spremljevalci, z njimi pa je spremljal dogodke v srednji šoli in na fakulteti s poudarkom na študentskem življenju. V Ljubljani je bil redni kupec francoske revije *PHOTO*, ki je vplivala na njegovo ukvarjanje z reportažno fotografijo. Je ljubitelj črno-bele fotografije, analogist, z digitalno tehniko se ni ukvarjal.

Mladen Romih, born in 1959, studied political science and journalism at the Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism in Ljubljana, where he graduated in 1983. He worked in the state administration and is now retired. At school and during his studies, he actively pursued photography. With the camera as his constant companion, he captured events at school and at university, with a focus on student life. In Ljubljana, he regularly bought the French magazine *PHOTO*, which influenced his preoccupation with reportage photography. He is a lover of black and white photography, an analogue devotee who has never utilised digital technology.



Mladen Romih, **Grupa 92**, Menza, Ljubljana, pomlad / spring 1980 © avtor / author





Mladen Romih, *Neuvrščeni* / Non-Aligned, Dan Mladosti / Youth Day, Študent, Ljubljana, 25. maj 1980 / 25 May 1980 © avtor / author

## TOŽIBABE

Tožibabe, nastale v začetku osemdesetih let, so ena prvih slovenskih hard core/punk zasedb ter prva slovenska in jugoslovanska vseženska zasedba, v kateri so ženske ne samo izvajalke, ampak tudi avtorice glasbe, besedil in aranžmajev. Stalne članice so bile Marsa, Lidija in Krischka, na začetku tudi Pika (Maja Jerman), v obdobju, ko so snemale svojo prvo in edino samostojno ploščo *Dežuje*, pa jih je na klaviaturah spremljala Barbara Štuhec. Nastopale so v pomembnih klubih po Sloveniji in nekdanji Jugoslaviji, eden najboljših je bil koncert na beograjski Akademiji, kjer so bile predskupina Discipline kičme. Udeležba in nastop na mediteranskem bienalu v Solunu in Novem rocku sta bila pomembna mejnika njihove uspešne poti. Izdale so en maxi singel ter skupaj z drugimi jugoslovanskimi ustvarjalci več kompilacij in nekaj video kaset. Sodelovale so tudi na nekaj mednarodnih kompilacijah (Francija, ZDA itd.). Posnele so več avtorskih videospotov z avtorsko režijo in scenarijem, pod okriljem underground založbe FV. Bile so dejavne v okviru Radia Študent, pisale besedila za fanzine, organizirale in postavljale razstave v ŠKUCu, K4, Šiški in KUDu ter imele velike zasluge pri začetnih korakih K4.

Tožibabe, formed in the early 1980s, are one of the first Slovenian hardcore/punk bands and the first Slovenian and Yugoslav all-female band in which women are not only singers but also authors of music, lyrics and arrangements. Permanent members were Marsa, Lidija and Krischka, initially also Pika (Maja Jerman), and during the period when they recorded their first and only independent album, *Dežuje* [It Rains], they were accompanied by Barbara Štuhec on keyboards. They performed in major clubs in Slovenia and the former Yugoslavia, one of the best being a concert at the Belgrade Academy, where they were the opening act for Disciplina kičme. Participation and performance at the Mediterranean Biennale in Thessaloniki and at New Rock are two important milestones in their career. They released a maxi-single and together with other Yugoslav artists several compilations and some videotapes. They also participated in some international compilations (France, USA, etc.). Under the auspices of the underground label FV they recorded several original videos with their own direction and script. They were active on Radio Študent, wrote texts for fanzines, organised and hosted exhibitions in ŠKUC, K4, Šiška and KUD, and are widely credited with helping launch the K4 club.



(zgoraj / up) **Tožibabe**, Dežuje / It Rains. Glasbeni video / Music video, 2.29 min., režija / directed by Neven Korda, produkcija / production ATV – FV Video, ŠKD Forum & Brut, 1986. Arhiv Tožibab. / Archive of Tožibabe. © avtorji / authors

(spodaj / down) **Tožibabe**, Tožibabe. Glasbeni video / Music video, 0.40 min., VHS, Iskanje izgubljenega časa / In Search of Lost Time, režija / directed by Neven Korda, Radmila Pavlović, Dario Seraval, produkcija / production FV Video / Škuc – Forum, 1985. Arhiv Tožibab. / Archive of Tožibabe. © avtorji / authors



