

SVE JE POVEZANO */ EVERYTHING IS CONNECTED*

Kontekst kinoklubova – amaterski, alternativni
i eksperimentalni film i nova umjetnička praksa

The context of cinema clubs – amateur, alternative
and experimental film and new artistic practice

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Danas, kada je vidljivo da ne postoji jednosmjerni evolutivni slijed umjetničkih problematika, kada se pojmovi tradicije i inovacije prije ukrštaju nego oštro dijele, teško je izdvojiti oblike i jezike koji bi bili potpuno tradicionalni, kao i one koji bi bili potpuno novi. Kao da postoje – to osjećamo potpuno subjektivno – distinkcije ne po obliku i jeziku nego po mentalitetu, po odnosu umjetnika prema dominantnom nasljeđu, prema pojedinim institucijama društva, prema raširenoj duhovnoj i kulturnoj klimi. Nije, dakle, uvijek riječ o novom, nego o drukčijem u odnosu na mnoga okolna zbivanja, riječ je o drugoj liniji u kontekstu poslijeratne jugoslavenske umjetnosti.¹

— Jerko Denegri: *Krajnosti druge linije*, u: *Prilozi za drugu liniju*, Horetzky, Zagreb, 2003.

Tekst koji je pred nama neće pristupiti fenomenu kinoklubova i produkciji amaterskog, alternativnog i eksperimentalnog filma, pojedinim filmovima i filmskim djelima kao "izoliranim" predmetima akademskog proučavanja i istraživanja, "ispravljanju" uspostavljene historiografije, faktografije ili formalističkom pristupu pojedinim djelima i njihovim stilskim karakteristikama, već će pokušati uspostaviti obuhvatan kontekstualan okvir kao niz društvenih i kulturoloških odnosa, sagledati prakse amaterskog, alternativnog, eksperimentalnog filma, te avangardne tendencije u filmu kao dio "diskurzivnog fenomena", ispitati pozicije i transformacije unutar šireg društvenog, kulturnog i institucionalnog polja.

Pogled unazad, na razdoblje najkreativnijeg i najintenzivnijeg zamaha rada kinoklubova, predstavlja pokušaj interdisciplinarnog pristupa u sagledavanju dometa i aktualnosti kinoamaterske produkcije, u suočavanju gledišta filmske historiografije i povijesti umjetnosti, sociologije kulture i teorije medija, kulturne politike i institucionalne kritike.

Kontekst

Danas se produkcija kinoklubova sagledava u procesima ponovnog otkrivanja i aktualizacije produkcije i značaja kinoamaterizma u Jugoslaviji za

Today, when it is obvious that there is no one-way evolution of artistic issues, when the terms of tradition and innovation are intertwined rather than sharply separated, it is difficult to single out forms and languages which would be completely traditional, as well as those that would be totally new. As if, and we feel it completely subjectively, there was a distinction not according to form and language but according to mentality, to the relationship of the artist towards the dominant heritage, towards single social institutions and towards a widespread spiritual and cultural climate. Therefore, it is not always about the new but rather about the different with respect to the surrounding events, it is about a second line in the context of after-war Yugoslav art.¹

— Jerko Denegri: *Extremes of the second line*, in: *Contributions to the second line* Horetzky, Zagreb, 2003

This text is not going to approach the phenomenon of cinema clubs and the production of amateur, alternative and experimental film, single films and film works as "isolated" subjects of established historiography, factography or formalist approach to single works and their stylistic features. It will try to establish an encompassing contextual framework as a series of social and cultural relationships, perceive the practices of amateur, alternative and experimental film, and the avant-garde trends in cinema as part of a "discursive phenomenon", question the positions and transformations within a wider social, cultural and institutional field.

A look backwards to the period of the most creative and most intense bloom in the activity of cinema clubs as an attempt of an interdisciplinary approach to the consideration of the range and relevance of amateur film production, to confronting views on film historiography and art history, sociology of culture and media theory, culture policy and institutional critique.

Context

The production of cinema clubs today is perceived in the processes of rediscovery and re-actualization of the production and importance of film

Plakat za 10. Sabor alternativnog
filma u Splitu, 1987

Poster of the 10th Alternative Film
Meeting in Split, 1987



cjelokupni razvoj novih umjetničkih praksi i filmskih poetika. Možemo pratiti veze između eksperimenta u takozvanoj amaterskoj filmskoj umjetnosti, i umjetnosti pedesetih i šezdesetih godina, i anticipacije, odnosno nastajanja, nove umjetničke produkcije na nekadašnjem kulturnom prostoru Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije.

Heterogena produkcija kinoklubova u kulturnom prostoru SFRJ doista je raznolika u smislu kvalitete, kvantitete, izraza i usmjerenja, a obuhvaća različite tematske, estetske, produkcijske, društvene i kulturne paradigme, gdje značajno mjesto zauzimaju filmovi koji se na specifičan način odnose prema filmskom mediju, sustavu kinematografije i jeziku filma, koji su usmjerili amaterski film, ponudivši stvaralački poticajan estetski koncept.

Kritička pozicija različitih umjetničkih praksi obilježila je svjetsku umjetničku scenu 1970-ih godina, a slične aktivnosti umjetnika pronalazimo i na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije. Radikalne i inovativne umjetničke prakse šezdesetih i sedamdesetih pokrenule su alternativan način umjetničke produkcije i prezentacije umjetnosti, redefiniciju umjetničkog djela, mijenjanje umjetničkih konvencija te preispitivanje umjetničkih sustava. Jedna od važnijih promjena koju je područje umjetničkog kritičkog djelovanja putem nadovezivanja na prakse avangarde i neoavangarde izazvalo tih godina pojava je inovativnih i alternativnih umjetničkih formi i modela produkcije i reprezentacije umjetnosti.²

U kontekstu sagledavanja "druge linije" kao niza "drugih" – alternativnih, eksperimentalnih, kritičkih, istraživačkih umjetničkih oblika i praksi suvremene umjetnosti, nove umjetničke prakse u odnosu na konvencionalne oblike izražavanja možemo razumjeti kao pripadanje tom "misaonom krugu" i velik dio produkcije alternativnog, avangardnog, eksperimentalnog i amaterskog filma, filmsku produkciju koja je mahom nastajala u okvirima kinoklubova. Ona se "ideološki" i poetski vezala za, preplitala i bila dio onih pojava u lokalnom kontekstu kao što su zagrebački GEFF, Nove tendencije, Muzičko biennale, beogradski BITEF ili Aprilski susreti, splitski Sabor alternativnog filma, pulski MAFAF.

Dva svijeta, onaj vizualne/likovne umjetnosti i onaj koji pripada kinematografiji, čiji su narativi konvencionalno udaljeni čak i danas kada granice još više izmiču, rastaču se i brišu, a nove forme izranjaju, ovdje su se u trenucima približavali i preplitali, što su u velikoj

amateurism in Yugoslavia for the complete development of new artistic practices and film poetics. We can follow the connections between experiments in the so-called amateur film art, the art of the fifties and sixties, and the anticipation, i.e. creation of a new artistic practice in the former cultural space of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The heterogeneous production of cinema clubs in the cultural space of SFRY is indeed diverse in the sense of quality, quantity, expression and orientation, and includes different topical, esthetic, production, social and cultural paradigms, where a significant point is taken by films with a specific relationship towards the film media, the cinematographic system and the language of film, and which have given a direction to amateur film, offering a creatively inspirational esthetic concept.

The critical position of various artistic practices marked the global artistic scene in the 70ies, and similar artists' activities can be found in the territories of former Yugoslavia. The radical and innovative artistic practices of the sixties and seventies started an alternative artistic production and presentation of art, a redefinition of work of art, a change of artistic conventions and questioning of systems of art. One of the most important changes caused in those years by the artistic and critical activity through adding to the practices of avant-garde and neo-avant-garde, is the appearance of innovative and alternative artistic forms and models of production and representation of art.²

In the context of perceiving the "second line" as a series of "other" – alternative, experimental, critical, research artistic forms and practices of modern art, the new artistic practice, as opposed to conventional forms of expression, can be understood as the affiliation to that "circle of thought" and a large part of the production of alternative, avant-garde, experimental and amateur films, that film production mostly created within cinema clubs. It is "ideologically" and poetically tied to, intertwined with and part of such local context phenomena like Zagreb's GEFF, New Tendencies, Music Biennale, Belgrade's BITEF or April Meetings, Split's Alternative Film Meeting, Pula's MAFAF.

Two worlds are the preoccupation of a generation, one of visual art and the other belonging to cinematography, whose narratives are conventionally far apart even today, when the boundaries seem to disappear in a blur and new forms come out. Nevertheless, they were close and intertwined at times, much aided by the (then) new



mjeri omogućavali (tada) novi mediji – fotografija, film i video koji ulaze na umjetničku scenu i koje su umjetnici prigrlili – a različiti izrazi, postupci, eksperimenti, interes za medijska istraživanja, performativnost, govor u prvom licu, analitičko-kritički interes u odnosu na jezik umjetnosti i društveni kontekst preokupacije su generacije.

U tom smislu i kinoamaterizam na određeni način možemo razumjeti kao dio "alternativne" kinematografije, u odnosu na onu dominantnu, profesionalnu. Autor je neograničen i slobodan pri izražavanju osobnih stavova, intimnih svjetova, stanja, a zbog limitirajućih tehničkih i ekonomskih mogućnosti poseže za istraživanjem inovativnih modela filmskog izraza, koristeći "čiste" filmske elemente: montažu, ekspresivnu fotografiju, pokret, ritam, kojima se na estetskoj razini prevladavaju ograničene tehničke mogućnosti. U kinoamaterizmu postoji dovoljno mogućnosti i razloga da filmovi budu avangardistički i eksperimentalni, pa on već od samih početaka kinematografije predstavlja njen "eksperimentalni laboratorij".³

Riječ je o shvaćanju umjetnosti, o mentalitetu koji je u svojem vremenu, tokom prošla četiri desetljeća

media – photography, film and video entering the artistic scene and being embraced by the authors – and various expressions, processes, experiments, interest for media research, performativeness, speech in first person, analytical-critical interest in relation to art and the social context.

In that sense, cine-amateurism can to some extent be understood as part of an "alternative" cinematography, as opposed to the dominant, the professional one. The author is unhindered and free in expressing his personal attitudes, intimate worlds, states, and because of limited technical and economic possibilities he researches innovative models of film expression, using "pure" film elements: editing, expressive photography, movement, rhythm, which, on an esthetic level, help overcome the limited technical possibilities. Cine-amateurism offers enough possibilities and reasons for films to be avant-garde and experimental so that, from the very beginning of cinematography, it represents its "experimental laboratory".³

It is about the understanding of art, about a mentality that, in its time, i.e. in the past four decades, aspired to some impossible extremes. Extremes mean danger for

*težio nekim nemogućim krajnostima. Krajnosti su po nekome opasnost, po nekome srž suvremene umjetnosti. Ako ništa drugo, krajnosti su poriv za avanturom, a bez rizika avanture umjetnost svake sredine, pa tako i jugoslavenska umjetnost od rata na ovamo – bila bi prikraćena za neka od svojih najizazovnijih i najprivlačnijih poglavlja.*⁴

Bilješke iz povijesnog okvira.

Počeci kinoamaterizma u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj, odnosno u tadašnjoj Kraljevini Jugoslaviji sežu u 1928. godinu kada Maksimilijan Paspas osniva kinosekciju u fotoklubu Zagreb. 1935. godine u Barceloni je održan Osnivački kongres svjetske organizacije neprofesijskog filma (UNICA). U Zagrebu se 1934. i 1935. godine priređuju prve manifestacije neprofesijskog filmskog stvaralaštva, a kinosekcija se osamostaljuje i postaje samostalnim klubom (Kinoklub Zagreb).⁵

Nešto ranije, 1924. godine u Beogradu se osniva Klub sineasta (filmofila), a članovi su bili Boško Tokin, Dragan Aleksić i Slavko Vorkapić. Svijest o avangardnim strujanjima i mogućnostima avangardnog izraza u novom filmskom mediju vrlo su rano bili upisani u amatersku produkciju kinokluba.

U istom se razdoblju pojavljuju filmski amateri u drugim sredinama – u Rijeci Ivan Tićak, Boris Pajkurić, Milan Dilny; u Splitu Dinko Mrkonjić, Vinko Marojević, Ante Benzon; u Karlovcu Josip Vaništa.

Do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata Paspas i Oktavijan Miletić nižu uspjehe svojim dokumentarnim filmskim zapisima, putopisima i eksperimentima bojom i zvukom na filmu, osvajajući nagrade u Amsterdamu, Londonu, Barceloni, Veneciji, te Oktavijan Miletić igranim filmovima – *Faust*, *Nocturno*, *Poslovi konzula Dorgena* – osvaja nagrade u Berlinu, Parizu, Barceloni, Veneciji, a nakon 1934. godine postupno postaje najznačajniji profesionalni filmski autor hrvatske kinematografije (Šešir, 1937., *Lisinski* 1944.).⁶

Godine 1946. u Rijeci je osnovan Fotokinoklub Rijeka, 1952. u Splitu Kino klub Split, a 1953. obnovljen je rad Kinokluba Zagreb. Kino klub Beograd osnovan je 1951. godine, kada se odvaja od fotokluba u okviru kojeg je funkcionirao kao kinosekcija, a 1958. g. u Beogradu se osniva Akademski filmski klub.

Nadalje, 1954. godine kada se u Zagrebu osniva Prvi zagrebački festival amaterskog filma, i nacionalni

*some and the essence of modern art for others. If nothing else, extremes inspire adventure, and without the risk of adventure, art in any ambience, therefore Yugoslav art from the war on as well – would come short of some of its most enticing and most attractive chapters.*⁴

Notes from history

The beginnings of cine-amateurism in Zagreb and Croatia, i.e. in the then Yugoslav Kingdom, go back to the year 1928 when Maksimilijan Paspas founded a film section in the Zagreb photo club. In Barcelona in 1935, there was the Founding Congress of the International Union of Non-professional Film (UNICA). In Zagreb, in 1934 and 1935, we have the first manifestations of non professional film production and the film section becomes a separate club (Zagreb Cinema Club).⁵

Some time earlier, in 1924, a club of cineastes (cinophiles) is founded in Belgrade, with members such as Boško Tokin, Dragan Aleksić and Slavko Vorkapić. The conscience of avant-garde stream and possibilities of avant-garde expression in the new film media became part of the cinema club amateur production very early.

The same period sees the appearance of film amateurs in other areas – Ivan Tićak, Boris Pajkurić, Milan Dilny in Rijeka; Dinko Mrkonjić, Vinko Marojević, Ante Benzon in Split; Josip Vaništa in Karlovac.

Until the end of the Second World War, Paspas and Oktavijan Miletić produce one success after the other with their documentaries, travels and experiments with colour and sound on film, winning awards in Amsterdam, London, Barcelona and Venice, and Oktavijan Miletić with his feature films – *Faust*, *Nocturno*, *Poslovi konzula Dorgena* – wins awards in Berlin, Paris, Barcelona, Venice, and after 1934 he gradually becomes the most important professional film author in Croatian cinematography (Šešir, 1937, *Lisinski* 1944).⁶

The Photo-Cinema Club Rijeka appeared in Rijeka in 1946, the Cine Club Split in Split in 1952 and activity was resumed in the Zagreb Cinema Club in 1953. The Belgrade Cinema Club was founded in 1951 when it separated from the photo club within which it operated as a film section, while Belgrade's Academic Cinema Club was founded in 1958.

Furthermore, in 1954, when the First Zagreb Film Festival of Amateur Film is organized, the national (professional) feature film also gets its festival. In summer

(profesionalni) igrani film dobija svoj festival. U ljeto 1954. godine u pulskoj se Areni održava prvi Festival jugoslavenskog igranog filma. Dvije isprepletene povijesti počele su se pisati.

U nekim se raspravama o avangardnom filmu, u širem internacionalnom kontekstu problemu kino-amaterizma pristupalo iz dva gledišta – dok se s jedne strane avangardni film promatrao u kontekstu elitnih institucija kulture i umjetnosti, s druge je strane uočljiva transformacijska mogućnost filma kao masovnog medija za masovnu publiku.

Hrvoje Turković ipak ističe kako u vrijeme "prve filmske avangarde" u ondašnjim hrvatskim krajevima u okviru Kraljevine SHS nema traga nečega što bi se moglo držati proizvodnom filmskom avangardom.⁷

Pravi (drugi) procvat kulture kinoklubova, nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji ima sasvim drugačiji društveni i ekonomski okvir. Predstavlja nelinearnu rizomatičnu povijest kinoklubova koji se osnivaju u većim i manjim urbanim središtima, stvarajući heterogenu, estetski raznoliku i neujednačenu produkciju. Dok su u razdoblju tridesetih godina amateri pripadali imućnijem građanstvu, skupini koja je financijski mogla podržati pristup skupoj tehničkoj opremi i materijalu, i na taj način bili elitna djelatnosti, nakon Drugog svjetskog rata kinoklubovi su bili dijelom socijalističkog projekta približavanja tehničke kulture i stvaralaštva građanima. U institucionalnom okviru Narodne tehnike poticano je osnivanje cijelog niza amaterskih skupina, a pristupačnost bavljenja kulturom, umjetnošću, radioamaterizmom, pa i filmom proširila se; putem osnivanja kinoklubova širem je krugu populacije, studenata, znatiželjnika i entuzijasta omogućen rad s filmom, a težili su drugačijem filmu od onoga što su mogli vidjeti u kinodvoranama kao proizvode nacionalne kinematografije. Osnivanje Narodne tehnike imalo je veliku ulogu u organiziranju kinoamaterskog pokreta u SFRJ, omogućavajući institucionalni i organizacijski okvir koji je sudjelovao u pribavljanju potrebne filmske opreme i osnovnih sredstava za rad s filmom. U lokalnom kontekstu, u periodu državne kontrolirane kinematografije, kinoklubovi (i omladinski centri) funkcioniraju kao organizirani prostori slobode. Realiziraju se filmovi koji propituju društvenu stvarnost i normativnu kinematografiju – formom i sadržajem.

Isto tako, u to vrijeme, u nedostatku organiziranog formalnog obrazovanja u području filma, kinoklubovi su nositelji i obrazovne funkcije, a ne

1954, the amphitheatre in Pula hosts the first Yugoslav Feature Film Festival. This is the beginning of two intertwined histories.

In some discussions on avant-garde film in a wider international context, the issue of amateur filmmaking is approached from two points of view – on one hand, avant-garde film was seen in the context of elite cultural and artistic institutions, while on the other there is a prominent transformational quality of film as mass media for a mass audience.

Nevertheless, Hrvoje Turković points out that at the time of the "first film avant-garde" in the then Croatian territories within the Kingdom of SHS, there is no trace of anything that could be defined as avant-garde film production.⁷

The real (second) boom of cinema club culture, after the Second World War in socialist Yugoslavia, has a totally different social and economic framework. It represents a non-linear rhizomatic history of cinema clubs that are founded in larger and smaller urban centers creating a heterogeneous, esthetically variegated and uneven production. While in the period of the thirties amateurs belonged to the wealthier population, a group that could financially afford expensive technical equipment and material and therefore be part of an elite activity, after the Second World War cinema clubs become part of the socialist project to bring technical culture and creativity to the people. The institutional framework of *Narodna tehnika* (People's Technic) encouraged the creation of a whole series of amateur groups, and the availability of possibilities to practice culture, art, radio-amateurism and even film spread throughout the country; owing to the organization of cinema clubs, working with film was made possible to a wide circle of population, students, curious and enthusiasts, and they aspired to a different film than the one that could be seen in cinemas as the production of the national cinematography. The foundation of People's Technic had an important role in the organization of the amateur filmmaking movement in former Yugoslavia, giving an institutional and organizational framework that took part in obtaining the necessary film equipment and the basic means for work with film. In the local context, in the period of state controlled cinematography, cinema clubs (and youth centers) operate as organized spaces of freedom. Films are made that question the social reality and normative cinematography – both with form and content.