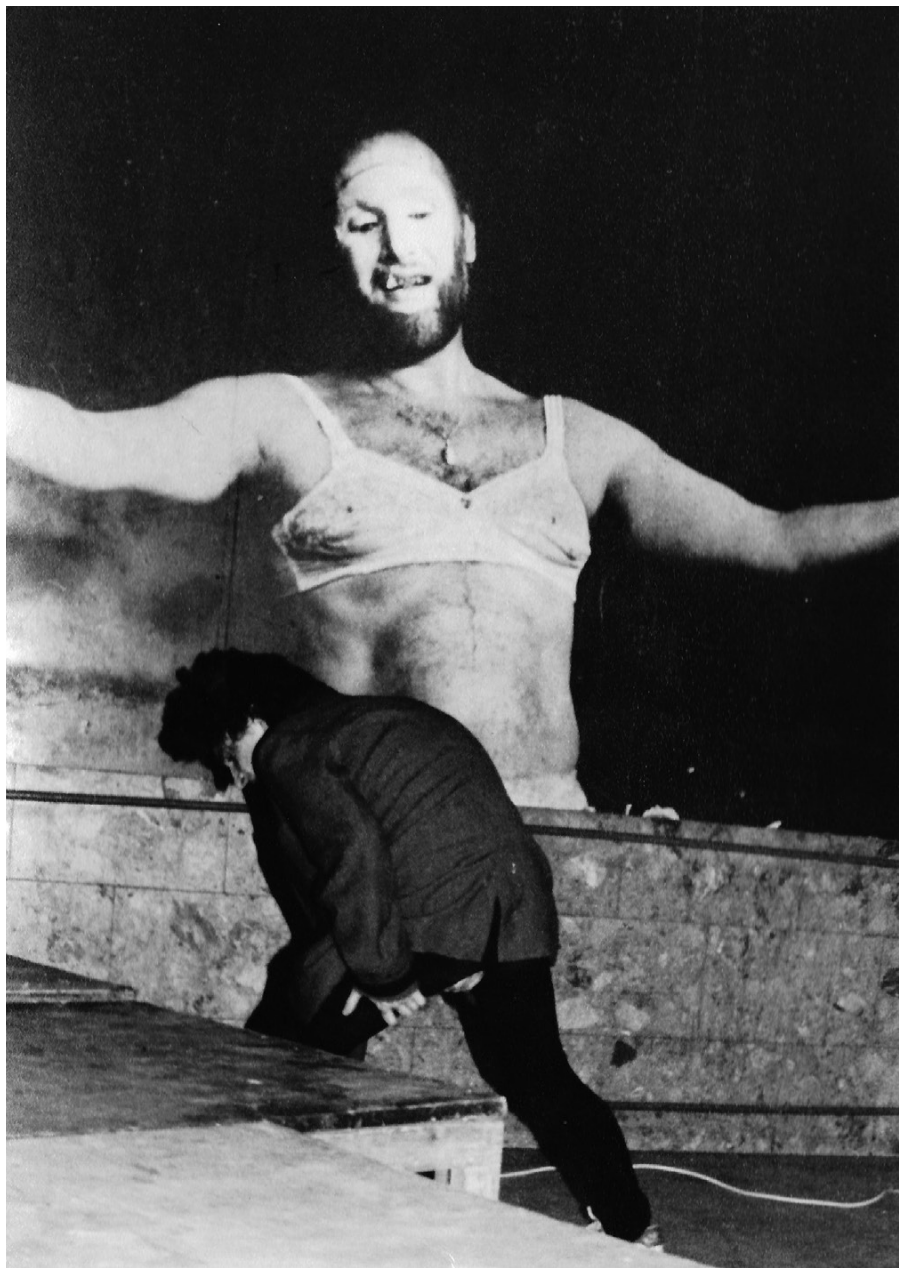
## Igor VIDMAR

Igor Vidmar, znan kot boter slovenskega punka, je bil v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja ključna osebnost na alternativni glasbeni sceni v Sloveniji in nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Bil je tudi politični novinar in urednik na Radiu Študent ter vodja glasbene redakcije ŠKUC, objavljaj v *Mladini*, bil je dejaven pri *Magni Purgi*, prvem stripovskem albumu na Slovenskem, pri Pankrtih in pri Laibachu, sozagnal festival Novi rock, ki je dve desetletji promoviral alternativno rockovsko ustvarjalnost v Sloveniji in tedanji Jugoslaviji. Vključil se je v emancipacijo države tudi kot član kolegija Odbora za varstvo človekovih pravic. Od leta 1989 je bil tedenski politični kolumnist na nacionalni TV, na Radiu Študent itd. Je neodvisni promotor več kot petsto koncertov mednarodnih glasbenih imen.