At the same time, in a situation where there is a

samo mjesta proizvodnje filma kao praktičnog rada. To su mjesta gdje su se učile osnove tehnike i praktična znanja, isto kao i mjesta razgovora, rasprava, uspoređivanja i kritike.

Amaterski film

Od najranijeg razdoblja i svojih početaka film je nastao iz entuzijazma amatera. Nije uvijek bilo jasne granice i bilo je gotovo nemoguće razlikovati amatersku i profesionalnu produkciju, a za prve poznate filmske zapise, djela novog filmskog medija, doista možemo tvrditi da pripadaju radu amatera koje je zanimalo istraživanje, igra i razonoda. Sam razvoj amaterskog filma ubrzala je proizvodnja amaterskih filmskih kamera (između 1922. i 1924.). Jan Christopher Horak u *Lovers of Cinema* ističe kako se američki avangardni film u svojim počecima ne može odvojiti od povijesti amaterskog filma, a tvrdnju možemo preuzeti kada govorimo o tradiciji eksperimentalnog filma u SFRJ.⁸

Tehnička ograničenja i nemogućnosti motivirali su autore za pronalaženjem inovativnih rješenja, stvarajući prilike da filmovi budu avangardistički i eksperimentalni, omogućavajući amaterskoj kinematografiji i kinoklubovima da postanu poligoni za eksperimentiranje – od rada s "glumcima", zvukom, zatim shvaćanju dramaturgije, prisilnim montažnim rješenjima, do rada s kamerom.

U tom smislu eksperimenti nisu samo nastajali iz težnje za samim eksperimentiranjem, već iz puke potrebe iznalaženja poetičkih, stilskih i tehničkih rješenja uslijed ograničenih sredstava, nedostatka tehničke opreme, a rezultirali su poetičkim simbolima, simboličkim stilom poput onoga Maye Deren, (na uvjete i način rada "amatera" je i sama Maya Deren obratila pažnju u eseju *Amateur Versus Professional* ⁹).

Povijest amaterskog filma paralelna je povijesti tradicionalne kinematografije, ponekad stvarajući lomove u njezinu linearnom i homogenom tkivu.¹⁰ Lomove koji postaju prekretnice koje proizvode promjenu paradigme. I u povijesnim revalorizacijama hrvatske kinematografije kratkoga metra *amatersku* produkciju nipošto ne treba odvajati od profesionalne.¹¹

Međutim u okvirima ovako kompleksnog sustava, sama definicija amaterskog filma ne može nas zadovoljiti – posebno onda kada nije shvaćena dovoljno elastično, često u negativnom kontekstu, kulturološki

lack of formal education in the area of film, cinema clubs are not only places of production of film as practical work but they also have an educational function. These are places where basic techniques and practical knowledge was taught but also places for discussion, an exchange of ideas, comparison and critique.

Amateur film

Ever since the earliest period and its very beginnings, film was created with the enthusiasm of amateurs. The boundaries were not always clear and it was almost impossible to discern amateur and professional production, so much that we can truly say for the first known film recordings, results of the new media, that they belong to the work of amateurs interested in research, play and entertainment. The development of amateur film was accelerated by the production of amateur film cameras (between 1922 and 1924). Jan-Christopher Horak in *Lovers of Cinema* points out that the American avant-garde film in its beginnings cannot be separated from the history of amateur film and we can take over that statement when speaking of the tradition of experimental film in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.⁸

The technical limitations and impossibilities motivated authors to find innovative solutions, creating opportunities for such films to be avant-garde and experimental, enabling amateur cinematography and cinema clubs to become polygons for experimentation – from working with "actors" and sound, to the understanding of dramaturgy, forced editing solutions, up to working with the camera. In that sense the experiments were not only an aspiration to itself, but the result of a search for poetical, stylistic and technical solutions to circumvent the limited means and the lack of technical equipment, resulting in poetical symbols, a symbolic style like that of Maya Deren (Maya Deren herself spoke of the conditions and way of work of "amateurs" in her essay *Amateur Versus Professional* ⁹).

The history of amateur film is parallel to the history of traditional cinematography, sometimes creating breaks in its linear and homogeneous tissue.¹⁰ Breaks that become turning points that produce a change of paradigm. Even in the historical revalorizations of Croatian short film cinematography, the *amateur* production should never be separated from the professional.¹¹

However, within such a complex system, the very

konzervativno, referirajući se na kvalitetu, cehovski društveni status, a ne produkcijsko okruženje i estetske kriterije – a "amaterizam" podložan prijemima stoga i zaslužuje reartikulaciju, redefiniciju, reinterpretaciju. U intervjuu objavljenom u *Zarezu* Želimir Žilnik tvrdi kako mu je *"okruženje amaterskog filma omogućilo (...) da se riješi administrativnih labirinata kroz koje je jedino bilo moguće nabaviti novac za snimanje filma. Bio je to određeni oblik slobode."*¹²

Na valu amaterizma u SFRJ, u razdoblju nakon Drugog svjetskog rata osnivala su se brojna sportska, tehnička, kazališna, književna i druga amaterska društva, te kinoklubovi u kojima je neprofesionalcima omogućeno da se na organiziran način bave filmom. Osim raznolikog bavljenja filmom u okviru stvaralaštva djece, dokoličarskog i obiteljsko-dokumentacijskog bavljenja odraslih, do umjetnički ambicioznog i zalačkog rada pojedinaca ili skupina koje nisu uključene u profesionalnu kinematografiju – stvorene su prilike u kojima amaterska kinematografija preuzima ulogu alternativne kinematografije, omogućavajući svojim organizacijskim strukturama proizvodnju, distribuciju, prikazivanje i prihvatanje filmova koji se ne bi mogli ni javiti ni opstati s obzirom na dominantnu profesionalnu kinematografiju. Primjeri za to su počeci eksperimentalnog filma kod nas, a i primjerice počeci novog vala u Francuskoj, te počeci naše autorske kinematografije.¹³ Tako i u internacionalnom kontekstu, šezdesetih godina dolazi do raslojavanja dominantne, industrijske kinematografije u *underground* film i autorski film.

Na području filma značaj amaterizma preuzimao je ulogu alternativne kinematografije, uz uspostavljanje posebnih estetskih i izvedbenih standarda. U tom su razdoblju iskušane avangardističke strategije u radu s filmom, prije no u dominantnoj kinematografiji. U klubovima kinoamatera iskušavane su karakteristično modernističke, romantičko-personalne, *poetsko asocijativne strukture*, negdje uz razgradnju prototipskih fabulativno narativnih struktura, a drugdje uz razgradnju vladajućih dokumentarističkih strategija, čineći to kako bi ocrtavali "autorsko raspoloženje" – uglavnom raspoloženje "egzistencijalističkog" beznađa, u to vrijeme izrazito "anti-ideološkog" (npr. neki Pansinijevi filmovi iz pedesetih i neki iz šezdesetih, Martinčevi filmovi s početka šezdesetih, odnosno filmovi "plitskog kruga" iz šezdesetih – Lordana Zafranovića, Vjekoslava Nakića i dr., potom neki filmovi Tomislava Gotovca, Anđelka Habazina, Gorana Švoba

definition of amateur film cannot be entirely satisfying – especially when it is not understood with sufficient elasticity, often in a negative context, culturally conservative, referring to quality, the social status of a guild and not the production environment and esthetic criteria – an "amateurism" subject to such discussion indeed deserves to be rearticulated, redefined and reinterpreted. Želimir Žilnik, in an interview published in *Zarez*, says that *"the ambience of amateur film enabled him (...) to get rid of administrative labyrinths through which one had to pass to get the money for filming. It was a certain kind of freedom."*¹²

The wave of amateurism in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia after the Second World War led to the creation of numerous sports, technical, theatrical, literature and other amateur societies, as well as cinema clubs in which non-professionals were able to work on film in an organized manner. Besides the variegated film activities from that of children, through that of adults documenting leisure and family life, to those artistically ambitious and knowledgeable works of individuals or groups not included in professional cinematography – conditions were created in which amateur cinematography took over the role of alternative cinematography, using its organizational structures to enable the production, distribution, screening and acceptance of films that otherwise could not come to be, considering the dominant professional cinematography. Examples of that are the beginnings of experimental film in our country, or the beginnings of the new wave in France as well as the beginnings of our author's cinematography.¹³ In an international context, the sixties see a stratification of the dominant, industrial cinematography into *underground* film and author's film.