Igor Vidmar, known as the godfather of Slovenian punk, was a key figure in the alternative music scene in Slovenia and the former Yugoslavia in the 1980s. He was also a political journalist and editor at Radio Študent and head of the ŠKUC music editorial board. Vidmar published in *Mladina*, was actively involved in *Magna Purga*, the first comic album in Slovenia, with Pankrti and with Laibach, and co-founded the New Rock Festival, which promoted alternative rock creativity in Slovenia and the former Yugoslavia for two decades. As a board member of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, he was also involved in the emancipation of Slovenia. Since 1989, he has been a weekly political columnist on the national television station, Radio Študent, etc. He is an independent promoter of more than 500 concerts of international music artists.



Paraf, Menza, 24. november 1978  
/ 24 November 1978. Arhiv Igorja  
Vidmarja. / Archive of Igor Vidmar.



[Božidar Dolenc]. Arhiv Igorja Vidmarja. / Archive of Igor Vidmar.

## E-P(UN)K\*

Zakaj bi čezmejni program Evropske prestolnice kulture leta 2025 lahko bil zainteresiran za nadgradnjo decembrske razstave iz Cankarjevega doma? Ker v punkovskem gibanju vidimo eno najsodobnejših gibanj na Slovenskem – kolikor je definicija sodobnosti, da zna napovedati prihodnost in prispevati k njeni uresničitvi. Prav za to nam gre v Novi Gorici in Gorici: da iz najbolj nevralgličnih točk preteklosti in sedanjosti znamo potegniti silo in moč za prihodnje preboje. Glasbeni aranžmaji se tako pomešajo s političnimi angažmaji, osvobodilna gibanja s skoki na glavo, kuzle in pankrti dobivajo velike začetnice, poglavja zgodovine pa se odpirajo z nepričakovanih strani.

Vrnitev punka na Goriško danes ni le stvar Cankarjevega doma in ZRC SAZU, Znanstvenoraziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, temveč tudi glasbeno izobraženih in politično ozaveščenih novih generacij. Na poti iz Ljubljane v Novo Gorico se bo zgodba okrepila še z idrijsko, reško in puljsko izkušnjo – da bo po Evropski prestolnici kulture 2025 lahko nadaljevala pot naprej po Evropi. In če so se nekoč najboljši koncerti in žuri končevali na postaji, se bodo tu šele začeli: na črti med novogoriško železniško postajo in Mostovno, med carinarnico in Solkanom, bo več kot dovolj prostora za vse razsežnosti punkovske dediščine, od fotografske in fenzinske do koncertne in literarne. POGO Borderless!

\* EPK = Evropska prestolnica kulture

## E-P(UN)K\*

Why would the 2025 European Capital of Culture cross-border programme be interested in supplementing an exhibition to be held this upcoming December at Cankarjev dom? Because we understand the punk movement as one of Slovenia's most avant-garde movements – as long as the definition of avant-garde encompasses both envisaging future and taking a part in its becoming a reality. This is the mission of our team here in Nova Gorica and Gorizia: to draw strength and power from the most neuralgic points of our past and present, and use it for future breakthroughs. In this way, political engagement infiltrates music arrangements, head dives pervade liberation movements, the words kuzle and pankrti (TN: the names of Slovenia's bands Kuzle and Pankrti translate as bitches and bastards, respectively) are capitalized, and history chapters are opening up from unexpected angles.

It is not only Cankarjev dom and the ZRC SAZU, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts that take an interest in today's return of punk to Goriška region, but also the musically knowledgeable and politically conscious new generations. On its way from Ljubljana to Nova Gorica, the (hi)story will be complemented by the Idrija, Rijeka and Pula experiences – in order to continue its journey across Europe after the European Capital of Culture 2025. And if the best concerts and parties use to end up at a station, this time they begin there: on the line between Nova Gorica's railway station and Mostovna, between Carinarnica (TN: former customs office on the border, repurposed as a cultural meeting point) and Solkan, there will be more than enough room for punk's legacy in all its dimensions, from photography and fanzines to concerts and literature. POGO Borderless!