In the area of film, the importance of amateurism gradually took over the role of alternative cinematography, establishing particular esthetic and performative standards. Avant-garde strategies were tested in working with film in that period, sooner than in the dominant cinematography. In amateur filmmakers' clubs authors experimented with typically modernist, romantic-personal, poetically associative structures, sometimes with the deconstruction of narrative structures, and other times with the deconstruction of dominant documentary strategies, all in order to depict the "author's mood" – mainly that of "existentialist" hopelessness, at that time markedly "anti-ideological" (ex. some of Pansini's films in the fifties or sixties, Martinac's films from the beginning

iz tih godina...). Naročito je provokativno djelovala struja "*materijalističkog*" *usmjerenja* koju je predvodio Vladimir Petek – tj. struja koja je iskušavala dojmovne mogućnosti generirane fizičkim intervencijama u samu filmsku vrpцу.¹⁴

"Herojsko" ili "zlatno" razdoblje filmskog amaterizma u kulturnom prostoru SFRJ – ono je koje počinje sredinom pedesetih godina, osnivanjem ili obnavljanjem kinoamaterizma i rehabilitiranjem djelatnosti kinoklubova nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, te produkcija filmova koja je uslijedila od pedesetih, šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina. Priliku da se bave filmom iskoristili su prvenstveno mladi ljudi, dijelom studenti i zaljubljenici u film, stvorivši na taj način značajnu platformu za eksperimentiranje i preispitivanje konvencionalnog filmskog jezika koji je dominirao u jugoslavenskoj kinematografiji.¹⁵

Kinoklubovi / Autori / Manifestacije

U procesima kritičke valorizacije i kontekstualizacije kinoamaterizma na području SFRJ potrebno je istaknuti upravo aspekte "institucionalnoga", odnosno organizacijskog, ali i konceptualnog konteksta, i koncepcije, dakle s jedne strane važnost kulture i mreže kinoklubova od 1960-ih godina u SFRJ, kao načina okupljanja i oblika samoorganizacije u samoupravnom socijalizmu, a s druge njihov utjecaj na razvoj umjetničkih praksi i autorskih poetika. Kinoklubovi, a nešto kasnije i studentski kulturni centri, postaju izvansistemske prostori autonomije, te svjedoče o razvijanju i supostojanju paralelnih sustava kulture u odnosu na onu oficijelnu. Institucionalni okvir se, dakle, pokazao sklon rekonfiguraciji, reinveciji i prilagodbi, te omogućio paradigmatičke obrate u filmskoj i umjetničkoj produkciji.¹⁶

Posebnim pristupom, inovativnošću produkcije istaknula su se od kraja pedesetih i početka šezdesetih godina na području SFRJ tri kinokluba – onaj u Zagrebu, Splitu i Beogradu. Ta su tri kinokluba najavila različite pristupe i interese, različita usmjerenja i umjetničke tendencije. Kao kuriozitet možemo primijetiti podatak da se 1953. godine u Kinoklub Zagreb učlanjuje Mihovil Pansini, a iste godine u Kino klub Beograd Dušan Makvejev – dva autora koji će značajno obilježiti film i kulturni krajolik u kojem djeluju.

of the sixties, i.e. films made by the "Split's circle" in the sixties – Lordan Zafranović, Vjekoslav Nakić and others, some films by Tomislav Gotovac, Anđelko Habazin, Goran Švob in those years...). Especially provocative was the current of "materialist" streaming led by Vladimir Petek – i.e. a current trying out the impressionist possibilities generated by physical interventions on the film tape.¹⁴

The "heroic" or "golden" age of film amateurism in the cultural area of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia – is the one beginning in the mid-fifties, with the creation or renewal of film amateurism and the rehabilitation of cinema club activities after the Second World War, as well as the production of films that followed in the fifties, sixties and seventies. The opportunity to engage in film was taken mostly by young people, students and film enthusiasts, thus creating a significant platform on which to experiment with and question the conventional film language which was dominant in Yugoslav cinematography.¹⁵

Cinema clubs / Authors / Manifestations

In the processes of critical valorization and contextualization of film amateurism on the territories of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, what needs to be pointed out are the aspects of the "institutional", i.e. organizational as well as conceptual context, and the concept itself. On one hand, we have the importance of culture and the network of cinema clubs since the 1960s in SFRY, as a way of gathering and a form of self-organization in self-governing socialism, while on the other hand we have their influence on the development of artistic practices and author's poetics. Cinema clubs, and some time later also student cultural centers, become areas of autonomy outside the system, witnessing a development and coexistence of parallel cultural systems as opposed to the official one. The institutional framework was, therefore, proven to be prone to reconfiguration, reinvention and adjustment, enabling paradigmatic turns in film and artistic production.¹⁶

From the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties there were three cinema clubs in SFRY that were prominent for their particular approach and innovative production – those of Zagreb, Split and Belgrade. Those three cinema clubs announced different approaches and interests, different orientations and artistic tendencies. As a curiosity, we can mention the

Skupina kinoamatera okupljena oko Kinokluba Zagreb radikalno je usmjerila amaterski film, ponudivši estetski koncept koji je provocirao i stvaralački poticao. GEFF (Genre film festival) je možda najznačajnija manifestacija eksperimentalnog filma kod nas. Odvijala se gotovo jedno desetljeće (1963. – 1970.) i kroz knjigu i četiri realizirana izdanja ostavila dubok trag. Formiran kao "bijenalni susret filmskih istraživača", GEFF je proistekao iz razgovora koji su se početkom 1960-ih godina vodili u Kinoklubu Zagreb na temu antifilma. Osnovan je u Zagrebu 1963. godine u kulturnom krajoliku i internacionalnoj duhovnoj klimi koju su u to vrijeme obilježile i Nove tendencije i Muzičko biennale. U duhu vremena, koje bilježi intenzivna istraživanja na području filma i drugih umjetnosti (književnost, slikarstvo, glazba i dr.), festival je poticao otvorene razgovore o filmu i njegovim "granicama", o njegovu povezivanju s drugim umjetnostima i znanosti, o njegovu integriranju u svakodnevni život itd.

U nekoliko razgovora 1962. i 1963. godine, tijekom priprema za GEFF, festival istraživačkog filma, javila se i oblikovala ideja antifilma. Parafrazirani su tekstovi Novih tendencija i Gorgone pa je i na taj način legitimiran i afirmiran njihov utjecaj na antifilm.¹⁷ Tako u okruženju ideja o antiumjetnosti umjetničke grupe Gorgona izranja i koncept antifilma Mihovila Pansinija, a antifilm se definira kao radikalno negiranje konvencija filma, dekonstrukcija i samosvijest, istraživanje i otkrivanje, redukcija izražajnih sredstava filma.

Veza s Novim tendencijama i "konstruktivističkim" pristupom umjetnosti, prisutna još od umjetnosti EXAT-a 51 može se uočiti u pojavi Aleksandra Srneca, koji je vizualna istraživanja apstraktne i kinetičke umjetnosti povezao s GEFF-om. Film je za Srneca dio kontinuiranog istraživanja interesa sistemske, apstraktne umjetnosti, svjetlosnih, optičkih kinetičkih efekata. Uz luminokinetičke objekte radi na istraživanju pokreta i svjetlosti u mediju filma. Luminoplastike Aleksandra Srneca možemo shvatiti kao remek-djela apstraktnog filma, jedinstvene primjere u hrvatskoj kinematografiji svog vremena. U njegovu liku i djelu, u kontekstu druge avangarde, susrele su se likovna umjetnost i film, apstraktna umjetnost i apstraktni film, ideje EXAT-a, Novih tendencija i GEFF-a. "Počeci" Aleksandra Srneca, niz posve *apstraktnih* filmskih sekvenci, bez presedana su u filmskoj tradiciji Hrvatske, tvrdi Hrvoje Turković.¹⁸

fact that in 1953 Mihovil Pansini became member of the Zagreb Cinema Club, and Dušan Makavejev joined the Belgrade Cinema Club – these two authors would leave an indelible mark on film and their cultural ambience.

Zagreb Cinema Club

A group of film amateurs gathered in the Zagreb Cinema Club gave a radical direction to amateur film, offering an esthetic concept that was both provocative and creatively stimulating. GEFF (Genre Film Festival) is perhaps our most significant manifestation of experimental film. It was held through almost a decade (1963 – 1970) and left a profound trace with a book and four realized editions. Conceived as a "biennial meeting of film explorers", GEFF came about from discussions held in the Zagreb Cinema Club in the beginning of the sixties on the topic of anti-film. It was founded in Zagreb in 1963 in the cultural ambience and international spiritual climate marked at the time by the New Tendencies and Music Biennale. In the spirit of the times, marked by intense research in film and other art forms (literature, painting, music etc.), the festival stimulated open discussions on film and its "limitations", on its connection to other arts and science, on its integration in everyday life, etc.

A few discussions in 1962 and 1963, during preparations for GEFF, the experimental film festival, resulted in the idea of anti-film. Texts published by New Tendencies and Gorgona were paraphrased thus legitimizing and affirming their influence on anti-film.¹⁷ In this way, surrounded by ideas on anti-art coming from the art group Gorgona, we see the appearance of the concept of anti-film by Mihovil Pansini, defining anti-film as a radical negation of film conventions, deconstruction and self-consciousness, exploration and revelation, reduction of film's means of expression.

The connection with New Tendencies and the "constructivist" approach to art, present ever since the art of EXAT 51, can be seen in the appearance of Aleksandar Srnec who connected the visual research of abstract and kinetic art to GEFF. For Srnec, film is part of a continuous exploration of interests of systemic, abstract art, of light, optical and kinetic effects. He works on exploring movement and light on film using luminokinetic objects. Aleksandar Srnec's luminoplastics can be considered masterpieces of abstract film, unique examples in Croatian cinematography of the times. His work,



U isto vrijeme blizak kinoklubu, ali izvan diskusija o antifilmu javlja se Tomislav Gotovac filmom *Prijepodne jednog Fauna* (1963.). Svojom strukturalnom logikom i bliskošću s *underground cinema*, Tomislav Gotovac druga je umjetnička osobnost koja je u velikoj mjeri povezivala alternativni, amaterski film i suvremenu umjetnost. Bilo da se radilo o performansu, serijama fotografija, eksperimentalnom, strukturalnom filmu i sl., cijeli njegov životni i umjetnički vijek te su veze bile intenzivne i neodvojive.

Kino klub Split

Kino klub Split osnovan 1952. godine, a iz njega su proizašle brojne generacije autora amaterskog filma. U osvrtu "Pola stoljeća Kino kluba Split" Zdravko Mustać ističe kako su različite generacije filmaša oblikovale Kino klub Split, "60-ih godina dolazi druga, "zlatna" generacija koja je u povijesti kluba ostavila najdublji trag i po broju filmova, nagradama, ali i po estetskim postulatima gledanja na film. Martinac, Zafranović, Verzotti, Nakić, Pivčević, Kursar, Crvelin, Drušković i Buljević uspjeli su svojim otvorenim, nekompromisnim i nadasve poštenim pristupom kreirati filmove prepoznatljive forme nazvane

in the context of second avant-garde, combined visual art and film, abstract art and abstract film, the ideas of EXAT 51, New Tendencies and GEFF. "The Beginnings" by Aleksandar Srnc, a series of utterly *abstract* film sequences, are without precedent in Croatian cinematic tradition in the words of Hrvoje Turković.¹⁸

Also close to the cinema club but not involved in the discussion on anti-film was Tomislav Gotovac with his film *Prijepodne jednog Fauna* (The Morning of a Faun) (1963). With his structural logic and closeness to underground cinema, Tomislav Gotovac is the second artist who largely connected alternative, amateur film and modern art. Whether it was a performance, a series of photographs, experimental or structural film, etc, these connections were intense and unbreakable his whole life and artistic activity.