\* EPK = European Capital of Culture

Zahvale / Thanks to:

Kristina Božič, novinarka / journalist

Nataša Strlič, muzejska svetovalka / museum counsellor, Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije / National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

Igor Vidmar, politični novinar / political journalist

Lara Štrumej, Sabina Povšič, kustosinji / curators, MG+MSUM

Dejan Sluga, direktor in programski vodja / Director and Chief Curator, Galerija Photon

Stojan Pelko, programski vodja GO! 2025 / GO! 2025 Programme Manager

Ervin Markošek, prelom / layout

Kolektiv in sodelavcem ZRC SAZU / The collective and associates of ZRC SAZU:

mag. Andreja Rakovec, mag. Matej Ažman, Nina Semolič, Irena Naglič, Maja Stipar, Igor Lapajne, Marko Zaplatil, Manca Juvan

Vsem fotografom. / All photographers.

Vsem sodelujočim. / All the contributors.

Razstava / Exhibition:

Kustosinja razstave / Curator of the exhibition: Marina Gržinić, ZRC SAZU

Realizacija projekta razstave / Realisation of the exhibition project: Marina Gržinić,

Jovita Pristovšek, ZRC SAZU

Urednik tiskanja fotografij in razstavnih tiskovin /

Editor of photographic and exhibition prints: Bojan Radovič

Arhitekt razstave / Architect of the exhibition: Metod Prijatelj

Konceptualizacija spremljevalnega programa, vodstev in simpozija / Conceptualisation of the parallel programme, guided tours and symposium: Marina Gržinić, Jovita Pristovšek

Koordinacija razstave in spremljevalnega programa / Coordination of the exhibition and the parallel programme: Katarina Hergouth, Katja Ogrin, Saša Globačnik, CD

Tehnična organizacija / Technical organisation: Damjan Gorenjc, CD

Oblikovanje promocijskega materiala / Design of promotional material: CD

Prevod in lektura / Translation and proof reading by Marina Gržinić, Jovita Pristovšek; CD

Katalog / Catalogue:

Uredništvo in zasnova kataloga / Editing and catalogue concept: Marina Gržinić,

Jovita Pristovšek

Izdajatelj / Publisher: Inštitut za kulturne in spominske študije ZRC SAZU / Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

Založnik / Publishing house: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

Zanj / Represented by Oto Luthar

Prelom / Layout: Ervin Markošek

Tisk / Printed by Luminus d.o.o., Novo Mesto

Naklada / Print run: 300

Prva izdaja, prvi natis. / First edition, first print run.

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Ljubljana

December 2023



ZRC SAZU



cankarjev dom



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Oblikovanje kataloga je finančno podprla Galerija Photon, Ljubljana. / This catalogue was designed with a generous financial support by Photon Gallery, Ljubljana.