Cine Club Split

The Cine Club Split was founded in 1952 and it gave us numerous generations of amateur filmmakers. In his review "Half a century of the Cine Club Split " Zdravko Mustać points out that various generations of filmmakers helped shape the Cine Club Split, "in the 60ies comes the

"splitska škola" filma.¹⁹

Došavši na scenu 60-ih godina naišli su na već formiranu klupsku infrastrukturu. Kasnija generacija, ona koja se javlja sedamdesetih godina (Karabatić, Tasić, Bošnjak, Bojić), formira nov i različit pristup estetici, formatu, mediju, novoj tehnologiji video slike, pa i poimanju filmske umjetnosti, a kraj 1970-ih obilježava i formiranje Sabora alternativnog filma (1977.), jedne od najznačajnijih manifestacija kinoamaterizma i alternativaca kod nas. U drugoj polovici 1980-ih na scenu stupa četvrta generacija ne narušavajući logičan razvoj i kontinuitet, te uz prepoznatljivost splitske filmske škole donosi i niz novina koje omogućava novo vrijeme (Batinović, Bezić, Mustać, Poljak, Fradelić).²⁰

Središnja osobnost Kino kluba Split bio je Ivan Martinac – filmaš, pjesnik, arhitekt. Školovanjem najprije u Zagrebu, te u Beogradu, na neki je način povezojao tri kinokluba, posebno obilježivši i ranu produkciju Kino kluba Beograd. Kao zanimljivost možemo istaknuti primjer da se u *Rondu* Ivana Martinca snimljenom 1962. u KK Beograd, pojavljuje povjesničar umjetnosti i kritičar Ješa Denegri, tadašnji Martinčev cimer. *Jump-cuts*, montažni ritam skokova, spirala koja uvlači prizore u vrtlog, izmjena kadrova lica i interijera daju ovdje naslutiti vorholovski, *underground* izraz. U početku splitsku školu karakterizira specifična vizualnost i montažna struktura, grad Split često je u središtu interesa Ivana Martinca, dok Ante Verzotti u prirodnom okolišu pronalazi apstraktne uzorke i ritmičke montažne pokrete.

Ako je Zagreb imao GEFF, Split je imao Sabor alternativnog filma. Sabor kao festival, manifestacija, simpozij, smotra... predstavlja jedno od ključnih "događanja" koja su promišljala položaj alternativnog filma. Trajao je deset godina, između 1977. i 1987. Sabor je zamišljen kao simpozij kinoamatera Jugoslavije, pilot manifestacija, inicirana povodom 25. godišnjice Kino kluba Split i dodatni element koji se formira u okvirima rada kluba, naglašavajući njegov razvoj i kontinuitet, svjedočeći o (samo)svijesti amaterskog filma o vlastitoj tradiciji.²¹

Današnje generacije osim temelja koje su uspostavili prethodnici, na raspolaganju imaju ne samo Kino klub koji posljednjih godina ozbiljno intenzivira svoju djelatnost i program, već i Festival novog filma i videa, te formalno umjetničko obrazovanje koje uključuje usmjerenje za film i video u okviru Umjetničke akademije – UMAS.

second, "golden" generation which left the deepest mark in the club's history, by the number of films, awards as well as esthetic postulates of the approach to film. Martinac, Zafranović, Verzotti, Nakić, Pivčević, Kursar, Crvelin, Drušković and Buljević with their open, uncompromising and utterly honest approach, succeeded in creating films of a recognizable form called "Split's school" of film.¹⁹

When they came to the scene in the 60ies they found an already formed club infrastructure. The later generation, the one appearing in the 70ies (Karabatić, Tasić, Bošnjak, Bojić), created a new and different approach to esthetics, format, media, new video image technology, and even the very understanding of cinema as art, while the end of the 70ies sees the establishment of the Alternative Film Meeting (1977), one of the most important manifestations of amateur cinema and alternative authors in our country. In the second half of the 80ies comes the fourth generation, not disrupting the logical development and continuity. Along with the recognizable Split's school of film it brings a series of innovations made possible by the new times (Batinović, Bezić, Mustać, Poljak, Fradelić).²⁰

The center figure of the Cine Club Split was Ivan Martinac - filmmaker, poet, architect. His education started in Zagreb and continued in Belgrade so that, in a way, he connected the three cinema clubs, leaving a particular mark on the early production of the Belgrade Cinema Club. As a curiosity we can mention that the art historian and critic Ješa Denegri, then his roommate, appears in Martinac's *Rondo*, shot in the Belgrade Cinema Club in 1962. *Jump-cuts*, an editing rhythm of jumps, a spiral sucking scenes up in a vortex, the exchange of face cadres and interiors remind us of a Warhol-like *underground* expression. In the beginning, Split's school is characterized by a peculiar visuality and editing structure, the city of Split is often the center of interest for Ivan Martinac, while Ante Verzotti finds abstract patterns and rhythmic editing moves in the natural environment.

If Zagreb had GEFF, Split had the Meeting of Alternative Film. The Meeting as festival, event, symposium, muster... represents one of the key "events" contemplating the position of alternative film. It lasted for ten years, from 1977 to 1987, and it was conceived as a symposium of amateur filmmakers in Yugoslavia, a pilot 3-day-event initiated on occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Cine Club Split and an additional element resulting from the club's activity, stressing its development and continuity, witnessing how (self)-conscious amateur film is

*"Istorija Kino kluba (Beograd) istovremeno je istorija borbe njegovih članova za moderan i slobodan film u našoj zemlji. Svojim veoma originalnim, krajnje subjektivnim i u svakom pogledu provokativnim delima, članovi Kino kluba obilježili su jednu značajnu etapu jugoslovenskog filmskog amaterizma. Istovremeno, nenamerno ali neminovno, suprotstavili su se oficijelnoj kinematografiji, kao i režimskim stavovima i partijskim direktivama u umjetnosti."*²² Mnogi od beogradskih amatera poput Dušana Makavejeva, Živojina Pavlovića i Aleksandra Petkovića ostvarili su zapažene rezultate u profesionalnoj kinematografiji. Radovima su sudjelovali u definiranju "novog jugoslovenskog filma" etiketiranog u "crni val". Pripovijedanjem okolnosti oko rada u Kino klubu Beograd, monografska publikacija Martinac nas u uvodi u preteču našeg filmskog modernizma, odakle će vrlo brzo niknuti "crni val". Rani filmovi u produkciji Kino kluba Beograd, poput *Ruke ljubičastih daljina* Save Trifkovića ili *Zida* Kokana Rakonjca, filmovi su ekspresivne vizualnosti, simbolike, egzistencijalne tjeskobe, otuđenja i začudnih elemenata. Često se naslanjaju na tradiciju nadrealizma.

Želimir Žilnik rano je prihvatio film kao kritički alat i slobodu koju omogućava pozicija amatera. Ovaj kinoamater iz Novog Sada, jedan od protagonista crnog vala, za *Rane radove* (1969.) osvojio je Zlatnog lava na filmskom festivalu u Berlinu, a njegov provokativan stav i duh eksperimenta pozicionirali su ga kao kulturnu i političku avangardu.

Manifestacije

Osim uvida u primarni filmski materijal, filmove realizirane u okviru produkcija kinoklubova, za pogled na amaterski film, "produkciju entuzijazma", značajno je mapirati i različita događanja i manifestacije u SFRJ koja su bila puno više od mjesta prezentacije radova. Bila su to mjesta susreta, dijaloga, razmjene mišljenja, a načine i formate organizacije – kao što su festivali eksperimentalnog, odnosno alternativnog filma poput zagrebačkog GEFF-a, beogradskog Festivala alternativnog filma, pulskog MAFAF-a (Međuklupskog i autor-skog festivala amaterskog filma), te splitskog Sabora alternativnog filma – potrebno je istaknuti kao važna mjesta okupljanja i razmjene mišljenja i iskustava koja

of its own tradition.²¹

Besides the foundations laid by the predecessors, today's generations have not only the cinema club, which has seriously intensified its activity and program in the last years, but also the New Film and Video Festival and a formal artistic education including the department of film and video at the UMAS Art Academy.

Belgrade Cinema Club

*"The history of the Cinema Club (Belgrade) is at the same time the history of the struggle of its members for a modern and free cinema in our country. With their truly original, utterly subjective and by all means provocative works, the members of the cinema club marked an important milestone of Yugoslav amateur filmmaking. At the same time, unintentionally but unavoidably, they confronted the official cinematography as well as the regime positions and party directives on art."*²² Many of Belgrade's amateurs like Dušan Makavejev, Živojin Pavlović and Aleksandar Petković achieved noteworthy results in professional cinematography. Their works took part in defining the "new Yugoslav film" labeled as "black wave". By recounting the circumstances in which the Belgrade Cinema Club operated, the monograph publication by Martinac introduces the precursor of our modernist cinema which would shortly after result in the appearance of the "black wave". The early films in the production of the Belgrade Cinema Club, like *Ruka ljubičastih daljina* (Hand of Purple Distances) by Sava Trifković or *Zid* (The Wall) by Koka Rakonjac, are films of expressive visuality, symbolic, existential anxiety, alienation and amazing elements. They often lean on the tradition of surrealism.

Želimir Žilnik was very precocious in embracing film as a critical tool and the freedom obtained in the position of amateur. This amateur filmmaker from Novi Sad, one of the protagonists of the black wave, was awarded with the Golden Lion at the Berlin Film Festival for his *Early Works* (1969), and his provocative attitude and the experimenting spirit secured him the position of cultural and political avant-garde.

danas zauzimaju gotovo mitski status.