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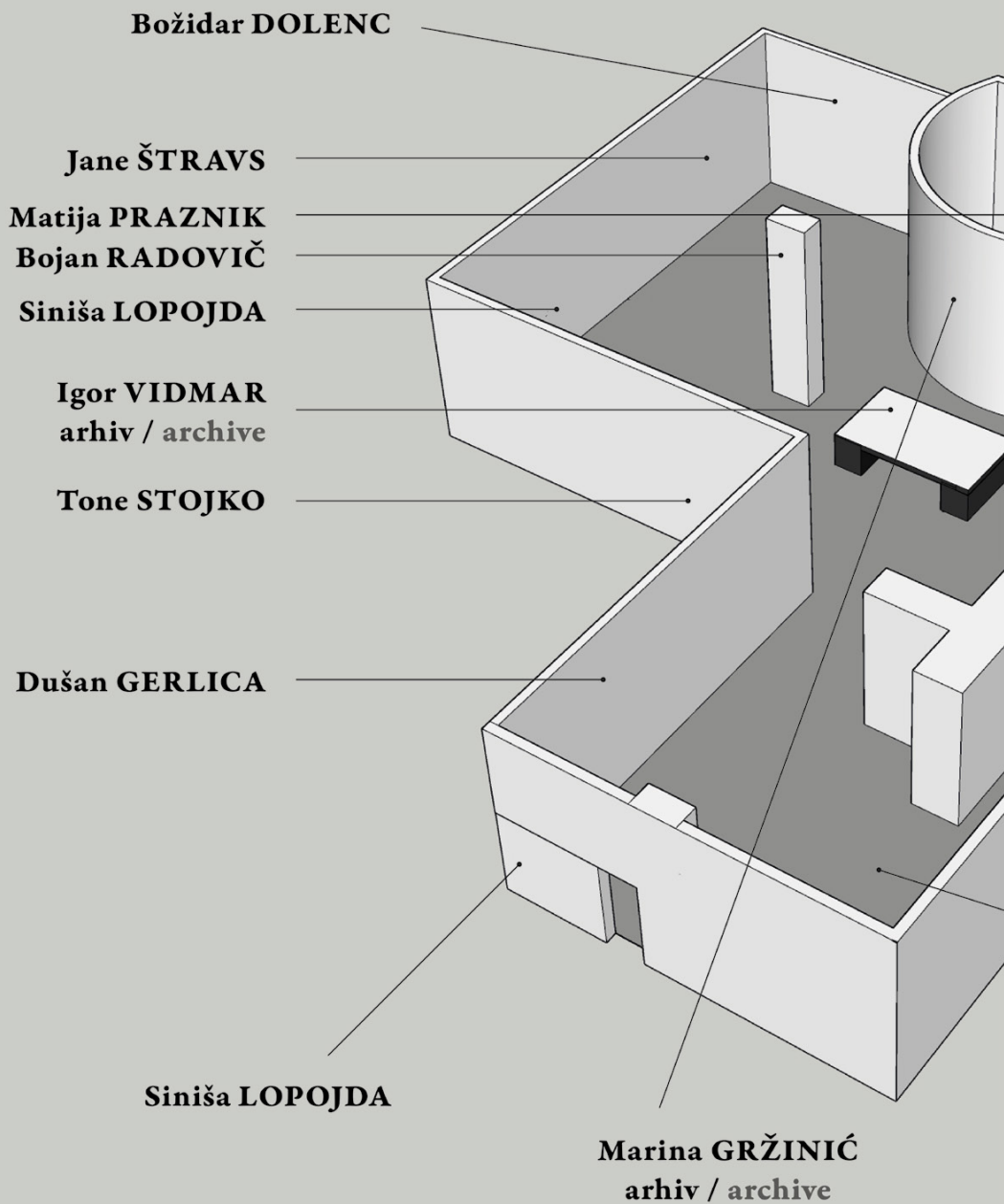
Tisk kataloga je omogočila prijazna finančna podpora GO! 2025 Evropska prestolnica kulture Nova Gorica – Gorizia. / This catalogue was printed with a generous financial support by GO! 2025 European Capital of Culture, Nova Gorica – Gorizia.