Na području SFRJ nicao je niz različitih manifestacija amaterskog filma koje su okupljale filmske entuzijaste, članove kinoklubova, a upravo sudjelovanjem na različitim smotrama i festivalima i realiziranim radovima broj istaknutih amatera, koji su napredovali u strukturiranom sustavu amaterizma, unapređivani putem titula majstora amaterskog filma, te ostvarili profesionalne karijere, nije zanemariv.

GEFF (1963. – 1970., Zagreb), MAFAP (1965. – 1990., Pula), Sabor alternativnog filma (1977. – 1987., Split), Festival alternativnog filma i videa (od 1982., Beograd) neke su od najznačajnijih manifestacija kino-amaterizma. Uobičajeno bi bili strukturirani od radnog i prikazivačkog dijela. S obzirom na predmet interesa, prevladavajuću terminologiju, u središte postavljaju različite termine – eksperimentalni film, antifilm, amaterski film, alternativni film, prepoznaju autorsku poziciju. Od sredine sedamdesetih godina prepoznaje se novi moment *najveće iskušnje: video ulazi na velika vrata i sada je ravnopravan s filmom*.²³ Sredina osamdesetih godina tako naznačava još intenzivnije upisivanje video umjetnosti u programe festivala i rad kinoklubova, a novi je medij promatran *pod kosim svjetlom koje baca filmski projektor*.²⁴ Istraživati tehnološke i estetske okolnosti novoga medija, aspekte i mogućnosti video slike, postaje zadatak budućih naraštaja. Nastaviti tamo gdje su prethodnici stali.

Aprilski susreti održavani su između 1972. i 1977. Godine – kao festival proširenih medija, s interdisciplinarnim umjetničkim programom. Koncipirani bijahu u aktualnom duhu svog vremena – s ciljem prelaženja klasičnih granica među umjetnostima. Godinu dana prije osnivanja Aprilskih susreta SKC u Beogradu formirao je program Filmforum usmjeren ka nezavisnoj, alternativnoj, eksperimentalnoj i neprofitnoj produkciji; bilo je to mjesto prikazivanja filmske baštine, kao i aktualne filmske produkcije, te je funkcionirao kao mjesto kritičkog mišljenja. A od 1982. g. u Beogradu je pokrenut Festival alternativnog filma i videa koji je aktivan i danas.

Ti festivali i manifestacije bili su jedina mjesta za prikazivanje fimova iz produkcije kinoklubova, i recentne produkcije autora koji su se na različite načine bavili pokretnim slikama različitog formata. Čak i danas različiti specijalizirani festivali, kojima broj iz godine u godinu rapidno raste, uz sve veći broj muzejskih i galerijskih prostora i programa, (p)ostaju jedina mjesta prikazivanja one audiovizualne produkcije i produkcije

Manifestations

Besides an insight in the primary film material, films produced within cinema clubs, in order to have a complete view of amateur film and the "production of enthusiasm" it is necessary to map the various events and manifestations in the SFRY that were much more than merely places for the presentation of works. These were places of meeting, dialogue, exchange of thought, while the organization modalities and formats – like the festivals of experimental, i.e. alternative film like Zagreb's GEFF, Belgrade's Alternative Film Festival, Pula's MAFAP (Inter Cine Club Amateur, Alternative and Artist Film Festival), Split's Alternative Film Meeting – have to be pointed out as important places of meeting and exchange of thought and experience that are today considered almost mythical. In SFRY there were a series of various amateur film manifestations gathering film enthusiasts, cinema club members who participated in different musters and festivals presenting their work. The number of prominent amateurs who moved up within the structured system of amateurism, promoted by way of titles of amateur film masters, and realized professional careers, is not negligible.

GEFF (1963 – 1970, Zagreb), MAFAP (1965 – 1990, Pula), Alternative Film Meeting (1977 – 1987, Split), Alternative Film and Video Festival (since 1982, Belgrade) are some of the most important manifestations of amateur filmmaking. They were usually structured so as to have a working and a screening part. Considering the subject of interest and the prevailing terminology, the focus of their interest revolves around different terms – experimental film, anti-film, amateur film, alternative film – and they acknowledge the position of author. Since the seventies there is a new moment, *the greatest trial: video makes its grand entrance on the scene and is now equal to film*.²³ In this way, the mid-eighties mark an even more intense inclusion of video art in festival programs and the activity of cinema clubs, and the new media is observed *under the slanting light of the film projector*.²⁴ Exploring the technological and esthetical circumstances of the new media, the aspects and possibilities of video images, becomes a task for the future generation – go on from where the predecessors stopped.

April meetings were held from 1972 to 1977 as a festival of extended media, with an interdisciplinary art program. They were conceived in the actual spirit of their time – with the aim of crossing the classical boundaries

različitih oblika pokretnih slika koja ne spada u okvire normativne kinematografije i fiksno definiranih kategorija, žanrova, formi i formata.

MAFAF

Međuklupski i autorski festival amaterskog filma odvijao se od 1965. do 1990. u Puli, neposredno prije Festivala jugoslavenskog igranog filma. U organizaciji pulskog Kino kluba Jelen, na inicijativu Kino kluba Beograd, te uz suradnju Kinokluba Zagreb, i podrške Zajednice tehničke kulture i SIZ-ova, manifestacija je brojem prijavljenih filmova i prisutnih autora bila najveća manifestacija alternativnog i neprofesionalnog filmskog stvaralaštva u Jugoslaviji, odnosno *barometar kretanja amaterskog filma u Jugoslaviji* (Martin Bizjak)²⁵, *čvorišna tačka u kojoj se sabiru i ocjenjuju iskustva protekle stvaralačke sezone i anticipiraju koraci budućnosti* (Ranko Munitić)²⁶.

MAFAF nije poput GEFF-a imao program i manifest, ali je svojom relativnom dugovječnošću intenzivno sudjelovao u pretpostavkama razvoja amaterskog filma u okviru estetskih i teorijskih stavova, idejama koje su imale za cilj otvaranje novoga prostora u filmskom izrazu. MAFAP je postao susretište "ljudi od filma", nastao u neposrednom vremenskom i duhovnom okruženju GEFF-a i ideja antifilma, ali ih nije nametao; bio je Festival potaknut drugim festivalom. Kontekst Festivala jugoslavenskog igranog filma u tom je smislu imao značajnu ulogu. MAFAP je bio jednostavno – MAFAP, festival koji je nikao iskreno, spontano, iz entuzijazma, a ne iz teorija.

"Konceptcija Međuklupskog festivala amaterskog filma u Puli sastoji se u povezivanju klupskog i autorskog interesa te u daljnjem razvijanju predispozicija koje prirodno proizlaze iz mjesta i vremena njegova održavanja", doznajemo iz teksta Martina Bizjaka o MAFAP-u 1969. godine, a pitanje koje se od početka postavljalo problematiziralo je status Festivala koji je oscilirao između autorskog i amaterskog.²⁷ Mala Pula pojavila se u trenutku kada je jugoslavenskom filmskom amaterizmu počela prijetiti opasnost od drobljenja u organizacijskom smislu i od potpunog zatvaranja u isključivo amaterske okvire i interese, tvrdi Munitić.

MAFAP je postao ono što je bilo najpotrebnije – radni susret sineasta, prostor za međusobno upoznavanje i razmjenu iskustava, manifestacija koja potiče

between arts. A year before the foundation of the April Meetings, the Students' Cultural Centre in Belgrade formed the Film forum program directed towards an independent, alternative, experimental and non-profit production; it was a place for screenings of film heritage as well as actual film production, and it functioned as a place for critical thinking. The Festival of Alternative Film and Video was born in Belgrade in 1982 and is still active today.

These festivals and manifestations were the only places where films from cinema clubs production were screened, along with recent productions of authors who somehow dealt with moving images of various format. Even today, various specialized festivals growing in number each year, along with an also growing number of museal and gallery programs, become or remain the only places where to screen that audiovisual production and the production of various kinds of moving images that are not part of the normative cinematography and rigidly defined categories, genres, forms and formats.

MAFAP

Inter Cine Club Amateur, Alternative and Artist Film Festival MAFAP took place in Pula from 1965 to 1990 as a prelude to the Yugoslavia National Feature Film festival. It was organized by Pula's Cinema Club Jelen, at the initiative of the Belgrade Cinema Club and the co-operation of the Zagreb Cinema Club and the support of the Technical Culture Community and the SIZ's (Self-governing community of interest). By the number of film entries and filmmakers present, it was the largest alternative and amateur film event in Yugoslavia, in other words, *a barometer of movements in the amateur filmmaking in Yugoslavia* (Martin Bizjak)²⁵, *the point of intersection in which experience from the past creative season is gathered and evaluated and future steps anticipated* (Ranko Munitić)²⁶.

Unlike GEFF, MAFAP did not have its program and manifest, but for its relative longevity it had an intense impact on the development of amateur film regarding its esthetic and theoretical standpoints, ideas that wanted to open up a new space in film expression. MAFAP became the meeting place for "film people", it appeared in the immediate temporal and spiritual surrounding of GEFF and the idea of anti-film but it did not impose them; it was a Festival inspired by another festival. The context of the Yugoslavia National Feature Film Festival had an

studije i analize. Predstavljao je pionirski pokušaj da se prvi put u okvirima filmskoga amaterizma uspostavi jasan i kontinuiran kriterij, sustav vrijednosti u ocjenjivanju i selektiranju, koji se odrazio na sveopću sliku i standarde produkcije. MAFAF je predstavljao trenutak izravnog suočavanja nezavisne i neprofesionalne produkcije kinoklubova s profesionalnim filmskim radnicima, umjetnicima, teoretičarima i njihovim iskustvom.

Neke od navedenih pretpostavki koje su formirale MAFAF možemo vrlo lako sagledati kao zajedničke težnje i zahtjeve i drugih manifestacija kinoamatera.