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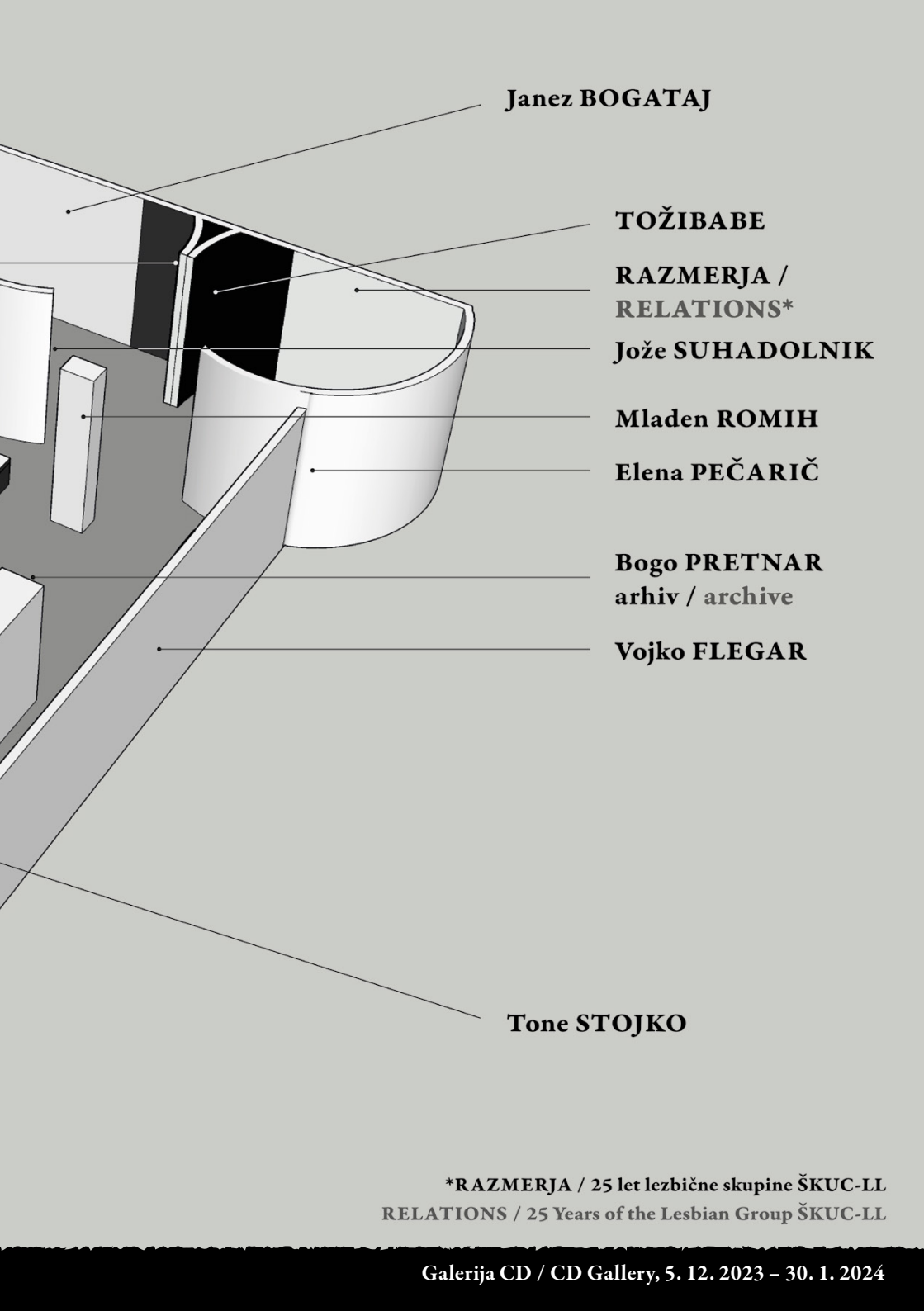
Fotografija na naslovnici / Cover photo:

Vojko Flegar, Grafit Punk / Graffiti Punk, Ljubljana, december 1980 / December 1980





3D model Galerije CD, Metod Prijatelj  
3D model of CD Gallery by Metod Prijatelj



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RELATIONS / 25 Years of the Lesbian Group ŠKUC-LL**

**Galerija CD / CD Gallery, 5. 12. 2023 – 30. 1. 2024**

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

77.04(497.4)(083.824)  
784.66(497.4)(083.824)

SLOVENSKI punk in fotografija = Slovenian punk & photography  
: pregledna razstava = overview exhibition : vidiki slovenskega punk  
gibanja v fotografiji v obdobju od leta 1977 do sredine osemdesetih ter  
v obdobju pred punkom in po njem = aspects of the slovenian punk  
movement in photography from 1977 to the mid-1980s, as well as the  
period before and after punk : Galerija CD/CD Gallery, 5. 12. 2023  
- 30. 1. 2024 / [uredništvo in zasnova kataloga Marina Gržinič, Jovita  
Pristovšek]. - 1. izd., 1. natis = 1st ed., 1st print run. - Ljubljana : ZRC  
SAZU, Založba ZRC, 2023

ISBN 978-961-05-0775-8  
COBISS.SI-ID 167559939

COBISS.SI-ID 167607555  
ISBN 978-961-05-0776-5 (PDF)

The fascination of photography naturally arises from its indexicality and its relationship to the referent. Photography can transport meaning over many years, and what is visible in the image can survive hegemonic interpretations and categorisations, especially non-normative or deviant lifestyles. Nevertheless, working with photo archives requires a sensitivity to the respective historical and political context, as well as a sense of care and responsibility towards the person(s) represented in the photographs. Only with this in mind will we succeed in allowing the power of these photographs to unfold.

Anna VOSWINCKEL is a curator based in Berlin and Graz and has been head of Camera Austria's exhibition programme since 2023.

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