Veze s drugim umjetnostima **/ medijske prakse – "sve je povezano"**

GEFF, Nove tendencije, Muzičko biennale u Zagrebu, Aprilski susreti, BITEF u Beogradu bila su mjesta gdje se tijekom 60-ih i 70-ih godina odvijala međunarodna umjetnička razmjena.

O prožimanju i utjecajima različitih umjetnosti, kao i duhu novog vremena i novih umjetničkih istraživanja i modela produkcije govori i "manifest" američkog novog filma (New American Cinema):

*"As in the other arts in America today – painting, poetry, sculpture, theater, where fresh winds have been blowing for the last few years – our rebellion against the old, official, corrupt and pretentious is primarily an ethical one."*²⁸

Osim toga i povijest umjetnosti i povijest filma u svojoj ranoj fazi, ranim filmskim ostvarenjima iz razdoblja avangarde, radovima Mana Raya, Hansa Richtera, Fernanda Legera, Marcela Duchampa – zajednička je.

Hrvatskim eksperimentanim filmašima glavni poticaji dolazili su upravo iz modernističkih predložaka drugih umjetnosti: likovnih umjetnosti, glazbe, kazališta, književnosti.²⁹ Treći razgovor u knjizi GEFF-a artikulira neka stajališta i relacije filma s romanom toka svijesti, novom glazbom, suprematizmom.³⁰

U okviru produkcije kinoklubova tijekom šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina nastaje niz "proto-konceptualnih" i konceptualnih radova umjetnika. Razvija se interes za nove umjetničke medije šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina, kao što su fotografija, film i video, kojima u središtu nije estetski objekt, umjetnički predmet, već ponašanje umjetnika vezano za njegovu egzistenciju, tijelo ili okolinu, a djelo je analitičko-kritičko u odnosu na okolinu, jezik umjetnosti, ili

important role in that sense. MAFAF was simply – MAFAF, a festival that was born out of sincerity, spontaneity, enthusiasm and not theories.

"The concept of the Inter Cine Club Amateur, Alternative and Artist Film Festival is that of connecting the interest of clubs and authors and further developing the predispositions that naturally result from the venue and time", as we find out in Martin Bizjak's text on MAFAF in 1969, and the question raised from the beginning set forth the issues of the Festival's status which oscillated between author's and amateur.²⁷ Small Pula appeared in the time when Yugoslav film amateurism was in danger from being crushed in the organizational sense or rigidly confined into amateur boundaries and interests only, says Munitić.

MAFAF became what was most needed – a work meeting of cineastes, a space for encounters and an exchange of experience, a manifestation stimulating studies and analyses. It represented a pioneer attempt at establishing a clear and continuous criterion within the framework of film amateurism, a value system in evaluation and selection, which reflected on the general image and production standards. MAFAF represented the moment of direct confrontation of independent and non-professional production of cinema clubs with professional film workers, artists, theoreticians and their experience.

Some of the mentioned assumptions for the organization of MAFAF can easily be seen as joined aspirations and demands of other amateur filmmaker's events.

Connections to other arts **/ media practices – "everything is connected"**

GEFF, New Tendencies, Music Biennale in Zagreb, April Meetings, BITEF in Belgrade, were places of international art exchange in the 60ies and 70ies.

The "manifest" of the New American Cinema speaks of the permeation and influences of different arts, as well as of the spirit of the new times and new artistic researches and production models:

*"As in the other arts in America today – painting, poetry, sculpture, theater, where fresh winds have been blowing for the last few years – our rebellion against the old, official, corrupt and pretentious is primarily an ethical one."*²⁸

Besides, art history and the history of film in its early stage, early film works from the period of the avant-garde, the works of Man Ray, Hans Richter, Fernand Leger,

društveni kontekst.

Brzo prihvaćanje videa kao nove forme od 1960-ih godina s entuzijazmom među umjetnicima – uprkos teškoćama u definiranju i sistematskom studiranju i prihvaćanju u zvanični akademski program – razlog je što je on inspirirao novi pristup suvremenoj umjetnosti i brzo preuzeo vodeću poziciju u eksperimentalnoj umjetničkoj praksi, pripremajući proboj novih medija kojem svjedočimo. U tom smislu video se definira kao ključni aspekt eksperimentalnog procesa 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina.³¹

Od sedamdesetih godina korištenjem tehnologije videa, interesom za multimediju, umjetnosti performansa, "proširenim medijima" dolazi do promjene umjetničke kartografije. Kontinuitet inovacija osiguravaju nova imena koja dolaze iz domena video umjetnosti i nove umjetničke prakse, kao što mjesta prezentacije često sele u prostore galerija i muzeja. Osamdesetih je godina video već "privilegirani" avantgardni medij.

Situacija / Rekontekstualizacija / Rekonstrukcija

U katalogu izložbe "*Sve je to film*" Moderne galerije iz Ljubljane koja je obuhvatila do sada najopsežniji pregled amaterske, alternativne i eksperimentalne produkcije na području bivše SFRJ, Stevan Vuković zapaža kako se danas afirmacija, reaktualizacija i novo čitanje eksperimentalne, alternativne i amaterske kinematografije prvenstveno odvija u galerijama i radovi se izlažu u kontekstu izložbi – danas nam je poznat zapažen broj izložbi koje se bave fenomenom produkcije kinoklubova, eksperimentalnim filmom, načinima samoorganizacije umjetnika, a uključuju i dokumentaciju i filmove, video radove i različite oblike pokretnih slika. Osim toga interdisciplinarnost i otvorenost suvremene umjetnosti posljednjih je nekoliko godina omogućila, usmjerila interes i otvorila prostor za ponovnim otkrivanjem baštine eksperimentalnog, alternativnog i amaterskog filma kod nas i u svijetu.

Nove interpretacije i iščitavanje amaterskog eksperimentalnog filma ne sastoje se samo u tumačenju formalnih inovacija, već razotkrivaju nove veze i odnose. Riječ je o pokušaju otvaranja novoga diskurzivnog prostora i stvaranja subjektivne reinterpretacije. Stoga, namjera projekta nije stvaranje fiksnog

Marcel Duchamp – are one.

The main stimuli for Croatian experimental filmmakers came from the modernist templates of other arts: visual art, music, theater, literature.²⁹ The third conversation in GEFF's book articulates some standpoints and relations of film to the stream of consciousness novel, new music and suprematism.³⁰ The cinema club production of the sixties and seventies sees the appearance of a series of "proto-conceptual" and conceptual works of artists.

There is interest for new artistic media of the 60ies and 70ies, like photography, film and video, which focus not on an esthetic object but on the behaviour of the artist in regard to his existence, body or surroundings, and the work is analytical-critical of the ambience, language or social context.

The fast enthusiastic acceptance of video as a new form in the 60ies – despite the difficulties of definition, systematic study or acceptance in the official academic program – is the reason it inspired a new approach to modern art and quickly took over the leading role in experimental artistic practice, preparing the breakthrough of the new media we are all witnessing. In that sense video is defined as a key aspect of the experimental process in the 60ies and 70ies.³¹

Since the seventies, the use of video technology, the interest for multimedia, the art of performance and the "extended media" result in a modification of the artistic cartography. The continuity of innovation is secured with the new names coming from the domain of video art and new artistic practice, so that the places of presentation often move to galleries and museums. In the eighties, video is already a "privileged" avant-garde medium.

Situation / Re-contextualization / Reconstruction

In the catalogue of the exhibition "This is all film!", held in the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana and encompassing the most comprehensive presentation of amateur, alternative and experimental production in former Yugoslavia, Stevan Vuković says that today, the affirmation, re-actualization and new reading of the experimental, alternative and amateur cinematography is before all happening in galleries and the works are screened in the context of exhibitions – we are aware today of a number of exhibitions that deal with the phenomenon of cinema club production, experimental

povijesno utemeljenog narativa, nego naznačavanje mape fragmenata, mozaika podataka, proizvoljno povezanih detalja, kako bi se artikulirao drugačiji pogled. Strukturiraju se nizovi individualnih i zajedničkih iskustava u reaktualizaciji manifestacija jugoslavenskog kinoamaterizma. Otvara se prostor za javnu diskusiju o specifičnoj produkciji s gledišta aktualnih stavova o umjetnosti iz entuzijazma, o amaterizmu u svjetlu novih vernakularnih formi umjetničke produkcije i o kontinuitetu eksperimentalne filmske produkcije u regiji.

Produkcija i kontekst kinoklubova u vrijeme šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina utjecali su na formiranje dvaju najvažnijih fenomena u kulturi i umjetnosti Jugoslavije – Novu umjetničku praksu u likovnim umjetnostima, i crni val u kinematografiji.

Eksperimentalni film je u Jugoslaviji razvijen upravo iz uporišta pozitivne kontekstualizacije i prakse radikalnog amaterizma: kinoklubova.³² Posljednjih nekoliko godina dolazi do obnavljanja interesa za prakse amaterskog, alternativnog i eksperimentalnog filma na području SFRJ, i šire infrastrukture kinoamaterizma i kinoklubova, u okviru brojnih prezentacijskih formata, gdje vodeću ulogu imaju muzejske i galerijske izložbe. Prezentacija primarno filmskog materijala i dokumentacije odvija se u galerijskom kontekstu i formatu izložbe, a upravo takva izmještenost primarnog filmskog materijala i sekundarne dokumentacije, arhivske građe, kataloga, tekstova, foto-dokumentacije –i njihovo uključivanje u galerijski, umjetnički kontekst može imati učinak oneobičavanja i može omogućiti novo čitanje i razumijevanje cjelokupnog konteksta.

U tom smislu izložbe predstavljaju nov društveni prostor u kojem se aktivno radi na značenjima, pričama, povijesti i funkcijama kulturnog materijala; to su mjesta na kojima se susreću umjetnost, umjetnici, institucije i publika. Pridonose stvaranju kontekstualnog pristupa koji se temelji na komunikacijskoj formi u koju se integriraju zajednički društveni, kulturni i estetski aspekti, uvode u raspravu teme, ideje, problemi, stvarajući aktivnu interakciju socijalnog i kulturnog polja, gdje se opisuju, legitimiraju i publici predstavljaju društveni procesi i konteksti iz kojih oni proizlaze, te nagoviješta imaginacija i perspektive budućnosti.

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li doista sve (bilo) povezano, ili nam se tako čini danas, s-pogledom nove generacije i vremenske distance.

film, ways of self-organization of artists, and they include documentation and films, video works and various forms of moving images. Besides that, the interdisciplinarity and the openness of contemporary art in the last years has given the possibility, directed interest and opened some space for a renewed revelation of the heritage of experimental, alternative and amateur film in the country and abroad.

The new interpretation and reading of amateur experimental film is not only about interpreting formal innovations, but rather about revealing new connections and relationships. It is an attempt to open a new discursive space and create a subjective interpretation. Therefore, the intent of the project is not to create a fixed, historically grounded narrative, but the marking of a map of fragments, mosaics of information, arbitrarily connected details, in order to articulate a different view. Series of individual and common experiences are structured in the reactualization of manifestations of Yugoslav amateur cinema. There is room for public discussions on the specific production from the standpoint of the actual attitude to art coming from enthusiasm, to amateurism in the light of new vernacular forms of artistic production and a continuity of experimental film production in the region.

The production and context of cinema clubs in the sixties and seventies influenced the formation of two most important phenomena in culture and art in Yugoslavia – new art practice in visual arts and the black wave in cinematography.

Experimental film in Yugoslavia developed from the base of positive contextualization and practice of radical amateurism: cinema clubs.³² In recent years there is a renewed interest for the practices of amateur, alternative and experimental film in former Yugoslavia, and a wider infrastructure of amateur filmmaking and cinema clubs, as part of numerous presentation formats where museums and gallery exhibitions have the leading role.

The presentation of primarily film material and documentation takes place in the context of gallery and the form of exhibition, and such displacement of primary film material and secondary documentation, archives, catalogues, texts, photo documentation and their inclusion in a gallery, i.e. an artistic context can result in an estrangement effect and enable a new reading and understanding of the whole context.

In that sense the exhibitions represent a new social space where there is active work on meanings, stories, history and functions of cultural material; these

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- 3 Filmska enciklopedija, LZ, (str. 692, Kinoamaterizam, Z Sud).
- 4 Jerko Denegri: *Krajnosti druge linije*, u: *Prilozi za drugu liniju*, Horetzky, Zagreb, 2003. (str. 18).
- 5 Greg deCuir: *Yugoslav Ciné-Enthusiasm – Ciné-club culture and the institutionalization of amateur filmmaking in the territory of Yugoslavia from 1924–68*.
Poznati članovi kluba su Maksimilijan i Leon Paspas, Oktavijan Miletić, Zlatko Lippa, Aurel Gorjan, Tošo Dabac, Ljudevit Griesbach, M. Marković, Ljudevit Vidas, Oto Almasy, dr Alfred Leitner, Viktor Czerny, dr. Žiga Spitzer, Franjo Schwarzwald, Ivan Paspas, Vladimir Cizelj, Đuro Vojvodić, Karlo Peharec, Ignjat Habermüller, Vladimir Cizelj i drugi.
(<http://hfs.hr/hfs/onama.asp> 16. 12. 2011.)
- 6 Isto.
- 7 Hrvoje Turković: *Hrvatski eksperimentalni film šezdesetih i videoumjetnost sedamdesetih kao avangardno krilo modernizma*, u: *Avangardne tendencije u Hrvatskoj umjetnosti* (katalog), ur. Z. Maković, A. Medić; galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, 2007.
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- 15 Ana Janevski: Sve je to film (katalog), Moderna galerija, Ljubljana.
- 16 Isto.
- 17 Knjiga GEFF-a (str. 8).
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- 19 Zdravko Mustač: *Pola stoljeća Kino kluba Split*, u: 50 godina Kino kluba Split, katalog, 2002.
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are places where art, artists, institutions and the audience meet. They contribute to the creation of a contextual approach based on a communicational form that integrates common social, cultural and esthetic aspects, introducing topics, ideas and issues for discussion, creating an active interaction of the social and cultural field where social processes and the contexts of their origin are described, legitimized and presented to the public, announcing imagination and future perspectives.

The issue is still open on whether everything is/was really connected or it just seems so today, looking with the eyes of a new generation and from a time distance.

Notes

- 1 Jerko Denegri: *Extremes of the second line*, in: *Contributions to the second line*, Horetzky, Zagreb, 2003. (p. 15).
- 2 Branka Benčić: *Invisible MAFAF*, MMC LUKA, Pula, 2010
- 3 Filmska enciklopedija, LZ, (str. 692, Ciné-amateurism, Z Sud).
- 4 Jerko Denegri: *Extremes of the second line*, in: *Contributions to the second line*, Horetzky, Zagreb, 2003. (str. 18).
- 5 Greg deCuir: *Yugoslav Ciné-Enthusiasm – Ciné-club culture and the institutionalization of amateur filmmaking in the territory of Yugoslavia from 1924–68*.
Famous members of the club were Maksimilijan and Leon Paspas, Oktavijan Miletić, Zlatko Lippa, Aurel Gorjan, Tošo Dabac, Ljudevit Griesbach, M. Marković, Ljudevit Vidas, Oto Almasy, dr Alfred Leitner, Viktor Czerny, dr. Žiga Spitzer, Franjo Schwarzwald, Ivan Paspas, Vladimir Cizelj, Đuro Vojvodić, Karlo Peharec, Ignjat Habermüller, Vladimir Cizelj and others.
(<http://hfs.hr/hfs/onama.asp> 16. 12. 2011.)
- 6 Idem.
- 7 Hrvoje Turković: *Croatian Experimental Film in Sixties and Video Art in Seventies as an Avant-Garde Wing of Modernism*, in: *Avant-garde trends in Croatian art* (catalogue), ed. Z. Maković, A. Medić; Klovićevi dvori gallery, Zagreb, 2007.
- 8 Stevan Vuković: This is all film! (catalogue), Modern gallery, Ljubljana (p. 51).
- 9 Maya Deren: *Amateur vs Professional*; Notes, Essays, Letters; Film Culture 39, 1965.
- 10 P. R. Zimmerman: *Reel families: A Social history of amateur film arts and Politics of the Everyday*, Bloomington IUP, 1995.
- 11 Diana Nenadić, publication with the DVD edition of films by Miroslav Mikuljan, HFS.
- 12 http://www.zarez.hr/134/z_vizualna.htm
- 13 H. Turković, Film Encyclopedia, LZ
- 14 Hrvoje Turković: *Croatian Experimental Film in Sixties and Video Art in Seventies as an Avant-Garde Wing of Modernism*, in: *Avant-garde trends in Croatian art* (catalogue), ed. Z. Maković, A. Medić; Klovićevi dvori gallery, Zagreb, 2007.

- 22 Marko Babac: Kino klub Beograd, str. 3.
- 23 Vladimir Anđelković (bez naslova), u: 25. MAFAF, Pula, 1990.
- 24 Branka Benčić: *Nevidljivi MAFAF*, (katalog), MMC LUKA, Pula, 2010.
- 25 Martin Bizjak, *IV Međuklupski festival amaterskog filma – Pula 1969.*, Istarski mozaik, br. 5, Pula, 1969.
- 26 Ranko Munitić, *Tri večeri pod zvijezdama*, Istarski mozaik, br. 5, Pula, 1969.
- 27 Martin Bizjak, isto.
- 28 New American Cinema, First statement, 1962.
<http://film-makerscoop.com/about/history> (17. 4. 2012.)
- 29 Hrvoje Turković, publikacija uz DVD izdanje, *Rani eksperimentalni film i video u Hrvatskoj*, str. 6
- 30 Knjiga GEFF-a, str. 34–45.
- 31 Aleksandra Sekulić: *Beleške o sećanju, arhivu i videu*, tekst ustupljen ljubaznošću autorice
- 32 Aleksandra Sekulić: *Filmski letak svim sredstvima*, u: *Cinemaniac / Misliti film. Slobodan Šijan: Filmski letak* (katalog), MMC Luka, Pula i CZKD, Beograd, 2012.
- 15 Ana Janevski: This is all film! (catalogue), Modern gallery, Ljubljana.
- 16 Idem.
- 17 GEFF book (p. 8).
- 18 Hrvoje Turković: Film Sensitivity of Aleksanara Srnec. The catalytic year of film experimentation in Croatia – 1963.
www.avantgarde-museum.com/hr/museum/kolekcija/4477-ALEKSANDAR-SRNEC/text-3862-Turkovic/
- 19 Zdravko Mustač: *Half a century of Cine Club Split*, in: *50 years of Cine Club Split*, catalogue, 2002.
- 20 Idem.
- 21 From the transcript of Cine Club Split archive material.
- 22 Marko Babac: Belgrade Cinema Club, p. 3.
- 23 Vladimir Anđelković (no title), in: 25. MAFAF, Pula, 1990.
- 24 Branka Benčić: *Invisible MAFAF*, (catalogue), MMC LUKA, Pula, 2010.
- 25 Martin Bizjak, *IV Inter Club Amateur Film Festival – Pula 1969.*, *Istrian Mosaic*, no. 5, Pula, 1969.
- 26 Ranko Munitić, *Three nights under the stars*, *Istrian Mosaic*, no. 5, Pula, 1969.
- 27 Martin Bizjak, idem.
- 28 New American Cinema, First statement, 1962.
<http://film-makerscoop.com/about/history> (17. 4. 2012.)
- 29 Hrvoje Turković, publication with the DVD edition, *Early experimental film and video in Croatia*, p. 6
- 30 GEFF book, p. 34–45.
- 31 Aleksandra Sekulić: *Notes on memories, archives and video*, text kindly conceded by the author
- 32 Aleksandra Sekulić: *Film leaflet by all means*, in: *Cinemaniac / Think film. Slobodan Šijan: Film Leaflet* (catalogue), MMC Luka, Pula and CZKD, Beograd, 2012.